

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY MAY 4, 1972 ● No. 756 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Liverpool dockers extend blacking

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Transport and General Workers' Union in Liverpool yesterday voted by a small majority to claim as dock work all 'stuffing' and 'stripping' of containers, including that done at factories.

This is a dramatic extension of present policy which did not include claims over container work done at the point where the goods are produced.

The policy extension was

incorporated in a series of six demands to be met before any further work is done at the new Seaforth container dock at the North End of the Liverpool docks.

The demands also include

an increase in pay (unspecified), a 35-hour working week, four weeks' holiday, an increase in sick pay, full fall-back guarantee based on average pay and no redundancies.

T&GWU pays up



ASTMS secretary Clive Jenkins leaving yesterday's Tribunal

Jenkins 'works' the Act

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He appeared before the Industrial Tribunal for Mr Anthony Hinton (24), who, he said, was wrongly dismissed in February from Burroughs Machines, Hounslow, Middlesex.

Mr Hinton was dismissed because of his union activities, claimed Jenkins. 'The major part of our case is that our members' right to belong to a trade union and to play a part in democratic processes as an office holder has been prejudiced,' he said.

ASTMS asked that Mr Hinton should be reinstated without loss of pay and that the company should withdraw its claim that he was dismissed because of lack

of capability. If Hinton was not reinstated, he should be paid compensation.

Jenkins said that Mr Hinton had been employed by the company as a service engineer for six years and was given no reason for his dismissal. Afterwards accusations were made about his capabilities.

And, he added: 'There had been a series of exchanges within the company on trade union recognition. A highly satisfactory state of affairs developed in which a promised ballot on recognition had been withdrawn.'

'Mr Hinton's appointment in November to the post of honorary group secretary of the union was a factor in his dismissal.

TORY JUSTICE GRINDS ON

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT DAVID MAUDE

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At the same time union officials went to nearby Bow St magistrate's court and paid the £55,000 fines imposed for contempt charges.

Yesterday's capitulation to the court ended the TUC's short-lived opposition to the NIRC, which only came into operation on February 28, nine weeks ago.

After a day-long hearing Sir John agreed to adjourn the action against the union until next Tuesday.

Union leader Jack Jones did not attend the court but sent along a trio of legal experts—Peter Pain, QC, Professor K. W. Wedderburn of the London School of Economics, and Ian Hunter.

Headlong confrontation

Meanwhile in Liverpool a meeting of 120 Merseyside docks shop stewards agreed in a private session not only to affirm the blacking of containerized goods—but to extend it throughout the area. This means the Liverpool dockers are now in a headlong confrontation with the court and their own leadership.

When the court opened, Pain immediately offered an apology for the union's previous non-appearance:

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

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ten-day adjournment so the union could file evidence to deal with allegations of blacking made against it.

After a short adjournment Donaldson told the union's lawyers: 'The difficulty we feel about your application is that it produced no adjournment of the industrial action.'

The court orders were, on the face of it, still being disobeyed.

Donaldson said that ten days was outside the time-scale to which the court was geared. What would happen during the adjournment was 'a vital question'.

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meanwhile?' he asked. 'We are concerned to uphold the authority of our orders. The industrial situation does not stand still. There is a major problem here—a human problem—one on which feelings are running very high.'

The problem was not limited to the haulage firms who had come to court, he added. 'It is a national problem.'

**See Court
Story on
page 12**

Socialist Labour League and Young Socialists

**ALL OUT
DEMONSTRATE ON
MAY DAY**

Sunday May 7

HANDS OFF THE UNIONS

**Defend democratic rights! Defend the right to work!
Withdraw troops from Ulster! Release all internees!
Victory to the Vietnamese workers and peasants!**

MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN!

ASSEMBLE: 1.30 p.m. The Embankment, Charing Cross

MARCH: via Trafalgar Square, Piccadilly, Regent Street, Oxford Street, Tottenham Court Road, Euston Road

MEETING: 4 p.m. St Pancras Town Hall

G. Healy (Socialist Labour League National Secretary)

J. Simmance (Young Socialists National Secretary)

M. Banda (Socialist Labour League Central Committee)

(In a personal capacity)

Frank McCabe (NUM)

Roy Battersby (ACTT)

A. Thornett (Deputy Senior Steward Morris Motors)

CHAIRMAN:

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BONN DEADLOCK COULD LEAD TO GENERAL ELECTION

WEST GERMANY'S top political leaders were again in conference yesterday to try and break the parliamentary deadlock over Chancellor Willy Brandt's eastern treaties.

The Bundestag, which should have opened debate on the treaties yesterday, was suspended while an all-

party conference in Bonn tries to reach a compromise formula which would allow the government to continue in office.

Neither government nor opposition now commands an absolute majority in the Bundestag, making it impossible to conduct parliamentary business.

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

The opposition Christian Democrats are seeking concessions from Brandt over the treaties to guarantee their right to fight for Germany's reunification under capitalism.

The treaties at present recognize all existing European boundaries and in effect cede a quarter of pre-war

German territory to Poland.

The Christian Democrats reject the treaties in their present form on the grounds that they finalize the division of Germany.

State Secretary Egon Bahr, chief German negotiator for the Moscow pact, and Professor Horst Ehmke, Brandt's right-hand man, have met Soviet ambassador Valentin Falin to discuss the form in which the Soviet government might be prepared to acknowledge German reservations.

Unless the parties reach agreement by today, the government plans to go ahead anyway with the debate.

Defeat, almost a certainty without agreement, would precipitate the fall of the coalition government and a new election.

WHAT WE THINK

A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT

THE DECISION of the Industrial Tribunal to grant recruiting rights to the Telecommunications Staff Association in Electra House—nerve centre of British telecommunications—reveals the grave threat of the National Industrial Relations Court to the trade unions.

While one arm of the law seeks to cripple unions and intimidate shop-floor leadership with massive fines and sequestration of property, the other arm could well be preparing for a General Strike situation by recognizing bodies such as TSA who worked during the postmen's strike.

The extension of this precedent into other industries vital to the economy, such as power supply, is being encouraged by Tory Central Office.

In 1925-1926 the Tories, led by Churchill, Joynson-Hicks and Sir John Anderson, consciously prepared for a General Strike by setting up the Organization for the Maintenance of Supplies—a euphemism for scab-herding on a massive scale.

Thousands of middle- and upper-class reactionaries were either deputized as special constables or organized to do essential work through OMS under the benign protection of the army and navy.

This organization played an important role in breaking the strike, but not as vital as that played by the TUC General Council.

Today, however, the Tories intend to use existing law and state institutions to facilitate the organization of scab unions which could be called upon to work in the event of a national stoppage.

The recognition of TSA is the surest sign that the Tories—despite the capitulation of the TUC General Council—are preparing for a General Strike in Britain with a vengeance.

The NIRC, far from being exclusively a court of industrial law is, in fact, the mailed fist of the capitalist class which organizes all the counter-revolutionary forces against the unions.

Those union leaders who recognize the Court and violate their own solemn decisions are participating in the preparation for their own execution.

Let Tuesday's decision be a warning! The TUC must be recalled to reaffirm last September's decisions and an immediate campaign must be launched to make the Tories resign and elect a Labour government which will be forced by the mass movement to implement socialist policies.

SAIGON SCAPEGOATS

BY JOHN SPENCER

SOUTH VIETNAM'S president Nguyen Van Thieu yesterday named two scapegoats for the disastrous rout of his armies around Quang Tri.

He sacked Lt-Gen Hoang Xuan Lam, commander of the First Military Region just south of the Demilitarized Zone, and Brig-Gen Vu Van Giai, commander of the Third Division which ran from Quang Tri.

An investigation has been opened into Brig-Gen Giai's actions. The sackings, however, will fool nobody about the real cause of the liberation forces' victory at Quang Tri—the complete bankruptcy of the South Vietnamese puppet regime.

Thieu's armies simply melted away under the impact of the liberation offensive. Now the town of Hue, the old Vietnamese imperial capital, is wide open to the next stage of the attack.

American officers attached to the South Vietnamese forces have virtually abandoned hope of salvaging anything from the unequal struggle. Their worst expectations about the course of Nixon's Vietnamization policy have been realized.

'This cannot be papered over as a strategic withdrawal or anything else,' one senior US officer said. In addition to the defeats on the ground, the liberation troops are also undermining the morale of the US flyers.

Yesterday they shot down two helicopters over Quang Tri province with a new heat-seeking missile fired from a hand-held weapon.

Farther down the coast of Vietnam, American advisers and 2,500 South Vietnamese troops were forced to beat a precipitate retreat from bases in Binh Dinh province. They left by sea after more than 30 per cent of the South Vietnamese troops had deserted. Binh Dinh has long been a stronghold of the National Liberation Front.

Three large districts in Binh Dinh, with a combined population of about 200,000 have fallen to the NLF in the last two weeks without any real resistance from the South Vietnamese.

The main Saigon unit in the area, the 40th Regiment, has 'failed every test it has faced in the last fortnight', according to US reports.

● MORE than 300,000 homeless and frightened refugees are pouring down the roads of South Vietnam to get away from fighting in the northern provinces.

Choking the roads around the threatened provincial capital of Hue, they are severely impeding South Vietnamese efforts to bring up reinforcements.

Many of the refugees have been driven from their homes by the massive American bombardment of liberated areas in the North. Many are heading for Da Nang, where there is a big US military base.



Mad-chopper rush to escape NLF advance



McGovern

Splits show need for US Labour Party

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT



Wallace

PRELIMINARY results in the Indiana and Ohio primary elections yesterday gave further evidence of the polarization and divisions within the US Democratic Party.

In heavily industrialized Indiana, Governor George Wallace of Alabama was narrowly beaten into second place by former vice-president Hubert Humphrey—but Wallace won the

largest number of votes he has ever gained in a northern state.

In Ohio, the elections were confused by allegations of vote-rigging, but it appeared from early returns that the two top contenders — Humphrey and Senator George McGovern—were running neck and neck.

Wallace and McGovern represent opposite ends of the Democratic Party—Wallace is a deep-south racist while McGovern is a liberal who has opposed the Vietnam war.

