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INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY MAY 15, 1972 ● No 765 ● 4p

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Speaking at the Scottish Tory Party's annual conference Heath invited the TUC leaders to join this vicious scheme. He offered further talks to work out new methods for settling industrial disputes. He said previous talks with the unions had been helpful: 'I hope that in the same spirit we can now move to a further stage. I hope that we can work out together new methods for the settlement of disputes.'

He made clear, however, that the discussions would take place within the shadow of the Act.

BY ALEX MITCHELL

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That being the case, why doesn't Feather do something about it? Why doesn't he carry out other Congress decisions—non-co-operation with the Act, for instance?

And if he is in any doubt about TUC policy, why does he not immediately recall congress so that the 10 million members can have their views heard?

What has reduced the trade union leaders to their cringing demeanour has been the rapidity with which the NIRC is dispensing its vicious judgements.

● On Friday the Court adjudged that trade unions must discipline or dismiss shop stewards who fail to carry out the wishes of the Court. Answering the point that the withdrawal of credentials from shop stewards might damage industrial relations and cause strikes, Court president Sir John Donaldson, said:

'These dangers are obvious. But they are short-term dangers. They must be faced in order that in the longer term we may have an orderly system of industrial relations of which we can all be proud. This will take leadership and courage in full measure. Surely the union has both.'

The message is clear enough: the T&GWU's Jack Jones and his right-wing must get together to purge the union of militants regardless of the immediate consequences. Nothing could be plainer.

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(Under the Act to get a ballot the government has to prove that the leadership in rejecting the offer is not acting with the authority of the membership.)

Commenting on this union objection, Donaldson merely observed in his judgement: 'They [the unions] are fully entitled to their view, but we cannot exclude the possibility that they may be honestly mistaken.'

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The single question on the ballot will be: 'In the light of British Railways' pay offer (of which you have been informed) do you wish to take part in further industrial action?' Next to the question will be two squares marked 'Yes' and 'No'.

As the decision to hold a ballot was given, Sir Sidney Greene of the NUR said he was 'a bit surprised'.

Percy Coldrick of the TSSA said: 'I am not prepared to comment on the decision.'

While Ray Buckton of ASLEF said the decision reflected on the right of trade union leaders to speak on behalf of their rank and file. 'Their whole credibility is in jeopardy,' he said. Buckton can say that again!

With the reformists bereft of any policies to fight the Act or the government, the Tories are now preparing the coup de grace. They have introduced laws making trade union leaders the policemen of their members, now they want them to become linked in a wage-cutting council—either in or outside the court.

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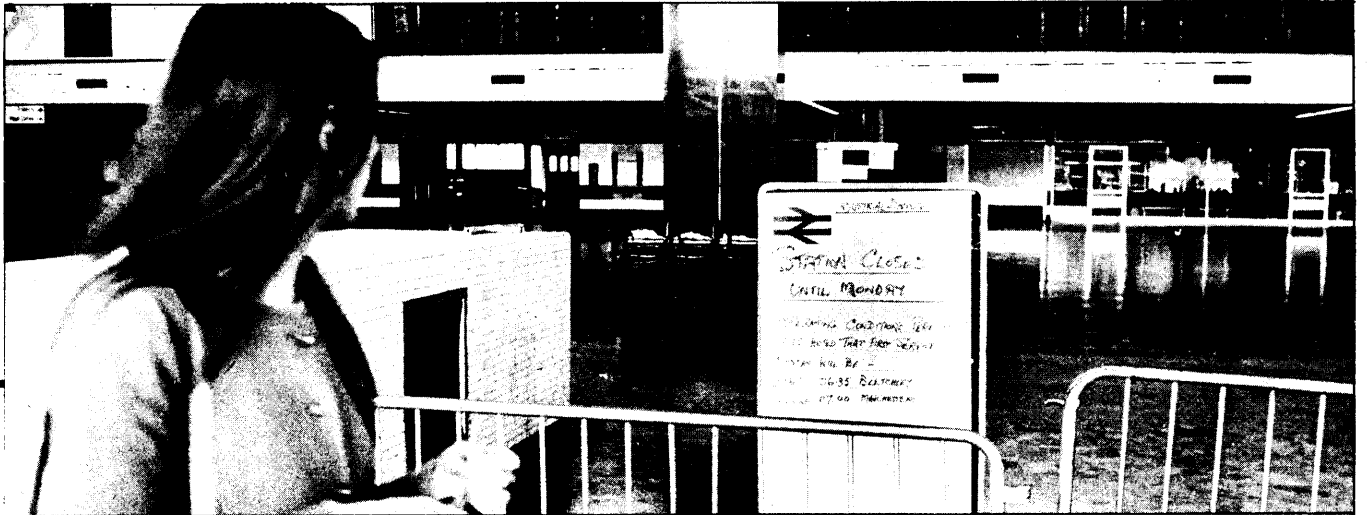
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Malagasy: New clashes with students

BY A FOREIGN
CORRESPONDENT

MORE clashes broke out yesterday between police and students in Tanarive, capital of the Malagasy Republic, after a night of curfew under a state of emergency imposed on Saturday.

The official death toll rose to 15 and the government reported 150 injured.

But other reports spoke of 20 dead and 400 injured, while usually reliable sources said 400 others were under arrest and the hospitals in Tanarive crowded.

President Philibert Tsiranana declared a state of emergency on Saturday night stating on the radio that 'communist agitators are spawning trouble among the people'. He added: 'If you want to die, follow the agitators.'

The Interior Ministry announced an island-wide curfew would be in effect from 8 p.m. to 6 a.m. and declared that anyone on the streets during this time would be 'shot without warning'. But explosions were heard late into Saturday night in the Malagasy Republic capital.

Eyewitnesses said one of the main clashes occurred when security forces used tear-gas grenades to break up a demonstration against the arrest of student leaders. The students replied by throwing stones... and then shooting began.

The students went on strike 20 days ago demanding a radical revision of the country's education system.

But Malagasy Interior Minister Berthelmy Johasy said the strike was aimed at overthrowing the ruling Social Democratic Party regime and that the student movement was really a cloak for subversive political elements who would no longer be tolerated by the government.

Almost a year ago, the island was the scene of bloody disorders in which police claim to have killed 45 left-wing rebels.

Tsiranana was returned unopposed with 99.72 per cent of the votes at the last presidential election. He is one of the chief black African advocates of dialogue with South Africa and his regime is subsidised from Pretoria.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Fight the Tories'
'fair rents' Bill

WANDSWORTH: Thursday May 18, 8 p.m. Selkirk Hotel, Selkirk Rd, Tooting Broadway.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday May 23, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue, Barking.

CLAPHAM: Tuesday May 23, 8 p.m. Small Hall, Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4.

WEST LONDON: Tuesday May 23, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Rd, off York Way, Kings Cross.

SOUTHALL: Thursday May 25, 8 p.m. Parkway Rooms (Rent office), Racecourse Estate, Northolt (next to swimming pool).

NORTH LONDON: Thursday May 25, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayer's Arms', Tottenham High Rd (nr White Hart Lane)

CROYDON: Thursday May 25, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd.

LUTON: Thursday May 25, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Hall, Lea Rd.

SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday May 25, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club (opposite New Cross Station).

EAST LONDON: Tuesday May 30, 8 p.m. 'Aberfeldy', Aberfeldy St, E.14.

WHAT WE THINK

Taff Vale is back

THE FUTURE of trade unionism is in the balance. Through the National Industrial Relations Court, the Tory government has made its intentions crystal clear. Trade union leaders are legally-bound by the Court to discipline their shop stewards, even if it should provoke a strike.

In practice, this means that under the Industrial Relations Act trade union leaders have been transformed into the policemen for the Tory government within the unions. Legal precedent for such a judgement led to the President of the Court, Sir John Donaldson, reaffirming the infamous Taff Vale judgement of 1901.

'The law was stated with clarity and precision,' he said, 'by Mr Justice Farwell in the Taff Vale Case (1901: AC 426.433). Granted that the principal has not authorized the particular act, but he has put the agent in his place to that class of act, and he is answerable for the manner in which the agent has conducted himself in doing the business with which the principal has entrusted him.'

The repeal of the 1906 Trades Disputes Act by the passing of the Industrial Relations Act 1971 has activated the Taff Vale judgement and placed the destruction of the majority of the basic rights of trade unionism on the NIRC's agenda.

It has revealed the utter bankruptcy of all those trade union and Stalinist leaders who refused to mobilize the united strength of the working class against the Tory government before the Act became law.

These same traitors are now back-peddalling as fast as they can away from a confrontation with the government, while at the same time permitting it to provoke the working class into conflicts with the law under conditions where it will be intimidated and its fighting capacity whittled away in isolated actions.

We are living in a period of history far more dangerous than in 1926. Then it was a General Strike to prevent wage reductions. Today it is the Tory government taking the fullest advantage of the cowardice of the reformist leaders, in order to destroy the basic democratic rights of the working class through what is nothing more than a judicial coup d'etat. The precedent is not 1926, but Taff Vale 1901.

But even this analysis provides us only with the barest basis of historical comparison.

At the turn of the century British capitalism was booming from the super-profits of imperialist colonial exploitation. Today it is in its death agony. Its perspective is to reduce the working class to the status of its former colonial slaves. This is the real purpose of the NIRC.

The Taff Vale judgement spurred on the trade unions to launch the reformist Labour Party in 1906. The decision of the NIRC has exposed the bankruptcy of reformism and the Stalinist so-called 'peaceful road to socialism'.

Only the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party can now effectively provide the Marxist leadership and policies needed to defend the trade unions.

The Socialist Labour League in this grave hour calls upon the working class to stand firm within the trade unions against the Tory onslaught. Force the old bureaucratic leaders to get out. Replace them with leaders pledged to create the industrial and political conditions to force the Tory government to resign.

Immediately, it means the recalling of the TUC in order to prepare the working class to resist the government through taking the industrial and political offensive against it. It is vitally necessary to deprive the Tory government of the element of surprise. This can only be done through the preparation of the General Strike.

The NIRC has not just served 21 days' notice on the Transport and General Workers' Union. This notice applies to the whole of the working class.

