

Four join in dangerous collaboration

HOSPITAL UNIONS GO TO PAY BOARD

BY DAVID MAUDE

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Other members of the union delegation were Peter Evans of the Transport and General Workers' Union, Charles Donnet, General and Municipal Workers, and David Williams, Confederation of Health Service Employees.

But although Fisher, Evans, Donnet and Williams were the only union chiefs physically present, they certainly carried the spirit of Victor Feather and the TUC General Council with them.

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What is more it was, of course, the whole General Council which betrayed the hospital workers' courageous battle against the Tory pay laws, reneging on their March 5 promise of 'co-ordinated action' in support of those fighting the laws.

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TV companies fear film union's strength

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Counsel for the companies, Leighton Davis, agreed with the

court chairman Sir Hugh Griffiths that the companies were less worried about the financial loss over this particular blacking, which affects government campaigns on smoking etc., than fear of the powerful effect such industrial action could have in future.

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Frank Bickerton, revealed that the dispute with ACTT—which refused to attend the court—over 18 redundancies in the COI film division arose out of a secret report to the government in 1972 by Sir Ronald Melville which recommended that wherever possible COI work should be handed over to private interests.

Board to fix a date for an actual meeting.

It is likely that a date will be fixed before the UPW executive meets on Thursday.

The UPW claims that its position towards the Board is one of 'armed neutrality'. This is bunk.

What is happening is that the TUC has turned retreat into a rout. Hard on the UPW's heels will come the civil servants, who were also refused strike aid by the TUC Finance and General Purposes Committee.

The hospital unions' case affects some 220,000 workers and is based on the fact that the local authority workers, who settled before Heath's announcement of a pay standstill last November, got £2.40 while the hospital workers got only £1.80-£2.

As it stands the case can only be a contribution to the Board's study of the anomalies problem which will exist when Phase Two ends in the autumn. There is no commitment for the government to grant special case awards.

The more the union chiefs

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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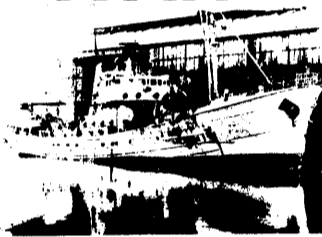
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Gold hits new record in London

GOLD reached a new record level of \$123.50 an ounce at the second fixing in London yesterday as the split within the American employing class emerged more clearly and divisions between Europe and the US deepened.

At the same time the dollar weakened yet again in London and reached record low levels in the Zurich, Frankfurt and Stockholm exchanges. Lack of confidence in the US currency has brought about a *de facto* devaluation of 7 per cent since

the last formal devaluation in February.

Within the United States there is open discontent among powerful capitalist sections at the Nixon administration's paralysis in the face of the economic crisis.

Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee spoke for this section when he called last week for 'an iron-clad hold on wages and prices'.

He said: 'We gave the President the authority to impose that hold. He must use that authority now.' Authority is just what Nixon lacks, however, as the

flood of Watergate continues to mount and the question of impeachment comes out into the open.

Pierre Rinfret, who was Nixon's chief economic spokesman in the last election campaign, now describes the US as an international bankrupt and predicts there may be three more dollar devaluations on the way.

He told a Senate inquiry last week that the deterioration of the economic situation was being met by 'a refusal of the administration to act'.

Administration officials, like Treasury Secretary George Schultz, are openly voicing their

fear that the inflationary boom—now completely out of control—will burst in the autumn and lead to a devastating crash. But Schultz has made public no plans to deal with this situation.

His position is almost unshakeable as one of the few Nixon aides not (yet) implicated in the Watergate scandal.

Yet right-wing economist Eliot Janeway, whose opinions have considerable influence on Wall Street, describes Schultz as 'a professional incompetent'.

Behind the Watergate scandal is a great rift in the United States ruling class.

Rinfret, Janeway and others speak for the most entrenched sections of US capital who want a firm hand from the administration against the working class through the imposition of even more stringent wage controls.

They want even tougher measures with Europe, but the Nixon-Pompidou summit in Iceland last week made it clear that the Common Market countries will not bend to the will of the Americans.

The split which emerged from the Reykjavik meeting is evidence that talks cannot solve this conflict.

Hurry for Watergate conclusion

THE SENATE Watergate inquiry resumes in Washington today under pressure from influential interests to speed up its investigations and get to the bottom of the scandal quickly.

The demands have been reinforced by reports linking President Nixon firmly to the attempt to cover up the bugging of the Democratic Party headquarters.

John Dean III, sacked by Nixon from his job as White House counsel, claims the President knew in advance of payments made to buy the silence of the conspirators who burgled the Watergate office complex nearly a year ago.

According to the 'Washington Post', Dean told investigators he discussed aspects of the cover-up either with the President or in his presence on at least 35 occasions between January and April this year.

The White House categorically denied the report declaring the Press was being manipulated to 'destroy the President'. Dean's testimony, if repeated in public, will be the first time the President has been directly linked at first hand with the cover-up.

This would glaringly contradict Nixon's May 22 statement.

According to the 'Washington Post' Dean said that at a meeting he had with the President shortly before the seven Watergate conspirators were sentenced on March 23, Nixon asked how much—in addition to \$460,000 already paid—would be needed to ensure the defendants' silence.

● Republican Congressman Paul McCloskey has set in motion the first tentative moves to impeach the President. He sent a letter to fellow Congressmen demanding a discussion tomorrow about Nixon's obstruction of justice.

Chile threat to workers

THE CHILEAN army is mounting a campaign against anti-government 'terrorist groups' to cover its preparations for fresh repressions of striking miners from the El Teniente copper mine.

Miners at the nearby town of Rancagua have been on strike for more than a month in the most serious challenge to President Salvador Allende since he declared the country on the 'brink of civil war' last October.

The government has accused the strike organizers of 'political motives' and tried to link the workers' pay demand to the activities of right-wing opponents of the Popular Unity coalition.

This smear attempt has become doubly necessary since the shooting of a striker by a military patrol earlier last week. Since then there have been a number of violent clashes in Rancagua, with students supporting the miners.

The province of O'Higgins, in which Rancagua and El Teniente are situated, was declared an emergency zone last month and put under military control.

The army officer commanding the area, Colonel Orlando Ibanez, said on Sunday Rancagua was absolutely calm, but there were groups in the town trying to 'undermine public order, who could resort to acts of terrorism'.

He said any such activity would be repressed 'with utmost rigour' and appealed to the miners and other residents of Rancagua not to participate in 'public demonstrations which could lead to grave errors'.

The essence of revisionism

TROTSKY wrote in 'The Transitional Programme'—the founding document of the Fourth International—of 'The definite passing over of the Comintern to the side of the bourgeois order, its cynically counter-revolutionary role throughout the world.'

'Under the banner of the October Revolution' he explained, 'the [Stalinist] "People's Front" dooms the working class to impotence and clears the road to fascism.'

The acid test of any organization claiming to be Trotskyist, therefore, is its attitude to Stalinism.

The current issue of 'Red Weekly', the paper of the revisionist International Marxist Group, sets out deliberately to hinder workers who can now be broken politically from Stalinism.

On June 15, 24 building workers appear in court again on charges arising out of picketing duties during last year's builders' strike.

These men are in the forefront of the fight to defend workers' basic rights. These rights can only be safeguarded by a struggle to bring down the Tory government, unifying the working class on socialist policies and electing a Labour government forced by the mass movement of the working class to carry out these policies.

The Communist Party works consistently to prevent the political implications of such struggles from being assimilated by the working class because its reactionary theories of 'peaceful co-existence' and 'parliamentary roads to socialism' mean, in practice, the deepest hostility to the development of revolutionary consciousness.

Without a political break from Stalinism, therefore, militant workers will enter struggles totally unprepared and will be deliberately deceived. This was the fate of the building workers last year, as it was of the dockers, the UCS workers and many more.

If 24 workers are now dragged before the capitalist courts, a major responsibility rests with the Stalinists who restricted their followers in the building

industry to the limits set by the right-wing union leaders, and refused to raise the strike to the level of a fight against the Tory government.

The Tories are able to go on the offensive against these militants precisely because they were shielded by the right wing and the Stalinists who allowed the strike to be defeated.

Yet the IMG's self-styled 'Trotskyists' call for a lead to be given in defending these workers by the very people who are largely responsible for their predicament—the Communist Party and its stooge organization, the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions!

'Red Weekly' says: 'Some form of initiative from a body with national influence and prestige throughout the trade unions is urgently needed to push the

WHAT WE THINK

fight forward. A decision by the Communist Party to give its full support to this fight would be very valuable.

'Of even greater significance would be a commitment by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions to launch a determined campaign to mobilize the rank and file of the trade union movement in defence of the Shrewsbury 24.'

The Fourth International was split in 1953 by the theory of its secretary, M. Pablo, that pressure on the Stalinists could change them—under certain objective conditions into a leadership which would head the revolutionary struggles of the working class.

The tendency which became the International Committee of the Fourth International—of which the Socialist Labour League is part—rejected this revisionism and fought for Trotsky's concept of Stalinism as thoroughly counter-revolutionary.

The Pabloite tendency—which was a fundamental revision of Trotskyism—formed the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International in 1963 to which the International Marxist Group belongs.

Gendarme of the Gulf feted by Stalinists

UNPRECEDENTED diplomatic activity surrounds the military dictatorship in Iran, which is being built up as the main bastion of American imperialism's interests in the Middle East.

