

What we think

Stalinism is Toryism's ally

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THE TORY government's class-war policies have certainly alerted important sections of workers to the need for action. December 8 has aroused much enthusiasm.

But enthusiasm alone is not enough to defeat the Tories, who are determined to systematically attack workers' basic rights.

The mobilization of a million or even more workers on a one-day stoppage will not defeat the Tories either. As the Workers Press has repeatedly pointed out, only a substantial General Strike of millions of trade unionists can create the political crisis which will force the Tory government to resign.

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It does not wish to embarrass the reformist trade union leaders and the parliamentary 'left' by insisting that they mobilize the whole strength of the working class in an all-out struggle against Toryism.

On the contrary, the CP has set itself the task of protecting the left flank of the union bureaucracy by confining the struggle to protest mobilizations.

Left on this level, December 8 would be the first stage of a trap for militancy.

The political differences between us Trotskyists and the Communist Party Stalinists are thus not at all a question of academic debate.

They are intimately involved in the most vital issues facing the working class.

If the Socialist Labour League were to keep silent about these differences—it would itself become part of the chain of betrayal in which the Tories hope to trap the working class.

Of course, these political differences do not start or finish with the December 8 stoppage.

Because it represents the interests of the privileged Soviet bureaucrats who forcibly usurped power under Stalin in the Soviet Union, Stalinism is the mortal enemy of the revolutionary working class.

Its policy of peaceful co-existence with imperialism means collaboration with the exploiters all over the world against revolution.

The Socialist Labour League is convinced that these questions not only must but will be understood by tens of thousands of advanced workers in the coming period.

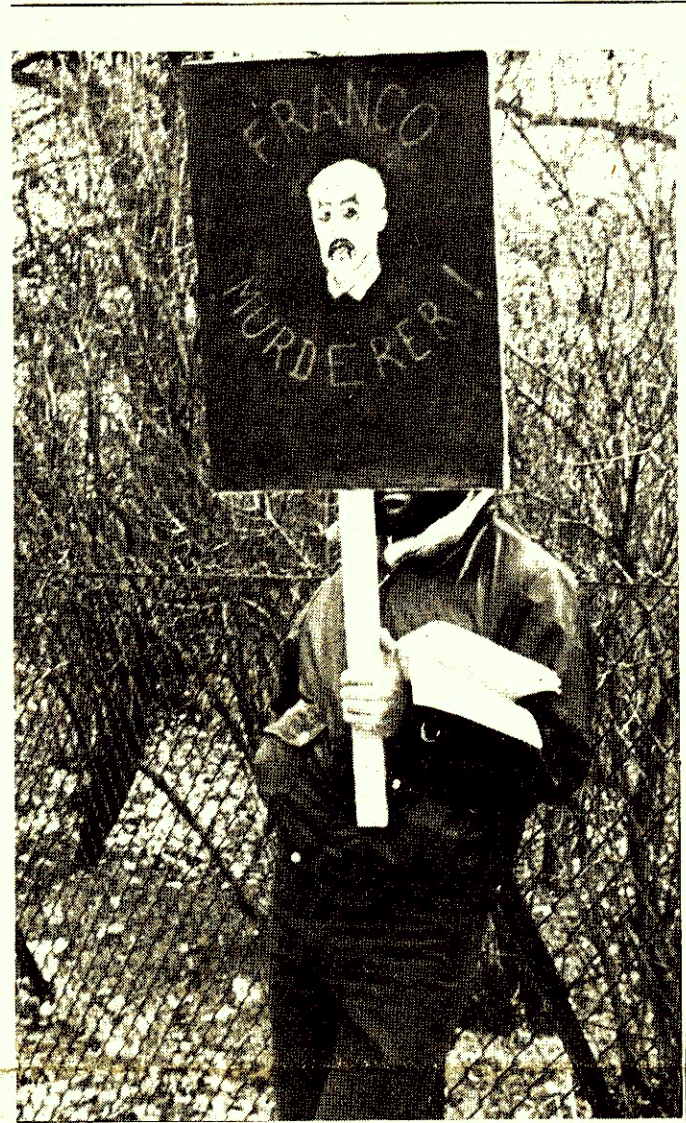
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Brezhnev at Pact conference

SOVIET Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev, was due to arrive in E. Berlin yesterday for a top-level conference of the Warsaw Pact powers.

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BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

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Ordozas headed the military court which last year sentenced Basque socialist Arrizabalaga to death—a sentence later commuted to 30 years' jail.

Troncoso's hatred of the accused men is clear from a number of public statements he has already made. The defence lawyers are also protesting against the use of torture on all but one of the prisoners, and the refusal of the prison authorities, on many occasions, to allow them the usual visitors at least every 72 hours.

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BY MICHAEL BANDA

This is also reflected in their refusal to subsidize the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board.

Taking up Mr John Davies' theme about 'jame-ducks' and the 'morass of subsidized incompetence', Mr John Peyton, Minister for Transport Industries, told a stunned opposition in parliament that neither the government nor the monopoly users of the Mersey docks were prepared to provide a single penny to meet the £20 million debt which the Mersey board would incur over the next three years because of bond redemptions.

There would be no bridging loans to cover the expected cash deficiencies.

Nor would there be a moratorium on the repayment of bonds and interest as the Mersey Board requested.

Instead a receiver would be appointed to receive the rates, but not to wind up the company.

Reshuffle

A reshuffle of the personnel on the Board would be undertaken immediately.

Amongst the new appointees to the board are merchant banker Mr John Cuckney and former Housing and Local Government permanent secretary Sir Matthew Stevenson. Serving with them will be Mr Emerson of ICI and Mr

After Pilkington demonstration Building firm will not take men back

STOCKPORT-based Rowlinson Construction have ignored an instruction by the NW Committee for the Building Industry to reinstate the 75 workers they fired for joining a St Helens demonstration in support of the sacked Pilkington glass workers.

The committee, composed of employers and union representatives, decided at its last meeting that the men should be re-employed unconditionally.

He said that the firm would not be penalized by the council for failing to complete the Liverpool St flats project in time because the delay has been caused by an industrial dispute.

'But it is a disgrace that the St Helens council which is overwhelmingly Labour should do little or nothing when

Chataway stonewalls PO unions

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He bluntly told leaders of the five-member Council of Post Office Unions that the government reserved its right to review all state-firm operations.

Post Office workers will see this as further proof of the Tory plan to hive off profitable parts of the industry into private hands.

Post Office engineers on Monday's 3,000-strong demonstration against the denationalization threat all pointed out private control meant 'quick profits' and—citing the experience of the GEC, Woolwich, closure—'hire and fire'.

It's not for nothing, one engineer said, that telecommunications' firms pour thousands into the Tory Party funds.