The Democrats' crisis is a symptom of sharpening class

struggle in the United States. It poses the urgent requirement for a break with the big-business representatives who dominate the Democratic and Republican parties and the formation of a genuine Labour Party based on the trade unions.

Union leaders have worked might and main to tie their members to the coat-tails of the Democrats, but there are clear signs that this corrupt relationship cannot endure.

The recent court decision to penalize miners' leader Tony Boyle for using union funds

for political purposes shows the ruling class fears the development of a Labour Party.

The trade union chiefs are now engaged in a chauvinistic campaign for protectionist legislation to keep foreign goods out of the US.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, the largest union confederation, yesterday announced the formation of a task-force to support the erection of tariff barriers around the US.

He said the unions would try to educate Americans on the virtues of the proposed Trade Bill on the grounds that it would create more jobs at home. He said the Bill 'can provide both immediate remedies and long-term answers to the inrush of imports and the outflow of capital and technology'.

Meany's support for this reactionary legislation indicates how closely the union leaders are involved with big business and their efforts to subordinate the working class to US capitalism's requirements.

'POOR FUND' PROPOSAL IS SQUASHED

PROPOSALS at the UNCTAD conference in Santiago, Chile, for a central fund to distribute financial aid on liberal terms to the 25 least-developed countries were turned down yesterday by the most powerful capitalist countries.

The plan was opposed by, among others, Finland, Denmark, Sweden, Britain, Switzerland, Japan, France, the United States and the Netherlands.

The Group of 77 poor countries are particularly annoyed about reports of a secret conference on the monetary crisis

attended by top US and European representatives in an Oxfordshire country house.

This decided to form a small steering group representing the main capitalist countries to draft proposals which could then be submitted to the International Monetary Fund Board.

Militants suspicious of Clyde sack-and-hire plan

UPPER CLYDE shipyard workers may be asked to accept redundancy notices in lieu of employment at the two new firms who want to take over shipbuilding at the former UCS yards.

This will enable them to receive redundancy payment before getting employment at Govan Shipbuilders or Marathon Manufacturing, the Texan oil-rig builders who are planning to take over the Clydebank yard.

Workers at the yards held departmental meetings yesterday to hear a progress report on the Marathon and Govan Shipbuilders takeover.

The prospect of redundancy payment is at first attractive. But as some yard workers

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS ON CLYDE SIDE

point out, once the labour force has accepted these, the new companies are in a stronger position than now to re-employ who they like and this may mean permanent redundancies.

Marathon and Govan Shipbuilders plan to employ between them an estimated 6,300—that is a force that is 500 less than at present work at the yards.

In addition there is the problem of the 'shape' of the labour force. Marathon will want fewer fitting-out trade workers than a normal shipbuilding operation and I under-

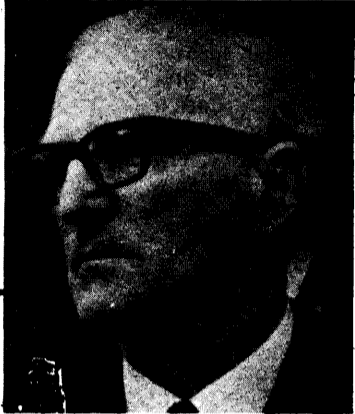
stand that there are proposals for allowing re-training to increase craft mobility.

Rumours also abound about the Marathon deal. Apparently the Texan company wanted an American-style contract with no-strike clauses. They also wanted to pay bonus on a half yearly or yearly basis.

This would break British practice and mean that a man would have to maintain a consistently high output each week to collect the bonus over the period.

Shop stewards have told Marathon however, that they want payment to be on a week-by-week basis. A mass meeting of workers is expected sometime towards the end of next week when the Marathon and Govan proposals will be put to the labour force.

'During the past month we have seen the true nature of the Tory Industrial Relations Act. The verbal camouflage around the Act has been stripped away to reveal a naked piece of repressive anti-union legislation. It is our whole system of industrial relations which is being destroyed.'



The Thoughts of Jim Conway in an editorial in the AUEW 'Journal' on May 4, 1972.



'We must regard the Act as a piece of short-term legislation which will prove to be yet one more irritant in the relationship between unions and employers. Wherever possible we must encourage employers to ignore the Act and treat the whole thing as one party political irrelevancy. Best advice—know about the Act, but ignore it and continue to operate trade union activities as before.'

The Thoughts of Jim Conway as of February 28, 1972 in a special circular to all members of the engineers' union.

The inconsistent Conway

Advice on Tory union law changes again

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL STAFF

TRADE UNIONISTS deprived of their legal right to strike may have to take 'alternative courses', says Jim Conway, general secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

But, writing in the latest issue of the 'AUEW Journal', he nowhere specifies what courses he means.

And while pinning the blame on the Tory government he never

once calls for action to force it out of office.

'During the past month', Conway writes, 'we have seen the true nature of the Tory Industrial Relations Act.' It is 'a naked piece of repressive, anti-union legislation'.

The Tories had previously claimed that workers retained the right to strike, but the Employment Secretary was now in a position to declare any sort of industrial action against

the national interest.

'The legal weapons set up were bound eventually to be used. It is no good putting bullets up a gun and then being surprised if someone gets hurt.'

How different is the Conway today compared with the Conway of two months ago who urged his members to 'ignore' the Act!

But far from describing the great perils which face the trade union movement as the

Act is mercilessly wielded, Conway says it is a sign of the Tory government 'losing its grip'.

Many engineers will correctly understand that the person losing his grip is none other than Jim Conway.

He is at present facing a vital ballot for the general secretaryship of the union. His strongest challenge is assistant general secretary, Ernie Roberts, who has broad left support.

Roberts' supporters have had a field day pointing out the inconsistencies in Conway's statements.

In particular they have drawn attention to Conway's close connections with the pro-Common Market campaign and his friendship with Roy Jenkins, leader of the right-wing faction which betrayed Labour Party policy and voted with the Tories last October 28.

No offer so Plastics men keep up picket

THE 50 STRIKERS at the small firm of D and E Plastics, Coventry, are continuing their strike for higher pay and proper overtime and holiday payment.

Talks held on Tuesday between the management, shop stewards and a Transport and General Workers' Union official produced no offer at all from management.

The firm is employing a small number of people who are carrying on a limited production. Pickets turned three lorries away from the gates yesterday and factories are beginning to send in collections for the strikers. The Amalgamated Union of

COVENTRY Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers district committee has endorsed a resolution from Coventry No 8 branch which welcomes the union's decision calling for a recall of the TUC.

The same meeting decided to call a special district committee next Tuesday to hear a report from National Committee delegates Phil Povey and Jim Griffin and to determine its strategy for pursuing the national engineers' claim.

Until now the committee has been content to let convenors table the claim in individual plants and after two months of this feet-dragging have merely asked them for a progress report.

Engineering Workers district committee endorsed the strike—it has four women members among the strikers.

It has also donated £10 to the D and E Plastics strike fund.

A leaflet handed out by the strikers to those working inside the gates states:

'By staying inside—scabbing—you are not only hurting yourselves. You are also hurting us. Chambers [the owner] can only hold out as long as you few inside carry on working. If the work stops he gets no money. He is sure to give in if the work stops. It is not too late to join the strike.'

BAC give better offer

SHOP stewards representing 3,500 men from the Preston division of British Aircraft Corporation met yesterday to discuss management's latest pay proposals. The men have been on strike for 12 weeks for a cost-of-living increase with no strings attached.

The stewards discussed the proposals and have agreed to call a mass meeting at the Public Hall, Preston, at noon on Friday.

David Creighton-Smith, the convenor, said: 'The latest proposals are a definite improvement and we must let our members know it.'

The seven-man strike committee has unanimously recommended acceptance.

Axle men due back

BRITISH-LEYLAND Triumph's axle builders in Coventry voted yesterday to end their three-week strike. The night shift resumed last night. A union spokesman said the 35-minute meeting had accepted an improved company pay offer. The strike by 80 men crippled production and caused big lay-offs.

Telegraphists condemn TUC co-operation

LONDON overseas telegraphists have overwhelmingly passed a resolution condemning the decision of the TUC General Council to co-operate with the National Industrial Relations Court.

The emergency resolution, to be forwarded to the Union of Post Office Workers' annual conference, called for the reconvening of the Trades Union Congress to reaffirm its policy of non-co-operation with the Act.

It stated: 'This conference condemns the decision of the TUC General Council to co-operate with the

Industrial Relations Act as a collapse before the Tory government.

'This decision violates the policy of non-co-operation agreed at last September's Blackpool TUC conference.

'By capitulating to the National Industrial Relations Court, the TUC leaders have handed our unions over to the Tory state, given away our basic rights and become Tory law-enforcement officers.

'We therefore call for the re-

convening of the Blackpool TUC conference to reaffirm its policy of non-co-operation and calling for a campaign to remove this Tory government and replace it with a Labour government pledged to repeal the Industrial Relations Act and to carry out socialist policies.'

The London Head Office Overseas Operators branch also condemned UPW general secretary Tom Jackson for his intention to appear before the NIRC.

LONDON FARES UP AGAIN!

MORE FARE increases of between 5 and 10 per cent are to be introduced by London Transport in the autumn on bus and underground services.

And within the next few weeks, bus fares are to be

doubled on the 18 all-night services operating between 11 p.m. and 7 a.m.

Fares last increased on London Transport only four months ago. Then fares went up by an average 8 per cent.

Schoolchildren's half fares during the morning rush hour were abolished and in most cases tube fares were increased by 5p and 10p on some longer journeys. Minimum bus fares were increased from 2½p to 3p.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

SLOUGH: Thursday May 11, 8 p.m. Slough Community Centre, Farnam Rd. Speakers, Frank Tomany, ex-convenor Omes Faulkner, Brian Bailey, AUEW (in a personal capacity). The Industrial Relations Act.

Recall the TUC
Expel the traitors
Make the Tories resign

SW LONDON: Tuesday May 9, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4.

N KENT: Tuesday May 9, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, Essex Rd, Dartford.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday May 9, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Ave, Barking.

CROYDON: Thursday May 11, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd.

LUTON: Thursday May 11, 8 p.m. St John's Ambulance Hall, Lea Rd.

