

workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 2, 1972 ● No. 678 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

CAR STRIKE BACKS MINERS

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

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SEE PAGE 4. Sharpening situation.

DOCKERS BLACK SHIP AS DERRY PROTEST

BY A CORRESPONDENT

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BRING DOWN TORIES OR MINERS FACE

'BLOODY SUNDAY'

BY ALEX MITCHELL

BERNADETTE DEVLIN, MP, said yesterday that the British working class has got to understand that the Rossville massacre in Londonderry is one and the same thing as the miners' strike in Britain.

She said: 'When miners get hit by police on the picket line, it's no different to getting bullets in the back in Londonderry.'

'N Ireland is only the training ground for this country.'

In an exclusive interview with Workers Press, Miss Devlin said she would speak at the Newry anti-internment rally this Sunday.

'I agreed some weeks ago to speak,' she said. 'I will be there.'

'The British soldiers are putting notches on their rifles. They're hoping to get another 15 at Newry.'

Miss Devlin described the minutes leading up to Sunday's massacre.

'I was on the platform speaking when I heard the first shots. Then some Saracens drove into the square firing away. Shots rang out over our heads.'

'We had 20,000 people with a right to march in their own country, with a right to demonstrate in their streets.'

'There was not a gun in the area. Both IRAs had removed their guns lest any of their own people should be provoked when 20,000 were on the streets. A few young people threw stones and lumps of brick at the army and that was all they had.'

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WARNING BY BERNADETTE DEVLIN MP



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Referring to her attack on Maudling in the House of Commons on Monday afternoon, Miss Devlin said:

'One blow against Maudling won't bring down the Tory government. Not if we all hit him. What we've got to do is bring down the Tory government.'

'The offensive against the working class in this country is the same as the murder in Ulster. You can see the development of the Tory mentality in both places. They are resorting to sheer naked force.'

'When you move to bring down the Tory government the British army will move to bring you down with a gun.'

'When we held the picket lines in 1969 the police kicked us. Today they are kicking the miners on the picket lines. Tomorrow they will be shooting to kill.'

'To end the army murders in Ulster we've got to bring British imperialism to an end. And the best way to do that is to bring down the Tory government.'

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Miss Devlin was contemptuous of Maudling's call for a tribunal to investigate the massacre.

'We don't want an inquiry at all. Why should we? We know who is responsible. The Tory government is responsible for murder. That's all there is to it.'

She concluded by declaring: 'I say if for nobody's sake but the 13 dead people in Derry, bring this blasted Tory government down.'

● See p 4 for more eye-witness accounts of Sunday's massacre.

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AROUND THE WORLD

Big bankers' 'grave concern' for cash deal

BY JOHN SPENCER

SENIOR finance ministers and central bankers of the European capitalist countries again expressed concern over the rapidly deteriorating international monetary situation when they met American representatives in Paris yesterday.

They told US delegates to the top monetary working party of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) that President Nixon's large budget deficits and 'easy money' policy were undermining the recent Washington currency realignment.

They pointed out that since December 18, when the Group of Ten countries agreed on realignment to devalue the dollar, virtually none of the large pool of dollars held overseas has moved back to the US.

The Europeans say this is chiefly because interest rates in the United States are maintained lower than in Europe, discouraging dollar-holders from repatriating their funds.

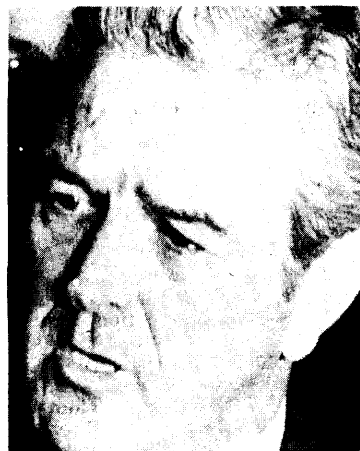
The American delegates—led by deputy Treasury under-Secretary Jack Bennett—were firmly opposed to any increase in American interest rates. They argued that the rates must stay low to encourage US industry.

Nixon anticipates a \$38,800m budget deficit for the financial year ending June 30 and a further \$25,600m for the following year.

On Monday, his aides went before Congress to request a record \$50,000m increase in the Federal debt ceiling to a limit of \$480,000m.

As far as Nixon is concerned the Washington agreement is simply another way of making Europe pay for the economic crisis.

His Treasury Secretary John Connally said yesterday that



CONNALLY: OTHERS CRITICAL

foreign nations tended to criticize US domestic policies when they found themselves in a good economic situation.

'But they do it on the assumption they can pick on us and we won't pick on them,' he said.

Nixon and Connally are out to prove them wrong.

● **GOLD** soared above \$48 an ounce in London yesterday for the first time since the two-tier system was introduced in 1968. The price reached \$48.10 at the afternoon fixing—more than 60 cents up on the morning fixing and 85 cents above the overnight level of \$47.25. The latest 'free market' level is \$13.10 above the 'official' price of \$35 an ounce.



PRINCE JUAN CARLOS/TAKES THE OATH AS SUCCESSOR TO FRANCO

GENERAL FRANCO, head of Spain's fascist state, has warned of 'subversive elements' who are influencing young people in Spain as a means to achieve their objective of 'dividing the Spanish people'.

Speaking at the opening of the 12th National Council of his National Movement—the only political grouping permitted in Spain—Franco said these forces 'do not miss any ways of introducing their activists among young students and workers'.

His statement came less than two weeks after violent clashes between students and police at Madrid university and severe student disturbances in other parts of the country.

With Prince Juan Carlos of

'SUBVERSIVES' INFLUENCE OUR YOUTH —FRANCO

Bourbon—whom he has designated as his successor—sitting beside him, the 79-year-old General told members of the National Council their job was to help the government act to preserve the fundamental principles of the movement.

'Our political action must be creative, conscious of new circumstances and dangers offered by the historical acceleration of our times and the threat of materialism', he told them.

Franco reiterated that Spain would continue to be governed under a one-party system.

'Not only are we not enemies of freedom, but we hope to be at the vanguard of its defence,' he announced.

'But that vanguard demands virtues, energy and courage, more than concerning ourselves with excessive formalisms.'

SADAT TO SPEND THREE DAYS IN MOSCOW

AFTER two days' secret talks with his main Arab allies, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is set to fly to Moscow for discussions with Soviet leaders.

He spent Sunday and Monday in conference with Libyan president Muammer Gaddafi and two top aides of Jaafar el-Numeiry, the Sudanese dictator.

Sadat is pressing for more Soviet arms following American decisions to sell Israel more Skyhawk and Phantom jets.

He plans to spend three days talking to Soviet chiefs in Moscow before travelling to Belgrade for discussions with president Tito of Yugoslavia.

One of his chief concerns is the growing demand in Egypt for military action to drive Israel out of the territories occupied in 1967.

Sadat has for months been blustering about attacking Israel, without making a single real move towards war.

His bluff was called last week by students in Cairo, whose mass demonstrations calling for action against Israel sparked riots in the capital.

Thirty alleged riot 'ringleaders' are in prison, and Sadat has said

they will be brought to trial. One of Egypt's leading left-wing journalists has warned that the students will march again.

Abdel Rahman el-Sharkawi, editor-in-chief of the magazine 'Rose el-Youssef', said the students were determined to purify the nation and would not be deceived by political manoeuvres.

He said Egyptians had not forgotten how the earlier student protests in 1968 were put down by gunfire. In one of the most outspoken comments yet on the 1968 riots—heavily censored at the time—Sharkawi accused late President Nasser's followers of torturing student leaders in concentration camps.

The students have support from a section of the ruling Arab Socialist Union, Egypt's only political party.

One speaker at the party's weekend discussions said the questions raised by the students were in everyone's mind.

WHAT WE THINK

THE TIMES THIRSTS FOR MORE KILLINGS

BERNADETTE DEVLIN was absolutely right when she drew her conclusion from the Londonderry massacre: the Tory government is preparing to use the same naked force against the British working class.

Anyone who doubts this should read yesterday's editorial in 'The Times', that sober spokesman for ruling-class opinion.

It is a remarkable example of the cold-blooded calculation of the British ruling class when it decides its interests are threatened. After the 13 murders, 'The Times' says: '... the least useful thing the government could do in the face of the Derry tragedy is to appear to chop and change its policy.'

This can mean only one thing: intensify the repressions, step up the killings. As 'The Times' goes on:

'That policy is to bear down on the IRA with increasing severity until the point is reached at which serious discussion can begin ...'

Increasing severity! Let every Irishman and every trade unionist in Britain remember those words, which will be repeated and acted upon long after all the crocodile tears for the 13 dead have dried away.

There are people calling themselves socialists who advocate a solution by collaborating with the Westminster and Stormont governments.

These governments are representatives of the capitalist state machine. The job of that state machine is to protect the capitalist social order. It does this through a monopoly of force. It consists of bodies of

armed men: armies, police and jailers.

The army units who committed murder in the streets of Derry last Sunday are these bodies of armed men.

Starting from these basic principles, the Socialist Labour League has always fought in the working-class movement for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

Yet even now, after the Derry massacre, the Communist Party calls only for the immediate withdrawal of the paratroopers and the confinement of other troops to their barracks!

Full withdrawal is to await the passing of a Bill of Rights for N Ireland.

This is absolute betrayal of the working class. It asks the people of Derry and Belfast, and the miners of Britain, to support the right of the army and the police to keep the kind of law and order which the ruling class requires.

This means leaving the ruling class free to carry out the 'increasing severity' advocated by 'The Times'.

On page one today Bernadette Devlin MP makes an urgent call to the working class in Britain to bring down the Tory government.

Workers Press completely supports this call and we will work in the factories and on the streets with all those who fight for it.

It is for this very purpose that the Right-to-Work marches, beginning from Glasgow next Saturday, have been planned. The fight for the right to work, the miners' strike, and the Irish workers' struggle, all have one united aim: make the Tory government resign!

IRANIAN COMMUNIST TO DIE

A TEHERAN military court has pronounced death sentences on four members of an alleged group of communist guerrillas. A sentence of life imprisonment was passed on another.

Three of the death sentences—on Mehdi Savalini, Bahman Azhang and Hajian Sepelleh—were commuted to life imprisonment, and the life sentence on Ghassem Arzpayma was commuted to 15 years imprisonment.

The remaining death sentence—on Saïid Alemian—is to stand.

