

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY JUNE 2, 1972 ● No. 781 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

DOCK STRIKE POSTPONED AS TORY EMERGENCY LOOMS NEAR

BY ALEX MITCHELL

POSTPONEMENT of the national dock strike for 14 days until June 16 is a stab in the back for the railwaymen.

By agreeing to more talks with the port employers, the Transport and General Workers' Union has given the Tories a chance to declare an open season on the railway workers.

Yesterday morning the Heath Cabinet held another emergency session to consider the result of the rail ballot which recommended by a huge majority further industrial action.

Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan gave a hint of the next phase of the government's strategy when he said: 'There is nothing more to be done under the Industrial Relations Act.'

The Tories are clearly moving to higher ground—to the Emergency Powers Act—to wage the final onslaught.

'We're for action', say locomen

THE locomen's executive voted unanimously yesterday for a renewal of industrial action in support of the rail pay claim.

General secretary, Ray Buckton, said: 'The ballot was an overwhelming vote of confidence which leaves no doubt about what our members want.'

'I shall now be pressing for an early joint meeting with the NUR and TSSA to discuss the situation.'

He said that if the government declared a state of emergency and threatened the use of troops he hoped the entire trade union movement would rally round the railwaymen.

At Unity House yesterday the 24-man executive of the National Union of Railwaymen met informally.

A spokesman said: 'There will be no decision today. If the executive met formally they would have no choice in the light of the ballot but to recommend industrial action.'

'We want to give the Rail Board a chance to make the first move.'

Under this Act the Tories will be empowered through the Privy Council to use troops to maintain 'essential services'.

The decision taken by the docks delegates at Transport House yesterday (see p.12), follows a week of intense secret diplomacy between Jack Jones and the government.

A formula was agreed this week at a meeting of the National Joint Council which gives no satisfactory assurances whatsoever of job security on the docks.

Nevertheless, the union officials have floated this formula as being some sort of 'break-through'.

The Tories have pursued a policy of appeasement in the docks dispute.

Only yesterday the dockers received some respite from the Tory attack when it was announced in the Appeal Court that further contempt charges in the National Industrial Relations Court will be adjourned today.

On May 12, court president, Sir John Donaldson, gave the union 21 days 'to put itself in order'.

Today he was to have pronounced on further contempt charges when the union and Hull dockers' leader, Walter Cunningham, faced heavy penalties.

In the Appeal Court the union are challenging two findings of contempt in which Donaldson imposed fines amounting to £55,000.

When the court resumed yesterday the Master of the Rolls, Lord Denning, said he had spoken to Donaldson about today's deadline. Donaldson had said he would be content if the matter was stood over pending the Appeal Court's decision.

Just as the Tories managed to isolate the postmen early in 1971, now they intend to isolate the railway workers.

As we pointed out in yesterday's front page lead article, the railwaymen's fight is the fight of the whole trade union movement.

What is at stake, among other things, is the right of a union to bargain for wages without fear of intimidation by Tory courts.

This fight is inseparable from the fight of the whole trade union movement to get the government out of office.



After yesterday's emergency Cabinet meeting Tory leader Edward Heath went to Westminster Abbey to unveil a memorial to Sir Edward Elgar, Master of the King's Music, from 1924 to 1934

BUILD COUNCILS OF ACTION

CONSIDERABLE interest is being shown by trade unionists in different parts of the country in the proposal by the Socialist Labour League for building Councils of Action.

The decision of the important Coventry and Liverpool Trades Councils to launch a campaign to build action councils is an important step forward.

There are two major requirements if the Councils of Action are to be successful.

1 They must mobilize the trade unions, shop stewards' committees, Labour Parties, Trades Councils, unemployed

workers and all political organizations of the labour movement. This must include the Socialist Labour League, Communist Party and International Socialism etc.

2 The aim of the Councils of Action must be to defend the trade unions and democratic rights of the working class by taking the lead in the campaign to make the Tory government resign and elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

The Socialist Labour League will fight resolutely for such a policy within the Councils of Action.

Without the widest mobilization of the working class to make the Tory government resign, the Councils of Action

would be ineffective. They must be Councils of Action and not councils of protest.

The Socialist Labour League, whilst fighting for this policy, will under no circumstances enter into alliances with revisionist groups and call these Councils of Action—since they would be nothing of the sort.

The task before the SLL consists of building the Councils of Action to mobilize the mass movement to make the Tory government resign. We will continue to expose revisionism, Stalinism and reformism within the Councils should they impede this fight.

Socialist Labour League political committee, May 31, 1972.

Paperbacks Centre now open, see p. 3

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY JUNE 2, 1972 ● No. 781 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

DOCK STRIKE POSTPONED AS TORY EMERGENCY LOOMS NEAR

BY ALEX MITCHELL

POSTPONEMENT of the national dock strike for 14 days until June 16 is a stab in the back for the railwaymen.

By agreeing to more talks with the port employers, the Transport and General Workers' Union has given the Tories a chance to declare an open season on the railway workers.

Yesterday morning the Heath Cabinet held another emergency session to consider the result of the rail ballot which recommended by a huge majority further industrial action.

Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan gave a hint of the next phase of the government's strategy when he said: 'There is nothing more to be done under the Industrial Relations Act.'

The Tories are clearly moving to higher ground—to the Emergency Powers Act—to wage the final onslaught.

'We're for action', say locomen

THE locomen's executive voted unanimously yesterday for a renewal of industrial action in support of the rail pay claim.

General secretary, Ray Buckton, said: 'The ballot was an overwhelming vote of confidence which leaves no doubt about what our members want.'

'I shall now be pressing for an early joint meeting with the NUR and TSSA to discuss the situation.'

He said that if the government declared a state of emergency and threatened the use of troops he hoped the entire trade union movement would rally round the railwaymen.

At Unity House yesterday the 24-man executive of the National Union of Railwaymen met informally.

A spokesman said: 'There will be no decision today. If the executive met formally they would have no choice in the light of the ballot but to recommend industrial action.'

'We want to give the Rail Board a chance to make the first move.'

Under this Act the Tories will be empowered through the Privy Council to use troops to maintain 'essential services'.

The decision taken by the docks delegates at Transport House yesterday (see p.12), follows a week of intense secret diplomacy between Jack Jones and the government.

A formula was agreed this week at a meeting of the National Joint Council which gives no satisfactory assurances whatsoever of job security on the docks.

Nevertheless, the union officials have floated this formula as being some sort of 'break-through'.

The Tories have pursued a policy of appeasement in the docks dispute.

Only yesterday the dockers received some respite from the Tory attack when it was announced in the Appeal Court that further contempt charges in the National Industrial Relations Court will be adjourned today.

On May 12, court president, Sir John Donaldson, gave the union 21 days 'to put itself in order'.

Today he was to have pronounced on further contempt charges when the union and Hull dockers' leader, Walter Cunningham, faced heavy penalties.

In the Appeal Court the union are challenging two findings of contempt in which Donaldson imposed fines amounting to £55,000.

When the court resumed yesterday the Master of the Rolls, Lord Denning, said he had spoken to Donaldson about today's deadline. Donaldson had said he would be content if the matter was stood over pending the Appeal Court's decision.

Just as the Tories managed to isolate the postmen early in 1971, now they intend to isolate the railway workers.

As we pointed out in yesterday's front page lead article, the railwaymen's fight is the fight of the whole trade union movement.

What is at stake, among other things, is the right of a union to bargain for wages without fear of intimidation by Tory courts.

This fight is inseparable from the fight of the whole trade union movement to get the government out of office.



After yesterday's emergency Cabinet meeting Tory leader Edward Heath went to Westminster Abbey to unveil a memorial to Sir Edward Elgar, Master of the King's Music, from 1924 to 1934

BUILD COUNCILS OF ACTION

CONSIDERABLE interest is being shown by trade unionists in different parts of the country in the proposal by the Socialist Labour League for building Councils of Action.

The decision of the important Coventry and Liverpool Trades Councils to launch a campaign to build action councils is an important step forward.

There are two major requirements if the Councils of Action are to be successful.

1 They must mobilize the trade unions, shop stewards' committees, Labour Parties, Trades Councils, unemployed

workers and all political organizations of the labour movement. This must include the Socialist Labour League, Communist Party and International Socialism etc.

2 The aim of the Councils of Action must be to defend the trade unions and democratic rights of the working class by taking the lead in the campaign to make the Tory government resign and elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

The Socialist Labour League will fight resolutely for such a policy within the Councils of Action.

Without the widest mobilization of the working class to make the Tory government resign, the Councils of Action

would be ineffective. They must be Councils of Action and not Councils of protest.

The Socialist Labour League, whilst fighting for this policy, will under no circumstances enter into alliances with revisionist groups and call these Councils of Action—since they would be nothing of the sort.

The task before the SLL consists of building the Councils of Action to mobilize the mass movement to make the Tory government resign. We will continue to expose revisionism, Stalinism and reformism within the Councils should they impede this fight.

Socialist Labour League political committee, May 31, 1972.

Paperbacks Centre now open, see p. 3



Mao Tse-tung

WHAT GAME IS CHINA PLAYING OVER VIETNAM?

CHINESE obstruction appears to be hampering the passage of urgently-needed supplies from the Soviet Union to North Vietnam.

Soviet and Chinese negotiators are still in dispute over provision of port facilities on the Chinese coast for supplies diverted from North Vietnam by the US blockade.

East European sources in Peking say some Polish and East German vessels are being allowed to dock at Chinese ports, but Soviet vessels are not.

The Chinese are reported to be considering each ship individually, probably taking into account the suitability of its cargo for transport by road or rail to the North Vietnamese border.

Soviet ships are at present returning to Vladivostok—a voyage which could delay the cargo by as much as a month or more.

The Chinese apparently told the Soviet envoy in Peking that Moscow should use its mine-sweepers to clear the North Vietnamese harbours rather than use Chinese ports.

Supplies by rail from the Soviet Union across China have been stepped up following the blockade, but logistics problems inside China have delayed their arrival in North Vietnam.

There has been speculation in the American press that the liberation armies fighting in South Vietnam may be running short of supplies—particularly of heavy ammunition.

The national disputes of the two major Stalinist powers can only cause additional problems for the Vietnamese struggle.

'Terrorist' leader held in Germany

FRANKFURT police yesterday arrested Andreas Baader, one of the leaders of the so-called Baader-Mienhof group of urban terrorists.

Together with three other alleged terrorists, Baader was arrested at dawn after a gun battle with police in a Frankfurt apartment.

The arrests followed a massive press witch-hunt against the group, said to have been responsible for bombings, arson and bank robberies and an attack on the US headquarters in Heidelberg earlier this month.

Purge talk as Czech writers meet

BY IAN YEATS

THE CZECH and Slovak Writers' Unions opened their congresses in Prague on Wednesday with scathing attacks on those who had supported Alexander Dubcek in 1968.

The attacks, four years after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, are without doubt a measure of continuing unrest at the regime's policies as well as an indication that a new round of purges and repression may be on the way.

meet

The Czech government newspaper 'Rude Pravo' said on the eve of the conferences that they would 'put a definite end to their recent past'.