During those three vital weeks there must be massive demonstrations of a united trade union movement throughout all the cities and towns throughout the country.

Councils of action, consisting of all tendencies within the labour movement, must be organized in order to draw millions of trade unionists and tenants and unemployed into action against the government.

The working class is the most powerful force in Britain today. Given bold decisive leadership it can make this government resign and replace it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

Flood death threat to North Vietnam

AMERICAN planes have begun bombing the irrigation dykes in the Red River Delta of North Vietnam.

The dykes are vital to control the river's floodwaters in the approaching monsoon season. If they are breached, there could be widespread flooding with loss of thousands of lives.

The North Vietnam

News Agency reported at the weekend that two American bombs had torn a hole 100 feet wide in a Red River dyke section on the outskirts of Hanoi on Wednesday.

The US planes returned to the scene the following day and four bombs fell within 120 feet of the dyke system.

A hydrological station in Hanoi was also

destroyed, the news agency said. It said the US was using perforating and demolition bombs in attacks on irrigation projects.

Dykes and dams in other parts of the country also came under attack earlier this month, Hanoi reported.

This is the purest terror bombing. US spokesmen have repeatedly denied that the dykes have any military

significance, and the Pentagon claims to know nothing of the raids.

But destruction of the dykes has been under discussion in Washington for some years, as the Pentagon Papers show.

Thanks to advance preparation the Vietnamese were able to repair the breaches made by last week's bombing raids, Radio Peking said.

'Facing the music' in Quebec

QUEBEC premier Robert Bourassa admitted at the weekend that his government faced a difficult situation because of spreading strikes throughout the province but declared: 'We are equipped to face the music and we will do it.'

Thousands of workers are on strike in the civil service and private industry following the jailing of three trade union leaders.

Bourassa has rejected suggestions that he should amnesty the three men. They are:

Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labour, Yvon Charbonneau, president of the Quebec

Teachers' Group and Marcel Pepin, president of the National Confederation of Trade Unions.

They can be freed from prison as soon as they lodge appeals against contempt of court sentences, which they have so far refused to do.

They were sentenced to a year in jail for urging their members to defy court injunctions ordering the maintenance of essential services during an 11 day public service strike last month.

The strike was ended by legislation which said a two-year, no-strike contract would be declared for the unions

unless agreement was reached by June 1.

The union leaders ended the strike under threat of huge cumulative fines. Workers opposing the jailings have closed down all business, industry and public service in the cities of Sept Iles, St Jerome and Thetford Mines.

The municipal council in Sorel, 45 miles east of Montreal has called for the repeal of anti-union legislation under which the leaders were jailed.

Miners, construction workers and hospital employees are in the forefront of the fight throughout the province.

There have been student demonstrations and in many places radio stations have been occupied to broadcast against the government.

The Quebec government itself is divided over its relations with the Federal government in Ottawa.

So far the Federal government has not intervened, but there are contingency plans to send in troops.

The Canadian government has been aided by the attitude of the union leaders in other provinces, who have made no appeals for solidarity action in support of the jailed union chiefs.

Allende supporters tear-gassed

POLICE used tear-gas and water-cannon to break up clashes between supporters of Chile's Popular Unity government and right-wing oppositionists in Concepcion, an industrial city 330 miles south of Santiago, at the weekend.

At least three people were reported wounded. The clashes came after the government had authorized a right-wing march but banned a counter-demonstration by Popular Unity supporters.

They ignored the order despite a radio plea by President Salvador Allende to his supporters not

Army no to Cabinet

PRESIDENT Cevdet Sunay has rejected new Turkish cabinet proposed by premier-designate Suat Hayri Urganlı on the grounds that it does not satisfy army demands.

The army ousted Suleiman Demirel's government 13 months ago demanding an administration which would be 'above party', able to ensure internal security and implement a programme of 'reforms'.

Since then the military have been active behind the facade of a puppet administration. They have threatened to rule through a junta unless parliament steps into line with their demands.

Urganlı's efforts to form a government have been in progress since the army's original nominee, Dr Nihat Erim, resigned last month.

STEEL: IN THE JAWS OF HELL

The steel communities of Britain are now reflecting with considerable anxiety on the government's latest plans for the industry.

The vista of a massive steel expansion and modernization in the country's most depressed areas has been destroyed by last Monday's announcement in parliament that output by 1980 would rise by 28-36 ingot tons.

The lower figure falls 30 per cent short of the 1980 level first suggested by the British Steel Corporation. In cash terms the investment is well below that envisaged by BSC optimists.

Originally the plan was for a £4,000m expansion over the next decade—at the current rate a little over half this figure will be achieved.

The policy, unveiled by the Minister responsible for the industry, Tom Boardman, caused a storm of protest in the steel communities. They were especially angry over his statement that 'the future of the steel industry and of those employed in it is more secure—but clearly I can't pick out individual plants and say that applies to workers at plant X'—everyone is waiting to see if he works at plant 'X'.

Redundancies, of course, are not new in the industry. Since Labour handed over £660m to the private owners in 1967 and took it under state control, a total of 31,000 jobs have been axed. Thousands more will go under plans to 'run' down old steel-making capacity.

BSC announced last May that they intended to close ten plants on top of the five already earmarked for closure. The total job loss will be somewhere in the region of 10,000 over the next 18 months.

All this upholds the accusation made in September by William Camp—a senior BSC official who was sacked because of his opposition to the way

the Tories were running the industry.

He said that the £4,000m expansion plan was a 'non-starter'. The government, he claimed, had 'no intention whatsoever' of approving such an investment.

Instead the Tories were planning to run down the industry by withholding funds for a long-term investment programme.

Camp's views are given credibility by Boardman's refusal to give the go-ahead to the long-awaited 'green-field' project.

For several years now there has been talk of a massive £1,500m project that would establish an entirely new steel-making complex near the coast. Various areas of Britain and various commercial pressure groups have been lobbying for this plum—especially the Hunterston Development Corporation on the Clyde estuary which wants the project badly—plus an iron ore terminal.

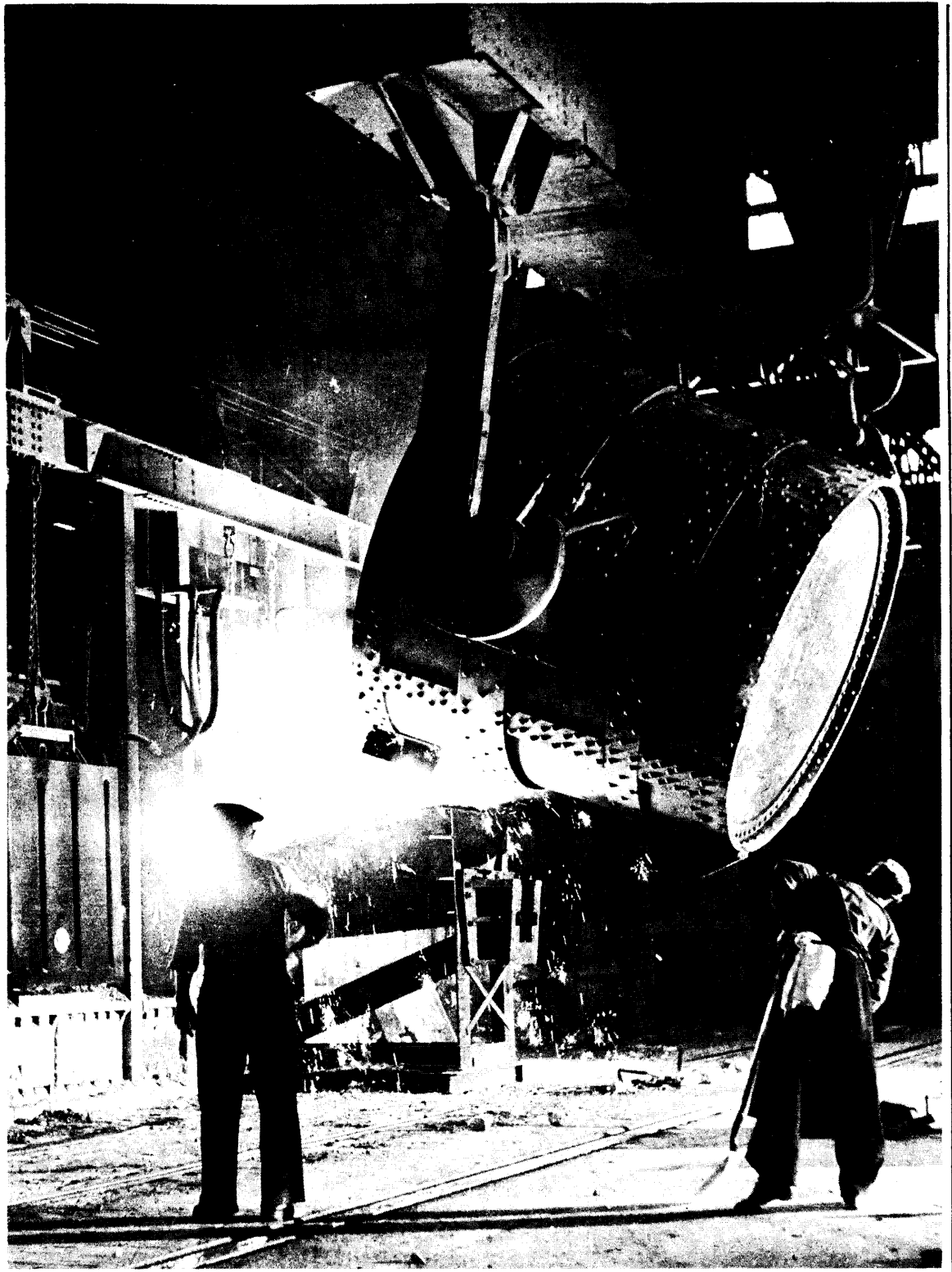
In the Commons, Opposition leader Harold Wilson asked the Minister if a decision had been made. Boardman replied it had not: 'I made it quite clear on the question of green or brown field sites that no decision had been made. This will certainly be made when the results of the strategic study now being carried out by BSC was known.'

The increasing delay is strengthening opinion which argues that the government in fact has no intention of launching such a project.