The five were among 23 charged with anti-state activities.

NO MORE GUNFIRE—MUJIB

SHEIKH Mujibur Rahman has told members of the Mujib Bahini that he does not want to hear any more gunfire in Bangla Desh.

More than 50,000 freedom fighters of the Mujib Bahini have been pouring into Dacca since Sunday and their leaders claim to have surrendered 70,000 weapons with another 30,000 yet to come.

Among the weapons surrendered were rifles, automatic firearms, mortars, recoil-less guns, rockets, mines and grenades.

Sheikh Mujib has assured the freedom fighters that a law has been passed to try collaborators with the Pakistan army and has urged that the law be allowed to take its course.

But this disarming of the freedom fighters can only endanger the victory of Bangla Desh and reassure the capitalists and landlords that their position will remain fundamentally unchallenged.

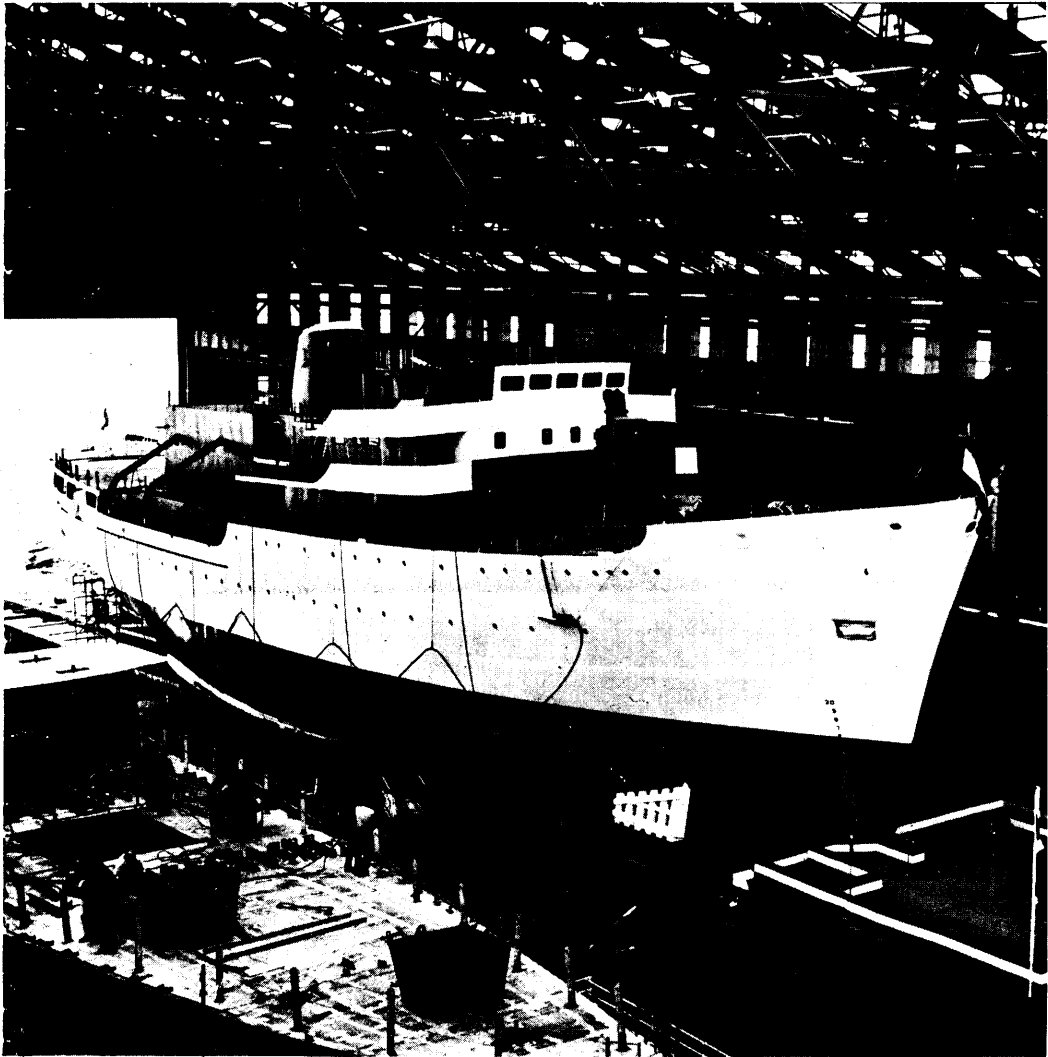


SADAT: MORE ARMS



MUJIB: ARMS SURRENDERED

NOT ONLY UCS HAS TROUBLE



The survey ship Yarrow's are building for S Africa—one of the vessels held up by the strike. The yard—once a part of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders—has orders for 11 ships worth £82m, including seven for the Royal Navy.

Divide and rule at warship yard

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS IN GLASGOW

*I work for a shipyard,
That's doon by the Clyde,
The name of the shipyard,
Fair fills me with pride,
It's called Eric Yarrow's
And it's sae dear to me,
He labours us ten minutes,
For a wee cup of tea.*

THIS GROVELLING verse appears in the current issue of the Yarrow 'Newsletter'—the propaganda sheet put out by management of the Clydeside yard that boasts the title 'The Warship Builders of the World'.

It does not reflect current feeling in the yard. On page two the apparently philanthropic Sir Eric Yarrow hints heavily that his 3,000 hourly-paid staff will face the dole if they don't end their strike and get back to work pronto.

Management has already closed down the yard and suspended the boilermakers—one third of the labour force—who agreed last Friday to call off their strike. The remaining workers—in the finishing trades—came out the day before.

SHOP WORKERS PLAN MILITANT POLICY

MILITANT shopworkers will be calling on their union in May to campaign for a TUC-organized General Strike against the Tories.

Other demands to be voiced at a three-day conference in Eastbourne will include: industrial action for a £25 minimum wage, and the expulsion of Labour MPs who voted with the government for British entry into the Common Market.

Policy-makers for the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers will also be asked to change its rules so it can come off the Tory register set up by the Industrial Relations Act.

A SW London resolution says

The reason for this seemingly illogical back and forth is rooted in the rivalries between the two sections; rivalries that have been used to avoid united action.

The boilermakers are demanding an 18p-an-hour increase against an offer of 3p plus a consolidated 6p-an-hour bonus.

The finishing trades want 15p.

Strike action flared almost two weeks ago when the boilermakers rejected company guidelines for a package deal. Their decision was against union advice—the vote, in fact, followed weeks of pressure on shop stewards to step up the fight for their claim.

The finishing trades held their meeting at the same time and voted to strike if the offer—not yet detailed—turned out to be unsatisfactory. This they did last Thursday.

The following day the boilermakers were persuaded by shop stewards under pressure from the union's district committee to call off their action.

But the yard remains shut because of the finishing trades' strike.

The boilermakers' vote to return is really an attempt by the district committee to get negotiations going with Yarrow's. But by ending the strike they have also kept the boilermakers apart from the striking finishing

trades workers.

This divide-and-rule tactic has a long history.

In late 1970, when the current wage settlement rate of 14s 4d was negotiated (15s 4d for finishing trade welders), the welders struck in opposition to the boilermakers' claim for parity. They had always been the highest paid in the yards and wanted to remain that way.

This encouraged another group of boilermakers—the caulkers—to declare independent action and eventually the rest of the steel-making trades were suspended.

Meanwhile the finishing trades negotiated their own deal. This was the signal for the boilermakers' leaders to get their men back with the argument that what the finishing trades got would be the starting figure for the boilermakers' claim.

However, the company had different ideas and made it quite clear that it wanted one skilled rate throughout the yards.

Belatedly the officials asked the boilermakers if they now wanted to strike. But after one long, drawn-out unsuccessful action, the men accepted the original offer.

The irony is that the 1970 debacle is now being used to keep the steel trades and fitting-out men apart.

The platform argued at Friday's mass meeting that there would be no repeat of 1970 when the finishing trades 'negotiated out increase'. This led to the argument that the strike should be ended and negotiations begun on the claim.

Meanwhile the finishing trades—who were encouraged to strike because of the boilermakers' action—are left isolated.

These 'tactics' allow Yarrow's to deploy the maximum pressure against each section to force the others back to work.

Apart from Sir Eric Yarrow's threats on unemployment the company 'Newsletter' also contains a lengthy eulogy of the Industrial Relations Act. This, says the anonymous author, set 'national standards' for good industrial relations, 'safeguards' those who conform to them, 'protects' the individual and provides 'new methods' for settling disputes.

If the labour force continues to fall for the divide-and-rule argument, Yarrow's may feel just confident enough to use the Act with full force in the yard.

EMPLOYERS TO POCKET £200m JOBS LEVY

TORY hatchet-man Robert Carr is now preparing to dismember the present industrial training scheme, his department revealed yesterday.

Having imposed wage-cuts on British workers, established the Industrial Relations Court to smash the trade unions and sent joblessness past the million mark, the 'Employment' Minister plans to end the compulsory levy system which forced industrialists to cough up £200m a year to be spent on apprenticeships and improving job skills.

In place of this system—organized on an industry-by-industry basis and administered by the Industrial Training Boards—will be purely voluntary training schemes which employers will be free to participate in or not. Thousands of them won't, particularly in industries where there are still a lot of small firms such as engineering and building construction.

Cheapskate employers will pocket millions of pounds in extra profits while hundreds of thousands of workers remain without skills and without jobs.

This about-turn on what was formerly a bi-partisan policy by Labour and Tory on industrial training is yet another direct cash handout to the government's political constituents—the Conservative businessmen who hated the compulsory levy exacted per head of their work force.

Less than six months ago Carr was reiterating the principle that if a company refused to train its employees, then at least it should be forced to pay for the training of others under the system of redistributing all the levy money in the form of grants to those firms with proper training schemes.

But the new discussion document issued yesterday by the Department of Employment proposes to abandon the compulsory levy, while admitting it 'provided an essential shock treatment which has led to a major change in the attitude of large sections of British industry to systematic training'.

Confirming that a lot of training that used to go on previously will not now take place, the government is planning to spend £35m more on state-run training schemes by 1975.

The £35m is about the amount that the Tories expect employers will pocket instead of spending on training. But this is likely to prove a wild underestimate.

This extra government outlay is one of the biggest swindles of all, because it puts indirectly on the tax-payer the responsibility that used solely to rest directly on employers.