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Mr Cuckney's appointment is interesting if only for the fact that until March 1970 he was a director of Lazard Brothers, merchant bankers, managing director of Standard Industrial Group Ltd, an investment holding company, chairman of Standard Industrial Trust, Ltd, the issuing house, and is now chairman of the Anglo-Eastern Bank, Ltd, and director of J. Bibby and Sons Ltd and Europa Insurance Company.

Significantly he was a member of the steering group which advised on the organization and financial structure of British Rail.

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'I must tell you roundly that, in my view, the prospects for the expansion and development of the port of Liverpool reside on Merseyside and not with Ministers.

'I believe this country has become sick of subsidies and it is time we got away from them.'

What Mr Peyton meant is that in future all cash deficits will have to come out of increased exploitation and speed-up by the employers—not out of government subsidies.

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Vigorous pay policy urgent

— says research body

BY PETER READ

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The review reflects employers' concern at the continuing wages offensive.

'Wage rises have accelerated steeply in the recent past... they must be expected to continue at a high rate.'

Upward trend

It warns that the upward trend of unemployment—shown over the last 18 months—will continue alongside a 'virtually certain' acceleration in consumer price increases next year.

Despite Heath's rejection of the incomes policy at present, NIESR is very close to government policy to implement the anti-union laws with the

collaboration of the union leaders, while having a certain amount of inflation and rising unemployment.

The review welcomes Heath's policy of rejecting severe monetary and fiscal measures.

NIESR probably believes that deflation could weaken the employers' ability to stand up to strikes.

This is reinforced by its estimate that growth rate for real output will remain at an almost stagnant 2 per cent level.

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Stalinists provide left cover for the TUC but declare war on revolutionary left

BY MARTIN ZARROP

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Latest moves of the employers and their Tory friends emphasize that the government will not be diverted from its purpose by any number of protests or any amount of militant 'pressure'.

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The campaign to transform the December 8 strike is therefore of the utmost urgency.

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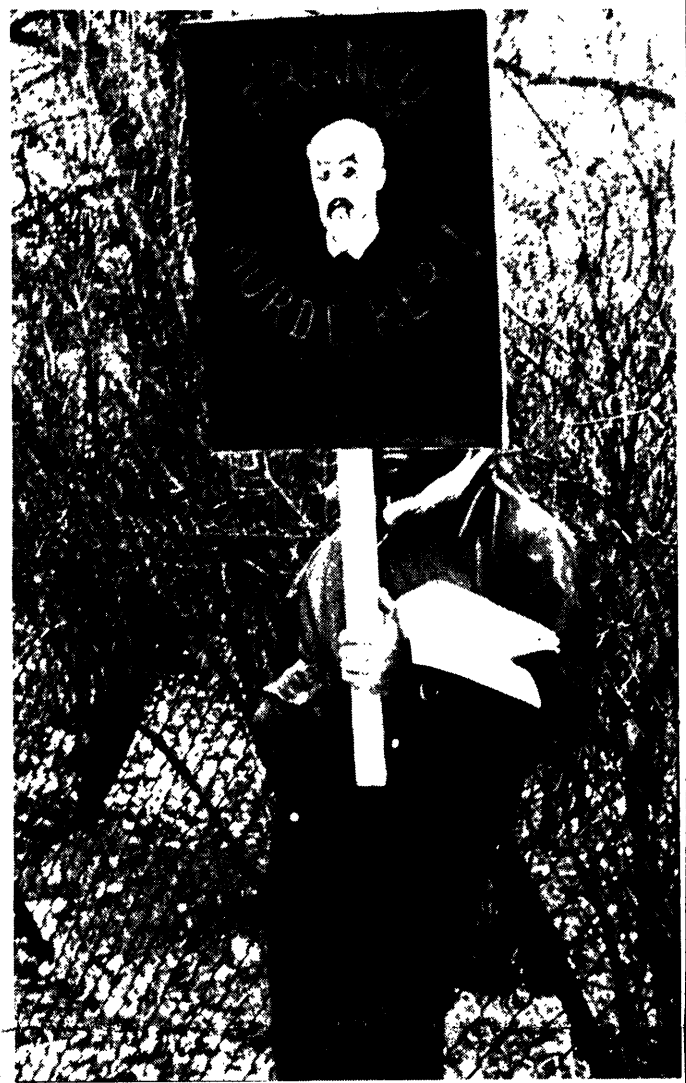
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The protesters, who first of all picketed Spanish government offices (above), later converged on the Spanish Embassy in the form of a demonstration.

A member of the organizing committee told Workers Press:

'The Franco regime is trying to frighten the opposition which is growing. The illegal trade unions are becoming so powerful that the regime finds it very difficult to stop them any other way.'

'So all political opponents are considered to be criminal offenders. Their defence is a question of principle.'

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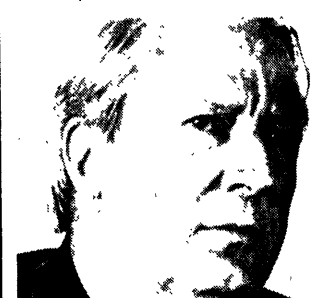
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The real Grigorenko Hamilton Dyce as Pyotr Grigorevitch Grigorenko.

'I AM a Communist and, as such, I detest with all my soul organs of illegal force and tyranny based on caste. In our country, these organs include the organization created by Stalin and today called the KGB.'

GOULASH COMMUNISM

THE REPORT of the Central Control Commission to the tenth Congress of the Hungarian Stalinist Party was an expert job of covering up the political crisis in the Party.

One of the tricks used by Janos Brutyo in presenting the Report was to mix up disciplinary action against oppositionists with difficulties experienced with those guilty of 'selfishness, grabbing and favouritism'.

Damage

'One of the most frequent offences which we must examine from the point of view of Party discipline is the damage caused to the national economy,' he said.

'During the period between the two Congresses about 4,100 Party members had to be called to account for this reason and had to be punished by the Party. These offences are often connected with lapses in private life and are mostly motivated by high living, greed and moral laxity.'

The position and authority of a communist must never be based on what sort of car he is using, how big his office room is and how it is furnished.

Workers appreciate those officials who are loyal to their class and Party, but a shadow is cast upon them if

some abuse their positions and lead an immoral life.'

Brutyo did not specify just what these bureaucratic gentlemen had been up to, but their punishment did not seem to have been too heavy—unlike those guilty of questioning the Party line.

Removed

Some corrupt officials had been removed from their posts, but don't worry about them too much.

'It also happened that somebody, after being relieved of his post, got another job better paid than the one he had before.'