The paper condemned the 1967 Congress of the old Czechoslovak Writers' Union which it said did not hesitate 'to spit the insults of a period of "new darkness" in our faces.'

Although it was never formally disbanded, the union ceased to exist after refusing to support the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and it was replaced by a new body split into Czech and Slovak parts last November.

Slovak Writers' Union chairman Andrej Plavka told its meeting on Wednesday that the 1967 Congress had not concerned itself with literature 'but with a public attack against the party, against the basic principles of Marxist theory and the policy of the party'.

He added that since 1968 the union had been 'cleansed' to separate the 'healthy Marxist core' from 'supporters of anti-socialist opinions'.

Plavka warned: 'It is an illusion to think that in today's divided world a writer can be neutral'.

His remarks coincided with the disclosure in 'Rude Pravo' that measures were being prepared to discourage writers from publishing in the West.

Meanwhile vice-chairman of the Czech Writers' Union Jan Kozak accused the 1968 union leaders of breaking off contacts with writers' organizations in other socialist countries and 'organizing mass excursions to the West, mostly to West Germany and Israel'.

Kozak said they did this in the 'middle of the anti-socialist, nationalist, anti-Soviet campaign waged by proved means of psychological warfare'.

No hard facts in Angela frame-up trial

CHIEF prosecutor Albert Harris tried again yesterday to convince the all-white jury at San Jose county court that Angela Davis knew about the plot to take hostages from Marin County courthouse two years ago.

Summing up the prosecution case in the murder and conspiracy frame-up trial, Harris laid heavy stress on the fact that Angela Davis was present when the guns used in the Marin County escape attempt were bought.

He claimed it was impossible for her not to have known that the guns were to be used to kidnap hostages in an attempt to free the Soledad Brothers detained in San Quentin.

The prosecution evidence is entirely circumstantial, and Harris has produced no hard facts to show conspiracy. If convicted, however, Angela Davis could be imprisoned for life without possibility of parole.

WHAT WE THINK

LYNCH LAW: PROVOS NOW OFFICIALS NEXT

THE LYNCH government in concert with the Tories is moving determinedly against the IRA in Eire.

Having set up special military courts, introduced internment at the Curragh and intensified police surveillance of the border, the Eire bourgeoisie have now taken the unprecedented step of arresting Joe Cahill, ex-commander of the Belfast Provisionals and Rory O'Brady (Ruairé O'Bradaigh), head of the Provisional Sinn Fein.

O'Brady was detained at his home in Roscommon Town while Cahill—the man who first called for direct rule in the North—was arrested by 20 Special Branch men at the Dublin headquarters of the Sinn Fein and taken to Bridewell jail.

Both men are held under the notorious Offences Against the State Act.

We protest emphatically against these arrests as well as against the extension of the powers of an arbitrary executive. We furthermore demand the immediate release of these leaders and their colleagues in the Curragh.

We do so not because of some abstract humanitarian considerations, but because these measures enable Lynch to create the framework of a Bonapartist dictatorship which will be used against Republicans and Communists alike.

This is Lynch's preparation for entry into the Common Market, the precondition for which is the lowering of living standards and the destruction of democratic rights through sudden attacks against trade unions and political parties and the internment of their leaders.

At the same time Lynch hopes to strengthen those groups in the North, like the Social Democratic Labour Party, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, the Official IRA and the Communist Party who are desperately trying to seek a political agreement with Whitelaw.

The timing of his attack is the most instructive part of the operation. He only felt safe to move against the Provisionals AFTER the Officials had made

their truce and split the ranks of Republicanism irrevocably.

In this attack Dublin could to some extent rely on the passivity of a considerable section of Irish workers who view the Provisionals with a measure of scepticism because of the close identity in the view of the right-wing politicians Boland and Blainey with those of the Provisional leaders.

Cahill's call for 'direct rule' in Ulster and the absence of any progressive reforms in the Provisional programme indicate clearly that the Provos want a united Ireland under right-wing, anti-union dictatorship not unlike the Free State regime of the 1920s.

Irish workers, however much they admire the courage and tenacity of the Provisionals are alienated by their right-wing policies.

Yet however much we might disagree with their policies and methods we unconditionally support their right to exist and function North and South of the border and we shall defend them from both the gunmen of the British army and the raids of the Irish Special Branch.

The Official leaders, by opting out of the struggle and betraying their Republican beliefs, have now opened the door for intensified repression and isolation of their Provisional brothers. They are branded with the mark of Cain.

But repression will not end there. It is a cancer which once unleashed will spread and engulf every section of Republican opinion. Today it's the Provisionals, tomorrow it will be your turn, Messrs Officials!

There is a deadly parallel here between the attempts of the British ruling class to split railmen from dockers and the Irish bourgeoisie and British imperialism to split the Republican movement.

It is more urgent than ever before that both British and Irish labour frustrate these divisive moves and unite to force the Tories to resign and secure a socialist regime in both countries which will spell the end of British domination forever.



'There's a place for us, Somewhere a place for us,

Hold my hand and we're halfway there, Hold my hand and I'll take you there,

Someday, somehow, somewhere . . .'
—West Side Story.

ENGINEERS' PAY FIGHT FOLDS IN NORTH-WEST

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

WITH Ferranti workers voting to call off their sit-in for an immediate £2-a-week pay rise, the greater Manchester engineering struggle is now virtually wound up.

The settlement has been accepted by 3,700 workers at three Ferranti factories sitting in for four weeks. Another 2,160 workers are likely to follow suit within the next few days.

That would leave sit-ins in just five federated firms and one lock-out. The next to fall could be the GEC diesels plant at Newton-le-Willows, near Warrington.

Eight weeks after their sit-in, the 1,200 workers there were balloting this week on a pay offer of £1.90 a week and £1.50 on overtime rates.

The decision to return at the main Ferranti factory at Hollinwood was taken at a mass meeting—against the advice of shop stewards and union officials.

Like all other sit-ins, the claim was for £4, an extra week's holiday and a cut in the working week to 35 hours.

At Hollinwood the return will be on £2 now plus another 50p next January, and two day's extra holiday by the end of 1973. The only real concession won was a £2 increase in basic rates from July.

Hollinwood convenor Mike Smith summed up what must be the feelings of many engineers after their long, drawn-out struggle.

'I'm very disappointed, but not really surprised', he said. 'The outcome here has been very much affected by settlements elsewhere.'

'Early in the dispute, when engineering workers in the area were united, we were getting good deals, but now employers can fight us in isolation.'

The isolation and fragmentation of the struggle made it inevitable that no real concessions would be won from the employers.

They were backed by a £1m

fighting fund from the Engineering Employers' Federation and gave no concessions on the question of hours.

The engineers were led into a purely wages struggle, in isolation from the rest of the engineers'-union membership, where no political questions were raised.

The prime responsibility for the collapse in Manchester must be laid at the door of Scanlon and the national executive of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

In January, they opened the door for the futile strategy of plant bargaining when they abandoned the fight for the national claim.

And in Manchester itself, Communist Party union officials played their part in keeping the struggle at a low level, by not raising the political question involved in a fight with the EEF nationally, when the federation were openly backed by the Tory government.



Engineers sit in at the GEC works, Newton-Le-Willows: will their action also be wound up?

Scots Strikers go back too

THREE HUNDRED production workers at the Cleveland Twist Drill factory, Peterhead, 30 miles from Aberdeen, ended a seven-week strike on Wednesday after management had shut down the factory.

The closure would have meant 560 workers losing their jobs.

The men struck in support of a £4-a-week pay rise after management had made them a final offer of £1.94, with two days extra holidays and a condition that in future there should be a secret ballot before a strike was called.

A return to work on the basis of a £2-a-week pay rise was accepted by a vote of 283 to 17.

Plant convenor Steve Thomson said that if a national settlement gave better terms than the present offer they would get it automatically, and if other factories in the group received better offers Peterhead would renegotiate.

Paperbacks Centre opened

THE Paperbacks Centre was opened in London yesterday by playwright David Mercer. About 40 Workers Press readers attended the informal ceremony.

An important new venture for New Park Publications Ltd, the centre is at 28 Charlotte Street, a few minutes' walk from Tottenham Court Road or Goadge Street Underground stations.

David Mercer told those attending yesterday: 'I am delighted that the shop has been achieved, above all because every tangible and concrete expression of the work of the movement is something which gives the deepest satisfaction of all.'

'It is like the development of the paper "The Newsletter" to Workers Press and then the

tabloid.

'There is a real hunger for books today. People want to educate themselves politically and socially. This shop will be very well placed to satisfy this demand.'

Roger Davy, bookshop manager, said:

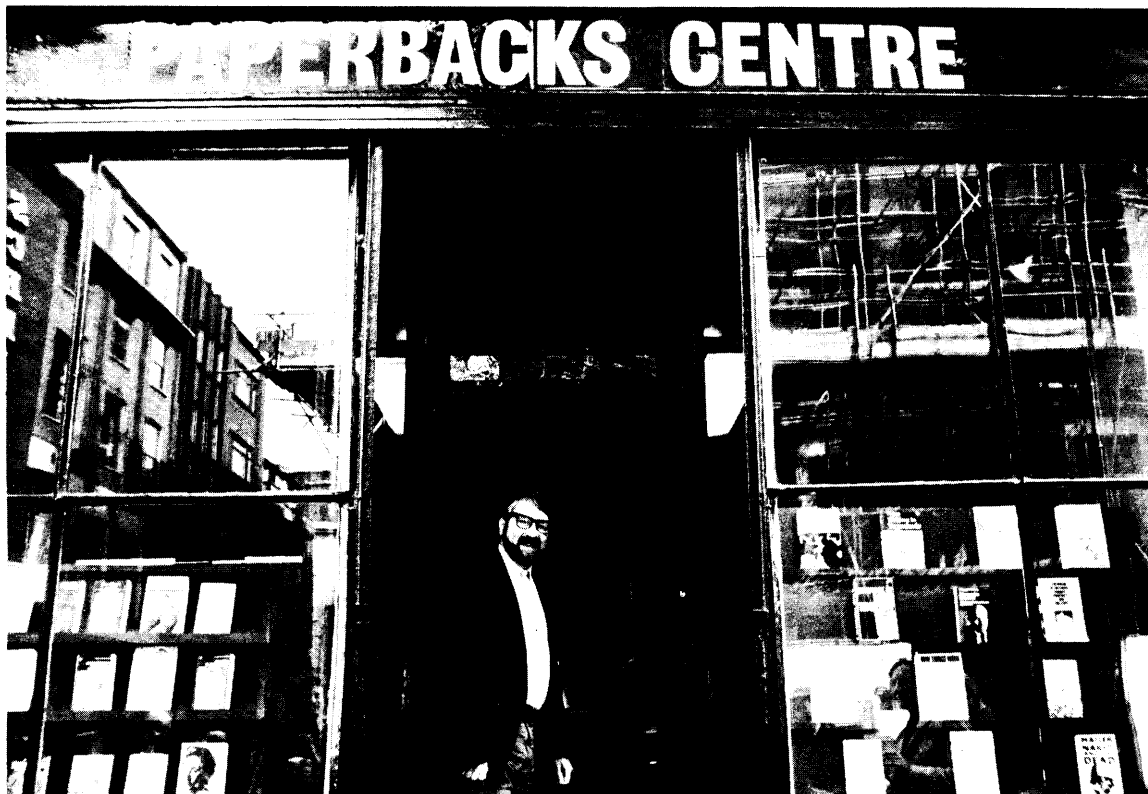
'This shop will of course sell all Trotsky's works, and the main works of Marxism, but it is also a general bookshop, orientated to the workers' movement. We hope to encourage workers to read as widely as possible.'