The Shah of Iran is currently in Rumania and has already spent several days in Yugoslavia as the guest of President Tito both in Belgrade and on Tito's private island of Brioni. Meanwhile the Shah's Minister of War, General Reza Amini, arrived in Moscow yesterday for an official visit at the invitation of Marshal Grechko, the Soviet Defence Minister.

Later this month, from June 14 to June 16, the Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei will visit Iran on his way back to Peking from London and Paris.

The delegation includes Mao Tse-tung's niece Wang Hai-jung, who is Chi's assistant. Chi himself is a veteran of the Long March, the epic trek of the Chinese Red Army in the 1930s.

The Shah has baldly stated his aim to become the gendarme of the Arabian Gulf and to prevent the coming to power of radical Arab regimes in any of the neighbouring Arab states.

This aim is fully backed by US imperialism. Among the \$2,000m package of arms the Shah has bought this year are 108 F4 Phantoms, 100 F5E fighters, ten KC135 jet tankers,

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

700 helicopters, 800 Chieftain tanks, eight destroyers, four frigates, two high-speed gunboats, two repair ships, two new air-sea bases and 14 hovercraft.

On the eve of his departure for Belgrade—where Tito and his wife welcomed him at the airport—the Shah's firing squad executed eight young Iranians at Ahvaz military garrison.

The Iranian Communist Party (Tudeh Party) said the executed men had been condemned posthumously for espionage and sabotage.

'Reports given by news agencies and the explanation of the government spokesman showed that those involved were political



Tito (far right) waiting to be greeted by the Shah (far left) to the Persepolis celebrations in Iran in 1972.

opponents of the regime,' the Tudeh statement said.

'It had been announced that the eight had been condemned by a military tribunal, but once again the people were informed of a so-called trial and arrests only after the sentence had been executed.'

Toasting the Shah at a dinner the day he arrived, Tito said: 'Allow me first of all to ex-

press my great satisfaction at having been given the opportunity to greet you most cordially . . . and to warmly welcome you and wish you a pleasant stay in our country.'

Today the Shah leaves Rumania for Bulgaria, following a three-day trip round the power-stations and holiday resorts of Rumania as guest of President Nicolae Ceausescu.

COMMENT BY ALEX MITCHELL

PAUL FOOT

and some strange bed-fellows

PICTURE this nauseous amalgam: Sir Max Aitken of the 'Daily Express' group, William Rees Mogg, editor of 'The Times', Anthony Howard of the 'New Statesman', George Gale of the 'Spectator', Richard Ingrams of 'Private Eye' and Paul Foot, a writer for 'Socialist Worker', the weekly organ of the International Socialists.

These spokesmen of reaction and radicalism are at present sharing the same platform. They have come together through common indignation against Rupert Murdoch and his Sunday newspaper, the 'News of the World'. 'Indignation' is perhaps too mild a word; some of them have been driven into veritable paroxysms.

Murdoch's 'sin' was to allow a staff photographer secretly to take pictures of Lord Lambton, the RAF Minister, at the flat of Norma Levy in Maida Vale, London.

These same gentlemen—apart from Paul Foot—do not roar into print when workers have their privacy invaded by television and the Press. Nor do they complain about the scandalous and illegal surveillance which the police and the Post Office mount on groups on the left.

But the second that a member of the Tory aristocracy is peeped on, they start to thrash around indignantly.

But when Foot had the excellent opportunity last week to expose the privacy humbug politically he chose to join in on the side of the reactionaries.

He added his voice to this angry chorus last Thursday night when he presented the Granada Television programme 'What the Papers Say'.

During the course of the programme Foot made clear he thought that the 'News of the World' had done something wrong and was trying to cover up.

LITTLE DIFFERENT

At one point he asked: 'It raises the question, however, who took the crucial photograph in the same room, on the same bed as Lord Lambton's *flagrante delicto*?'

It wasn't much different from the question asked by Aitken in the 'Express' a few days earlier: 'Who took the pictures of Lord Lambton and the call girls? The public needs to know.'

Later in the programme Foot answered his own question in the following way: 'For some really straight talking we had to wait for this morning's "Private Eye" which states baldly: "According to top government sources, incriminating photos which put paid to Lord Lambton's career were not taken as the Press had faithfully reported by Mr Levy. It was taken by an experienced "News of the World" photographer.'

Inspired by these revelations in 'Private Eye' (for which he previously worked and still apparently maintains close relations), Foot went on breathlessly: 'Yesterday I rang Larry Lamb (editorial director of the parent company of the 'News of the World') to ask if the "Private Eye" report was correct. His secretary told me, "I'm sorry, he's making no comment on that whatsoever". Or, to put it another way, Mr Lamb made an excuse and left,' commented the smirking Mr Foot.

Last Sunday the 'News of the World' came clean and admitted



Top: Paul Foot of 'Socialist Worker' who has joined the angry chorus from reactionaries and radicals against the 'News of the World' and its editor Mr Larry Lamb (right).

that the paper had taken photos of Lambton in bed with call-girls.

This admission and a fighting counter-attack is bound to heighten the division in these ruling-class circles. And it is on this question that Workers Press absolutely distinguishes itself from all other newspapers covering the Lambton-Jellicoe affair.

NOT CONCERNED

We are not concerned with the morality issue as a thing in itself. The revelations are secondary to their real significance in the break-up of the ruling class under the impact of its economic and political crisis. Nor are we going to take sides in the Aitken-Murdoch row. It would be preposterous for us to do so.

If these Press barons want to tear at each other's throats in public, why should we interfere

hush up scandals like Poulson, Lonrho, Lord Polwarth etc.

How is it that Foot, a so-called 'international socialist', comes together with the most strident voices of reaction—Aitken, George Gale, Rees Mogg—in this Press-bashing campaign? The answer can be found in a reading of this week's 'Socialist Worker' on the Lambton-Jellicoe affair.

It shows a section of the IS for what it really is—outraged middle-class liberals, reformers, do-gooders of one description and another.

The front page article (unsigned) is almost Jesuitical in style and content.

Its main proposition is that certain individuals in the ruling class are corrupt and awful and have no right to be in the positions that they hold. It concludes with this call:

'The answer from the workers is coming back loud and clear: Get out, go to the Cayman Islands, and take your "Christian civilization" with you.'

This is pre-Marxist moral socialism.

In its crudest form it takes the view that society is divided into good and bad people and that it is the duty of the good people to drive out the bad to make the world a better place to live in.

Having turned the organization of the capitalist state into a moral issue, it is quite natural for Foot to take sides when 'thieves fall out'. He rails against Murdoch on television in the same way that his weekly newspaper vilifies the cads and bounders who are up to hi-jinks in the boudoirs.

But this moral indignation won't shift capitalism. Nor will it develop workers' understanding of the enormously grave nature of the epoch.

In their three-page spread on the Lambton-Jellicoe affair, the three 'Socialist Worker' writers, Foot, Nigel Fountain and Laurie Flynn, do not once call for a campaign to force the Tories out of office. And there is not a mention of the economic crisis which is what lies behind this political scandal.

By leaving out the economic and political crisis and substituting their own moral outrage, the IS revisionists retard the political development of the workers with whom they are in contact and thus aid the class enemy who they claim to 'oppose'.

There are many in IS, we are sure, who do not agree with Foot's liberal moralizing. How can he explain his balancing act between the Tory television and the 'Socialist Worker'?

except to cheer them on? But Foot does.

By joining in the witch-hunt of the Murdoch Press, Foot and the 'New Statesman' play directly into the hands of the Heath government.

The Tories desperately want to create a diversion in the Lambton-Jellicoe affair. They want the heat switched away from the Cabinet room and the third man who still sits there.

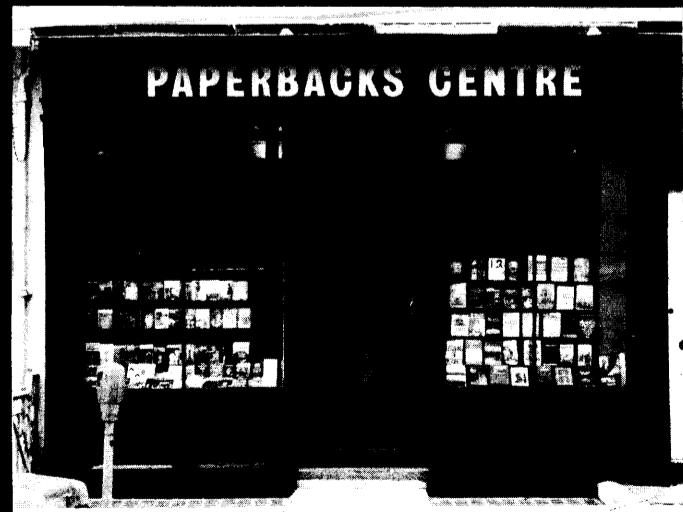
A group of reactionary Tories (Winston Churchill and John Gorst, etc.) want to turn the Security Commission's terms of reference away from 'security' towards the conduct of the Press.

Foot and Howard aid the Tories by making the Press the scapegoat for the Heath government's political crisis.

The 'New Statesman' went so far as to recommend that the Tories bring in a 'law of privacy'—just the thing they want to

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THE DISCUSSION GOES ON

'The hospital service is like the dark ages in many ways'

Mrs Gwen Evans is a National Union of Public Employees' shop steward at Poplar Hospital, London, and played an active role in the ancillary hospital workers' pay struggle. We didn't get what we wanted out of our strike. And the nurses haven't had what they want either. The hospital service is like the dark ages in many ways. There's still dictatorship from the top.