THESE ARE the words of Pyotr Grigorenko, whose heroic ten-year struggle against the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy was movingly dramatized by Granada Television last Thursday.

Grigorenko, a retired Red Army officer, now in solitary confinement in a Soviet 'mental home' undergoing a 'cure' for his outspoken attack on the bureaucracy, cannot be forced into an anti-communist mould.

Not that this was the intention of 'The Man Who Wouldn't Keep Quiet'.

Based almost exclusively on the General's own speeches and letters, the only opinion of the programme wrongly attributed to him was in a speech attacking the Soviet 'ruling class' at the 1961 Communist Party Congress.

The programme began and ended with Grigorenko—superbly played by Hamilton Dyce—before a panel of 'experts' about to pronounce judgement on his sanity.

Viewers were then 'flashed backed' from 1969 to earlier episodes in Grigorenko's struggle.

Despite his burning hatred of the bureaucracy, Grigorenko has never awarded it the status of a new ruling class.

He remains utterly loyal to the Soviet system, directing his fire against the privileged caste, or layer, that dominates every facet of Soviet life.

Thorn in the flesh

Sacked in 1961 from his job as lecturer at the Frunze military school in Moscow, Grigorenko became such a thorn in the flesh of the bureaucracy that by 1964 they had to certify him insane locking him away for eight months with lunatics and child murderers.

Unbroken by this terrible experience—administered of course, in the name of 'socialist justice'—Grigorenko returns to the attack, only this time with a new strategy.

The Man Who Wouldn't Keep Quiet

REVIEWED BY ROBERT BLACK

He explained to the examining panel that he had discarded his previous conspiratorial methods. These he described as a mechanical application of the tactics used by Lenin during the period of illegality under the Tsar.

Instead, we saw him working strictly within the Soviet constitution, which on paper guarantees all citizens the right to free speech, to assembly, to street processions and to produce newspapers.

Nothing could have been calculated to infuriate the bureaucracy more. As a KGB (secret police) official told an opposition group planning to demonstrate in support of persecuted writers 'However legal your action may be, we shall still declare you all insane'.

We saw the whole apparatus of Stalinist mind-bending and thuggery at work. Trotsky once pointed out that Stalin revised Marx, not with the theoretician's pen, but the heel of the secret police.

Today, its methods are more sophisticated. The electrode has superseded the conveyor (the 24-hour inquisition system used to force faked confessions out of Stalin's victims).

Parasitic growth

And the stomach pump has replaced—for the time being—the Mautser for dealing with hunger strikes against the outrages of the prison regime.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, that parasitic growth on the Soviet state and the international workers' movement, continues to exist.

But it would be a big mistake to see Grigorenko's struggle to defeat it as a lone and hopeless battle against impossible odds.

Locked away near the Polish frontier, isolated from all his friends, his wife and his fellow prisoners, deprived even of a pen or pencil with which to write down his thoughts, Grigorenko refuses to capitulate, to confess his 'guilt'.

'Insanity'

What gives him, and many others like him, this strength?

It would be so much easier to agree with his inquisitors in white coats that his opposition to the regime, to the occupation of Czechoslovakia, to the illegal censoring of books and journals, to the opening of letters and tapping of phones, to officially tolerated Jew-baiting, was all a manifestation of his insanity.

But he will not. Despite all the numerous arrests carried out by the KGB since the Daniel-Sinyavsky affair, the bureaucracy has failed to stage a single 'show trial' on the 1936-1938 model, where the leading defendants cover themselves with the most preposterous slanders and self-accusations.

The old relationship between the bureaucracy and the mass of the Soviet people has changed since those grim years.

Grigorenko's powers of resistance are based not only on his inspiring dedication to the principles of Leninism, but also on the confidence of generations who came to political maturity after the death of Stalin, during the ferment triggered off by Khrushchev's 1956 Stalin revelations.

The bureaucracy can erect new statues to its dead hero, but it can never erase the terrible truths of the Stalinist era.

Not even the most sophisticated techniques of repression can save the Stalinist regime once the Soviet working class through its immense force into the fight Grigorenko has so nobly begun.

IMPORTANT READING

The death agony of capitalism and the tasks of the 4th International

The Transitional Programme presented by the Founding Conference of the Fourth International with the Statutes of the Fourth International

New Park Publications
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Georges Marchais

WHO INFILTRATES WHO?

THE GAULLIST paper 'La Nation' last week rebuked the Catholic daily 'La Croix' for printing an interview with Georges Marchais, leader of the French Stalinists.

While 'La Nation' says it would not go so far as to accuse its holy contemporary of 'becoming the objective ally of Marxism', it is worried that the interview might be part of a 'stratagem... for the greater good of the class struggle'.

We would certainly defend the sacred daily against this charge. When it comes to tricks and ruses, the Stalinists are no match for Mother Church, which has been at the game for many centuries.

As with the 'dialogue' between communist parties and Catholics all over the world, it is the ruling class and its ideological operators who have everything to gain.

Fear that Marchais may be spearheading a take-over bid for the Jesuit Order is entirely unfounded.

THE YARD WATCHES OVER US

A FEW WEEKS back we mentioned the fortnightly 'Report on Revolutionary Organizations in the United Kingdom', circulated to the Cabinet during and after the First World War.

A perusal of these duplicated documents throws an interesting light on the care with which the ruling class observe political activities on the left.

The Report, headed 'secret', was addressed from the Special Branch, Scotland Yard. Each issue consisted of a dozen or so foolscap pages, with bumper editions in times of big industrial movement.

The progress of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League were reviewed, together with news of the trade unions, unemployed workers' organizations and Irish nationalist groups.

Information ranged from items in the left-wing press to excerpts from private letters, minutes of committee meetings and accounts of demonstrations and public meetings. Chief Constables contributed occasional lists of recent convictions of Communists in their localities.

Sometimes, an anonymous 'correspondent' is quoted, and on special occasions a 'well-informed source'. These marks must have been placed fairly highly in some of the organizations spied upon.

The financial position of the Communist Party is especially well monitored, whole district committee balance sheets sometimes being reproduced for the information of His Majesty's Ministers.

The degree of detail is occasionally surprising. For example, Report No. 216, dated July 26, 1923, devotes ten whole pages to a march of London dockers, on strike at the time.

The reporter highlights the attempt of T&GWU officials to address a meeting. The arrival of Bevin and Gosling was

greeted with loud and prolonged booing, says the report, and goes on to describe a walk-out from the meeting, led by CP dockers.

Report No. 236, of December 26, 1923, notes that 'there is some dissension at Communist headquarters arising from friction between Bell and MacManus, who is said to be drinking heavily'.

On the YCL, the report says: 'Response to the appeal for support for 'The Young Worker' has not been as great as the executive had hoped and the price will not be reduced to a 1d until January 24 at the earliest.'

