

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY APRIL 7, 1972 ● No. 733 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## MANCHESTER ENGINEERS' FIGHT EMPLOYERS DIG

# IN

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS

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But negotiations broke down when it became clear that management would only offer a meagre wage increase in exchange for a steep rise in productivity.

Both men and union officials were admitting yesterday that this was a final sign that groups like GKN, Hawker Siddeley, AEI and British Steel Corporation, are determined to present a united opposition to the claim for a £4 increase, a 35-hour week and longer holidays.

'It seems we are in for a long battle. Management do not appear to want to give in and neither do we,' a spokesman for the AUEW said.

GKN at Bredbury, who have faced a sit-in strike by workers for over three weeks, offered pay rises starting at £1.42 for a new productivity scheme involving Measured-Day Work. They refused to discuss demands on hours and holidays.

This 'offer' is in line with the policy of the Engineering Employers' Federation. A leading NW member of the EEF was present at the Bredbury talks as an 'adviser'.

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The latest to join are 1,200 Hawker Siddeley workers at Woodford, near Stockport. They spent their first day of sit-in strike yesterday after management threatened to suspend men who were banning overtime.

It is now clear that the big employers are offering at the most a wage increase that will be rapidly eaten away by rising prices.

In exchange they want even more productivity and redundancies. This is despite the fact that workers in the Manchester area have experienced savage speed-up, 14,000 sackings and widespread short-time over the past 12 months.

The employers have national backing from their federation in this bid to cut living standards.

But unions locally do not have backing from the top. The AUEW has made it clear at national level that the Manchester action should not be imitated by other areas. In both Sheffield and Oldham—where district-wide claims were a possibility—plant-by-plant negotiations are now in progress.

Meanwhile, the right-wing leadership of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, which organizes most of the un-



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said that the shop stewards' call for an occupation had been unanimously backed at a mass meeting yesterday morning.

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But they added that some settlements had been signed on the three points and that more were expected soon.

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News of this confrontation has reached G&MWU members and their mood is one of anger. Many naively expected that the Baker visit would result in official backing and strike pay for the men who are occupying or locked out.

In fact the G&MWU executive will not

even consider the Bredbury dispute until next Wednesday and it has not even been officially notified of the disputes in other Manchester plants.

The Manchester battle is now assuming a classic form. Workers and some local officials are ready to fight it out with employers who are applying Tory policy within industry.

The union leaders, however, are ignoring them or attacking them. Every national executive affiliated to the CSEU has attempted to isolate the dispute by confining the action to the Manchester area.

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It was significant that before details of the report were publicly released, the new Tory supremo in Ulster, William Whitelaw, issued his own comments on its findings.

In one of the most placatory speeches the Tories have made on Ulster since coming to office, Whitelaw said the report exploded many of the myths about the IRA's role in the 1969 riots, about the so-called organized attack by Protestants on Catholics and about the behaviour of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC).

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The report, prepared almost two years ago by Mr Justice Scarman, is a whitewash—of everybody concerned.

In fact, after reading it, one wonders whether Scarman is actually describing Ulster where the British army has an occupation army of 15,000 soldiers, where more than 600 men are interned without trial, where prisoners are tortured and innocent citizens are shot in the back.

For instance Scarman finds:

- There was no plot to overthrow the Stormont government.
- There was no evidence of plans to mount an armed insurrection.
- The RUC was not a partisan force co-operating with the Protestants against the Catholics.
- Neither the IRA nor any Protestant organization nor anybody else planned a campaign of violence.
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After Wednesday's meeting, management attempted to move work done by an outside firm from the NCD wiring shop and thus weaken the nine-week long strike by workers in the plant's NCD machine shop.

The work was immediately blocked by the wipers who have since been threatened with redundancy.

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## AROUND THE WORLD

# Nixon bombardment of N can't stop advance

BY OUR CORRESPONDENT

AMERICAN planes and naval artillery yesterday began limited bombardment of N Vietnam in an attempt to slow down the invasion of the S.

The attacks, described as 'limited duration air and shelling strikes', came as a large body of N Vietnamese troops successfully forded the Cua Viet River near the demilitarized zone, despite the presence of a force of S Vietnamese tanks.

The fording of the river opens the road to Dong Ha, the only remaining Saigon government stronghold in the area close to the DMZ. Many N Vietnamese troops have already pushed well to the S of Dong Ha in a series of outflanking moves.

Special envoy Dr Phan Quang Tri, a Minister of State in the Saigon government, yesterday ordered the evacuation of the remaining 20,000 civilians in Dong Ha, who are being sent in army lorries to join the 40,000 refugees who are camping out in the old capital of Hue, 36 miles to the S.

As the S Vietnamese defences crumble around the DMZ, their opponents have launched two other major attacks against them.

N Vietnamese troops are still pushing



down Highway 22 from bases in E Cambodia towards Saigon, and are reported only some 40 miles from the capital.

There has also been heavy fighting in the central highlands, of Kontum, an important provincial town.

White House sources in Washington indicated yesterday that President Nixon would resort to all-out bombing of the N only as a last resort. He may well be worried about the strength of the N Vietnamese air defence.

Hanoi Radio reported that ten American jets had been shot down over N Vietnam

yesterday. Some were brought down before they had a chance to release their bombs, the Radio said. They included a B52 heavy bomber.

The Vietnamese victories were hailed by the Peking Communist Party newspaper 'People's Daily' yesterday. It said the official American hints of massive retaliation against the offensive were a 'crude and blatant menace against the Vietnamese people.'

'Regardless of their desperate actions, the United States will be unable to save the Saigon regime from its defeat,' the paper said.

## 1,000 youth for trial

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

MORE than 1,000 young revolutionaries, some of them under 16, will be the first victims of Ceylon's Justice Commissions Act, rushed through parliament yesterday morning after only 12 hours of debate.

They have been singled out by the coalition government from among 14,000 young prisoners. They were detained without trial in special internment camps after the abortive uprising of the People's Liberation Front (JVP) was crushed with Stalinist and imperialist aid last March.

Their secret trials, before special tribunals established under the Act, will probably begin next month. Eight thousand other detainees thought to have played a less prominent role in the uprising will stand trial before the ordinary courts.

Under the Act, which runs for eight years, the tribunals can send defendants to prison for life without the possibility of appeal.

Any confession, even if extracted under torture, can be accepted as evidence by the special courts.

Defendants will be compelled to give evidence, the statements of government agents need not be open to cross-examination and incriminating statements made by accomplices can be accepted as evidence.

In other words, the young defendants are guilty until proved innocent. The Act, which has been strongly criticized by the parliamentary opposition and such organizations as the Ceylon Bar Council, passed through parliament by 109 votes to 24.

Among its most fervent supporters are the renegade Trotskyists of the LSSP, led by N. M. Perera, Finance Minister in the coalition, and the pro-Moscow Communist Party.

## Gunfight rages in Argentina

POLICE and snipers exchanged fire throughout Wednesday night in Mendoza, Argentina, following clashes in the town after the funeral of two men killed on Tuesday. Several thousand demonstrated in defiance of the government's curfew and state of emergency.

Opposition to the government was brought to a head by increased electricity prices. The demonstrations are being organized by the supporters of ex-President Peron and particularly by the General Confederation of Labour (CGT), which they control.

President Alejandro Lanusse's hard-pressed government has frozen all trade union bank accounts and those of trade union leaders. It has called on the CGT to withdraw a statement blaming the authorities for the violence.

The Peronists are demanding that next March's elections be brought forward.



Ceylon trooper questions youth during last year's emergency

## Kosygin on Arab oil trip

SOVIET Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin arrived in Baghdad yesterday accompanied by a strong delegation of industrial and oil experts.

The visit is seen as a move to strengthen ties with Iraq and show support for the Arabs in their conflict with Israel. Kosygin will take part in the 25th anniversary celebrations of the ruling Ba'ath party.

He will also visit the N Rumaila oilfield which is being developed with Soviet technical

and financial assistance. The Iraqis will repay the loan in crude oil shipments to the Soviet Union.

In neighbouring Syria, veteran communist leader Khaled Bakdash launched a strong attack on what he called 'an adventurous, opportunist and deviationist bloc' within the party. Five 'deviationists' have been expelled from the Party's Central Committee.

Bakdash, who is a faithful supporter of Moscow's Middle East line, accused the opposition

## Japan dumping goods in Europe

EUROPE is becoming a dumping ground for Japanese exports since the yen revaluation closed off the country's markets in the United States.

Japan's latest figures show an 83 per cent rise in the value of TV and tape recorder exports to Europe.

European manufacturers have made genteel protests over the past few months, but do not appear to have realized the full scope of the Japanese trade offensive.

They are certain to demand government protection against this threat.

Textile manufacturers, whose industry is in the throes of deep recession, claim Japanese competition has cut their profits.

Until last year, the US provided by far the largest overseas market for Japanese goods. The August 15 10 per cent import surcharge followed by a series of 'voluntary' restrictions imposed by the US, has cut heavily into sales.

Japanese colour TV sets bound for the US, for example, have fallen by between 20 and 30 per cent.

The European motor industry is likely to be the next victim of dumping as soon as the Japanese manufacturers build up sufficient spares and after-sales service to handle the European market.

Behind this frantic Japanese drive is the country's worst economic crisis since the war.

Central Statistical Office figures from Tokyo show a sharp fall in investment, despite a 22-per-cent rise in the budget deficit designed to stimulate investment.

Tokyo statisticians say the 10-per-cent Japanese growth rate will be cut by more than half this year.

The erection of European tariff walls against dumping would intensify Japan's recession.

The country is rearming at a rapid rate as its big monopolists turn towards a military solution to their crisis.

