

# TORY POLICY AND THE RAIL SETTLEMENT

BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

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With this strategy in mind, the Tories, with the help of the union leaders, are buying time in the rail settlement. They do not like paying up. They do not like retreating in face of the strength of the railwaymen. But they know that much more is at stake: they intend to tame the working class—through massive doses of unemployment and attacks on the unions—on their way into the Common Market.

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These leaders tie the strength of the working class down to the level of a few wage concessions which will be wiped out by inflation and unemployment within months.

The Tories could be forced to resign and give way to a Labour Government pledged to socialist policies if the trade union and Labour leaders would mobilize the organized workers for this end.

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The promises to cure inflation and rising prices have actually resulted in the highest rate of inflation ever known. The policy of holding down wages in the public sector has been smashed to smithereens by the miners and railmen.

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They can be forced to resign! But the right-wing trade union leaders, together with Wilson and the Labour leaders, do not want an election, they do not want to be in office. Having themselves failed to deal with the working class in 1970, they want the Tories to finish the job.

This treachery of the Labour leaders exposes the working class to the greatest dangers. By not fighting for an election now, they leave it open for the Tories themselves to decide the timing of a General Election, with the balance of payments plunging into deficit, with unemployment dividing the working class, with scares about a national emergency; and in these circumstances seeking a more right-wing mandate from the frightened middle classes.

Trade unionists everywhere must refuse to allow events to take this course. The

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FROM STEPHEN JOHNS

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This has emerged from preliminary talks on the takeover between Marathon representatives and UCS shop stewards in Clydebank.

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But Robert Heaton snr, joint managing director of the St Helens haulage firm which started the action in the National Industrial Relations Court, was furious.

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There is no time to lose. In every town up and down the country Councils of Action must be set up for struggle against the government; councils consisting of trade unions and factory committees, working-class political parties and tendencies, tenants' associations, unemployed workers, and all those who will unite to force the Tories to resign.

This is the only answer to the complacency which the trade union leaders are trying to cultivate, a complacency which serves the interest of the Tory Government.

# workers press

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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# WHAT WE THINK

## MORE STALINIST TREACHERY

COMMUNIST Party secretary John Gollan's speech at Friends' House on Monday night is a remarkable specimen of reformist evasion and bureaucratic double think.

The 'Morning Star' headed its report of the rally as 'Fighting lead from Communist rally—Time Now to Black No. 10'.

This phrase sums up succinctly the incurably reformist radical outlook of the Stalinist leaders whose principal objective in the last two years of Tory rule has been to save the credibility of the 'left' union leaders by re-routing the political struggles of workers back into the channels of industrial protest.

In the agitation on the Industrial Rela-

tions Bill and in Upper Clyde Ship-builders the Stalinists were in the forefront of the struggle to prevent the exposure of the union leaders' politics and to persuade militant unionists that the Tories were amenable to pressure.

Briefly summarized the policy of the Stalinists was that if the employers and the government could be forced to give wage concessions then they could also be induced to make basic political concessions.

The sinister corollary to this wretched argument has been and still is that a fundamental change in leadership and policy in the unions is not indispensably necessary and that, moreover, the Tories need not be forced to resign; in fact they

can be forced to abandon the Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Bill, etc.

Thus the political consciousness of workers is blunted and the reactionary political plans of the Tories are facilitated.

Gollan's speech showed that, in this respect, Stalinism has not changed its theme by one quaver. With one eye on Scanlon in Hastings and another on the CBI-TUC talks, Gollan made abundantly clear that the home and foreign policy of British Stalinism would remain firmly based on reformist protest and the most cynical forms of class-collaboration.

Referring to the Industrial Relations Act, and deliberately ignoring the recognition of the NIRC by Jack Jones, Gollan

said: 'It can be made inoperative. It can be destroyed. And the splendid Liaison Committee Conference showed the way with its call for solidarity and action, both official and so-called unofficial including industrial action.'

This is a monstrous deception. We say that because it detaches the struggle against the Act from the struggle to force the Tories out.

To make the Act inoperative is to make the Tory government inoperative—and to make the government inoperative means an unsparing struggle for new leadership and policy in the unions and a tremendous increase in political consciousness.

Both Gollan and his Liaison Committee reject such a struggle in favour of so-called 'industrial action'—one-day strikes, protests and individual defiance of the Court. This is the surest way to betray the union militants to the trade union leaders.

The reverse side of the 'industrial action' coin is a more pernicious form of collaboration between trade union leaders and employers.

This is precisely what is contained in Gollan's call for 'Blacking No. 10'. As he explained it:

'It is essential, however, to stop all attempts to change TUC policy and to create new misnamed "conciliation" machinery to get the government off the hook. Downing St should be blacked and the right-wing retreat ended.'

Gollan's demagogic demand in relation to Downing St is but a miserable cover for his support of Scanlon's conception of conciliation which is hardly different from that of Feather.

Scanlon's plan was revealed in the same issue of the 'Star' by Ken Graves thus: 'On the question of conciliation machinery advocated by the government he said:

"If conciliation machinery is to have any degree of success, it would need to be totally independent of government."

What Scanlon was telling the Tories at Hastings was that the union bureaucrats were as ready, willing and able as ever to de-escalate the demands of workers and avoid the kind of national confrontations witnessed during the miners' strike.

Scanlon's retreat from a national strike on the engineers' claim, covered up all along by the Stalinists and the 'Star', is ample evidence of the bureaucrats' fear of the fighting potential displayed by the British workers. The last thing Gollan or Scanlon want to do is to unleash this force. Boycott No. 10—but collaborate with the employers!

If this is true in relation to Britain today it is trebly true in relation to the international scene.

Gollan's speech, coming so soon after the 'visit' of the Soviet Union CP delegation, was devoted largely to covering up the Soviet betrayal of the Vietnamese people. He praised 'the peace policy of the Soviet Union' carefully omitting to mention that 'peace' with Nixon and Brandt means death and devastation in Vietnam on a scale never before seen in Asia, or the world.

Dykes, power plants, hospitals—every trace of human habitation is being systematically destroyed while the people are denied food and raw materials by a vicious blockade and Gollan dares to pay tribute to the 'peace' policy of the Soviet oligarchy!

'Vietnam', he said, 'was the crux of the situation as the sharpest disagreement between the Soviet Union and Nixon shows'.

Disagreement or not, it is public knowledge that the Soviet leaders are in complete political accord with this modern Attila and are doing their utmost to secure his presidential election victory!