'Branches which are not taking their quotas of the paper include Battersea, Birmingham, Clapham, Croydon, Deptford, East Ham, Greenock, Islington, Kentish Town, Kircaldy and Sheffield.'

'The YCL has had to vacate the rooms hitherto occupied at 36 Lamb's Conduit Street and is moving today to 38 Great Ormond Street...'

Such detail is clearly aimed at contributing to an overall picture of the development of the movement.

The series of reports suddenly stops in January, 1924. The index at the Public Relations Office explains this by saying that they had been discontinued by the Labour government. But since MacDonal did not take office until June, this must be wrong.

It must rather be due to doubts whether Labour men would be fit recipients of such information. Remember, this was the first Labour government. Later experience taught the ruling class that they had nothing to fear from this docile political animal.

The efforts of the Special Branch to keep tabs on the workers' movement must appear very primitive in comparison with today's computerized methods.

BBC 1

9.15 a.m. Schools. 12.25 p.m. Nai zindagi—naya jeevan. 1.00 Disc a dawn. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05-2.50 Schools. 3.45-4.15 Representing the union. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jockanory. 4.55 Little Mouk. 5.15 Screen test. 5.44 Magic roundabout. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 NATIONWIDE. London.

6.45 THE DOCTORS.

7.10 TOM AND JERRY.

7.20 STAR TREK. 'Mir'.

8.10 SOFTLY, SOFTLY—TASK FORCE. 'Do Me A Favour'.

9.00 REPORT TO THE PEOPLE. Political broadcast on behalf of the Conservative and Unionist Party.

9.15 THE MAIN NEWS and weather.

9.35 SPORTSNIGHT WITH COLEMAN.

10.15 24 HOURS.

10.45 ROYAL CONCERT. St Cecilia Festival Concert.

11.25 Weather.

BBC 2

Tonight 8-10

Aircraft Noise

MAN ALIVE

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL.

6.30 p.m. TEST CRICKET FROM AUSTRALIA. First Test Match: Australia v England.

7.05 SQUARE TWO.

7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.

8.00 TIMES REMEMBERED.

8.10 MAN ALIVE. 'Aircraft Noise'. How serious a hazard to our health is aircraft noise? Are the noise limits respected?

9.00 REPORT TO THE PEOPLE. Political broadcast on behalf of the Conservative and Unionist Party.

9.15 'HOWARDS END.' With Leo Genn, Rachel Kempson, Glenda Jackson and Sarah-Jane Williams. Dramatization of E. M. Forster's novel.

11.15 NEWS ON 2 and weather.

11.20 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

ITV

11.00 a.m.-2.59 p.m. Schools. 4.17 Adventures of Rupert Bear. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Lift off. 5.20 Wreckers at Dead Eye. 5.50 News.

6.02 TODAY.

6.30 NANNY and the PROFESSOR.

7.00 THIS IS YOUR LIFE.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 THE CHAMPIONS. 'The Final Countdown'.

9.00 REPORT TO THE PEOPLE. Political broadcast on behalf of the Conservative and Unionist Party.

9.15 A FAMILY AT WAR. 'Is Your Journey Really Necessary?'

10.15 NEWS FROM ITV.

10.45 FATHER, DEAR FATHER. 'Unhappy Birthday'.

11.15 PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING.

12.00 midnight PARTICULAR CHURCHES.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.00 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.10 Rupert Bear. 4.25 Open house. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. weather. 6.10 African patrol. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure hunt. 7.30 London. 8.00 It takes a thief. 9.00 Life in France. 9.15 London. 12.05 Epilogue. News, weather.

WESTWARD: As Channel except: 3.58 News. 4.00 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 9.00 London. 12.10 Faith for life. 12.15 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Wind in the willows. 4.30 London. 6.01 Day by day. Crime desk. 6.10 My three sons. 7.00 London. 8.00 Saint. 9.00 London. 12.10 News. 12.20 Weather. Action 70.

HARLEIGH: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.12 Mr Piper. 4.40 Anita in Lumbland. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.00 Bold ones. 9.00 London. 12 midnight Weather.

HTV (West) colour channel 61 as above except: 4.10-12. 6.01-6.55 Report West.

HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 and HTV (Cymru/Wales) black and white service as above except: 6.01-6.18 Y dydd.

ANGLIA: 10.58-3.00 London. 4.25 News. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.00 UFO. 9.00 London. 12.10 Your music at night.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-3.00 London. 3.49 Horoscope. 3.52 Women today. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.55 London. 6.00 ATV today. Police five. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.00 UFO. 9.00 London.

ULSTER: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.00 Bracken's world. 9.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.15 News. 4.15 Patterns of folk. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.30 Calendar. weather. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 London. 8.00 Mannix. 9.00 London. 12.10 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.45 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.01 Six-o-one. 6.25 Police file. 6.35 Get smart. 7.00 London. 8.00 Marcus Welby MD. 9.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 11.00-3.00 London. 4.10 News. 4.15 Patterns of folk. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.30 Wheel of fortune. 7.00 London. 8.00 UFO. 9.00 London. 12.10 News. 12.25 Epilogue.

BORDER: 1.38-3.00 London. 4.10 News. 4.12 Ghost and Mrs Muir. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.00 All kinds of music. 9.00 London. 12.10 News, weather.

SCOTTISH: 11.00-3.00 London. 3.40 Dateline. 3.50 Horoscope. 3.52 Women today. 4.15 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.30 Father, dear father. 7.00 London. 8.00 Bonanza. 9.00 London. 10.45 Silent force. 11.15 Sportsport. 11.40 London. 12.05 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58-3.00 London. 3.49 News. 3.52 Women today. 4.10 Car-toon. 4.25 Freud on food. 4.55 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.10 Gramplan week. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.00 Randall and Hopkirk (deceased). 8.55 Police news. 9.00 London. 10.45 F troop. 11.15 Sportsport. 11.40 London.

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Unsmiling Africa: No matter what age you are there is nothing to smile about in S Africa—if you're black, you're black.

Phela Ndaba

'MAN ALIVE' last week showed a film on apartheid made secretly in S Africa by members and sympathizers of the Pan Africanist Congress.

Called 'Phela Ndaba', the title in Zulu means 'The End of the Dialogue'. Certainly the film made a powerful and moving case for why there can be no more dialogue.

It was made under the threat of the Sabotage and Terrorism Act and it showed the stark contrasts between the conditions of the 50 million blacks and those of the 3 million whites in an unusually clear way.

Everywhere the film made its point with stern economy and a powerful use of music.

Faces of black men and women and children looked out at us, mostly unsmiling. There is nothing to smile about.