The people at the top are overrated and over-paid and the people who do the work—the nurses, younger doctors and ancillary workers—are under-paid and underestimated.

The young doctors are really under-paid. They have all the responsibility and get all the blame. But they're often afraid to speak out.

The union didn't give us enough backing in our strike. They should have made us all one—all the hospitals and all the unions.

We tried to get the dockers, busworkers and carworkers together during our strike.

We went to them around

here. They had a lot of sympathy for us, but they wouldn't come out. The union leaders should have given them a lead, but I think working people should come forward anyway. Can you get all the workers to fight together, that's the question?

Tory governments should be abolished. There should never be a Tory government in this country. There are far too many working-class people.

There are all sorts of things wrong. The Trades Union Congress only called for a one-day strike. The hospital workers wanted at least a week, but the TUC backed down. The rank-and-file people have to do something for themselves.

The Wilson opposition isn't doing anything. It's got to be a special crowd of people who come in.

Labour, when it started out, was the only alternative to the aristocracy, but that seems to be forgotten now. They've forgotten who they should really be representing.

But I'm not sure about some things. For instance, what would power do to you people when you got it? It went wrong in the other communist countries.

But the youth is more intelligent now. The government can't pull the wool over their eyes. Nobody can.

The youngsters know that their money is losing its value. It's not a matter of how much money you've got. It's its value—what you can buy with it.

With prices going up all the time, our wages aren't worth much more than they were before the war. And then you get royalty... well you wouldn't like to print what I'd say about that.



Mrs Gwen Evans. Above: Hospital workers march with placards calling for support. Mrs Evans says, 'The hospital service is like the dark ages in many ways. There's still dictatorship from the top. The people at the top are overrated and over-paid and the people who do the work—the nurses, younger doctors and ancillary workers—are under-paid and underestimated.'

Some of these younger people now have come up at a time when it was pretty easy. It's never been marvellous, even for them, but they won't ever go back to the conditions their parents lived in before the war.

Any government which tries to drive this generation back will come a cropper.

I think the worst enemy is the middle class. They're

worse than the rich. I'm not saying this because I'm not better off. But the middle class have got well off and they're greedy. They would fight the working class.

But their sons and daughters, the younger generation, they might get sick of it and change from it.

I don't think the Tory government will last another two years. There's more to come

out of this scandal. Like Nixon, they are trying to hide their dirty linen.

I think the churches should have less say. They run us too much. They should be kept out of political affairs.

People have been fooled over the years and now they're fed up. The Labour Party has definitely changed. Working-class people are fed up with everybody who's been in power.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE Y PARTY

'The main issue here (in Ireland) is the unity of the working class ...'

The Whitelaw White Paper in Northern Ireland has thrown the Republican movement, both Officials and Provisional, into political turmoil.

The decision of the six county Republican Clubs to stand for the first round of election under the White Paper proposals, has dismayed many rank-and-file Officials. Though entry into the election is hedged with all kinds of excuses and 'safeguards' the participation of any section of the Republican movement adds credibility to what is a blatant Tory attempt to re-establish a new basis for oppression in the north.

These kind of developments have led to discussions with Republicans and the Workers League, the Irish section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Some ex-Officials, like these two Republicans interviewed below, have decided to help develop the revolutionary party in the north. They told Workers Press what they thought of the political situation.

For obvious reasons the two comrades are identified as X and Y. Y has suffered a period of internment in Long Kesh.

Workers Press appreciates that this expresses a particular view and would welcome any comment on the situation from members of both wings of the Republican movement and Protestant workers.

X told us:

'One of the biggest problems here is that of course people do not immediately think about socialism or the struggle of the working class in immediate terms. People are too dominated with the British army to be fussed about socialism.

'But I think there is a basis—even if it is a small one. Now the Provos and the Officials have had to answer some political questions and the people are finding them wanting. I think the Provos have had nothing to offer for six years.

'I think the issue of the election has shaken people up.

'I disagree with the elections and contesting them. They are rigged by Whitelaw from the start. By entering into the competition you give them credibility. What people want is a real socialist policy to consider.

'The big gap is the Protestant workers. I really do not know what they think or how one could get across to them. I have no answer to this problem.'

Y told us:

'At the moment I am only feeling my way with your policy. I have read the document of the Socialist Labour League and found it extremely



Catholic workers behind a barricade of barbed wire in Ulster. 'I think the basic thing we have to do is to forge ahead in the unions and get class politics going . . . But in the Northern Ireland situation this will be very difficult.'

interesting. As an ex-Official I feel badly let down by the Officials. They really don't have any perspective at all now. They are confused over the elections and their members are confused.

'There are one or two things I would like to clear up, however. In the document you keep referring to the TUC and breaking the TUC from collaborating with the Tory government. You also talk about forcing a Labour government to carry out socialist policies.

'Just what action do you propose to make these things possible—how can it be done? I think things are very vague over this one.'

X: 'I agree on this point. In 1968 there was a US firm who came into Shannon industrial estate and employed about 300 workers. They went on strike for higher wages and the management said "no deal". And then they brought scabs in. The result was that the buses were blown up. Would you be doing this kind of thing to get action?'

'The other issue is this. Naturally we are very concerned with the Irish situation and the oppression of the working class in this country.

'Have you any influence in the trade unions? When your movement grows could you get real action—strikes and so forth, by British workers to come to the defence of the

Irish working class?'

Y: 'The main issue here is the unity of the working class, just as it is in England. But you must consider this. It is very hard to unify the working class in England—just think of the task here where you have so much sectarian hatred and bigotry. One of the biggest bug-bears I agree has been the Provos who have flung the Protestant working class into the hands of extremists by bombings and so on.

'You know there would be no UDA if it had not been for the Provos.



Whitelaw: Tories' Ulster supremo.

'But now I do think a tremendous lot of people are really looking for a way out of the corner they are in. I feel this anyway. I want to be active. I want to see results. Perhaps your movement has the answer.'

Z is a worker for one of

Northern Ireland's leading engineering firms. He is a skilled worker—a comparative rarity since he is Catholic-born. The Catholic working class not only suffer from direct discrimination, but they have been unable to build up the craft tradition of the Protestants because of years of oppression.

With several other Irish workers, Z is taking a keen interest in the building of a revolutionary party to represent the Irish working class:

'I have been a socialist all my life, but not an active socialist. It is very difficult to develop a direct interest in socialism in these conditions, people are concerned mainly with the troubles. Usually the Catholic worker would just register his vote for whoever was standing against the Unionist Party.

'There are a lot of people in the north who want to use the working class. The UDA and the IRA, for example, compete for their allegiance.

'The situation is breaking up, however, I think. The traditional Unionist Party is finished as far as the Protestant worker is concerned and if you read the UDA paper and the "Republican News" you will find a great deal of similarity in them. They are all orientating themselves towards the workers. This must mean something.

'I think basically the events

of the last few years have made the working class, particularly the Protestant working class, realize the power that they possess.

'In my plant there are about 20 Catholic workers. At the height there were about 60—that is out of about 800 workers. I have always been anti-sectarian and tried to talk with the Protestant workers about their class interests.

'I think the basic thing we have to do is to forge ahead in the unions and get class politics going. We have to fight all Ulster Unionism which deliberately fathered these divisions between workers.

'We have to bring up the class issues and expose organizations like the Loyalist Association of Workers who are really against the working class. On May Day they came out against the strike because they said it was political. Yet this was a strike to defend the basic rights of the working class, Protestant and Catholic.

'But in the Northern Ireland situation this will be very difficult. Really the mind boggles when you think of the Northern Ireland situation. People relate what happens to the past and their history and the things that have been pumped into their minds. The Catholics feel Irish and the Protestants feel different, different in privileges and in history and origin. This is a very real feeling.'



BLAZING A TRAIL TO CORPORATISM

BY DAVID MAUDE

This week the Post Office unions' bulky case for a 'catching-up' increase under Phase Three of the Tory pay laws is expected to arrive at the Pay Board.

It will take the board some time to digest. But the most important point about the case is not its length, which is considerable, but its role as a pacemaker in the unions' rush towards corporatism.

The six unions involved enjoy the doubtful distinction of being the first across the Pay Board's threshold with a Phase Three claim.

The man who must bear chief responsibility for this move is Tom Jackson, general secretary of the big Union of Post Office Workers.

But he has enjoyed the tacit support, or at least silence, of 'lefts' and Communist Party members on the UPW executive; their role, and that of their co-thinkers in the leaderships of the other five unions, must not be forgotten.

Other evidence of the corporatist trend in the Post Office union leaderships was revealed at last month's annual conference of the UPW, held well out of reach of the main concentrations of postmen counter clerks and telephonists in Douglas, Isle of Man.

Delegates faced a situation in which their leaders had just accepted a Phase Two pay deal, without a fight and without consulting them. Their real earnings had been cut and, as a result of the leadership's productivity-dealing policies, the 'potential membership' of the union had been cut to an estimated 208,000.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the feelings of the membership should be reflected in a number of defeats for the executive council.

But here again the 'lefts' and the Stalinists of the CP came to the rescue, despite the vicious witch-hunt launched against them by Jackson on Saturday, May 19.

Thus the EC was able to gain approval for its decision to go to the Pay Board and, postal mechanization excepted, it was not prevented from pushing ahead with more pro-

ductivity deals.