So when Gollan talks of 'stepping up solidarity with Vietnam' he fools nobody except the reformists in the CP leadership.

We are confident that the Vietnamese people will win and throw imperialism out of Indo-China, but they will do that despite Moscow and British Stalinism, not because of them.

British workers must draw the appropriate lesson and put an end to Stalinist treachery by building the Socialist Labour League and transforming it into a revolutionary party.

# Moscow casts its 'X' for Nixon

THINLY-VEILED support for the re-election of US President Richard Nixon has been expressed by Moscow Radio following the summit talks in Moscow earlier this month.

In the course of a lengthy broadcast discussion on the forthcoming elections, commentator Valentin Zorin expressed the view that the results of the Moscow talks 'are on the credit side of the Republican Party' and that this 'naturally' affected the election campaign and 'may affect its outcome'.

Nixon's potential rivals in the election intended to exploit 'what they think [our emphasis] to be the weakest points in the activities of the Republican administration, namely the continuation of the war in Vietnam and the deterioration of the country's economic position', Zorin said.

Clearly the Moscow Radio spokesmen do not share this view, and Zorin went on: 'The positive trends in the activities of Washington's influential circles are irreversible, they do not depend on the results of the election campaign and on whether the Republican leader will stay in the White House or whether a nominee of the Democrats will replace him.'

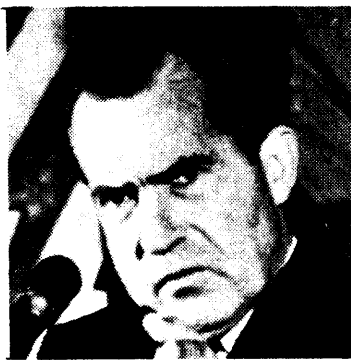
In other words, the Soviet bureaucrats are not concerned

BY JOHN SPENCER

with the genocidal war in Vietnam, nor with the fate of the American working class faced with Nixon's viciously anti-union administration. They consider that 'US ruling circles are becoming increasingly aware of the realities of the world today'.

The Moscow broadcast is a clear signal to Nixon that the Soviet bureaucracy will not stand in the way of his re-election. It spells out the message which was implicit in the decision to continue the summit talks despite the mining of harbours and the bombardment of North Vietnam.

It bears out to the letter Hanoi's warnings about the subordination of the world revolution to the national requirements



Nixon

of the Soviet leaders. On May 23, the North Vietnamese army newspaper 'Quan Doi Nhan Dan' made the following statement unmistakably condemning the Soviet leaders:

'Communists always consider the revolution of each nation as an inseparable part of the world revolution. They never set national interests against the interests of the world revolution nor place an individual nation's above the common interests of the world revolution, much less serve national selfishness at the expense of the world revolution.'

The Soviet indications of

approval for Nixon and their praise for US 'ruling circles' is the clearest indication of the counter-revolutionary character of the Moscow summit and the deals—described by Moscow as 'historic agreements'—reached there.

It makes nonsense of the hypocritical remarks by British CP secretary John Gollan, who told the Stalinists' London rally on Monday: 'The crux of the situation is Vietnam, as the sharpest disagreement between the Soviet Union and Nixon shows.'

This is an outright lie: the Moscow summit and the broadcast remarks demonstrate conclusively that the Vietnam war is an entirely secondary issue for the Kremlin bureaucrats and that they are in the process of supporting the re-election of the chief butcher of the Vietnamese.

In the wake of the NATO decision to support the calling of a European Security Conference, it will not be long before Gollan himself begins to discover the 'credit side' of the Tory government and the 'positive trend' of Edward Heath's foreign policy. If the British CP can swallow the camel of support for Nixon, why should it strain at the gnat of support for Heath?

# Unemployment and Italian CP play into fascists' hands

GROWING unemployment in Europe is the inevitable consequence of the breakdown of the international monetary system and the division of the capitalist world into mutually-hostile trading blocs.

Italy is the country hardest-hit by unemployment within the Common Market. Total unemployment is well over the 500,000 mark and regarded as serious by the government. At the Council of Ministers' meeting in Luxembourg on Monday, the Italian government complained of unfair discrimination against Italian workers by the other Common Market countries.

It charged that when other countries find their unemployment rising, the foreign workers are the first to be sacked, and the Italians the first foreign workers to go. In addition, the Italians complained that Germany and France prefer to employ Yugoslavs or Turks rather than Italians.

'The Times' comments that this is because such workers are easier to employ for short contracts and, 'most probably demand less through trade union activity'.

The Italian request did not

receive a sympathetic hearing. 'The Times' commented: 'Italy's partners have not given much sign that they appreciate these difficulties, or, if privately they admit the force of the argument, that they intend to do very much about it.'

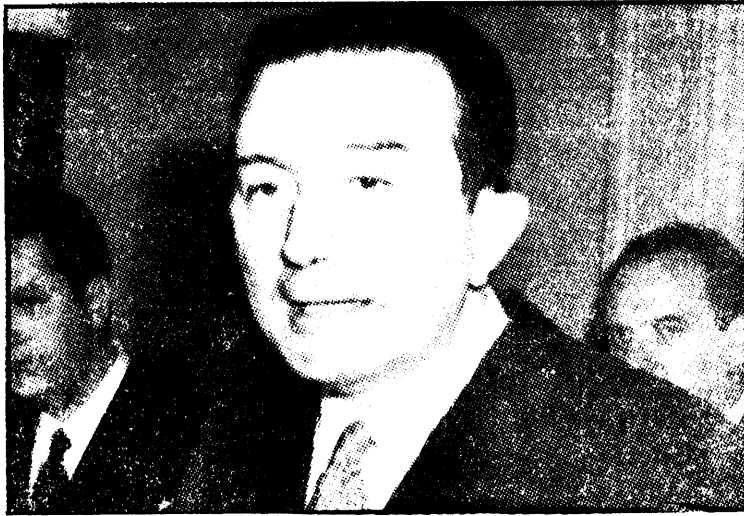
The big monopolies which control the Common Market are in no mood to involve themselves in attempts to overcome the chronic crisis in Italy where there is a growing threat from the fascists and the extreme right.

In an editorial on Monday headed 'Fascist Threat in Italy', the 'New York Times' spoke of the 'rude reminder' from fascist leader Giorgio Almirante that 'the election last month gave... only a reprieve and not a solution' to a nagging national crisis.