No vote even, no parliamentary representation at all.

Fifty per cent of black children die before they're five years old. The average life expectancy for blacks is 34 years.

Ninety-two per cent of blacks who attend school leave before 13 and 15 per cent don't go at all. The average annual expenditure on education is £73 for a white child and £7 for a black one. There is free education and free school meals for everyone—except blacks.

Finely cut

The commentary was bare and unadorned. The film spoke loudly and sometimes screamed out.

It was finely cut to make the most of the material and a lot of risks had been taken to shoot in places normally totally inaccessible to camera teams.

BY FRANK CARTWRIGHT

But it wasn't just the counterpoint of the oblivious tennis players with the gang of blacks heaving on the big grass roller nearby, nor in a paraphrase of Dr Verwoerd's words, the black children gazing on the green pastures where they will never graze.

Often the most revealing passages of the film were simple sequences like the misty damp evening in the filthy townships, with people struggling to find something human in the desolation and poverty.

A group dancing in the far background of one shot haunted me through all the succeeding images in town and country and the gold mines; images of men and women crippled and exploited; pictures of children carrying the distended bellies of hunger and malnourishment.

Slave labour

Many of the faces which looked at us appeared beyond suspicion or even hope. 87 per cent of the land is for the whites, the rest is too barren, bleak and dusty to support more than a malformed population with rachitic and trachomatous children.

The pass laws prevent free movement and are the main means of the control of labour. Curfews, constant harassment and arrest, slave labour . . . a gang on picks in a city street, striking in time to a song, were indistinguishable from the criminal slave gangs of American history.

A moving film, it ended with a roller caption and a recitation of some of the names of those who have been sentenced to death for political activities. It didn't need to explain the des-

peration which had led these courageous men to fight back.

It didn't try to explain what policies lay behind their fury.

Members of a more militant breakaway from the reformist African National Congress, the film-makers clearly could not explain or offer any way out to the millions they so compassionately portrayed.

But the discussion which followed the film—fair play after all and equal air time to the exploiter—was interesting in one main respect.

The S African embassy refused to take part, despite voicing noisy and racist attacks on the film in the press; instead, two Tory MPs stood in and defended their absent friends.

And what a warning for the British working class—white or black—they were!

Harold Soreff fired a softening salvo by accusing the BBC of a consistent psychological war aimed at all the noble countries such as S Africa, Portugal, Spain and Rhodesia fighting communism. From there he never looked back.



A small S African boy wandering in a township.

Patrick Wall joined Soreff in defending S Africa and that portion of British wealth and the world bourgeoisie who reside there.

Next to them a QC, chairman of the Anglo-S African Friendship Society fumed and puffed in support. They made their intentions and the needs of their class quite clear.

They were pitched against the producer of the film, Nana Mahomo and a representative of the Anti-Apartheid movement.

The conflagration in S Africa will be terrible when it comes.

The desperate need for revolutionary leadership there was never more clearly revealed; the need, in other words, for revolutionary theory to replace the dialogue.

'Phela Ndaba' ('End of the Dialogue'). A contemporary film 45 mins. Now at the Paris-Pullman cinema, London. Shown on 'Man Alive' BBC-2 last Wednesday.

GENERAL STRIKE OVER BASQUE TRIAL

THE ILLEGAL workers' commissions in Spain have called for a general strike to begin as the military trial of 16 Basque nationalists opens in Burgos tomorrow.

The Basque city of Bilbao was flooded with leaflets on Monday urging the strike, as 500 economic students clashed with police.

The students had been at a meeting to pledge support for six of the nationalists for whom the prosecution is expected to ask the death sentence.

Nine years

On the same day, a Madrid court sentenced another Basque nationalist—Sabino Arana Bilbao—to nine years' imprisonment.

He was convicted on charges of illegal association, distributing illegal propaganda, possessing firearms without a licence and shooting at a policeman.

Four other Basque workers were convicted on similar charges and sentenced to periods of up to seven years in prison. One was convicted in his absence.

Plunder state firms advice from Powell

THE RESPONSE of right-wing Tory Enoch Powell to the growing working-class resistance to the government's attacks has been to deliver his most reactionary speech to date.

BY A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Speaking to S Kensington Young Conservatives on Monday evening, Powell made it clear that the dismantling of all nationalized industries and the operation of 'free enterprise' in secondary education and social services must be the main task of the Tory government.

'The Conservative Party, being a capitalist party and a party of free enterprise,' he said, 'accepts the market as the arbiter of measurable material benefit and rejects the state.'

'Hence the necessity of eliminating state decisions or intervention wherever economic benefit is accepted as the touchstone.'

Whole-hoggers

'There is no choice here but to be whole-hoggers—from exchange rates to production subsidies, from little neddys to nationalized industries we are obliged to put the state in all its guises under notice to quit.'

Here is a clear call for the Tories to close down unprofitable industry, dismantle state-owned enterprises and hand over the succulent morsels to private employers.

These are all measures that the government is planning to carry out, but, in the case of the Post Office, has resulted in massive political opposition from workers.

Turning to education and social services, Powell went on to qualify the Tory's slogan of 'less government'.

'It does not mean dismantling the National Health Service or withdrawing the state's ultimate guarantee of security against want—all of which have in fact been undermined by the 'mini-Budget' proposals.

Not choked

'What it does mean is that where economic forces will provide services within this area, we shall see that they are not choked or driven out by the

Behind the closure threat Mersey port bosses plan war on dockers

THE DECISION of the Ministry of Transport to sponsor a five-man committee to manage the affairs of the stricken Mersey Docks and Harbour Board means a virtual declaration of war on the Liverpool port worker.

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

The committee's immediate problem will be to stave-off the impending collapse of the Board, which has already announced that it will be unable to pay off bonds maturing in the New Year.

But its long-term and Tory-inspired objective is to preside over the closure of the South end of Liverpool docks and possibly the whole of the 'old' port.

In its place Seaforth—a containerized dock at the North-end—will be developed and staffed by a much reduced dock labour force.

To understand this one must appreciate the full depth of the crisis the port of Liverpool and its labour force now face.

Only one aspect of this is the mess the Board is in.

LOANS

Basically the Board is near 'bankrupt' because of over-capitalization. Its workers charge it with deliberately keeping dock and plant hire charges low in the interests of the shipping concerns that dominate its membership. Rates-per-ton in Liverpool are, for example, half those charged in London.

This has meant that income from the Board's operations has

not been sufficient to maintain the port and loans from the private market have been raised to breach the gap.

Interest payments on the resulting massive capital debt, now at £83 million, have converted small operating profits into losses in the past.

Throughout 1969 this situation deteriorated and eventually, when it was clear that the port was not going to be bailed out by nationalization, the Board was forced to go to government for assistance.