'We see the opening of this shop as part of the theoretical development of the movement in preparation for the launching of the party this autumn.'

BOOKS



Moscow Trials Anthology
Paperback, 62½p
MAX SHACHTMAN:
Behind The Moscow Trial
Paperback 75p
ROBERT BLACK:
Stalinism In Britain
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £2
LEON TROTSKY:
Death Agony of Capitalism
(The Transitional Programme)
Pamphlet 5p
Class Nature of the Soviet State
Pamphlet 20p
In Defence of the October
Revolution Pamphlet 15p
The Theory and Practice of
Revisionism Pamphlet 15p
Postage 10p per book, 3p per
pamphlet. Order from:
NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS
186a Clapham High Street,
London SW4 7UG.



David Mercer opening the Paperbacks Centre in London's West End

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Support the dockers and railwaymen. Build Councils of Action

BIRKENHEAD: Sunday June 4, 7 p.m. Royal Castle Hotel (opp. Cammell Laird's).

ACTON: Monday June 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road. 'Fight the Tories' rent Bill'.

COVENTRY: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Wood End Community Association Hall, Hillmorton Road.

NORTH KENT: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, 25 Essex Rd, Dartford. 'Engineers' pay claim'.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Ave, Barking. 'Industrial Relations Act'.

SOUTH LONDON: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4.

WEST LONDON: Tuesday June 6, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert'.

Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross.

GLASGOW: Tuesday June 6, 7.30 p.m. Room 1, Partick Burgh Hall.

NORTH LONDON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Rd (nr White Hart Lane).

CROYDON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road.

LUTON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Brigade Hall, Lea Road.

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

SOUTHALL: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Parkway Rooms (Rent Office), Racecourse Estate, Northolt.

PRESTON: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Railway and Commercial Hotel (nr rail stn), Butler St.

COALVILLE: Thursday June 8, 8 p.m. Miners' Welfare. 'Organize Councils of Action'.

PAGE FROM TAILORS' HISTORY

Dear Editor,
Workers Press does a great service by its feature articles on episodes from labour history, and that on the tailors' strike of 1867 (Friday May 19) is no exception. But some of the most interesting and significant features of that strike were omitted.

The origin of the dispute was the attempt by the tailors throughout the country (not just in London) to obtain a 'uniform time-log', a national agreement on the rates of payment for the various articles they produced, so that workers in one area could not be used to undercut those in another.

The enforcement of such an agreement necessarily involved recognition of the union by the employers, and it was on this principle, as much as the issue of uniformity itself, that the dispute was fought out.

The London Operative Tailors' Protective Association (LOTPA) was formed in 1865 by the amalgamation of numerous small societies, and in the same period the provincial unions banded themselves together in the Manchester-based Amalgamated Society of Journeymen Tailors (ASJT), which grew rapidly from its foundation in March 1866.

The London, Scottish, and Irish societies did not at that time join the ASJT, but in January 1867 the LOTPA entered into an arrangement which made it, in effect, part of the national amalgamation.

It was agreed that the Londoners should be the vanguard of the movement for the uniform time-log, with the full backing of the tailors in the rest of the country, and when the strike broke out the ASJT levied 2s a week from its provincial members to support the London society.

Meanwhile, the employers had also been organizing themselves, and at the end of August 1866 set up the Master Tailors' Association of the United Kingdom, with the object of 'prompt and united resistance to any attempt on the part of the men to enforce unreasonable demands or to limit the free action of any individual master.'

Negotiations with the London masters at the beginning of 1867 at first seemed to be getting somewhere, but the employers repudiated the concessions made by their representatives and in April broke off discussions and provoked the strike. Though confined to London, the strike was, therefore, part of a national struggle between the tailors and their employers.

The ASJT, in addition to financial support, sent President John Adamson to London as its representative on the strike committee and maintained the fullest co-operation with LOTPA throughout the dispute, which lasted six months.

The organization of the strike was one of the most impressive ever seen: the response in the West End was practically 100 per cent, and within a short time many of the poorly-paid women and immigrant workers in the East End were brought out and unionized.

The union constantly stressed the necessity for unity of all grades of garment workers.

More than £20,000 was raised among provincial tailors and other trades in support of the strike, and, very significantly, an agreement was established with tailors in Paris, Brussels and Germany to black any work which might be sent out of the country and to prevent the introduction of blackleg labour from abroad.

In addition to picketing, throughout the struggle the tailors argued their case before the trades and the public with great ability. Even some of the newspapers were forced to admit that the employers put up no arguments at all and instead relied on the prejudices of middle-class 'public opinion' for support against a challenge to their authority.

The masters' appeal for support was only a little more crude than that which is used today: 'This strike is only kept up by paid agitators. When once the men join them their freedom is lost; they must follow and obey to their own ruin as well as that of their wives and families. . . . By giving us your support on the present occasion you [the public] will prove yourselves the friends of the working man; by crushing this agitation and destroying what is ruining the men and their families you will merit and receive the thanks of the community at large.'

'The Times', ever the mouth-piece of reaction, declared on May 3, 1867, that the union was 'a tyrant which the men in their ignorance have established, and which now not only influences, but coerces them without their consent and against their will.'

The struggle, it asserted, was between 'the unions and the public, and the unions are assailing the public interests for the benefit of a class. It is time that this was recognized; and until the power of the unions be destroyed, or greatly diminished, it is the right and the duty of the public to support the masters.'

If this sounds familiar, it is because capitalism is still with us, and its agencies have the same job to do today as they had 105 years ago.

Not all the master tailors were hostile and bigoted, but those who favoured conciliation were overborne by those who wished to smash the union.

Attempts to get negotiations resumed, or to submit the dispute to arbitration, were curtly dismissed by the masters. Instead, the employers attempted to organize a regular system of blacklegging, or, as they called it, 'free labour'. They did not recruit many scabs, but by introducing the sewing machine in place of hand-stitching the masters were able to manage with a much smaller labour force, and this was the main factor enabling them to resist the strike.

The employers also had recourse to the courts, and dozens of pickets were prosecuted for intimidation; but still they could not break the back of the strike.

It was then that the executives of LOTPA and the ASJT were indicted for 'conspiracy to impoverish the masters in their trade and business', and similar undefined common law offences.

The significance of the conspiracy charges was twofold.

First, the offences were not laid down by statute law, but were notions derived from common law, which was sufficiently vague for the courts to interpret how they wished. Secondly, charges of conspiracy could be brought against not only the pickets themselves, but also against union officials who had taken no actual part in the picketing.

This is how Druitt, Lawence, Adamson, and even members of the Manchester executive who had been 180-odd miles away from the picketing, came before the courts. In a sense, the tailors' executive were being beaten with the same kind of stick that the courts are using today, being held responsible for actions by their members regardless of whether they were sanctioned by the officials.

The evidence of the masters and police spies was mostly about alleged violence during the picketing, and very little evidence was presented to show that the union executive had authorized and conspired to commit breaches of the law.

The court imposed a sort of cooling-off period by agreeing to adjourn the trial, to give the defendants time to prepare their case, on condition that the picketing ceased. The officials were forced to give an undertaking to desist from encouraging picketing, but the union arranged to formally depose them from office, thus absolving them of further responsibility, and appointed a new set of officers to continue picketing in defiance of the court.

When the cases eventually came up at the Old Bailey in late August 1867 the charges against some of the officers were dismissed for lack of evidence, but most of the strike leaders were found guilty.

The judge, Mr Justice Bramwell, worded his instructions to the jury in such a way that they could hardly fail to convict: picketing, he declared, 'is only legal if it is practised in such a way that it will be no greater inconvenience to anyone than if it did not exist'; and he told the prisoners:

'I am satisfied you cannot perform a system of picketing which would be of any use to you without breaking the law.'

Bramwell even declared that 'black looks' of silent disapprobation might be sufficient to constitute intimidation and incur criminal penalties.

This judgement was acclaimed with enthusiasm by the employers and the bourgeois press. It surprised and horrified the trade union leaders and worried many fair-minded lawyers, for it meant that, while strikes and picketing were not in themselves unlawful, any effective action in support of a strike might be held to be illegal, and any union leader sanctioning a strike in which a breach of the law occurred was liable to prosecution.

The convicted leaders of the strike were bound over and released on condition that the picketing ceased — if it continued they would again be brought before the court and heavily sentenced.

The union was therefore obliged to call off the pickets and withdrew its demands, seeking to negotiate a return to work. The masters made no reply to this offer, and by this time (early September) they had little need for labour, the season being over.

Of 2,800 strikers, only 190 had left the union and gone back to work, but the masters had acquired in addition a couple of hundred blacklegs and with the sewing machine, this number was sufficient for their present needs. Half the strikers had found work in other parts of the country or set up on their own account, and 200 had emigrated to America.

The strike and the legal costs of the prosecutions had been a great drain on the tailors' resources, but they enthusiastically resolved to stay out and seek further assistance from other trades.

However, other workers had their own problems, and the tailors were left largely to fend for themselves after the trial.

In October the strike was unconditionally abandoned, and those who could obtain work returned to it. The London society, LOTPA, was broken, but its surviving branches were fully incorporated into the ASJT, which, despite the setback, continued to exist and eventually attained a membership of 16,000 (it had started with 6,000).

But the unity which had been achieved between the bespoke craftsmen and the sweated outworkers was destroyed. The introduction of machines for sewing, cutting, etc. and the development of ready-made clothing weakened the position of all grades of garment workers. It was not until the 1890s that the poorest of them began once more to organize against the employers.

Despite the dismal outcome of the strike, all was not lost. The emigrant tailors went on to form unions in America. The working class remembered both its own solidarity and the injustice of the law, and, through the Trades Union Congress (founded the year after this strike), it campaigned until the law was amended and picketing was legalized.

The bourgeois public of London did not quickly forget this example of solidarity and the system of picketing. 'The Times' remarked that it was a pity that the masters had not handled the dispute more tactfully and avoided a conflict which stirred class passions, and, though it hated unions, it recommended the employers to try negotiation in future.

The tailors' strike of 1867, more than any other dispute of the time, raised important issues which went beyond simple economic questions: the attempt to achieve a uniform national agreement, union recognition, collective bargaining, unity between different grades within an industry, assistance from other unions, international solidarity, the use of propaganda and publicity, and, on the other hand,

the organization of the employers, systematic scab-recruiting, the introduction of machinery, the mobilization of 'public opinion' through the press, the use of the courts and the twisting of the law against the working class.