The latest area to make a plea is Deeside. Their submission to Boardman on Tuesday highlights the kind of crisis that is now facing steel areas everywhere.

They argued against the green-field idea and for the expansion of their own steel facilities at Shotton, Flintshire.

Peter Roberts, a lecturer at Liverpool College of Technology, prepared a study which showed that a rundown of Shotton's facilities would mean economic disaster for an area where 44 per cent of the jobs are in steel.



The Tories are unlikely however to take a great deal of notice of this kind of argument.

As Alex Eadie, Labour MP for Midlothian, noted in Monday's debate, the 'icy hand' of Britain's proposed entry into the Common Market had descended over the government plans.

In the 'Financial Times' in July, David Waterstone, the then international affairs director at BSC, said the siting of plant would continue to be dominated by commercial considerations based on the cost of assembling raw materials and transporting the finished product away.

This is where the Common Market entry comes into the picture.

Clearly the new sites which would offer most competitive advantage within Europe would be ones built in the South East. Certainly projects on the West side of the coun-

try, in North and South Wales and West Scotland (all areas of high male unemployment) start off with a crushing disadvantage because of vastly higher transport costs.

And no one can doubt that the competition from the Market will be fierce. At present BSC shelters behind a tariff barrier of around 8 per cent. These will be progressively reduced in preparation for Market entry and finally disappear on July 1, 1977. In addition in 1973 BSC will begin to operate a pricing system similar to that in Europe.

This basically allows firms to lower their prices from a calculated base to meet foreign competition. This kind of flexible system has been named 'the jaws of hell' because of the temptation to reduce prices to uneconomic levels.

On top of this, all investment plans will have to be submitted to the European Coal and Steel Community.

ECSC officials are known to disapprove of expansion plans going forward while plants that make a loss are still operating.

The Market, in other words, will redouble (indeed some would say, it is already behind) the pressure to accelerate closures, pare down the industry to a few super-efficient units where productivity is vastly increased, and open new capacity in the South East.

It is obvious what such a policy means to places like Shotton, Port Talbot in South Wales and the West of Scotland.

Steel workers, will therefore be facing the most concerted attack on their rights and conditions over the next few years as the Tories make their desperate drive to get into the rich man's club of Europe.

REACTION AND ART

Richard Guyatt, Professor of Graphic Design at the Royal College of Art, has hammered art students in a Royal Society of Arts speech. He expressed distaste and contempt for today's art students.

He questioned the policy of allowing art students to work out their own style of expression: 'The whole concept of self-expression or as it is flabbily called nowadays,

"doing your own thing", is extremely suspect.

'For nowadays artists set out to be laws unto themselves, creating self-imposed images in a private world which is not easy of access. Much of art-school teaching today is like taking horses to the water and hoping that they'll drink. It seemed that art had broken away from the world of law and order and floats weightlessly in its own self-constructed vacuum.'

Guyatt's desperate call for law and order in art has sinister overtones. Of all Britain's art colleges, the Royal College of Art is the most steeped in academic tradition and has long been known for its élitism.

It appears from Guyatt's speech that the epigones of the art establishment are preparing for attacks on the right of art students to experiment with new styles in art.

SHIPPING SLUMP

Shipping companies warned last week that if trade continues to stagnate, more ships will have to be mothballed.

The companies were talking in terms of a 'dramatic shut-down' in the demand for dry-cargo charter business.

In the absence of any foreseeable recovery in trading conditions, freight rates are expected to fall to even lower levels and it can only be a matter of time before ship-owners are forced to withdraw substantially more tonnage from service.

More than a year of unprofitable rates has taken a heavy toll of many shipping companies' financial resources and they are faced with the bleak prospect of immediate action to halt further big losses.

BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:
Germany 1931/1932
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87;
Where Is Britain Going?
Paperback 37p
Revolution Betrayed
Paperback 62p—cloth £1.05
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JOBS GO IN EIRE

Irish Republican electrical trade unions are paving the way for management to smash a redundancy fight only a few days after their actions were successful in forcing 600 unofficial strikers back to work empty-handed.



Irish PM, Lynch

Eight members of the Irish Electrical Technicians' Association have been warned they are about to lose their jobs at Poolbeg, Dublin power station.

The small, new, union has warned that its members will strike against the proposed redundancies unless they are withdrawn.

Three other Irish electrical trade unions which have exclusive negotiating rights with the Electricity Board, have warned management that if they open talks with IETA it will precipitate a dispute with them.

John Devine, industrial correspondent of the 'Irish Independent' says:

'It is now obvious that the group [of three] is determined to deal with the IETA as it dealt with the unofficial Shift Workers' Association whose strike it crushed a few weeks ago.'

At that time the unions actually appealed for other workers to come forward and take on the strikers' jobs. This was even though 75 per cent of industry was shut down, there were widespread power cuts and every chance of the men winning their pay claim.

If IETA decide to strike, the prospect of a repeat of that situation cannot be ruled out.

IETA say they would picket power stations in Dublin and elsewhere and it is understood that shift workers still smouldering from their own defeat would almost certainly not cross the picket lines.

UNIONS REGISTER

Trade unions with an estimated total membership of 2.4 million were registered under the Industrial Relations Act by May 5, said the Minister of State for Employment, Robin Chichester-Clark, in a Commons written reply this week.

SUICIDES

There were five suicide attempts by inmates of Holloway Prison in the six months ending March 31, said the Home Office Minister of State, Mark Carlisle in a Commons written reply this week.

FASCISM? NEVER HEARD OF IT, SAYS GREEK SINGER

'I sing . . . and that is what I do best. Ask me about politics, whether in Greece or any other part of the world, and I will say nothing.'

This is Nana Mouskouri speaking in Glasgow. This heart-throb of the sedate suburban middle class is at present in Europe on a singing tour.

She slots in her trips abroad between performances in Greece—a recent one there was to US troops who are quartered under the extreme right-wing junta that has jailed over 340 people for political offences.

Fortunately some of Nana Mouskouri's fellow artists are not so ignorant or so very forgetful of the kind of conditions that have existed since the coup in 1967.

Many of them were abroad when it occurred and, like the film actress Melina Mercouri, vowed never to go back until the country was freed of tyranny, others left and still others like Mikis Theodorakis, the leading composer, were jailed and his music banned.

One leading Greek actress who has chosen exile in this country rather than live under

the colonels told me exactly what it was like to live as an artist under the junta.

'The atmosphere is permanently threatening. The state dictates to you and you have no scope to develop as an artist.'

Actors in the Greek National Theatre are classed as civil servants and must sign a declaration of loyalty to the regime.

This states they owe 'demonstrable allegiance, faith and devotion to our country and national ideals and are executives of the will of the state in the service of the people'.

Another section says the oath is 'in absolute contradiction with any ideology aiming to overthrow or undermine the existing political or social regime or which is connected with the principles or programmes of dissolved or outlawed political parties.'

With the declaration goes a questionnaire. This is in the best McCarthyite tradition and inquires into the subject's political background.

Reading habits, family political attitudes, past political affiliations and trips abroad are all inquired into.

Question 9 asks: 'Are you prepared to serve our country, our National Ideals and the legally-established authority with faith and devotion and to carry out the will of the state?'

Question 10 inquires: 'Have you anything further to add or to explain which in your opinion, will help to form a clearer opinion of your moral character, uprightness and national outlook?'

Presumably Nana Mouskouri is aware of this document—it seems if people like her are not too concerned about politics, the junta is very concerned to get political statements from actors.

Of course the oppression does not stop here. All scripts of plays must go before a censorship committee and be



Top: Papadopoulos, Greek PM. Above: Nana Mouskouri; apologia for the junta.

vetted. Equally the actors in plays are scrutinized.

Recently the censors went to the ridiculous lengths of banning one of the great Greek classic plays, 'The Frogs', by Aristophanes, because of its revolutionary implications. Clearly Aristophanes, one of the fathers of modern drama, was unpatriotic!

Other examples of censorship include the play 'Republic', by Pablo Vero, which was banned the night before it was due to open, despite the fact that permission to perform had already been granted.

The committee also banned the play 'Swearing at the Audience', by Hanki.

In both cases the theatres in Athens where they were to be shown were closed soon afterwards.

Films too must go before the committee.

'Ann of a Thousand Days', starring Richard Burton, was savaged by the censors. All the appearances of Catherine of Spain, played by the oppositionist woman actor Irene Pappas were cut out of the Greek version.

In short, actors and performers in Greece have extreme right-wing politics rammed down their throat. Mouskouri's disavowal of politics is in fact an apologia for the junta.



Mikis Theodorakis: jailed.

RECORD PROFIT FOR ITT

The International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT) today disclosed record profits for the last three months.

The giant American conglomerate revealed that its profits for the first quarter of the year were \$91.6m (£35m)—about 11 per cent more than in the same period last year.

Sales and revenues were also up 17 per cent to \$1,900m (£730m) over the same period.

ITT's British-born chief executive, Harold Geneen, also predicted further profit increases for the full year—but much of his speech to stockholders at the firm's annual meeting in Memphis, Tennessee, was devoted to previously stated defences of the corporation's role in recent scandals.

One controversy, over allegations that the settlement of a government anti-trust suit against the company was linked to a large donation towards the holding of this year's Republican Convention, came close to halting the Nixon administration's nomination of Richard Kleindienst as Attorney-General.

Another has resulted in accusations that the corporation tried to prevent Chile's elected President, Salvador Allende, from taking office in 1970.

The company has also been accused of non-payment of taxes in the United States.