Like the actual submission of the Phase Three case this week, the conference revealed the urgency of building the revolutionary alternative to the present leadership.

Throughout the first two days of conference, delegates speaking on rules revision urged some redress in the balance of power between the conference floor and the platform.

Marginally, they were successful. Amendments of direct opposition will be allowed to future EC recommendations, and where amendments have been composited into one the right of reply to the debate will rest with the mover of the amendment rather than the EC.

The logical proposal to extend the same right to the movers of all amendments to EC recommendations fell to Jackson's witch-hunting.

Clearly the EC felt at this point that their ability to defend their corporatist record was too much in danger to rely on the formal logic of Citrine.

Delegates such as Bridgewater JP Bert Reid, who had previously waxed eloquent

about democracy, did not now join battle for the real defence of democratic rights—the right of Communist Party, Socialist Labour League and International Socialist factions to fight for their policies at conference.

Delegates like Reid were only too eager to rush to the rostrum to proclaim the moderation of their views and their sole allegiance to the Labour Party.

It was one such delegate, John Taylor from London, who, on a point of order, cut short the condemnation of Jackson's remarks which an SLL member was making.

Such sensitivity did not prevent the defeat of the amendment.

Communist Party members likewise refused to rise to the defence of democratic rights.

They insisted that to demand that Jackson withdraw his remarks would only be playing into the hands of a provocation, adding that in any case Jackson could not possibly have made his statement with the permission of the EC.

If this was so, of course, it was the responsibility of CP members on the EC to descend to the rostrum and speak out.

Indeed an EC member was to do precisely that during a later debate on mechanization. But EC Stalinists Maurice Styles and Les Hewitt remained silent on the witch-hunt.

Not only did the Stalinists refuse to speak out.

Following the repetition of the witch-hunting remarks,

this time by both Jackson and deputy general secretary Norman Stagg in the following Monday's London 'Evening News', Communist Party members were discouraged from entering any of the crucial debates on 'Adpost', productivity and mechanization.

The Party did not, however, prevent one of its leading Scottish members, Jim Birnie, from advocating the EC line that 'Adpost' should be accepted as a possible way of preventing the reductions of services and loss of postmen's jobs.

'Just as the workers in the UCS fought the clowns on the Clyde, so we have the right to fight for our jobs,' he said.

Similarly, on an earlier, successful motion to terminate the recruitment of female and of part-time labour, he preferred to oppose it, claiming that it could lead to the loss of services and the cutting of 20,000 jobs, rather than take up the question of defending both jobs and conditions together.

The refusal of both reformist and Stalinist speakers at conference to take up the defence of democratic rights, and the defence of the right to work, was responsible for the success of the EC line on productivity and wages.

Although 'Adpost' was rejected, the EC constantly played on the real fear of many delegates that a refusal to explore and accept productivity deals in many areas of work would result in considerable job losses.





John Taylor, moving the ban on all productivity deals until the Post Office produced a five-year plan for the future of the whole post and telecommunications industry, insisted that the motion was not opposed in principle to productivity deals.

Consequently a succession of speakers from inland telegraphist grades rose to explain that they faced either acceptance of productivity or extermination. The only answer the reformists could give was that exceptions would have to be made.

The move to ban productivity deals was thus defeated, but the issue was immediately brought to life again with the successful reimposition of a ban on letter and parcel mechanization.

Defending his defiance of the same decision last year Jackson stated: 'I would do the same tomorrow if I had to.'

He later told the 'Morning Star' that the decision could mean the end of the parcels service.

In lengthy debate on wages, only two delegates even approached the real issues involved.

Calling for the rejection of the whole report Jock Cowan of Paddington said: 'The UPW, along with some other unions, by accepting and working and co-operating with this Tory government, has split the whole trade union movement down the middle.'

And Accrington postman Frank O'Rourke declared: 'The

unity of the working class, not the courts, can get rid of corruption.'

'It's a lie that trade union demands have ought to do with inflation. Let's smash this rotten Tory government.'

Jackson and the UPW leadership, of course, stand diametrically opposed to this position.

During the Post Office strike of 1970, at a time when Tory Ministers were whipping up the middle class with inflammatory speeches about 'the monster of inflation', the union secretary issued a categorical denial that his members' fight was against the government.

'We had suspected we were up against the government and that the government was exercising its influence upon the Post Office,' he said.

'Now we know we are just up against the Post Office. The fact that agreement has not been reached is not the fault of the Ministry or the Minister, both of whom have worked to produce circumstances in which a settlement could be reached.'

Backing for this view came from the Stalinist camp, and on February 6, 1970 Maurice Styles put this very clearly in an interview with Workers Press:

'We got the impression that if the Post Office had come forward with an increase, this would not have been blocked by Mr Carr.'

'This was the view of Tom Jackson, the national executive and I share it. I share the view advanced by the national

executive that, on the evidence, the enemy is the Post Office.'

'There is no evidence to suggest that the government has got its hands round the neck of the Post Office.'

On February 1 Jackson clarified his position even further, again in an interview with Workers Press:

'As to bringing the government down,' he said, 'I think that a government going to bat following a mini-General Strike would probably win hands down.'

'That's the nature of the British voter. I don't believe that the trade union movement can force a General Election and hope that the left will win it.'

This, essentially, was the justification for winding up the Post Office strike. And this has now become the justification for going to the Pay Board.

At the UPW special conference in February of this year, Jackson addressed himself specifically to the alternatives facing the labour movement.

The first was to negotiate 'a better deal' with the Tory government on the basis of statutory control of wages and prices. The other was 'massive all-out industrial action to change the mind of the government'.

Industrial action to bring down the government was impossible, according to Jackson, because it would simply replace Heath with Powell.

'A General Election might be forced, and in the weeks before it there would be fighting on the picket lines and

the lads would be out in the streets.'

In this situation the Labour Party would not win. The Industrial Relations Act would remain on the Statute Book and Britain would have an even more reactionary government than at present.'

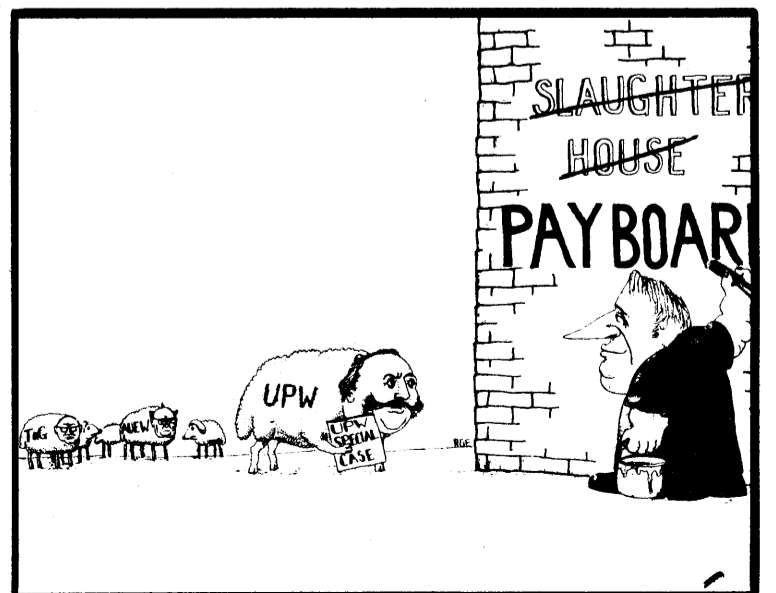
At Douglas, this reactionary, reformist philosophy became the justification for going to the Pay Board and attempting to silence all opposition to such corporatist moves by witch-hunting the right of trade unionists to hold political views and organize factionally in their defence.

This is a most dangerous and sinister development.

For whatever reasons Jack-

son made this attack, and for whatever reasons the Stalinists chose not to reply to him, both are in fact preparing a rod for their own backs.

The fight for revolutionary politics in the unions, and the defence of the right to conduct that fight, is a vital task for every single trade unionist in the struggle against the Tories' corporate state plans.



HERE'S THE FIRST ONE, BUT WILL THE REST FOLLOW?

TROTSKYISM AND STALINISM

Since May-June 1968, the Soviet Stalinists have been haunted by the spectre of revolution in western Europe and the growth of Trotskyism in the advanced countries in the west. Fearful of losing their parasitic privileges at home and their control of the labour movement abroad, the Soviet bureaucracy has begun a campaign to once again discredit and distort the principles and history of Trotsky's struggle for the regeneration of the USSR and the world-wide revolution of the working class. The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1972 published 'Against Trotskyism', a compendium of documents, articles, extracts, speeches and resolutions aimed at discrediting Trotskyism and distorting completely the truth about the relations between Lenin and Trotsky. In this series of articles MICHAEL BANDA replies to this book.

PART FOURTEEN

For a summary of the relations between Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky on the 'national question' and an irreproachably truthful account of the facts of this controversy, we must turn to Moshe Lewin's book, 'Lenin's Last Struggle' (Faber and Faber 1969).

Lenin, who at the beginning of 1922 supported Stalin against the Georgian opposition of Mdivani because he imagined the Georgian opposition was being unreasonably nationalistic and intractable, soon began to change his opinion on the role of the communists sent from Moscow to help integrate Georgia into the Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics (RSFSR), referred to yesterday.

Uneasiness turned into alarm and deep suspicion when he received a letter from Okudzhava, member of the old Georgian Central Committee, accusing Ordzhonikidze of making threats against the Georgian communists.