With the Tory's regressive tax policies, that means spreading yet more burdens on the working class so that the capitalists' profits can directly increase. And also that the country can have an inferior industrial training system.

Once again the Tories' hatchet-work gives explicit proof that unless this workhouse government is quickly forced from office, Britain will be on its way back to the Dark Ages.

HOUSE PRICES SOAR

HOUSE PRICES rocketed last year even before the huge increase in demand which will result from the Tories' Housing Finance Bill.

The average increase across the country for new houses was 21 per cent compared with 6½ per cent the previous year, the Nationwide Building Society announced yesterday.

This means that the price of an 'average' house, selling for

£5,000 at the end of 1970, rose by more than £1,000 during 1971.

For the modern type of existing house, the average increase for 1971 was 22 per cent (5 per cent in 1970) and for the older type of house 18½ per cent (8 per cent).

The prices of modern existing houses have soared by 72 per cent in the southern region compared with 54 per cent for Great Britain in the last five years.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Make the Tory government resign!

Return a Labour government pledged to restore full employment and repeal all laws against the unions!

CROYDON: Thursday February 3, 8 p.m. Ruskin Hse, Coombe Rd. 'The Miners' Strike'.

DEAL: Thursday February 3, 7.30 p.m. 'The Lord Warden', Mill Rd.

E LONDON: Tuesday February 8, 8 p.m. 'Aberfeldy', Aberfeldy St, Poplar (near Blackwall tunnel). Engineers' pay claim.

DAGENHAM: Wednesday

February 9, 8 p.m. Room 11, E Ham Town Hall, E Ham. Support miners. Force Tories to resign.

LUTON: Thursday February 10, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Rd. World economic crisis.

SE LONDON: Thursday February 10, 8 p.m. Room 2, Deptford Engineers' Club (opp New Cross Stn). Tory 'Fair Rents' and Housing.

N LONDON: Thursday February 10, 8 p.m. Town Hall, Edmonton. Reformism and trade unions.

WILLESDEN: Monday February 14, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Rd, NW10. Unemployment and the capitalist crisis.

Socialist Labour League
Special course of lectures
Common Hall, Hackin's Hay
(off Dale St)
LIVERPOOL, 8 p.m.
Tuesday February 8 and 15
Essential Marxism
Economics and Politics
given by
C. Slaughter (SLL Central Committee)

BLACK FRIDAY

MINERS: PART 2

I REMEMBER vividly Robert Smillie describing to me an interview the leaders of the Triple Alliance had with David Lloyd George in 1919.

The strategy of the leaders was clear. The miners under Robert Smillie, the Transport Workers under Robert Williams, and the National Union of Railwaymen under Thomas, formed the most formidable combination of workers in the history of Great Britain.

They had agreed on the demands which were to be made to the employers knowing well that the government would be bound to be involved at an early stage. And so it happened. A great deal of industry was still under government war-time control and so the state-power was immediately implicated.

Lloyd George sent for the Labour leaders, and they went, so Robert told me, "truculently determined they would not be talked over by the seductive and eloquent Welshman". At this Bob's eyes twinkled in his grave, strong face. "He was quite frank with us from the outset," Bob went on.

"He said to us: 'Gentlemen, you have fashioned, in the Triple Alliance of the unions represented by you, a most powerful instrument. I feel bound to tell you that in our opinion we are at your mercy. The army is disaffected and cannot be relied upon. Trouble has occurred already in a number of camps. We have just emerged from a great war and the people are eager for the reward of their sacrifices and we are in no position to satisfy them. In these circumstances, if you carry out your threat and strike then you will defeat us.'

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

'For, if a force arises in the state which is stronger than the state itself, then it must be ready to take on the functions of the state, or withdraw and accept the authority of the state.'

'Gentlemen,' asked the Prime Minister quietly, 'have you considered, and if you have, are you ready?'

"From that moment on," said Robert Smillie, "we were beaten and we knew we were."—Aneurin Bevan 'In Place of Fear'.

This was *not* Black Friday of April 1921. This was two years earlier when the miners' leaders had a ballot vote behind them of 615,164 to 105,082 in favour of a strike.

Instead of leading a strike, they joined the government's Sankey Commission and allowed the miners to be deceived and betrayed by false promises of nationalization.

The role of the Triple Alliance leaders was thus clearly seen long before the April events of 1921.

It was this cowardice, as well as the end of the short-lived post-war boom, which encouraged the employers and the government to go over onto the offensive against the miners and the rest of the working class.

By December 1920, unemployment stood at 6 per cent of the insured labour force (nearly 700,000); by March 1921 it was over 1.35 million; by June it was over 2.17 million. By 1922 over 1.75 million people in England and Wales were on Poor Law Relief.

Under these circumstances, the government proceeded to de-control the mines.

This involved a drastic cut in miners' wages. The 'war-wage' of 3s a shift, the Sankey increase of 2s and the 20 per cent gained in 1920 would all be swept away, since these had been granted under government control and the government had declared that the private owners were not bound to them.

In fact, the employers went further and in some districts wages of certain grades were halved.

Appeals of the miners' leaders to the government for a subsidy to maintain wages were rejected out of hand. In S Wales the highest-paid men were getting £2 1s 3d a week and labourers were reduced to 30s.

The employers' strategy was to post notices throughout the coalfields saying that all existing contracts of service were ended. In fact, this meant that unless the miners agreed to work under these savage wage cuts, they were locked out.

Government control of the pits ended on March 31, 1921, and the next day over a million miners were locked out.

On the same day, the Emergency Powers Act (passed only five months earlier) was invoked and troops were sent into the coalfields.

Machine guns were set up near pit heads. Troops were brought back from Ireland and camped in readiness in London parks. A



By December 1920 unemployment stood at 6 per cent

volunteer 'defence force' was recruited.

The Miners' Federation of Great Britain's Executive Committee decided to ask other organizations to take strike action to assist the miners.

A conference of all the union executive committees that made up the Transport Workers' Federation and a special delegate meeting of the NUR both declared for action in support of the miners, and strike notices were issued on April 8 to take effect from midnight April 12.

Both the railway and transport leaders, however, claimed a part in the negotiations and their aim was directed not against the employers, but towards pressure on the miners to send the pumpmen back to work (without these men, the employers' property was deteriorating).

The miners' leaders, in turn, gave way to this pressure. On Monday, April 11, the negotiations began between the government, the employers and the miners' executive and at the very outset the miners' leaders agreed to a wage cut of 2s a shift.

Because of these negotiations both the NUR and the Transport Workers' Federation postponed the strike. However, the government and the employers refused to budge and the strike call was reissued on Friday, April 15.

Other unions came to consult with the Triple Alliance about even wider action. These included ASLEF, the ETU, the Post Office Workers and the Railway Clerks' Association.

On Thursday, April 14, the National Joint Council of Labour (the Committees of the Labour Party, the Parliamentary Labour Party and the TUC) also resolved to support the miners.

The Triple Alliance, supported by hundreds of thousands of other workers and the organized bodies of the entire labour movement, was heading for a direct clash with the employers, the government and the state.

The Lloyd George coalition government could be defeated and forced to resign.

The day before the strike Frank Hodges, the Miners' Federation secretary, addressed a meeting of MPs in the House of Commons.

The next day, the newspapers reported that Hodges was willing to accept a temporary settlement on a district basis.

As a result, Lloyd George invited the miners to further negotiations, which they rejected, since they were totally opposed to district settlements.

The other Triple Alliance leaders thereupon urged the

miners to accept Lloyd George's offer and when they refused, J. H. Thomas—the railwaymen's leader—announced that the strike was off. The miners had been deserted and betrayed.

Left on their own, the miners stuck to their demand for a national wages board and the employers still insisted on district settlements.

Meanwhile, state forces moved in and a wave of arrests of strikers and sympathizers occurred. The government offered a temporary subsidy, but one which was tied to wage cuts of up to 3s a shift in May and 3s 6d a shift in June, with district negotiations.

This was rejected by the miners' National Delegate Conference and by every district.

An appeal for support to the Executive Committees of the Triple Alliance unions met with no response. The lock-out continued until July 1, 1921, when the miners, left alone, had to concede defeat.

The young British Communist Party, right at its birth, was pitchforked into these struggles.

On October 21, 1920, its paper 'The Communist' warned: 'Should the miners be defeated in this struggle, then it will not be because of their own weakness so much as because of the treachery and betrayal by official Labour and the desertion of their colleagues of the Triple Alliance.'

Throughout the whole crisis 'The Communist' conducted a campaign under the slogan 'Watch Your Leaders'.

In marked contrast to its present-day epigones who crawl behind the trade union leaders and are 'surprised' by every betrayal, the young British Communist Party was prepared for Black Friday and sought to prevent it by a principled struggle against the treacherous trade unions' leadership.

In the course of this, 'The Communist' alleged that the question put to Hodges in the Commons was a plant arranged by Hodges and J. H. Thomas.

The Communist Party of 1921 moved swiftly after Black Friday and expelled Robert Williams, secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, for his part in the betrayal.

As the Communist Party warned, the miners' defeat was followed by defeats and retreats right along the line. At the beginning of 1922, the Engineering Employers' Federation locked out all AEU members and delivered an ultimatum to the 47 other unions in the industry because the employers were demanding the sole right to say when over-

time should be worked.

The Communist Party called for the lock-out councils, which would also mobilize the unemployed. It demanded a special TUC conference to mobilize action by the entire working class.

It fought the timid AEU leadership which refused to call out the apprentices and its members in non-Federated firms. It called for an extension of the struggle to the power stations and the sewage works.

Although the engineers were defeated, it was this struggle which won the Communist Party great influence in important sections of the engineering industry.

These developments were taken very seriously by the Russian Bolsheviks. Commenting on a report that the Wales Miners' Federation had decided by 120 votes to 63 to affiliate to the Third International, Lenin wrote in a letter to Tom Bell (August 13, 1921):

'What is important is—
(1) To create a very good, really proletarian, really mass Communist Party in this part of England, that is, such Party which will really be the LEADING force in all labour movements in this part of the country.'