'On the day President Leone designated Giulio Andreotti premier-elect, the leader of the MSI... threatened a fascist takeover, which he hinted might get support from elements in the nation's armed forces.'

The paper outlines Andreotti's so-far fruitless search for a stable coalition and adds the pious hope that 'Mr Almirante's outburst will help bring the democratic majority together'.

A similar line is being peddled by the Italian Communist Party,



Andreotti: Searching desperately for coalition

which has said it will support (from outside if need be) a 'government of the democratic turning point' based on a majority composed of the 'three historic currents'—the CP, social-democracy and the Catholic Church.

Growing unemployment and the impotence of the Italian parliamentary system to produce any solution acceptable to the big bourgeoisie is the reality

behind Almirante's bombastic threats. The monopolists of the EEC are already demonstrating that they will not come to the rescue of Italian bourgeois democracy.

The Italian Stalinists' frantic efforts to rescue the bankrupt parliamentary system play right into the hands of the MSI and pose a grave danger to the workers of Italy.

## NALGO plea to Tories: Abandon Act

THE TORIES should abandon the Industrial Relations Act 'before it is too late', president of the National and Local Government Officers' Association Ellery Clayton pleaded yesterday.

In his presidential address to the Association's annual conference at Eastbourne, Clayton said: 'It is surely not too late for a sensitive government to change its mind and to abandon the road to destruction of all that has painstakingly built up over generations between employers and workers to resolve their differences in free unhampered collective bargaining.'

The Act was a law that must be obeyed, he said. 'But we don't have to co-operate to make a bad law work, we may suffer from it and we must expose its weaknesses, its inflexibility and above all its unsuitability to achieve the objects for which it was passed.'

Clayton told the government they would 'embitter' industrial relations and destroy bargaining machinery, if it continued on the same course. Heath should scrap the National Industrial Relations Court and return to a strengthened voluntary machinery for bargaining with ultimate recourse to independent conciliation.

NALGO or the TUC would be willing to talk on these lines.

He also called on the government to halt unemployment. The threat of unemployment, he said, would not revitalize British industry, whereas full employment would.

'I urge the government to heed our call for a rapid expansion of all public services, to release the money needed for a public service programme that will have the immediate effect of providing jobs throughout the country, and the long term effect of a massive improvement in our social conditions.'

## 24-hour glass picket

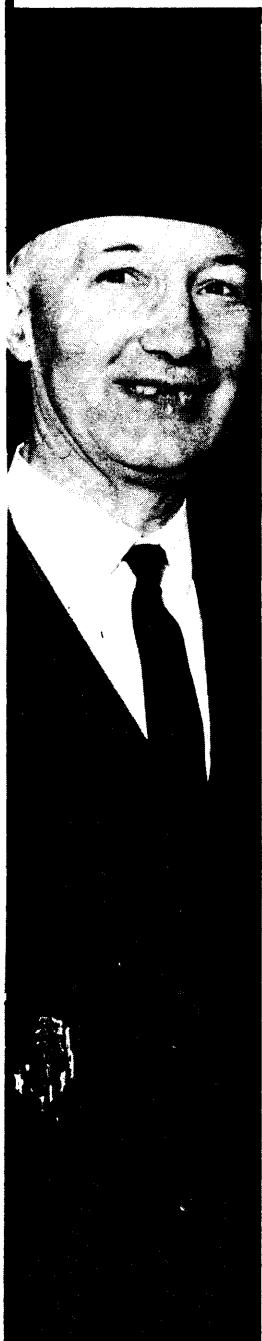
STRIKING glassworkers at Rockware's Doncaster plant who are demanding a 15p-an-hour wage increase have only been offered 66p a week with productivity strings.

Since rejecting this offer, which called for a 1 per cent increase in factory performance, the workers have been mounting a 24-hour picket at the Wheatley Road plant.

In a letter to all General and Municipal Workers' Union members in the factory, management spokesman N. A. Nichols said there was no guarantee against redundancies as a result of the proposed deal.

The next mass meeting is on Friday.

## Master of Rolls reverses NIRC decision on blacking



Denning

# Denning pays back £55,000

THREE Appeal Court judges yesterday ruled that the Transport and General Workers' Union was not responsible for the 'blacking' of container firms by its docks shop stewards.

In doing so, it on the one hand overturned the judgement of the National Industrial Relations Court and on the other laid the stewards themselves open to the full force of any further legal complaint by the firms concerned.

Lord Denning, Master of the Rolls, said he considered the £55,000 fines imposed on the union for contempt of the NIRC should be set aside.

The Industrial Relations Act did not specifically state that unions should be penalized for being unregistered, he said. It was therefore a matter for the courts to decide 'not in the least influenced by any political considerations'.

All the judges—Lord Denning, Lord Justice Buckley and Lord Justice Roskill—agreed to allow the T&GWU's appeals against eight decisions of the NIRC.

Lord Buckley did so 'with some doubts and regrets'. He thought the Liverpool stewards had acted with 'the implied authority of the union', but did not feel 'sufficiently confirmed' in his view to

disagree with his colleagues.

Judgement was reserved last Friday after a nine-day hearing of the T&GWU's appeals.

These were against findings of contempt of court in the cases of Heaton's Transport (St Helens) Ltd and Craddock Bros, of Wolverhampton; the fines of £55,000; the court's refusal to vary its decisions; and its decision that the union was liable to the companies for an unfair industrial practice.

In another appeal the union challenged the court's ruling that they were guilty of unfair industrial practice in blacking of Panalpina lorries at Hull docks.

Lord Denning opened his judgement, which took three days to prepare, by setting the scene in which dockers were getting angrier and angrier at the container revolution.

He said the dockers' group of the T&GWU had done everything it lawfully could to get the work back to the dock workers.

'I stress the word lawfully,' he added. 'So far as I can see, every respon-

sible officer within the union has told his members to keep within the law.'

Lord Denning said the threatened dock strike on Friday would be perfectly lawful. The union were doing what they could for the men.

But the Court was only concerned with the legal consequences of the blacking at Liverpool and Hull which had been called for by the shop stewards.

The question was whether the union was to be made responsible for the shop stewards or not.

The evidence, as far as it went, showed that the officers of the union had not countenanced any breach of the orders made by the NIRC.

In fact they had called for resumption of normal working. But still the blacking went on.

The NIRC had held that the union, which was not registered under the Act, was responsible for its shop stewards' actions.