N LONDON: Thursday May 11, 8 p.m. Bricklayers Arms, Tottenham High Rd (nr White Hart Lane).

SE LONDON: Thursday May 11, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, New Cross Rd (opp New Cross station).

ISSUES DUCKED IN PORT JOBS FIGHT

The fourth in a series of articles in which David Maude, our industrial correspondent, shows how the dockers' leaders, official and unofficial, allowed the Devlin 'modernization' scheme to destroy jobs and conditions.

Dockers' most basic rights are threatened by the National Industrial Relations Court, now one of the chief organs of the capitalist state.

All policies which do not have as their central consideration the question of state power, therefore, are today completely treacherous.

Restricted wages struggles, the walling-off of port from port, productivity dealing and secret diplomacy with the port employers—all extremely prevalent in dockland in the last two years—will have to be broken from. The fight for nationalization under workers' control is now central.

Devlin Phase Two was finally accepted in London's enclosed docks in September 1970, the month port employers began preparing their future tactical position with a series of behind-the-scenes talks with union leaders Jack Jones and Tim O'Leary.

The scheme was accepted after an abortive series of half-day strikes started by Royal docks shop stewards in August 1969, T&GWU steam-rolling of the 'blue' union's opposition to the scheme, two secret T&GWU ballots and the betrayal of a national strike.

A Phase Two deal has now also been signed in Liverpool.

The stewards' demand for the half-day stoppages in London was not outright opposition to Devlin, but new piecework guarantees which would bring average earnings up to £35 a week.

Earnings of this order would 'make it more difficult for the employer to sell Phase Two', I was told by one leading Communist Party steward at that time.

The thinking behind this policy was opportunist to the core. And it allowed the T&GWU leadership to proceed unhindered with its policy of setting up a sub-committee with the employers to draft a shift-work agreement in the teeth of NAS&D hostility.

As 'The Newsletter' commented in one of its last issues: 'When Jack Dash's liaison committee was disbanded, its claim for a £6 guarantee for eight hours' piecework and £8 for ten hours went into procedure—where it was rejected by the employers.

'Instead of increasing the claim and linking it to the fight to defeat the Devlin proposals, the stewards simply reduced it, re-submitted it to procedure and called the strikes as "pressure".'

Far from pressuring the employers, the half-day campaign encouraged them by quickly losing support. Yet a similar policy was soon in operation in Liverpool.

In early October, the Liverpool men's leaders banned work on a new US-Mersey container service run by Sea-Land Inc.

Again the principles neither of Phase Two nor containerization were challenged. The ban was intended as pressure for a new £16 basic wage which would price out the employers' Phase Two offer of £21 to buy out all existing bonuses and commodity differentials.

These policies were continued when in November, following a ballot rejection of the employers' latest Phase Two offer in London, OCL-ACT stepped up the pressure by threatening to pull out of their banned Tilbury berth.

Jones' immediate response was that unions and employers should rush to the negotiating table, while the Communist Party trailed in his wake. 'The employers could have ended this dispute long ago by making a pay offer acceptable to all the London dockers,' it said.²



Tim O'Leary

So within a fortnight of the London ballot, Phase Two talks had been re-started, while in Liverpool a special sub-committee was set up which eventually ended the ban on Sea-Land.

The ban at Tilbury ended in April the following year, after Phase Two proposals had been accepted by a second secret



Jack Jones of the Transport and General Workers' Union



ballot. The NAS&D was forced to drop its opposition to shift-working the following month.

Still, however, there was no settlement of the container issue.

The Bristow committee, reporting to the government earlier in the year, had suggested a ten-mile corridor either side of the Thames within which containers would be dockers' work. The proposal stayed on the table.

Within five days of the Tory election victory in June, Liverpool had staged a one-day token demanding full nationalization of the industry under 100-per-cent workers' control, an end to the jobs and no further use of non-registered labour on dockers' work.

And a T&GWU dock delegate conference gave notice of strike action over their claim for a new national fall-back rate of £20.

The strike threat gave rise to desperate attempts by employers and T&GWU officials to get

Phase Two implemented in London before it broke out.

These failed. But throughout the two weeks of official action, Jones and his friends refused to raise the Devlin issue. And again the CP trailed along behind; the 'Morning Star' failed even to mention Devlin until the day before the strike ended on terms recommended by Lord Pearson's inquiry into the dispute.

Phase Two came to London on September 21, but by early 1971 the employers were claiming it had proved 'a disaster'. Since three weeks after the Tory election victory, however, they had been preparing their counter-attack.

On July 16, newly-appointed Transport Minister John Peyton MP met one of the most influential figures in British Shipping, Sir John Nicholson, chairman of the £140m Ocean Steamship group.

What was ended in port labour relations, the shipping magnate told the Minister, were 'terms of employment giving greater stability and responsibility'. In other words hire and fire.

A few days before Phase Two started in London, Nicholson, Sir Andrew Crichton and George Tonge, the Hay's Wharf director who is chairman of the National Association of Port Employers, met Jones and Tim O'Leary.

In an interview with Workers Press on February 23 last year, O'Leary claimed that the purpose of these talks was 'to get some line on where the employers were going, and to see how we should defend ourselves'.

This was not the employers' impression, however.

Later in the year Peyton was to be told that Jones was quite prepared to discuss the employers' ideas, as long as nothing was said about them in public before Phase Two had 'bedded down'.

Briefly, the ideas under discussion were these:

1 Establishment of a go-between body between individual port authorities and the government charged with drawing up and implementing a strategy for the industry's development.

2 Steady reduction in the number of port employers—provided there was no suggestion that businesses might be bought up compulsorily.

3 Replacement of the 1947 dock labour scheme, with its statu-

tory guarantee of docks jobs, by 'normal industrial agreements' policed by the industry's joint negotiating committee.

The men Jones was talking to are possibly the most powerful in the industry, and are all now at the very centre of the current row over containers and surplus labour.

Ocean Steamship is a major direct employer of dock labour, both through its subsidiary Ocean Port Services and its associated companies OCL, Liverpool Maritime Terminals, Renfrew Stevedoring and Metropolitan Terminals.

It also has an indirect interest in Southern Stevedores which is proposing to shut down in London next month and return 1,500 men to the unattached labour pool. The chairman of Southern Stevedores, Henrik Karsten, is an Ocean director.

Crichton's position has already been outlined yesterday.

Proprietor of Hay's Wharf, Tonge's firm now faces the blacking of its UK Cold Storage and Dagenham Cold Storage subsidiaries. But it must also have considerable sympathy with the road-hauliers who have taken the T&GWU to court, since it has many interests in that industry, too.

The employers' strategy since these talks has been to use the trade slump quite deliberately to create the conditions for implementing the policies discussed with Peyton and Jones.

Despite the present jobs crisis, however, the national port shop-stewards' committee has never openly challenged Jones on his secret talks with the employers. One London steward even used the paper of the so-called International Socialist group, 'Socialist Workers', to deny that they had ever taken place.

Even more important, the stewards have followed the T&GWU bureaucracy in shelving their demand for nationalization of the ports under workers' control.

Yet this demand, which would, of course, presuppose a fight to make the Tory government resign from office, is now crucial. Any other settlement of the questions now facing dockers must be a betrayal.

¹ 'The Newsletter' August 28, 1969.

² 'Morning Star' November 28, 1969.



NO SOCIALISM FROM NKRUMAH

Kwame Nkrumah, who died in Rumania while undergoing medical treatment, was one of the first generation of African nationalist leaders.



During nine years of power, his regime became increasingly corrupt and dictatorial. It was overthrown by a military coup while he was visiting China on February 25, 1966, and put paid to his political career.

Nkrumah had returned in 1947 to what was then the Gold Coast after some years of study in the United States and Britain and rapidly rose to the leadership of the Peoples' Convention Party, which he had founded on a programme of immediate self-government.

Imprisoned for a while in the closing stages of British rule, he emerged as the leader of the new state of Ghana when it became independent in March, 1957.

In the following years his rule became increasingly despotic with a well-orchestrated personality cult. Despite his socialist phraseology he acted as the guarantor of imperialist investments in Ghana, playing off the divergent interests of pressure groups within the country against each other.

He was hailed as the 'Osagyefo' (victorious leader), the redeemer and even as a 'modern-day Christ'.

Ghanaian 'socialism' consisted of no more than the steps which the state in an underdeveloped country was bound to take to encourage modernization and industrial development. At the same time it protected private investment and sought and encouraged foreign investment.

Opposition to Nkrumah's regime grew in the 1960s and a number of attempts were made on his life. The mass of the population which had supported him originally with enthusiasm, became increasingly lukewarm. His enemies multiplied as his personal rule became more extravagant.

After his overthrow he took refuge with a friend and admirer Sekou Toure, who ruled Guinea and spent the rest of his life there as an exile, hoping one day to resume power. Last year's coup in Ghana showed that there was no longer any support for Nkrumah.

Nkrumah displayed all the limitations of petty-bourgeois nationalism in the colonial countries. Despite left phrases, he was afraid of the working class and dependent upon imperialism which needed politicians like him to ward off the revolution.

EAST EUROPE'S TRADE WITH FRANCO

Greece and Spain are agreed on many things: the repression of trade unions and of the communist parties of their countries and the need for the Common Market.

The Greek deputy Foreign Minister Xanthopoulos Palamas, on the eve of his visit to Madrid, revealed in an interview with a Spanish newspaper another point of agreement:

'Greece supports the point of view expressed by Lopez Bravo [Spain's Foreign Minister] which is favourable to the European Security Conference which the Soviets want to organize and in which each participant will be able to put forward his own theses.'

Palamas then glowingly described his government's relations with the Stalinist bureaucracies of E Europe:

'Relations with Yugoslavia are especially satisfactory since my visit to Belgrade last year. It is desirable that these relations in the Balkans should function in a multilateral way, although that would not mean necessarily the reconstitution of the Balkan Pact.

'Our relations with remaining communist countries are good. We have normal relations with Russia.'

When Palamas arrived in Madrid on April 23, he could certainly be sure of a friendly welcome from Franco's men . . . and from old friends in the Stalinist bureaucracy also on a visit to Spain.

