

Workers Press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY MAY 19, 1972 ● No. 769 ● 4p

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See What We Think, p. 2.

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The union bureaucrats who have been falling over themselves to implement the wishes of the Tory National Industrial Relations Court meet in a mood of extreme crisis.

They are currently in roaring retreat on a scale not seen since Dunkirk.

In the past three weeks general secretary Jack Jones has presided over the following retreats:

- The union has recognized the court and decided to participate in its hearing—a flagrant breach of the TUC Congress decision last September to boycott all workings of the Act.
- The union has paid fines totalling £55,000 imposed by the National Industrial Relations Court.
- This week two officials of the union appeared before the Court and gave evidence. Court president Sir John Donaldson commented yesterday: 'We have been greatly impressed and assisted by the oral evidence which union officials have given

BY ALEX MITCHELL

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These men, commended by Donaldson yesterday, today meet in judgement on rank-and-file members of the union.

They are commended by Donaldson who has already delivered historic judgements which attempt to destroy the democratic rights of trade unions. In respect of the T&GWU this is what Donaldson has so far decreed:

- Unions have been told they must sack or discipline shop stewards who defy the Court or face massive penalties. In short the Court is asking union leaders to become industrial 'policemen'.
- Shop stewards must be disciplined or sacked, even if this runs the risk, 'in the short term', of a national docks strike.
- In the case of the rail pay dispute, the Court has emerged as a body with the powers to intimidate workers and to demand settlement on terms dictated by the government.

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straits and as the monopolists drive into the Common Market they want a fast, cheap container service on the docks.

They want to achieve this service at the expense of dockers' jobs.

As we showed in figures earlier this week, the employers have already cut the London docks work force from 22,000 in 1968 to 15,433 today.

On June 2 Southern Stevedores will close its Royal Docks, making 1,100 dockers redundant. In its annual report the Port of London Authority announced that its sackings would be stepped up to 2,000 this year.

While these attacks are being made, there is also an insidious policy of voluntary redundancies operating without any objection from the docks leadership.

More than 1,000 London registered men have accepted severance since the pay-out money was increased to £2,300 on March 20. The National Dock Labour Board has now authorized a further 1,000 severances in London.

Jones has no strategy to fight this decimation of docks jobs. And each step he takes in co-operating with the Industrial Relations Act and its Court imperils the fighting ability of his union.

Rank-and-file T&GWU members are justly alarmed by what is happening at the union headquarters. They have a right to demand an emergency conference of the union.

Such a conference could affirm total opposition to the Act and prepare for the mobilizing of members in all unions to create the political and industrial conditions to get the Tories out of office.

● See p.3: Court order to T&GWU.

● Walter Cunningham, Hull shop stewards' chairman says: 'The blacking stays.'—See p.3.



Osram women strikers reject return plea

BY IAN YEATS

TWO HUNDRED mainly women workers at GEC-Osram, Erith, Kent, defied their union officials yesterday and voted overwhelmingly to reject a derisory £1.20 pay offer.

The women were locked out by GEC in April for working-to-rule in support of the AUEW's £6-a-week pay claim.

Recommending a return to work AUEW Erith district secretary Albert Handy told a mass meeting yesterday: 'It was like extracting teeth to get as far as we have with management.'

And General and Municipal Workers' Union area official Mike Hall said they had driven the management as far as they could.

Dozens of women, who had earlier marched through Erith to the Corinthian Restaurant, shouted, 'No! No!' when union officials asked whether they would return to work.

Sovex AUEW convenor and Erith AUEW district committee member Laurie Smith was loudly applauded when he said: 'What this meeting has to consider is whether what GEC are offering is equal to the sacrifices being made.'

He added: 'GEC have been forced to recognize that they have got a labour force at Erith that can't be cowed and beaten back to work.'

The company has offered a £1.20 across-the-board rise plus an extra 80p transferred from bonus pay.

The women—most of whom have had no money from any source since the lock-out began—voted almost unanimously against the proposed cut in their bonuses and for a minimum £2-a-week no-strings pay rise before they resume work.

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WHAT WE THINK**THE POLICIES OF DESPAIR**

WHILE the political leaders of the Provisional IRA extend the hand of reconciliation to the reactionary leaders of the Vanguard movement their supporters in Belfast are working deliberately to deepen sectarian divisions by a policy of indiscriminate terror against Protestant workers.

On Tuesday the Provisional IRA admitted responsibility for the bomb attacks which gutted the giant Belfast Co-op store and put 800 out of work. What this senseless outrage against Protestant and Catholic workers' right to employment was supposed to prove we are not told by the petty-bourgeois reactionaries of the Provisional IRA.

A little later a bomb was exploded without prior warning in the centre of Belfast which injured 16 Protestants. This was followed by the kidnapping of three Protestants by IRA men and the wanton shooting of four Protestant workers as they left work at Mackies engineering works.

No doubt there will be more such incidents in the coming period as the Provisionals try to provoke a Protestant backlash in the hope that British army pressure on the Catholic ghettos will be relaxed. Now that William Craig and Brian Faulkner are vying with each other to demand army action against the 'no-go' areas of Belfast and Derry, it seems most likely that the Provisionals will step up the campaign to pre-empt such an attack.

This might seem good tactics to the IRA and their revisionist supporters in the International Marxist Group but to socialists in Britain and Ireland it can only appear as appallingly cynical and demonstrably bankrupt.

It is the ultimate blind-alley of middle-class nationalist policies confronted with the prospect of 'direct rule' on one side and a growing working class resistance on the other.

The Provisionals' policy of provocation is exactly what Craig wants to preserve his credibility among Protestant workers. It will give him an additional argument to convince Protestants that Catholics—not the crisis of capitalism and the attacks of the Tories—are the major threat to their jobs and wages.

It does this at a time when the Tories are preparing vicious attacks against British and Irish workers alike under the terms of Common Market entry.

What is even more reprehensible is that it does this at a time when Protestant allegiance to Orangeism and the Unionist Party is being seriously shaken and when hatred of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the state is increasing daily amongst Protestant youth.

These tactics will not succeed in protecting the Catholic workers from army-police brutality any more than the previous tactics of the Provisionals were successful in ousting the British military occupation and re-uniting Ireland.

The only force that stands to gain from this internecine struggle of Protestant and Catholic workers is British imperialism. Conversely speaking, the only force that can evict the British army and bring peace and unity to Ireland is the joint struggle of Irish workers—Catholic and Protestant—and British workers for a socialist Ireland and a socialist Britain.

We appeal to all workers in Ulster to reject the provocative policy of the Provisionals and fight to build the Marxist alternative to Orangeism and Catholic nationalism—the Irish League for a Workers Vanguard.

JOHN SPENCER EXPLAINS...**Why the sudden 'gold rush'**

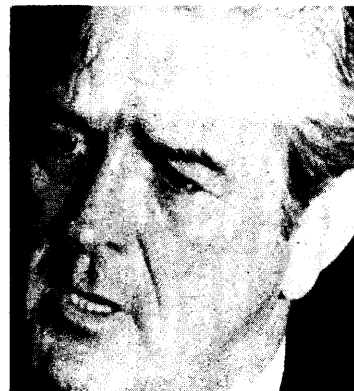
THE GOLD RUSH on the London bullion market temporarily slackened yesterday after Wednesday's spectacular price rises. But dealers reported that demand was picking up again in the afternoon. The price was fixed at \$57.15 an ounce, 85 cents below the previous night's closing level of \$58.

When the American government stopped selling its gold reserves for dollars on August 15 last year, it destroyed any lingering confidence in the stability of paper currency.

Since then the gold price has gone in one direction only—up. Even the decision to change the 'official' gold price from \$35 to \$38 an ounce, taken last December and finally implemented earlier this month, has not stemmed the upward drift of the price.

Many of the buyers are speculating that there will eventually be a much larger increase in the 'official' price, enabling them to cash in their gold holdings with a handsome profit.

Among the immediate causes of the latest increases in the price, the resignation of John Connally, the US Treasury Secretary, has been cited. That



Connally

this event should spark such a panic on the gold markets is an indication of the great tension and uncertainty in top capitalist circles.

Connally's resignation does not mean the US will now resume sales of its gold reserves for dollars—the US reserves are below the 'war chest' minimum of \$10,000m and the administration has no intention of selling the remaining gold for worthless paper dollars.

Other immediate causes cited to explain the rapid increases of the past week are declining production of new gold in South Africa, and the Soviet government's decision to wait for the price to rise before selling more of its considerable stocks.