WASHING RUSSIA'S DISHES

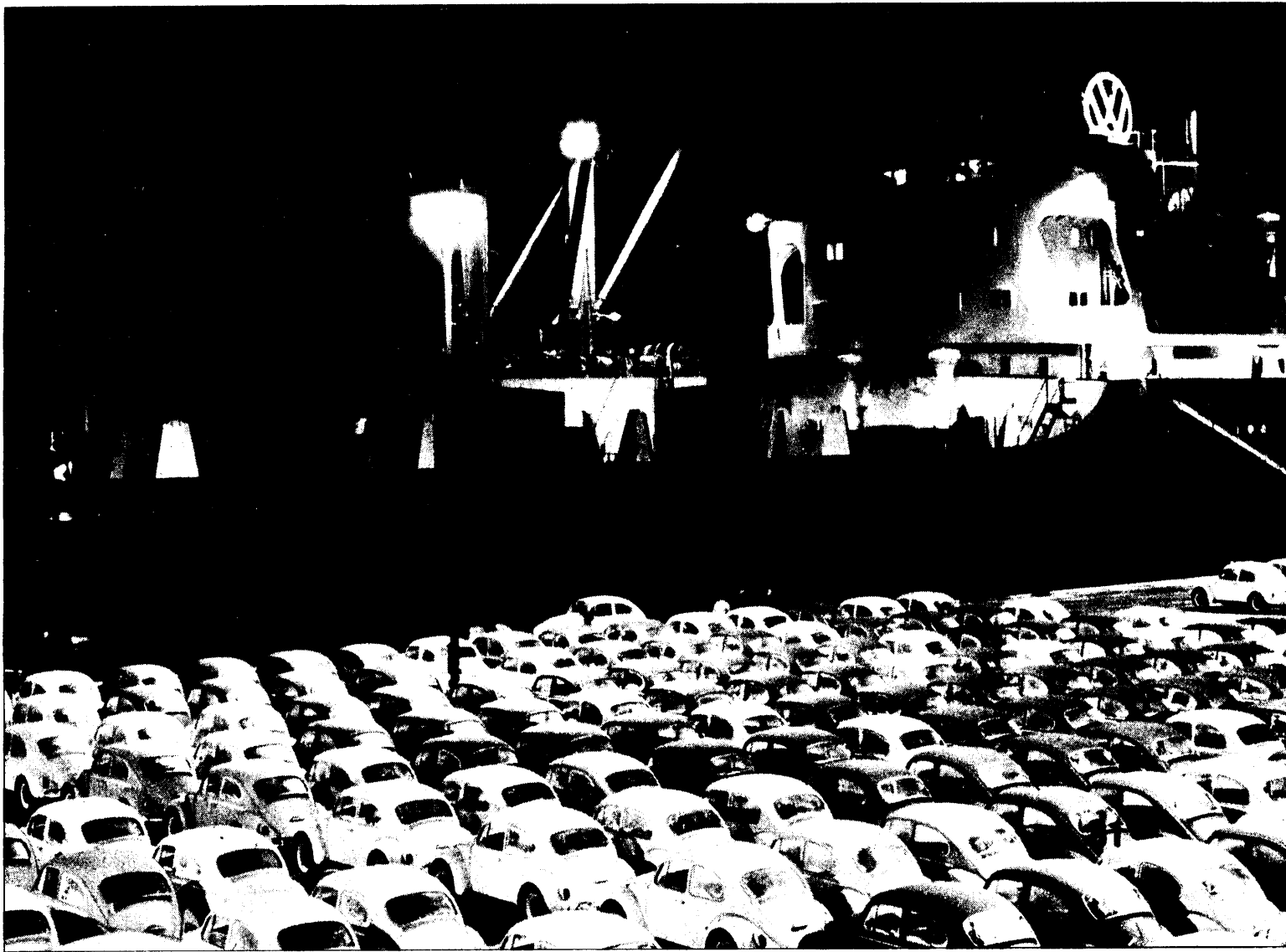
Two years ago the Rybinsk Motor Works in the Soviet Union made a great technological breakthrough—it became the first enterprise in the Soviet Union to introduce dishwashing machines in the works' canteen!

This remarkable feat of socialist construction made it possible to cut the number of dishwashers by 30 per cent and enabled all the workers to be fed within one hour instead of three hours, as previously.

But it also had some untoward consequences. Dishwashers no longer flourish the old-fashioned cloth or mop but operate complicated machinery which has greatly enhanced the dignity of their labour.

However, they are still described in the labour book which every Soviet worker has to carry as mere 'dishwashers'. The Rybinsk Works is already the only firm to boast the post of Deputy Director in Charge of Public Catering. It is now seeking to elevate the humble 'dishwasher' to the status of 'Dishwashing Machine Operator'.

A demand has also gone up for fuller training for qualified cadres for dishwashing departments and operators of dishwashing machines at technical and vocational schools. The time is not far distant when a fully-qualified 'Dishwashing Machine Operator' will be found in every catering establishment in the Soviet Union, not to speak of every party committee.



AMERICA FREEZES OUT THE GERMAN CAR GIANT

The profits of Europe's biggest car maker—Volkswagen — have hit rock bottom.

Last year after-tax profits plunged to 12m Deutschmarks (£1.5m) compared to 190m the year before. World wide, the profits of the Volkswagen combine fell to 147m Deutschmarks last year compared with 407m in 1970.

Announcing these staggering losses Volkswagen chairman Herr Rudolf Leiding said: 'Volkswagen is not in crisis.'

He added: 'There should not be any hysteria about our profit decline.'

Warning that 1972 and 1973 would be hard years, Herr Leiding said the downward trend in profits would be arrested once the company's complete new model line is ready.

But this is unlikely to be before 1974 or 1975. Meanwhile this year there isn't even enough cash in the kitty to pay shareholders a reduced dividend and 67m Deutschmarks will have to be taken from reserves.

Despite the claims from economic pundits that the reason for the crisis is that motorists are bored by the unexciting Volkswagen range, the impact of the world currency crisis is clear.

The revaluation of the mark in terms of other currencies, particularly the dollar — itself devalued—has led to the price of Volkswagens in the US market rising by 25 per cent within two years.

Although the cash value of Volkswagen sales has gone up, this is more a reflection of the overproduction crisis throughout the industry putting severe pressure on the giant combine's rate of profit.

Volkswagen are thrashing

about desperately for ways out of their worsening predicament. They have with a complete new range of 0.9 to 2 litre cars. The emphasis will be on achieving maximum interchangeability of parts and economies of scale.

But whether the rate of inflation will permit many people to be able to afford this new range by mid-decade is a begged question.

In any case these models will be subjected to bitter competition from the other world motor giants.

All this has not been lost on the Volkswagen directors, who are also feverishly trying to unlock sales doors in Brazil, Mexico and Yugoslavia. They assume that the underdeveloped countries offer largely virgin markets, or at the very least cheaper production costs where Volkswagens are made by local labour and shipped to metropolitan countries like Australia and South Africa.

But there is patently a limit to which peasant economies can soak up Volkswagens.

And there is a limit to which the so-called advanced countries will continue to buy the tens of thousands of Volkswagens either already in production or planned.

However, working on the assumption that cheaper production and bigger sales can alone save them, Volkswagen have made only marginal cuts in their investment programme at home and overseas.

They have lopped 1,800m Deutschmarks off their 1970-1975 programme totalling 8,500m.

But given the limitations of the underdeveloped countries' markets and the trend to cut-throat competition between the world's car giants, all the extra cars represented by this new investment are likely to make things infinitely worse.



Top: Volkswagens awaiting shipment from Germany. Above: Leiding, Volkswagen chairman

Cash for this new investment is, of course, not actually to hand. Some of it is expected to be generated in the natural course of future trading and

up to 1,500m Deutschmarks may be borrowed.

Whichever way you look at it, Germany's giant looks set for an almighty crash.

ANGELA'S LETTER TO GEORGE JACKSON

The following letter was produced in evidence in the Angela Davis trial. The FBI have 'misplaced' the originals. The prosecution says the letter 'proves' Miss Davis conspired to commit murder, kidnap and conspiracy. In fact, the letter is completely irrelevant to the trial. We reproduce it to demonstrate the level of Miss Davis's political development.

June 2, 1970

Dear George,
I had abandoned all hope of ever seeing the two letters I have just finished reading. I sit down to write you, not knowing whether or how or when this will reach you. There must be a way.

It is already impossible to begin at the beginning. If I start by dropping the mask and say in all naturalness: I have come to love you very deeply, I count on you to believe me, George. I have used these words very seldom in my 26 years—because I could not have meant them very often.

Believe me it happened so abruptly, so spontaneously. I was not seeking love when I walked into a Salinas courtroom on Friday, May 8, 1970. And so it is difficult to articulate it further. But one thing remains to be said—my feelings dictate neither illusionary hopes nor intolerable despair. My love—your love—reinforces my fighting instincts, it tells me to go to war.

You are so right about the so-called black bourgeoisie—a pseudo-class consciously created by the white rulers as a force to further bridle our rebellion, as just one more instrument of repression. Whether they want it or not, all those black people who have 'made it' are a part of that monstrous repressive apparatus—and not only in the ways described by Malcolm (a pool from which the white bourgeoisie draws counter-revolutionary leaders for the black community). Their very existence, their being—there is a very effective damper weighing down on our natural rebellious instincts. My Aunt, descendant of slaves, born in an unpainted shack on an Alabama cotton field, now lives in a 20-room mansion in the hills of Hollywood.

Before she disassociated herself from me (I was 17), I would try to run down to her why we are struggling for freedom. 'Tell all those niggers to work as hard as I have. They can make it—but then most niggers are too lazy.' Tragic it is that until recently, many blacks saw their wretchedness as a consequence of their own inabilities.

The existence, the being—there of the so-called black bourgeoisie has done not a little to advance the cause of racism in this country. The twisted minds of the bourgeoisie measure inner worth according to the ability of the individual to successfully compete on the market. The

fact that a few blacks have 'made it' is used to convince people that objective barriers do not prohibit blacks from entering into the mainstream. Why, then are the masses of black people still incarcerated in ghetto-prisons? Success is not their destiny, because the inner motivation is not there. After all, the Italians, the Irish, the Poles, etc. rose up from their downtrodden postures—it must be race . . .

Concerning Black Women: I am convinced that the solution is not to persuade the black woman to relax her reins on the black male, not simply to the 'be a good boy' syndrome into a 'take the sword in hand' attitude. To eradicate all the shit which has been imposed on us from without, to combat all the shit we have unwittingly internalized, to take our first step towards freedom, we, too, must pick up the sword. Only 'a fighting woman' can guide her son in the warrior direction. Only when our lives—our total lives—become inseparable from struggle can we, black women, do what we have to do for our sons and daughters!!