The Tories refused to inject public money into the port and continues to do so.

The oblique statement by John Cuckney, banker whiz-kid in charge of the five-man team, that 'there will be a re-capitalization on a new lower and different gear,' can only mean, in the context of Tory policy, that a substantial proportion of the Board's assets are to be sold or run down.

Cuts already announced involve the closure of the South end of the port employing 2,000 dockers, big redundancies in the Board's own maintenance labour force and stringent economies in all sectors of dockland.

But the Tories envisage more than a traditional rationalization. They must also deal with the other side of the port's crisis—the Liverpool dockers.

CHARGES

Though dock charges are relatively cheap, Merseyside is still an expensive place to load and unload a cargo.

Liverpool dockers have still not accepted Phase Two of the Devlin scheme and work under a multiplicity of piece and bonus rates.

These, with the port's strike record and prehistoric cargo-handling methods employed by management, make docking at Liverpool a 'dear do'.

The current modernization talk to the unions and the Port Employers' Association have reached near deadlock. The dockers want £60 for 20 hours, the employers have offered £35 for 32½ hours.

This move into the port by the Tories clearly indicates that they have called a halt to the haggling and are lunging straight for the dockers' throat.

If the financial carrot will not lure the Liverpool port worker into the Devlin web, the big stick of closures, promoted by the committee, might.

Rationalization on the scale apparently envisaged would throw thousands of dockers into the unemployed 'pool' where they would exist on lower rates than those who are working.

CONTEXT

It is in this context of a large unemployed 'pool' that the current pressure by the employers for the abolition of the 1947 Dock Labour scheme must be seen.

If this legislation was dismantled, then employers could safely rationalize and push port workers off the dock straight onto the dole.

It would mean rationalization and Devlin on the cheap.

The final aim of these moves would be the concentration of all shipping at the new Seaforth container dock due for completion in the mid-1970s.

But to do this all militancy on Merseyside must first be smashed by the threat of the 'pool' and eventual redundancy.

Again the Tories have stripped the illusions aside.

They want to end time-wasting negotiations, speed-up the development towards containerization and dispose of those sections of dock labour who, by their militancy, continually foul the dock employers' plans.

To do this in Liverpool they are prepared to use the ultimate weapon—closure of the old port.

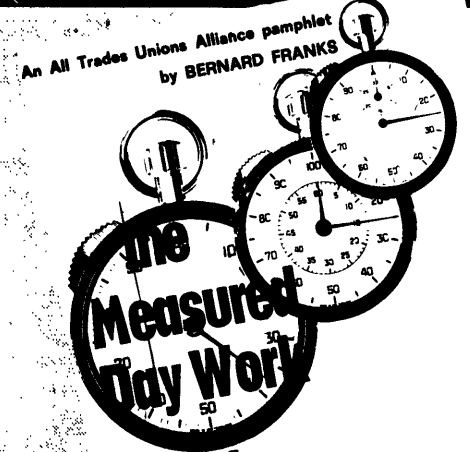
French soldiers killed in Chad

GUERRILLAS in N Chad killed two soldiers of the French Foreign Legion and wounded 15 others in clashes last weekend. Sources said that the fighting reached its peak on the night of November 28 after French and puppet troops had fought day-long skirmishes against guerrillas of the Chad National Liberation Front (FROLINA).

The French claim 40 guerrilla casualties after soldiers swept the area around Fada in the NE corner of the country.

About 2,370 French soldiers are engaged in Chad, propping up the government of President Tombalbaye. Early last month they lost 11 killed in an ambush—their worst casualties yet in the fighting.

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Letter

THAKIN SOE, whose capture you report in your issue last Thursday (and whom I met in 1945), played an important part, as a leader of guerrilla activity, in the undermining of Japanese military power in Burma.

Unlike some other Burmese Marxists, he never fell for the line that, in order to get rid of the British imperialists, it was good policy to collaborate with the Japanese imperialists.

Brian Pearce.

Stalinists Charter of Rights Basic

● FROM PAGE ONE

port for the December 8 action.

A one-paragraph report in yesterday's 'Star' lead article merely stated that 'a meeting called by Manchester district of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions urged nearly 200,000 more workers to stop for next Tuesday's Day of Action'.

In fact, the meeting of 1,000 stewards was a running battle between the floor and the platform speakers who sought to confine support for strike action to the level of a protest.

A steward from a Mirlees, Stockport, factory said that the Manchester area of the AEF had worked to replace the old union leadership.

'We elected them to change the policy,' he said to tremendous applause, and asked: 'Where are they now? We should demand they act!'

This demand to make the union leaders fight evoked a bitter attack on 'these people' by leading Communist Party member Bernard Panter, AEF Manchester district president. 'I call them people,' he said, 'because they are not part of the workers' movement. They were calling for a general strike at the Liaison Committee Conference in London.'

TOO CRITICAL
'These are the people' who are shouting here. How many of their factories are coming out?

'You can't expect the TUC leaders to stand up yet. It's up to us and after December 8 we'll see a change. Don't be too critical of the TUC—they've called for a national day of protest on January 12. Shouts from the floor made it clear that the meeting wanted a fight against the Tories.'

A steward then proposed a resolution calling for support for December 8, to be followed by all-out action necessary to defeat the Tories.

At this point the chairman cut the meeting short by putting the motion to the vote, omitting any mention of action against the Tories. With the second reading of the anti-union Bill only 16 days away, the Stalinists continue their desperate efforts to protect the trade union bureaucracy—on which the continued existence of Tory rule depends—and to step up their attacks on those who prepare the working class to face and defeat the class enemy.

Of course I agree with the demands in the Charter.

Particularly relevant now is the one which demands the nationalization under workers' control of companies that threaten their workers with the sack.

Now on Merseyside we have the Port of Liverpool in the hands of a government receiver and the committee appointed by the Tories want to close down the South end of the docks.

What an opportunity for dockers this is. They could really now fight for nationalization under workers' control and stop the employers and the Tories in their tracks.

It seems to me they now have to decide to run the docks themselves or to be kicked on the dole by the Tories.

But the trouble is getting this over to the working class.

For example now in the Triplex glass factory in St Helens they are introducing Measured-Day Work which is the system of work the Charter opposes. But the workers don't see the dangers of this because their leadership has been sacked.

I see the main problem of the Charter as one of getting it over to the workers, getting it into the factories and developing a big campaign around it.

THE SACKED Pilkington's glassworkers of St Helens have been fighting to defend the right to strike and the right to work for over four months. It was in the late summer that they began their unceasing struggle to guard these rights when they were fired by the glass company after they struck in defence of a victimized fellow worker.