On April 24 in Barcelona began the fifth plenary assembly of the bilateral Spanish-Yugoslavian committee of businessmen, under the patronage of the city's Chamber of Trade.

The Yugoslav section had spent the previous week in preparation in Belgrade, since they were worried about the balance

of payments deficit with Spain.

Already this year Yugoslavia has ordered from Spanish shipyards seven ships (about 190,000 tons to the value of \$53m). The Yugoslav national railway company has also ordered 1,000 freight wagons, 20 sleeping-cars, 25 diesel engines to a total value of \$25m.

The delegation in Barcelona was made up of representatives of the chemical and pharmaceutical industries, shipbuilding, heavy industry and alloys.

Their three-day visit was not a dull affair—they were entertained with a cocktail party given by the Barcelona Chamber of Trade and shown 'the picturesque spots on the Costa Brava'.

The week before a delegation of Hungarians spent two days in Bilbao at the invitation of the Chamber of Trade, Industry and Shipbuilding of Bilbao.

The eight-man delegation, headed by one Czigany Gyula showed special interest in the Basque electricity industry.

In the south of Spain in the province of Huelva the vice-Minister of Agriculture in Hungary, Kaalmar Kazarecki was touring the factories and timber yards in the province.

The Spanish fascists had no need to be told by their Greek friends of the great possibilities of relations with the Stalinist bureaucracies!

The Hungarian Minister for Foreign Trade, Jozsef Biro, touched down in Madrid on April 22 en route to Budapest from a tour of S America. On the 24th, he made the following statement to the Hungarian press on his talks with the the Spanish vice-Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Trade:

'Spain and Hungary must improve the possibilities for economic co-operation. That is the conclusion from my talks and from the last two years of our



Top: Papadopoulos, Greek Prime Minister with Manescu, Rumanian foreign minister. Above: Franco and heir.

trade with Spain.'

In Warsaw on the 22nd, the Polish government showed that it had not at all broken its relations with Franco by signing an agreement on transport lines between the two countries — including a passenger line that makes the return journey between Warsaw and Madrid three times a week.

It is fitting that since April 26, most of this Stalinist trade-seeking with fascists will be conducted in 'Ilyushin 62' passenger aircraft of the Cuban Aviation Company which cover the routes from Havana to Madrid and Prague, Madrid and Santiago de Chile.

The inaugural flight was manned by a mixed Russian-Cuban crew. The planes are

owned by the Russian company 'Aeroflot' and are at the moment being rented with skilled crews to Cuba as a step towards selling such planes to Castro's government. What better trial run than a run to Madrid!

The brazen contempt of the Stalinist bureaucracy for the Spanish working-class as they hurriedly cement their counter-revolutionary alliance with the fascist Franco is clear in the advertisement for holidays in Rumania figuring prominently in Spanish newspapers:

'Discover Rumania Bucharest, the Black Sea . . . for information write to the Consular and Commercial Representatives of the Socialist Republic of Rumania. . . . Avenue Alfonso 13th Madrid.'

'GENTLEMEN,' SAID THE PM, 'ARE YOU READY TO TAKE OVER?'

By John Crawford

I remember vividly Robert Smillie describing to me an interview the leaders of the Triple Alliance had with David Lloyd George in 1919. The strategy of the leaders was clear. The miners under Robert Smillie, the transport workers under Robert Williams, and the National Union of Railwaymen under J. H. Thomas, formed the most formidable combination of industrial workers in the history of Great Britain. They had agreed on the demands which were to be made on the employers, knowing well that the government would be bound to be involved at an early stage. And so it happened. A great deal of industry was still under government war-time control and so the state was immediately implicated.

Lloyd George sent for the

labour leaders, and they went, so Robert told me, 'truculently determined they would not be talked over by the seductive and eloquent Welshman'. At this Bob's eyes twinkled in his grave, strong face. 'He was quite frank with us from the outset', Bob went on. 'He said to us: "Gentlemen, you have fashioned, in the Triple Alliance of the unions represented by you, a most powerful instrument. I feel bound to tell you that in our opinion we are at your mercy. The army is disaffected and cannot be relied upon. Trouble has occurred already in a number of camps. We have just emerged from a great war and the people are eager for the reward of their sacrifices, and we are in no position to satisfy them. In the circumstances, if you carry out

your threat and strike, then you will defeat us.

"But if you do so," went on Mr. Lloyd George, "have you weighed the consequences? The strike will be in defiance of the government of this country and by its very success will precipitate a constitutional crisis of the first importance.

"For, if a force arises in the state which is stronger than the state itself, then it must be ready to take over the functions of the state or withdraw and accept the authority of the state. Gentlemen", asked the Prime Minister quietly, "have you considered, and if you have, are you ready?" From that moment on, said Robert Smillie, "we were beaten and we knew we were.

After this the General Strike of 1926 was really an anti-climax.

This quotation from Aneurin Bevan's book 'In Place of Fear' has been reproduced in Workers Press several times.

It expresses from the standpoint of centrism—the essence of the situation following the war, and has vital lessons for the working class today.

What was at stake in the struggles of 1919 was not wages or hours of work, but class power. The labour leaders were more terrified of this issue than the ruling class. It was the ability of the most far-sighted capitalist politicians to grasp these facts at that time that decided the course of the class struggle for half a century.

The war had ended in revolution. With the victory of the Russian workers, the upsurge in the international workers' movement which 1914 had interrupted was resumed on a higher level. The British ruling class, whose world position was already shaken by the war, watched nervously for signs of the Bolshevik infection in the factories and among the returning soldiers. The police had already won a strike in August 1918.

Early in 1919, mass demonstrations of soldiers and outright mutinies in the navy forced the War Office to negotiate with a Soldiers' and Sailors' Union. In Belfast and on the Clyde, engineering workers struck in January 1919 for the 40-hour week under militant unofficial leadership. Ireland was in ferment.

But nowhere in the working class was there anything like the clarity of the leaders of the ruling class. The official leaders were outright agents of capital or left-wing liberals. And the left-wing leaders who were inspired by the Russian Revolution were almost bereft of theoretical understanding of the situation.

As Willy Gallacher, leader of the Clyde movement, said later—when it was too late, of course—"We were carrying on a strike when we should have been making a revolution."

One of the most delicate problems faced by the government was in the industries which had been put under state control during the war, especially the mines and the railways. In January 1919, both miners and railwaymen lodged demands for wage increases. The miners also demanded a six-hour working day and nationalization of the mines.

On February 12, the Mine-workers Federation of Great Britain executive decided to ballot their members on strike

action. Coal stocks were extremely low. Allied with the railwaymen and transport workers, the miners were in a powerful position.

Lloyd George had to head off the unions and gain some time. He announced the calling of a National Industrial Conference on February 27, where unions and employers were going to discuss the way to avoid unemployment and improve working conditions.

INQUIRY

This cut little ice with most workers, of course, but his other diversionary tactic was more important. When he met the miners' leaders on February 13, the Prime Minister suggested the setting up of a full-scale inquiry into the coal industry, which could take up all the demands of the union.

Perhaps it was at this meeting that Smillie heard the arguments he recounted to Bevan.

At any rate, the MFGB leaders were easily persuaded to go along with the inquiry. A special Act was rushed through parliament on February 24, and on the 27th the miners' executive decided to suspend the strike notices, which their members had voted for by nearly six-to-one.

The Coal Industry Commission was chaired by Sir John Sankey, a High Court judge, and included three coal-owners, three industrialists, three miners' leaders and three Labour economists. Smillie turned it into a propaganda platform from which to denounce the coal-owners.

When Sankey produced an interim report on March 20, it turned out to be three separate reports. The six labour representatives found in favour of the miners' claim. Sankey and the government nominees recommended concessions on hours and pay, but were ambiguous on nationalization: 'The present system of ownership . . . stands condemned', was their conclusion, however. The coal-owners only referred to small improvements in hours and pay.

Now came the crucial decision. Were the miners to continue to collaborate with the Commission, or was the strike to take place?

On March 22, the Triple Alliance leaders and the MFGB Executive went to 10 Downing St. Lloyd George was at the Peace Conference at Versailles. Bonar Law took his place. The minutes of the meeting, now available at the Public Records

Office, show that he did his job well.

'Under any circumstances,' he told the union chiefs, 'with a body like yours, a strike would be the most serious thing that could be imagined. But a strike when the state itself is the employer is an entirely different thing . . . What would happen supposing you won in a case of this kind? It would be a splendid thing for those who wanted to upset the decision of these matters by constitutional means. If the other method had succeeded, then parliamentary government would be impossible.'

The tone of the discussion was very polite and friendly, with Thomas, as always, cringing before the Ministers, and assuring them of his loyalty. But the union leaders were unaware of the discussion which had taken place in the same room two days earlier.

Then, the Cabinet had considered the draft of a Strikes (Exceptional Measures) Bill, whose first clause provided for the arrest of anyone calling a strike which could be declared a 'conspiracy against the state'. The second section enabled the government to tie up all union funds.

Winston Churchill had given his opinion that 'words should be introduced which would allow the government to pick and choose who should be arrested'. However, it is doubtful whether the leaders taking part in the amicable discussion on March 22 would have altered their views, even had they been aware of the measures prepared by their hosts. (In the event, the Bill was never needed.)

One very clear statement, at least, was taken back by Smillie to his executive: Law made it quite plain that the government would accept the findings of the Sankey Commission 'in spirit and in letter'. This was quite enough. The MFGB Conference which met on March 26 decided to further suspend the strike notices and ballot the members on the government's proposals, with a clear recommendation for acceptance.

RESPONSIBLE

Lloyd George's trick had come off. He had gained sufficient time to prepare for a strike, and for the mood of the workers to come under 'responsible' influence. The ruling class, previously lost in uncharted waters, had found out how to manage



Above (left to right): Robert Smillie, miners leader; Aneurin Bevan; J. H. Thomas; Sir John Sankey; William Gallacher; Ramsey McDonald; Winston Churchill; Lloyd George. Below: Workers demonstrating in George Square, 1919



union leaders, however militant the pressure from their members; threaten them with victory, and they would give in.