When the Soviet emissaries Rykov and Ordzhonikidze returned from Georgia in early December 1922, Lenin, who a few days before had already secured an agreement with Trotsky to fight bureaucracy in the Party, questioned them closely. He was outraged by what he discovered, writes Lewin:

"Dzerzhinsky's inquiry naturally corroborated the explanations originally founded by the Secretariat (i.e. Stalin). Ordzhonikidze was white-washed and all the blame laid once again on the dangerous deviationists. But this time Lenin was more aware of what was going on and he suspected a lie beneath the scaffolding of the official thesis. He was particularly struck by two facts that Dzerzhinsky was unable to conceal. First, the commission had decided to recall to Moscow the leaders of the former Georgian Central Committee, who were held responsible for everything. Secondly, Ordzhonikidze had lost his temper and gone so far as to strike an opponent, also a member of the Party. Potieva recounts, and Lenin himself confirms, that Dzerzhinsky's account "upset him deeply".

It was these events as much as the deliberate rudeness of Stalin to Krupskaya—Lenin's wife—that impelled Lenin to add to and qualify his 'Testa-

ment' with the now famous postscript calling for the removal of Stalin as general-secretary of the Party.

The Georgian events convinced Lenin that the fight against Stalin had to be concluded at the 12th Party Congress—and the official line completely reversed.

For this reason Lenin set up a private commission of three people—two personal secretaries and the secretary of Sovnarkom—to investigate in detail the circumstances of the Georgian episode and in particular the role of Stalin.

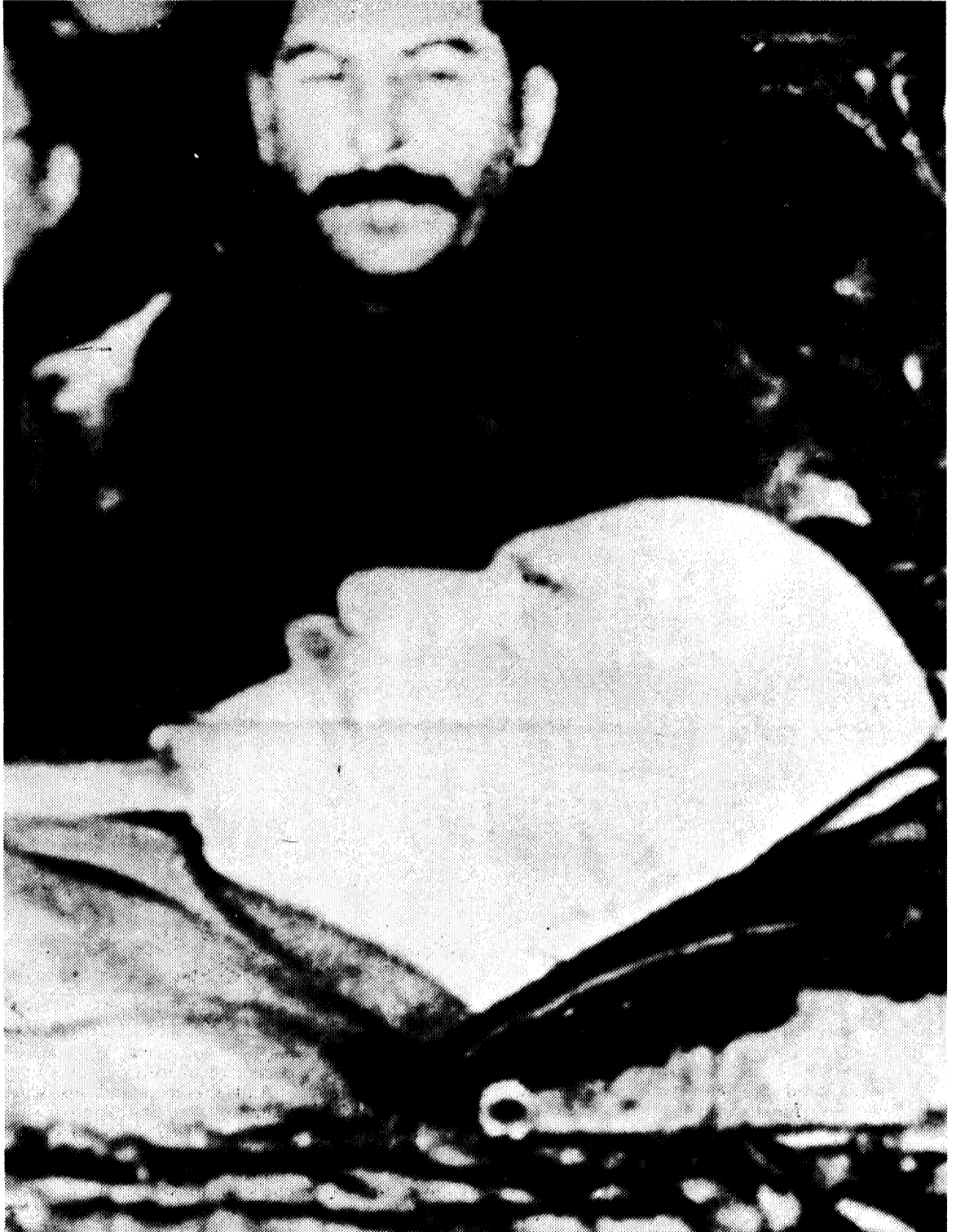
The question which faced Lenin, however, was on whom could he rely to conduct the struggle in a final and victorious conclusion if his health failed again—or worse still—if he died? The Institute of Marxism-Leninism, which to this day has not published the results of Lenin's private commission—delivered on March 3, 1923—would, of course, like the Soviet public to believe that that the crisis was amicably resolved, or that possibly it did not even exist.



Felix Dzerzhinsky.

Lewin's book, however, throws an entirely different and embarrassing light on this question:

"Lenin spurred on the work of his commission; his health was precarious and he wanted at all costs to deliver a memorandum on the national question to the coming Congress. New information might necessitate an extension of the inquiry, perhaps even sending someone to the scene of the incident, all of which would take a great deal of time. "Any delay in the commission's work, he told Fotieva on February 14, might ruin its chances of success, and that would be a great blow to him. There are no notes in the "Journal" from February 14 to March 5. Moreover, the editors of the "Works" [of Lenin] provide no



Stalin gazes on the body of Lenin, lying in state in January 1924. Before his death, Lenin appealed to Trotsky to take up the defence of the Georgian affair against Stalin and Dzerzhinsky.

information about these three weeks. Lenin may well have written nothing during this period, and in any case, the secretaries were very busy on their work for the "clandestine commission."

"One thing is known, however: on March 3 the commission presented its conclusion. But the document has not yet come to light. Why has the Institute of Marxism-Leninism not yet made it public? Could it have "disappeared", like Kabanidze's complaint?

"For the present, nothing is known about it. In any case, the results of the commission's work must have given the last two active days of Lenin's life the character of a major struggle. They must have made Lenin more bitter and more angry with his colleagues than ever and strengthened his conviction that the sorry Georgian affair was merely one symptom of a much deeper sickness.

"But Lenin's declining health did not allow him to live much longer in such a state of emotional and nervous ten-

sion. His illness grew rapidly more serious, and owing to a combination of his disturbed emotional state and the steady increase of the sclerosis, he began to feel very ill.

"This was no doubt the reason that drove him, without further delay, to deliver the blows that he had been preparing against his opponents for the past two months, even if it was still a little early to do so. The first three attacks were directed against a single objective: Stalin. Lenin managed to conceal from his doctors the deep emotional stress that he felt when he took these decisions, and told them, Fotieva reports, that he was merely dictating a few business letters. About noon on March 5, he called for Volodicheva and dictated two letters.

"The first, which was strictly secret and written in an unusually affectionate tone, was addressed to Trotsky and was to be read out to him at once over the telephone. Here it is:

"I earnestly ask you to undertake the defence of the Georgian affair at the Central Committee of the Party. That

affair is now under 'persecution' at the hands of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky and I cannot rely on their impartiality. Indeed, quite the contrary! If you would agree to undertake its defence, I could be at rest. If for some reason you do not agree, send me back 'all the papers. I will consider that a sign of your disagreement.

"With the very best comradely greetings,

Lenin."

"Lenin could do nothing without an ally. Trotsky was not only the sole possible ally, he could also be depended on. With the protection of Lenin alive, Trotsky was still unbeatable in the early months of 1923. The form of closing used by Lenin to Trotsky was so warm that Stalin, when forced to read out the letter before the Central Committee in July 1926—by which time his position could no longer be seriously threatened—preferred nonetheless to change it to a mere "With communist greetings". This letter represented a great victory for Trotsky."

CONCLUDED TOMORROW

WHITE MASTERS, WHOSE DAYS ARE NUMBERED

TV REVIEW BY ANNE BLAKEMAN

'South Africa: A Touch of the British'—BBC 1.

'The British speaking minority are both comfortable and bewildered: comfortable because they've made a lot of money and bewildered because they once ruled the roost and now longer do so and cannot understand how this happened.'

Time 1973, place South Africa—the speaker, one of the 1.5 million whites, of British extraction, who constitute the most powerful minority in the world.

They are outnumbered two to one by the white Afrikaans and 14 to one by the black Africans. They embody the most poisonous aspects of the heritage of British imperialism and colonialism which now holds fast with the tenacity of the deeply-threatened regime that it is, under the iron fist of Balthazar Vorster's racist administration.