Why is it that all this has been long forgotten when many strikes of lesser significance are remembered? Very few historians of unionism mention the strike: the Fabian Webbs made a brief reference to the trial, but gave only a single, inaccurate, sentence to the strike itself. G. D. H. Cole and subsequent historians also ignored it. The only reasonably full account of the dispute is in Margaret Stewart and Leslie Hunter's 'The Needle is Throated: The History of an Industry', published for the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers in 1964.

The century of neglect which this heroic struggle of the tailors has undergone is difficult to explain. Perhaps the way in which the strike was fought was somewhat of an embarrassment to reformist union leaders and labour historians.

George Howell, the first secretary of the Trades Union Congress and one of the earliest historians of the labour movement, wrote of the picketing:

'In no single instance was the terrorism then exercised palliated or executed; nor was the inquisitorial nature of their proceedings justified', that is, it received no support or encouragement from the nascent labour bureaucracy.

Howell's repudiation of the fighting spirit and methods of the tailors is typical of the attitude assumed by his successors in the leadership of the trade union movement and perhaps accounts for the 1867 strike being forgotten.

But neither in 1867 nor in 1972 are rank-and-file unionists prepared to abandon the valuable weapon of picketing. Such traditional expressions of working-class struggle will continue to be used, in conjunction with other methods learned in conflict, in defiance of courts and 'public opinion', until such time as the class war has been won.

Workers Press plays a vital role in recalling such episodes as the tailors' strike of 1867 to the attention of the working class of today.

Yours faithfully,
a Leicester reader



George Howell: repudiated fighting spirit and methods of the tailors

ALLENDE OPENS THE DOOR TO THE RIGHT WING

The counter-revolutionary face of the Chilean 'Popular Unity' regime is emerging more and more clearly following the dramatic clashes between left and right-wing demonstrators in the streets of Concepcion.

The Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR), which is not in the government, organized to drive right-wing demonstrators off the streets on May 12. The right wing, ranging from the conservative Christian Democrats to out-and-out fascist organizations, have been campaigning for months to bring down President Salvador Allende's regime.

Their efforts are backed by the US Central Intelligence Agency and by big American corporations like International Telephone and Telegraph. Yet the Popular Unity regime — including social-democrats and Communist Party Stalinists — allowed the right-wing march to go ahead in Concepcion while banning the MIR's counter-demonstration.

Allende and the Stalinists claim to be taking Chile along the 'peaceful road to socialism', yet the right wing is allowed to organize with impunity while the left is repressed.

Communist Party chief Luis Corvalan ascribed the Concepcion events to 'an escalation of suicidal confrontations promoted by the ultra-right groups and the ultra-left adventurers'.

'The former are the fascist groups on the right, those involved in the ITT-CIA plot, who perpetrated the assassination of general Rene Schneider and who over a year and a half of popular government, have been organizing their White Guards—those who proclaim that the only good Marxists are dead ones—who propose the overthrow of the government,' he said.

'The others—the adventurer groups of the ultra-left, maintain that the policy of the Popular Unity government is a failure, that it is reformist, not revolutionary, in view of which they want to open another road through their constant seeking for violent clashes aimed at swamping the government's authority and the Popular Unity programme.'

Having thus equated the left and right opponents of the regime in the usual Stalinist manner, Corvalan makes it clear that the coalition supporters in Concepcion were divided over whether or not

to stop the Christian Democrat march. The Communist Party, however, was fully in favour of the march going ahead.

'The danger of a serious clash at Concepcion,' Corvalan went on, 'was accentuated by the fact that at a crucial moment there was no clarity on the part of an important portion of the Popular Unity. The disturbing factor was the discrepancy over the attitude of the government and the parties comprising it ought to take with regard to the rights of the opposition.'

'There emerged a tendency favouring the use of force to prevent a march organized by the Christian Democrats. That tendency was rejected by the Communist Party and the Independent People's Action [a social-democrat coalition member].'

Corvalan recalled that the government programme guaranteed respect for the rights of the opposition as exercised within a legal framework.

This implied no 'weakness in regard to the enemies of the people, much less the toleration of the existence and activities of the fascist bands', Corvalan claimed. Yet extreme right groups were allowed to take part openly in a similar march through the Capital, Santiago, earlier this year.

PLANNED OVERTHROW

Despite the clear indications over the last months that the Christian Democrats are preparing to overthrow the Popular Unity regime — by force if necessary — Corvalan went out of his way to stress the need to avoid clashes which might end up in civil war.

This would only be favoured by holding mass rallies to meet the right-wing threat, he said.

In other words, the masses must not mobilize against the Christian Democrats and the extreme right-wing outriders but should stay quietly at home while the government 'impartially' uses the constitution to protect them.

This is a sure prescription for the triumph of reaction in Chile. It was backed even more forcefully by another Stalinist leader Senator Volodia Tietelboim (who was guest of honour at this year's 'Morning Star' rally in London).

Tietelboim said in an interview with the Christian Democratic paper 'La Prensa':



Allende: allows the right-wing Christian Democrats to march but bans left-wing demonstrations.

'There is a huge national majority interested in having the problem solved without paying the price of blood and civil war.'

'I think we are living in days of decision. I believe the situation has reached a point demanding definitions and I feel that within the ranks of the left the Concepcion events point to such a definition,' he declared.

Tietelboim went on to tell the right-wing paper that he was looking for a 'redefinition of positions' — a clear feeler for the possibility of a 'national truce' between the Christian Democrats and the Allende government.

He hoped the redefinition would be 'positive in the sense of casting aside the heady vapours of ultra positions'. In other words, he wants a compromise with the Christian Democrats under which they will moderate their campaign of opposition provided the government's policy is toned down still further.

The Stalinist senator made it clear that the Communist Party was completely opposed to rural or industrial holdings unless authorized by law. Those who take part in such seizures are not communists, he said. In fact, they are mainly poor peasants disgusted by the snail-like pace of Allende's agrarian reforms, and workers struggling for better wages and conditions.

Tietelboim said the 'democratic opposition' — by which he meant the Christian Democrats, had forces on their right who 'at certain times make use of traumatic situations so as to force through conceptions of violence and involve people who want nothing to do with it'.

He added: 'I can also say the same of the left and the extreme left!'

VIOLENT HATRED

The Senator's pacifistic smokescreen conceals a violent hatred for the prospect of revolution. The Christian Democrats meanwhile smirk complacently as they push ahead their plans to undermine Allende—and Tietelboim tells the workers to cool their heels!

Yet only a few months ago, as MIR leader Miguel Enriquez pointed out, CP secretary Corvalan had called 'taking the stuffing out of the fascists on the streets'. 'That was what we did in Concepcion,' the MIR leader said.

'The ruling class has grown strong and has taken the offensive,' Enriquez warned, 'and that offensive is aimed at overthrowing the government and repressing the people. And if the thing is to overthrow the government, it

is better to do so with the left weakened by forcing the government into repression.'

The Christian Democrats, he said, were making a lot of noise about 'armed groups' which was aimed at the protests of peasants, urban poor and workers. As an example of the opposition plans he cited the legislative Bill proposed by the opposition to hand over arms regulation to the armed forces.

The Bill is proposed by Christian Democrat Senator Juan de Dios Carmona, one-time Defence Minister under former President Frei. On one occasion Carmona called out the troops to shoot strikers at the El Salvador copper mine. 'Carmona wants more blood,' the MIR leader said.

The MIR's own perspective to meet the right-wing threat, however, is simply to advise the government not to cuddle up to the Christian Democrats in search of parliamentary votes. Enriquez called for the mobilization of the masses, the dissolution of parliament, the transformation of the state apparatus through the creation of popular bodies.

But his party's critical support for the Popular Unity regime, designed solely to push it to the left, is equally as dangerous as the Stalinists' preachings and can only aid them to disarm the working class in the face of the class enemy.

WHY I.S. WON'T EXPOSE THE C.P.

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

Three weeks ago two political allies met before Haringey trades council to revive the discredited 'Kill the Bill' campaign.

One was Kevin Halpin, the Stalinist leader of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions and the other was Roger Rosewell, member of the International Socialists and industrial correspondent of that group's weekly paper, 'Socialist Worker'.

The keynote of the meeting was that the Industrial Relations Act could be 'killed' without the removal of the Tory government.

The last paragraph of the resolution reads: 'We deplore trade union leaders being used to discipline militant stewards and believe rank-and-file action is the only way to defeat the Act.'

This was a swan-song for the anti-Bill campaigns of 1970-1971 that were such disastrous diversions. Then the movement developing among the working class was turned from the political fight to bring down the government—at the nadir of its popularity—into a great ineffectual protest.

The meeting was significant because it marked one of the first practical applications of a new 'unity' policy worked-out at a London conference between the International Socialists and the Communist Party some days earlier.

Rosewell himself had signalled this developing political friendship on May 13 in the 'Socialist Worker'. In a decisive summing up of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' crisis he declared the Stalinist policy on the Clyde had resulted in a 'partial victory' for the shipyard workers.

Both agreements, on the Act and on UCS, illustrate one of the most contemptible and treacherous relationships in British politics today. Nowhere was this more apparent than on Clydeside.

It was the singular aim of the IS and writers for the 'Socialist Worker' like Rosewell, to ensure that the Stalinist leaders of the yards succeeded in defeating the political movement against the government which was developing among the shipyard workers.

To do this themselves the Stalinists used the blunt methods of confusion and demoralization. But the IS deployed a more subtle strategy. Their political position on the Tory government was the same as that of the Communist Party, but the window-dressing was different.

They would always put forward first certain formal criticisms of the Stalinist leadership. These involved 'left'-sounding innovations of the work-in policy. For example they suggested that foremen should be deprived of their power to give orders, that the ships should be held in the yards and that the work-in should be turned into a 'real occupation'.

At other times they would call for a policy of nationalization under workers' control.

Of course the IS did call for a 'political' approach to the struggle as well. But the kind of politics they supported was most revealing.

In early August at the start of the work-in in a 'Socialist Worker' editorial they advised: 'Every channel, official and unofficial, must be used. The Tories can and will be beaten provided that the siren voices of "respectability" and "maturity" and "no politics" are drowned out in the uproar of working-class protest.'

(At the time the working class were demonstrating their dedication to 'protest' by gathering 50,000 strong on the streets of Glasgow and yelling 'Heath out'.)

On October 2 'Socialist Worker' declared: 'The Tories must be told that the fight will continue until the yards are nationalized.'

On October 16 the paper's line became even more explicit. It said: 'Only UCS backed financially and physically by mass support from other workers can change Tory policy.'

This was a faithful echo of the editorial column of the Stalinist daily the 'Morning Star'—the 'politics' of IS were revealed to be the 'politics' of the Stalinists.

The juxtaposition demands for nationalization under workers' control with a political policy of forcing the Tory government to change its line is most revealing.

Clearly it is a nonsense to suggest that Tories will switch direction and provide the working class with a free gift of capitalist property.