'But he [the shop steward] is not paid by the union. He is not an officer of the union only an official,' said Lord Denning.

Lord Denning said he had studied the union's rule book and could not accept the NIRC's finding that the union could be made responsible. The stewards had not professed to be acting on behalf of the union, nor did the union hold them out as having authority.

At no time had the union delegated any task or duty to the stewards in this case; they did the blacking on their own.

In his judgement on May 12, NIRC president Sir John Donaldson held that the essence of the stewards' position was that while chosen by the shop floor 'he is the representative of the union'.

So long as he remained steward, management was entitled to assume he was acting on the union's behalf.

'The law is plain', he said. 'The union is accountable if its officers, officials, representatives or shop stewards work in breach of the law.'

But Lord Denning stated yesterday: 'I do not think a principal is liable for the wrong done by his agents; there is no authorization by the principal unless the agent is carrying out a task or duty delegated to him.'

'In this case the union has at no time delegated any task or duty to the shop stewards. They did the blacking on their own and the union are therefore not responsible for it.'

This reverses Donaldson's statement—quoting the law as established by the Taff Vale judgement of 1901—that the principal is answerable for the actions of any agent he has put in his place to perform that class of action.

The NIRC president remarked on March 12 that if the opposite view were the law 'the law would indeed be an ass'.

Lord Denning said that if the union had been registered under the Act it would undoubtedly have been in the clear. Its rules would have provided expressly that the shop stewards had no authority to call for industrial action on their own initiative.

Also, the shop stewards would be guilty of unfair industrial practice but the union would not.

'A union registered or unregistered is not responsible for the conduct of its shop stewards if they call for industrial action, if, in so doing, the shop stewards are acting outside the scope of their authority.'

Lord Denning concluded: 'It is a pity the unions did not from the very outset appear before the court and put its case. Now it has done so, I trust they, and all others, will put their case before the courts in the future should the occasion arise. It is better for all concerned.'

## BEA pilots to decide pay action

BEA pilots will reply to the management's latest pay offer today after the pilots' union executive has studied the results of a ballot of members.

BEA has offered an increase of £800 a year to top men to bring their basic pay to about £8,850. Three weeks ago, when talks be-

tween BEA and the British Airline Pilots' Association ended without agreement, the Association decided to ask its 1,400 BEA members whether they wanted to accept the offer or to strike.

Throughout April the pilots operated a work-to-rule in support of their claim.

The BALPA executive also has to decide what to do about a recommendation by the pilots' International Federation that there should be a world-wide one-day stoppage of air services on June 19 unless the United Nations takes effective steps to combat hijacking.

## Beer and bread prices to rise

BRITAIN'S largest bakers—Rank, Hovis, McDougall—announced yesterday they will increase the price of bread by ½p a loaf from June 26.

The group which makes Mothers' Pride, Hovis and Nimble, says it will also be raising the price of flour to the baking trade by 70p per 280lb sack before the loaf price increases. The increase is likely to be followed by others in the trade.

Speaking to reporters, chairman Joseph Rank blamed the increase on rising world wheat prices and said that if they continued to increase at their present rate, another price increase before the end of the year cannot be ruled out.

HARD on the heels of the bread increase forecast came an announcement from Courage, one of Britain's biggest brewers, that further beer increases are

'inevitable'.

Group chairman Richard Courage told shareholders at yesterday's annual meeting in London that 'although their beers were selling well, prices would go up because higher labour costs remain a problem'.

He added that he expected the profits growth to be 'more marked in the second half of the year' and he had 'every confidence for the full year's results'.

## BOOKS



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# RAILWAYMEN WILL FIGHT

June 3, 1972

Dear Editor,  
With reference to your article 'Capitulation threat on rail and docks', by David Maude, your industrial correspondent. Surely by now Mr Maude has learned not to take any notice of what the capitalist press has to say on any matters that can affect the present capitalist government. Of course he is quite correct in quoting what 'The Sun' published, but, 'The Sun' did not quote fully what the NUR spokesman said.

The recent ballot, called for by the government and backed by the BRB, was soundly defeated by the rail workers. They gave their union executive a massive vote of confidence, thereby enabling their unions to call for more industrial action. If the pay talks that are due to resume next Tuesday fail, then I feel sure that the rail unions will call for some kind of industrial action.

I am a member of the NUR, and am employed as a guard working from the Medway Towns. I and many others are only too willing to take part in any action called for by the NUR. If it means a fight to the finish, to get what is ours by right, then fight we damn well will!

When I fought the seat Medway Ward in the last municipal elections, I had published the usual election propaganda, which contained the fact that I am a member of the NUR and a keen trade unionist.

If you remember, the elections were in progress whilst the cooling-off period was operating. Which meant the public were fully aware of my industrial relations opinions.

They did not hold that against, as was proved by me winning the seat for the Labour Party. Therefore when the press say the public are against me, as was proved by me winning the seat for the fact that Medway Ward contains a large number of commuters.

Perhaps they voted against me, perhaps not. The fact still remains that the capitalist press as a whole is very biased in favour of the present government.

Also, selfish as it may seem, I, and others like me, pay no regard to public opinion. That in itself does not feed and clothe my wife and small son!

Even if it was decided to only ban overtime and rest-day working, the BRB would be very hard-pressed indeed to run a service at all on the Southern. If every guard alone were to have all his rest days off there would be absolute chaos. This was admitted when the Southern management called for rest day working, as and when required.

Of course, they did not admit this until they had foxed every other depot into believing that Gillingham guards had agreed to the proposal. Which we certainly had not. Of course we had to agree when other depots fell into line with the management. Gillingham depot has, along with Brighton, acquired the

incorrect reputation of being militant. We are NOT. It's just that we all stick together. When one man is in trouble, then we all fight his case with our union representatives, i.e. they get the full backing of the branch members.

Now here are a few facts about our pay claim which no newspaper has yet published. Perhaps you will be the first, but I really doubt it!

Early this year it was agreed that we should work rest days as and when required. Which in some cases means hardly any! I have only worked three in 14! This means in effect a reduction of 20 per cent, or £6 a week. They offered us 12½ per cent, which means they are still 76 per cent better off than last year! That they cannot dispute!

Our last pay agreement was due to expire on April 30 thereby enabling the new agreement to start from May 1.

Marsh said all along that the new agreement would start from May 1. Then came the crunch, in the form of Ted Heath. He insisted that the agreement should start from June 5. We sincerely believe that this was done to split the unions, which did not happen. All he succeeded in doing was making us stronger! As we have proved!