## Forced labour in SW Africa

CONDITIONS for Ovambo contract workers in SW Africa are so bad that a ready supply of labour will only be obtained by resort to force. This is the conclusion of an independent report made by the S African Institute of Race Relations.

Last December 13,000 striking tribesmen paralysed the economy of the area. Concessions made since then are regarded as quite inadequate.

The strike and the authorities' response has led to a great increase in the political awareness of African workers, the report emphasizes.

It says that workers are separated from their families for as much as two-thirds of their life for wages of 3½p an hour. Employers acted in unison to prevent wages going up and had the support of the S African government.

The African workers cannot form trade unions, they are subject to pass laws and similar restrictions on movement, and heavy punishments are meted out for 'subversive statements', particularly in meetings and refusal to obey employers' orders.

of raising the slogan of 'a unified Arab Communist Party' and calling for independence from the Soviet Union. He said it had cast doubts on the Soviet Union's policy towards the Palestine cause.

One of the expelled Central Committee members, Ibrahim Bakri, refused to comment on Bakdash's statement, but said: 'We are committed to the principles of the Communist Party, but we are against the old leadership.'

# 'No-strike' engineers lead Midlands pay struggle

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

**THREE WEEKS'** ago the engineers' pay battle broke out in earnest with the occupation of Manchester area factories and the walk-out of the 350-strong labour force at the Birmingham Battery and Metal Company in Birmingham.

The Birmingham walk-out had a particular significance. This family-owned rolling and tube mill, with a history which goes back to the Industrial Revolution, was facing its first major dispute.

The firm has survived for nearly 150 years by a combination of paternalism and reputation for philanthropy.

The boom conditions of the 1950s which constantly attracted the more militant workers into the higher-paid motor industry militated against building a stable union organization in the factory.

Old-timers in Selly Oak still talk with some awe of a one-day strike at 'The Battery'—in 1912 or thereabouts.

The firm's historian,<sup>1</sup> writing in 1936, noted, not without a certain sense of relief:

'The General Strike of 1926 occurred in May, but did not involve any of the company's employees. Difficulties created by the lack of transport were quickly overcome, the strike being of short duration.'

Fitter Ted Sullivan has worked for the company for 16 years. He says: 'It's a funny place to work for; there's people who have worked there for years and years, even in bad times they've found employment there.'

'In a sense I didn't want this strike', says Ted, who in fact is one of the most familiar faces on the picket line.

'Consider my age, my circumstances and the fact that I'm a widower and have no family. In there I could get £16 for 52 weeks a year. Knowing that's coming in regularly enables you to plan, budget and so on. In that sense it's better than working at a place like the Austin, where you might get £40 a week for six months of the year and for the other six months be laid off or on strike.'

'But that's considering it as an individual. I want the strike in the sense that my fellow man working there is grossly underpaid. At £16 a week for a family man, it's starvation rations!'

Several years of constant inflation, soaring unemployment and the Tory attack on basic rights and standards have built up a powerful head of steam among workers in similar plants up and down the country.

It was this pressure in the rank and file which lay behind the engineers' original claim, the main planks of which were £6 straight increase and a reduction in hours.

'The men thought they were quite within their rights to ask for a rise', says convenor Len Tisdell.

'Since the last rise of 7 per cent in September 1971, the cost of living between September and December alone rose by 2.5 per cent.'

He explained the wages system. They are ranged in 11 grades from A to K. The most common are C and D, for which current basic rates are £16.15 and £16.85 respectively, for 40 hours.

1. 'One Hundred Years', Arthur Rountree, 1936.



Len Tisdell, convenor at the Birmingham Battery plant (top) where a picket is mounted every day

According to a Department of Employment report published in December 1970, 117 men were being paid at grade C rate and a further 97 at grade D—a total of 214 out of a labour force of 350. Eight men in the entire factory were on top rate (K) and only four on the next highest (J).

The report noted that certain bonuses were paid on top of basic, but admitted: 'In some departments production, for reasons outside the workers' control, rarely reaches the incentive level, and minimum bonus is paid.'

In a breakdown of bonus payments in No 12 mill, the Department's findings showed that:

1) In six consecutive weeks the minimum bonus was never earned.

2) The bonus actually paid was almost 20 per cent higher than the bonus earned.

3) The bonus actually paid in two particular weeks was identical, although production in the first week was 60 per cent higher.

4) Bonus was earned when production exceeded eight tons weekly. 'It does seem likely . . . that Dept 12 has rarely, if ever, exceeded eight tons in a week during the past two years.'

The DEP made some recommendations about the incentive payments, but according to the men, the numbers who have actually benefited since could be counted on one hand.

Another thing that rankles

with the strikers is the 'collapse' of the firm's 'philanthropy'.

On the basis of an expanding industry and empire, certain employers were able to own so much that they could afford to give some of it away in gifts to the 'community'.

This is, to some extent, the history of Birmingham Battery. Five of the firm's 13 co-founders were sons of Joseph Gibbins, a banker and copper smelter who, with Matthew Boulton, started the Rose Copper Co. in Birmingham in 1793.

William Gibbins (1840-1933), a past chairman, was perhaps a more far-sighted capitalist. He founded the Brass and Copper Tube (Manufacturers') Association.

Today the Birmingham Battery and Metal Co are members of a much larger and tougher organization—the Engineering Employers' Federation (EEF). It is they who are determined not just to hold the line on the Tory wage 'norm', but to lead a ruthless counter-attack on wages and conditions throughout the country. The days of philanthropy are gone for good.

As one of the strikers put it, not without a certain pride: 'Up there you've got 300 men taking on the whole employers' federation.'

The question which every trade unionist must ask himself is, must these men fight alone?

## Wolverhampton toolmakers walk out after two sackings

WOLVERHAMPTON: From our own correspondent

**WORKERS** at a Wolverhampton toolmakers walked out yesterday against the alleged victimization of two skilled setters.

The strike — at the T. Williams factory in Hickman Avenue — began four days early.

Notice that labour would be withdrawn was due to expire next Monday, but earlier this week Transport and General Workers' district organizer Harry Littlehales was told by his 45 members at Williams' that they were not prepared to wait any longer. They would be out on Thursday.

Yesterday's walk-out was sparked by company plans to make two men redundant.

One of the men is a shop steward, the other also an active trade unionist. They received notice of dismissal just a few days after management were informed by Littlehales of the steward's election.

'It just seems too much of a coincidence to be believed', the T&GWU organizer told Workers Press yesterday.

'This smacks very much to me of victimization for union activities.'

Williams, who make spanners and other forms of tools, have now completed the bulk of a transfer of work from Birmingham to Wolverhampton. Only their drop-forging operations still remain to be transferred.

As the machinery has been going over the last six months, there has been friction with the union over incentive schemes the company wanted to reduce for women.

But it had been promised that if the transferred plant—much of which is said by workers to be very antiquated—could be swung quickly into production there would be no shortage of work.

With unemployment in the city already running at 6.8 per cent, the T&GWU members at Williams' are determined to fight hard for the two men's threatened jobs.

They also claim that although their dismissals are being described as redundancy, another setter is being brought in from Birmingham to replace them.

The company has refused to comment.

## BOOKS



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# NIXON, ERIM: PACT SEALED IN BLOOD

BY JOHN SPENCER

The violent deaths of three NATO technicians and their urban guerrilla kidnapers has once more brought the bloody struggle between the Turkish military regime and its young opponents into the headlines.

The technicians, two of them from Britain, were kidnapped as hostages for the lives of three young guerrilla fighters facing death by hanging in a military prison near Istanbul.

The three condemned men, Deniz Gezmis (24), Yusuf Aslan (25), and Huseyin Inan (22), were sentenced under martial law proclaimed when the army overthrew the constitution after a coup d'etat on March 12, 1971.

Their alleged crimes do not carry the death penalty under civil law, yet the sentences were approved by the National Assembly, now little more than a rubber stamp for the military dictators.

The Senate also rushed through its approval of the death sentences in direct violation to its own statutes.

All the accepted legal procedures were set aside to enable President Cevmet Sunay to sign the death warrants on March 23.

The three victims, who could be hanged at any time, are not the only class-war prisoners awaiting execution in the Turkish government's jails.

Another group of three young fighters, Necmi Demir, Yamil Dede and Ziya Yilmaz have also been sentenced to death after perfunctory court martial.

In this way, the regime hopes to cow the working class into submission and seal in blood its destruction of the Turkish workers' democratic rights.

The Sunay dictatorship has the full backing of NATO and British and US imperialism in carrying out these actions. The three kidnapped technicians were on loan to the Turkish air force under a NATO agreement.

While Sunay was signing the death warrants on March 23, the other partner in his reactionary conspiracy, premier Nihat Erim, was in the United States for talks with the arch-imperialist Richard Nixon.

Erim's five-day visit prepared new plans for closer collaboration between the US and the right-wing military dictatorships of the E Mediterranean.

The basic points in the common declaration issued by the two government leaders make this abundantly clear.

Nixon and Erim agreed that there must be a close alliance between the two countries and also that NATO is vital for the security of Turkey, the US and its other member-countries.

This statement is a continuation of the policy contained in previous joint agreements, which recognize America's right to intervene in Turkish internal affairs at times of crisis.

For example, if there is a civil war or a state of emergency, the 40,000 US troops stationed in Turkey could be deployed to support the government.

Under the new agreement, America undertakes to contribute 35,000m Turkish pounds (about £1,000m) for the reorganization of the Turkish armed forces. Turkey already has 600,000 men under arms—the largest army in the Middle East and the fourth largest in the world.

Sixty per cent of the Turkish budget is spent on the armed forces. The huge new injection of US aid was asked for by the Turkish Military Council (the supreme armed forces body) in a ten-year military development plan.