My mother was overly protective of her sons and daughters. I could never forgive her for forcing my brothers (us, too) to take dancing lessons. George, we must dig into all the muck and get at the roots of our problems—Our understanding must be a radical grasp of things (radical in the etymological sense). When we are overly protective, we attempt to dissuade our loved ones from accepting the burden of fighting this war which has been declared on us, we cannot be dismissed as counter-revolutionary. You'd be surprised how many brothers would say this. Nor can it be said that we ought to blot out our natural instincts of survival.

Why, why, is our condition so wrought with contradictions? We, who have been coerced into performing the most degrading kind of labour—a sex machine for the white slave master. Rather than helplessly watch her children die a slow death of starvation, my grandmother submitted to the white mastery, my father's accursed father. We have scrubbed the shit from under the feet of the slave master. Taking into consideration the balance of forces at that time—would we otherwise be alive?

The reign of a barbarous capitalist society could not have been secure unless the continued subjugation of black people (and they would use any means necessary). 'Divide and conquer'—it never fails. Rape



PICTURES COURTESY OF FRIENDS OF SOLEDAD. PHOTOGRAPH GEORGE JACKSON BY VAUGHAN COWINGTON

the black woman, and make the survival of the black race dependent on that vicious rape. No recourse to the black male—except death. After raping the black woman, give her a piece of the pie. Make the survival of the black family dependent on a chasm within. Pound into the mind of the black male that his superiority, his manhood has been diminished, has been irreparably damaged by the female of his race. Give him no room, no work with which to objectify his potentialities. Convince the female that he is a lazy son-of-a-bitch. The chasm within.

To choose between various paths of survival means the objective availability of alternatives. I hope you don't take this as an apologetic stance. I'm only trying to understand the forces that have led us, black women, to where we are now. Why did your mother offer you reprimands instead of the flaming sword? Which is equivalent to posing the same question about every other

black woman—and not only with respect to the sons but the daughters, too (this is really crucial). In Cuba last summer I saw some very beautiful Vietnamese warriors—all female. And we know that the Algerian war for national liberation would have been doomed to defeat from the very beginning without the active participation of Algerian women.

In Cuba, I saw women patrolling the streets with rifles on their backs—defending the revolution. But also, young companeras educating their husbands, and lovers—demythologizing Machismo. After all, if women can fight, manage factories, then men ought to be able to help with the house, children . . .

But returning to the question—we have learned from our revolutionary ancestors that no individual act or response can seize the sceptre of the enemy. The slave lashes out against his immediate master, subdues him, escapes, but he has done nothing more than take the

first step in the long spiral upwards towards liberation.

And often that individual escape is an evasion of the real problem. It is only when all the slaves are aroused from their slumber, articulate their goals, choose their leaders, make an unwavering commitment to destroy every single obstacle which might prevent them from transcribing their visions of a new world, a new man onto the soil of the earth, into the flesh and blood of men.

Even dreams are often prohibited or are allowed to surface only in the most disguised and sublimated form—the desire to be white, the monstrous perverted aspirations of a so-called black bourgeoisie, created to pacify the masses. And then there is the unnatural system-oriented desires of a black woman who is relating to the survival of her children.

(I am rambling, dreaming that the words from my pen are sounds absorbed by your ears, regretting that I am lying

on the only warm spot in this big double bed [it is 2.30 a.m.]

The point is—given the vacuum created by the absence of collective struggle, the objective survival alternatives are sparse: ambitions of bourgeois gluttony or—like you said—unconscious crime. One path goes in thru the front door, the other sneaks in thru the back and is far more dangerous and seemingly far less likely to reach its destination.

A mother cannot help but cry out for the survival of her own flesh and blood. We have been forbidden to reach out for the truth about survival—that is a collective enterprise and must be offensive, rather than defensive—for us, the principle of survival dictates the annihilation of all that compels us to order our lives around that principle.

Anxieties, frustrations en-

gendered by the spectre of a child dead of starvation focus our minds and bodies on the most immediate necessities of life. The 'job' harangue, the 'make yourself something' harangue. Exhortations grounded in fear, a fear brought into being and sustained by a system which could not subsist without the poor, the reserve army of unemployed, the scapgoat.

Survival perverted and misdirected by a structure which coerces me to kick my jobless man out of the house so the social worker doesn't stop those welfare cheques which I need to feed my hungry child.

A labyrinthine network of murderous institutions in order to allow my man no flexibility, no room, lets me receive the cheques, lets me in the back door to scrub floors (so the reserve labour force remains alive) and has the audacity to consider that a favour in return for which I must submit to the white rapist and/or subjugate my black man. The principle of

(un)just exchange is omnipotent.

Frustrations, aggressions cannot be repressed indefinitely. Eventual explosion must be expected. And we, black women, have much more than our share of them. But if the revolutionary path buried beneath an avalanche of containment mechanisms, we, black women, aim our bullets in the wrong direction, and moreover don't even understand the weapon. For the black female, the solution is not to become less aggressive, not to lay down the gun, but to learn how to set the sights correctly, aim accurately, squeeze rather than jerk, and not be overcome by the damage.

We have to learn how to rejoice when pig's blood is spilled. But all this presupposes that the black male will have purged himself of the myth

that his mother, his woman, must be subdued before he can wage war on the enemy. Liberation is a dialectical movement—the black woman can liberate herself from all the muck—and it works the other way around and this is only the beginning.

Is it coincidental that Leroy Jones and Ron Karenga, who are nothing but pig agents—and the whole lot of cowardly cultural nationalists—demand the total submission of the black female as rectification for the century-long wrongs she has done the black male. Like you said, George, there are certain obvious criteria for measuring the extent to which counter-revolution is being nourished by those who call themselves our companions in struggle. Their attitude towards whites is one criterion. Their attitude toward women another.

Women's Liberation in the revolution is inseparable from the liberation of the male.

I have rambled. I hope I have not been talking in tautologies.

Jon and I have made a truce. As long as I try to combat my tendencies to remind him of his youth, he will try to combat his male chauvinism. Don't come down on me before you understand—I never said Jon was too young for anything. I just mentioned how incredible it is that in spite of Catholic school, Georgia, etc. he refused to allow society to entrap him in adolescence. But still, he doesn't dig any mention of age.

The night after I saw you in court, for the first time in months, I dreamt (or at least the dream was significant enough to work its way into my consciousness). We were together, fighting pigs, winning. We were learning to know each other.

I love you
Revolutionary greetings
from Che-Lumumba and
the Soledad Bros.
Defence Com.
Angela.

Great Eastern Railway Strike Committee, 1911.



R. THIRTLE.

T. GARNHAM.

W. CLARKE (Chairman)

C. J. MANN.

SYD. WILLIAMS (Secretary)

COUNCILLOR C. DEAR.

COUNCILLOR TOM KIRK.

*E. Smith**25, Longstone Road, Walsford.*

Pages from Railway History 1839-1972 by Ian Yeats.
Part four

1911: THE FIRST NATIONAL RAIL STRIKE

Hard on the heels of the labour movement's victory in obtaining the 1906 Trades Disputes Act safeguarding trade union funds, the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (ASRS) launched a new all-grades campaign for higher wages.

Railwaymen's wages, partly as a result of the 'cautious' attitude of the ASRS leaders, lagged far behind their counterparts in other industries.

In the decade up to 1906, railwaymen's wages rose by 5 per cent compared with an 18-per-cent rise for building workers and 26 per cent for those in engineering.

On top of that the railway companies were once again trying to convert plummeting profits by 'shedding' labour and using fewer but larger trucks and fewer but more powerful locomotives.

It is often difficult to know which side the union's historian Philip Bagwell is on. Of this period he says:

'When the actions of the leadership of the ASRS during 1907 are examined, what appears remarkable is the patience and perseverance displayed in the approach to the companies.'

Three times the ASRS tried to get the railway companies to negotiate—without success. Meanwhile, the railwaymen drew up a charter, or Green Book, up to 150,000 of them staged marches and meetings up and down the country and

in November 1907 after a ballot the decision was taken to strike.

Central to the union's demands for better pay and hours was the question of union recognition by the railway companies.

But even as the decision to strike was being relayed to a monster 30,000-strong rally at Westminster Halls, London on Wednesday, on November 3, 1907, Richard Bell was telling the government in secret talks that he would not press for recognition if only the bosses would consider the men's claims.

A year earlier the all grades delegate conference had laid down:

'We do not enter into negotiations with any company in connection with this programme without full recognition.'

Bell's behind-the-scenes views were conveyed to Lloyd George, who passed them on to the railway companies. On November 6, 1907, unions and employers signed an agreement which said nothing about recognition and promised the setting up of new conciliation boards to settle the men's grievances.

In the event, the Boards turned out to be worse than a farce, all cases ended up at arbitration and concessions to the railwaymen were, as always, minimal.

Nevertheless the ASRS persisted in referring claims and grievances to them and managed to hold the men back until 1911, by which time prices had risen by 14 per cent since 1900.

Between times there was another attempt to sabotage

the trade union movement with a legal decision banning them from the compulsory levy of funds for political purposes. MPs received no pay until 1911 and the decision of the Law Lords on December 21, 1909, to forbid the compulsory political levy was a deliberate blow at the infant Labour Party.

The case was brought by a leading ASRS member Walter Osborne who received the unstinted backing of the 'Daily Express'—a paper every bit as eager as he was to deny the LRC cash.

It was not until four years later with the passing of another Trades Dispute Act in 1913 that the position was reversed and the compulsory political levy again became legal with the proviso that individuals could opt out of paying it and the funds were kept separately.

These moves on the parliamentary front had no effect on railwaymen's take home pay and in 1911, spurred on by the success of Tom Mann's seamen's union, railwaymen all over Britain staged a rash of unofficial strikes.

Says Bagwell: 'The leaders of the railway union then felt obliged to act promptly and together if they were to retain control of the situation.'

On August 15, 1911, all four railway unions — ASRS, ASLEF, GRWU and UPSS, (United Pointsmen's and Signalmen's Society) gave the railway companies 24 hours to reply to a new pay claim.