The gold markets are reported to be in a state of 'outright nervousness' with 'rumour feeding on rumour'. Some dealers have predicted that the price will reach \$100 an ounce within the next few years, and even the conservative Consolidated Gold Fields Corporation has said the price will reach \$85 an ounce by 1980.

'The existence of such a large difference between the official and the market price,' the 'Financial Times' commented yesterday, 'is a standing threat to the understanding that central banks will not deal in the market.'

Since August 15, the US has ostentatiously refused to discuss a return to convertibility of gold with the dollar. But successive crisis meetings between the world's bankers have been unable to agree on any other foundation for the world monetary system.

As the 'Financial Times' editorial writer notes 'most western central banks are not prepared to abandon gold; while they remain reluctant to part with their gold at an artificially low price, however, much of their liquidity is effectively frozen.'

The gold fever, in other words, is a further sign that the Bretton Woods monetary system is gone for good and that monetary anarchy is now predominant in the capitalist world.

AROUND THE WORLD**'Ostpolitik': Another hurdle for Brandt**

By our foreign desk

THE RATIFICATION by the lower house of the West German parliament of the treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland was warmly welcomed in Moscow. The Communist Party daily 'Pravda' saw it as 'an outstanding success for those political forces and the peaceloving public of the West German Republic which favour acknowledging realities, improving a policy of peace with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries'.

A similar welcome was given by Washington officials preparing Nixon's visit to Moscow, where the working out of an East-West accord will be high on the agenda.

The importance which the Soviet bureaucracy attaches to making a deal over Germany helps to explain why its reaction to the mining of North Vietnam ports has been so mild.

Ratification of the treaties will prepare the way for the final signature of the four-power agreement over Berlin.

The bureaucracy hopes that, in line with its policy of 'peaceful co-existence' with imperialism, it can go forward to the calling of a European Security Conference to consecrate the existing division of the continent.

The lower house in Bonn only approved the treaties—Brandt's 'Ostpolitik'—as a result of the decision by the deeply divided Christian Democrat opposition to abstain in the vote. The treaties now have to be passed by the upper house, where they have a majority.

The Christian Democrats can at least delay the vote in the upper house if not block them completely. The leader of the opposition party, Dr Rainer Barzel, first tried to topple Brandt's government by mobilizing opposition to the treaties and then switched to a call for a vote in favour.

In the end the opposition abstained and his position as leader has been undermined.

The chiefs of the Christian Democratic Party may now try to delay the vote as long as possible in order to work out a new strategy to re-unite the party and make a big effort to topple Brandt.

EGYPT has called on the pro-Israeli United States to cut its mission staff in Cairo from 20 to ten as relations between the two countries reached their lowest point since 1967.

Madagascar general takes over

GENERAL Gabriel Ramanantsoa, chief of the Malagasy armed forces' staff, took over all executive powers in Madagascar yesterday.

Sources said that President Philibert Tsiranana would remain head of state.

General Ramanantsoa will have the title of Prime Minister, they added.

The move comes as Madagascar is recovering from a weekend of violence in which 34 people were killed. It followed the arrest of 370 youths said to be the leaders of a three-week-old student strike.

Although the Indian Ocean island has been relatively calm since the last mass demonstration on Monday, more demonstrations of students and workers were marching yesterday on the presidential palace.

Radio Madagascar announced that President Tsiranana was to address the nation.

The Malagasy parliamentary congress was also due to end its discussions on a programme of constitutional reforms.

President Tsiranana has indicated these will lead to a 'bending' of the constitution to permit the appointment of a prime minister.

Under the present constitution the country is led by a President and vice-President.

Observers said a large crowd was advancing on the presidential palace late yesterday afternoon apparently intending to demonstrate against General Ramanantsoa's appointment and call for the President's resignation. No incidents had been reported.

Moscow cagey on blockade

NEITHER China nor the Soviet Union intends to allow the mining of North Vietnam ports and the increased bombing offensive to interfere with their policies of reaching an understanding with American imperialism.

This has become clear in the past few days as Nixon's visit to Moscow draws near. Reuter's James Pringle in Peking quotes diplomatic sources as saying that China, while continuing to supply aid to North Vietnam, would not break off its newly-established contact with the US.

The Russians are putting out

stories that sophisticated weapons are getting through despite the blockade. This means that increased use is being made of the railway running through Chinese territory.

Until the blockade, only about two trainloads of supplies a week were reaching North Vietnam by this route. Talks between the Chinese and the Russians have been going on to improve the flow, with the North Vietnamese appealing for more arms and equipment.

As far as the bureaucracy in Moscow and Peking is concerned, the victory of the Vietnam Revolution is not an aim. While pursuing their own national interests, both are seeking to do a deal with Nixon which will require a compromise after the style of the 1954 Geneva Convention which divided Vietnam into two states, leaving the south under the control of the old, corrupt ruling class.

Paper victories

SAIGON troops scored some paper 'victories' yesterday by re-occupying two abandoned US bases on the northern front 15 miles west of Hue.

Despite heavy US air attacks, the North's offensive is now gathering momentum around Kontum and Hue. Casualties rose sharply last week according to figures issued in Saigon which show that 758 of the South's men died in combat. It was

claimed that 3,613 of the attacking forces had been killed.

At a hearing in the Philippines, two US air force sergeants alleged that American air bases in the country were 'deeply involved' in the Vietnam war. The sergeants represented a group from Clark air base and Subic naval base who wanted 'to let the Filipino people know the great danger to them' in allowing their use in the Vietnam war.

On the subject matter of law evasion

LABOUR'S new deputy leader, Edward Short, is 'flabbergasted' by the speed and decisiveness of the workings of the National Industrial Relations Court.

He has also said that it is 'now obvious' that the Industrial Relations Act had created a Court 'which can be used as the tool of the executive'.

It has taken the ex-schoolmaster 18 months since the Act was first published to reach this conclusion. That's progress!

Now that the class character of the Act is vividly exposed to everybody, what has Short to offer trade unionists?

He told a gathering at the Oxford University Labour Club that trade unions should exploit to the fullest extent any loopholes that could be found in the Act.

'The Labour Party will support trade unionists and Labour councillors in every legal means they employ to thwart these Acts,' he said.

We advise them, he said, to observe the law 'in the same way as Mr Heath's friends observe the tax laws'.

It is true, as Short says, that Heath's friends employ high-powered tax consultants to help them get as many tax breaks as possible. By various distortions of the tax laws they are able to salvage millions of pounds each year which would otherwise go to the Inland Revenue.

These consultants are the skilled servants of the bourgeoisie and they are reimbursed accordingly. Short, on the other hand, can scarcely be included in this class.

His advice to the trade union movement is late and it is useless.