The immediate threat of a Triple Alliance strike on coal nationalization had been averted. With the aid of the political cowardice of the union leaders, Lloyd George had pulled off the trick of the Sankey Commission.

The Commission resumed its sittings on April 23. For two months, evidence was heard from employers' and miners' representatives. (Smillie's brilliance in making the public hearings into indictments of private ownership of the mines was the subject of a compliment from Lloyd George at a later meeting.)

It was June 23 before the Commission's findings were made public. This time, there were four separate reports. But eight out of 13 Commissioners came out for some form of nationalization. Was the government going to carry out the 'spirit and letter' of this recommendation?

It was another four weeks before they gave their answer. But they certainly had not been idle while the union leaders

had been engaged on their propaganda performance. Coal stocks had been built up. A system of scab transport by road was prepared.

During May, the 'Daily Herald' published a secret document giving War Office instructions on the use of troops against a strike. But the MFGB leaders still went on as if Lloyd George was going to carry out the government's promise on Sankey. On July 25 they signed an agreement on piece-rates and the seven-hour day came into operation.

But the mine-owners were now ready for a fight. In Yorkshire a strike was provoked, which continued into August without national backing. This was referred to by Lloyd George at the Cabinet meeting on July 21. (Of course, we only know this now that the minutes are revealed.)

The present strike is practical, not theoretical Bolshevism,' said the Prime Minister, 'and must be dealt with with a firm hand. A fight had to come, but the government had to be certain that they were on firm ground

and had public opinion behind them . . . The whole future of the country was at stake and if the miners won it would result in a Soviet government. A similar situation might result to that of the first days of the Russian Revolution and although parliament might remain, the real parliament would be at the headquarters in Russell Square.'

CONFLICT

Navy stokers were sent to Yorkshire to man pumps at the collieries. A brigade was mobilized at Clipstone Camp, and four divisions of troops were prepared for return from the Rhine army.

Before Lloyd George made his public statement on the Sankey proposals, the conflict with the Police Union was brought to a head. The police strike called for August 1 was broken and the union smashed for ever.

On August 18, the Prime Minister spoke out. Confident that the miners' leaders had lost the initiative completely, he ruled out all talk of nationalization. When the MFGB Conference met on September 3, there was no discussion of strike action. Instead, a resolution was overwhelmingly carried which 'invited the TUC to declare that the fullest and most effective action be taken . . .' In other words, the delegates accepted the burial of Sankey.

Now the government could turn its attention to the railwaymen. The rail negotiations had been dragged out since February. In August, a separate deal was made with the footplate men. Lloyd George and his henchmen, the Geddes brothers, were ready to deliver the knockout blow to the NUR.

In September, Sir Auckland Geddes produced an offer which involved wage cuts for some grades. In his announcement, Geddes deliberately used the word 'definitive' instead of 'definite'. Lloyd George declared that the resulting strike decision

was 'an anarchist conspiracy', 'a wanton attempt to hold up the community'.

DEPUTATION

On September 25, only a few hours before the strike was due to begin, the NUR executive sent a deputation to Downing St. Lloyd George pretended not to have known that negotiations had reached breaking-point. But his oily phrases were carefully organized to give the railwaymen no way out of a fight.

Thomas's pleas for a loophole went unanswered: 'It is no secret to anybody, certainly not to my executive, that . . . they look upon me as rather a conservative leader,' he told Lloyd George—an understatement if ever there was one. And he concluded: 'Disagreement should not prevent any man accepting a tribute to a genuine effort which

we believe was made by you to avert what unfortunately is the decision.'

And yet, to prove once more that it was not the militancy of the working class that was lacking, even under such putrid 'leadership', the railwaymen defeated the government's plans. Despite the deal done by their leaders, the locomen solidly backed up the NUR. Every effort was made by leaders of the transport men to stop them coming out in sympathy, but even this did not keep the heavy lorries moving. The Co-op gave massive support to the railwaymen.

At the end of a week, the government gave in. No wage cuts were to be made and every worker victimized was reinstated. The complete rout of the trade union movement had been prevented.

Nonetheless, the main results of the struggles of 1919 remained. The post-war wave of revolution had passed. The basic weaknesses of the workers' movement had been probed by the enemy. The government had

obtained valuable experience in coping with large-scale national strike action — it was the scab transport organization put into operation in the rail strike that laid the basis for the preparations made later for the 1926 strike.

Above all, the ruling class had learned, or perhaps divined, that the labour leaders would unhesitatingly choose to retreat when faced with the issue of power. Even if the British communists, who only formed their party at the end of the following year, belatedly started to understand this in 1923-1924, Stalinism smothered all such understanding before 1925 was out. The betrayal of the General Strike was thus prepared seven years before.

Building a revolutionary party to lead the struggles of the working class today is inseparable from the fight to draw the theoretical and practical lessons of 1919. No degree of militancy can answer Lloyd George's challenge: 'Gentlemen, have you considered, and if you have, are you ready?'



TRADE UNIONS AND THE WORKING CLASS

By Gerry Healy, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League

The determination of the Tory government to utilize the legal provisions of their Industrial Relations Act has fundamentally changed the relationship of class forces in Britain. Even the capitalist press admit that things can never be the same again.

When Sir John Donaldson pronounced judgements on the Transport and General Workers' Union and the railmen's 'go-slow', he shattered for all time the structure of compromise which has dominated the relations between the classes since the days of Chartism.

For the affairs of trade unions are no longer to be decided by their members, but by a High Court presided over by the Tory judiciary wielding enormous legal power in the interest of the capitalist class.

There has been understandable confusion in the rank and file created by the open capitulation to the National Industrial Relations Court by the right-wing Labour and trade union leaders. But this effect can only be temporary.

The thrust forward of the economic and political crisis which motivates the Court's rulings, will quickly act as a forcing house to push the masses into greater battle against the Tory government.

The fight for more wages which embraces millions of trade unionists, as well as the resistance of tenants to the Tory Rent Bill, can no longer be waged in isolation from the main political issues of the day. Central to these is to mobilize the working class to make the Tory government resign. All major struggles ahead will almost immediately be transformed into political trials of strength.

For revolutionary Marxists the decisive test is how to analyse and intervene within the working-class, taking advantage of the considerable changes which are now taking place.

Britain is the home of trade unionism. From the Industrial Revolution workmen have organized together in their craft societies and later in their general unions to protect and improve their wages and working conditions.

'As schools of war', Engels wrote in his 'Conditions of the Working Class in England', 'the unions are unexcelled. In them is developed the peculiar courage of the English.'

This pioneering role of trade unionism has its negative aspects, in that it strengthened the tendency towards individualism within the working class rather than class consciousness. In those countries, where trade unions were founded by social-democratic leaders, the working-class developed a much more pronounced class-consciousness.

The zeal with which they fought against the brutal injustices during the rise of capitalism was inter-mixed with the determination of the Puritan tradition which has imparted certain contradictory characteristics.

One of the most important of these is a conception of 'fair play' and social justice. In appearance this takes the form of an aggravating conservatism when contrasting with the revolutionary elan of, say, the French working class.

One can find, even today, pockets of working-class opinion which will talk abstractly about 'fair play' even for employers. But such backwardness needs to be negated with an earlier experience of the small land holders of the 16th and 17th century.

It wasn't that they coveted the land owned by the aristocracy so much, but they fought like tigers when the same aristocrat and his middle-class kinsmen of the towns tried to evict them from their small holdings and the common lands.

Fair-play and social justice then became the symbols of large-scale peasant uprisings.

Trade unionism is today virtually the working class itself. When they see the role of the NIRC as one which destroys the unions then, like their ancestors, workers will fight tooth and nail to resist the legal bandits of the Tory government and the class it represents.

Of equal importance is an understanding of the historic relationship between the working class and parliament.

Unlike the French working class in the Revolution of 1789, its English counterpart campaigned in the latter part of that century for its representatives to sit in parliament.

Following the Combination Laws (1800-1824) this campaign was renewed in the Chartist Movement (1837-1848). The campaign was not only successful, but the main points of the Charter itself were eventually legislated by parliament.

The evil fruits of imperialism, which provided the resources for initiating such reforms, now placed what seemed to be the all-powerful obstacle of approximately 122 years of class compromise before the working class.

Here lies the reason for the powerful reformist and parliamentary traditions which constantly aggravate the confusion of impressionists and idealists. Within this reformist tradition, however, is its opposite—the age old conception of rights and social justice.

Now that the Tory govern-



Top: Chartist demonstration at Kennington Common April 10, 1848. Above: Engels who wrote 'As schools of war the unions are unexcelled. In them is developed the peculiar courage of the English'.

ment has dropped the parliamentary mask by deciding to legally destroy the trade unions, which the working class have built, those features of reformism and class collaboration which in the past have restrained the working class from taking the revolutionary road, now become transformed into their opposite.