A general manager interviewed by 'The Times' left no room for mistakes about the employers' position. He said: 'We have come to the con-

clusion that there are occasions when in our own interest and in the interest of the public it is better to have a battle and fight the matter out than to keep on adopting an attitude of surrender.'

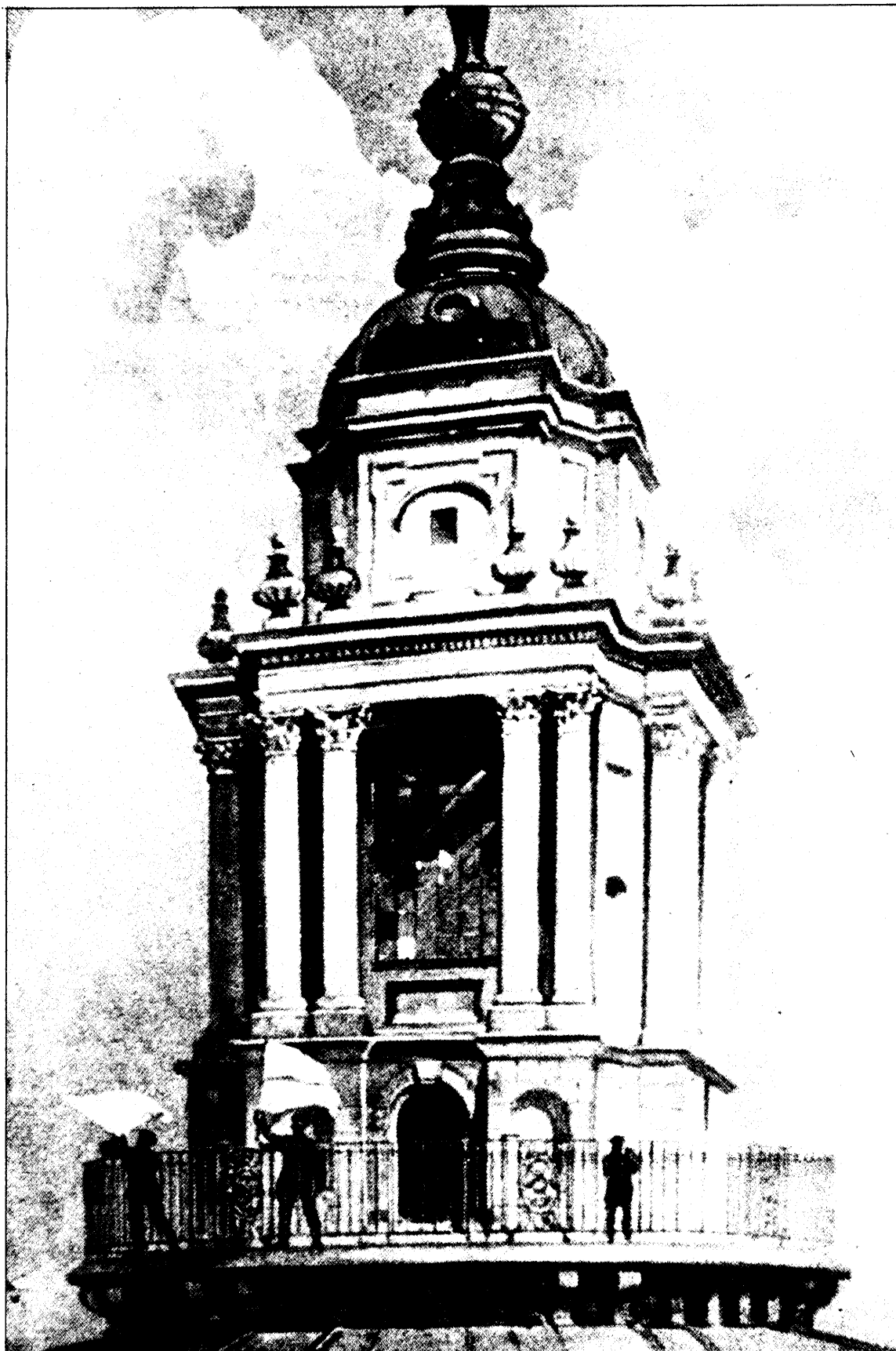
He added: 'The government have undertaken to put at the service of the railway companies every available soldier in the country.'

An August 17, 1911, the most total, solid strike in railwaymen's history began — within 48 hours large sections of industry were shutting down for lack of fuel and the railway companies were suing for terms.

At the very moment of victory, the railway union leaders plucked it from their followers' hands. They agreed to call off the action if men dismissed during the strike were reinstated, if the conciliation boards met at once to consider the claim and if a commission of inquiry was appointed. Inevitably they agreed 'to use their best endeavours to induce the men to return to work at once'.

There were doubtless not just celebrations but Bacchanalian festivals at the railway companies' headquarters that night. The storm had passed, leaving everything exactly as it was before.

Bagwell notes: 'It was not going to be easy to persuade men who had demonstrated their power in a way that surprised even themselves to accept terms not so very different from those which had been rejected four days before' — when the companies had agreed to a Royal Commission. Meetings in Newcastle and



Manchester rejected the deal while another at Hyde Park called on the rank and file to 'trust their leaders'.

In the event, the Commission for the first time laid down that union negotiators should be recognized by the railway companies, but everything else was administrative tinkering which failed to put a single farthing in the railwaymen's empty pockets.

Pushed by the rank and file, the four unions decided to ask for another strike ballot, but the response of the rail companies was to dig in even more securely to the extent of recruiting their own private police force to break a strike if it took place.

On December 11, 1911, the union leaders signed an agreement which did no more than redefine the scope of the conciliation boards and, more important, abolished the central board in favour of sectional boards—thus accentuating craft consciousness and driving a wedge between different sections of individual unions.

Although pressed by the rank and file, the union leaders refused to disclose the result of the second strike ballot.

In the New Year, 102 ASRS branches called for a special general meeting to 'deal with the recent railway crisis, the action of our officials in connection therewith and the future position of the society'. It was never called.

Comments Bagwell: 'It was an illusion to imagine that merely by revising a piece of negotiating machinery it would be possible to ensure a decent standard of living for railwaymen. The records show

that within a year of the two-day strike [of 1911] there was a perceptible if only slight improvement in the wages and hours of the men'—from 25s 9d (£1.29) in 1910 to 27s 4½d (1.37) in 1912.

'In both wages and hours they entered the period of World War I substantially worse off than the employees of any other major occupation with the exception of agriculture.'

Pressure from the rank and file was relentless. It had to be. Slump was forcing the employers and their government to wage an offensive against the working class as vicious as anything seen a century before.

With the failure of their own leaders before their eyes, the rank and file clamoured for affiliation with the dockers' union—the Transport Workers' Federation.

And to the horror of the rail union leaders, as the working class came to understand that Lloyd George had flung down the gauntlet of class war, the demands for solidarity action, particularly with the beleaguered miners, mounted daily.

Out of this ferment the Triple Industrial Alliance of railwaymen, miners and transport workers was born, initially in 1912 and finally on December 9, 1915.

But as Bagwell explains: 'The NUR leadership supported the new venture in the hope that sympathetic and local strikes might be reduced to a minimum.'

'It was certainly not their aim to intensify the class struggle by using every strike in the coal mining, docks and

An incident from the Great National Railway strike of 1911: Scabs flagging messages from the Golden Gallery of St. Paul's, London.

railway industries as an occasion to draft reinforcements to the strikers from the 1.5 million trade unionists covered by the agreement.

'A general policy of sympathetic strike action in support of other workers' demands would have brought financial ruin in those pre-war years of intensified class struggle.'

The National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) had been founded in March 1913 from an amalgamation of the ASRS, GRWU and the UPPS. If the NUR's 'moderate leaders' never raised their eyes beyond the horizon, the rank and file had different views.

Delegates to the 1914 AGM stated in their resolution supporting the Alliance that it would 'encourage the growth of solidarity and a vast improvement in the social conditions of the workers and be a powerful lever in the course of working class emancipation'.

Not that these sentiments promised revolution. But they did at least reflect a determination to fight for basic rights and higher living standards far greater than anything displayed by their leaders.

As Bagwell says: 'The contrast between these lofty aspirations and the infinitely more limited view held by the leadership was only brought to light when the Triple Alliance was put to the test in the post-war years.'

CONTINUED TOMORROW

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

Outward Bound

As everyone knows the Royal Family is above politics. Indeed we are told that the British constitution has been carefully-devised to ensure that however politicians may discredit themselves and demoralize the population, the members of the monarchy hold themselves aloof, untainted and ready in the last resort to rally the loyalty of the people.

The 56 million children of the monarchy, not to mention those in the Commonwealth, are encouraged in their affections by constant glimpses of Royalty smiling benevolently beneath their heavy burden of self-sacrificing duties.

The Duke, very thoughtfully, runs the Outward Bound Trust for the children of mainly working-class families to get out and around in the countryside.

Of course his benevolence does not actually extend to paying for it out of the Royal fortune.

Last week the Variety Club of Great Britain presented him with £38,000 to enable the Trust to carry on.

His eye on the dwindling Royal coffers, the Duke took

the opportunity to say that too many people seemed to believe that charity was wrong.

It was clear that he hadn't the slightest twinge or inhibition himself in taking the £38,000.

He went out of his way to emphasize what a good thing it would be if more people came to depend on charity.

Too many people thought that money should come from the government, he said indulgently, which meant they thought charity should have disappeared with the advent of the welfare state.

He said: 'The welfare state can only provide the baseline of material needs.'

Interestingly enough, this is a philosophy which appeals to many leading employers, knights and peers of the realm—not to mention the entire Tory Party.

The welfare state, the Duke went on, 'cannot and never will be able to supply those ingredients of compassion, human relationships, voluntary commitment and mutual assistance which alone convert a bureaucratic local government unit into a living, active and entertaining human community.'

With all this going for it, it makes you wonder why the Duke doesn't try it himself.