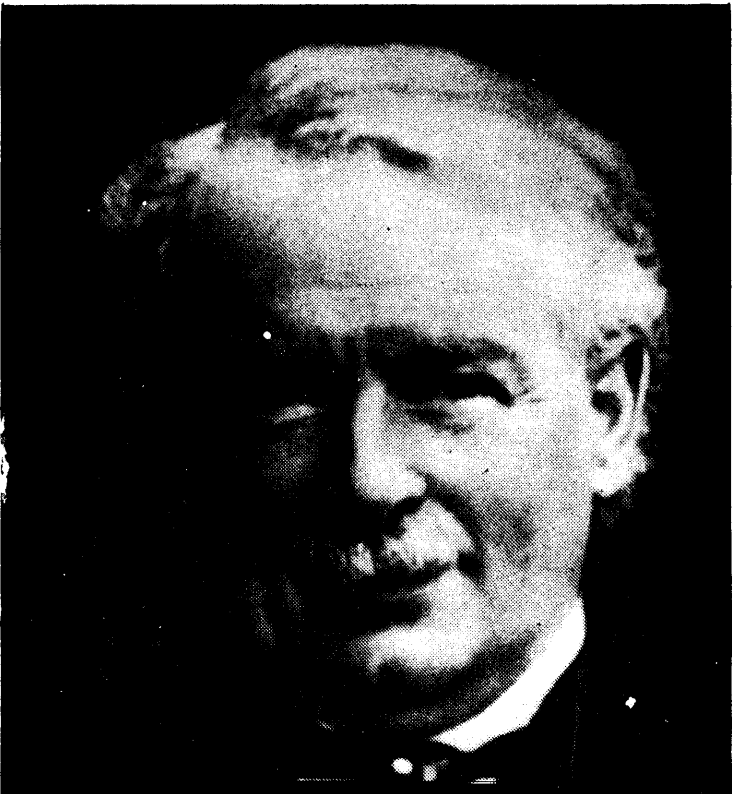
(2) To start a daily paper of the working class in this part of the country.

'To start it not as a business (as usually newspapers are started in capitalist countries), not with big sums of money, not in the ordinary and usual manner—but as an economic and political tool of the masses in their struggle.' (Lenin 'On Britain', p. 563.) (All emphasis in original).

The British Communist Party, until its degeneration under Stalinism, was striving to build this kind of movement, as the Socialist Labour League is doing today.

The Communist Party then, and the Socialist Labour League today, sought the road described by Trotsky in 'Where is Britain Going?':

'The Communist Party . . . can only come to the head of the working class in the measure that the latter comes into irreconcilable antagonism with the conservative bureaucracy in the trade unions and the Labour Party, only by a day in and day out denunciation of its conservative, anti-proletarian, imperialistic, monarchistic, lackey-like role in all spheres of social life and of the class movement.' (Trotsky 'Where is Britain Going?' p. 129.)



Lloyd George

CONTINUED TOMORROW

BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY



Alexandra Palace Rally on February 14, 1971, 4,500 workers voted for the transformation of the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party.

DISCUSSION ON THE ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE DRAFT MANIFESTO

On November 6 last year a national conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance decided to adopt a draft manifesto to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party. Since the conference a country-wide discussion has been initiated in League branches, in the ATUA, in the Young Socialists and among Workers Press supporters. From today until the Right-to-Work rally at Wembley Pool on March 12, we intend to carry a full page each day devoted to your comments on the draft manifesto. We have received more than 100 contributions to this vital discussion. Now we want at least another 100.

Workers and their families, youth, students and the unemployed are all invited to join in this discussion. If you haven't got a copy of the draft manifesto write to Workers Press or contact your local ATUA branch.

RAY ELLIOTT

NUVB convenor at Ford's, Croydon.

I THINK the second clause in the Draft Manifesto is the most important of all.

You couldn't go up to many people in the street and say this government had a mandate. They wouldn't know what you were talking about.

The Tories are an illegal government and the right to strike and organize is being taken away from everybody.

We're losing all the gains the working class have made right down the line—from pensioners to housewives.

The only way you can get a higher standard of living is to get the wife out to work. But why should a woman with two or three children have to go out to work in this day and age?

We're losing welfare benefits as well, especially free school milk for the kids.

Within yourself you believe you should have these rights, but you don't know where to go.

If it came to a campaign to oust this mob (the Tories) and the only way to do it was through revolutionary activity I'd go towards this.

We know there are traitors in the Labour Party as you say in

clause three. I disagree with Wilson's idea of throwing a firework and then dashing in and putting it out again. They go so far and then they retreat.

We seem to have back-tracked from the proper Labour policy of looking after the working class. We need someone who will have a go.

The Common Market is bound to make us worse off. It means that welfare benefits, the right to work and with the Industrial Relations Act the right to organize against your employer will be taken away.

I think the Draft Manifesto is very good, but putting it into practice is another matter. It's a question of how far you're prepared to go.

GEORGE SHERRINGTON

USDAW member at Dista Products Ltd, Speake, Liverpool.

I think the Tories were elected because of disillusionment with the Labour Party. Since coming into power they have acted, as the Manifesto puts it, to destroy working-class organization and to get into the Common Market to join forces with their European colleagues.

The Labour leaders, and even more so, the trade union leaders, have failed to provide a correct leadership against these attacks.

I would like to emphasize that the trade union leaders are particularly responsible as they are our own direct leadership.

I agree with the aims of the Manifesto—but to put these things into effect is another matter. I feel that workers will only come to support such ideals as these after some big confron-

tations. It could make solidarity claims on others and bring affairs to a head.

I think the SLL is correct to put forward such policies as in the Manifesto.

TERRY BUTTON

DATA member, Rolls Royce, Coventry.

I THINK the decision to enter the Common Market means that capital investors can freely invest capital in any part of Europe which promises the best return.

The tendency will be for more mergers of banks, and insurance houses. Fewer people will be controlling bigger blocks of capital. This in itself is a bad thing. It means half a dozen people could be ruling Europe.

None of this is in the interests of the working class. The decision to enter Europe must be opposed. The Labour MPs who voted with the Tories should be expelled from the Labour Party.

A European Common Market? Only a socialist one as far as I am concerned.

It is clear that the Manifesto is going to fulfill a great need. The present leadership of the working class is no good and must be discarded. The reformist and Stalinist leaders make no attempt to remove the capitalist system. All they do is exist with capitalism.

They help the capitalists oppress the workers. Their methods of approach effectively dam up the attempts of the working class to shake off the capitalist regime.

The Socialist Labour League is in a position to become the leadership of the working class.

It must fight to achieve this.

The Workers Press must keep the working class informed of all developments of the struggle. It must provide facilities for discussion through correspondence columns and give a lead in all struggles.

KEN FRASER

Cutterman at Muglemoss papermill, Aberdeen.

THERE is very little I can add to the Draft Manifesto. It all seems to be there. I was at the Alexandra Palace rally on February 14 last year where the decision to launch the revolutionary party was taken, and I shall be coming to Wembley Pool.

I think a new party should be built.

Where I work there has been a lot of complacency about the Tory government and most people seem to think their own jobs there are safe. But there's beginning to be a real hardening of attitudes. Rising prices and rents are changing people's views.

The main difficulty in fighting the Tories is the leadership of the labour movement. This is the main thing dealt with in the Manifesto. We were in for an extra 2s an hour last year, but the SOGAT leadership accepted 6d. We were angry but nobody saw what to do about it.

But low wages are Tory policy now. There have been a lot of shocks over the last period—Rolls-Royce, UCS and so on. These have had their effect on the way workers think everywhere. As I said there's a hardening attitude to the Tories, and this Manifesto is the programme I agree with.



THE FIGHT FOR JOBS

When Clive Norris is telling you about unemployment, he knows what he's talking about.

He's been out of work for six months. Last time he went down to the dole they said to him: 'Look, Mr Norris, there's not the slightest chance of work in your line coming up.'

Clive is a fully qualified draughtsman. He worked at Vickers Armstrong, Swindon, during the day and studied at college in the evening for exactly five years to become qualified.

The day he got his ticket, the very day his apprenticeship expired and he became a tradesman, they fired him.

'I got my apprenticeship papers in one hand and my notice in the other,' Clive says. 'It is a day I will never forget.'

This shattering experience didn't demoralize Clive Norris, nor did it turn his youthful enthusiasm into pessimism.

It forged another link in his political development as a member of the Young Socialists. And today, Clive is secretary of the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work campaign which is organizing a nation-wide march to fight against unemployment.

HISTORY

Clive's family history is riveted with working-class politics.

Both his parents are long-standing members of the Labour Party and he retains a family reverence for some distant grandfather who held the distinction of standing for parliament in a workers' constituency in London, when the ruling class regarded such an act as blatant insolence.

When Clive was about six years old the Norrises were moved to Swindon. In the language of the town planners they were designated 'overspill'.

At 16 Clive completed his 'O' levels and decided he wanted a job. His parents, on the other hand, decided that Clive needed to take his 'A' levels and then go on to university. Clive won—and started as an apprentice at Vickers Engineering.

Vickers has a close and powerful relationship with the working-class community of Swindon.

During the war it became a key plant in Lord Beaverbrook's ministry manufacturing Spitfires and Lancaster bombers.

After the war the company swung over to commercial aircraft production and also a variety of other highly-skilled, engineering work.

One of Clive's first jobs was helping tradesmen working on the leading edge of wings of the VC10.

It was precision work, the standard of craftsmanship was extremely high and, as far as everybody was concerned, young Clive had got himself a good trade.

When the slump began to strike at the aviation industry Vickers and Rolls-Royce were the two most exposed.

For the past three years Vickers at Swindon has been engaged in a policy of 'creeping redundancies'.

It works like this. 'The management would announce that due to declines in orders say, 50 were to be put off. But they would assure everybody that after this 50 there would be no more.'

'Everybody would agree to accept the 50 and just as they

were losing their jobs, management would suddenly say: 'Things are much worse than we thought—it'll have to be 150'.

'This was going on all the time—one set of redundancies after another.'

When Clive started with Vickers in 1967 the work force totalled 3,000; now there are about 2,000. The company has phased out aircraft production; run down the hydraulics and commercial products divisions; closed down the design and procurement division; sold the all-wheel drive and radiation divisions.

This year, for the first time anybody remembers, the company hasn't taken on any apprentices.

Clive believes that 'all the pointers are that there is going to be a complete shutdown.'

Because he comes from a strong labour tradition, he was angered by the injustice of what he saw going on around him.

'It was a very basic thing,' Clive says. 'I used to think how they've got all the money, not us. I didn't like being trodden on, I didn't like to see other workers being trodden on. I didn't like to see the work that people were doing turned into waste.'