In addition to this aid injection, Nixon promised Erim he would increase the military aid already in the pipeline from £23m to £40m.

At Erim's request, the US will send technical experts to modernize the armed forces, and supply, among other modern weapons, the F-5 fighter-bomber.

Direct US development aid for the Turkish economy is to be raised from £15m to over £20m and in addition Nixon has arranged for the military dictators to have generous World Bank loans.

The Bank's chairman Robert McNamara is a former US Defence Secretary. He has promised that in addition to over £50m already earmarked for 1972, a further £6m will be given under certain specified conditions.

The World Bank has also promised over £15m to modernize Istanbul as a Middle Eastern metropolis.

No wonder Erim expressed his fulsome gratitude. He even wrote to former President Truman expressing his admiration 'for your efforts which have contributed so much to the friendship and collaboration of our nations . . .'

(Truman set in motion the post-war development of America's military alliance and the formation of a *cordon sanitaire* against the USSR and the other workers' states.)

Nixon's bounty is the pay-off to Sunay and Erim for service to imperialism in carrying out last year's military coup and suppressing the resistance of the Turkish workers.

Behind Nixon's generosity is the fortification of the counter-revolutionary regimes in Greece, Turkey and Iran against the threat of revolution in the Middle East.

At the same time, Nixon wants to pull Turkey away from America's economic rivals in the Common Market and speed up the preparation of war with the Soviet Union and the other workers' states.

An essential aspect of this plan is the plot to partition Cyprus between the Greek and Turkish militarists. Both Erim and the Greek colonels have presented ultimatums to Cypriot President Makarios demanding a government reshuffle in line with the requirements of NATO and the two neighbouring dictatorships.

Erim and Nixon agreed to the settlement of the Cyprus question by discussions between Turkey and Greece and the United Nations. This is a heavy blow to the self-determination of the Cyprus peoples, whose fate on this basis will be decided behind their backs.

US imperialism needs to carve up Cyprus in order to guarantee its security in the Middle East. Its ultimate aim is to divide Cyprus between the two military dictatorships.

This alliance sealed in blood is also about to receive the *imprimatur* of the Kremlin. Prsident Podgorny of the Soviet Union is due to begin a week's state visit to Turkey on April 11.

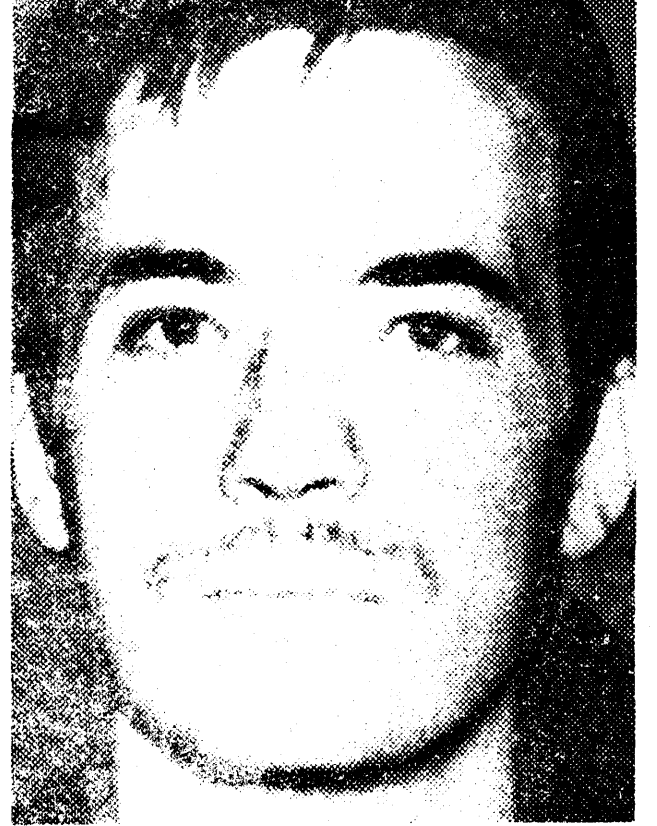


Above: search operations for the kidnapped technicians underway. Below: Nixon with Erim, Turkish premier.





Top: Necmi Demir (left) and Yamil Dede (right) being sentenced to death. Above: three young women sentenced to life imprisonment at a mass trial. Below: three of the kidnapers.



# DISCUSSION ON INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

In preparation for the Fourth Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International, the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League are publishing the four main documents of the International Committee covering the split with the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.



## DOCUMENT 4

Statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International (Majority) March 1, 1972

### Centrism and the OCI (continued)

In order, so far as possible at that late stage, to correct the completely anti-theoretical line of the document proposed by the AJS (youth organization of the OCI), the IS proposed the amendment drawing attention to the theoretical basis of the revolutionary movement. The OCI represents this as some sort of ultimatum. But, as the British delegation explained, what was actually required was a new resolution based on these theoretical foundations, and an amendment could only attempt to preserve for the future whatever basis there was for agreement. There proved conclusively to be none. The split actually occurred on the question of the place of Marxist theory as the foundation of the revolutionary party.

The OCI, as well as all sorts of other people, will pay lip-service to Lenin's statement 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement,' but in the actual struggle to build the movement they reject the struggle for theory in order to preserve the centrist alliance they have been building up. They have 'prepared' for this public declaration against the theoretical foundation of our movement by years of failure to take up basic questions of theory in the French labour movement. We shall see where this neglect has led them in the revision of basic Marxist concepts.

And so the split is not a question of dozens of detailed points of organization, or even of political positions on various questions. Every one of these points must and will be answered, but the great advantage of the present split is that the basic theoretical questions are out in the open. At the point in history where the deepening of capitalist crisis actually opens the door for Trotskyist parties to be built and to lead the working class to power, a point where the conditions for development of Marxist theory by revolutionary cadres are better than ever before, and where all the lessons of the long struggle against

revisionism in the Trotskyist movement can be capitalized—precisely at this point the OCI wants to devalue theory, to join the derision of the petty bourgeoisie against discussion on philosophy, to condemn the 'ultramism' and 'sectarianism' of the SLL, and to accept the petty-bourgeois prejudice that the Fourth International, having in any case been misconceived, died long ago.

These are the fundamental positions behind the split. They are the basis of the differences on the united front, on Bolivia, and on the policies of the OCI in France, as well as on the historical and theoretical issues already raised in the discussion.

When a split takes place on the fundamental question of the relationship of Marxist theory to programme and to the building of revolutionary parties, it cannot be tackled by arguments, like those of the OCI, that 'There can no more be a "majority" of the IC than there can be a "minority"', since there has been no meeting of the IC! The OCI did not need a meeting of the IC to reveal at Essen that on the question of the Fourth International they were prepared to write off some 35 years of history. It is not just that they returned, formally, to the position of 'for the Fourth International' instead of 'building the Fourth International'. They rejected the positions of the FI on those centrists who had opposed its very foundation.

### The differences are not new

The political differences in the IC did not begin in 1971, nor in 1969, as the OCI suggests. In the two years before the Third International Conference of the IC in 1966 there was discussion, both at IC meetings and in written bulletins, on the differences between us on the nature of revolutionary leadership. The dangerous political implications of these differences were, in our opinion, most openly expressed (as early as 1964) in the assertion of a leading OCI member, that the meaning of certain expressions in the Transitional Programme has not been discernible in their objective significance until that time. According to him, only now were some of these phrases revealing their real content. He referred particularly to the last sentence of this paragraph: 'Is the creation of such a



[workers' and farmers'] government by the traditional workers organizations possible? Past experience shows, as has already been stated, that this is to say the least highly improbable. However one cannot categorically deny in advance the theoretical possibility that, under the influence of completely exceptional circumstances (war, defeat, financial crash, mass revolutionary pressure, etc.) the petty-bourgeois parties, including the Stalinists, may go further than they wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie.'

The real experience of the Trotskyist movement since these sentences were written had proved beyond any doubt that the Stalinists and reformists grow ever more open in their betrayals, in their counter-revolutionary role, revisionism seized on precisely this passage to justify liquidation of the revolutionary party. Pablo split the FI with his thesis that 'mass revolutionary pressure' and World War III would force Stalinism to play a revolutionary role. Ignoring the deliberate warning given by Trotsky (that even if a workers' government were established by the traditional workers

parties, 'it would represent merely a short episode on the road to the actual dictatorship of the proletariat') Pablo predicted 'centuries of degenerated workers' states'.

The OCI was in danger of preparing the theoretical slipway for the same liquidationist in another form: to liquidate the independent programme and identity of the party in an all-embracing policy of 'united front for a workers' government'.

At this stage, we were prepared to fight for the clarification of these problems within the same International. At the 1966 Conference, the attack on Trotskyism by non-member participants, the US Spartacist (Robertson) group and the Voix Ouvrière (VO) group (France), brought a united response from the SLL, the OCI and the other sections of the IC. Our opinion at that time was that the defence of the continuity of the Trotskyist movement against the opportunism of Robertson and Voix Ouvrière laid the basis for tackling some of our differences. It is of great importance for the present discussion that the

\*These groups attended as observers.

VO based their attack on the formulation in the IC documents that the FI had been organizationally destroyed by Pabloism and must be 'reconstructed'.

While it is formally true, as the OCI states, that the final resolutions in some places retained the terms 'reconstruction' and 'rebuilding', what is certain is that the content of these resolutions was above all the continuity of independent parties and of the FI fought for and preserved by the IC and based on Marxist principle and theory. Against the attacks of VO and Robertson, the SLL, the Workers' League and the Greek section fought for the continuity of the FI and in doing so compromised with the OCI on the wording of the amendment carried. There was no concession on principle.