Below: Lord Mountbatten and the Duke—above politics and outward bound



BOOKS



Moscow Trials Anthology
Paperback, 62½p
MAX SHACHTMAN:
Behind The Moscow Trial
Paperback 75p
ROBERT BLACK:
Stalinism In Britain
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £2
LEON TROTSKY:
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Who said the Tory government wasn't interested in a British film industry? Of course, the Tories have lamed the National Film Finance Corporation, which existed to encourage a local film industry, but they are producing one or two of their own films.

And according to Tory ministers, one of these films is 'a smash hit'.

'It has broken all records,' said Dudley Smith, who is henchman to Maurice Macmillan at the Department of Employment.

'More than 300 copies have been sold and there have been more than 2,150 hirings,' he added.

What is this box office smash which is drawing thousands and thousands to the magic screen?

It is called 'The Act and the individual' and is an explanatory documentary of the Industrial Relations Act.

It stars that great movie hero of the decade Graham Turner, industrial reporter from the BBC.

Co-star is Derek Hart, who you will all remember for his magnificent performances in the 'Europa' series on BBC 2.

A great moment from this film can be glimpsed in the photograph we reproduce on this page.

All trade unionists—particularly engineers, dockers, miners and shipyard workers—who can't wait to see this great epic are invited to write to Central Film Library, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London W3, to arrange viewings.

PS: Perhaps workers at CAV, Acton, would like to slip up the road during the lunch hour for the matinee?



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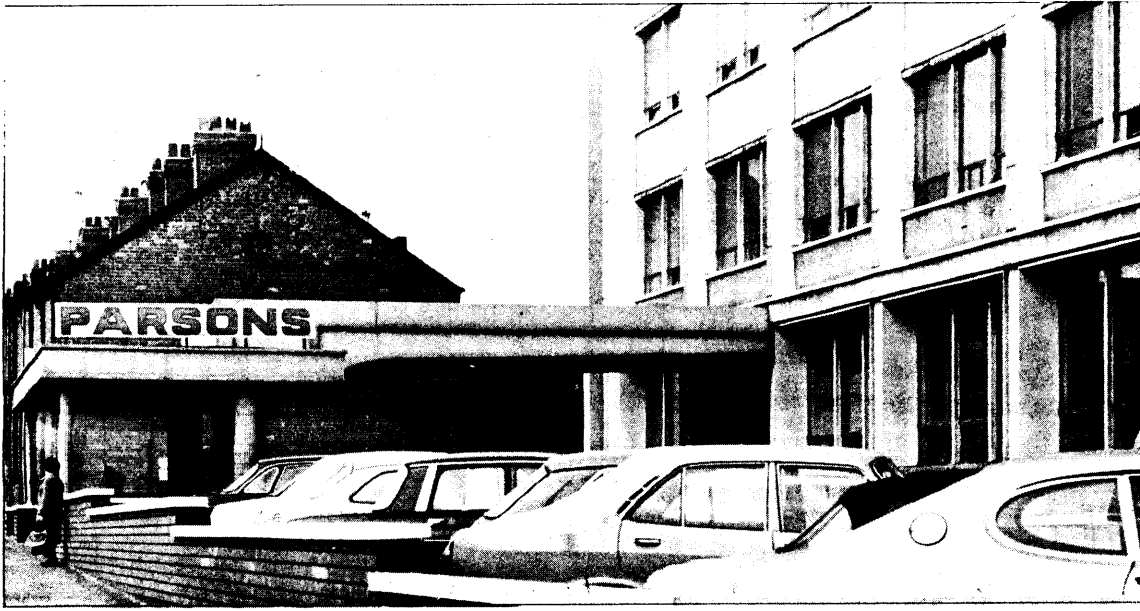
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Sackings fight abandoned at C. A. Parsons

BY IAN YEATS

THE SO-CALLED fight against 950 redundancies at C. A. Parsons' Newcastle factory has collapsed.

On May 5 Workers Press warned that the slump in turbine generator orders left the company no choice but to embark on a policy of sackings and short-time working.

And we added: 'The treacherous no-sackings-in-1972 formula approved by the Stalinists and the bare-faced abdication of leadership by the International Socialists are a certain recipe for disaster.'

Disaster has now struck. The 1,400 members of the technical and supervisory section of the AUEW (TASS) have been working-to-rule for four months in protest against threatened sackings and in support of a closed shop now illegal under the Industrial Relations Act.

A fortnight ago Parsons sacked over 600 men for refusing to work normally.

On Friday the fight was abandoned. The men will return to normal working and

co-operate with management over voluntary redundancies in exchange for the reinstatement of the sacked 600.

The company's peace plan put to a mass meeting on Friday was the no-enforced-sackings in 1972 formula, which only two weeks ago IS negotiator Ken Ternant was describing as short-sighted.

As we pointed out on May 5, with less work in the pipeline in 1973 sackings could be even heavier than those proposed at present.

Clause seven of the peace plan notes ominously: 'Further discussion may start early in 1973 concerning manning in all technical areas during 1973 and beyond.'

The use of the phrase 'no enforced redundancies in 1972' obscures the fact that Parsons' plan categorically states the union must co-operate with voluntary redundancies (on which there is to be no restriction) and early retirements, thus opening the back door to

the hundreds of sackings they wanted in the first place.

In addition to achieving all that the IS-led fight was supposed to avoid, the agreement also requires short-time working with appropriate wage-cuts where and when Parsons feel it is required.

The fight for the closed shop has, as we predicted, been dropped and the promise to resume normal working covers the sanctions imposed on Parsons for their refusal to expel the 50-strong United Kingdom Association of Professional Engineers.

This brings the men into compliance with the Industrial Relations Act, which both the IS and the Communist Party Stalinists vowed they would resist to the last—or until the men's determination gave out.

The issue at Parsons is not over. The sackings, short-time and wage-cutting to which the IS and the Stalinists have opened the door have yet to begin.

Registration backlash in NUJ

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

THE NATIONAL Union of Journalists has called a special delegate meeting in London for September 2 to reconsider registration under the Industrial Relations Act. The recent annual delegate meeting in Tenby voted down a referendum decision to register.

The Tenby decision by nearly 400 delegates provoked a storm of reaction by the middle-class silent majority in the union which immediately whipped up 50 branches to demand the executive council call a special conference.

Their grounds are that the referendum produced a three-to-two majority in favour of registration in a 36-per-cent poll.

Delegates at the annual conference condemned the NEC for this right-wing tactic designed to secure a conservative response from the journalists so that the union leaders could have a quiet life and not have to face the rigours of fighting the law.

ADM, composed mainly of the activists in the union who run the branches year round and who have some inkling of the nature

of the Tory legal onslaught against the trade union movement, reaffirmed annual conference as the supreme policy-making body of the NUJ and rejected the referendum, which has no basis in the union's rules.

The right-wing are now trying to introduce referenda as a regular part of union life.

In preparing the grounds for an SDM, the silent majority now have to come out into the open and submit themselves, to argument at union meetings, the very thing their referenda policy is designed to prevent.

The right-wing backlash has stirred the 'Journalists Charter' group into action again.

Organized by the revisionist International Socialism group, this so-called 'rank-and-file' movement calls for better pay and conditions and an overhaul of the union structure.

Its only challenge to capitalism is to insist that redundancies should only take place on a voluntary basis and on better terms, and that company books should be open to chapel officials 'so that managements will have to justify their hard-luck stories'.

In a period when capitalism is proving increasingly incapable of solving its problems—in newspaper production no less than in any other sphere—such an outlook amounts to a betrayal of the real interests of workers.

As world trade goes into deeper recession and the partial collapse of the international credit system sharpens the crisis for the monopolies, the pressure of competition forces capitalist companies to slash their costs in order to survive.

Many areas of trade and production go under in this deathly contest, like Rolls-Royce, Vehicle and General, UCS, the 'Daily Sketch', and how many more to follow? But the loser all round is the working class, including journalists.

Using the mighty power of the working class merely to tidy up the worst excesses of capitalism is a hopeless betrayal of the needs and opportunities of the coming period.

Politically, as a first step, there can be no start made to a solution to the problems of rents, unemployment, the NIRC's attack on the unions, and a stagnating economy, under a Tory government. And yet nowhere does the Charter or the leaflet for their meeting on the Industrial Relations Act even mention the Tory government and the need to bring it down by industrial action as the first pressing task.

The attitude of these phoney 'chartists' is that the delicate middle class feathers of journalists must not be ruffled by too much plain speaking. In other words, the way to fight for revolutionary consciousness and political analysis, but through keeping on good terms with the most backward petty-bourgeois elements.

The reality is that journalists can make no final solution to their many professional and trade union problems until they join with the main body of the working class in bringing an end to the capitalist system.

The crumbs they used to survive on from the proprietors' tables are proving less and less acceptable and less and less capable of satisfying journalists' growing aspirations.

Building the revolutionary movement is the only way forward.

TV

BBC 1

9.20 Trumpton. 9.38 Schools. 12.15 The Queen in France. 1.00 How Can You Be So Sure? 1.30 Fingerbobs. 1.45 News, weather. 2.05 Schools. 4.00 Boomph with Becker. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Aeronauts. 5.44 Hector's House. 5.50 National News, weather.

6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.
6.20 ENTERTAINING WITH KERR.
6.45 A QUESTION OF SPORT. Quiz programme.
7.10 Z CARS.
8.00 PANORAMA.
9.00 NEWS, Weather.
9.20 THE REGIMENT.
10.10 THE QUEEN IN FRANCE.
10.40 24 HOURS.
11.15 CANOE.
11.40 Weather.

ITV

10.20 Schools. 1.10 Time to Remember. 2.33 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'Call Me Bwana'. 4.40 Enchanted House. 4.55 Lassie. 5.20 Pardon My Genie. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.
6.20 CROSSROADS.
6.40 THE DAVID NIXON SHOW.

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 5.35 Open University. 7.05 Let's Get Going.

7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.
8.00 FILM: 'COMANCHE TERRITORY'. Maureen O'Hara, Macdonald Carey. Western.
9.20 HORIZON. Can Venice Survive?
10.10 FACE THE MUSIC. Quiz.
10.40 THIRTY - MINUTE THEATRE. 'Me Mackenna'. By Don Shaw.
11.10 NEWS, Weather.
11.15 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.
8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.
8.30 BLESS THIS HOUSE. A Touch of the Unknown.
9.00 SIX DAYS OF JUSTICE. Open House.
10.00 NEWS.
10.30 MACMILLAN AND WIFE. Till Death Do Us Part.
11.55 ASPECTS OF FAITH.