This inconsistency, however, is secondary.

By erecting a screen of radical-sounding suggestions to improve the work-in the IS were really attempting to attract the shipyard workers who were feeling uneasy as the days of government-Stalinist cooperation went by.

They would suggest to this kind of worker that Reid and Airlie gave bad leadership because they were not running the campaign properly—the foremen were still giving orders, a 35-hour week had



Above: the protest of February 21, 1971 against the Industrial Relations Bill, which was made ineffectual by Stalinist and IS collaboration to limit it to 'Kill the Bill.' Right: Kevin Halpin, leader of Stalinists' Liaison Committee in Defence of Trade Unions who is now reviving a 'Kill the Bill' campaign.



not been introduced, there was no 'real' workers' control, etc. (all innovations on the work-in strategy.)

STRATEGY TO CONFUSE WORKERS

This confusing barrage of words served to protect the Stalinists because it diverted attention from the core of their treachery. This was their determination not to turn the UCS struggle outwards among the workers in Scotland and make the shipyards a focus of a campaign to force the Tory government to resign.

The Stalinist refusal to undertake a 'real' occupation was a direct result of this political position. But as we have seen, this was also the position of the 'Socialist Worker' and the IS. Their innovations on the work-in strategy were so much humbug designed to give them a left cover, to confuse workers, while they got on with the real job of butting up to men like Reid and Airlie.

Of course they did 'criticize' the Stalinists. Their main cry was that the co-ordinating committee had

adopted the mistaken Communist Party policy of trying to be 'responsible' and keep public opinion on their side.

When a retreat did occur that even the IS could not ignore, the suggestion was that the Stalinists had been 'bullied' into the betrayal by union leaders.

On January 20 they stated for example: '... the UCS stewards have made the mistake of allowing the struggle to be drawn out and enthusiasm for it to subside.'

Rosewell, in his May 13 article, says the decision not to occupy was an 'extremely serious mistake'. This, he says, flowed from the 'reformist policies of the Communist Party leadership' in the yards.

On March 11 Steve Jeffries explained in the 'Socialist Worker' why retreats over policy occurred: 'It was Denny McGarvey, the boilermakers' president, who bullied the UCS stewards into abandoning the fight to save the UCS as one unit in favour of a campaign to "save the four" yards separately if necessary'.

The implication is that the Stalinist-dominated co-ordinating committee were unwilling partners to retreats and that the Stalinists—being 'reformists'—could be persuaded to

see the error of their ways. This is both politically and factually incorrect.

The Stalinists were at one with the union bureaucrats. They wanted a deal with the Tories and James Reid has now gone on record congratulating the government for its 'social and economic' good sense. Is this kind of attitude a mistake?

On a point of fact it was the Stalinist stewards who urged the stewards to accept deals that effectively broke up the yards. When this kind of settlement was first mooted in discussions with the Tory appointee Hugh Stenhouse on September 29, James Airlie's comment was that the meeting with Stenhouse was 'useful'. The next day he put it to the shop stewards at Clydebank but it was rejected. An unsmiling Airlie told the press that the Stenhouse offer was 'unacceptable'—it had to be the four yards under one plan or nothing.

Still later, in talks led by Reid, the Stenhouse offer was accepted. Again it was the Stalinists who put it over to the stewards' meeting. Even the 'Morning Star' of October 12 had to admit there had been criticism of the 'confusion' being caused and the blame

was not only laid at the doorstep of the employers.'

Two days later the stewards—again led by Reid and Airlie—formally recognized Stenhouse's Govan Shipbuilders Ltd at a meeting with the Tory Trade chief John Davies. Again Reid steered the deal through a hostile mass meeting.

Now was this being bullied by union leaders? Of course not.

There was no real conflict between the Stalinists and the union bureaucracy—just a division of labour. While it was McGarvey's job to do all the intimate chatting with Davies, it was the Stalinists' job to get the deals across the yard workers.

Equally it was the job of IS and 'Socialist Worker' to make sure the Stalinist policy was passed off before workers as some kind of reformist 'mistake'.

One could recount many, many other episodes where the Stalinists set out deliberately to break an established policy that was threatening a confrontation. But this is the minutiae of the struggle on Clydeside.

The most important feature of the relationship between the IS and the Stalinists was their

joint determination to work against the development of a political struggle.

The Stalinists openly espoused a non-political line and made appeals to keep political banners off the big demonstration. The IS restricted their demand to 'spreading the action' and making the campaign 'more militant'.

This was the heart of their treachery. At one time struggle on the Clyde provided a focus for all workers in Scotland who were itching to inflict a political defeat on the government.

The solidarity around the UCS struggle was unprecedented. On two occasions an estimated 200,000 workers in the West of Scotland struck in sympathy. All felt directly affected by this struggle because they too were threatened each day with unemployment and poverty.

The Stalinists conspired to limit this fight to the UCS. They called for militant solidarity and a spreading of the action. But they both bitterly resisted an open campaign to confront the workers with political reality and direct the struggle towards forcing the Tories to resign.

The failure to do this led to

disastrous results on the Clyde. While Rosewell's 'partial victory' was being won at UCS, no less than 17,000 Scottish workers were driven out of the dole because they had no political understanding or movement to fight back with.

Now in Scotland workers pay tribute to the UCS struggle. Many praise James Reid for his leadership. But they face redundancy with an attitude nearing despondency.

Why? Because after all the massive protesting they still do not know how they can stop the tide of unemployment battering the economy.

This is because the Stalinists, supported by the IS, deliberately pushed back and back the potential of that struggle around UCS, by bitterly opposing a political campaign to bring the government down.

At Clydebank, Marathon Manufacturing has promised to employ 500 out of 2,100 on June 24—the rest will work off with the old UCS contracts or help re-convert the yards with the 'promise' of employment.

Meanwhile the formal break-up of the yards and the labour force has been achieved—it will be immeasurably more difficult to revive the solidarity of nine months ago if one section does come under attack.

These are not the 'mistakes' of Stalinists but the fruits of the Communist Party's

disastrous results on the Clyde. While Rosewell's 'partial victory' was being won at UCS, no less than 17,000 Scottish workers were driven out of the dole because they had no political understanding or movement to fight back with.

Now in Scotland workers pay tribute to the UCS struggle. Many praise James Reid for his leadership. But they face redundancy with an attitude nearing despondency.

Why? Because after all the massive protesting they still do not know how they can stop the tide of unemployment battering the economy.

This is because the Stalinists, supported by the IS, deliberately pushed back and back the potential of that struggle around UCS, by bitterly opposing a political campaign to bring the government down.

At Clydebank, Marathon Manufacturing has promised to employ 500 out of 2,100 on June 24—the rest will work off with the old UCS contracts or help re-convert the yards with the 'promise' of employment.

Meanwhile the formal break-up of the yards and the labour force has been achieved—it will be immeasurably more difficult to revive the solidarity of nine months ago if one section does come under attack.

These are not the 'mistakes' of Stalinists but the fruits of the Communist Party's

'counter-revolutionary' politics of peaceful co-existence. This is not 'reformists' at work, but men who will do all in their power to keep the working class at a level of development where they cannot fight politically to remove the class enemy.

Such is Rosewell's 'partial victory' and such are his friends in the Communist Party.

The development of political groups like IS who occupy the middle ground between the Stalinists and reformists will be of crucial importance during the next period of decisive class struggle.

This kind of political centrism operates to prevent the working class from confronting and understanding the political tasks. That means it prevents the working class from learning and developing through political struggle to bring the Tory government down and replace it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

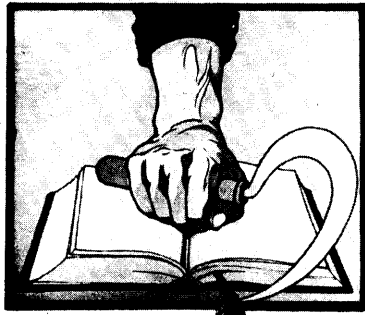
There are 17,000 victims of this political treachery on the Clyde. It is the duty of revolutionary socialists to cut through this confusion, expose centrism and Stalinism and confront the working class with political reality.

YEARS OF BITTER EXPLOITATION

And what of the shipyard workers themselves—what kind of partially victorious future do they face? Approximately 1,800 of

HOW NOT TO WRITE THE FORD WORKERS' STORY

BOOK REVIEW



'FORD STRIKE—The Workers' Story' by John Mathews. Panther Books. Paperbacks 40p.

BY DAVID MAUDE

Keeping the record straight is one of the prime duties of revolutionary journalism. Without fulfilling this duty fearlessly, it becomes indistinguishable from the scribblings of Fleet Street, Labour's misinformation department or the Communist Party lie machine.

So John Mathews — a founder of the ill-starred 'revolutionary weekly' 'Seven Days'—is on very treacherous ground indeed with his recently-published book on the 1971 Ford strike.

'Ford Strike: the workers' story' (Panther, 40p) is based on Mathews' on-the-spot observations of the ten-week parity struggle, interviews with shop stewards and union officials both at the time and after the event—plus back-up material culled from Ford's and the unions' various statements on the issues.

It presents a brief analysis of the company's economic

strategy internationally and a resumé of the history of its agreements with the unions who sit with it on the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee.

Also included is an account of 'The Dillon Affair': the post-strike discipline crack-down at Ford's Halewood, Liverpool, factory which brought the combine to the brink of a second national stoppage over the sacking of paint-shop steward John Dillon.

Some of Mathews' material is readable enough. Little of it is new.

But the book's fatal flaw is Mathews' failure to keep the record straight on issues vital to the rank-and-file Ford worker; whatever it may be, it is not 'the workers' story'.

The tone is anti-Ford throughout. In his introduction, the author boasts that 'Ford management was not consulted' during the book's preparation.

But anti-Fordism is by no means sufficient.

It must be remembered that the union leaders responsible for the secret-ballot settlements which ended the 1971 strike—Hugh Scanlon of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and Jack Jones of the Transport and General Workers' Union—are still in office and playing key roles in present struggles. So, for the most part, are their back-up men on the shop floor.

In Mathews' anxiety to appear anti-Ford, he covers up for these tendencies furiously.

Here is just one example of how this method works out in practice.

On April 20, 1971, just a week and a half after the last striker had returned to work at Halewood, Sid Harraway, a Communist Party convenor from Dagenham, was removed from his position as chairman of the unofficial Ford national convenors' committee.

One of the main reasons for his replacement — by Hugh Wallace, convenor of the Swansea factory—was workers' anger at Harraway's statements urging acceptance of the secret-ballot decision to return to work.

(The 'Yes' vote in the ballot had been less than 36 per cent of the possible total. Almost half those eligible boycotted the poll.)

This highly significant event is not mentioned in Mathews' book, although falling well within the time-span it covers. Why? Either because Harraway is one of the interviewees quoted in the book, and Mathews does not want to



offend him. Or as an act of tacit endorsement of the role played in the strike by Harraway and the CP.

A key paragraph in an account of the events surrounding the ballot—pages 153 to 163—compounds this sin of omission.