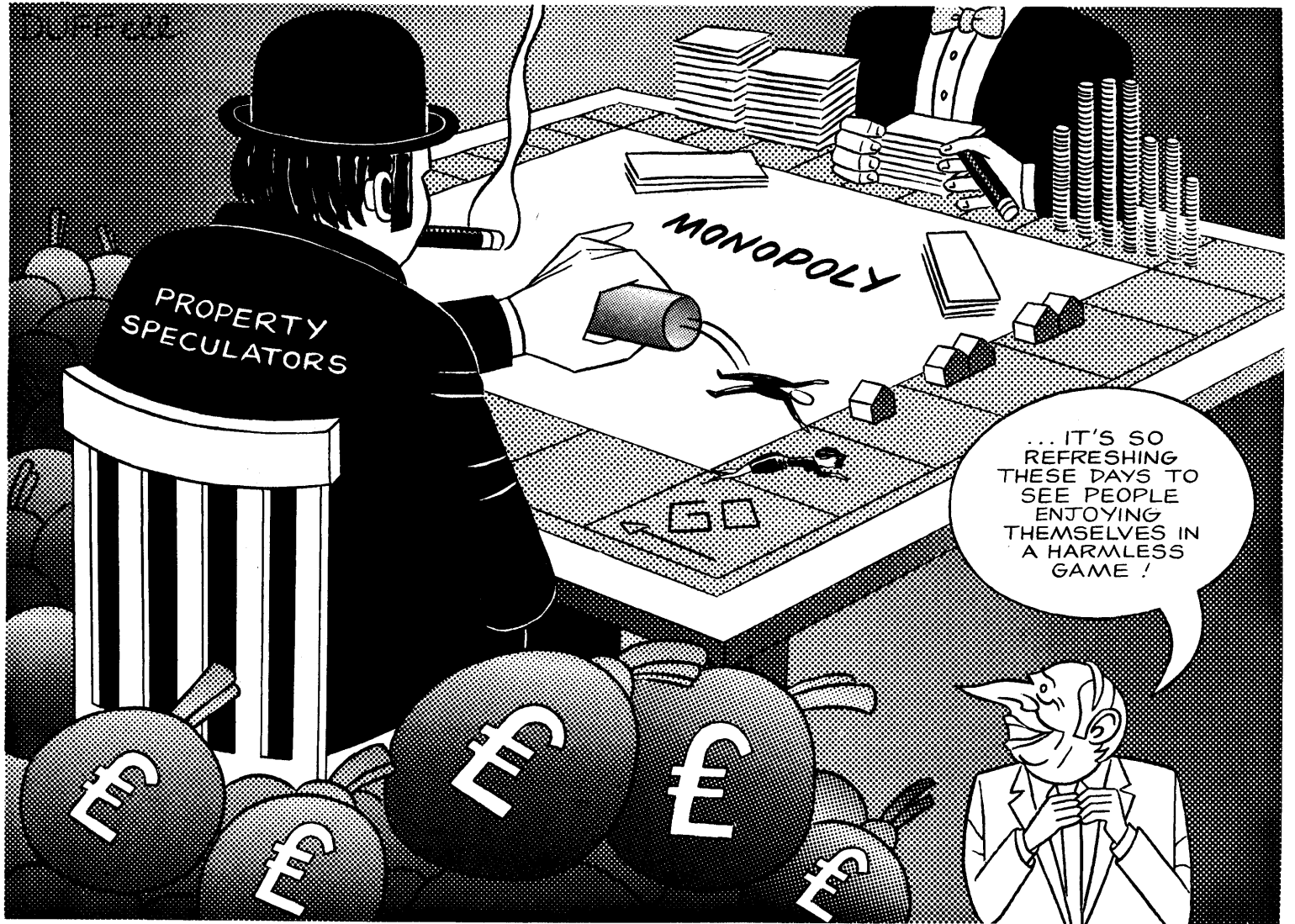
Since Robert Carr first mooted the Act late in 1970 trade unionists have listened to the 'advice' of Short and his friends at Transport House and Congress House.

Their advice paved the way for the Tories to bring the Act onto the statute books.

For the working class to defeat the Act it needs a better service than Short can offer. He is a dedicated right winger who voted with the Jenkinites last October to get Britain into the Common Market.

There is only one way to end the tyranny of the Act and that's to get the Tory government out of office by a big political and industrial offensive.

What has Short to say to that proposition?



T&GWU ordered to deal with 'dissenters'

A CALL for unions to throw out 'dissenters' was made in the Industrial Relations Court yesterday when dockers in Hull were found to be breaking the law.

President of the court, Sir John Donaldson, launched another attack on the giant Transport and General Workers Union.

He said their refusal to sack stewards at Hull who ignored Court orders was a 'negation of leadership'.

Declaring blacking on Hull docks an 'unfair industrial practice', Donaldson warned:

'... the union again claims that stronger action would drive their members to extremes. They also say it would cause a number to resign and join the NASDU. In giving effect to these considerations, they not only confuse the short term with the long term. They also confuse popularity with leadership.'

'Firm leadership will seldom achieve popularity, but it will achieve respect. The line hitherto adopted is the negation of leadership and bids fair to lose them both popularity and respect.'

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS

'Furthermore the strength of a union depends not only upon the size of its membership, but also upon its quality. Every union has its dissenters and they have a real contribution to make, but members who act in defiance of union policy of obeying Court orders are a liability which the union could well be without.'

The Court made a final order banning the blacking of the Bradford-based haulage firm Panalpina. It also found the union liable for compensation suffered by the company due to the industrial action.

This means that the union will face contempt proceedings if

HULL docks stewards' chairman Walter Cunningham, who heard of the judgement as he was loading cargo into a freighter at Hull docks, said: 'The blacking will NOT be lifted.'

'I am amazed at the Court's decision. We do not recognize the Court. I am not surprised at the criticism the Court gave the transport union.'

'They have not carried out their obligations to the men. We have been wanting them to do something about the unregistered labour problem and they have done nothing.'

'It had been left to the unofficial committees to take the steps to fulfil their obligations to the dockers.'

Panalpina fail to get their lorries onto the docks and re-apply to the court.

I understand Panalpina will send a load to Hull docks today.

After the case Brian Oxendale, a director of Panalpina (Services) Ltd said he was pleased with the judgement.

'In accordance with the order of the Court we shall be trying to work normally quite quickly,' he said.

Donaldson paid tribute to the two Hull T&GWU officials who broke the union's previous boycott on personal appearance by giving oral evidence.

The court had been 'greatly impressed and assisted' by them, he said.

'They have advised their Hull shop stewards to cease blacking Panalpina, but regrettably without effect,' said Sir John.

'We have no doubt that this advice is sincerely given and that the officials concerned genuinely hope that it will be heeded. But they consider that any further action would make a bad situation worse.'

The judgement noted that no disciplinary action had been taken against the stewards nor was there any suggestion of withdrawing their credentials.

'The union has not even taken the initiative by calling a mass meeting of dockers to be presided over by full-time union officials instead of shop stewards. At such a meeting they would have a real opportunity of explaining the vital importance of the union's policy of obedience to Court orders.'

The shop stewards, said Donaldson, were wrong in supposing that they carried a mandate from a mass meeting they called on containerization.

He noted that the TUC handbook for shop stewards made it clear that mass meetings were not entitled to make decisions to take actions which were against union policy.

The judge also criticized Hull port employers for not taking action against dockers under the port's disciplinary procedure.

They had argued, he said, that 'discretion is the better part of valour'.

'Again what is wanted is courage and leadership and an ability to distinguish between discretion and short-term expediency.'

Yesterday's verdict was expected, and follows closely the judgement given in the Heaton case concerning blacking on Liverpool docks.

Using the Taff Vale judgement, the NIRC then established the principle that union was responsible for action of stewards who disobeyed union policy.

In the Heaton case, the Court gave the union three weeks to put their house in order or face further penalties for contempt.

The union is to appeal against this on May 30. Judge Donaldson noted that it might be desirable to consider the Hull case at the same time if the union wanted this.

Walter Cunningham, the chairman of Hull dock shop stewards, was named in the complaint. But Donaldson ruled that since the union had been held responsible he was 'not a figure of importance'.

Tough talk from the top as Ford men plan new pay claim

WHILE FORD executives go out of their way to stress the harm done to company profits by last year's nine-week strike, discussions are under way about another big pay claim.

Yesterday the Ford National Convenors' Committee said in the 'Ford Workers Bulletin' that they will be seeking substantial pay rises aimed at parity with other carworkers when their present agreement runs out next year.

The current two-year, no-strike pay deal signed by transport and engineering union chiefs Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, despite opposition from some shop stewards, ends in February 1973.

The 'Bulletin' claims that Ford production workers are still bottom of the pay chart among Britain's four leading manufacturers—British-Leyland, Chrysler UK, Vauxhall and Ford.

Meanwhile Ford chairman Sir Leonard Crossland has blamed the company's 1971 £30m loss on last year's strike which, he claims, cut production by 150,000 vehicles valued at over £100m.

And managing director William Batty condemning last year's strike and appealing for the 'involvement' of the company's 70,000 employees warned: 'Avoiding another 1971 is entirely up to us. Nobody owes us a living.'

In fact Ford profits have been slipping continuously since 1968 aggravated by massive investment in new plant and lines—£48m in 1971, £67m in 1970.

Trapped between the pincers of inflation and shrinking markets Ford are poised for a tough line on wages in 1973.

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THE SUNDAY TIMES

'The Sunday Times' has a reputation as a progressive, liberal and even possibly a 'left' publication. However a study of the paper's editorials since April 1970 provides a very different picture. In this series IAN YEATS examines the politics of 'The Sunday Times'.

A LIBERAL REACTION TO VIOLENCE

Part three

'The Sunday Times' has followed a more or less pro-Catholic line throughout the Ulster crisis.

But even while, reluctantly, taking the lid off the torture techniques of the British army, it has never departed from the necessity of defending bourgeois law and order at all times.

The keynote of its view was published in the lead of July 5, 1970:

'... the collapse of order in Ulster is as wholly a British problem as the collapse of order in Yorkshire would be.'

This followed a night of savage Belfast fighting in which five people died and over 70 were wounded, including 19 soldiers.

'Courage'

Said 'The Sunday Times': '... the army throughout has behaved with tact and courage. ... Now it will not be vulnerable to any charge that its restraint has been excessive.'