What soon emerged was that the OCI's participation in the fight against VO and Robertson, rather than proving a basis for changing their wrong positions on the question of the independent revolutionary party, served as a screen behind which they proceeded on exactly the same road. By 1966 the OCI had agreed that, even while opposed to Pabloism, it had committed

grave errors of precisely a Pabloite type in relation to the Algerian national movement. But it did not go any further, and this was fundamental.

The next step should have been to probe the unresolved theoretical question in the split with Pablo which had left the OCI vulnerable to such a mistake. Because this was not done, the OCI in its latest document can still say, on the lessons of the Algerian experience:

'The fact remains that the policy of the Trotskyist organization was wrong because it rejected "the struggle for the development of a Trotskyist vanguard".'

Certainly! But when you say this, you are left precisely with the big question: how did it arise that a 'mistake' was made on the principal question of the epoch! And if this question is not posed, let alone answered, what dangers exist of liquidation of the revolutionary party in France itself, and in every country? The OCI's attitude towards the 'rebuilding of the Fourth International through a "regroupment" of all those claiming to support the Transitional Programme is the instrument for this liquidation.

That is why, in 1967, the OCI, having moved from its previous position of setting up some sort of 'League' consisting of a supposedly already existing 'vanguard' of the best organizers and militants in the working class focused its attack in the IC on all sorts of plans to create artificially a centre for the IC. Proposals were made for full-time workers and special financial schemes to attract forces internationally (such as dissident youth in E Europe) who were said to be only looking for somewhere to go. The SLL's opposition to these methods, its insistence on the central importance of the training of a cadre, was condemned as opposition to the need to build 'the International as such' (*en tant que telle*).

There was no resolution of these questions in discussion. We could get little or no agreement on our estimation of the growing economic crisis of capitalism as the objective source to which our comrades must be directed for their development as Marxists. Indeed, leaders of the OCI told us that our attention to Economic Perspectives at our Conferences was wrong, and that

there could be no separation of economic from political perspectives.

The fact is that their own perspectives were not based upon this appreciation of the depth of the economic crisis, and they were left like all non-Marxists and revisionists simply to agree on the existence of a crisis when its effects could no longer be missed by the naked eye. Consequently the political manifestations of the crisis, and particularly the May-June 1968 struggles in France, took them completely by surprise.

All through 1967, the OCI had pursued their proposals on 'the International as such' and attacked the organization of the SLL (just as later they privately opposed the plans for a daily paper) on the grounds, fundamentally, that we were leaping too far ahead of the movement and consciousness of the working class, the 'real movement' (see the letter of the OCI to the SLL and the SLL Reply, 1967).

These differences about the discipline, training and organization of the revolutionary party were obviously connected with the emphasis of the SLL on the fact that the advanced stage

reached by the economic crisis would very soon pose the struggle for power in a number of countries, and that our parties would be called upon to take up leadership. At the International Assembly of Youth in Britain in August 1967, the SLL found itself having to exercise great patience and firmness in insisting on these perspectives on all the questions which they affected: security, organizational details, finance, and the whole problem of preparedness of the youth cadre.

Undoubtedly the May-June days in 1968 once again provided the opportunity for a struggle to clarify political differences. It was absolutely correct for the SLL to campaign, as it did, to win wide support, political and financial, for the OCI. A large fund was raised, and a broad movement of opposition to the repressions against the OCI was mobilized through the columns of 'The Newsletter' (predecessor of the Workers Press).

What is more important is that the rapid development of the objective situation, of the class struggle itself, had completely vindicated the political preparation fought for by the SLL. It was

It was particularly the struggles in May-June 1968, in France (above) which took the OCI completely by surprise.

vital to bring home this indispensable lesson to the members and leaders of the OCI, and to the international movement. It was the responsibility of the SLL to fight to overcome previous differences on this basis.

The following months actually suggested the possibility of success, but behind formal political agreement, the OCI pursued its course and still the basic questions were not resolved. After May-June 1968, it was certainly impossible to avoid 'recognizing' the international crisis. Nor was it possible to escape any longer the direct and immediate way in which preparation for the struggle for power was posed. These conceptions found their way into the documents of the OCI, and in a series of discussions it was possible to win a certain degree of agreement on the way that the struggle for a workers' government was posed in France, by making specific demands on the Communist and Socialist parties.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

# THE AUSTRIAN WORKERS BETRAYED

BY JACK GALE

In Austria, as in Germany, in the 1918-1919 period the monarchy was overthrown by the organized workers. The new Austrian Republic proclaimed on November 12, 1918. A revolutionary crisis existed, but at the head of the Austrian working class stood the Social Democrats.

When the old imperial army collapsed, it was replaced by the 'Volkswehr' made up almost entirely of Social Democrat supporters. In Vienna, especially, the Volkswehr consisted of armed workers totally loyal to Social Democracy.

Soldiers' councils were formed, demanding the right to elect their officers. Frequently, one of the conditions of election was a pledge to vote for the Social Democrats. The Viennese soldiers' councils elected an Executive Committee, which was entirely under the influence of left-wing Social Democrats.

The Volkswehr units, however, were used by the government—a coalition of Social Democrats and the two main bourgeois parties—to put down communist demonstrators. Some, at least, of the Social Democratic leaders were ready from the start to follow the line pursued in Germany by Noske, who had declared 'The Free Corps are better Germans than the Spartacists'.

## COUNCILS

Workers' councils also sprang up in November, again almost totally under Social Democratic control. In Vienna, for example, the Social Democrats held 88 per cent of the seats on the district workers' councils, compared with 10 per cent held by the communists.

In many provincial industrial towns the picture was the same. In Linz the Social Democrats held 295 out of 310 seats.

One of the Social Democratic leaders was Friedrich Adler, who had been jailed for his opposition to the war. Adler refused to join the communists, declaring that he stood for 'the international revolutionary programme of Social Democracy'.

Just how this 'international revolutionary programme' worked in practice was shown after March 22, 1919, the date of the proclamation of the Soviet Republic of Hungary, led by Bela Kun.

On March 23, the Social Democratic newspaper—the 'Arbeiter Zeitung'—published Adler's reply to the revolutionary Hungarian Proclamation:

'You have issued the call to us to follow your example. We would joyfully do so, but unfortunately cannot at the moment. In our country there is no food. Even our meagre bread ration depends upon the food trains sent to us by the Entente. Thus we are entirely the slaves of the Entente... We are convinced that the Russian Soviet Republic would do everything in its power to help us. But before that help could have reached us, we would have starved. Thus we are in a much more difficult position than you. Our dependence on the Entente is a total one... All our wishes are with you. With burning hearts we follow events.'

Telegram after telegram flooded into the Social Democrats' headquarters, not only from all over Austria, but from industrial centres in Bavaria, like Munich. All called on the Social Demo-

crats to proclaim the Austrian Soviet Republic.

At the second national conference of the Austrian workers' councils in June, a communist delegate demanded that the Social Democrats immediately leave the coalition government and that the workers' councils seize the power. But the Social Democrats would not have it, and the resolution was defeated.

In October 1919, the Social Democrat-controlled Vienna district workers' council passed a resolution condemning 'any attempt to bring about the rule of one class' as it would lead to civil war. It was, said the Social Democrats, 'unfortunately necessary' to continue the coalition government in order to protect 'the vital interests of the working class!'

The workers' councils were, in fact, restricted to welfare activities within the framework of the coalition with the bourgeois parties, of which the largest was the Christian Social Party. But even here, the councils trod on the toes of the bourgeoisie.

They took it on themselves to stop the black-market profiteering in food and fuel on which the bourgeoisie gorged themselves while workers were going hungry and cold. In one month alone (August 1919) the councils reported in Vienna that they had confiscated from bourgeois profiteers 10,200 kilos of flour, 15,800 of potatoes, 3,000 of meat and sausages, 2,000 of butter and fat, 230,000 cigarettes, 6,070 cigars, 12,300 pairs of shoes plus large quantities of eggs, cheese, milk, soap, coal, wood, petrol, leather and textiles.

Contrast this list with Adler's statement (above) and the Social Democrats couldn't lead a revolution because there was 'no food!'

Another field of activity was the prevention of evictions. And in some areas the large houses of the rich were inspected for surplus space and homeless families installed in them.

Frequently, workers toured the luxurious night-clubs and expensive bars (in the country where there was 'no food') to put an end to wasteful guzzling while families starved on the streets. One result of this was frequent complaints to the Party's head office from workers who had discovered leading Social Democrats in those places, loudly bawling 'Service, Comrade!' at the harassed waiters.

Then, after Horthy's counter-revolution in Hungary and the Kapp Putsch in Berlin, there were increasing demands in Austria that the workers should be armed. The Social Democrats, needless to say, rejected this.

The workers' councils were starved of power and resources by the Social Democrats, who saw the maintenance of friendly relations with their bourgeois allies in the coalition as far more important than any activities of the working class. This led to the steady decline of the councils throughout 1920.

The Social Democratic leaders, Friedrich Adler and Otto Bauer, frequently used the conservatism of the peasant as an excuse for indefinitely postponing the revolution to which they were, of course, 'devoted'. But the Social Democrats never produced a revolutionary programme which the peasants could be united with the working class.

Instead, by remaining in coalition with the bourgeoisie, they preserved the old order. As the leader of the Christian Social Party, Dr Seipel accurately pointed out in December 1918:



Proclamation of the Austrian Republic outside the Parliament buildings, November 12, 1918

'The party coalition has remained in force, and no major unrest has disturbed the bourgeois order. The National Assembly in which all parties co-operate has not been pushed aside for one moment.'