To them the draft Charter of Basic Rights is more therefore than words and slogans.

We talked to Derek Greenough, a young member of the rank-and-file committee who are fighting for the re-instatement of over 200 glassworkers.

To me the main right that needs to be defended is the right to strike. At Pilkington's we only won our £3 increase in the early summer after a long bitter strike. Our employers realize that it was this weapon that forced them to pay up and that is why they sacked us.

Now the Tories are trying to do this to the whole of the working class. In other words the Pilkington example is being repeated on a national scale.

Not only this, as the Charter points out, they are also trying to restrict social security payments. This will mean that workers will be afraid of going on strike because they will have no money if they do.

This is how the Tory policy should be seen—all linked together in one big

offensive against the working class.

The first step to defeat the Tories is the December 8 strike against the anti-union laws.

But all these actions should be seen with one

objective in mind, that is the defeat of this government—we must kick them out and never let them return. Anyone else who fights with any other aim in mind is ridiculous and dangerous.

Stalinist contradictions

AIRCRAFT workers at two major London region plants yesterday voted overwhelmingly to join the hundreds of thousands already pledged to strike on December 8 against the anti-union laws.

Only 14 hands were raised against the motion at Westland Helicopters, Hayes, and at British Aircraft Corporation, Weybridge (below) the vote, including staff, showed a big majority in favour.

The question of what next after December 8 put the Stalinists very firmly in the hot seat.

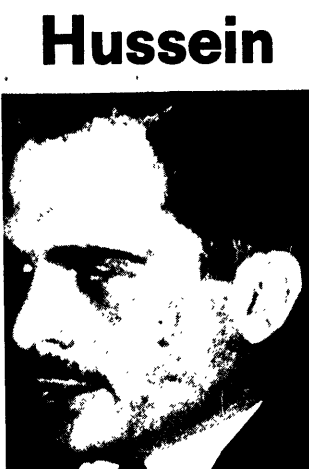
At Westlands, Stalinist convener Arthur Gibbard tried to prevent an All Trades Unions Alliance member proposing an amendment demanding that the TUC call a General Strike to bring down the Tories.

At BAC Andy Wilson, AEF district secretary and a well-known Stalinist, said that the next step after December 8 was to force the TUC to call a General Strike against the Industrial Relations Bill.



20-day tour of US and Europe

KING HUSSEIN of Jordan left Amman for Saudi Arabia yesterday on the first stage of a 20-day tour.



out for big-power backing

Builders

FROM PAGE ONE
building workers in the town are victimized in this fashion,' said Mr Dooley.

Men on the Liverpool St site were one of the few groups of building workers to maintain a black on Pilkington glass, and they were among the 400-strong contingent of building workers who demonstrated in support of the sacked Pilkington's men on October 12.

The men are now waiting for the result of Rowlinson's appeal to the National Council for the Building Industry against the NW Committee's decision.

A FUND to provide the sacked St Helens glassworkers' families with a Christmas party has now topped the £100 mark, and more is still coming in.

The Pilkington's rank-and-file committee has asked Workers Press to thank on their behalf all those who have contributed.

Particularly encouraging was a letter received from an old-age pensioner yesterday morning, enclosing 5s for the fund and supporting the men's fight 'for social justice'.

Further contributions are still welcome. Send to: John Potter, Rank-and-file committee, 10 Greenfield Road, St Helens, Lancashire.

Morocco police kill peasants

FIVE peasants were killed and six others wounded in Morocco at the weekend when police fired on demonstrators occupying agricultural land.

The clash, at Souk-el-Tleta-du-Gharb, 60 miles North of Rabat in one of the most fertile areas of Morocco, brought an immediate emergency meeting of King Hassan II with his cabinet.

Kent State killings planned

THE KILLING of four Kent State University Students by National Guardsmen last May was premeditated, claims Joseph Rhodes, a member of President Nixon's commission on 'campus unrest'.

Rhodes, a junior fellow at Harvard, told a church congregation in Massachusetts on Monday:

'There were two Guardsmen who committed second-degree murder.

'They went there with premeditation—meaning, intending to kill students. We know about it. The FBI knows about this because it wasn't brought before the grand jury.'

Discrepancies
'No mention was made of these two Guardsmen. It hasn't been made a part of the public record.'

Rhodes also pointed out 'major discrepancies' between the findings of his own investigating team and the National Guard report.

The Guard claimed that no tear gas was brought onto the campus, but Rhodes insisted that it was.

The Guard had claimed firing only 11 shots, but 13 people were wounded and 32 bullet holes were found in nearby cars.

Compensation if Allende takes over copper mines

CHILE'S new left-wing President, Salvador Allende, is expected to present a Bill to Congress this week nationalizing the country's mainly US-owned copper mines.

Sources close to the President suggest that the Bill provides for compensation to US shareholders.

When Christian Democratic President Frei bought a majority interest in US firms,

Observers in Chile think that Allende may well follow this example.

With Peru, Zambia and Congo (Kinshasa) Chile accounts for 75 per cent of the world's copper exports.

KEY PLANK
Nationalization of the mines was a key plank in Allende's election platform, and his supporters—drawn mainly from the trade unions and poor peasantry—will be watching very closely to see how his government acts on its pledges.

'Leapfrog' advance on Cambodian capital

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

ADOPTING new military tactics, liberation forces in Cambodia are now hemming in Phnom Penh.

By 'leapfrogging' past the regime's positions, the guerrillas have made their biggest gains since the US invasion of Cambodia last May.

They have cut off 30,000 troops 50 miles North of Phnom Penh, and are now digging in at Prek Dam Ferry, 20 miles to the North. Outflanked troops were yesterday under attack along Highways Six and Seven out of the capital, while to the South, 40 government casualties were reported after a guerrilla mortar raid on Kompong Chak.

And inside Phnom Penh, which has been under siege now for more than half a year, supporters of the guerrillas stepped up their campaign against the regime.

Yesterday an explosion rocked the US embassy building, wrecking the first floor.

Police later arrested 12 people, including construction workers who had been working on the building.

Clash

● FROM PAGE ONE

About this there can be no doubt.

What is in serious doubt however is the attitude of the Labour MPs on Merseyside and their friends in parliament and on the streets.

The Tories can be stopped only by the maximum mobilization of the working class within and without the Merseyside area in defence of the jobs threatened by Peyton's measures.

This struggle to rally workers in defence of their right to work must be combined with the right to strike and to belong to an independent union.

December 8 provides Merseyside dockers with an excellent opportunity to combine these struggles.

But this is precisely what the 'left' Labour MP Mr Eric Heffer is trying to evade.

Sanctionously he asked for a three-hour debate in parliament.