'One lot of people were working their guts out and the other layabouts were riding around in Rolls-Royces. I didn't like what was going on.'

For the first time Clive turned towards politics. His first introduction to the Young Socialists occurred quite by accident.

He bought a copy of the YS newspaper, 'Keep Left', and then decided to attend one of the regular meetings.

'Looking back on it, it was a pretty terrible meeting,' Clive says. 'There were only a few people there. But that didn't matter.'

'I remember that what was said at the meeting was absolutely correct. The speaker described exactly what the capitalist system is all about.'

Clive's association with the YS movement had its stormy periods.

'I remember after the French General Strike in May 1968 everything seemed to be stagnating. Around the end of the year I got fed up. I decided that what I most wanted to do was become a good draughtsman.'

'You could say I became an out-and-out careerist.'

'Then the redundancies started again. I knew that the only group that was consistently explaining to the working class what was going on was the Socialist Labour League and the YS.'

'They both tell the truth to the working class and that's often hard for workers to accept. I became a fully active member again.'

'When we decided on a march, we all emphatically agreed that it wouldn't simply be a "protest-type" march. We're not going anywhere with our caps in our hands begging for jobs.'

'We are marching right across the country—from Belfast, Glasgow, Newcastle, Liverpool, Swansea, Sheffield and Birmingham—to arouse the working-class movement to action against the Tories. The fight for the right to work is a political fight against this government.'

With the Glasgow contingent ready to leave on Saturday Clive and the other members of the YS organizing committee are confident of the widest support throughout the working class.

'For 18 months,' Clive says, 'the Tories have been going hell-for-leather against the workers.'

'You've seen it in the Industrial Relations Act, the decision to go into the Common Market, in Ulster and in the cuts in the social services and the National Health Service.'

'Now workers and school-leavers are supporting our marches because they see them as a mass mobilization against the Tories and their policies.'

Clive Norris, unemployed draughtsman, aged 22, will be at the head of the contingent which leaves for London from Glasgow.

Everytime Clive suggested

a reference to the Tory government he was sat upon. 'Anything political was completely squashed,' he said.

FRANTIC

That same afternoon the deputations went to the House of Commons to see local MPs and the Ministry for Trade, Mr Nicholas Ridley, the man who drew up the master plan to 'butcher' Upper Clyde Ship-builders.

Ridley arrived late and slightly flushed after a long meal. Everyone was being frantically polite.

One of the unionists said: 'But if unemployment gets any worse in Swindon, it could become another Jarrow.'

The immaculately-suited Ridley shook his head. 'Oh, no. Swindon is only a small town. What, population of about 100,000? It will only be a little Jarrow.'

It was this clear expression of the intentions of the Tory government which spurred Clive to extend the fight for the right to work.

'I could see there was no use me waging a single, individual fight inside Vickers against redundancies. That would be like throwing snowballs at the moon.'

'It was a fight that has to be taken up throughout the whole working class against the government.'

The creation of mass unemployment is a political act of the ruling class and as such must be met by political action by the working class.

'The Tories are today using mass unemployment as a weapon to try and divide and intimidate workers. They want the working class turned into a docile, slave labour force.'

On July 28 last year the Vickers company sacked Clive from his £23-a-week job.

For being sacked, the state now treats Clive like a beggar and gives him £7.85 a week. In a few weeks' time this will be cut to £6.

On this sum Clive is expected to pay his rent, feed and clothe himself.

The decision to stage the march came out of a series of YS meetings in which Clive was prominently involved.

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DEVIOUS

The 'fight' against redundancies and closures at Vickers has given Clive first-hand experience of the reformist and devious manoeuvres of trade union officials.

Last year he came on a delegation to Vickers' headquarters in London as the apprentices' representative.

After standing outside the vast Millbank Tower on the Thames for half the morning, a flunky informed them that they could not lead a deputation to see any officer of the company.

The group then huddled in the foyer to write a press statement. Everytime Clive suggested

LIBERIA: Top hats, God and corruption

IT WAS entirely appropriate that Evangelist Billy Graham should be one of the guests of honour at the inauguration of President William Tolbert of Liberia.

Tolbert made a presidential speech which Graham himself would have been proud of. (Perhaps he wrote it?)

In a 6,000-word inaugural address Tolbert called for 'a new pace and fresh priorities'.

He declared in language reminiscent of Madison Avenue rather than Monrovia:

'New directional signals must be flashed, new emphasis instilled, new dimensions fixed.

'Motivations must not be activated by resentment, fear, mistrust and hate, but generated by ardent hope, honest labour (I), unimpeachable integrity, liberty and love.'

It was during this amazing speech that Tolbert laid down the theme of his administration: 'Total involvement in our sustained upward thrust for higher heights.'

If you can imagine it, there are now posters and stickers plastered all over Monrovia urging the citizenry to join in this crusade of 'total involvement in our sustained upward thrust, etc., etc.'

NEPOTISM

It is worth noting that the oath was administered by none other than Tolbert's eldest brother, Senator Frank Tolbert, acting president of the senate. And yet another brother, Stephen, heads the wealthy and influential Mesurado shipping group which is responsible for registering more ships than any other country in the world.

(The Liberian 'flag of convenience' enables the world's shipping magnates to operate their tonnage with minimum safety regulations and pay slave labour rates. It can be confidently predicted that Tolbert's 'clean' government will permit the shipping registration business to continue without interruption.)

Nepotism has been a conspicuous feature of Liberian political life since the country became a republic 150 years ago. (Liberia was originally founded to provide a home for freed slaves anxious to return from the United States of America.)

Five families virtually control the country—the Tolberts, Barclays, Shermans, Coopers and, above all, the Tubmans.

The late president, who died last July, was William Vacanarat Shadrach Tubman.

In his obituary in 'The Times', Tubman was eulogized as 'one of Africa's elder statesmen. At his death he was an international figure who had played an important role in Pan-African conferences', the paper added.

At his funeral the churchmen were 200-deep in leading Tubman, a strict Methodist, to his resting place. The procession was led by four major societies to which the pious Tubman belonged: the International Order of Good Templars, the Odd-fellows, the United Brothers of Friendship (a society which no white man is allowed to join) and the Masons.

The choir sang 'Abide with Me' and, according to a Reuter report, women wept openly in the street saying: 'Where will the scholarships come from now?'

In his authoritative book on Liberia, Richard West takes a more jaundiced view of the late president's legend: 'A devotee of

cigars, the fair sex and whisky, a glad-handing, cornball, cracker-barrel philosopher, he is like a stage caricature of a southern senator—blackened.'

Tubman's extravagances led him to build a palace for himself costing £8m—about half the national budget.

Throughout his lifetime Tubman shared with his vice-president, William Tolbert, a deep hatred of communism or independent working-class organizations.

Not that either of them had much to fear from the leadership of the Monrovia 'unions'. The head of the local 'TUC' is Shad Tubman, son of the late president. And Shad just happens to be married to Miss Wokie Tolbert, the new president's daughter. So it's one big happy (very prosperous) family!

MORALS

Shortly after Tubman's death, Tolbert affirmed that there would be no departures from the old ruling order. Not if he could stop it, anyway. He told the nation: 'Verily, your president will act for himself under the direction and guidance of Almighty God. I have resolved to serve my God and nothing will prevent me.'

God makes continuous appearances in Tolbert's political rhetoric. Recently he visited a man in jail and told him: 'I love you and God loves you, but as chief executive it is my duty to sign your death warrant.'

The man was then taken outside and hanged. Thus capital punishment was restored to Liberia.

At the same time, Tolbert, a Baptist minister who claims not to smoke or drink, has made public declarations that he wants to fight 'inefficiency, graft and corruption—a malignancy which this society cannot afford'.

While Tolbert sermonizes and moralizes, the mass of Liberians remain wretchedly poor. The country's trade surplus of \$81m in 1969 dropped sharply to \$64m in 1970. Another fact not generally broadcast by the government is that food imports have gone up and there is a large external debt still not paid.

The economy has functioned in the most bizarre capitalist fashion. There are no exchange controls whatsoever. Its currency is US dollars—and the recent devaluation can't have helped matters.

The other main feature of the economy is the so-called 'Open-Door Policy' which Tubman introduced. Under this, foreign companies were invited to enter the commercial, industrial and farming life of the country with a completely free hand.

The most incredible of these capital invasions was made by the Firestone Company many years ago. In return for a multi-million dollar loan to get the country out of the red, the Firestone tyre company obtained sole rights to exploit the rich rubber industry.

Until ten years ago the company virtually 'owned' Liberia. Now this ownership is spread among capitalists from Sweden, W Germany and Italy, although the dominant banking position is still in US hands.

In his inaugural speech Tolbert reaffirmed the Open-Door Policy. Defying the very logic of capitalist exploitation, Tolbert told his audience: 'The Open-Door Policy has contributed in considerable measure to the growth of our trade and commerce. It has improved our balance of



payments and generally enhanced the economic development of the nation.' (!)

With this sort of free-wheeling approach to the country's wealth, it is no wonder that a recent magazine report on the new administration carried testimonial advertisements paying tribute to Tolbert's genius.

GROWTH

For example, the Glaxo subsidiary in Monrovia took a quarter page saying: 'A healthy people makes a progressive nation — Partners with the Liberian government in the nation's health programme.'

A Pan-Am advert said: 'We've been fast friends with Liberia for over 25 years. We've watched Liberia grow into one of the

most modern states in Africa [in fact it's one of the most backward]. And we're proud to say that Pan-Am have had a hand in that growth.'

The First National City Bank of America also took space to say: 'Congratulations and best wishes to President W. R. Tolbert and his government' while Firestone also added their 'congratulations'. A big caption across the Firestone half-page proclaimed: 'GROWING WITH LIBERIA.'

To which might be added—Tell that to the rubber workers on the plantations who make profits for the US giant.

Not, of course, that the plight of these workers influences Tolbert. He is reputed to spend much of the day reading the Bible.

Top: the late President Tubman. Watch chains and top hats. Below: Tolbert. Total involvement in our sustained upward thrust for higher heights.





STALINIST CRISIS

SOVIET CRUISE TO FASCIST SPAIN

'Soviet Weekly', the Kremlin's English-language propaganda magazine, is serializing extracts from a recent article in the Soviet publication 'Kommunist'.

VETERAN

The article is a lengthy attack on Trotskyism by veteran Stalinist Boris Ponomarev. We have already noted in this column the main points in his attack. He tries to create an amalgam between Trotskyism and Maoism on the basis of the grossest distortions of both positions.