Everywhere in Austria, as in Germany, the officials of the old regime were not only allowed but encouraged to stay in office. This was particularly true of the judiciary—Social Democracy considered the bourgeois judges absolutely irremovable.

Thus, once the immediate shock of November 1918 was absorbed, the social forces which had dominated the former empire, the bureaucracy, the officer corps, the bankers and industrialists, the leaders of the right-wing parties and the churches, were allowed to re-occupy the leading positions to which they felt entitled.

The Social Democratic leaders, while turning away in horror from revolution, pinned all their hopes on the 'Anschluss' (union with Germany). By this they meant not a union with the revolutionary German working class, but with the bourgeois republic being preserved by Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske and company.

As Otto Bauer declared at the 1920 congress of the Austrian Social Democrats: 'We stand by the principle of the bourgeois republic. The bourgeois republic does not mean the emancipation of the proletariat, but it provides, to quote a phrase of Marx, the most favourable ground for the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. Thus we will in the first instance have to defend this bourgeois republic against reactionaries.'

This cynical vulgarization of Marx—using his analysis of the emerging bourgeois states in their struggle against the remnants of feudalism as a cover for a craven support of the bourgeois state against the revolutionary movement of the working class—did not save the Social Democrats.

Lenin had shown that the only way to defend and extend the gains of the February revolution was to use the revolutionary strength of the masses against the Provisional government which

was opening the way for the reactionaries. Bauer and the other Austrian and German Social Democrats disarmed the revolutionary masses in order to placate their own bourgeois allies. These allies in turn dispensed with them and reaction was triumphant.

In June, 1920, the Austrian Social Democrats were forced out of the Provisional government. Every time the working class had sought to move forward, the Social Democrats had held them back. As a result, the workers were dispirited and the reactionaries growing in confidence. This led to the election result of October 1920, in which the votes of the right-wing Christian Social Party went up from 36 to 42 per cent and the Social Democrats dropped from 41 to 36 per cent.

It can be seen that these figures are almost identical, though in reverse order. Yet when the Social Democrats had the higher figure they gave the Christian Socials a majority of the seats in the Assembly.

When the position was reversed, the Christian Social Party ruled alone and gave the Social Democrats nothing.

## STRANGLER

Thus in Austria, as in Germany, Social Democracy strangled the revolution. Capitalism as a system had no strength left. It survived only because of the crisis of leadership in the working class. Its overthrow requires a revolutionary party which can both train a vanguard and win the confidence of broad layers of the toiling masses.

As Trotsky pointed out to the Third World Congress of the Communist International, meeting in July 1921:

'To replace a social class, governing an old society that has turned reactionary, must come a new social class which possesses the programme for a new social order meeting the needs for the development of productive forces, and which is prepared to realize this programme in life. [My emphasis.]

'The greater the danger, all the more does the [bourgeois]

class exert its vital forces in the struggle for self-preservation... the bourgeoisie finds itself face to face with mortal danger, after having accumulated colossal political experience.

'The bourgeois ruling circles act all the more resourcefully, cunningly, ruthlessly, all the more clearly their leaders take cognizance of the threatening danger.'

Trotsky explained the dialectical contradiction between the bourgeoisie displaying a tremendous vitality precisely at that point where its social system becomes obsolete. The development of the objective political situation and of consciousness do not proceed simultaneously along parallel lines.

Trotsky posed this contradiction vividly: 'History has provided the basic premise for the success of this revolution—in the sense that society cannot any longer develop its productive forces on bourgeois foundations.

'But history does not at all assume upon itself—in place of the working class, in place of the politicians of the working class, in place of the communists—the solution of this entire task. No, history seems to say to the proletarian vanguard "You must know that unless you cast down the bourgeoisie, you will perish beneath the ruins of civilization. Try, solve this task!"'

The unresolved crisis of leadership brought defeat to the workers of Germany and Austria in the decisive years of 1918-1919 and 1920. Today, history again presents revolutionary opportunities. But the lessons of the past must be learned.

Only a revolutionary party, developed through theoretical struggle and practice, able to train a vanguard and win the confidence of the masses, and capable of counterposing its own worked out revolutionary strategy to the counter-revolutionary strategy of the ruling class, will be able to defeat capitalism and save the world from worse horrors even than those it experienced after 1920.

CONCLUDED

\* 'The School of Revolutionary Strategy' in 'First Five Years of Communist International', Vol. 2.



## US ROUND-UP

DIAL-  
A-  
COUP

A former director of the US Central Intelligence Agency has confirmed that the Nixon administration held talks with one of the country's biggest firms about possible moves against 'Marxist' President of Chile, Salvador Allende.

The moves—part of an astonishing saga of chicanery and corruption inside the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation—came to light when newspaper columnist Jack Anderson produced documents concerning unsuccessful attempts to promote a military coup against Allende in September 1970.

A member of the ITT board since 1966, John A. McCone, admits that the company told the US government: 'If you have a plan, we'll help you with it.'

ITT owned the Chile Telephone Co and other properties in the country. Allende had been democratically elected as President, but this small item appears to have carried little weight with either the company or the CIA in their discussions. Defence of capitalist property against possible nationalization was their only consideration.

The Anderson revelations have raised storms in both the Chilean Congress and the US Senate.

On Thursday, John V. Tunney, a Democratic Senator from California, submitted new evidence to the Senate Judiciary Committee on another aspect of the saga: alleged illegal contributions by ITT to the Republican election campaign.

Acting Attorney-General Richard G. Kleindienst has been accused of participating in an alleged deal to cover up the contributions. Last weekend, former Attorney-General John N. Mitchell was implicated in arranging the contributions.

The row has also stirred to the surface allegations of frequent and general ITT favours for Democratic Party leaders.

It appears that besides having a CIA director on its board, ITT maintained a whole staff of people in its Washington office whose job it was to maintain contact with Congressmen and government officials in the company's interests.

The only one in this Congressional Relations Section with a title drawing attention to her function was Mrs Dita Davis Beard, known as a 'lobbyist'. Others doing similar work are simply called managers.

In an interview on March 31, Mrs Susan Lichtman (26), a former secretary of Mrs Beard now studying at Toronto University, cast some fascinating light on the work of this section.

She herself, Mrs Lichtman said, had handled a request from Democrat Senator for Indiana, Vance Hartke, last summer for use of one of the company's jet planes.

'The thing that shocked me,' Mrs Lichtman said, 'and very little in Washington would shock me, was that members of Congress would call Congressional Liaison and sometimes ask Mrs Beard for favours on a big scale.'

'The one instance that I specifically recall,' Mrs Lichtman continued, 'because I had to call back and say there just isn't a plane available right now, they are all in use, was a request from Senator Vance Hartke—I believe in June of last year.'



Top: Journalist Anderson. Centre left: 'lobbyist' Mrs Beard. Centre right: former US Attorney-General Mitchell. Above: Kleindienst and Rohatyn.

Mrs Lichtman said that she had relayed the refusal to a member of the senator's staff.

She said that the requests were so numerous that Mrs Beard was moved at one point to say: 'All these people want planes all the time. Don't they know the company has to use these planes, too?'

Mrs Lichtman said that she also remembered a request from a congressman to have two ITT camper vehicles meet him on his arrival at Le Havre, France, so that he and his family could camp and tour around Europe.

In that interview—and again last weekend—Mrs Lichtman insisted that she specifically recalled the last sentence of the first paragraph of a memo she typed for Mrs Beard on June 25, 1971. This allegedly referred to discussions with the former Attorney-General about ITT's pledge of at least \$200,000 to help bring the Republican convention to San Diego.

Mrs Beard allegedly said of the discussion: 'John Mitchell has certainly kept it on a higher level only, we should be able to do the same.'

Asked if the memo she typed did not surprise her at the time, Mrs Lichtman said: 'No. I consider the political system corrupt, and I had the impression that the Republican Party represented big business. . . . To my knowledge there was nothing illegal about the contribution. . . .

The alleged memo—as published by Anderson—also linked the settlement of three cases against ITT under the US's anti-trust laws to the convention contribution.

Mrs Lichtman said last weekend that she does not recall the last sentence in the Anderson version of the memo: 'Please destroy this, huh?' But she remembers that it appeared in other memos she typed for Mrs Beard.

She said an ITT security officer had once pressured her to say in an affidavit that she found it 'inconceivable' that there could have been any link between the anti-trust settlements and the convention contribution.

'I don't think anything very much in this world is inconceivable any more,' Mrs Lichtman told reporters. 'In the years I lived in Washington, I came to accept anything in the way of corruption.'

In Chile, the Chamber of Deputies is to start its own investigation of ITT's affairs.

Allende's right-wing opponents are strenuously opposing the move. They presumably fear what will be revealed about their own links with the company and the CIA.

Republican members of the Senate Judiciary Committee are likewise attempting to stop its probe of ITT, particularly after this week's new evidence.

WORKERS  
NOTEBOOK

## WALK OUT

Birmingham Battery and Metal Company celebrated its centenary on July 1, 1936, by publishing an expensive-looking history 'for private circulation' edited by the well-known 'liberal' Arthur Rowntree.

In a passage dealing with events during World War I, under the stark heading 'Aliens', Rowntree notes:

'The [government] authorities were glad to find work for large numbers of Chinamen who were thrown on their hands after being discharged from their ships at Liverpool. These men found their way to manufacturing centres, such as Birmingham, where they were housed in the poorer parts of the city.'

'The company found work for more than a hundred of these Chinamen. They were paid at the usual rates and on the whole they were quite reliable workmen.'

'They had one peculiarity as compared with English workmen, inasmuch as they seemed to have the power of going to sleep standing in an upright position without any support, and without falling over. It was rather disconcerting to come across a man standing apparently at his work and to find that he was fast asleep.'