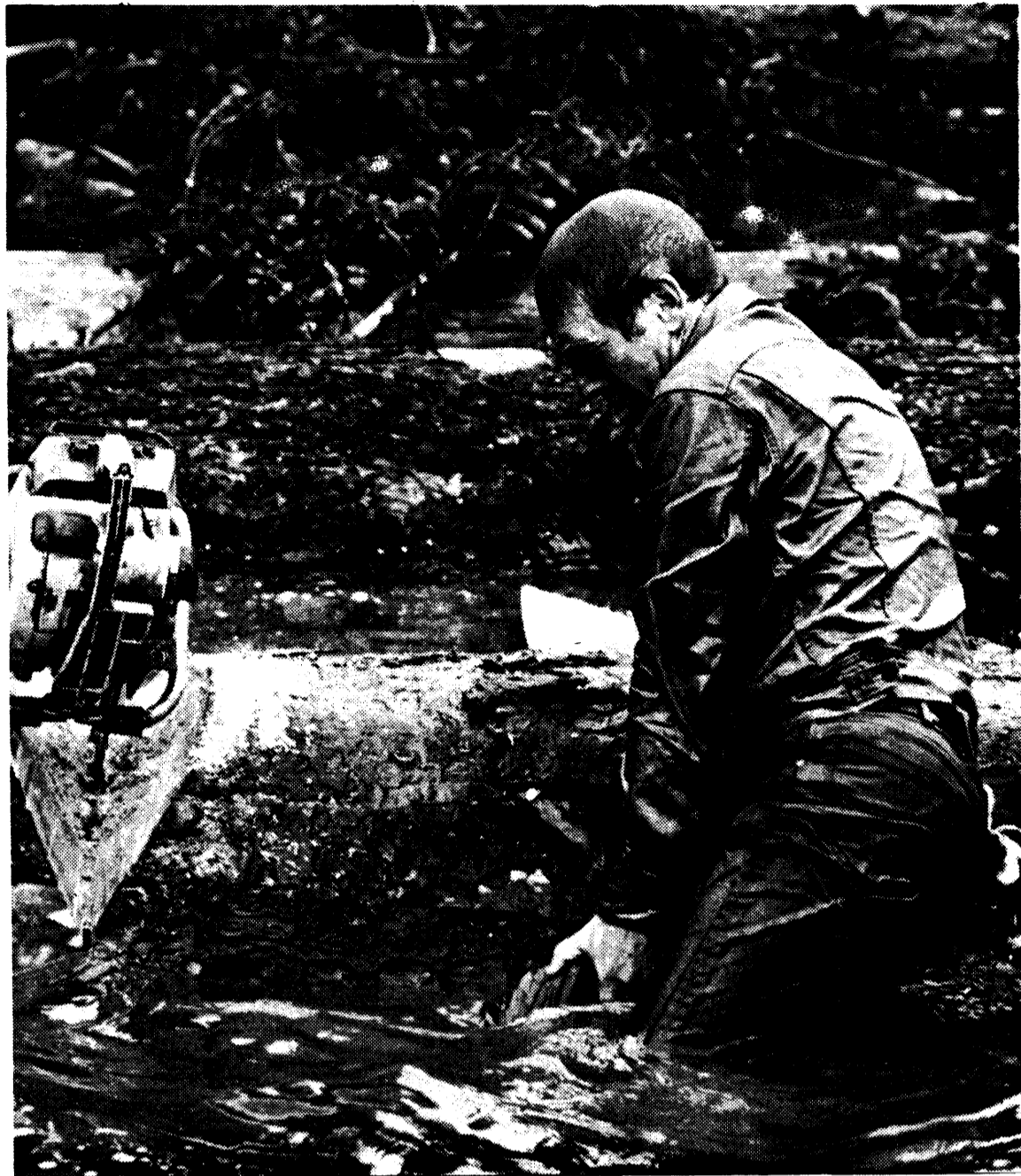
Workers see the Tory government as their main enemy and this destroys the individualism which in the past has characterized the sectionalism of the wages struggle. They see their democratic rights being taken

away by parliament and this invokes the revolutionary aspects of fair play and social justice.

So the English worker is well on the way to becoming a politically, class-conscious worker as distinct from his previous trade union, reformist consciousness.

Herein lies the essence of the great change ushered in by the National Industrial Relations Court, sponsored by a Tory Government, itself plunging deeper and deeper into the depths of an insoluble economic crisis.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



Paul Newman in 'Never Give an Inch'

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO 'COOL HAND LUKE'?

BY GUEST REVIEWER, TIM HORROCKS

Once before we have seen a remarkable example of how an avowed liberal can turn a profound hatred towards the working class and its organizations when under pressure—this was in 'On the Waterfront', made by Elia Kazan in the period of McCarthy's witch-hunts in the United States.

Now, in 'Never Give an Inch', we see Paul Newman, who directed the film and stars in it, doing the same—though under different pressures.

The basis of Newman's film is a novel by Ken Kesey called 'Sometimes a Great Notion'. Kesey, a pioneer of LSD and a 'beat' writer, falling somewhere between Jack Kerouac and Timothy Leary, has been revered by the hippie drop-out set as a 'revolutionary' writer, particularly by that section which consciously aligns itself to extreme theories of anarchism.

It seems, without too deep an analysis, that Kesey's political bias is somewhat like that of early anarchist writer Max Stirner. He believed that each individual was in battle against everything and everyone else, and that the only possibility for a 'stable' society would be the abolition of all organizations, followed by a fight in which the weakest would go to the wall and the strongest, each with his own bit of property to defend, would co-exist in an atmosphere of mutual terror.

Kesey's novel, therefore, is quite openly anti-trade unionist. Its background is a strike in the timber country of Oregon. The Stamper family, driven on by family pride and 'honour' (they have signed a contract, and they must fulfil it), work on in defiance of the strike, answering sabotage with violence, and despite the death of the father and one son, go on to fulfil the contract, dragging in a drop-out son who came home from the big city on the way.

Here, already a clear connection has been drawn between

the right-wing, nihilistic, 'work, sleep, eat—what else is there to live for?' philosophy of the Stammers and that of their way-out, longhaired prodigal son.

The novel, of course, supports this and ends with the surviving Stammers towing their logs down the river while the strikers, powerless to intervene, wander disconsolately down the bank.

The didacticism of this story comes out when one considers the implausibility of some of the plot. At the end, for example, why do the strikers (who like many people in US timber country are presumably armed) not force the Stammers to submit to their demands?

Is it because the Stammers have won their respect? This point is far from clear, and so are many others.

Newman, himself a liberal rather than an extreme anarchist, has brought such a fuzzy and impressionistic vision to this story that the only thing which emerges from it with any clarity is right-wing anti-trade unionism in the first place, and hatred of the working class as individuals in the second.

The base in individualism—the thing which theoretically unites extreme anarchism and fascism—is, it seems, the only thing the liberal Newman can seize upon and give any vitality to.

In doing so, he only confirms the confusion of liberalism in the face of the contradictions of capitalism and the analysis of its present crisis.

Many ex-acid-freaks are now Jesus-freaks. Many liberals would move towards fascism if its strength grew decisively. Extreme anarchists may go the same way.

What unites them all is fear and hatred of the working class and its organizations.

The workers in the film are presented as boorish layabouts, prone to violence, dependent, and so on. At one stage they are even shown to depend on the Stammers for a rescue operation.

The whole moral weight thus falls decisively in favour of Henry Fonda as the father (who incarnates all the redneck values of the Stammers) and with the

liberal prodigal son, Michael Sarrazin.

Of course the film, trying to butter its bread on both sides, has Sarrazin criticize scabbing and tempt the two wives in the family (both ineptly cast, by the way) to leave.

One actually does, but Sarrazin helps Newman, after the father's death, to get the logs down the river. Blood, it seems, is thicker than water.

Grudgingly I must point out that the film has two good sequences.

One shows Sarrazin's first day of hard work cutting down trees. Here the editing and shooting, which emphasize the smallness of the men as against the threat of danger posed by the gigantic trees and powerful machinery actually manages to convey quite well the struggle of these men against nature.

However the sequence proceeds only by repetition rather than development, and fizzles out.

The other shows how Newman attempts to save his brother, who is pinned underwater by a log, from drowning. Here the acting is excellent, but the shooting is impressionistic and vague, and the only attempts to bring out the possible richness of its content consist of pretentious cut-backs to extreme longshots.

The whole film is characterized by sequence after sequence which, however well or badly shot, fail to develop dramatically precisely because of Newman's inability to find a coherent point of view which draws out the inner workings of the plot.

All that stands out clearly is the right-wing union-baiting and Newman's confusion.

Anyone who can should see this film, however, as it provides a good example of how the capitalist crisis is affecting liberal elements in Hollywood.

If you feel that's not a very good reason for going to see a film, there's only one thing to say—that there's nothing new in cinema that isn't reflecting the crisis in one way or another. In this context, even bad films can be important.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

Free press

Interesting sidelight on the power of the press as wielded by his eminence, Lord Thomson of Fleet.

This is a report of an exchange in the House of Lords:

Lord Shackleton said that Lord Thomson of Fleet had said it was not true that newspaper influence in sound broadcasting would result in a slanting of the news.

'But looking at "The Times", its report was so selective that Lord Denham (the government spokesman), Baroness Phillips (Lab) and Lord Orr-Ewing (Con) among others,

were not reported at all, but one of the two columns of report, by an extraordinary coincidence, gave Lord Thomson's speech.

'I know that his editors enjoy freedom under his control. I accept that, but it does cause some of us a little bit of concern,' he said, amid laughter.

Lord Thomson intervened: 'He should give consideration to the astuteness of the editorial direction of "The Times" in picking out the very important contribution I made to the debate.' (Laughter).

'I am fully experienced in these matters, which Lord Shackleton is not, and it was very important that the things I said should have been recorded in full.'



A portrait of premier Edward Heath, painted in horse manure, is on show at Liverpool's

Medici gallery. The painter, Brian Burgess, said: 'It produces a remarkable subtle quality—and no smell.'

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Labour gains in Scottish elections

POLLING takes place today in the local council elections in England and Wales.

At yesterday's polling in Scotland, the Labour Party made a net gain of at least 77 seats. Only 25 of Scotland's major burghs are now in the hands of anti-Labour groups.

Their biggest victory was in Glasgow, where they gained 13 seats, giving them a record majority of 47 seats on the council.

The Scottish National Party lost Shettleston Ward, their last remaining seat in Glasgow.

Turnout, however, was down. Only 38 per cent of people turned out to vote compared with 40.2 per cent last time.

Ads cash drops

REVENUE for evening newspaper advertising in 1971 was at its lowest for several years, retiring chairman of the Evening Newspaper Advertising Bureau, G. F. L. Potter, announced in London yesterday.

Speaking at the bureau's annual meeting, he said that 1971 was one of the worst years, particularly for classified advertising. The most serious concern of all, however, was the substantial fall in local advertising revenue.

However, the bureau last year trebled the value of advertising space placed through it to just over £324,000.

The bureau, set up in 1962, has 58 of Britain's 83 evening newspapers among its subscribers.



SALTLEY: The coke depot where the united strength of the West Midlands working class mounted a picket the police could not budge.

Police call for tough picket laws

...and 'celebrate' Saltley defeat with a new tie

BY OUR OWN REPORTER.

THE basic right of striking workers to picket their place of work was attacked yesterday at the Scottish Police Federation conference in Glasgow. Insp Ronald Munro, chairman, told the conference that politicians should ask themselves: 'Does it require several thousand pickets peaceably to persuade a handful of persons to refrain from working?'