'Along with the Special Branch it is the only agency capable of bringing about the vital reduction in illegal arms and it may well need still more troops to do so.'

Even after the massacre of the Derry 13 on January 30—'Bloody Sunday'—'The Sunday Times' still did not call for the withdrawal of troops and it never has. The gunmen, it has always maintained, must be beaten and respect for the law restored.

It has never held that Tory violence alone could produce a solution.

On April 19, 1970, the paper said: 'If there is any hope for N Ireland it lies in the kind of slow economic advance which might one day leave the communities with less to quarrel over.'

It has been a consistent and bitter critic of Protestant intransigence and the rule of the Orange order:

'Once there was evidence that the N Ireland government either could not or would not get the reform programme through in full, the British government would have no alternative but to suspend the Northern Ireland parliament and run the province from Westminster.'

This did not happen then, and amid a growing storm of IRA bombs and bullets 'The Sunday Times' confined itself to periodic sniping at the Tories for showing too much partiality to the Protestants via its unqualified backing of Stormont.

On August 15 — six days after internment began—'The

Sunday Times' response was muted. As only the politically naive or credulous might have supposed, the paper did not condemn internment.

Instead it very deliberately said: 'Indefinite imprisonment without trial has become an instrument of justice within the UK' and only attacked the Tories because internment had not been carried out legally or wisely.

It had been used to defend the *status quo* — Protestant supremacy—no Orange extremists were on the jailing list, it was one sided and its effect had been, naturally, deplorable in terms of social disruption.

Even after widespread allegations of army brutality 'The Sunday Times' merely noted:

'The harm done by internment as carried out [implying that it could have been done in other more subtle ways] exceeds all possible benefits.'

London, it added, should be looking into its 'duration'.

But it was worried nevertheless about the political wisdom of internment. On September 5, 1971, it said:

'Internment may well have clinched the disillusionment bred of their [the Catholics] long failure to secure either equality before the law or any share of executive power. If that has happened then the state of Northern Ireland has no future except as a military tyranny.'

And a week later, on September 12: 'For the sake of its own credibility, if nothing else, the British government should require Stormont to speed up the return to a minimum legality.'

At all times the overriding concern of 'The Sunday Times' has been to see that the law applies equally and tolerantly to everyone. This was its perspective in casting doubt on the fairness of the 'Oz' trial sentences and in its defence of Rudi Dutschke.

A Gerald Scarfe cartoon published on September 19 showed Heath tearing up the laws of England while Maudling locked Catholics in a cage behind him: Contravention of the bourgeois laws of England was far worse than the vicious actions of the British army.

Even in the case of Frederick Sewell on October 10, 'The Sunday Times' said:

'... the preliminaries have some disturbing aspects which since they affect the quality of British justice must be raised now.'

Clearly mob rule by the state itself in the courts of Blackpool or in the prisons and camps of Ulster was a certain recipe for disaster. There could be no letting up on the gunmen whether in Blackpool



or Belfast. It was a question only of how it was done.

But by October 31 'The Sunday Times' was sickened by Ulster's violence and recommended:

'Britain should take the entire responsibility for security and in particular for managing and reviewing internment—not its abolition.'

A good part of this sickening sprang from the mid-October revelations of serious and detailed allegations of the brutal torture of internees. But the well spring of this concern was that the state was digging its own grave and with it the grave of the bourgeoisie through its tyranny in Ulster, which ultimately must destroy all credibility of bourgeois justice.

'State'

On November 21: '... the state is the guardian of law, order and civilization. There is, in our opinion, no situation which justifies a state in performing acts of systematic cruelty, still less in performing them against inevitably random suspects.'

'Both for self-respect and for the respect of the world, the British must keep clean hands.

Society weakens rather than strengthens itself when it lowers its own standards. British society now stands in such a danger.'

But on February 6 this year, after the army had 13 deaths on its hands in one afternoon, the most 'The Sunday Times' would say was that there should be a vigorous review of internment, and added hastily: 'That is not to say that murderers should be let loose.'

But as the paper had argued all along, terror alone was not a recipe for peace. 'The Sunday Times' now began advocating the kid-glove policy inherent in the Tories' subsequent direct-rule policies. On February 6: 'The army's offensive attitudes in the areas of Belfast and Londonderry which it still occupies should stop, at least for an experimental period.'

(To be resumed later if things got out of hand, presumably.)

'Block searches and continuing internment operations should be discontinued with troops assuming as inconspicuous a position as possible.'

'The Sunday Times' described direct rule, when it came, as a bold and brave move, but warned: 'The battle

against terrorism must be pursued with all severity.'

The premium, it said, was winning the support of moderate Catholics.

'Modification'

'... the relaxation of internment is part of a political programme which should also include some modification of army operations in Catholic areas.'

'The Sunday Times' had urged from the beginning of the crisis either that the 32 counties should be reshuffled to give the Protestants a state of their own or that the two sides in Ulster must be brought together.

Whatever the solution in the North it is clear that when, as it will, recession forces Catholic and perhaps Protestant workers onto the streets to demand jobs and a decent standard of living, 'The Sunday Times' response will be sharp and predictable.

Bemoaning the agonies of social upheaval it will, nevertheless, with its hand on its heart, defend bourgeois law and, through it, the bourgeoisie's way of life to the death.

DOLLAR CRISIS HITS LATIN AMERICA

BY JOHN SPENCER

The devaluation of the dollar and the world economic recession is having a catastrophic effect on the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The prices of primary products are falling on world markets and demand for many of the raw materials which these countries produce is slackening. The two articles on this page show the worsening economic situation of the primary producing countries in the face of the economic crisis.

For each cent difference in the price of a pound of coffee the producing countries—all of them 'underdeveloped'—earn (or lose as is more frequently the case) \$73.4m taking as a base their 1969 exports.

On a metric ton of coffee, one cent a pound difference means precisely \$22.05 and since 1969 coffee exports were 3,365,000 tons the total price difference amounts to more than \$73.

This figure, quoted in the Food and Agriculture Organization's yearbook, is not just a statistic. For the producing countries, price fluctuation can make the difference between wealth and penury.

Their plight has been greatly aggravated by the post-August 15, 1971 devaluation of the dollar by 8.5 per cent. While prices 'remain stable' on the markets, the amount of hard currency the producing countries get for their crop has fallen considerably.

This is a means by which the consuming countries—notably the United States which takes 40 per cent of world coffee production—have imposed a drop of prices on the producing countries.

The new dollar parity established in December 1971 imposes an effective cut of about four cents a pound in the coffee prices. This amounts to over \$290m on the basis of the 1969 sales.

Coffee is typical of the primary products produced by the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the capitalist world. Other staple products, like rubber, tea, tin and copra, have been equally severely hit.

The main losers will be the small producers in the coffee countries—chiefly Brazil, Colombia, Salvador, Guatemala, Ivory Coast, Angola and Ethiopia.

Most of these countries are ruled by dictatorial regimes and the big coffee magnates will certainly throw the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the small peasant farmers who produce the bulk of the crop.

In an attempt to temper the worst effects of the dollar devaluation on their trade, the main producing countries have banded together to try and wring higher prices out of the coffee-consuming countries.

Their consultations produced the 'Geneva document' early last month—an agreement for concerted action to try and persuade the US to raise the price to overcome the devaluation effects.

Arduous months of negotiations had failed to induce the United States to raise the price at all. Its spokesmen now claim that the Geneva deal 'contradicts the terms of the World Coffee Agreement and jeopardizes its renewal in 1973'.

The US particularly objects to the proposed three stages of negotiation laid down in the Geneva document.

The first step will be taken the second week in May when a co-ordinating committee of producing countries meets in Paris to 'harmonize and co-ordinate their price policies'.

According to the Geneva document the first step will be this co-ordinating committee in charge of making proposals 'in order to obtain pre-established price objectives'.

The second level will be a ministers' conference of the International Coffee Council.

The third level will be the creation of a 'marketing body' to guarantee co-operation among the producers, facilitate co-ordination of their price policies and take part in the 'marketing of coffee as a profitable venture'.

These are desperate efforts by the producing countries. There is no likelihood that the US, which has made no concessions even to its powerful capitalist competitors, will bow to the feeble pressures of the coffee-producing countries.

This is particularly so as the United States dominates the coffee market and could with ease take protectionist action to stifle the producers' 'revolt'.

In addition, despite the grave threat to their economies, the producing countries' new-found unity is fragile at best.

The cost of the US devaluation will be extremely heavy, however.

On the basis of 1969 exports, Latin America will lose—unless the Geneva document provides a remedy—\$185m during the 1971-1972 coffee year, Africa, close to \$87m and Asia, over \$21½m.