Mathews correctly reports (p. 153) that on Thursday, April 1, a meeting of the joint shop stewards' committee at Dagenham rejected the company's secret-ballot formula, arrived at in hush-hush talks between Scanlon, Jones and Stanley Gillen, head of Ford Europe.

A strike bulletin issued by the committee that afternoon, the book records, ended with the words: 'We . . . recommend to Ford workers that they vote against acceptance of the present proposals.'

Tom Langan, a body-plant steward at Dagenham, is quoted by Mathews as saying: 'The ballot was a company ballot—they had control over everything . . .

'That's what it means to have a company ballot, and that's what it would be like under the Industrial Relations Act.'

Then on p. 158 comes the following revealing account by a steward of what happened at Dagenham the following morning, the morning of the ballot.

'Leys Baths was already filling up at 7.30 in the morning . . . around 8.30 enough people had got there to call a mass meeting. Jock Macrae (body plant) and Joe Bedford (engine plant) were the only speakers



Sacked steward, John Dillon



Top: Dagenham workers vote to strike. Above: Henry Ford II



—the other convenors didn't turn up.

'There were about 3,000 at this meeting.

'A resolution was put that people should vote against accepting the offer. This was carried by a 3-1 majority.

'The organization of the ballot was almost non-existent . . . the result of the Dagenham ballot was meaningless.'

Among the convenors who 'didn't turn up' were several CP members and sympathizers.

Why was this? Mathews does not ask the question. And neither does he record the fact that by the following morning, Sid Harraway had made clear he was in favour of accepting the 'meaningless' ballot result (10,817 out of 23,000 workers at Dagenham did not vote, and 2,666 voted against).



Jack Jones: nailed

Instead, p. 161 carries a hindsight quote from Harraway noting: 'Many feel, as I do, that acceptance of this ballot could have the effect of weakening the fight of the unions against Tory efforts to impose secret ballots as a general rule.'

Only after this (p. 162) are we told that on Saturday morning, meetings of workers from Halewood transmission plant, which had boycotted the ballot, and Swansea rejected both settlement formula and ballot result — voting to continue the strike.

Page 163 reports that the other two Halewood plants—body and assembly — backed the transmission workers' stand the following day.

The first indication of Harraway's acceptance of the ballot result only comes after that, further down p. 163. And Mathews claims he made his statement: 'I will be back at work on Monday' speaking for the joint shop stewards' committee.

Seized on eagerly by press, television and radio, this statement helped send Dagenham back to work and led to Harraway's removal as chairman of the Ford convenors.

By misplacing it in time, Mathews obscures the important point that it could have been used to influence the result of all four weekend meetings.

He also fails to point out that it was made on the basis of the secret-ballot result alone. Is this not acceptance of the union leaders' capitulation

Ford's Dagenham complex — workers went back after being urged by CP stewards to accept a minority secret ballot vote.

to 'Tory efforts to impose secret ballots as a general rule'.

The author's cover-up for Harraway on this issue reveals his political method.

He is by no means incapable of keeping the record straight.

The book nails Jack Jones, for instance, with a statement made the day before he met Gillen. Mathews reports Jones as telling stewards from Halewood: 'I'm not involved. It's up to you lads—you're running the strike.' (p. 143.)

Cover-up for anyone below the level of union boss, and particularly for the Stalinists of the CP, is part of the political method of 'Seven Days', the paper Mathews helped found.

In its initial propaganda, this now-defunct 'revolutionary weekly' claimed that it would show 'in factual, precise and above all accessible terms . . . what is wrong with our society'.

The paper's aim, its brochure said, was 'to help people to discover the truth of capitalism for themselves, and to realize their own ability to take political power'.

Mathews' 'Ford Strike' reveals for the umpteenth time the bankruptcy of this muddle-headed liberalism.

REVIEWED BY
DAVID MAUDE

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

TEA

Most management have designs on the tea break. Basically they want to abolish this brief respite workers get from the daily grind of production by introducing the tea machine.

The transfer can be a delicate operation, as Roger Fisher, marketing manager of Vending Centre (Holdings) Ltd recently warned in the magazine 'Industrial Equipment News'.

He says: 'Workers will have to accept the installation with enthusiasm or at least with a willingness to try it out.'

He suggests the tactic of installing a couple of machines and just waiting for the workers to use them. Then the task of abolishing the tea break proper can begin.

He points out that the fluid produced from these contraptions can cost the employees less than his traditional brew. In other words Vending Centre (Holdings) Ltd are philanthropists encouraging employers to do their worker a favour.

Not quite: Eventually Fisher gets down to the nitty gritty. 'A consideration of prime importance,' he says, 'is the possibility of introducing vending machines and linking it to some productivity deal in which both workers and management benefit. There are instances on record where companies have saved thousands of pounds in increased productivity . . . Is that so?

BEANFEAST

Heard of an outfit called the lawyers' Christian Fellowship?

No, you probably haven't.

Neither had we until an invitation to one of their seminars popped into our post.

On the weekend of June 24 and 25 the fellowship, made up of good God-believing lawyers, will be holding a residential conference. The programme reveals that these gentle folk will be praying for better industrial relations.

The conference is being held

perhaps too late to influence the dockers and the rail dispute, but it is worth examining what these people are about.

The conference is being held at Pendley Manor, Tring, in Hertfordshire. If you're leaving from London you can either catch a train or a Green Line bus to Tring. The manor is said to be 'a large house . . . set in extensive grounds, close to the Chiltern countryside.'

The cost for this religious beanfeast is £6 'plus a 10 per cent service charge' for the full weekend. However, articulated clerks, bar students and university students can come for a reduced fee of £4.50.

The discussion includes such immense topics as 'Freedom and Trust' and 'Freedom, Forgiveness and Privacy'. In between singing hymns and praying, they will also hold a session devoted to industrial relations.

After the debate prayers will be offered to that Great Shop Steward Up In the Sky.

BLACKOUT

Last week 'Times' reporter Christopher Walker managed to get an interview with top army brass at the services new UK land forces headquarters at Wilton.

And it was a week in which other senior officers chose to speak out on burning issues of the day.

It was all very refreshing. The army was baring its breast in public and assuring the voters of its well-intentioned concern — albeit about subversion.

And as everyone knows, in a democracy like ours all things are above board and justice is available for all.

Army Minister Geoffrey Johnson Smith doesn't see things the same way. The day after 'The Times' report, he leapt out of his seat in the House of Commons and demanded a public inquiry into how Christopher Walker got his interview and pressed for a blackout on all future press interviews by senior officers.

BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:
Germany 1931/1932
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87
Where Is Britain Going?
Paperback 37½p
Revolution Betrayed
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.05
Problems of the Chinese Revolution
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87
Permanent Revolution:
Results and Prospects
Paperback 75p
In Defence of Marxism
Paperback 75p
Lessons of October
Paperback 60p

Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from:
NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS
186a Clapham High Street,
London SW4 7UG.

Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

'Quislings' shout at Labour Party rents meeting

BY PHILIP WADE

IN ISLINGTON, North London, tenants have hit back against the betrayals of the Labour group there who have voted 34-20 for implementation of the 'fair rents' Bill.

On Wednesday night the Labour council held a meeting to explain the Bill to tenants. It never went as the two councillors speaking wanted it to go.

From the beginning tenants made it clear that to vote for the Bill and then come along and tell them what it was all about was not on.

'You're implementing Tory policies,' shouted one voice from the back as deputy leader of the council, Bill Bayliss, was in the middle of his speech. 'If I wanted policies like that I'd vote Tory.'

As councillor Bayliss finished the oldest tenant in the hall, Mr Robert Taylor, rose to his feet and pointed an accusing finger at the platform.

'In the election last year you said you would fight all rent increases and yet you've gone straight to the government, to the moneylenders,' he shouted.

'You've sold the people down the river—right the way down. Let's get back to the old days of the Labour Party when men had principles and fought by them,' he said to applause.

Mr Bayliss was forced to reply to these accusations.

'No one in this hall has worked harder on the doorstep on the street corners against this Bill', he claimed.

'Now we are faced with the Bill as the law of the country, and in England laws are usually implemented. The question now is who is going to be responsible for implementing it—the council or the Housing Commissioner.'

'When you get to the stage when it is law the hollering and shouting has to finish and it is time for cool, cold, calm thinking. I am convinced that a Labour-controlled Islington council could implement the Bill far better than the Housing Commissioner.'

This attempt to whitewash the decision to implement the Bill did not convince anyone.

There were political questions involved, not just the choice of who was going to implement.

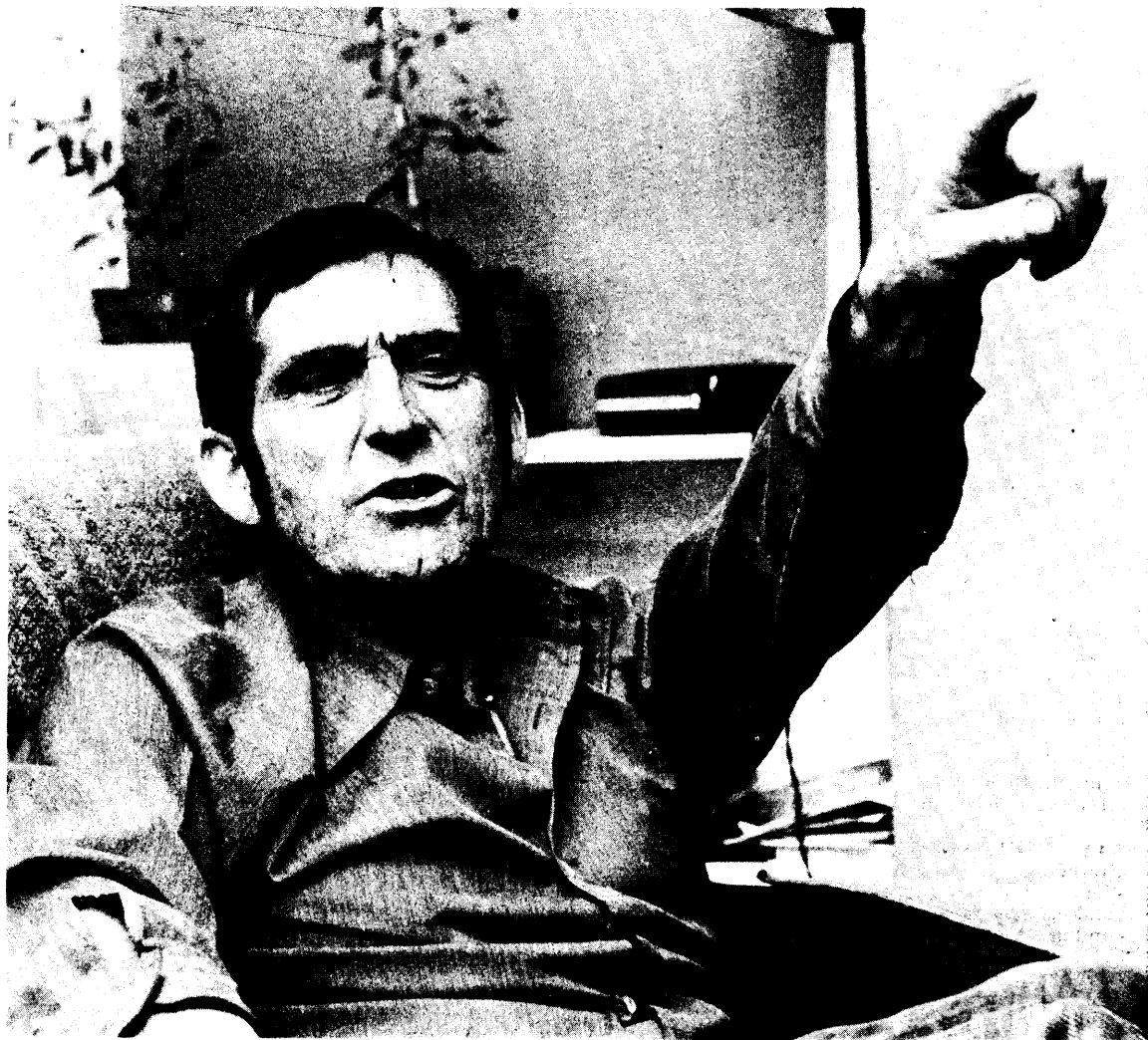
Harry Weston, chairman of Islington Council Tenants' and Private Tenants' Action Group made this clear when he spoke to the meeting.