This debate will not save a single job on Merseyside. It will only demonstrate the shallow opportunism of those who are not prepared to take the single outside parliamentary confines.

When challenged on BBC's '24 Hours' on Monday night about why the government should subsidize Liverpool docks, when dockers were threatening to strike on December 8, Mr Heffer replied that he would prefer dockers to follow the guidelines laid down by the TUC on the Industrial Relations Bill.

If the dockers didn't listen to him, he said, it would be the government's responsibility for this strike!

His refusal to stand up to the Tory government in an uncompromising way is clearly expressed in his attempts to make the Merseyside docks into a 'national' and not a class issue.

According to the 'Liverpool Echo' (Tuesday, November 24) Mr Heffer, it seems, is prepared to collaborate with the union-busting Tories to try to save Mersey docks.

'At a historic dinner at the House of Commons last night Liverpool MPs demand their solidarity with the City Council to put the future of the port first and party allegiance second.'

'Mr John Tilney, Conservative MP for Warrington, who organized the dinner with Mr Eric Heffer, Labour MP for Walton, said that some issues were greater than Party.'

What are Liverpool dockers expected to think of a political leader who betrays his left list at the Tories and Westminister and extends his right hand to the Tories in Liverpool?

The only way to save the jobs of Mersey dockers and the only way to save the trade unions today from the Tory onslaught is not by organizing dinners for Tory MPs but by organizing militant trade unionists to fight to make the TUC call a general strike until the Tory government goes.

In its place we must put a government which will not hesitate to nationalize the docks under workers' control and without compensation.

US loses £40m space observatory

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

AMERICA'S most costly scientific satellite, a \$100 million (£40 million) orbiting observatory, has broken up in the atmosphere shortly after blast off from Cape Kennedy.

Fragments of the spacecraft designed to probe the secrets of distant stars with its 38-inch telescope hurtled back to earth and lay scattered across Africa or in the Indian Ocean.

The space agency said that the orbiting astronomical observatory (OAO) was doomed when a protective shield failed to separate about four minutes into the flight.

This made the satellite too heavy, causing the Atlas Centaur carrier rocket to burn eight seconds longer than planned in a fruitless attempt to push the vehicle into orbit.

Swerved to destruction
The spacecraft apparently swerved back to earth and its destruction in an arcing path over central Africa and the Indian Ocean.

Bruce Lundin, Director of the space agency's Lewis Research Centre, told a press conference:

'I am sure some pieces came down, but we do not know where exactly.'

A team of experts were named yesterday to sift through masses of information radioed to the ground by the OAO and its carrier.

The cost of the latest US space failure guarantees a lengthy probe into its cause, particularly as the expensive OAO programme has been under sharp criticism since 1966 when the first OAO flopped because of a power fault.

A second observatory has been operating successfully, but some scientists claim that better results could be achieved by more but cheaper satellites.

Morale is flagging
The latest failure will also do little to boost the flagging morale of the space agency, which has seen its budget and work force slashed time and again over the last three years.

One more OAO is due to be launched in a year's time, but there must now be some trepidation over the outcome of the next major US space shot—the manned Apollo-14 moon flight, due to be launched on January 31 of next year.

Mexican students demand amnesty

STUDENTS at Mexico City's Autonomous University continued their strike yesterday during the official inauguration ceremonies for the new Mexican President, Luis Echeverria Alvarez.

They are demanding an amnesty for all the country's political prisoners, many of whom have been in jail since the student massacres on the eve of the 1968 Olympic Games.

An amnesty appeal launched by University rector Pablo Gonzalez Casanova has won growing support in the last few days.

Observers believe that the new President will try to placate his opponents at the start of his six-year term by granting such an amnesty.

All Trades Unions Alliance Second Annual Conference

Discuss THE CHARTER OF BASIC RIGHTS

The right to a job, to strike and organize, to retain gains made, to fair prices, to welfare benefits and to decent housing. Defend and maintain these rights in a fight to force the Tories to resign.

BIRMINGHAM Sat. December 19

Digbeth Civic Hall, Digbeth 10.30 am

For delegates' or visitors' credentials send 5s to Alan Wilkins, ATUA secretary, 53 The Hiron, Styvechale, Coventry.

Public Meeting THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3
7.30 p.m.
The fight for workers' rights
The Town Hall St Helens, Lancs.
Speaker: G. HEALY (National Secretary of SLL)

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LATE NEWS

ETHIOPIA RECOGNIZES PEOPLE'S CHINA
Ethiopia yesterday recognized the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government representing the entire Chinese people.

A government communiqué said the two countries had agreed to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

'SUSTAIN PORT' PLEA
If Britain was to compete as a nation she had to sustain her ports in the same way as continental ports which were sustained by free-enterprise governments, Merseyside MP Eric Heffer told the Commons in opening yesterday's emergency debate on the MD&HB crisis.

'THINK AGAIN'—TUC
Trade unionists planning to join the one-day strike on December 8 were asked to

Londonderry Students strike over cost of living

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

STUDENTS at the new University of Ulster in Coleraine, County Derry, plan to strike for one day tomorrow against soaring increases in their cost of living.

This was decided by a meeting of the Students' Union. Plans also include a lobby of MPs at Stormont and a picket at the University.

The New University of Ulster—opened only a few years ago after much political ferment surrounding its site in Coleraine—has about 1,160 students.

The Students' Union health relations officer Mr Dermot Cairns, said that a group of local businessmen were 'making a good living' from student accommodation.

He said that 'flats at the moment are saturated and the prices cost between £8 and £10 a week.

'The prices of accommodation in the area keep rising. If this is allowed to continue it will get out of students' means,' he continued.

'We are demanding that the university authorities present the students' council with some acceptable plans for halls of residence by January next year.'

Coleraine is a Unionist stronghold based on businessmen and property landlords.

It is they who are profiteering from the students already under pressure from the soaring food costs.

Unionists, like the Tories at Westminster, care little for the students' plight.

Since the beginning of the university year there have been protests against the authorities imposing restrictive rules on the students.

'Days off' fight looms at Acton

MACHINE setters at W London's CAV Acton plant are now into the second week of refusal to co-operate in strike union unity, and although their numbers were marginal a strike would undermine the strength of the TUC's case.

Students' unions throughout Britain are being briefed on the strike, union unity, and although their numbers were marginal a strike would undermine the strength of the TUC's case.

It is up to individual students' unions to decide if they are going to support the day of action, and if they do, what support they will give, a NUS spokesman said yesterday.

Payment for operators without work due to the setters' absence would then become crucial.

If the operators were put on time rates by the management, they would suffer a substantial earnings loss.

Management might also decide to send these workers home, stewards warn. In either case, the whole Acton site could rapidly become involved in the dispute.

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