The biggest loser would be Brazil, with \$98.8m, followed by Colombia with \$34.4m, Salvador, Mexico, Guatemala and Costa Rica \$32.7m and Peru, the seventh ranking Latin American exporter, \$4m.



Top: labourers involved in the first stage of cleaning coffee beans—preparing them for washing and drying. Above: a shanty town on the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro, in Brazil, one of the largest coffee producing countries which is being hit by the falling prices.

MEXICAN SLUMP

Mexico has denied an American accusation that she is guilty of 'dumping' sulphur. Mexico points out that the present low prices paid for sulphur in the United States is a consequence of a slump in the international market.

Luis de la Pena Porth, Mexican Under Secretary for

Natural Resources, said the American tariff commission's claims that Mexico was selling its sulphur in the United States at a lower price than that of its internal market were 'absurd'.

Sulphur, he said, along with mercury and silver, is among the products which have suffered the biggest drops in international market prices. In 1968 the quotation per ton of sulphur was \$50. Right now the price was between \$20 and \$22 per ton.

Pena Porth said that in view of Mexico's position as the world's second-biggest sulphur producer and since the product played a key role in the national trade balance, the imposition of an extra tariff on imports coming from Mexico, as the American Tariffs Commission had

wanted, would mean a loss of more than \$1m a year.

Mexican sulphur output varies between 1.1 million and 1.3 million tons a year, of which about a million tons is sold in the States. But in 1971 Mexican sales dropped as market prices slumped.

This year is expected to be similar to last year. Since Mexican sulphur is dependent on the American market, which in fact fixes the prices, it is unlikely to come off any better.

Although the Americans were responsible for the drop from \$50 a ton to about \$20, they now say the Mexicans are dumping and threaten the imposition of a surcharge, thus bringing Mexican sulphur into line with that produced by the Freeport Sulphur Company.

Crisis, Credibility and the Decline of the West

THE UNITED STATES IN VIETNAM

BY ANNA TATE

The decision of Richard Nixon to engage in massive retaliation by the mining of the harbours of North Vietnam is the culmination of more than two decades of aggressive foreign policy planning.

It is based on the expansionist, economic aims of a capitalist system whose basic contradictions steadily deepened to the point of desperate decline by 1970.

From 1941 until 1968 the politics of economic liberalism, neo-Keynesian formulas and the strategy of geographical containment were dedicatedly applied by a ruling class, which assumed the continued growth of capitalist economies.

During World War II, the United States had already begun its plans for American ascendancy. Having emerged from that war with overwhelming power in relation to the other industrial societies, the plans could now be implemented.

US industrial production had increased four times over, while other major industrial nations had been smashed in battle. The aim of creating a US post-war economic empire seemed readily realizable, primarily through the Marshall Plan and the reconstruction of Japan as an industrial giant which would dominate Asia.

In 1970, Walter Lafeber, American economist, rightly evaluated US intervention in Vietnam:

'We became involved in Indo-China 20 years ago not because we were primarily concerned about that area, but because we were concerned about two other problems. We were concerned about Japan because we wanted the Japanese to become, over a period of time, the bulwark against revolutions and Communist China. In 1950 we negotiated a security pact with Japan. Between 1950 and 1954 a series of intelligent, persuasive statements by President Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles emphasized that South-East Asia was important to the United States because South-East Asian markets were important to Japanese industrial growth. Without a viable, pro-West Japan, there could be no effective containment of Asian communism.'

Successive US administrations have attempted to maintain that policy of capitalist expansion and containment of communism with the objective national and international conditions forcing them into ever-increasing militarism.

The Vietnam war has opened up the profound contradictions inherent in this form of American imperialism. Nixon, on coming to power, inherited a situation very different from that which Kennedy had preceded over less than a decade

previously. Franz Schurman, in his article 'The Waning of the American Empire', gives this apt analysis:

'... (a decade ago) it seemed as if American economic and military power were virtually unlimited. By the mid-1960s, it seemed even more so. The American economy was booming at full employment. American military power, feeding from that economy, appeared capable of meeting all its challenges and more so. The other capitalist countries (West Europe and Japan) were also soaring ahead, while the socialist countries were muddling along, seemingly incapable of handling some of their key economic sectors, notably agriculture. But, by the spring of 1968, the picture began to change. America was losing the war in Vietnam. The dollar, the world's chief medium of exchange and liquidity, impregnable since World II, began to falter. Patches of unemployment, like early malignancies, began to appear in America. Inflation heated up, threatening the stability of the entire world market system. Social discontent erupted on a large scale.'

One American administration after another attempted, with a greater or lesser degree of superficial success, to hide their blatantly belligerent, exploitative drives behind 'visions'.

Kennedy's vision was the New Frontier, Johnson's the Great Society, Nixon's the Great Peace. Behind these visions lay the classical American creed of John Quincy Adams that the United States 'goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own'.

The truth, however, is in direct contradiction to this moralistic dictum. In championing and vindicating the interests of their own monopoly capitalists the US administrations plundered those nations too weak to resist and in order to do so they erected the monster of communism.

With the benefits of technological advance on their side, it seemed to Americans that their country was 'destined' for world dominance. Behind the seeming 'denial' of this by the then Senator, John F. Kennedy, lay a more sinister admission when he said:

'We must face the fact that the United States is neither omnipotent nor omniscient—that we are only 6 per cent of the world's population—that we cannot impose our will on the other 94 per cent—and that therefore there cannot be an American solution to every world problem.'

This was regarded by liberals as a truly progressive world view when, in fact, it constitutes the most pernicious



pragmatism. Kennedy did not question whether the US had the right to impose its will on 94 per cent of the world—he was merely going on record as pointing out that it might not be feasible i.e. that they could not, not that they would not.

During his Presidency the moralist was not beyond massacre to protect minority monopolist interests against the revolt of the masses.

Intervention in Vietnam began with that other darling of the liberal intelligentsia—Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose enormously charitable ideas on Indo-China stemmed not only from his personal distaste for de Gaulle, but from a desire to see an open-door policy established throughout Asia—a policy which required the co-operation of Asian governments. It was a period in which capitalist nations were locked in deadly combat with one another for the world's resources, while Asian nationalists exploited the situation to attempt an overthrow of the colonialist powers which oppressed them.

Roosevelt was shrewd enough to see that the winds had changed—that unless he intervened on behalf of 'the

natives', colonialism could not be replaced by American neo-colonialism. He said of Indo-China, in 1944:

'France has had the country—30 million inhabitants—for nearly 100 years, and the people are worse off than they were at the beginning. . . . France has milked it for 100 years. The people of Indo-China are entitled to something better than that.'

Like all true reformists, Roosevelt was aware that years of exploitation might lead a people to revolution. This he was determined to avoid at all costs by a more gentle form of exploitation i.e. self-government under the umbrella of US economic hegemony. At the Yalta Conference of 1945, he said:

'For two whole years I have been terribly worried about Indo-China. . . . I suggested to Chiang [Kai-shek] that Indo-China be set up under a trusteeship—have a Frenchman, one or two Indo-Chinese, and a Chinese and a Russian, because they are on the coast, and maybe a Filipino and an American, to educate them for self-government.'

Roosevelt's 'worry' about

Indo-China had, in fact, arisen more than two years previously. He had learned the vital strategic and economic importance of the area in 1941 when the Japanese had invaded it to set up the base for their expansion across the rest of South-East Asia, and in so doing had sealed off that region's supply of rubber which was urgently needed by the US defence industry. Roosevelt then froze Japanese assets in America, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour in retaliation and the US was launched into War II.

The Truman administration which took over on Roosevelt's death at the end of the war, retained precisely the same goal—to deny Vietnam to the people and keep the country within the economic framework of the western world—the only difference lay in a mildly divergent strategy. There would be no 'trusteeship' save that of French dominance, but the President would 'at some appropriate time' deem it right that France should show 'some positive indication of its intention in regard to the establishment of basic liberties and an increasing measure of self-government in Indo-China'.

The French, of course, had, as Ho Chi Minh soon discovered, no intention of relinquishing their stranglehold over the country. The Vietminh, having waged a heroic campaign, declared the independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1945. The French went to war in 1946 to re-establish their hegemony.

By the end of 1947, it was already clear that the increase in popularity of the Vietminh precluded any military victory for the French, so the colonizers attempted exactly the kind of redundant political solution which the US was to repeat with Diem in 1954—they resurrected Bao Dai—former Vietnam Emperor as a figurehead. He had the support of none but French collaborators. As the war spread, the US made the occasional feeble noises of 'self-determination' for the Vietnamese people.