If I were to steal five weeks pay from my employers, I would undoubtedly be imprisoned. Perhaps we can get Heath put inside.

Yours sincerely,  
D. E. ANTHONY, Cllr

## INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT DAVID MAUDE REPLIES

We are grateful to Cllr Anthony for his last points about the rail pay claim, as for his conclusions on the local election result in the Medway towns. Workers Press has never doubted the determination and fighting spirit of the railwaymen or the widespread support which exists for their struggle in the labour movement as a whole.

What we were drawing attention to in the piece he mentions—published on Tuesday, May 30—were the desperate attempts of the union leaders to avoid a showdown with the Tory government.

As the events leading up to last Wednesday's breakdown show, these attempts continued right up until the last moment and despite the six-to-one ballot vote. I and other reporters on the paper followed these events personally throughout so we are by no means dependent on what the Fleet Street press says. In fact we are constantly exposing their lies.

But just listen to Sir Sidney Greene last Wednesday—a week after his members had demonstrated in no uncertain terms their eagerness to fight.

'We did all the negotiating,' he told reporters, 'while they just sat there and kept on asking if we were willing to compromise.'



Above: Sir Sidney Greene of the NUR. Right: Richard Marsh of British Rail.

'We told them we would be prepared to accept an increase from June 5 with a lump sum payment to cover the period between May 1 and June 5. We even knocked £500,000 off the lump sum today but they didn't want to know.'

These are not words quoted out of context, distorted, chopped out of a longer speech in which Greene says he is going to fight.

They are an abject plea to the Tory government: Our members want to take you on, please let us off the hook! And remember, even before arriving at this negotiating position, the union leaders had already cut their claim from 16 to 12½ per cent.

Cllr Anthony does not take up the second warning issued in our May 30 article—that of retreat on the docks.

Is not that warning now amply justified? Haven't the Tory government, the port employers and the leaders of the Transport and General Workers' Union been cynically manoeuvring for the last three weeks and more to split the dockers from Cllr Anthony and his fellow-railwaymen?

Doesn't this open up the danger of a far worse betrayal of the railmen than befell the postal workers last year?

Militancy and willingness to struggle are absolutely vital, and we have never questioned that they are there in abundance. But they alone will not win this struggle.



# SPAIN: WHERE STALINIST FALSIFIERS NEVER GIVE UP



The foreign editor of the 'Morning Star', Sam Russell, recently wrote a series of articles on the situation in Spain, after paying a visit to the country. This was his first visit since he sent dispatches from the Republican lines during the civil war.

In these dispatches, Russell covered over completely the betrayals of Stalinism and launched bitter attacks upon anyone who ventured any criticism from the left of the policies of the class-collaborationist Popular Front.

Over 30 years afterwards, Russell and the British CP's daily are still defending the same policies and falsifying the truth.

Russell describes the Spanish CP as 'standing out like a beacon... with a Freedom Pact which would unite all genuine opposition forces from the Communist Party to the Conservatives and Monarchists around a series of basic demands'.

Having tried to woo his readers with descriptions of bloody clashes between police and workers and students in Cuatro Caminos, a working-class district in Madrid, he backs Spanish CP secretary Santiago Carrillo's solution — an alliance of the working class with such extreme right organizations as the Carlists.

This treacherous deceit is continued in his treatment of Spain's possible entry into the Common Market. A true Stalinist, he does not begin with a rejection of the EEC as an anti-working-class conspiracy, but says it will not accept Spain because 'a fight to present the Franco regime



Top: Franco with heir Juan Carlos. Above: CP's Carrillo who proposes alliance with extreme right 'Carlists'.

as "European" in any sense is just not on'.

He then argues that Tory premier Edward Heath should fight against Spain's entry into the Common Market and fight for 'a completely democratic Europe'.

Although dwelling on the 'illegality' of Franco's fascist regime, Russell fails to mention in true 'Star' style the recognition given to Franco's government by Moscow and the Eastern European bureaucracies.

Even while the 'Star' was publishing his articles, this recognition, in the form of commercial relations, was in fact strengthening.

● On May 12 in the Seville shipyard of 'Astilleros Españoles', in the presence of the Polish vice-Minister for Industry, Dr R. Pietraszek, a 14,000-ton bulk-carrier was handed over to the Polish Steamship Company.

After the necessary papers were signed, the Spanish national anthem was played as the Spanish flag was lowered and the Polish national anthem was played as the Polish flag

was hoisted. This was the fourth ship built in the Seville yards for the Polish merchant navy.

● In Moscow on the same day, the 20th anniversary of Mashinexport, the firm organizing Soviet foreign trade, its president Vsevolod Vorontsov made the following revelation:

'Spain is one of our clients and recently acquired industrial machinery for making steel for construction. This year Spain will put on an exhibition of our mining equipment.'

● On May 24 it was announced in Madrid that the Spanish branch of the Rio Tinto Zinc monopoly has started exporting \$300,000 worth of superphosphate of lime to the Soviet Union.

Great hopes were expressed for this trade given the recent development of the exploitation of phosphates in Bu-Craa, in the Spanish Sahara.

● Also on May 24, for the first time ever, a Soviet citizen received the title of doctor Honoris Causa from a Spanish university. This ignominious academic, a professor from Moscow university, received his title from Granada university.

## GLOATING OVER TRADE

The Spanish press and Franco's Ministers are continuously gloating over this opening up of trade with Eastern Europe. On June 5, the Minister of Trade, Fontana Codina, made the following statement in the Cortes (Spanish parliament):

'The rapprochement with the eastern countries is one of the most interesting aspects of

our commercial policy. At the end of April the balance of trade with this area is favourable to Spain. Exports to the countries of the east were to the value of 2.8 per cent of our total exports and 1.42 of our total imports: the products exchanged are extremely diversified.'

The generals and politicians of capitalist Europe have shown more than once that they are not worried about Franco's fascist state, that on the contrary they want to get rid of democratic rights and impose a Franco-type dictatorship on the working class in their countries.

The reality of the Common Market is a move towards dictatorship not towards a 'democratic Europe', as Russell suggests.

The Spanish armed forces are being drawn into increasing 'European' activity which is certainly a preparation for an onslaught on the working class in Western and Eastern Europe.

During May, a contingent of Italian Admirals and teachers and students from the Italian School of Naval Warfare spent a week visiting their Spanish counterparts.