Quite. But no doubt even more 'disconcerting' is to have your entire labour force—including many 'aliens' from Bangla Desh and Pakistan—walk out demanding a £6 rise, 35-hour week and more holidays.

Which happened at the 'Battery' on February 15, 1972.

## THE BOOT

The military regime in Bolivia has decided to expel a large number of Soviet diplomats. The sweeping decision was taken in much the same way that Heath suddenly turfed out 120 Russian Embassy staff last year.

But the Bolivians were a little too enthusiastic. Among those on the list for the boot were such sinister spies as Yevgeni Yevtushenko, the poet who was in the country over a year ago, and Anita Pinachova, aged four.

## RELATIVES

King Hussein's brother caused a stir in London last week by wielding a sub-machine gun around the waiting lounge at Heathrow.

Another relative was recently detained in Switzerland and questioned about drugs offences.

Now, a third relative, has run foul of the law.

He is Hussein's cousin, Sherif Ghazi Rakan, who has been arrested on allegedly smuggling £1.2m worth of hashish and gold to Britain.



King Hussein

Rakan, who just happens to be Director of Civil Aviation in Jordan, was questioned by police and then asked to resign his post.

The story began when Heathrow Airport officials discovered hashish and gold aboard a Jordanian Royal Airlines flight from Amman on March 18.

Aboard the aircraft were a former Jordanian Army chief of staff, a leading Jordanian economist and a Jordanian Ambassador in a European capital.

Investigations in Amman established that the hashish and gold were delivered to Amman Airport, past all checkpoints, by Rakan's private car.

Rakan immediately confessed his responsibility. He was questioned for a few days at the headquarters of the intelligence service, was then released but asked to stay at home and resign his post.

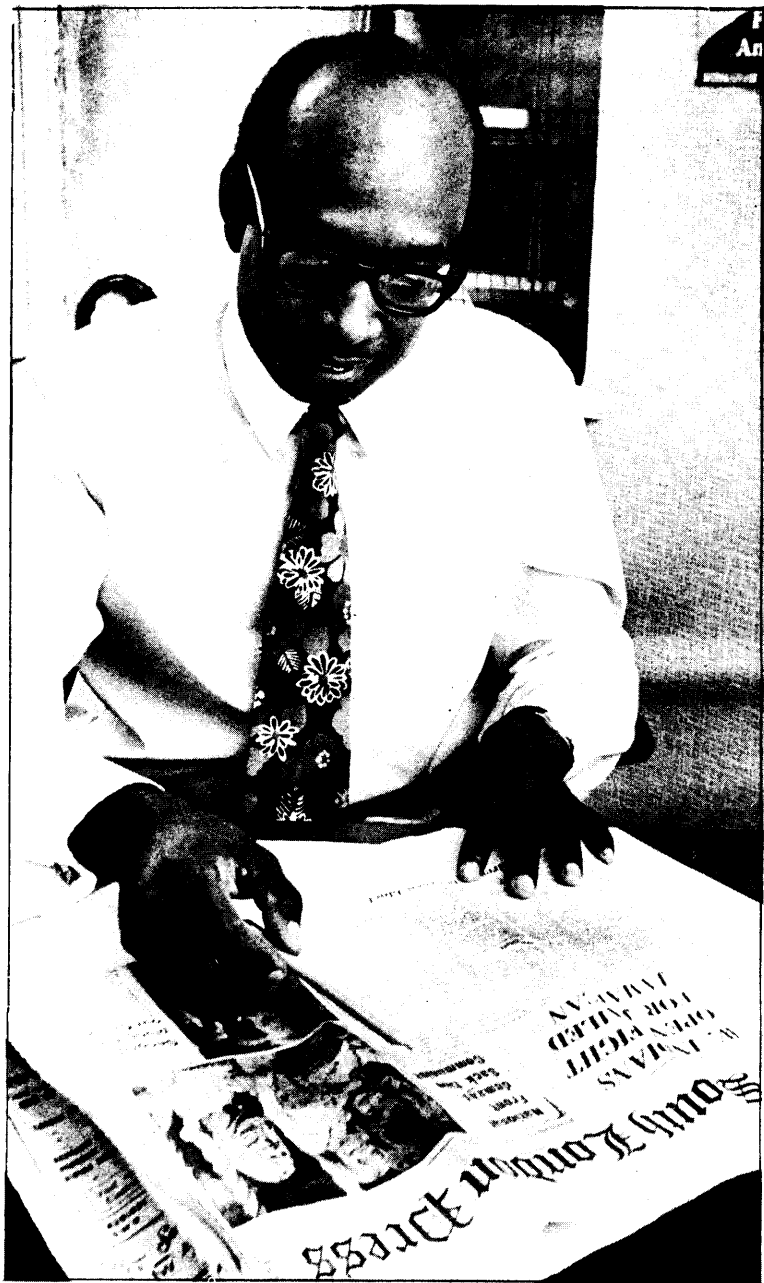
Crown Prince Hassan, who is the Jordanian Royal Airline's chairman, ordered the interrogation of several top airline officials.

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Asquith Gibbes looks at the 'South London Press' story on the National Front attack on his position

# Race relations man reluctant about CP

BY IAN YEATS

**LEWISHAM'S W Indian Community Relations Officer—the man the National Front says must be sacked because he is a communist—has denied that he allows his politics to influence his work.**

Mr Asquith Gibbes (38), a member of the Communist Party's national executive told me at his Deptford office:

'Every bit of me is community relations. It is my civic right to hold political views, but I am careful to do everything to keep them out of my work.'

Mr Gibbes was elected to the CP's national executive on November 16 last year and he received 318 votes—only one less than 'Morning Star' editor George Matthews.

The National Front has issued 11,000 leaflets in Lewisham headed 'Asquith Gibbes—communist and liar'.

The leaflets say: 'Is it the policy of the community relations industry to employ communists and liars in a supposedly non-political organization or will they now ask for the resignation of this man?'

Mr Gibbes admits that he did once deny that he was a communist at a meeting organized jointly by the Party and the Labour Party.

He told me: 'I described myself as a socialist to get someone off my back.'

He added: 'I am very careful. I never attend marches or anything like that and I don't actually campaign for the Communist Party. When I do attend meetings or accept speaking engagements it is purely as a specialist in community relations.'

'I am first and foremost a community relations officer, but because of my political convictions I may work harder.'

'I work very long hours. Yesterday I was in the office from nine in the morning to eight at night and I did not have the time to stop for lunch.'

'This post is not a political post. I was chosen from a number of applicants because I believe I may very well have been the best.'

Mr Gibbes, who lives in Croydon, said: 'I have been very dormant in the Communist Party, although I have been a member since 1963, because of the feeling that people at large will disown you.'

'I have always had an interest in race relations, but as far as one is able to I feel integrated. The black person has a different

pigmentation, but we suffer from the system the same as anyone else.'

I asked Mr Gibbes why he was a CP member.

'When I came to England in 1960, like many others I met progressives who talked about Marxism and Leninism and who were looking round for a party closest to their ideals. It was one of the fashionable things.'

'I believe in parliamentary democracy, not revolution or anything like that.'

'As a communist I believe in bringing black and white together—in the unity of the working class.'

Why had the National Front attacked a man who was by his own admission reluctant to campaign for the principles and policies he professed?

Said Mr Gibbes: 'I would say it is the usual attempt at red-baiting. The National Front are against any form on integration.'

'To have a black man and a communist is too much for them I suppose.'

Lewisham's community relations council and its executive responsible for Mr Gibbes' appointment include all political parties, church and voluntary organizations and the police.

Said Mr Gibbes: 'Can you imagine getting up to anything sinister with all those people on the council and the executive?'

## 80 p.c. of women clerks without equal pay

EIGHTY per cent of the 50,000 women members of the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union, say they do not have equal pay and 93 per cent say they do not have equal promotion chances.

Sixty-five per cent of the members questioned in a union survey, also say that their firms did not have equality of opportunity for advancement through training.

The survey shows that 14 per cent of firms provide some facilities for women employees with school-age children and 20 per cent allow for late starting or early finishing for women with families.

But no firm covered by the survey provided such facilities as play schools, play groups during school holidays or nurseries and creches.

Seventy-six per cent of the women feel their firms give female workers less attention than men and 84 per cent think they were in a socially and economically inferior position to men in the same firm.

Ninety-seven per cent think they are intellectually capable of performing the same jobs as their male colleagues.

## GEC's 555 redundancies

THE GEC-Elliott Automation factory at Kidsgrove, Staffs, has announced 555 redundancies—just over a third of the work force.

An 'unfavourable' home and export market, and a severe shortage of work with no short-term prospect of improvement, are blamed.

# EEC: Commonwealth fears sharp elbow

THE POORER members of the Commonwealth fear the door is about to be slammed in their faces as Britain presses ahead with plans to enter Europe.

The countries worst affected are Barbados, Botswana, Fiji, the Gambia, Ghana, Guyana, Jamaica, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Samoa and Zambia.

The 20 are to be offered association with the EEC alongside the 18 present associates—mainly French colonial territories.

Some new arrangement is necessary because, following British entry, the system of Commonwealth preferences will switch from an exclusively-British arrangement to a W European basis.

No final decision has to be taken by Commonwealth countries at this stage. Negotiations are due to start on August 1, 1973, and the new agreement comes into effect on January 1, 1975.

At a special two-day conference which began in London on Wednesday, Commonwealth Secretary-General Arnold Smith tried to allay fears by stressing that the Commonwealth must remain 'strong' after Britain joins the EEC.

But more significantly

he stressed that continental, ideological or economic groupings in the world must be avoided at all costs.