The BBC 1 documentary lingered on impressions of the British South Africans and their way of life, threw in a handful of history for good measure and left its audience, as ever, to draw their own bemused conclusions from some truly remarkable displays by the British colonials of the sort of obscene extremes produced by a system of government so distorted in its aims, and by a history of the most violent and rapacious imperialism.

First the old man accused of Nazi tendencies, who sees that a multi-racial society 'would lead to chaos and indeed revolution'; who claims South Africa to be under a three-pronged attack 'from international communism, international finance and international religion' and who believes that 'apartheid is the finest system of government in the world'.

He gave as his reason for this belief a eulogy on the merits of the 'passbook' system—the hated regime of identity cards for the blacks: 'The wonder of the men and women when they receive their passbook!' he exclaimed. 'They become people suddenly.'

Then the couple who run the game precincts and plan for a bigger and better shooting season this year. A bust of Winston Churchill graces their English cottage style home and a photograph of the dear Queen. They believe in working alongside their black em-



The pass system—Policemen stop and check each person's passbook. Those that don't have their identity cards on them are arrested, as the man in handcuffs on right, above.

ployees and servants for 'the African workers are jolly good in their own slow way' and it teaches them better standards which is an imperative. It even 'teaches them to speak English with an English accent'.

Next the man who claims to be a descendant of George III (something most people would hesitate to claim with much enthusiasm recalling that monarch's many derangements) and the man who has built his English village with an English pub in the middle of the African plains so that decent

people can have somewhere decent to turn to.

And the man and his wife roaming their farmlands who candidly revealed their feelings that 'one is morally bound to employ these blacks—someone's got look after them; after all before we came along they knew nothing of knives, forks and spoons, medicine, cleanliness' and other essentials.

Twice the wife reiterated 'after all the British have this gift for seeing other people's point of view'.

Finally those golden oldies

people that are with you are too many" (Judges 7).

So if nobody went to church at all, religion would be even better off.

Either way, you just can't lose. And, anyway, who needs people?

'LEMON' AWARD

After all the bally-hoo about British-Leyland's expansion plans and the wonders of the new Allegro — here comes the let-down.

One of Leyland's Austin 1300 GTs has just 'won' the Silver Lemon award given by the German touring club ADAC for the car of the month with most defects.

It spent three weeks of its first two months back in the workshop. Parts needing replacement included an engine, two gearbox casings, differential, transmission and thermostat.

which obscure the realities of the situation.

Enormous wealth is concentrated in South Africa and 25 per cent of the top 100 firms who own the wealth are British. British firms account for 60 per cent of all foreign investment in South Africa.

The church figures very large in South African commercial interests. All the talk of morality, ethics, humanitarian concern, both 'Christian' and political, means nothing in face of the huge concrete support given the Vorster regime by the British ruling class.

And the history by which the ruling class stands so firmly is a wretched testimony to the brutal aggression of 'the glorious days of the British Empire'.

At Bloemfontein, as the programme showed, stands the 'museum of hate' as it is known locally; here amid the plains still scattered about with rusted broken relics of the bitter battles of the Boer War, stands the museum with the photographs of the concentration camps set up by the British, the bloodstained garments of the 26,000 women and children who died in them; the steel hooks that were put in the food and the vitriol supplemented sugar rations which helped these Afrikaans to their death.

To these numbers now are added year by year the numbers of black Africans shot by South African police (77 last year and 299 wounded) and these are the officially recorded casualties, excluding the vast numbers which die from accidents in the mines and in industry, from illness induced by putrid living conditions and malnutrition.

But even while the British persist in their outdated mode of life, their hunt meetings, their cricket and the cocktail gatherings, Vorster wages an implacable war with the ever-increasing threat of guerrilla activities, protest and all forms of insurgency—from his openly-avowed declaration of war on the students and their mass meetings to the freedom fighters who drive in from the north and are bent on the destruction of the Cabora Bassa dam project, so essential for the future power supply of South Africa.

What the BBC documentary showed was the raddled and insane face of a people whose days are numbered but who, like their masters in Britain itself, will cling to their power with every ounce of their energy in face of the gigantic challenges ahead.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

BETTER OFF WITHOUT YOU

The Rev Donald Barnes has contributed an article in the 'Kilburn Times', north London, which specifically sets out to prove that the fact that fewer people are going to church these days really means that the church is stronger than ever!

He starts with an account of the funeral of a murdered policeman and an appeal made at the time for the 'silent majority' to speak out against violence. But even if they did, Rev Barnes queries, would violent criminals take any notice?

And anyway, he asks, what is the 'silent majority'? After all, President Nixon was supposed to represent it, and now look at Watergate.

What worries him most about the 'silent majority' argument, though, he says, is the assumption that the majority is always right.

Then we get down to it. Since the majority are, according to the reverend gentleman, often 'ill-informed, emotional, easily swayed and often shown to be wrong', perhaps we would be better off without them.

And since the figures show that the number of people attending church is declining, surely this is a good thing.

'The Lord said to Gideon,' he points out, citing the inevitable biblical quotation which can be pulled out of the clerical hat to answer any conceivable situation, "The

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TODAY'S TV

BBC 1

9.38-11.38 Schools. 12.25 Eisteddfod yr urdd. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Fingerbobs. 1.45 Fanny Craddock invites. . . 2.05 Schools. 2.30 Television top of the form. 2.55 Animal design. 3.20 Gardeners' world. 3.45 Governor and J.J. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Animal magic. 5.15 Casey Jones. 5.40 Hector's house. 5.45 News. Weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 TOM AND JERRY.

6.55 FILM: 'The Family Jewels'. Jerry Lewis. A nine year old heiress has to decide which of her uncles should be her guardian.

8.30 THE LIVER BIRDS.

9.00 NEWS. Weather.

9.25 DOCUMENTARY. 'Belfast Fireman'. Portrait of one of Belfast's 300 firemen.

10.00 LABOUR PARTY POLITICAL BROADCAST.

10.10 FILM 73. 10.45 MIDWEEK.

11.30 LATE NIGHT NEWS.

11.35 WHAT SHALL WE TELL THE CHILDREN?

12.10 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.40 Bertrand Russell (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Hatty town. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Lunchtime with Wogan. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 Harriet's back in town. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 About Britain. 3.25 Public Eye. 4.25 Junior showtime. 4.50 How! 5.20 Arnie. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY. 6.40 CROSSROADS.

7.05 HEY BRIAN! Guest Neil Sedaka.

7.35 FILM: 'See the Man Run'. Robert Culp, Angie Dickinson. A struggling actor is tempted with an enormous amount of money.

9.00 SIX DAYS OF JUSTICE. A Little Local Knowledge.

10.00 LABOUR PARTY POLITICAL BROADCAST.

10.10 NEWS AT TEN.

10.45 DOCUMENTARY: 'A Mosque in the Park'. The Muslim community in Britain.

11.45 PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING.

12.15 CLERGY AT LARGE.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women. 3.00 London. 4.50 Young eyes. 5.20 Partridge family. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Lookaround. 6.35 London. 7.30 Who'll win the Derby? 7.35 Banacek. 9.00 London. 10.00 Life in France. 10.10 London. 12.15 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.20 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 10.00 London. 12.12 News. 12.15 Epilogue.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.05 News. 12.07 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Hey Brian. 7.15 Film: 'The Helicopter Spies'. 9.00 London. 12.15 News. Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Who'll win the Derby? 6.35 Who do you do? 7.05 London. 7.35 Cool million. 9.00 London. 12.10 Beloved enemy. 12.40 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 2.30-3.00 Hamdan. 4.25-4.35 Miri mawr. 4.35-4.50 Cantamil. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd. 10.45 Bro. 11.30 New folk. 11.45 London. 12.10 World in action.

HTV West as above except: 6.15-6.30 Report West.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 About women. 3.00 London. 5.20 Smith family. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.30 Colombo. 9.00 London. 12.10 Reflection.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 2.30 Women today. 3.00 London. 5.20 Dick Van Dyke. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 McCloud. 9.00 London. 12.10 Gordon Bailey. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.33 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.50 Romper room. 3.00 London. 4.22 News. 4.25 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 UTV news. 6.10 Flintstones. 6.35 London. 7.30 Banacek. 8.50 Who'll win the Derby? 9.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 12.25 Hammy hamster. 12.40 London. 2.30 Farmhouse kitchen. 3.00 London. 5.20 Bewitcehd. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.05 London. 7.30 Who'll win the Derby? 7.35 Film: 'A Little Local Knowledge'. 9.00 London. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 2.30 Craftsmen. 2.55 London. 5.15 Nature's window. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Police file. 6.40 Hey Brian. 7.10 Film: 'Fireball Forward'. 9.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 9.25 Northern saints. 9.30 London. 12.25 Hammy Hamster. 12.40 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Farmhouse kitchen. 3.00 London. 5.20 Jackson five. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.30 Who'll win the Derby? 7.35 Film: 'Murder Once Removed'. 9.00 London. 12.15 News. 12.30 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Date-line. 3.00 London. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25 Police call. 6.30 Protectors. 7.00 London. 7.30 Madigan. 9.00 London. 12.25 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 12.25 Hammy Hamster. 12.40 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.52 News. 3.00 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Filming Scotland. 6.35 London. 7.30 Who'll win the Derby? 7.35 Film: 'Murder Once Removed'. 9.00 London. 12.15 Meditation.



Celina Frediani plays Kezia in an episode from 'A Picture of Katherine Mansfield' on BBC 2 at 9.00.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.25 Open University. 9.50 TEST CRICKET 73.