Ponomarev is an experienced anti-Trotskyist and a Stalinist falsifier of long standing. As a member of Stalin's central committee at the height of the 1937 purges he played a part in launching the campaign of slanders against the old Bolshevik Bukharin which culminated in his show trial and execution in Moscow.

The gist of Ponomarev's attack in the 1930s was that the old Bolsheviks were 'agents of fascism'. In his 'Kommunist' article, he implies that Trotsky-

ism is an agency of imperialism. Thus, he says: 'The monopoly press eagerly publicizes Trotskyite slogans which link pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering with the most vicious anti-Sovietism.'

Ponomarev's article is chiefly interesting because it demonstrates the Kremlin's growing fear of the Fourth International and the international revolutionary movement. That they should choose 'Soviet Weekly' as a vehicle to publicize Ponomarev's attack is also significant. Presumably they were unable to persuade the crisis-ridden British Communist Party to publicize Ponomarev's crude slanders through its own press. In the heyday of the Stalinist purges of the 1930s, such campaigns were given extensive coverage by the British Stalinist press.

FEAR

The present Communist Party leadership in Britain has never renounced its support for Stalin's crimes. They undoubtedly support Ponomarev's anti-Trotskyist campaign. Yet they dare not say so publicly for fear of discrediting themselves still further

in the eyes of thinking workers. 'Soviet Weekly', in any case, can hardly be regarded as the ideal publicity medium for Ponomarev's lies. For one thing, the magazine is an official propaganda sheet for the Soviet government. For another, it has just announced the winner of first prize in its latest competition—and the prize is a holiday in fascist Spain.

The winner is Eric Savage of Winsford, Cheshire, a builders' labourer on the Bass Charrington site at Runcorn. He is a member of the Communist Party and an enthusiastic apologist for Stalinism. His was the 'first correct answer to be picked out at random' from thousands of entries to the contest.

On February 26, he will be boarding the 'Alexandr Pushkin', a Soviet luxury liner, for a 14-day cruise to Las Palmas, Tenerife, Casablanca and Gibraltar. The Spanish trade unions have repeatedly appealed to workers and trade unionists in other countries not to lend support to the Franco dictatorship by holidaying in Spain.

The combination of anti-Trotskyism and relations with Franco speaks a lot louder for the Stalinists' real politics than any number of articles concocted in the Kremlin.

EIGHT YEARS FOR A HOME

For a million Polish families, finding homes can mean an eight-year wait, even after paying a large deposit.

Today, 27 years after a war which reduced major cities to rubble, Poland is still grappling with the problem of building homes for several million people.

The country's leaders have promised to step up house-building by 6.5 per cent this year, but the Communist Party weekly 'Polityka' has warned against hopes that queue for flats will shrink quickly.

This year the government decided to give preferential treatment to workers in priority industries, such as engineering, in distributing new flats.

The decision, said 'Polityka', was based on economic necessity but would disappoint the 'co-operative queue formed today by 1 million families...'

'It would be much better if social and economic needs did not violate normal distribution of flats, if these needs were not met at other people's expense and did not deepen the community's division into social classes based on having or not having a flat,' it added.

The distribution change is

part of a plan by Stalinist leader Edward Gierek to appease the workers' anger against his bureaucracy. But it is calculated to anger as many workers as it appeases.

Gierek, a 58-year-old ex-miner, came to power in December 1970, in the aftermath of bloody street battles in Poland's northern ports.

High on the list of demands put forward in the December riots were higher wages, better housing conditions and more consumer goods.

Gierek has since said that the country went to the brink of out-and-out civil war in 1970 and has drawn up fine-sounding plans to overcome the chronic housing problem. He has promised 1,075,000 homes by 1975.

His plans were endorsed by the Communist Party's Congress two months ago which said houses should in future be bigger and better than those built so far.

Prior to the December riots, under the rule of Wladislaw Gomulka, apartments were often skimpily finished and the amount of floor space allotted to each person was steadily reduced.

To make matters worse, the

rate of house-building actually declined in the late 1960s, although demand was rising as post-war baby boom came of age.

This development under Gomulka has since been verbally condemned as a major mistake.

It dashed the hopes of millions of Poles who paid large deposits to co-operative associations in the effort to find flats.

They were told they could expect a flat after five years—three as a candidate co-operative member and then another two.

But Warsaw's mayor Jerzy Majewski says eight years is now the average waiting period for a co-operative home, which most tenants do not own but occupy on long leases.

Young married couples with children can normally jump ahead in the queue, but 'Polityka' said that for every nine couples who get married at present, only six flats are being built.

One thing is certain—the bureaucracy suffers not at all from the housing problem—they are always first in the queue.

And it remains to be seen whether the Polish working class will be satisfied to live on Gierek's promises for very much longer—especially those without a home to call their own.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

1984

When Jean de Lipkowski visited sunny Greece last week all was definitely not sweetness and light. Two home-made bombs were taken out of the garage at the house where he was staying, and underground organizations made abusive attacks on him.

Lipkowski is secretary of state for foreign affairs in the French government. He was visiting the Greek colonels to talk about 'mutual economic matters', touching mainly on the possibility of French investment in Greece and the country's relations with the Common Market.

Relations between the Six and Greece have been somewhat on the cool side since 1967, when the colonels took power in a *coup d'etat*. However, the country is still an associate member of the European Economic Community. It is due to achieve full membership, appropriately enough, in 1984.

PIGTAILS

Fun-lovers in the White House press corps are already splitting their sides as some of the details emerge of this month's Nixon family visit to China.

A particular source of mirth last week was the itinerary of the US President's wife, Mrs Patricia Nixon. She will need shots of curare in her face-muscles if she is to sail through some of her engagements with any dignity.

While her husband views Shanghai's industrial exhibition, Mrs Nixon is expected to be taken to the Ching An children's palace to make first-hand acquaintance with the political vanguard of China's children—the 'little red guards', aged from six to 14.

No doubt she will enjoy their singing, handicrafts, embroidery, model-making and paper-cutting. All good first-grade stuff.

She will also like the performances of the folk dances of China's minority groups, and just about stomach a little girl with sparkling eyes and pigtails reciting the poem 'Chairman Mao's works are like sunshine'. After all, it takes all sorts...

The real strain on her White Anglo-Saxon Protestant nerve-centres will begin when she has to listen to recitations of the latest industrial production figures and watch children singing and dancing the mini-ballet 'Little truck drivers go to Peking to see Chairman Mao'.

The *coup de grace* will be the Shanghai-d version of an American nickel-arcade feature: children firing a mechanical machine-gun at a mock American aircraft which hurtles earthwards if the child's aim is good.

BUDDY

Merv is at it again.

The Bishop of Southwark, Dr Mervyn Stockwood, has espoused the cause of commercial radio.

Or at least he has become a director of a putative radio station which will burst into pre-recorded song and ads if the Tories' Sound Broadcasting Bill becomes law.

A Labour supporter and bosom buddy of Opposition Chief Whip Bob Mellish, 58-year-old Merv seems anxious to let it be known his salary will go to charity. His own charity—the Mervyn Stockwood Society.

The company is appropriately enough called Radio Capital.

WITCH-HUNT

'He had an unerring intuition for power and business... He has the greatest press empire in continental Europe... He runs his paper like a monarch'—'The Times', three years ago, on W German press baron Axel Springer.

It's worth remembering what the paper had to say on April 15, 1968, because Springer's prestigious 'Die Welt' newspaper has now announced a joint venture with 'The Times'.

The subject 'European unity'. And few things could better illustrate the real meaning of this hoary old slogan than the pact between these two reactionary papers.

Let's just look at what Lord Thomson's organ thinks it's getting close to—in its words of 1968: 'less agreeable in the grip which the Springer press has on the German mind are its extreme conservatism and its anachronistic refusal to abandon cold war attitudes at a time when the trend in W Germany and Europe is moving in the opposite direction.'

And Springer, the man whose vicious witch-hunt of the German student left was followed by the shooting of Rudi Dutschke, hasn't changed.

LUNCH

Nastiest lunch we've heard of for some time will be held tomorrow. The Industrial Society is holding a 'New Action Lunch' at which their director, John Garnett, will talk about 'management priorities for the 1970s and the action needed now to make the best use of human resources'.

If you can manage to stuff yourself with duck liver pate at the Connaught Rooms and listen to this lot, you're braver than we are. The brochure advertising this beanfeast also says: 'He will consider, in particular, what management can learn from the attitudes of companies in the white and blue-collar field; from the policies of unionized and non-unionized firms; and from the activities of behavioural scientists, management development specialists and industrial relations practitioners.'

What a mouthful! And the lunch should be too—it costs £8 if you're a non-member of the Society and a mere £6 if you're a member.

Who's invited? The brochure says 'For directors, senior managers and trade union officials'.

'No change in productivity policy' — Tom Jackson

We can't stop loss of jobs

ON DECEMBER 9 last year, the leader of Britain's 200,000 Post Office workers, Tom Jackson, startled a special conference of his union with the words 'We must co-operate with management'. Last week Post Office chairman William Ryland forecast an £80m increase in the corporation's expected deficit over five years and talks with the Minister of Posts about staff levels. Today, in the second part of an exclusive interview, Jackson talks to DAVID MAUDE, our industrial correspondent, about rising joblessness and the prospects for his members under the Tories.

DM: Since the Tories are pressing ahead into the Common Market, which will increase unemployment well over the million and raise prices, without a General Election or a mandate, do you not think trade unionists are justified in organizing to bring about the government's resignation?

TJ: I prefer to see the miners' struggle as being a wages battle for people who are poorly paid, and I would like to deal with it in the industrial sphere albeit there are tremendous political connotations.

But I'm not seeking some sort of barricade-type confrontation. I think that those who say that that sort of confrontation is possible, winnable, in present circumstances, do the working class a disservice.

What I'm really saying is I don't believe you can force a government to an election on the basis of trade union action and win at the ballot box.

Therefore what is the alternative? The alternative is to bring the government down and take over.

DM: Has the announcement of a million unemployed in any way affected the policy of the Union of Post Office Workers towards productivity bargaining: the idea that you should negotiate productivity, asking for 50 per cent of the money from jobs saved for those who remain in work?

Defend jobs

TJ: Well first of all, we've just succeeded in defending 7,000 jobs by getting rid of the proposals which the Post Office put to the National Users' Council for reducing the size of the postal service.