Just at a time when recession is driving all the capitalist powers into a frenzied competition for shrinking markets, the last thing any of them wants is the appearance of protected groupings.

Whatever Smith's assurances, the hard fact is that this competition will inevitably work to the disadvantage of the underdeveloped world as it has done for almost a decade.

The social and political upheavals in Bangladesh, India and Latin America all reflect this process at work.

The needs of the

advanced capitalist economies—diminished by the growing world recession—are less and less for primary products. As foreign exchange holdings in the underdeveloped world fall, the possibility of these countries buying manufactured goods declines correspondingly.

In conditions of slump aid to the underdeveloped nations either aggravates balance-of-payments deficits or ultimately turns into a challenge to the products of the metropolitan countries.

The future of the poorer Commonwealth countries even as associate members of the EEC—itsself plagued by the consequences of recession—is grim.

## Conference should be highest body of appeal—teachers

NEW DISCIPLINARY procedures introduced by the National Union of Teachers' executive have aroused opposition at the union's Blackpool conference.

Croydon delegate Dave Middleton seconded an unsuccessful amendment on Wednesday to transfer final decisions in discipline cases from an executive sub-committee to annual conference.

Mr Middleton commented: 'We felt that the final decision with regard to expulsion and suspension from the union should not be left in the hands of the executive's disciplinary appeals committee, but should be the right of conference to decide.'

'It is the right in a truly democratic union of every member—if he so wishes—to take a disciplinary case to the highest body of the union.'

After next year's conference the NUT will separate procedure for breaches of professional honour from union disciplinary cases.

The changes flow from the union's recent involvement in industrial action. Area disciplinary committees will be set up with the right to appeal only to the executive's own appeals committee.

## SSEB scheme means sack

FIVE fitters' mates working for the S of Scotland Electricity Board in Edinburgh face redundancy or redeployment as a result of a new productivity scheme, soon to be introduced.

The men's section is expected to vote against acceptance of the scheme—particularly as other jobs will also be lost. But it can be forced through regardless because foremen have several votes each.

In the background of these job threats lies the recent sacking of two leading SSEB militants.

The sackings, which were carried out after the two men organized solidarity action with the striking miners, have brought

protests from local MPs, town councillors and trade union branches.

Ron Brown, an Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' member, who was chairman of the works' committee, was sacked on March 1 for allegedly 'inducing staff to break their contract of employment'.

Rab Jeffery, of the Electrical and Plumbing Trades Union, was dismissed at the end of February for 'unauthorized absenteeism'.

Yet full-time officials of neither union have as yet registered a protest to management about its alleged breach of its own dismissals procedure in failing first to establish the facts of the cases.

As chairman of the works' committee, Ron Brown cam-

paigned continually against the voting practices which could soon lose five Edinburgh mates their jobs.

But he received no support whatsoever from either the AUEW district committee or local officials. They argue that this voting system is allowed under agreements for the electricity supply industry.

When the SSEB's chief personnel officer complained about Brown organizing solidarity action with the miners the district committee called on the national executive to expel him from the union.

That decision was ruled out of order by the executive. The committee then invited Brown to state his case on March 8 and recommended his expulsion again.

## BOAC wants 5 p.c. cut-back

BOAC is holding a series of departmental meetings with the object of cutting costs by 5 per cent in the financial year ahead. A spokesman said yesterday: 'We are looking at every possible way of achieving more revenue and lower costs, but it is still BOAC's intention to try to avoid redundancy.'

# 'FEW RESOURCES' LED TO HOSPITAL CRUELTY

THE PAYNE report on cruelty to patients at Whittingham mental hospital failed to grasp the real nature of the problem and made no new suggestions, Manchester Regional Hospital Board said yesterday. The Payne inquiry found that cruelty and fraud had

taken place at the hospital and all 15 members of the hospital management committee either resigned or were asked to resign.

Ald Tom Hourigan, board chairman, said in a letter:

'The plain truth is that the

total resources available for hospitals in this region are not adequate to provide the level of service now expected and demanded.'

He said cruelty occurred mainly because of serious staff shortages and unsatisfactory accommodation at the hospital.

## Court order due against Portsmouth students

STUDENTS occupying the administrative centre of Portsmouth Polytechnic since March 13 have been threatened with legal action unless they leave the building.

In a statement issued yesterday Ald Eric Bateson, chairman of the Polytechnic governors and of the city education committee said that the town clerk was taking steps to institute legal proceedings in the High Court.

The students want to be consulted about proposed expansion of the Polytechnic and increased student representation on various academic committees.

Ald Bateson described the sit-in as 'unnecessary' and claimed it was undertaken before the students made their objectives known to him or to the other governors.

THIRTEEN S African non-whites found guilty of conspiracy under the terrorism act were yesterday given prison sentences of between five and eight years.

Five of those found guilty of joining in a conspiracy to commit certain acts endangering the maintenance of law and order in S Africa received eight-year sentences. Three were sentenced to six years, two to seven, and the three others to five.

# Tri Star costs worry US aero chief

LOCKHEED Aircraft Corporation chairman Daniel J. Haughton began talks in London yesterday with Lord Cole, chairman of Rolls-Royce (1971) Limited, which is building engines for the TriStar airliner.

The Lockheed chief's visit to Britain forms part of an international sales drive. But Haughton will also be discussing the mushrooming costs of the project.

Although the Tory government has bailed out Rolls-Royce in this country and the Nixon Administration has bailed out Lockheed to the tune of \$250m the project is far from safe.

The critical changes in the world economic situation since August 15 and the roaring inflation both here and the US, puts the whole project again

under a cloud.

Haughton will be seeing BOAC chairman Keith Granville and officials of the British Airways Board, to try to get final decisions on orders.

Lockheed is now hoping to sell British airlines (including BEA) not only the basic TriStar, but also an 'extended-range' TriStar.

Already a number of US airlines who made preliminary contracts with Lockheed have withdrawn from the deals because of the price increases and falling profits in the airline industry.

## Vietnam techniques in Ulster?

ADVANCED technology surveillance techniques perfected in Vietnam could be profitably introduced into many areas of Ulster, particularly the no-go areas of Bogside and Creggan.

Robert Rodwell, a freelance defence correspondent based in Belfast notes in this week's 'New Scientist':

'The 1972 Defence White Paper makes no mention of such developments, but there are several places in the £330m defence budget where such projects could be hidden.'

According to the article the army is already using radio and electro-magnetic transmissions to detonate IRA radio command and electric match-head detonator bombs.

Rodwell says: 'The explosion on March 9 in Clonard Gardens, Belfast, in which four Provisional IRA bombers were killed may have been triggered deliberately by appropriate army electro-magnetic emissions in the neighbourhood.'

The army has recently introduced an electronic explosive detonator which 'senses' vapours from explosives and which can be used in searching buildings and people.

The article says a shortage of army and police female personnel has led to the use of a hand detector—initially brought in at airports to screen would be hijackers — which picks out exceptional quantities of metal hidden beneath the clothing.

Rodwell urges the use of electronic aural and seismic sensors to monitor 'clandestine' movements of people at the Irish border and in the urban 'strongholds of the IRA'.

Chosen army marksmen have been equipped with infra-red or image intensification night sights.

# TV

### BBC 1

9.45 Andy Pandey. 10.00 White horses. 10.25 Deputy dawg. 10.30 Flying falcons. 10.55-11.00 Magic roundabout. 12.55-1.25 Canu'r bobol. 1.30 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 1.45 News, weather. 1.53 Tom and Jerry. 2.00 Harlem globetrotters. 2.25 Racing at Aintree. 4.20 Play school. 4.45 Clangers. 4.55 Screen test. 5.20 Hope and Keen's crazy bus. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News, weather. 6.00 MAGAZINE. 6.20 GEORGE BEST. Heading. 6.30 THE VIRGINIAN. Journey to Scathelock. 7.40 THE LIVER BIRDS. 8.10 THE BROTHERS. The Party. 9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather. 9.20 GIRLS GALORE. Miss England, Miss Scotland, Miss Wales. 10.10 24 HOURS. 10.40 FILM: 'ANIMAL CRACKERS'. Marx Brothers. 12.10 Weather.

### BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 15.35-7.05 Open University. 7.30 NEWSROOM and weather. 8.00 THE MONEY PROGRAMME. 9.00 GARDENERS' WORLD. 9.20 REVIEW. Zulus in 'Macbeth', Rabbit Redux, Music from Amsterdam. 10.10 CLOCHERLE. The Dreaded Arrival of Captain Tardivoux. 10.40 NEWS ON 2 and weather. 10.45 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

### ITV

11.05-12.17 Out of school. 2.25 Motor racing. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 This week. 3.45 Drive-in. 4.15 Scotland Yard. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.45 Land of the giants 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY SPECIAL. Kenneth Robinson's London. 6.30 F TROOP. A Horse of Another Colour. 7.00 THE SKY'S THE LIMIT. 7.30 HIS AND HERS. 8.00 THE FBI. The Legend of John Rim. 9.00 SPIDER'S WEB. The Prevalence of Skeletons. 10.00 NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 ALEXANDER THE GREATEST. The 21-Year Itch. 11.05 FILM: 'NIGHTMARE'. Jennie Linden. 12.30 BLACK POWER IN THE CHURCH.

### REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 4.05 Zingalong. 4.18 Puffin. 4.22 Dick Van Dyke. 4.50 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 I spy. 8.30 His and hers. 9.00 London. 10.28 Weather. 10.32 Film: 'The Roman Spring of Mrs Stone'. 12.20 News and weather in French. Weather.

9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Money Trap'.

ULSTER: 11.05-12.30 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 Jason King. 8.30 His and hers. 9.30 London. 10.30 Documentary. 11.00 Film: 'The Spy Killer'.