In a call for tighter laws on picketing Munro asked: 'Why should the laws governing such an emotional and volcanic situation be so loosely defined?'

Unions should be responsible for the actions of pickets. 'Let's at least place some of the onus on the democratically-elected office bearers of the strikers. They are the persons who call their members out on strike. It is they who call on their members to carry out picket duties.'

Praising policemen who remained silent when castigated, kicked and spat on, he warned menacingly that this silence was not a token of acquiescence.

Police came in for more praise from Munro for their performance during the recent miners' strike. They had showed the 'utmost impartiality' while trying to uphold the law.

'To those who express the opinion that police officers are "tools of government", I say they are talking blithering sheer rubbish,' he said.

Strange claims for Saltley

● BUT A police tie commemorating battles with picketing miners outside Saltley coke depot, Birmingham, during the miners' strike gives the lie to Munro's claim. 500 of the ties have been ordered by members of the City's police.

The ties cost 75p and are dark blue emblazoned with a policeman's helmet surmounting a miner's crossed pick and shovel over a scroll stating 'Saltley 1972'.

They were first ordered by a group of policemen to mark the

five days when they faced striking miners who came from all over Britain to stop scab lorries from collecting coke.

Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire miners' executive member, said the police were only commemorating their own defeat.

'We will always remember Saltley as our victory. If we ever have a tie made, the helmet will be where it belongs—beneath the crossed pick and shovel.'

Reyrolle return

FOUR THOUSAND manual workers on strike from Reyrolles electrical engineering works at Hebburn, Tyneside, returned to work yesterday.

The men stopped work and sat-in at the factory on Friday after two welders were suspended. They then continued on strike until the suspension period ended yesterday when they decided to return.

Tory ladies want X Certificate for TV

THE 43rd annual conference of Conservative women will devote much of its time to lack of morality in the entertainment industry and the nation's morals.

These are pet subjects among the ladies in flowered hats from Berkshire and Folkestone.

The conference will be held in London on May 23-24. At Westminster's Central Hall the ladies will be discussing about 100 motions covering aspects of life, government policy and the nation's morals.

One motion suggests classification of TV programmes like those

Drury: A jump or a push?

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

WAS Commander Kenneth Drury, head of Scotland Yard's Flying Squad, pushed, or did he jump?

On Monday night he announced that he had 'resigned' from the force.

But on Tuesday, when Metropolitan Police orders were published they showed Drury had 'retired'.

It is normal procedure for an officer retiring to give notice of at least a month. In Drury's case this was not done.

Because he was already under suspension when he left the force, use of the word 'retirement' means that no further disciplinary action will be taken against him.

His suspension resulted from newspaper evidence that he and his wife went on holiday to Cyprus with James Humphreys, a Soho strip club owner. Humphreys was a former inmate of Dartmoor prison.

Although Drury claims the holiday was part of a topline investigation into the missing Great Train Robber Ronald Biggs, he did not tell his senior officers that he was making the inquiries at a holiday resort in Cyprus with his wife and Humphreys.



Drury: Biggs in Cyprus?

Safeguard Circus pedestrians move

CHANGES to the £100m Piccadilly Circus development scheme proposed by Westminster City Council were suggested yesterday for the 'safety and convenience of pedestrian versus motor cars'.

The suggestions were made by the Crown Estate Commissioners, ground landlords of the Criterion site south of Eros, and of Regent St and Lower Regent St including the Swan and Edgar corner in Piccadilly Circus.

The Commissioners want to ensure that pedestrians can move 'freely and easily between the Circus and Piccadilly and Regent St,' Second Commissioner W. A. Wood said in a statement.

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The engineering battle—MANCHESTER

HOURS DEADLOCK

FROM PHILIP WADE IN THE NORTH-WEST

AFTER SEVEN weeks of struggle by engineers in the greater Manchester area, the big employers are still resisting the most vital demand for a shorter working week.

To date some 38 agreements have been reached on the district claim for £4, a 35-hour-week and an extra week's holiday. None of the leading employers however, has given way on hours.

The sit-in of 450 workers at Laurence Scott, Openshaw, concluded this week on the basis of a £3 rise backdated to December and two days extra holiday.

Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' district officials have now come face to face with the monopoly combines in the area who refuse to concede on a reduction in hours.

At GEC-AEI, Trafford Park, where negotiations have resumed after a return to work by 3,500 workers locked out for three weeks, no offer has been made on a cut in the 40-hour week.

In fact the big federated firms like Hawker Siddeley, GKN, Linotype and GEC have united in their determination to resist this demand.

Both district officials and the employers' association admit that the Trafford Park talks are the most critical in the whole dispute.

'Once the big firms concede on hours it will give us a licence to make similar settlements all over the place,' John Tocher, AUEW divisional organizer told me.

The employers had made concessions on the basic rates and on holidays, he said, since the



imposition of sanctions by 200,000 workers on March 27.

'Even if we get a modest reduction in hours at GEC, it will be something of a victory,' he added.

But as far as the employers were concerned, there was no sign of any concession in this direction.

A spokesman told me: 'Without doubt hours are a question for national negotiations. The situation is somewhat critical at GEC. But there are a lot of sensible workers there so I'm hopeful.'



'Wage increases can be quickly eaten away by the rising cost of living. But a shorter week and extra holidays mean a real increase in workers standards of living'—Mirrlees convenor John Dougherty.

Mirrlees workers are in the sixth week of their sit-in

John Dougherty, convenor at Mirrlees, Stockport, where 950 workers are in the sixth week of their sit-in, commented: 'It is more than just a fight to increase our wages.'

'The employers here are backing the government, which is trying to reduce our standard of living. That is why they refuse to concede on hours or conditions.'

'Wage increases can be quickly eaten away by the rising cost of

living. But a shorter working week and extra holidays mean a real increase in workers' standards of living.

'The membership in my factory is getting more determined each day, however. Two weeks after the sit-in they might have accepted a reasonable offer.'

'Management's hardness in dealing with the shop floor has had a reciprocal effect. They want some real concessions on hours now,' said John.

Students rally to sacked Kent staff

NEGOTIATIONS over the sacking of 130 canteen and cleaning staff open at Kent University today. Yesterday a meeting of 1,850 students and staff voted not to accept the redundancies. Another mass meeting is planned for tomorrow.

BBC 1

- 9.20-9.35 On the farm. 9.38-11.38 Schools. 12.55-1.25 Arall fyd. 1.30 Joe. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05 Schools. 2.25 Chester races. 3.55 Working with youth. 4.20 Play school. 4.45 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Boss cat. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News and weather.
- 6.00 NATIONWIDE.
- 6.45 WHERE IN THE WORLD.
- 7.00 SPY TRAP. Girl in Waiting.
- 7.25 TOP OF THE POPS.
- 8.00 THE GOODIES. Guest Stanley Baxter.
- 8.30 THE FRENCH WAY. Then Turn Not Pale, Beloved Snail.
- 9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.
- 9.20 PLAY FOR TODAY: 'ALMA MATER'. Ian Carmichael.
- 10.35 24 HOURS ELECTION SPECIAL.
- 11.45 Weather.

TV

ITV

- 10.20-12.00 Schools. 1.10 Time to remember. 1.40 Schools. 2.32 Good afternoon! 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Joker's wild. 3.45 Marcus Welby. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Secret squirrel. 5.20 Maggie. 5.50 News.
- 6.00 TODAY.
- 6.35 CROSSROADS.
- 7.00 FILM: 'A FINE MADNESS'. Sean Connery, Joanne Woodward, Jean Seberg. Comedy about a frustrated poet who cleans carpets for a living.
- 9.00 LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR.
- 9.30 THIS WEEK.
- 10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
- 10.30 CINEMA.
- 11.00 SOMETHING TO SAY. Bryan Magee.
- 12.00 THE GEORDIE BIBLE.



Henry James' 'The Golden Bowl' begins as a six-part serial on BBC-2 tonight. Gayle Hunnicutt (left) as Charlotte Stant and Jill Townsend as Maggie Verver are in part one, 'The Prince'.

REGIONAL TV

WESTWARD: 10.20-2.32 London. 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.05 Yak. 4.18 News. 4.20 Funny face. 4.50 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 Diary. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'No Name on the Bullet'. 8.30 This is your life. 9.00 London. 10.30 Report. 10.59 News. 11.03 Theatre. 11.55 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 10.20 London. 3.00 Afloat. 3.30 From a bird's eye view. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Leprechaun. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Lionheart. 5.20 London. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Simon Locke. 7.15 Film: 'My Blood Runs Cold'. 9.00 London. 11.00 News. 11.20 Drive-in. 11.50 Stuart Gillies. 12.20 Weather. Voyage to discovery.

ANGLIA: 10.20 London. 3.15 Randall and Hopkirk. 4.05 News. 4.10 Jimmy Stewart. 4.40 Rupert. 4.55 Captain Scarlet. 5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 London. 7.00 Film: 'Against the Wind'. 9.00 London. Whiplash.

10.30 Sailors of fortune. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 Elections. 12.15 Epilogue.

ATV MIDLANDS: 10.20-2.33 London. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Family affair. 4.40 Rupert. 4.55 Secret service. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Film: 'Brushfire'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Today.

ULSTER: 10.20-2.32 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 Tommy. 6.35 London. 7.00 Simon Locke. 7.30 Film: 'Doctor in the House'. 9.00 London. 11.00 What's it all about. 11.20 Avengers.

GRANADA: 11.00 London. 2.30 Saint. 3.25 All our yesterdays. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 London. 4.55 Make a wish. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. Police file. 6.25 I dream of Jeannie. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.25 Film. 8.50 Sylvester. 9.00 London. 11.00 On the line. 11.30 'Against the Wind'. 9.00 London. Whiplash.