I suspect now that their forecast of 25,000 jobs lost by 1978 is also out of the window.

Technological change is not only inevitable, but desirable. There's very little you can do about parts of the service, but in sorting offices it is possible to introduce mechanization which does reduce the size of the labour force.

This is a fairly slow process, not something that happens overnight. We could certainly achieve it without any physical redundancy—although to the nation as a whole there would be a total loss of jobs.

Every trade union leader is in this dilemma. What does he do? Does he do that which he regards as being good for the

community and his members?

Or does he look at the social aspects, say, unemployment, and say: 'I must hang on to every job that I've got'. This would make the industry totally antiquated to the extent that it could not provide for the community proper service at a proper price level.

Raise wages

If that happens people will stop posting letters and we'll lose jobs anyway.

For us, it's not a question of hanging on to the jobs we've got at all costs, because we're going to increase Post Office wages as much as we can.

Every increase in wages means either an increase in prices or a reduction in service, and if the public don't want reduction in service—and I believe they don't—then it means increased prices.

Now you reach a point of price increases where the amount of traffic drops, as a result of which you actually lose more jobs by resisting mechanization than you would gain by preventing it.

I don't want to see a Post Office which is a kind of coolie system when the rest of industry is technologically streamlined and people are wearing white coats to work.

I don't want to see our fellows humping bloody great parcels about. I don't want to see people sorting by hand if it's possible to sort by machine.

You might regard this as being totally confused, but as I said at the beginning, every trade union leader has got two duties.

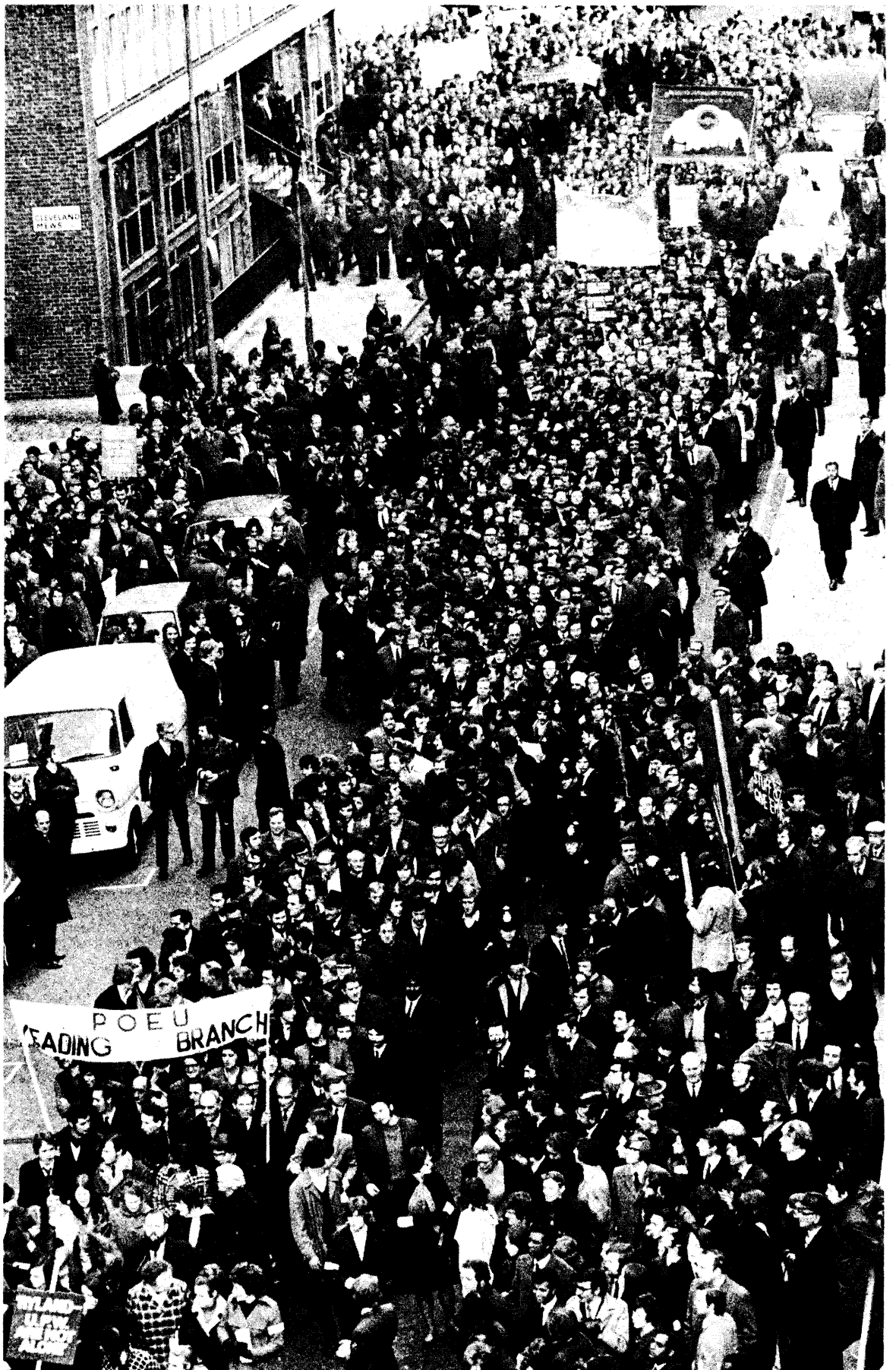
First duty

His first duty is to his members, and to ensure that the decisions he takes are right in relation to his membership. He has a social duty—but this is of secondary importance.

What people don't apparently realize is that executive councils of trade unions are not some sort of great wall of working-class solidarity but are themselves representative of sectional self-interest.

DM: How can you have productivity dealing in a period which both you and William Ryland describe as one of economic downturn and still claim to avoid redundancies?

TJ: What you've got now is what



I hope will be a temporary phenomenon — high unemployment.

If you look at the history of the Post Office from probably the turn of the century it's of a steady rise in traffic, steady rise in labour costs and a steady rise in the number of people employed despite the fact that deliveries have been cut and so on.

This is because we've got better working conditions for our people, we've got shorter hours and so on.

I would be glad if we could offset shorter hours, against productivity, but I suspect that my members want money rather than hours. In those circumstances one offers advice—but in the long run one takes decisions.

If our people want money, they are seeking as a conscious and deliberate act to reduce the total number of jobs available.

If the Post Office is allowed to go on in the way it's going at the moment, traffic will turn down not through the economy being slack, but because there is no future for a service which has continually got to increase its prices.

We are in competition with telephones, telex and other services and somehow we have got to produce circumstances in which we can give to our members a decent standard of life and good working conditions.

This means some decrease in the total size of the labour force—albeit spread out—rather than a sudden one like the one we've just resisted.

DM: Aren't you with this line of argument placing your members in a trap? On the one hand you base your policy on hopes of an economic upswing, on the other you throw away a fight for working-class ownership and control of the economy because—as you said earlier—you're opposed on principle to industrial action to force the Tory government's resignation?

TJ: I think you fall into a trap in believing that it's possible to bring down the government through trade union action and then, by using the ballot box, return a Labour government. I think that's a trap and that you do a disservice to the working class by persuading people that this is possible.

Within system

Now, given those circumstances, I work within the system.

I know that as far as the Socialist Labour League is concerned this'll be another brickbat to throw at me.

I believe that the system as it stands at the moment can be changed. I would like to see it changed through the ballot box. I want to win the next election for the Labour Party. I want to win the next election for a Labour Party that has moved to the left.

If you bring down the government by industrial action, then I think the reaction would be some sort of neo-fascist government.

And that has far more dangers for the working class than trying to win through the ballot box, politicizing your members through strikes, doing what you are able to produce the circumstances where more and more of your people feel themselves committed to a left policy—a policy designed to give greater control of industry to workers, give better social benefits, reduce the worst excesses of profits.

I believe all of these things are possible.

But I think the theory that you can destroy the government by industrial action and then go to a ballot and win is unlikely to succeed. In fact I'm sure it won't succeed, and that in the long run it will produce an infinitely worse government than we have at the moment.

That really is the basic difference between me and the SLL.

TOMORROW
We will continue with contributions from miners to the discussion begun last week: 'The miners and the Tory government'.

Stalinists arrest 'unorthodox Marxist'

SOVIET security police have arrested a sociology teacher Vaclav Sevruk, and questioned about 100 other people in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius, as part of a nationwide campaign against suspected dissidents.

Sevruk, in his early 30s, has been held for suspected unorthodox Marxist views, rather than nationalist activities.

Those questioned are suspected of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. This charge carries a maximum sentence of seven years' imprisonment for a first conviction with the possibility of a further five years' exile in Siberia.

This latest report of KGB (security police) activity follows house searches during January in Moscow and Leningrad.

Twenty-one people were arrested earlier in January in the Ukraine on suspicion of nationalist activities and several former inmates of labour colonies in the Mordovian complex — where many of those convicted of 'anti-Soviet' crimes serve their sentence — have recently been questioned by the KGB in Leningrad.

The current crack-down follows an authoritative article in the Communist Party daily 'Pravda' which warned of the dangers of dissidents.



CBI CHIEF W. O. CAMPBELL ADAMSON AT YESTERDAY'S CAFE ROYAL LUNCH

TUC URGED TO DROP EEC OPPOSITION

TUC chiefs will come under pressure today and tomorrow to drop their official front of opposition to British entry into the Common Market.

Speaking at a Confederation of British Industry lunch yesterday, director-general W O Campbell Adamson called for talks with the union top brass on 'questions of mutual interest' arising from entry.

He is almost certain to repeat this call in discussion with TUC secretary Victor Feather this afternoon at the National Economic Development Council.

At the Café Royal yesterday, Adamson told CBI members from London and the SE:

'It is now time to put behind us the stale arguments about

entry and look forward to the sort of policy which we feel should be adopted by the community over the next years'.

This message is likely to go down well with Feather, even if he does not say so publicly, since the only real alternative to co-operation on these lines is a fight to force the Tories to resign and take their entry plans with them.

Despite the TUC's official opposition to entry, Feather will tomorrow morning meet the vice-president of the Common Market Commission, Wilhelm Haferkamp.

A former trade union official in W Germany, Haferkamp will also be meeting members of the Labour Shadow Cabinet during his four-day visit to Britain.