As part of the get-together 12 boats and 1,000 men from the Italian and Spanish navies were involved in joint manoeuvres in the Mediterranean. This was the first of a series of such manoeuvres. In June there will be manoeuvres with the French navy and later on with the Portuguese navy.

It is hardly surprising that Admiral Richard G. Colbert the new commander-in-chief of the forces of NATO in southern Europe should make the following statement at his first press conference given in the general barracks in Naples: 'Without doubt there would be advantages for all the coun-

tries of the alliance if Spain and other countries of the western Mediterranean played a bigger part in the defence of this territory...'

Similarly, at the Council of Common Market Ministers on June 6 there was very little breast-beating about the lack of democracy when Spain's relations with the EEC came on the agenda.

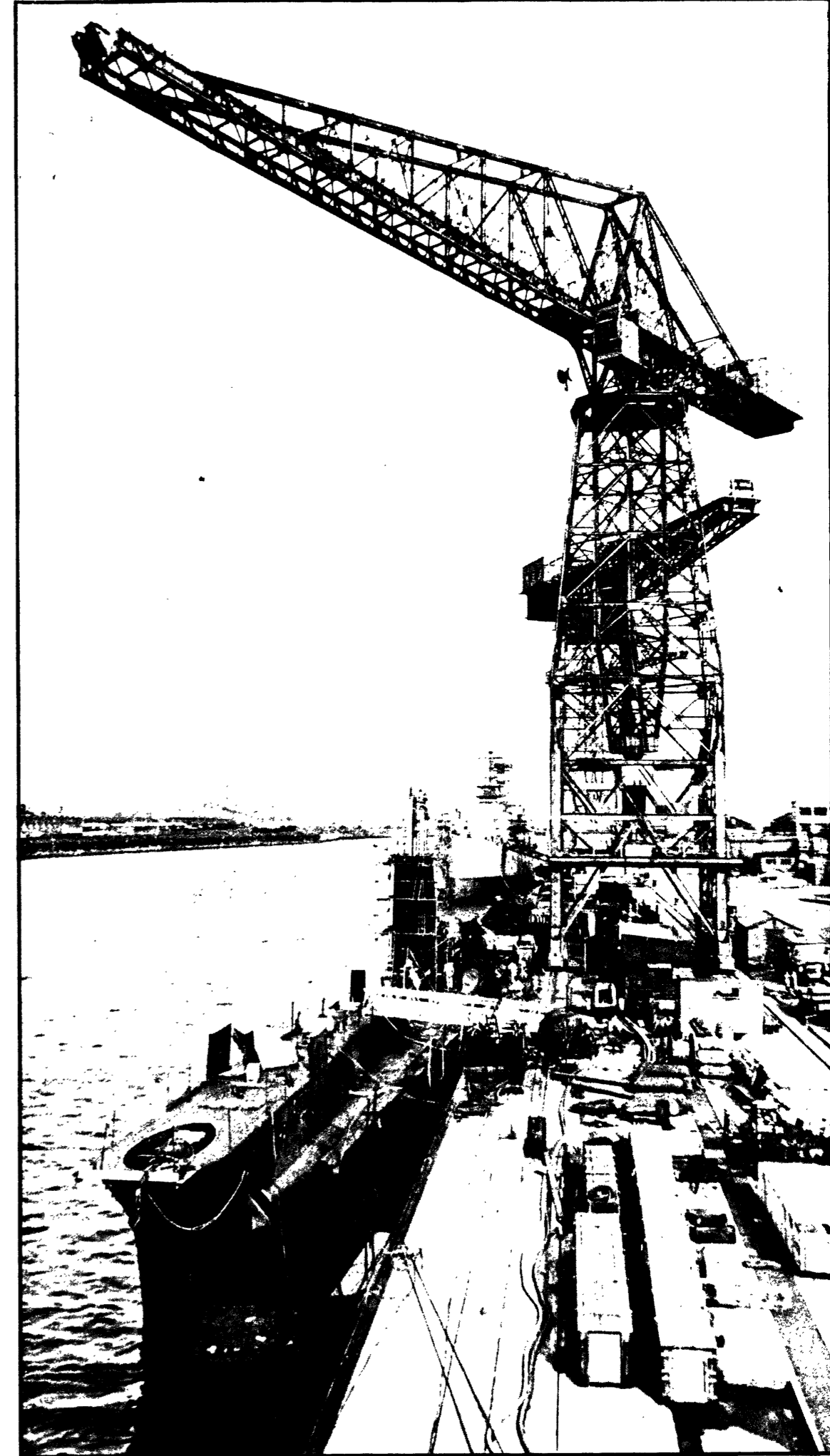
## DEFENDERS OF CAPITAL

French Foreign Minister Schumann fought hard for 'justice' for Spain, declaring: 'I do not think it right that Spain may be the only country in western Europe, whose products, at the moment of the broadening of the Market, will not be sure of free entry into the Community.'

This was a feeling equally shared by President Mansholt who has earned himself something of a reputation as an anti-fascist with his protest antics against the Greek colonels. He expressed the fear that if a solution is not found before the end of the year, 'this would be like throwing Spain out of the English market'.

Russell's articles express the same double-dealing and covering up of the real political developments in Europe as is expressed by the British CP on domestic developments.

As European capital moves closer to fascist solutions, as the Tory government begins to destroy democratic rights, the Stalinists defend their members and friends who get round the table with the ruthless defenders of capital, whether it be Maurice Macmillan or the Spanish Minister of Trade.



# BARROW VERSUS THE WARSHIP BUILDERS

Stephen Johns investigates the Vickers dispute.

At the tail-end of the 1930s depression, James Craven, a die-hard shipbuilding boss, threatened Barrow with economic extinction.

The workers in the town were about to elect a Labour council after years of poverty and unemployment. If they did, warned Craven, the grass would grow green in the slipways of Vickers.

The men called his bluff, broke the Tory stranglehold and the Vickers slipways continued very much in use, supplying warships and subs for the navy's war effort.

The threat of closure has been repeated down the years as the high point of the

periodic pay battles at the yard.

But several days ago it finally happened. Vickers locked their gates and Barrow, a drab community which squats on the tip of the Furness peninsula in Lancashire, found itself with a 30-per-cent unemployment rate—the highest in the country.