6.40 PARENTS AND CHILDREN.

7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.

7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.

7.35 WHEELBASE.

8.10 JIM STIRLING'S ARCHITECTURE.

9.00 A PICTURE OF KATHERINE MANSFIELD. Part 6. With Vanessa Redgrave, Jeremy Brett, Annette Crosbie.

10.00 LABOUR PARTY POLITICAL BROADCAST.

10.10 FOR THE SAKE OF APPEARANCE. Dressing for the Occasion. Fashion at the turn of the century.

10.25 THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. Fanny, Sonny Terry and Brownie McGhee.

11.00 NEWS EXTRA. Weather.

11.30 OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. Focus at the Rainbow concert.

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ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

BATTERSEA: Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m. 'Nag's Head', Wandsworth Road. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

BRADFORD (Engineers' meeting): Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m. Talbot Hotel, Kirkgate. 'Engineers and the fight against the Tory government.'

DAGENHAM: Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

HACKNEY: Wednesday June 6, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, Mare Street. 'Unite in action to defend basic rights'.

TOTTENHAM: Tuesday June 5, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', High Road, near White Hart Lane. 'Stalinism and the trade unions'.

SLOUGH: Wednesday June 6, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'The economic crisis and the rising cost of living.'

WEMBLEY: Wednesday June 6, 8 p.m. Copland School, High Road. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

WOOLWICH: Wednesday June 6, 8 p.m. 'Queen's Arms', Burrage Road, S.E.18. 'TUC and Stalinists —supporters of corporatism'.

LEEDS: Thursday June 7, 7.30 p.m. Peel Hotel, Boar Lane. 'Forward to ATUA Conference and the fight to defend democratic rights.'

KINGSTON: Thursday June 7, 8 p.m. 'The Norbiton Hotel', Clifton Road, Kingston.

FULHAM: Thursday June 7, 8 p.m. 'The Swan', Fulham Broadway. 'Force the Tories to resign'.

HOLLOWAY: Thursday June 7, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD: Monday June 11 (please note date change), 8 p.m. Adeyfield Hall, Queen's Square. 'Build the revolutionary party'.

EAST LONDON: Monday June 11, 8 p.m. Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road, E.3. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'.

WALTON-ON-THAMES: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. The Kiwi, New Zealand Ave., Walton. 'Building the Revolutionary Party.'

BERMONDSEY: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Havelock Arms', Balaclava Street. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'.

CAMDEN: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross. 'Trade unions and the revolutionary party'.

PADDINGTON: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Prince of Wales', Harrow Road, corner of Western Road. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

TOOTING: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. Tooting Baths, Tooting Broadway. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

LEAMINGTON: Tuesday, June 12, 7.30 p.m. The Commonwealth Club, Church Street. 'The Tory government and the trade unions.'

HARROW: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall (Small Hall), Masons Avenue, Wealdstone. 'Forward to ATUA conference'.

WANDSWORTH: Tuesday June 12, 8 p.m. 'Foresters', All Farthing Lane. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

SLOUGH: Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'Force the Tories to resign'.

SOUTHALL: Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'Force the Tories to resign. Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

WALTHAMSTOW: Wednesday June 13, 8 p.m. 'Crooked Billet', North Circular Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

HULL (Special meeting of engineers' section): Wednesday, June 13, 8 p.m. 'The Windmill Hotel', Witham.

BASILDON: Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. Barnstaple Community Centre. 'Make the Tories resign. Force a Labour government to carry out socialist policies'.

CROYDON: Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Force the Tories to resign'.

FELTHAM: Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. 'Three Horse Shoes', High Street. 'Labour to power, pledged to socialist policies of nationalization of land and property'.

WILLESDEN: Thursday June 14, 8 p.m. Brent Labour and Trades Hall, High Road, N.W.10. 'Force the Tory government to resign'.

GOOLE: Thursday, June 21, 8 p.m. The Station Hotel. 'The Revolutionary Party and the Fight against the Tories'.

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Fill in the form below and send to **NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186a CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON SW4 7UG.**

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Two sides to meet over contract labour in building

Union chiefs prepare to carve up 'lump' fight

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

THE TORY PRESS has discovered that the building employers are really kindly, paternal old gentlemen who really want to help their trade union workers get rid of the practice they hate most—labour-only sub-contracting, 'the lump'.

Or so it would seem from some of the stories that have been appearing over the last few days about a meeting, due in just under a week's time, to discuss proposals for regulating this practice, which now provides some 25 per cent of building labour nationally.

In fact the purpose of the meeting, between top employers' representatives and union officials, is not to get rid of 'the lump' at all.

It is to patch up a phoney joint approach to the government for measures which will do no more than take a few sharp edges off the system, but which will help the union chiefs carve up the developing campaign against 'the lump' in the industry.

More and more, this campaign threatens to dredge up all the questions left unsettled by last year's bitter national building strike.

As it becomes clear to every worker that 'the lump' is increasing rather than shrinking, nationalization of the building industry under workers' control becomes the demand of the hour for many thousands of men.

No one is more frightened by the prospect of having to lead a fight for this demand than the union chiefs. So they are almost as grateful for the Fleet Street headlines heralding a possible employer-union deal as the employers themselves.

But the employers, while anxious for the good publicity, have in fact made very clear their attitude on the issue.

For instance, they launched a sharp attack on the Private Member's Bill sponsored by Eric Heffer, talked out in the House of Commons on May 18 because only 50 out of 300 Labour MPs turned up to debate it.

Heffer's Bill proposed to make self-employment illegal on all but repair and maintenance work. It supported the principle of registration, put forward by the TUC Construction Industry Com-

mittee in a bid to stop cowboy employers riding roughshod over trade union organization, agreed pay rates and established working practices.

The National Federation of Building Trades Employers accused Heffer of 'crudity'.

The proposed legislation could not effectively be enforced, they claimed. Skilled labour would be driven out of the industry. 'A much broader approach' was needed.

What the NFBTE would like is an approach so broad that even the most shortsighted, skinhead employer could drive a coach and horses through its loopholes.

It wants the qualifications for entry on the proposed register of employers to be simply 'proof of being a genuine employer' and 'having adequate insurance cover'.

But it wants tradesmen who are not employers to be able to register in addition, so long as they can establish that they are 'genuinely in business on their own account'.

Legislation, says the NFBTE, should provide that anyone engaged in building who pays for building work to be done by anyone other than a registered person should be regarded as the employer of that person.

The federation wants the retention of all forms of sub-contracting 'in which the employer-employee relationship is preserved', so as to allow big contractors to retain the advantages of a mobile, virtually 'casual' labour force and thus keep their costs down.

In other words what they want is a respectable cover for continued use of 'the lump'. And Fleet Street is helping them get it.



Building workers demonstrating against the 'lump'—the sub-contract system which threatens to undermine union strength on the sites.



Eric Heffer MP, whose anti-'lump' Bill was talked out of the Commons.

Intimidation in Ulster report is kept secret

THE GOVERNMENT is keeping secret a report which shows that more than 60,000 people in Ulster have been intimidated into leaving their homes during the last three-and-a-half years.

The Catholic newspaper 'The Universe' says intimidation has taken place on a large scale not only in Belfast and Derry, but also in provincial towns like Lurgan, Portadown, Craigavon, Larne and Bangor.

Many of these people—who now comprise the largest exodus of people from their homes in western Europe since the war—have been driven out by the activities of groups like the Protestant 'Tartan Gangs'.

Eighty per cent of the intimidated people—over 48,000—were Catholics, and one in nine of Belfast's population have been intimidated.

No newspaper has so far been given access to the report, which is restricted to government members.

The report was compiled by Northern Ireland's government-sponsored Community Relations Commission.

Ulster Secretary William Whitlaw is to be questioned in parliament about the report and is due to give answers on June 22.

NEWSDESK

01-720 2000

Rowntree's want to reverse VAT reductions

ROWNTREE MACKINTOSH, the confectionary and food giant, is seeking to wipe out reductions caused by Value-Added Tax with an application to the Prices Commission for a 6 to 7 per cent increase in the price of their products.

The group's pre-tax profits have risen 25 per cent to £12.56m, but chairman Sir Donald Barron says that the world price of cocoa has rocketed. One factor in the increase has been specu-

lation on the money markets which has made the sterling price of cocoa much higher.

If the increases are granted by the board they will cancel out any limited advantage gained through VAT which led to a fall in price of some confectionary items two months ago.

Together with Cadbury Schweppes, Rowntree control the major proportion of the confectionary industry.

Hampshire printers to work with non-unionist

PRINT WORKERS at Philip and Tacey Limited, Andover, in Hampshire, have agreed to work for a four-month trial period with a non-unionist.

The 73 workers, all members of SOGAT, blacked her work and banned overtime in an attempt to build a fully-unionized shop.

But the woman, Mrs Grace Peters (49), still refused to take out union membership and sat in the publishing factory doing crosswords.

The decision to lift sanctions was taken yesterday after workers were told by Mr Lewis Whittle, SOGAT area organizer,

that a strike would not get official backing.

Mrs Peters said yesterday: 'I'm not going to join. I don't believe in unions.'

Foundry claim

FOUNDRY workers at the Swindon, Wiltshire, factory of Deloro Stellite struck yesterday claiming more pay for working in bad conditions.

The 150 workers, mostly members of the foundry section of the AUEW, make hard-steel tool tips and surgical joints. The company has refused payment because of the Tory pay control laws.