DOUBLE TROUBLE

BARCLAY'S BANK has appointed a receiver to manage Channel Airways, a spokesman for the airline said yesterday.

The airline has a staff of about 400 and operates from Southend and Bournemouth to the Channel Islands and from Southend to Rotterdam and Ostend. It also operates charter flights for package holiday firms from Stansted and Manchester.

Meanwhile Union Accident, an insurance company with whom 43,000 motorists were insured, were contesting a High Court move for its compulsory winding up.

For the Department of Trade and Industry, counsel Peter Millett said that the application was being made primarily on the ground that the company lacked the solvency margin required by law.

MORE LAY-OFFS IN AUSTRALIAN CARS

CHRYSLER Australia Ltd yesterday announced dismissal of 250 employees, bringing total lay-offs in the Australian motor industry, since last

week, to over 1,500. The men will lose their jobs from today and will receive one week's pay in lieu of notice.

Last week's dismissals for 'economic reasons' were made by General Motors Holdens, which sacked 1,240 men, and by Chryslers, which sacked 57.

Meanwhile, the Building Trades Association of Western Australia yesterday urged British construction workers not to go to Western Australia.

BTA President T. Butler announced that over a 12-month period 3,000 building workers had left the industry because of its instability.

In a letter to the National Federation of Construction Unions in Britain, the BTA declares:

'The BTA, consisting of the carpenters and joiners, bricklayers', plasterers', painters' and plumbers' unions, is united in its warning to building tradesmen in the United Kingdom not to leave their own country, to come to Australia where the building industry is in a very unstable position.'

Little hope for coalition

THERE SEEMS little hope that the old Italian coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats and Republicans can be re-formed, despite the efforts of ex-premier Emilio Colombo to patch it up.

Ex-President Saragat, head of the Social Democrats, has demanded to know whether the Christian Democrats have decided to force a General Election rather than try to solve the present political crisis.

Although the Christian Democrats are the largest party in Italy, it is highly unlikely that an election would enable them to do more than form a minority government unless they called upon the Centre-Left parties to help.

In that case, the new government would be just as unstable as the one which collapsed just over two weeks ago.

The two main problems facing any government would be Italy's ailing economy and the pending referendum on divorce.

It seems that the Christian Democrats will only co-operate with other parties on condition that any Divorce Bill is so watered down as to make divorce virtually impossible.

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HELPING HANDS TRY TO COMFORT A DYING HUGH GILMOUR

Fourth week sharpens pit battle

THE NATIONAL coal strike enters its fourth week firmly in the shadow of last Sunday's bloody repression in N Ireland.

When Tory Employment Secretary Robert Carr washed his hands of any further government initiatives last week, he declared war to the death on Britain's 280,000 miners.

From now on the Tories will throw every trick in the book at the miners to try to divide, smear and weaken them until they are beaten back to the pits empty-handed.

Spitting and clawing in their crisis like wounded tigers, the Tories are smashing down on every section of the working class forced to fight for its rights and living standards.

With recession tobogganing downwards out of control, the Tories can no more give money to the miners than they can give jobs to Ulstermen.

Already 20 miners picketing at Clipstone colliery and two at Edwinstone, Notts, have been arrested and charged with obstruction including two NUM branch officials.

At Kilnhurst colliery, Rotherham, Yorks, five miners were arrested when fighting broke out as pickets talked to under-officials trying to get to work.

And as the strike goes on and bitterness intensifies, police are being used increasingly to intimidate pickets and to escort scabs and strike breakers across the lines.

But far from weakening the miners, every new twist of the Tory knife has deepened their hatred of Toryism and hardened their determination to meet the government's challenge blow for blow.

And each new twist brings cries of sympathy from other sections of the labour movement.

Pickets have been strengthened throughout the country. Not a bag of coal is leaving the pits. Not a load is being driven from the open casts. Not a cargo is landing at the docks.

And from Monday, the miners' stranglehold on Britain's fuel and

to the miners' and raised the slogan: 'Their battle is ours'.

A statement in their journal 'Red Tape' said:

'The lesson of the miners for all unions is that responsible trade unionism will get them nowhere and that co-operation with the government's wages policy is a waste of time.'

And 100 storemen at British-Leyland's component factory in Birmingham staged a one-day strike yesterday in support of the miners and agreed to repeat it every Tuesday until the strike ends.

Donations to the miners' fighting fund continued to pour in with a cheque for £1,000 from ASLEF.

Years of concessions and co-operation under both Labour and Tory governments, and now the savage attacks on living standards by Heath, stand behind the miners' no-compromise stand.

And 18 months of Toryism, which has taken milk from children and bread from families' mouths, has made the miners' fight for a living wage the fight of the entire working class.

It is clear that however many pits the Tories threaten to close and whatever the reluctance of their leaders, the miners will not give in.

The British Steel Corporation warned yesterday that without coal its Corby plant would close at the end of this week and 1,000 men would be laid off.

The Miners' Strike and the Tory government

DENABY

Denaby Main Hotel ('The Drum')

Denaby Main,

Yorkshire

Thursday, February 3, 7.30 p.m.

LATE NEWS

NEWS DESK

01-720 2000

CIRCULATION

01-622 7029



FEATHER

power supplies extended to the power stations. Now denied both coal and oil, they are set to grind to a halt within a matter of days.

While the TUC and individual trade union leaderships refuse to raise the demand for full physical support to the miners, railwaymen, lorry drivers and dockers have lined up solidly behind them.

Throughout the 13 divisions of the coalfield the call has gone up this week for TUC chief Victor Feather to stop acting as a page-boy between the government and the NUM and mobilize the trade union movement's 10 million members behind the miners in a General Strike.

The 200,000 strong Civil and Public Services Association has called for 'all possible support

WEATHER

N AND NE Scotland will continue to have sleet and snow in places. The remainder of Scotland, N Ireland, N and E England will have sleet or snow in places, perhaps turning to rain and tending to die out during the day. N Wales, central and SE England will be mainly dry. S Wales and SW England will be cloudy, with rain in places.

It will be cold over Scotland. Temperatures will be near normal in all other areas.

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Rhodesia's Uncle Toms attack militants

THE AFRICAN National Council in Rhodesia has dissociated itself from the recent riots and from the actions of militant, banned African organizations.

A statement signed by Mr Edison Sithole, a lawyer and former detainee who is the ANC's National Publicity Secretary, announces the Council's independence of ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI (Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe).

Clearly afraid of being left behind by the 5 million Africans it claims to represent, the ANC executive, which includes several released detainees, has warned the Pearce Commission of an 'inevitable' bloodbath if the terms are imposed on the Africans.

Meanwhile, Rhodesian Internal Affairs Minister Lance Smith has declared that the vast majority of Africans support the settlement terms and that those who oppose them are 'a small minority of rabid, militant, nationalist hooligans' who will not be permitted to succeed.

Despite Smith's statement, a seven-man delegation from the African TUC, which says it has 14 affiliated unions and represents some 60,000 workers, this week rejected the settlement terms.

'PLANNED MURDER'

SAY DERRY EYE WITNESSES

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS IN LONDONDERRY

DEEP HATRED is beginning to replace sorrow as the uprisen people of Derry piece together the full story of the bloody Sunday massacre.

Eye-witnesses testify that the half-hour of slaughter, when at least 13 men and boys were killed, was deliberate and planned army murder.

After reading scores of statements, inspecting the site of the killing and talking directly to people involved, I am convinced that this is right.

Four main damning facts emerge:

- The soldiers went in to kill.
- The troops used less than the usual quantity of gas and rubber bullets against the rioters—they appear to have wanted some of the crowd to remain within shooting distance.
- The army did not launch a normal 'snatch-squad' raid.
- Soldiers accompanied by Saracens went onto the waste ground before the Rossville St

flats without riot gear, but with guns and automatic weapons at the ready for killing.

There were no shots fired by so-called gunmen before the slaughter.

Only one account I have read admits to any gunfire at all by the IRA. Seven priests have testified that there was no shooting at the army.

I talked to a Derry leader of the official IRA. He said:

'There were definitely no snipers who opened up first. If they had, they would not have missed the troops. As far as the official and provisional IRA is concerned it is strict policy not to fire in a riot situation.'

Soldiers shot down totally innocent people.

No fire at all was directed at the alleged snipers in the flats. All of the people killed and wounded were on ground level. Most of those killed were shot through the back as they fled. Others were murdered as they went to help victims.

Scores and scores of eye-witnesses prove these facts.

Here is one: Susan Porter (17) of Cramore Gardens saw Hugh Gilmour (17) and Bernard McGuigan meet their deaths:

'I looked out of the window and saw about six young fellows walk out from Lisfannon Park waving their hands in the air when the army opened fire on them. They all fell to the ground. 'About two minutes later another young fellow came from the flats towards Lisfannon Place with his hands up in the air. The army fired at him and he fell on the ground. People round him pulled him to cover.'

'... We left the houses and two more bodies were lying by the phone box. One I know to be Hugh Gilmore the other was covered up and I was told he was Bernard McGuigan.'

I heard the even more harrowing story of John Liddy, 27, an ex-member of the Ulster Defence Regiment.

He was tape-recorded after he was released with a broken leg from Strand Rd police barracks. Often weeping uncontrollably Mr Liddy told how he had to watch while one badly-wounded man surrounded by three corpses pleaded for help.

'One of them raised his arm and beckoned for help but we ... (weeping) ... we tried to get across but the gunfire was too heavy.'

These stories and hundreds more now being collected on the Creggan Estate and in Bogside expose the press lies over this bloody atrocity.

In the Catholic areas of Derry last night people laughed at the panel picked by the Tory government to 'investigate' this crime.

No one need tell these people that Sharpeville 'came to their street on Sunday.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS

National Right-to-Work campaign

Glasgow march starts SATURDAY FEBRUARY 5

Assemble Greendyke Street off SALTMARKET 12.30 p.m.

Unemployed and employed are invited to JOIN THE MARCH THROUGH GLASGOW

RALLY 2.30 p.m.

Woodside Halls St George's Cross

Trade unionists, Young Socialists and other speakers

MARCH TO LONDON

March begins from Woodside Halls, 5 p.m. to Pollockshaw Town Hall, Pollockshaw Road

We shall call at all major towns on the way, converging on London during the weekend March 11/12 for

MASS RALLY AT THE EMPIRE POOL, WEMBLEY ON MARCH 12