The ruthless measure has terrified the local middle class. Traders complain—one confectioner bewails a disastrous fall in the sale of cream cakes—and a 2,000 drop in circulation has encouraged the local press to sermonize the workers in editorial after sickening editorial.

But this campaign, which includes an intervention by the Barrow-born emissary of the Archbishop of Canter-

bury, has not impressed the labour force. They remain undaunted by a prospect of life without cream buns, the local Tory paper and the blessing of the church.

A laconic Eric Montgomery who represents 2,500 Vickers engineers, put it this way: 'We are expecting a long dispute. From the company's point of view it depends on how long they can afford to keep the yard shut and starve the other workers into putting pressure on the boilermakers—that's the equation of struggle in Barrow.'

The count-down to closure began last November when management and unions began talks on the local wage deal due for renewal in December 1971. The best the firm could do was to offer a miserable

£1.75 increase. This was rejected and in January the 9,700 manual workers and craftsmen began an overtime ban.

It was then the firm set its sights on defeating the employees.

Their first move was to withdraw a £2.50 bonus awarded for co-operation with a deal which involved partial flexibility of labour in the yard.

The local Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions met and threatened strike action if the bonus was not paid.

But to the 'horror' of the union officials, the engineers threw out the strike call by a narrow majority and the smaller unions in the Confed followed suit. Only the boilermakers voted for action.

They refused to operate the flexibility clauses, a welder was sent home and they struck on April 10. Now there is maximum pressure on them to renounce their 'greedy' ways (joined last week by the chairman of Vickers, Lord Robens) and let everyone get back to work.

But the boilermakers are determined to stick it out and they have lodged a counterclaim for a £3.75 rise with no

productivity strings.

Bob Proudfoot, their district delegate, who has been compared to Hitler in the local press, is uninvited by the campaign to vilify his members:

'The firm's offer amounts to a 6.4-per-cent increase. How can I accept that for my members when since 1970 the approximate increase in the cost of living has been 16 per cent plus,' he told me.

'We have helped to make millions for this company over the years—the rewards can't go all one way for ever.'

The local Confed leaders know there is a lot more than £1.75 to this battle in Barrow. This offensive by Vickers to bring Barrow to its knees has the hallmark of a government-backed confrontation.

A closure of the yard after a seven-week stoppage is unprecedented. In 1968 the engineers were out on strike six months, yet the gates remained open. All workers (including the staff) claim there is work still to be done.

The truth is that Vickers, with government encouragement, want to inflict a sharp defeat on the work force to soften them up for Common Market entry. This is the No. 1 consideration in the firm's 1972 strategy.

In the first weeks of the boilermakers' dispute the company's biggest customer, the Ministry of Defence (navy) wrote to chairman Sir Leonard Redshaw: 'Failing a full return to production it must become increasingly uneconomical to continue with such an imbalanced production as has recently been the rule.'

The company saw this secret memo as the green light from the government to lock out the labour force and break the boilermakers' resistance.

The timing of the show-down is governed by the firm's Common Market plans.

Vickers run an extremely profitable shipbuilding operation. The latest group returns show an increase in profit over the year of £2m to £6.2m. But the improved performance was entirely due to money made on the shipbuilding side—here a £500,000 loss had been converted into a handsome £21.1m surplus. Alone of the major shipyard towns in Britain, Barrow's prospects had radically improved and the future is still bright with a bursting £200m order book.

This money-spinning performance makes the prospect of Europe and fat military

contracts ever more delectable to Robens, Redpath and their board members.

Vickers make no secret of their keen desire to get into the EEC. Company teams have toured Germany, Norway and the holy of holies, Sweden, to examine continental methods of working and behind the current dispute looms a bigger battle over a new 'continental' deal Vickers want to introduce at Barrow.

## THE NEW PLAN

In May, during the present dispute, the firm unveiled their new plan. It turned out to be the most savage attack on shipbuilding wages and conditions yet devised. It proposed:

- Complete flexibility and interchangeability between crafts.
- A clause outlawing any refusal to work overtime.
- An extension of the working week to 42 hours.
- A four-year, no-strike clause.
- Freedom to train unskilled workers in any trade and a vir-

tual end to apprenticeships.

● The right to bring contract workers into the yard regardless of the unemployment position in the district.

● The right to contract any work outside the yard.

For these breathtaking concessions, the firm is offering a £3.50 bonus that could be withdrawn at any time, plus £1.50 good time-keeping bonus.

Both the engineers and the boilermakers have flatly rejected the proposals.

'It is the most pernicious document I have ever come across in my entire time as a trades unionist,' says Mr Montgomery, who started his working life as a boy at Vickers.

'We realize the real aim is an attack on wages and jobs. We have to ask ourselves why they want this flexibility. The Geddes report, which is the most authoritative report on shipbuilding yet produced in this country, maintains that total flexibility could only increase efficiency by about 4 per cent. Clearly it is with fewer men and a great intensification of effort that Vickers want to meet the prospect of the Common Market.'

The drive for this deal—which has full Tory backing—is

the real key to the present dispute. If the boilermakers can be forced to accept the deal will be imposed on a demoralized labour force.

## A LONG DISPUTE

'The local officials recognize this,' says Mr Montgomery. 'This is bound to be a long dispute and we are prepared for that. But the scrap with the boilermakers is only the first stage—behind this is the real fight to maintain employment, wages and conditions in these yards.'

The battle of Barrow has therefore enormous importance—not only for the town and its 64,000 inhabitants, but the whole of British shipbuilding.

If Vickers succeed they would be the first shipbuilding employer to entirely dismantle the rights and protective practices so closely guarded by shipyard workers for decades.

They would have achieved what Govan Shipbuilders and Marathon Manufacturing are only half-way towards—an all-

Left: the big pay off. Vickers' workers queue at the closed shipyard to collect their pay—it could be their last for a long time. Above: inside Vickers' yards.

purpose yard labour force which can be kicked on and off the dole at will, and one which is driven to meet fierce productivity targets by the threat of a substantial loss in weekly earnings.