'We've got to fight this Bill—but how can you do this when the council capitulates?'

'The Tories will want their pound of flesh and I don't believe councillor Bayliss when he says he can soften the blow.'

'The burning question is: we must fight. The people of Islington need leadership to take the movement on to the streets and go for the Tories.'

'If the councillors refuse to be the rent-collectors, the tools of



Harry Weston, chairman of the Islington tenants: 'We need leadership'

Islington rejects council whitewash

the Tories, 'we might get somewhere. We need leaders, generals in our town hall not collaborators and quislings.'

'If you lead us we stand a chance of getting a Labour government to remove this Bill, bring down rents and take over all housing and land; but you won't win by political arguments with the Tories,' said Harry Weston.

Dave Warby, secretary of the King's Square Tenants' Association expressed the feeling of betrayal felt by many tenants.

'I'm so disgusted with the

whole thing. For someone who has always voted Labour it is disgusting to listen to so-called socialists planning to eat away at our homes, telling you you can do nothing about it.'

'When it comes to doing something like that then these people are no longer socialists. We needed leadership from the town hall—not excuses.'

As deputy leader Bayliss rose to speak again near the end of the meeting his audience began to melt away through the back door.



Councillor Bayliss: 'Bill is law'

Deptford tenants back anti-Bill councillors

THE Labour Party right wing continues to hit back at those councillors who have taken a principled stand and voted non-implementation of the 'fair rents' Bill.

This time Deptford Labour Party in South London has censured its own chairman because he warned other Labour councillors not to vote with the Tories on the Bill.

At one stage the Labour group on Lewisham council, which has overwhelming control against the Tories, was actually in favour of non-implementation.

Then as the retreat began a stormy Labour group meeting decided to allow a free vote in the council meeting where the issue would be settled.

As a result, 32 Labour councillors crossed over and voted with the Tories—winning the day 41-26 in favour of implementation.

The decision provoked an enormous crisis inside the Labour group. One councillor, Cyril Cook, who represents the Marlowe ward, decided to resign the group on principle.

He made the choice after going to a tenants' demonstration a few days later and seeing some of those who actually voted for

implementation turning up for paled to give up the chair until the march.

Then the Brockley ward passed a resolution expressing no confidence in one of their councillors who voted for the Bill.

Brockley's monthly newsletter also accused the pro-Bill councillors of being 'traitors to the labour and socialist movement'. They have since been forced to withdraw this remark.

The right-wing backlash was aimed this time at councillor Jim Wheeler, who was elected to represent Brockley ward last year.

Deptford Labour Party's general management committee has just passed a censure motion on him by 27 votes to 22 because of a leaflet he issued just before the crucial council meeting on the Bill.

The leaflet said: 'I hope that any councillor who finds himself unable to support the majority view of the Labour group will think very carefully before voting with the Tories against the Labour Party.'

And he added: 'We have shown that in Lewisham there is a difference between the parties. Let us keep it that way.'

Mr Wheeler was unmoved by the attack on him.

'I was not called on to resign so I feel I still have the confidence of the party. I'm not pre-

I am told I'm no longer wanted.

'I don't feel I was threatening anybody or trying to influence anyone by sending the letter round,' he said afterwards.

The move by the right wing to reconsider the 'constitutional validity' of Brockley ward's censure on a councillor who voted for the Bill has appropriately been supported by the local press.

The 'South London Press' this week devoted a whole editorial to an attack on the ward party.

'The often-fine distinction between a delegate and a representative appears to have eluded members of Brockley ward of Deptford Labour Party,' it says.

In an attempt to undermine the right of the party to deal with its traitors, the editorial seizes on the fact there was a free vote in the council meeting.

'Brockley ward may not like her decision, but their grievance should be directed against the group, and not to single out an individual for their wrath,' the editorial declaims.

The 'South London Press' is about the only friend the Labour Party right wing can count on.

Tenants' associations have made it clear in letters to councillors who took a stand against the Bill that they can be assured of their support.

Subscribe!
workers press

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

£20.28 for 12 months (312 issues)
£10.14 for 6 months (156 issues)
£5.07 for 3 months (78 issues)

If you want to take Workers Press twice a week the rates are:
£1.56 for 3 months (24 issues)
£6.24 for 12 months (96 issues)

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:

Circulation Dept., Workers Press, 186a Clapham High St., London, SW4 7UG.

I would like to take out a subscription to Workers Press.

Days required	MONDAY	THURSDAY
(Please tick)	TUESDAY	FRIDAY
	WEDNESDAY	SATURDAY

Or Full subscription (six days) for months.

Amount enclosed £

I would like information about

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Fill in the form below and send to NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186A CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON, SW4 7UG.

Name

Address

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 2.15 Design for today. 2.30 Wild are free. 2.55 Edgar Wallace. 4.05 Zingalong. 4.18 Puffin. 4.22 Jimmy Stewart. 4.50 Flintstones. 5.20 Primus. 5.50 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.15 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 10.35 Film: 'The Man in the Back Seat'. 11.35 News and weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.18 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 10.32 News. 11.35 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 1.35 Matter of life and death. 2.10 Tutankhamun. 2.30 London. 3.00 Kate. 3.55 Weekend. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Paulus. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene SE. 6.40 Out of town. 7.00 His and hers. 7.30 Weekend. 7.35 Sale of the century. 8.05 FBI. 9.00 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather. Epilogue.

ANGLIA: 2.30 London. 3.15 Survival. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper room. 4.50 Bottom of the sea. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 His and hers. 8.00 Combat! 9.00 London. 10.30 Brian Connell interviews. 11.05 Film: 'Long Haul'.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Stars. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Julia. 4.40 London. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 His and hers. 7.30 Saint. 8.30 Shirley's world. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Piccadilly Third Stop'.

ULSTER: 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.30 Jason King. 8.30 London. 11.30 Documentary.

YORKSHIRE: 1.00 Felix the cat. 1.15 Survival. 1.40 Corwin. 2.32 London. 3.00 Kate. 4.00 If it moves... 4.10 Calendar News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 London. 4.55 Flaxton boys. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calen-



The Marx Brothers are on again

dar, weather. 6.30 Partners. 7.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Pumpkin Eater'. 12.30 Douglas Fairbanks presents.

GRANADA: 10.50 World of life. 11.00-12.00 We need each other. 1.15 Scotland Yard casebook. 2.30 Corwin. 3.25 Yoga. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.05 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.50 Land of the giants. 5.50 London. 6.00 Newsday. 6.30 Rip-tide. 7.30 Hawaii five-o. 8.30 London. 10.30 Film: 'A Study in Terror'.

TYNE TEES: 12.20 Forest rangers. 12.45 Battle over the Atlantic. 1.30 Edgar Wallace. 2.30 Yoga. 3.00 Kate. 4.00 If it moves. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 Flaxton boys. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.30 Partners. 7.00 London.

10.30 Film: 'The War Lover'. 12.35 News. 12.50 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 1.30 Out of town. 1.50 Out of the shadow into the sun. 2.45 Lost in space. 3.30 Kiri. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 Cartoon cavalcade. 5.50 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Cartoon. 6.30 His and hers. 7.00 London. 7.30 Saint. 8.30 Andy. 9.00 London. 10.30 Liberal Party conference. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Film: 'Appointment With Crime'.

GRAMPIAN: 1.50 Edgar Wallace. 2.50 Dangerman. 3.38 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Smith family. 4.40 London. 4.55 Rainbow country. 5.20 Ivanhoe. 5.50 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.05 Mr and Mrs. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 7.35 It takes a thief. 8.25 Melody inn. 9.00 London. 11.00 Film: 'Werewolf of London'. 12.20 Epilogue.

BBC 1

9.45 Andy Pandy. 10.00 Champion. 10.25 Parsley. 10.30 Soper at large. 10.55-11.00 Magic roundabout. 12.55-1.25 Eisteddfod jiwibili yr urdd y bala. 1.30 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.25 Racing from Kempton Park. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Magic roundabout. 4.45 Jackanory. 4.55 Screen test. 5.20 Right Charlie. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.

6.20 BOOTS AND SADDLES.

6.30 THE VIRGINIAN. A Bad Place to Die.

7.45 IT'S A KNOCK-OUT! Folkestone v Canterbury.

8.30 LOOK — MIKE YARWOOD! Guest Peter Noone.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.

9.20 THE MAN OUTSIDE. A Persistent Coffin.

10.10 24 HOURS.

10.45 FILM: 'AT THE CIRCUS'. Marx Brothers.

12.10 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 6.05-6.30 OPEN UNIVERSITY.

6.35-7.00 CRIME AND THE CRIMINAL. Treatment Without Tears?

7.30 NEWS ROOM and weather.

8.00 THE MONEY PROGRAMME. The Hole in Your Pocket.

9.00 GARDENERS' WORLD.

TV

ITV

1.15 Outlook. 1.35 Time to remember. 2.05 Matinee. 2.30 Good afternoon! 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 This week. 3.45 The two-wheel world. 4.15 Clapperboard. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Land of the giants. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.30 THE NEW DICK VAN DYKE SHOW. Annie Get Your Bike.

7.00 THE SKY'S THE LIMIT.

7.30 THE FBI. Out of Control.

8.30 HIS AND HERS.

9.00 BUDGIE. Glory of Fulham.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 DERBY DAY.

11.30 FILM: THE HI-JACKERS. Anthony Booth, Jacqueline Ellis, Patrick Cargill. Thriller.

12.40 IS IT A HANDICAP?

9.20 REVIEW. A Slightly Shocking Spectacle, Whoever Was Heath Robinson?, Monsters, Unicorns and Femmes Fatales.

10.10 SPORT TWO. Colin Welland and Ian Woolridge in a new sports series.

10.55 NEWS ON 2 and weather.

11.00 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

Middle-class terror cannot defeat Zionist oppression

BY JOHN SPENCER

ISRAEL is now threatening reprisals against the Lebanon for Wednesday's guerrilla attack on Lydda airport, Tel Aviv, in which 26 died and 80 were injured.