Priest charged with running Coventry IRA

A ROMAN CATHOLIC priest and another man were accused at Coventry yesterday of helping to run a local unit of the IRA.

A new charge against Father Patrick Fell and Francis Stagg,

both 32, alleged that, between January 1 and April 15 this year they took part in the control and management of an association, namely the Coventry unit of the Irish Republican Army, which was organized and trained 'for the purpose of enabling its members to be employed for the use of physical force in promoting a political object'.

Father Fell, assistant priest at All Souls Church, Earlsdon, Coventry, and Stagg, a bus driver, of Chetwode Close, Allesley, Coventry, appeared in court with five other men.

Demos over Long Kesh death likely

DEMONSTRATIONS were expected in Belfast yesterday after a 22-year-old man from the Falls Road hanged himself at Long Kesh prison camp on Sunday.

Patrick Crawford was one of 13 men arrested near Newry last month as they travelled south in a minibus.

Mr Crawford had been in Long Kesh for a month without trial and this week he was due to appear before the commission which inquires into the cases of men held without due process.

A week ago he was given a long list of allegations against him.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE LECTURES

Merthyr Tydfil

Given by Gerry Healy national secretary of the Socialist Labour League Wednesday June 6 7.30 p.m.

Questions and Answers on Marxism, Philosophy Economics and History St David's Church Hall Church Street, Merthyr

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

PUBLIC MEETING

Wythenshawe

Wednesday June 6, 8 p.m.

'The Cock O' Th' North' Portway, Wythenshawe, Manchester

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15,000 British-Leyland workers at standstill

Speed-up revolt

in car factories

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

MORE THAN 15,000 carworkers were on strike or laid off at British-Leyland factories yesterday as a result of disputes over grading and speed-up. The largest number of lay-offs was at Cowley, Oxford, where all car production was halted in both body and assembly factories.

Union officials and senior shop stewards met management to discuss the claim of 80 plant attendants in assembly, who, among other duties, stop and start production lines, to be moved up from the Skilled B to the Skilled A grade.

The men want a declaration that they will be upgraded as soon as the Tory pay laws may allow.

But the company has so far said it would only agree even to look at the claim further under conditions where 'industrial engineers' (work-study men) were allowed to study all other Skilled B sections in the factory.

Shop stewards have pointed out that, since the plant attendants remained the only section who have not yet even been paid under the annual pay review, this was completely unacceptable. Any proposals for settlement must involve the plant attendants and the plant attendants alone.

All stages of procedure were exhausted and two weeks' notice of strike action given, which expired at 6.30 a.m. on Friday.

Following the withdrawal of labour by this key section all production throughout the assembly and body factories ceased, and 12,000 other workers were laid off.

The plant attendants have decided not to meet again until 10.30 a.m. on Friday. Some felt they should not meet for a fortnight.

The mood of the strikers is militant.

Leyland management has taken an extremely hard line against their claim, and its proposals to study all Skilled B sections was seen as a double-edged weapon.

First it would have delayed

still further their already long-standing claim, which is not even for immediate regrading but for a promise of possible action in the future.

Secondly, it would have opened the door to work-study amongst inspectors, testers, transport drivers, storekeepers and other sections who are in no way involved. This clearly links up with the speed-up drive on which management is busily engaged throughout the combine.

AT SWINDON yesterday, Allegro workers at Leyland's car-body factory continued their fight against this speed-up drive.

Despite an attempt by the Transport and General Workers'

Union to force a return to work, 700 press operators voted on Friday to continue their fortnight-old strike.

A T&GWU national officer was yesterday meeting shop stewards and, later, management.

The men, who produce body stampings for the Allegro assembly lines at Longbridge, Birmingham, are opposing a management bid to force up their rate of working with no extra pay.

Allegro production at Longbridge has been suspended because of the strike, and 2,100 workers laid off. 700 other workers are laid off at Swindon. The T&GWU has informed the

Garrard women's sit-in wins concessions

WOMEN workers at Garrard's Cheney Manor, Swindon, record-player factory returned to work yesterday having won important concessions from a sit-in strike lasting more than four weeks.

Soon after their return production had stopped again in a dispute over workers who had scabbed on the strike.

The vote to return was unanimous. The basis for the return was proposals drafted in a meeting last Friday between management, the West of England Engineering Employers' Federation, union officials and shop stewards.

The 1,400 workers involved struck, after exhausting procedure, against a management bid to raise their rate of working from 55 to 74 units per hour.

Under the return-to-work settlement, the new rates of working demanded by management are scrapped.

The company, part of the powerful Plessey group, has been forced to guarantee weekly earnings of between £22 and £24 under the old, preferred methods of working and the old manning levels.

Thirdly, it has had to concede that no change in methods, job patterns or manning levels can now

take place without the agreement of the unions.

Shop stewards consider this is a key concession, since with control of these three elements, the rates then become subject to negotiation. If not agreed no new rates can apply.

While this obviously does not exclude the company coming back to try and obtain speed-up, they will face a section of workers who have already tested their fighting strength.

The Garrard's victory will also have a considerable impact on other struggles against speed-up—notably that in progress locally in the British Leyland press shop.

men it would not officially back them, and has asked shop stewards to recommend a return. But they voted overwhelmingly to continue and not to meet again until Thursday.

All gates of the factory are now being picketed by the strikers, to keep supplies out and any assembled bodies in. CHRYSLER carworkers at Ryton, Coventry, remained on strike yesterday over paint-shop workers losing one-and-a-half hours' pay last week.

The paint-shop lay-off, which involved 600 men, arose out of a company attempt to impose new performance standards. 4,500 workers are on strike.

JUNE FUND NOW STANDS AT £43.30

WE KNOW you are making a huge last-minute effort to complete the first stage of our Party Development Fund. But we are asking you to even make a greater effort by trying to raise our Monthly Appeal Fund at the same time.

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As the trade union and Labour leaders continue to accept the corporatist measures of this government and also challenge the demand to nationalize industry, the need for an alternative revolutionary leadership becomes more urgent.

Only our paper provides this lead. So back us up all the way. Reach out to new readers in every district. Expand and let our funds continue to grow. Post every donation you can raise to:

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Hindsight at pit inquiry

COAL BOARD scientists might have been able to ascertain that water in Loft-house colliery came from old workings—if they had been called in.

Mr John Coxon, the Board's north Yorkshire area scientist, told this to the public inquiry into the Lofthouse colliery disaster in Wakefield yesterday.

He claimed it would have 'done no harm' for scientists to have taken samples of water that appeared on the coal face three weeks before underground workings flooded on March 21 and killed seven miners.

'It is much easier looking back with hindsight than with foresight to say that, but I agree that if there is any doubt, then a sample could be taken' said Mr Coxon.

Reserves up

BRITAIN'S official reserves rose by \$621m during May to stand at \$6,739m at the end of the month, the Treasury said yesterday. This was after receipts of \$332m from public sector foreign currency borrowing.

... and insurance

NORWICH UNION private motor insurance rates will go up by an average 10 per cent from the beginning of August, it was announced yesterday.

vented the hospital workers' strike from doing—creating the industrial and political conditions to force the Tories to resign—remains to be done and is an urgent task.

That is why the July 1 rally, being organized by the All Trades Unions Alliance in Manchester, is of such vital importance.

'Belfast 10' for Winchester trial

SEVEN MEN and three women accused of conspiracy to cause explosions were committed for trial at Winchester Crown Court from Lambeth magistrates' court yesterday.

The accused are: Roisin McNearney (18), typist; William Patrick McLarnon (19), unemployed; Robert Martin Walsh (24), tiler; Gerard Kelly (19), unemployed; Martin Francis Brady (22), a driver; William Joseph Armstrong (29), window cleaner; Hugh Feeney (21), student; Dolores Price (22), student; and

her sister Marion Price (19), student; and Paul Holmes (19), tiler.

All were charged that on and before March 8, 1973, they conspired together and with others unknown to cause explosions in the United Kingdom of a nature likely to endanger life or to cause serious injury to property.

During the two-week committal proceedings, in which reporting restrictions have not been lifted, police have kept a strict guard both inside and outside the court.

All cars passing the court were stopped and searched before people were allowed to drive past the court.

Lord Lambton: No solicitor's statement

MR JOHN GORST, Tory MP for Hendon North, has asked the Press Council to conduct an immediate inquiry into the conduct of the 'News of the World' and 'The People' in the Lambton-call-girl affair.

Meanwhile, Lord Lambton yesterday consulted his solicitors over the 'News of the World' disclosure that it took compromising pictures of him with prostitutes.

An announcement from the solicitors said: 'As Lord Lambton and his advisers understand the

matter has been referred to the Press Council, it is not intended to make any further statement at this stage.'

● See Mr Foot and his strange bedfellows. Page 3.

PAY BOARD

FROM PAGE ONE

back down to the Tories and the employers, the more the Tories and the employers, driven forward inexorably by their own economic and political crisis, go onto the offensive.

The job which the TUC pre-

All Trades Unions Alliance Conference: To discuss defence of democratic rights

BELLE VUE

Kings Hall: Belle Vue Zoo Park: Manchester—Sunday July 1: 3 p.m.—9 p.m.
Special showing of the Pageant film 'THE ROAD TO WORKERS POWER' and songs and scenes from history

Tickets £1: Available from R. Smith, 60 Wellington Street West, Salford 7, Manchester.

TUC must break off all talks on Phase 3
Make the Tory government resign!
Transform the Socialist Labour League into the Revolutionary Party!