By mid-1949, the Chinese Revolution had been successful. The USA now entered the Indo-China arena with a crusading sense of purpose. The spectre of Chinese communism sweeping South-East Asia hung over every decision now made by the State Department. The Korean war which followed on

the heels of Mao's victory over Chiang Kai-shek, hardened the resolve of America. The 'valiant' French were then deemed to 'be holding the southern line against Asian communism' i.e. that France was fighting to preserve the rich resources and open markets of that region for western penetration. The US began its military and economic aid programmes to the French in the middle of 1950. This grew from \$150m in 1950, to over one billion in the fiscal year of 1954.

The Truman administration had fallen in the elections of 1952 under the attack of 'having lost China to communism', while Eisenhower came to power due to his image as a peacemaker in Korea. Both the Republican Eisenhower and the present Republican Nixon exploited 'peace-making' in their bid to hold power.

Eisenhower continued the policies of Truman, with historical circumstances forcing an escalation. In 1954, the US was paying 78.25 per cent of the cost of the Indo-China war. Dulles justified this by invoking the 'yellow peril'. In September, 1953, he said:

'There is a risk that, as in Korea, Red China might send its own army into Indo-China. The Chinese communist regime should realize that such a second aggression could not occur without grave consequences, which might not be confined to Indo-China.'

The fact that it had been United States aggression which had unleashed the Korean debacle, the fact that up to this very day there are no Chinese combat troops in Indo-China, did not deter the drastic forward move of the US into Vietnam. China was, after all, a mere pretext for the escalation of capitalist war. As Eisenhower himself admitted:

'... there was no incontrovertible evidence of overt Red Chinese participation in the Indo-China conflict.'

At that time the 'doves' were verbally active. As early as November 1951, the young senator, John F. Kennedy, stated:

'In Indo-China we have allied ourselves to the desperate effort of the French regime to hang on to the remnants of empire. There is no broad, general support of the native



Left: defeated French troops at Dien Bien Phu, 1954. Above: Eisenhower, Dulles and Dien



Above: Lyndon Johnson (left) and John Kennedy (right). Below: Franklin D. Roosevelt



[Bao Dai] Vietnam government among the people of that area.'

This statement, radical and true though it was in appearance, conformed exactly with the US view that the time of naked imperialism was over and must give way to a more covert neo-imperialism. The extent to which Kennedy's protest was an adjunct of ruling-class policy was clearly manifested in the measures which he adopted upon coming to power in January 1961. Eisenhower's vice-President, one Richard Nixon, must take credit for consistency. As early as 1954, he was already advocating 'putting our boys in'. Such a view was even opposed at that time by the army Chief-of-Staff, Matthew B. Ridgeway, who later wrote:

'In Korea, we had learned that aid and naval power alone cannot win a war and that inadequate ground forces cannot win one either. It was incredible to me that we had forgotten that bitter lesson so soon—that we were on the verge of making that same tragic error.'

What Ridgeway did not understand, being himself one of their number, is that the ruling class of the leading capitalist nation in the world does

not 'forget' the 'bitter lessons', nor does it engage willingly in 'tragic errors'. It is inescapably caught in the most violent contradictions in the history of a dying system, determined in its death to extol the utmost suffering from those who oppose it. Liberals have continually fought against this recognition. The John F. Kennedy of 1954, who said:

'I am frankly of the belief that no amount of American assistance in Indo-China can conquer "an enemy of the people" which has the sympathy and covert support of the people.'

was the same John F. Kennedy, who as President in 1961, dispatched the first US military personnel to Vietnam.

The Lyndon B. Johnson, who as Democratic leader of the Senate in 1954, protested that:

'The United States is in clear danger of being left naked and alone in a hostile world.'

was the same Lyndon B. Johnson who, as President, initiated the bombing of North Vietnam in August, 1964, and expanded the number of US troops in Vietnam to the gigantic figure of 500,000.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

TAILORS FIGHT FOR UNION RIGHTS

The dogged refusal by the Merseyside dockers to bow to the National Industrial Relations Court is a reminder of one important quality that the British working class possesses.

This was highlighted by Engels in his 'Conditions of the Working Class in England'. He said that the peculiar courage of the British working man was displayed in the way he built and defended his unions.

And indeed, the history of the long and bitter struggle for workers' rights is a testimony to this fact.

Any liberal who may get a bit squeamish when the every-day trade union activities are declared illegal will do well to remember that perhaps the most vigorous growth of the trade unions occurred between 1799 and 1825. This was the time of the Combination Laws, when trade union organization in itself was illegal.

Despite this, the cotton workers of Lancashire, and the woollen workers of Yorkshire built up and maintained their unions.

All the power of the state was used against them. Spies and agents tried to break up the early organizations. Bribes were offered to men near starvation — but rarely could the magistrates get the two witnesses' necessary to prove that there was a combination.

One mill master complained that it was impossible to root out the combination — even when a strike occurred. Instead of leaving the plant en-masse, men just drifted away—giving their notice one by one. And this was in a period when unemployment often meant starvation.

It was also the period of the Luddites — a much-maligned movement. They fought the introduction of machinery that made them redundant.

But in that fight they effectively built up the mass organizations that could meet the threat of the Industrial Revolution—so unions were built in struggle.

The campaign to defend unions against legislation continued throughout the 19th century.

One of the most colourful and courageous episodes was recently recorded in 'The Garment Worker', the organ of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, by Jim Hammond, who is studying industrial relations at Cardiff University.

He records the long-forgotten tailors' dispute which struck the most fashionable quarter of London in 1867.

All the characteristic workers' display in the big strikes of today were present in this battle which involved 9,000 West End tailors.

The London Operative Tailors' Protection Association organized it. And for the first time these aristocrats of labour joined with the outworkers engaged in the 'sweating' end of the trade.

The heart of the action was Regent St — where London's upper classes flocked for their clothes. The time was Easter — the start of the 'season' when all the gentry needed new gear to face the social round.

The tailors began with a mass meeting at Alhambra Palace—a famous music hall on Leicester Square.

Picketing started immediately and was organized by the Central Committee which met in the 'Green Dragon', off Regent St.

The strikers needed to work their regular shift to qualify for strike pay. Like the miners in their recent strike, the tailors used the tactics of mass picket. As many as 400 would turn up outside the premises of an employer who was trying to smuggle work in and out of his business or persuading blackleg labour to work for him.

Customers were subjected to a more subtle form of persuasion. When they arrived in a carriage the pickets would stand close staring at the wealthy occupants who usually departed (so destroying the myth of the servile working man).

Employers and blacklegs who braved the picket line were greeted with shouts of 'curs', 'dung' (according to Mr Hammond, an ancient term for lowgrade tailors).

Just as the railwaymen faced the feeble protests from the 'brolly brigade', the middle class protested about the tailors' action.

'The Times' was flooded by letters. One read:

'Sir — For very nearly four months I have been daily annoyed by the patrol of tailors' pickets. Now, although the law may permit persons to watch a tailors' premises, surely it does not countenance the nuisance I am subjected to by the continual tramp of half a dozen wretched-looking individuals smoking and spitting under my windows.

'If pickets are to be allowed, cannot they be compelled to remain opposite a tailors' shop and not among the immediate inhabitants?'

The strikers replied to these attacks by extending their action. They searched the hovels of central London for the sweat-shops and brought the women tailors out on



Top: garment worker in Manchester in the 1890s. Above: the match girls who took part in one of the first successful strikes against poor conditions and low pay in industry.

strike. Not a difficult thing when their wages were often lower than the strike benefit offered. Soon the whole area was immobilized by the stoppage.

Mr Hammond describes the scene:

'The area covered by the strike straddled both sides of Regent Street. On the west side there existed the employers' premises in Hanover Square, George St, Maddox St, Conduit St and Saville Row. On the east side lived most of the workers, especially the outworkers who eaked out a precarious living in the Golden Square, Brewer St and Silver St areas. One can imagine the atmosphere with 2,000 or more men and women

strikers living and patrolling in the area.'

Inevitably the law was used against the union. The strike leaders, George Druitt, Matthew Lawrence and John Adamson, were brought to court in a bid to stop the picketing by charging the organizers with conspiracy.

In a highly irregular trial, the three men were found guilty, despite evidence that showed they acted well within the framework of the law.

The strike was seen as a trial of strength between the rights of workers and the government. Money flowed in from all over the world to support the embattled tailors. But the outcome of the struggle was a reduction of

picketing which led to a campaign for a change in law.