The Israeli government has said it holds Lebanon responsible for the attack because it claims Beirut supports the Arab guerrilla organizations which carry out such attacks.

The attack was directly provoked by the Zionists under General Moshe Dayan, who went out of his way to humiliate the guerrillas in suppressing a hijack attempt at the same airport earlier this month.

The boundless arrogance of the Israeli government is evidenced by the statement of Mrs Golda Meir.

She said after the attack: 'Those who could not face us on the battlefield are great heroes when it comes to planting explosives on planes, hitting passengers, blowing up planes in the air.'

This is a baseless slander on the heroism of the three young Japanese who proved that like their Arab guerrilla comrades they are willing to give their lives in the struggle against Zionist oppression.

The 'heroic' General Dayan, it should not be forgotten, served his apprenticeship under the Americans killing communists in the jungles of Vietnam.

What the attack does reveal, however, is the utter political bankruptcy and opportunism of the leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which has claimed responsibility for the Lydda shootings.

The PFLP has said the shootings were an act of revenge designed to show that the guerrillas were still an effective force on the fifth anniversary of the six-day war.

It was in reply to Israeli massacres of innocent people in Egypt, Jordan and Lebanon and to the shootings of two guerrillas by Israeli troops who stormed a hijacked airliner at Lydda airport earlier this month.

The statement refers to the Zionists' massacres of 'the innocent children of Bahr al-Bakar school and the workers of Abu Zaabal factory, in Egypt, against people of Salt and Irbid in Jordan and against innocent people in South Lebanon'.

These crimes of the Zionists must not go unpunished, but



Smears of blood, abandoned luggage; the aftermath of the Lydda airport shootings

they cannot be avenged by indiscriminate, individual and isolated terror.

The adoption of this policy by the PFLP under George Habash is the clearest index of the political sterility of the Arab middle class.

Far from weakening the Meir regime, it serves only to strengthen the hold of the Zionists precisely at a time when the workers of Israel have begun to move against the government.

The same airport which saw the terrorist attacks was last month the scene of a mass walk-out as the transport unions confronted the government.

Individual terror can only drive these workers more firmly into the arms of the agents of imperialism.

Habash adopted precisely the same tactic in 1970, organizing the hijacking of Pam-Am jets which provoked bloody reprisals from Jordan's King Hussein.

The outcome of Habash's adventure on that occasion was the crushing of the Palestinian movement by Hussein's US-armed Bedouin mercenaries.

The Popular Front's latest exploits are equally dangerous to the struggle of the Palestinian masses for liberation from the Zionist yoke.

NOW WEEKLY

KEEP LEFT

OFFICIAL WEEKLY PAPER OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS SATURDAY MAY 13, 1972 VOL 21 NO 1 PRICE 3P

The eight-page youth paper which leads the fight against the Tory government, for the right to work, in factories, schools and on the dole queues.

Plenty of news, views and features at 3p a copy. Order your regular copy now. Yearly subscription £2.86. Send to Keep Left, 186a Clapham High St, London, SW4 7UG.

Please send me 'Keep Left' for one year

I enclose £2.86

Name

Address

DOCK STRIKE PUT BACK TWO WEEKS— 57-25 VOTE

BY PHILIP WADE

THE NATIONAL docks strike due to start today has been postponed for 15 days to allow talks to continue with employers.

The decision was reached yesterday at a meeting of dock delegates at the Transport and General Workers' Union headquarters in London.

The motion to postpone the strike came from the T&GWU full-time docks officials and was put by national docks secretary Mr Tim O'Leary.

After a two-and-a-quarter hour meeting the motion was eventually carried by 57 votes to 25.

The new date for strike action is now Friday, June 16. There will be a recalled delegate meeting, probably on the Wednesday before.

Many delegates, including those from Liverpool who voted for immediate strike action, were disappointed with the decision.

Said Jimmy Symes, chairman of the Liverpool docks shop stewards' committee: 'We're not happy with the decision. It didn't go the way we wanted it to.'

Liverpool stewards will meet

over the weekend to discuss the situation.

O'Leary reported to the delegates the outcome of Tuesday's talks at the National Joint Council.

He said the employers had offered another £3 on fall-back pay and an extra two days' holiday this year with three more to come next year.

He said afterwards that delegates had not been satisfied with the fall-back offer but were reasonably satisfied with the holiday increase.

The other decision taken at the National Joint Council was to set up a special joint committee to review the whole nature of dock employment.

It was to allow this to meet that O'Leary recommended a postponement.

'We have to get the committee's ideas and intentions so the delegates can look and see if the idea was worthwhile,' said O'Leary.

'The employers have acknowledged publicly for the first time what is happening to dockers. They have acknowledged they will use their best endeavours to get work for dockers.

'But we want something better—an arrangement, an understanding employer by employer if necessary.'

He hoped the special commit-



Liverpool delegates discuss yesterday's vote: (facing camera) Alan English, stewards' secretary; Jim Symes, chairman; Lew Lloyd (T&GWU district secretary)

tee's work would lead to a restoration to dockers of work that was theirs by right.

'We hope this committee can provide a basis for convincing men that prospects are not so gloomy as they are at present,' he added.

O'Leary also repeated the call for the 'backing' of containers to be called off. It is reported that the call did not find much response.

At Preston yesterday dockers turned away a container lorry bearing Heaton's Transport markings.

The driver's papers showed the consignee as Cable Montague of London.

The container was loaded with goods from Alcan Foils Ltd, Wembley, being sent to Carreras, Co. Antrim in Ulster.

Although the driver insisted his employers were not Heaton's, the dockers decided to black the vehicle 'just in case'.

Davies hits out at Japan

TORY Trade and Industry Minister John Davies warned yesterday that Britain would hit back with trade restrictions unless Japan restrained its exports and opened its domestic market to foreign goods.

He told a press conference in Tokyo he was being 'assailed almost daily with demands that I introduce restrictions of one kind or another to restrain the trading practices of other countries'.

He added: 'I must say that I believe there is a real risk that

the weight of such complaints may grow to an extent which will be politically irresistible.'

The Tory minister had just finished two days of talks with Japan government officials and leading businessmen, urging the removal of restrictions on imports to Japan.

The Tokyo government has tried to meet these demands with a plan for increased consumer expenditure to raise the demand for imports.

Davies brushed this aside: 'The world will not sit by and wait for a consumer revolution in Japan. Rightly or wrongly European nations believe Japanese markets are not as open as their own.'

'If that belief persists they will not be as co-operative in future talks on liberal trade as Britain would like.'

Boilermakers demand TUC acts on jobless

BOILERMAKERS' union delegates are pressing the TUC to call for a national stoppage on unemployment. On the final day of their conference, they passed a motion calling for 'militant action to combat unemployment and to press the TUC to call for a national stoppage of work on this question'.

The motion, put forward by the Birkenhead branch, was unopposed by the executive council and was carried by a large majority.

It came after the defeat of a call for a national overtime ban in all industries to secure a 35-hour week and regain full employment.

Opposing the motion on behalf of the executive, Dan McGarvey, the president, said that the motion looked as if there was a 'Shangri-la of full employment to go back to'.

Blanket banning of overtime was a weapon in their armoury which should not be used, he said. Other trade unions would not support them in such a call.

It was an impractical motion. The Society had never enjoyed full employment under either Liberal, Labour or Conservative governments.

£10m package of London fare increases

MANY of London Transport's tube fares will be doubled in two months' time in an all-round package of rail and bus fare increases.

The severe increases come on top of rises made in 1971 and early this year.

London Transport has sent the projected restructuring of fares to the Greater London Council for approval.

Sir Richard Way, London Transport's chairman, said yesterday forecasts showed there would be a deficit at the end of this year unless income was increased.

If the proposals are approved by the GLC ordinary fares will go up by anything from 4p to 5p.

On the Underground it is proposed to shorten the journey distance for the minimum 5p fare. This will mean some 5p fares going up to 10p.

The number of 5p fares to go up to 10p would represent 20 per cent of the total of all minimum Underground fares.

On the graduated-fare routes in some 300 cases where the present minimum is below the approved distance scale it would be increased to 6p.

The 5p fare will be increased to 6p with subsequent fares rising in 2p steps up to a maximum of 20p.

Way also announced that Underground season tickets will go up by an average of 20 per cent. The overall charges will increase revenue by £10m.

Exporters want hard line on docks

THE HEAD of Britain's leading exporters' organization has called for a tough line from the government in dealing with the docks crisis.

W. A. Newton Jones, newly-elected chairman of the British Export Houses' Association, said that 'peace must not be bought at a price the whole industry cannot afford'.

He went on: 'It would be disastrous if peace were bought by any concessions which mean restriction on the freedom of

shippers to decide where goods were packed and handled.'

Jones, who is chairman and managing director of shippers W. H. Jones and Co (London) Ltd, said it was essential that it be left to individual operators to decide if and where inland packing services should be located.

'One must have sympathy,' he said, 'with people, such as dockers, who find trade going away from under their feet. But this situation can happen to anybody.'

'Nobody can be forced or told to use a certain service, or method, and if something comes along that is better a person will naturally shift his custom from one to another.'

This was the law of business economics, Jones told the 'Journal of Commerce' in an exclusive interview published yesterday.

The interview clearly reflects the attitude of the big traders and shipowners to the loss of thousands of jobs on the docks.

Shell to close labs

SHELL Research Ltd, a subsidiary of the giant Shell International, has announced that three laboratories in England and Holland will be shut down.

About 600 research jobs will be lost.

The company has said that senior grades will be transferred. In deciding who stays with the company, attention will be paid to researchers' 'loyalty and dedication'.

The laboratories to be

closed are at Carrington, near Manchester; Egham, Surrey; and Delft in Holland. A total of 5,000 researchers work at the three axed plants.

● This week the net profit of British Petroleum crashed from £48.9m to £15m in the March quarter.

A company statement said that product prices, particularly in Europe, had suffered 'serious deterioration' because of low consumption, adverse freight rates and high stocks.



Docks secretary Tim O'Leary

LATE NEWS WEATHER

NEWS DESK
01-720 2000

CIRCULATION
01-622 7029

T&GWU docks secretary Tim O'Leary saw Department of Employment officials to report the outcome of yesterday's delegate meeting and latest position in the docks. He was followed half an hour later by port employers' representatives.

EASTERN England and eastern Scotland will be dry at first but cloud and rain will spread from the west later. North-west, central and central southern England will be dry at first, but cloudiness and rain will cross these areas during the day.

Western Scotland, Northern Ireland, Wales and south-west England will be cloudy with rain spreading fairly quickly eastwards, followed by showers and bright periods. It will be rather cool in all areas.

Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Showers and sunny intervals with fresh or strong winds in many places. Rather cool in all areas.