All Regions as BBC 1 except:

Wales: 1.30 Ar Lin Mam. 6.00 Wales Today. 6.20 Yn Yr Ardd. 6.45 Heddiw. 10.10 Trouble-spot. 11.15 The Queen in France. 11.45 Canoe. 12.10 News.
Scotland: 1.00 Christianity Grounded. 6.00 Reporting

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 10.20 Schools. 4.05 Once upon a time. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Yoga. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. What's on where? 6.15 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.03 Marcus Welby. 11.55 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.20 Sports desk. 10.59 News, weather. 11.55 Teach a man to fish.

SOUTHERN: 2.30 Afternoon. 3.00 Cooks. 3.20 Sylvester. 3.30 Lucy. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Cartoon. 4.25 Junkin. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Afloat. 11.00 Marcus Welby. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather. As long as you live.

ANGLIA: 2.30 Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Jokers wild. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper room. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 Play. 10.00 News. 10.30 Aquarius. 11.30 Theatre of stars. 12.25 Epilogue.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Nanny. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Challenge. 11.00 Randall and Hopkirk.

ULSTER: 10.20 Schools. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 Funny face. 6.45

Scotland. 6.20 Se Ur Beatha. 11.42 News, weather.

Northern Ireland: 6.00 Scene Around Six. 11.42 News, weather.

England: 6.00 Look North, Midlands Today, Look East, Points West, South Today, Spotlight South West. Weather. 11.42 News, weather.

London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.35 Film: 'The Caretakers'.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00 Schools. 2.32 Good afternoon. 3.00 Matinee. 4.35 News. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.20 Under these roofs. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 All our yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 Schools. 2.30 Dr Gannon. 3.30 Yoga. 3.55 Camera. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Devil's Daffodil'.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 Schools. 1.25 Enchanted house. 1.40 Schools. 2.30 Cook book. 3.00 Film: 'Love on the Dole'. 4.35 News. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Rainbow country. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25 Under these roofs. 6.45 London. 10.30 Times four. 11.00 Saint. 11.55 News. 12.10 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 11.00, 1.40 Schools. 2.33 Class of '72. 3.30 Nuts and bones. 3.45 Dr Simon Locke. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 10.30 All for your delight. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 University challenge.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00 Schools. 3.38 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Lucy. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.05 Dr Simon Locke. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 University challenge. 11.00 Saint. 11.55 Epilogue.

Court reviews Hull case

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

THERE will be a further flashpoint in the docks container row when the National Industrial Relations Court reconvenes today.

Court president Sir John Donaldson will be hearing a further application from a Hull container firm, Panalpina (Northern) Limited. The company has already won an interim order from the Court against the Transport and General Workers' Union and chairman of the Hull docks shop stewards' committee, Walter Cunningham.

Today in court Panalpina lawyers will say that the blacking of the firm has continued in defiance of the Court's injunction.

Late last week the firm sent some 'trial' containers to the docks to test the blacking. In defiance of union instructions the dockers maintained their black.

There will be a further legal confrontation if Mr Cunningham fails to show up at Court this morning. All the evidence is that he will not.

He has already stated he does not intend to attend the court because 'we do not recognize it'.

The national shop stewards' committee imposed the blacking and only it can lift it. I'll risk going to jail.

Mr Cunningham's jail warning is not an exaggeration; if he doesn't attend Court he risks being fined and if he refuses to pay the contempt fines, he could be jailed.

In a judgement last Friday Sir John made clear how the court sees the relationship between a union and its shop stewards. He said: 'The union is accountable if its officers, officials, representatives or shop stewards do their union work in breach of the law.'

'It is for the union to see that they do not break the law. If they persist in doing so they are unworthy of the union's trust and of continuing in office.'

Meanwhile the Hull dockers have extended their blacking to the cargoes of another firm, W. S. Barchard and Sons Limited, who last week brought in a coaster to their recently-acquired private wharf on the River Hull.

About 2,000 Hull dockers walked off when they heard the firm was using non-registered dock labour to unload timber from the ship.

ASTMS general secretary Clive Jenkins, whose 45-minute interview with ITV was cancelled, commented: 'I'm clearly being censored. I don't think they like the radical political and social comment, and in particular the point I made about the bombing of North Vietnam.' He said he had attacked President Nixon's action as 'insane'. The programme, 'Private Views' was due to be screened last night.

Retreat on hours threatens engineers

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

ENGINEERING shop stewards in the Manchester area will meet today to consider the blow dealt to their nine-week pay battle by their union leaders.

This is the first mass meeting of shop stewards since the struggle began when workers at Bredbury steel works, Stockport, occupied their plant.

Two issues will dominate the discussion:

- A CIRCULAR sent out from union headquarters which is a virtual invitation to workers to drop the key demand for a shorter working week.

- THE BIG retreat by 3,500 men at GEC-AEI, Trafford Park, Manchester, who have called off their work-to-rule and want to negotiate a settlement which does not include a concession on hours.

Employers are boasting that if the Trafford Park workers collapse, other factories will follow—includ-

ing the 22 that are at present occupied by their employees.

The blame for the retreat must be placed squarely with the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' leaders.

A circular which directly influenced the Trafford Park decision was sent out to Manchester on Tuesday. This was signed by Hugh Scanlon, AUEW president—a man with a reputation as a left winger—and right-wing Jim Conway, the union's general secretary.

It said agreements should be made on three issues—better basic rates, longer holidays and general all-round pay increases.

It was made clear that shorter hours were no longer the top priority.

This stab-in-the-back came the day before employers launched an advertising campaign in the local press. They also made it clear that the demand for shorter hours was the one they would resist to the end.

Workers Press has warned consistently about the AUEW leaders' refusal

to call national strike action for the claim.

Instead they have isolated the Manchester men and left them to fight alone.

But others are also to blame. The Communist Party policy has been to divert attention away from men like Scanlon. They have argued that the Manchester struggle can be won alone, and by militant action.

Of militancy there is no doubt. Workers in Manchester have been fighting with unparalleled determination for their claim—especially shorter hours, which is a big lasting gain.

But combines like GEC-AEI and Guest Keen are equally determined. Only a tiny proportion of their capacity is tied up in this Manchester struggle, and with £1m behind them from the employers nationally, they are prepared to resist for many months.

Scanlon knows this and so do the Communist Party members. But Scanlon won't back national action because the Industrial Relations Act

might be used against his union and the Stalinists stay silent because it is part of their policy to promote men like Scanlon as 'lefts' to gain influence in the bureaucracy of the trade unions.

The CP's paper the 'Morning Star', for example, described the treacherous circular this way.

'... workers in the greater Manchester area have borne the brunt of the struggle alone.'

'They have not been greatly assisted by the circular sent out this week from the executive of the engineering union urging all districts to pursue the claim at local level on "at least three points" but with no mention of hours'.. 'Not greatly assisted'. This must be the under-statement of the year.

The main issue throughout the Manchester battle is now completely exposed—are the leaders of the union going to call a national strike and face up to the anti-union laws?

Or is the pay claim going to be thrown away in a series of unsatisfactory settlements after nine weeks of fighting?

TUC jobs plan a pipedream

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT



Victor Feather, TUC general secretary, has favoured the reformist measures in the latest 'job-saving' plan

THE TUC is asking its 140 affiliated unions to launch a campaign to cut overtime, work shorter hours and have longer holidays in a bid to combat unemployment.

But the plan to help employers limit their costs by shutting down for longer holidays and for a consolidated period of three and even four days a week is a reformist pipe-dream.

The very essence of cutting costs is for employers to keep their plant operating as continuously as possible at maximum output and minimum expense.

Any period of shut down is one in which, while no revenue is coming in, the bosses must continue to pay out heavy charges on fixed and variable capital and meet depreciation costs.

If firms could afford prolonged shutdowns they would have no need of the Industrial Relations Act to bludgeon unions and their members into line by clamping down on just

about all forms of industrial action.

Nor can they afford to employ large labour forces alongside the new capital-intensive production methods brought in specifically to force up output on the basis of fewer workers.

The TUC has also called for a ban on overtime. No one would disagree, but only if the demand is coupled with the fight for increases in basic rates and work-sharing, with every employee on full pay.

But the battle for improvements in basic rates pitches workers into

collision not only with the employers but, as Heath made clear at Perth at the weekend, with the Tory government as well.

The 'possibility of negotiating improvements in basic rates' is not one likely to lead to much success, either.

And although the TUC stresses the need for improvements in basic rates, one of the biggest unions affiliated to it—the AUEW—is currently leading the field in the flight away from the unavoidable showdown with the Tories if these rates are

to be won.

The TUC obviously recognizes that the employers and the government are taking a tough line on pay. So its plan to help low-paid workers accords with their views.

They want to redistribute income from the highly paid to the low paid by an industrial strategy designed to encourage this.

The TUC also recognizes that at the present time many firms cannot afford to pay higher rates.

Its solution is not nationalization without compensation and under workers' control, but to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Tories in urging employers to step up efficiency.

The TUC plan says: 'Investment and manpower must be better allocated and used. Inefficient firms must be allowed to close down or be merged into larger, more viable units.'

'The size of sectors and the scope and specialization of operations need to alter. Some workers may need to be re-employed in more prosperous sectors

and industries.'

And, of course, there must be better redundancy terms.

The TUC plan, which comes hard on the heels of the volte face on the Industrial Relations Act, not only marks the influence of the right-wing corporatists in its ranks, but also the treacherous complicity of 'lefts' like Jones and Scanlon who have lobbied consistently for similar policies.

The plan to tackle unemployment and halt the downward slide of workers' living standards throws in to relief the necessity of building an alternative revolutionary leadership in the unions and the working class.

OXFORD university American students delivered a petition of protest against the Vietnam war to the US embassy in Grosvenor Square, London, at the weekend. Tom Herman (24), a history student from Milwaukee, Michigan, said the 236 signatures represented about 75 per cent of the American student population at Oxford.

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