This came with the Trade Union Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871, which was passed to appease the working class who won a wider franchise in the Second Reform Act.

These are the episodes of struggle in which the modern working class was formed. Workers fought to defend and extend their right with a courage exemplified in the tailors' strike.

Now, when the rights of workers are under the most serious threat since the Combinations Act, workers will once again show their old tenacity, which is a part of their history.

TORY PRESS



KITSON FINDS FRIENDS IN FLEET STREET

BY ALEX MITCHELL

Brigadier Frank Kitson, head of military intelligence in Ulster, has at last surfaced as the subject of a profile in a major national newspaper.

Last weekend 'The Sunday Times' carried a full page on its centre pages devoted to Kitson—'The Guru of the new model army'.

Two senior writers compiled the article—Bruce Page, who has just been promoted managing editor, and Lewis Chester, a ward-winning reporter and co-author (with Page) of 'The American Melodrama', a history of the US election campaign in 1968, and 'The Zinoviev Letter'.

The 2,500-word article contained only two pieces of information which might be considered 'new'. Firstly they announced Kitson would shortly become the new commandant of the School of Infantry at Warminster in Wiltshire and secondly that Kitson was on his way to becoming a general. Surprise, surprise.



Page: managing editor

(Their 'news' that Edward Heath fully supports Kitson's internal subversion 'theories' has been widely reported in these columns on previous occasions.)

The article is therefore insignificant for any great revelation—which is what one may have expected from two such renowned fact-hunters.

Its importance lies in the fact that it presents Kitson as a military man with commendable but perhaps controversial ideas.

But the authors are not happy with simply describing Kitson's ideas—albeit glibly—they give the impression of approving of them.

To put it more bluntly, Messrs Page and Chester have done a whitewash on Kitson and do not disagree basically with what he's planning with his political mentor, Heath.

After reading Kitson's two volumes 'Low Intensity Operations' published last October and 'Gangs and Counter-gangs', an account of his experiences fighting the Mau



Mau in Kenya, the 'Sunday Times' men conclude that Kitson is 'patently an honourable and sensitive officer'.

They go on so say that in Kitson 'respect for democracy runs deeper than it does in most of his critics'.

As Workers Press would firmly place itself as one of Kitson's critics—to put it at its mildest—an account of his past and present conduct is necessary.

It is worth acknowledging that this 'sensitive democrat' has been the key officer in Ulster during three milestones in British imperialism's savagery there:

- Internment.
- Torture by hideous psychological techniques—exposed by and large by Chester and some of his colleagues on the Insight team.
- The Bloody Sunday massacre. It was the Insight inquiry into this murderous event which showed that Kitson had given the orders for paratroops to go in.

None of these incidents rated a mention in last Sunday's article.

Neither did this anecdote from his book on Kenya which gives a clear insight into Kitson's views on 'democracy'.

He describes a scene just before his departure for Nairobi:

'I picked up a pamphlet one day on Waterloo Station written by Mr Fenner Brockway. This did nothing to improve my morale because it sowed seeds of doubt in my mind as to whether we were handling the Emergency in a civilized manner.'

'Furthermore, after reading the pamphlet, I was not quite sure whether the British had any right to be ruling Kenya at all. Fortunately my morale was in good order so I suffered very little from the experience. All the same it is not pleasant from a soldier's point of view to have the cause for which he may have to fight called in question by a Member of Parliament.'

Throughout the book Kitson reveals his distaste of 'meddling' politicians, not an uncommon characteristic of the military. But Kitson's reply to the politicians is to shift the discussions and preparations for repression out of the arena of public accountability.

This is brazenly expressed in his most recent volume when discussing the establish-

ment of a 'supreme council' to combat threats of subversion and insurgency in Britain.

He writes: 'Having got the machinery established, the next task for the military leadership is to present to the supreme council a number of issues of a joint military-civilian nature on which firm policy rulings should be taken before operations against those practising subversion can start.'

'There is no danger of political repercussions to this course of action, because consultation can be carried out in strictest secrecy.'

Messrs Page and Chester acknowledge this paragraph in Kitson's theories and comment: 'There are, of course, a great many people whose passions would be inflamed if they even suspected that the army might start working regularly with the Scotland Yard Special Branch.'

We are not told whether the passions of the two reporters would be inflamed in these circumstances, but we are left with a gentle panacea: 'What is necessary in fact, is that there should be informed debate.'

This is the hallmark of liberals. Whenever there are fundamental class questions to be met and challenged, they want to stage a debate. No ordinary debate, you understand. In the case of the intellectuals at the 'Sunday Times' the debate is to be 'informed'.

Who qualifies to join this set of 'informed' debaters? Messrs Page and Chester—that goes without saying. Then perhaps one or two eggheads from the Institute of Strategic Studies and a post-graduate from London University?

No, it won't do. The questions raised by Kitson and the support he is receiving in high Tory circles are too vital to be left in the debating circles of the liberals in the middle class.

Kitson's so-called theories pose a direct threat to the building of the revolutionary party and the ending of capitalism in Britain.

As such they must be exposed and resisted at every stage in the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

Messrs Page and Chester have made their peace with Kitson, their new-found guru who is 'patently an honourable and sensitive officer'. We, on the other hand, declare war on everything Kitson stands for.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

SHEEP

Letter in the 'Daily Mirror'. 'Thanks again to the Daily Mirror for its report on the horror trade in sheep and other animals to the Continent. They cannot speak for themselves.' Go on!

RETREAT

Famous last words? Victor Feather speaking at the annual conference of the Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union (now APEX) on April 15:

'The trade union movement has scored an historic and strategic victory over the anti-union and anti-democratic forces in the last year. Those cynics or wishful thinkers who misled so many people about the seriousness of the movement's opposition to the Industrial Relations Act, or the ability of the Act to solve industrial problems, have been shown to be miserably wrong.'

Two weeks later Feather led the monumental retreat before the Act by agreeing to go to Court and asking the Transport and General Workers' Union to pay its fines.



Vic Feather

SPORT

We hope the present leaders of ASLEF do not share their union historians' view of the middle class.

Writing in his book 'The Lighted Flame', Norman McKillop says of the General Strike:

'Of course I can quite realize that most of the amateur strike-breaking attempted in 1926 was done in the good old spirit of student adventure.'

'Young men out for a bit of sport and arrayed in raiment vying with the hues of the rainbow sported their college colours in the driving seats of buses and trams.'

'Nevertheless that the middle class should consider itself apart from the (supposed) lower caste worker—for it is now generally admitted that the professional man is as much a worker as the fellow in overalls—was an exhibition of middle-class obtuseness.'

We trust nobody thinks Heath and his middle-class friends are out for a bit of sport or that they are being obtuse in actively encouraging the polarization of class forces. Any who do are in for a nasty shock.



Ray Buckton of ASLEF

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Fighting the Tories' Rent

BY A MIDLANDS CORRESPONDENT

THE 'MODEL' council housing estates of the 1950s have proved inadequate housing for the working class in many areas. The degeneration of services and repairs in Coventry's Bell Green and Wood End areas are leading to a virtual Gorbals town on the edge of the city—and rents will be going up by £1 in October.

The Wood End estate was built in the second half of the 1950s. At one time it was designated the model estate. Now there are areas in disrepair.

A report undertaken by the Town Planning Department of the Lanchester Polytechnic in 1970 on 'Post-war Housing in Coventry' said:

'In particular there was lack of provision for rubbish, absence of front gardens, allowing passers by to peer into parlours, lack of garages . . . etc.'

And indeed, the Binton Road area where blocks of houses face onto each other with a square courtyard strewn with glass and rubbish in between has the earmarks of a future Coventry Gorbals.

Yet rents of these houses have steadily gone up ever since they were built. There is overcrowding as well. The report says:

'Many of the families living in these relatively overcrowded conditions are unwilling to move to large dwellings, even if they are available, as this means higher rents. There is in any case a shortage of houses with four or more bedrooms . . .'

Bill Lyle, an inspector at Alvis had few words to say about the Rent Bill as he felt so bitter about all attacks by the Tory government:

'It is obvious what the Tories are trying to do in every shape and form. This Rent Bill stinks. It's not just an increase in rents—you have to beg to get any

repairs done. I think this Labour council must make a stand against the Bill,' he said.

Coventry council swung back to Labour in the May elections, but there was no statement on the new council's attitude to the Tory Rents Bill. Right-wing Labour spokesmen have stated they could not defy the law.

That is not what the tenants think, especially faced with the first increase of £1 in their rents in October.