BBC 2

- 11.00-11.25 Play school.
- 6.35-7.00 WORKING WITH YOUTH. Self-Governing and Self-Programming.
- 7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.
- 7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.
- 8.00 EUROPA. The world today.
- 8.30 THE GOLDEN BOWL. Dramatization of Henry James' novel.
- 9.20 SHOW OF THE WEEK: HARRY SECOMBE SHOW. Guests Nicol Williamson, Anne Evans, Roy Budd Trio.
- 10.05 NEWS ON 2 and weather.
- 10.10 WORLD CINEMA: 'LUCIA'. First of three films made in Cuba since the revolution.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 London. 3.00 Sound of . . . 3.15 A good play. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 London. 4.55 Captain Scarlet. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Shirley's world. 7.00 Popeye. 7.10 Film: 'Move Over Darling'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Sporttime. 11.00 Police call. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 News. 11.50 Drive-in. 12.15 Revolving chair.

SCOTTISH: 11.00-2.32 London. 3.30 Once upon a time. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Fireball XL5. 5.20 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.15 Cartoon. 6.25 Stuart Gillies. 6.55 Film: 'Alvarez Kelly'. 9.00 Short story. 9.30 London. 10.30 Love thy neighbour. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 Beagan gaidhlig.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00-2.32 London. 3.34 News. 3.35 Job look. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Julia. 4.40 London. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.10 Other Lindsfarne. 6.35 London. 7.00 Plus tam. 7.30 Film: 'Our Man in Havana'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Viewfinder. 11.30 Survival. 12.00 Epilogue.

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Parsons staff-work to-rule in the balance

FROM IAN YEATS
IN SCARBOROUGH

THE 1,400 technical staff working-to-rule at C. A. Parsons' Newcastle factory will decide in the next few days whether to continue their action.

Production workers threatened with redundancies at the 8,500-strong generator plant have already agreed to work normally in return for a management promise that there will be no sackings this year.

Six hundred technical staff have been dismissed for imposing sanctions on the company in a bid to prevent substantial redundancies due to take place in June.

Alternative employment for highly-skilled men in the Newcastle area would be almost impossible to find.

Now many workers are saying Parsons' determination to have their way, coupled with the threat of the Industrial Relations Act, appears to leave little choice but to cut their losses and resume normal working.

Technical staff—all members of the Technical and Supervisory Staffs Association of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers—have shown their willingness to fight for four months in support of a closed shop, now illegal under the Act.

But Stalinist TASS officials are urging the men to accept a 'no-redundancies-in-1972' formula along the lines of the agreement signed by the reformist leaders of the clerical and manual unions, as a means of resuming normal work.

International Socialist group members in the factory leadership say there is no further action they can take, adding that if the anti-union law is used against them the union will appeal to the TUC for help.

● Tomorrow IAN YEATS will reveal details of how reformism, revisionism and Stalinism is ganging up on the fight against redundancies at Parsons.

LATE NEWS

EMPLOYMENT Secretary Maurice Macmillan has invited Jack Jones, transport union leader, to meet him to discuss the dock situation before today's dockers' delegate meeting.

LEADERS of the TUC and the Confederation of British Industry are concerned the Budget will not have the desired effect in reducing unemployment. The TUC said at a meeting of the National Economic Development Council under the chairmanship of Heath yesterday that they welcomed the government's decision to go for more reflation.

But they would have preferred to see more selective measures to reduce unemployment directly. The CBI was not only concerned about whether the Budget would reduce unemployment, but also doubted whether it would contain inflation. The meeting was to have been devoted entirely to the Budget but a good deal of the talk ranged around low incomes and profits.

Donaldson adjourns blacking case

Court threat to stewards' credentials

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT DAVID MAUDE

WHEN adjourning contempt charges against the Transport and General Workers' Union yesterday, Court president Sir John Donaldson said he was disappointed the union had been unable to offer any corresponding adjournment of the industrial action at Liverpool.

Asked by Donaldson if he could help on the efforts the union would make to adjourn industrial action, Mr Peter Pain, QC, for the T&GWU, replied: 'No, I am afraid I am not able to help you on that.'

Donaldson went on to virtually invite the intervention of Tory Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan in the dispute. Macmillan should not be inhibited from taking 'immediate action', he said.

Donaldson refused the union's application for a ten-day adjournment and gave until next Tuesday, on the understanding that all the evidence before the Court reached Pain by Friday morning.

Yesterday's hearing arose as a result of applications on Monday and Tuesday by Heaton's Transport (St Helens) Ltd and Craddock Bros of Wolverhampton, alleging that blacking of their vehicles had continued since the fines imposed on the T&GWU.

Earlier in the proceedings Donaldson said the Court's orders were, on the face of it, still being disobeyed.

When Pain replied that it was not in his client's power to stop the blacking at Liverpool, the NIRC president asked whether evidence would be produced showing that the union's dock and road transport groups had been called together and that national officials had seen the dock shop stewards.

'Is it your case that the union is unable to control its shop stewards and that it is unwilling to withdraw their credentials because the consequences would be even worse?' he asked.

If shop stewards committed acts contrary to the law, it was the union's duty to dissociate itself from them. 'We have spelled it out at least twice,' he added.

Withdrawal of credentials would have two effects, Pain said. No one would be left to deal with local problems and there could be a crop of unofficial disputes. The membership could

WEATHER

EAST and South East England and the East Midlands will be rather cloudy, perhaps with a little drizzle. Western England and Wales, Northern Ireland, West and North Scotland will be mostly dry with sunny spells.

Eastern Scotland, North East England and the West Midlands will be cloudy with some rain in places at first. Temperatures will be near normal, but it will be rather cold in the east.

Outlook for Friday and Saturday: Dry in the north and west. Occasional rain in the east and south. Temperatures near normal except rather cold in eastern England.

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Richard Yorke, Heaton's QC

refuse to appoint new representatives, choose men of like mind to the present incumbents or vote in stewards who were even more radical.

There was a risk of the dispute spreading. But the union, although 'one can't control everybody in the docks', would through its full-time officials, take steps to try to prevent the spread.

'It would be idle to suggest that we can do that at Liverpool effectively, and it would be naive to suggest that we could persuade them at this stage to reverse their policy.'

But at other ports something may be done and 'we are quite prepared to do that'.

Asked whether he was attacking the principle of the Court's judgement or simply their application, Pain said it was the latter. He would want to examine the question of removing credentials against the background of the Liverpool docks, he said.

Removal would be 'contrary to industrial commonsense' and possibly unfair to the stewards themselves.

Pain's admission that he was challenging not the principle of the judgement but their application was crucial here, since this shifted the argument to what action should be taken over the powers of the shop stewards.

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

The judgements given by the Court, he said, were open to two interpretations; that shop stewards' powers should be so limited that it was clear that they did not have the power to act in the way they had, or that their credentials should be removed for going against union policy. He would be arguing for the first alternative.

El Ferrol 25 in court case

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

TWENTY-FIVE people were indicted in Madrid, Spain, yesterday on charges in connection with clashes between police and strikers in which two workers were killed at El Ferrol two months ago.

Armed police opened fire on 3,000 shipyard workers demanding higher pay, shorter hours and recognition of the illegal Workers Commissions. The shootings sparked off widespread strikes along Spain's northern seaboard.

The prosecutor said the demonstration was political and not a labour dispute that forced the police intervention 'to repel aggression'.

The bloody incidents occurred on March 10 and climaxed a series of stoppages at shipyards in the major ship building centre of El Ferrol which is also the birthplace of Spanish fascist leader General Franco.

The 25 accused, 17 of whom have been ordered to be held in custody pending a public order court trial, are charged with illegal association and propaganda, sedition and causing public disorders.

We don't want mercy killings: OAPs

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

DELEGATES at the annual conference of the National Federation of Old Age Pensioners yesterday unanimously rejected recent calls for voluntary euthanasia for old people.

Meeting at Douglas, Isle of Man, they passed an emergency resolution condemning an article by Baroness Stocks (80) in the magazine 'Age Concern' supporting the idea that old people have the right by law to sign an authorization for a doctor to carry out a mercy killing on them.

'We don't want people to be liquidated at the stroke of a pen,' said Leeds delegate, 75-year-old former male nurse, William Rees.

'Huge slices of the elderly population could be liquidated', he said. 'It would give a boost to the economy of any government in power if they did not have the same heavy financial liability for old people.'

National President Arthur Parker, of Fleetwood, Lancs, commented:

'Some people seem to think we are living too long and becoming too much of a liability on the country. We should show them our contempt and our protest.'

Executive council member Mrs Annie Kirkman of Bury, Lancs, condemned the Bishop of Durham for his idea that a 'points system' should be established to decide whether a patient should be kept artificially alive.

It was a disgraceful suggestion for a Bishop, she said.

Shipyard 30 p.c. rise

BRITAIN'S 100,000 shipyard workers yesterday won an average pay rise of over 30 per cent on basic rates over the next two years. In the agreement lower-paid workers receive a minimum £20 a week wage—the TUC target—in a year's time.

Craftsmen receive rises of £2.75 a week from May 15 this year and another £2.75 on May 21 next year, giving them a new basic rate of £24.50.

At the same time labourers get increases of £2.50, bringing them up to £20. The seven semi-skilled rates ranging from £16.63 to £17.15 have been condensed into one rate of £19.50 from this May and £22 from next May.

Three days' extra holiday over the next two years were agreed.

Castle back in Cabinet

MRS Barbara Castle has regained her seat in Labour Shadow Cabinet by beating Liverpool MP, Eric Heffer, by 111 votes to 89 in a Parliamentary Labour Party ballot.

More than 80 backbenchers failed to vote in the contest caused by the election of Edward Short as deputy leader in place of Roy Jenkins.

The 80 non-voters are believed to be Jenkinsites who regarded both candidates as too 'left'. When she was Employment Secretary Mrs Castle introduced 'In Place of Strife', the forerunner of the Tories' Industrial Relations Act.

MAY FUND STARTS WITH £81.09

THIS MONTH we are determined to make an early start for our May Fund. Last month was our greatest effort so far when you raised the magnificent amount of £2,105.50—£855.50 over our target.

Once again, therefore, we would like to make a special appeal to you all. Our costs have risen enormously and they continue to rise. We are asking you to make a sacrifice and help us this month raise another £500 over our £1,250 target.

We feel that the action of the Industrial Relations Court changes everything for the working class. In this serious political situation all our determination to fight the Tories must be mobilized.

You more than raised this amount last month and we have every confidence you will raise it again. So start today. Post all your donations to:

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