YORKSHIRE: 11.05-12.30 London. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Kate. 4.00 Sound of . . . 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Flaxton boys. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 Partners. 7.00 London. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Forever My Love'. 1.00 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.05-11.57 London. 2.30 Marcus Welby. 3.30 Yoga. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.50 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 Newsday. 6.15 Guns of Will Sonnett. 6.50 Kick-off. 7.00 Simon Locke. 7.25 London. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Haunting'.

TYNE TEES: 11.05-11.57 London. 2.30 Yoga. 3.00 Kate. 4.00 Sound of . . . 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 Flaxton boys. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Partners. 7.00 London. 8.00 Calling Doctor Gannon. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Forever My Love'. 12.45 News. 1.00 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 11.05-12.35 London. 3.30 Kiri. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Cartoon. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart. 7.00 London. 7.30 Strange report. 8.30 His and hers. 9.00 London. 10.30 In camera. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Film: 'The Treasure of San Teresa'.

GRAMPIAN: 11.06-12.15 London. 3.41 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Smith family. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Flaxton boys. 5.20 Ivanhoe. 5.50 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.05 Mr and Mrs. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 It takes a thief. 8.30 Melody Inn. 9.00 London. 10.30 Points North. 11.00 Film: 'Frankenstein'. 12.25 Epilogue.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.05-12.17 London. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Julia. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Comedians. 7.30 Jason King. 8.30 Shirley's world.

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# National strike on engineers' pay — AUEW motion

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT DAVID MAUDE

A NATIONAL strike over the engineers' current pay claim will be demanded in just over a week's time at the national engineers' committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

The demand will come from the union's Manchester area, where 18 sit-ins are at present in progress in support of the claim the committee drew up in April last year.

Industrial action will also be urged on the 52-man committee over unemployment, old-age pensions and the Industrial Relations Act.

But the wages debate is certain to be the highlight of the two-week committee meeting.

In many areas its members, who constitute the highest policy-making body for the key engineers' section of the 1.5 million-strong union, have come under heavy fire for their January 10 decision to abandon the fight at national level for last year's claim.

The Manchester resolution draws attention to the 'negative aspects' of the 1968 pay-and-productivity deal negotiated by AUEW president Hugh Scanlon. It seeks to instruct the union executive not to sign any new fixed-term agreements.

It goes on: 'Failing any satisfactory offer to our current claim, national strike action should be taken to force the employer to concede our justified demands.'

From the N London area will come a call for the union executive to stage 'any action deemed necessary' in support of last year's claim for a £6 rise and a 35-hour week.

Several other divisions also reaffirm support for the 1971 claim. They call for a return to the general principle of national wage claims.

Five areas—N London, S London, Kent, W Scotland and the S Midlands—submit motions calling for new claims on the engineering employers.

'The W Scotland division wants the committee to instruct the executive to pursue a wage claim of £8 on the basic rate, without strings, and to mobilize the membership for a national strike to achieve this aim'.

N London is pressing for a claim of £6 for all categories of engineering workers. Kent wants a new skilled rate of £35 for 35 hours.

On unemployment, NE delegates to the national committee will attempt to instruct the AUEW executive to 'use all means at their disposal to campaign for the return of a Labour government committed to socialist policies'.

These, their resolution argues, would ensure that every individual had the right to work. 'The right to work is a fundamental right,' it declares.

Several divisions want to reaffirm a resolution carried by the national committee last April, which called for 'outright opposition' to Tory plans such as factory closures and productivity deals.

TUC-led industrial action for higher pensions will be urged by delegates from S London.

Several divisions insist that the next Labour government must repeal in its entirety the Industrial Relations Act, and warn that no substitute legislation must be enacted by Labour.

Immediate expulsion from the TUC of unions which register under the Act will be urged by NE delegates.

S London wants industrial action if any AUEW member is victimized under the Act.

## 'United front' runs eight NUS candidates

THE REVISIONIST-dominated Liaison Committee for the Defence of Student Unions is to field eight candidates for top executive posts at the National Union of Students' conference in Birmingham next week.

This is a manoeuvre to avoid instituting and maintaining a fight for principled politics in the NUS against the Communist Party Stalinists and their right-wing friends.

In this way the revisionists hope to 'change' the national union into something that is more 'democratic'. Somewhere along the line in the election fight, Digby Jacks—the Communist Party NUS president—and his cohorts will be exposed and a new policy will emerge, they think.

The liaison committee was formed in November 1971 by revisionists and their supporters—members of the International Socialism and International Marxist Groups—as a 'pressure group' inside the NUS as part of a campaign 'to push the union to the left'.

Characteristic of all the election manifestos—and of the vast majority of conference motions—is their continued refusal to make a clear-cut stand on the Tory government.

Nowhere among the hundreds of pages of resolutions, amendments and election statements is the central issue of the removal of the Tory government mentioned.

The miners' strike, N Ireland, unemployment, graduate unemployment, government attacks on student union financing are all discussed at inordinate length and detail.

Take the question of student union autonomy and the recent



NUS President Digby Jacks

government proposals that union finances should be passed over to the hands of university and college authorities.

The liaison committee manifesto—having pointed out that 'the government's attack' can only be understood as a political attack on the potential of student unions to organize politically in opposition to the Tories' educational and anti-working class policies—goes on to say that the future fight must be to 'secure and extend political autonomy'.

In relation to N Ireland the same confusion reigns.

Correct demands for the withdrawal of troops and an end to internment are turned into mere protest slogans because the real content of the struggle against British imperialism in Ireland—the fight to remove the Tories—is completely left out.

It's a short step from there to the position in one executive amendment on union autonomy which states: 'Conference notes the confused state of NUS policy on union autonomy'.

N IRELAND, N, central and E England will be cloudy with rain at first, but brighter showery weather over SW England and Wales will spread NE across these areas during the morning and afternoon.

The showers will become heavy locally, especially in exposed W and S districts.

Scotland will have a showery day with clear or sunny intervals, but the showers will become more prolonged and heavy locally later in the day except perhaps over Orkney and Shetland.

Temperatures mostly near or a little below normal.

Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Rather changeable with showers and some longer periods of rain at first, but also sunny intervals. Temperatures near or a little below normal.

## Teachers defend comprehensives

THE National Union of Teachers yesterday demanded that Education Secretary Margaret Thatcher stop obstructing local authorities' plans for comprehensive education.

Thames Valley delegate Tim Stone explained why some delegates felt they could not be present during Thatcher's speech to the conference on Tuesday.

The protest meeting outside was not 'leftist', as the press claimed, he said, but was organized by delegates from such 'socialist hotbeds' as Surrey, Kidderminster, and Chipping Barnet. Stone described how the long campaign for comprehensive education had won support from the vast majority of Surrey's parents and teachers.

Comprehensive education was supported even by the County Council, there where 90 out of 96 members are Tories.

'But Thatcher took no notice at all', he said. Her intervention

to insist on retention of 11-plus selection, he added, had caused 'chaos and confusion' and was of doubtful legality.

Mrs C. Greig of the Wandsworth Association attacked Thatcher's sabotage of comprehensive schemes already agreed locally.

In Barnet, she said, Thatcher acted on a small petition organized by the wife of her own parliamentary agent. Conference defeated Mrs Greig's amendment for members to take no part in selection procedures after 1974.

Executive member Arnold Jennings called for a gradualist approach and attacked the amendment's movers as 'parlour revolutionaries'.

Conference called for Thatcher to compel local authorities to introduce genuinely comprehensive secondary education. Delegates overwhelmingly backed the comprehensive system as the only way to secure equality of opportunity for all children.

## Scarman: Whitewash all round

● FROM PAGE 1

evidence that she was a party to any plot to subvert the state or stir up insurrection'.

● The Rev Ian Paisley 'neither plotted nor organized the disorders under review and there is no evidence that he was a party to any of the acts of violence investigated by us'.

What is most revealing, however, is the special praise for members of the Social Democratic Labour Party who are being groomed to play a crucial role in the Tory plans for a Tory settlement.

Scarman says: 'Men like Mr Hume, Mr Ivan Cooper and Mr Gerry Fitt, however strong with their words on a political platform, consistently opposed violence.'

## £1,250 APRIL FUND STARTS WITH £113.43

YOU HAVE started this month well with our total, at the moment, £113.43. Let's keep it up and try and raise a record amount for April.

The use of the Industrial Relations Act against the unions will only enrage the working class even more. Engineers, railwaymen, car workers, all sections of trade unionists, are becoming more and more determined to force this government out of office.

In this situation, let's press ahead in a big way. Make sure we expand the Workers Press circulation and raise as much as possible for our Fund this month. Post all your donations to:

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### LATE NEWS

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EGYPT cut diplomatic relations with Jordan yesterday, the Middle East News Agency reported in Cairo.

The move follows its rejection of King Hussein's plan for a Federal Kingdom on both banks of the Jordan.

Deputy Premier Abdel Kader Hatem said after an Egyptian cabinet meeting that the decision had become 'a prerequisite of the requirements of the battle [with Israel]'.

## SEAMEN REJECT 8.5 p.c. RISE

A WAGE offer to Britain's 54,000 merchant seamen, which would have added about 8½ per cent to the shipping industry's wages bill at a cost of over £10m was rejected by the seamen's representatives.

They asked the shipowners to reconsider and the two sides arranged to meet again next week.

Last year seamen were given a 16 per cent increase and the previous year 20 per cent.

Next week the shipowners are due to reply to the claim by 41,000 Merchant Navy officers for increased pay and big improvements in leave arrangements.

**We demand the right to work!  
Make the Tories resign!**

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