Michael Glynn, who works for Coventry water works, was adamant:



A so-called playground in a Bell Lane square reminiscent of the Glasgow 'greens'

Will Coventry Labour use new majority to fight rise?

'I say this Labour council must refuse to carry out this Rent Act.'

He added: 'The Tory government's Rent Bill is scandalous. I only have a basic wage of £18 yet they are putting the rents up £1 in October and further amounts each year after that. Prices keep rising, but our wages don't go up with them.'

'This Industrial Relations Act is vicious. I'm a member of the T&GWU. It's our money paid in as union members that is being taken away by these fines.'

'I think all the unions should strike together to force this government out. Then a Labour government must nationalize all the industries and let the workers run them. Yes, take the lot over. Then wages could be brought up to a decent standard.'

Mr O'Shea, a material handler at Auto Works, thought: 'The Tories want to keep us down otherwise they wouldn't be able to have all their fancy yachts. But once we give in, we've had it. We have got to fight them.'

Mrs Spriggs, a kitchen assistant, complained about the present rents being paid and the state of her municipal house.

'The rent of this house 13 years ago was £2 13s. Today (with a garage) it is £5.33. Yet the houses here in general are in a poor condition. My walls are black with damp. It was necessary to move the beds away from the walls.'

'The council has stonewalled my complaints. They said it was due to condensation—utter rubbish!'



Michael Glynn



Mrs Spriggs

Mrs Spriggs thought it was caused by thin brickwork.

'All the Tories want is for us just to exist. None of these people in the Tory government have ever gone in want or had a rotten life. They want to belittle everybody. I was with the miners all the way. We are not going to sit back and let them walk all over us.'

Leo Dooley, has been unemployed from last December. His rent is £4.59 at the moment. Unemployment is not new to him.

Leo said: 'Since this Tory government has been in, it has never been so bad. We have just

got a Labour council in and I think the council has got to refuse to operate this Tory Rents Bill, which is nothing more than robbery without violence.'

'This Tory government is robbing us of the right to fight for a living wage. Unemployment is part of this capitalist system. They really work it best in Ireland. That is why so many of us come to live here.'

'The Tory government has tried to make the world believe that it is a religious struggle in Ireland. It isn't. It is a struggle against unemployment and bad housing. Let's get these Tories out.'



A newer part of the Bell Green housing complex on Coventry's eastern boundary now hemmed in by the Midlands link M6 motorway. But the design is the same—squares with houses facing in on each other—reminiscent of the 'greens' in Glasgow's Gorbals area.

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Jobless: Highest in May for 30 years

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

UNEMPLOYMENT—following the seasonal trend—fell in Britain between April and May, but areas like Scotland and the North still have record jobless rates.

The jobless figure was 'far and away the worst' for May for over 30 years, Reg Prentice, Shadow Employment Minister said in a BBC radio interview yesterday.

'And it is still intolerably high,' he added.

Any figure over 500,000 was intolerable—'both in human terms, and in terms of the wasted production that we might be getting if people were getting a chance to work.'

The total registered number of unemployed workers fell by 103,479 to 901,592. The total wholly unemployed, excluding school leavers, dropped by 89,983 to 821,983.

Unemployment in the depressed areas is still severe. Scotland has 6.4 per cent of its working population on the dole, the North has 6.2, Wales 5 per cent the North West 4.9 and the West Midlands 4.1 per cent.

In Northern Ireland 40,775, or 7.9 per cent, of the working population are out of work.

Workers, however, should not fall into the Tory trap and get euphoric about these figures. Britain's trade balance has been in the red for three months and there are signs the Tories are preparing to act to avoid speculation against the pound.

Measures to improve the balance of payments are deflationary and therefore involve attacks on the working class.

Think tank

SENIOR Tory government ministers are to meet Prime Minister Edward Heath at Chequers on Monday to review progress and future strategy.

Main items on the agenda will be the present economic crisis and the fight on the railwaymen's pay claim. The present situation in Northern Ireland, Common Market entry and unemployment will also be major discussion topics.

Conciliation overture for Tories

Played by Hugh Scanlon

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

HUGH SCANLON, president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers yesterday rushed to embrace Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath's suggestion for a new system of arbitration and conciliation.

Continuing the retreat of TUC leaders before the onslaught of the Industrial Relations Act, he said strike action should not be taken after exhausting procedure if some agreed form of conciliation is possible.

'Such a procedure must be legally non-enforceable... and would do more than any other Act of Parliament or penal clauses, to bring about a degree of understanding and harmony in industry,' said the leader of Britain's second biggest union.

While the Tories and their courts continue their savage attacks on the working class, Scanlon could find nothing but words of conciliation.

'The legislative bludgeon needs to be dropped entirely. Confrontation policies are inherently self-destructive in present circumstances.'

And in a further appeal to 'misguided' Tories: 'It is doubtful whether the government appreciates in any real way the damage to the credibility of law and the disruption to industrial relations that will inevitably be caused by its policy of confrontation.'

Hopes

And scraping his knees even nearer to the Tory carpet he added: 'We earnestly hope that, even at this late stage, the government can be persuaded to drop its present policies.'

Was Scanlon speaking to his members at a union conference? Not at all. He chose to make his sickening overtures at the opulent Hilton Hotel in London in front of businessmen from every important industrial concern in Britain.

It was the second of a two-day conference on industrial relations, organized by the most ardent defender of British capitalism, 'The Financial Times', and made exclusive with an attendance fee of no less than £55 (including aperitifs and lunch).

It was here on Wednesday that Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan told trade unions they had to register under the Industrial Relations Act and play the Tories' corporatism game.

Scanlon certainly kept some good company on the speakers' platform yesterday. The one



Scanlon enjoys cocktails at the £55-a-head 'Financial Times' industrial conference at London's sumptuous Hilton Hotel.

other trade unionist present was Tom Jackson of the UPW—committed to attending the industrial court. He called for an arbitration council.

'Such a body should be called the Council for Industrial Research, Conciliation and Arbitration. Its staff should be paid by government, but appointed by the two sides of industry,' said Jackson.

Tasks of this council should be 'to provide a national, regional and local conciliation service independent of government' and '...to provide on a similar basis, an arbitration service'.

All Scanlon's bluster of alleged

non-co-operation with the Act has to be judged with knowledge of the following line-up at the conference:

Roderick Keith, chief registrar of trade unions under the Act; from the Commission on Industrial Relations the deputy chairman, C. F. Heron; from big business, the deputy director-general (industrial relations) of the Confederation of British Industry, T. A. Swinden.

On and on the list went. From the Institute of Personnel Management, its director Ernest Tonkinson. And from the academic world, Derek Robinson, of the Institute of Economics and Statistics and Professor

Picket hit by car

A PICKET at the Cleveland Twist Drill factory at Peterhead, 30 miles from Aberdeen, was injured when he was hit by a car driving through the picket line.

The man was carried 40 yards on the bonnet of the car. His hands were cut and bruised and his clothing was torn.

Convenor Steve Thomson said: 'This incited the pickets who retaliated. After four weeks of peaceful picketing we are distressed to see one of our men on strike knocked down.'

THE CATERPILLAR Tractory Company is laying off men at its factory at Birtley, County Durham, due to the four-week strike at its Glasgow plant.

Kenneth Walker of the International Institute for Labour Studies, Geneva.

The reactionary nature of Scanlon's audience was yet a further indictment of his capitulation to the Tories over the Act.

Paying £55 a head were representatives from over 150 companies including: Esso, George Outram, Massey-Ferguson, Hoover, Girling's, Joseph Lucas, Chrysler, Hawker Siddeley, the Mersey Docks and Harbour Co. Gestetner, British Shipping Federation, Courtaulds, Rolls-Royce, Ford's, ICI, Delta Metal, the Metal Box Company, and the West Midlands Engineering Employers Federation...

LATE NEWS WEATHER

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EASTERN England, eastern and northern Scotland will have occasional rain which will die out from the south during the day.

Western areas will have showers and sunny spells some of the showers may be prolonged or heavy. Temperatures will generally be near normal for mid-May.

Outlook for the weekend: Changeable with showers in many places but also sunny intervals. Temperatures near or a little above normal.

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ANOTHER great post of £137.70 brings this month's Fund up to the grand amount of £1,108.90. Many, many thanks—it really is a tremendous effort.

We must do our best to keep this pace up. The fight against this Tory government has only just begun. The enormous strength of the working class has yet to be seen.

We urge you all therefore — don't sit back for a moment. Press ahead immediately. We still need £641.10 before the end of the month. Let's try and go over the top. Post every donation to:

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