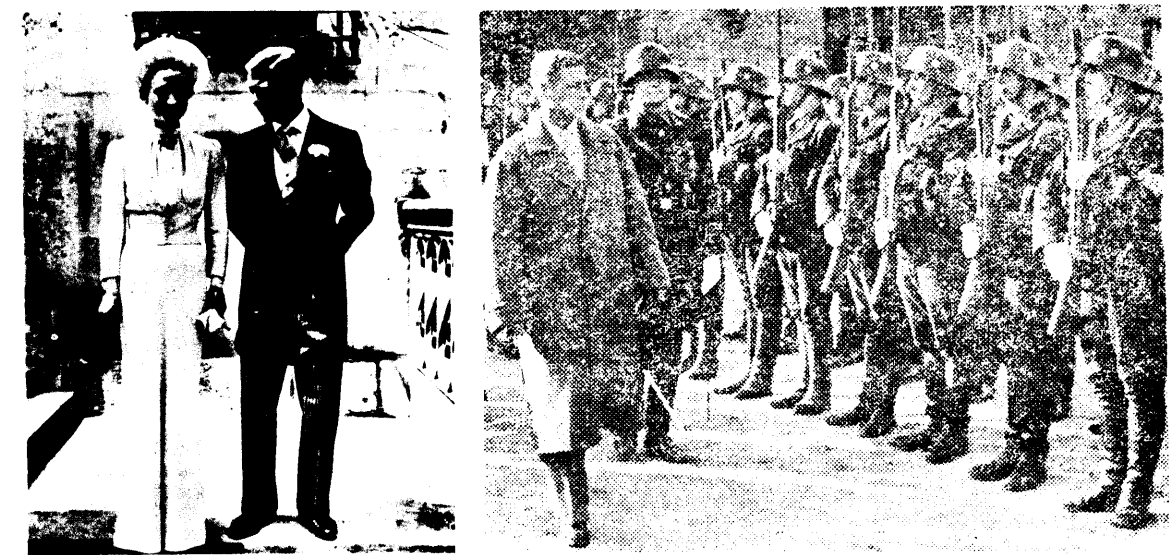
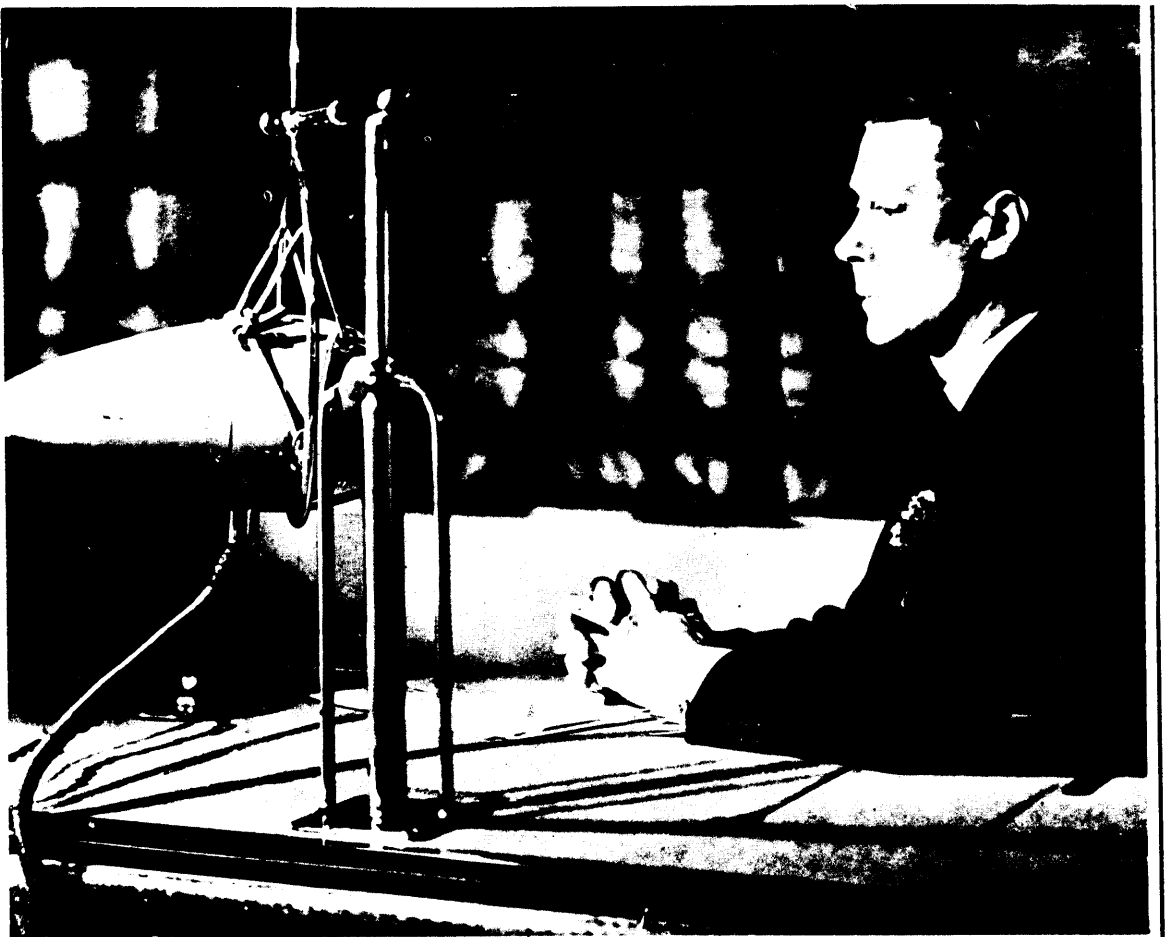
This is indeed a prize well worth the temporary closure of the yard. The fact that this is the first shut-down in Barrow's history measures the importance of Market entry with a suitably docile labour force to big firms like Vickers.

The Barrow people are used to the tough life—they only won union recognition in 1948—and they have accepted this latest challenge without emotion.

But the fight in this grim and remote Lancashire town has national importance to the working class.

Vickers are only the front-runners in the big capitalist race into Europe. No less than the men on the Clyde, the shipbuilders of Barrow and their families are now in the front line of the political fight to resist the Tory policy of the big monopolies.

# THE KING AND HIS IMAGE-MAKERS



Top: abdication. Centre: 1932, at a training centre for unemployed. Above left: after the wedding. Above right: at another training centre—this time the Nazi training school in Pomerania in 1937.

## TORY PRESS



Rich veins of hypocrisy lie concealed just beneath the paving stones of Fleet Street. They are mined at regular intervals by its denizens, who appear to require a regular dose of cant in order to survive.

One of the richest was unearthed, and not for the first time, by the death of the Duke of Windsor. Over the last couple of weeks it has proved a real gold-mine.

For days we were treated to a neat diet of The Returning Exile (now unfortunately no longer with us), The People's King (a victim of the Establishment), The Woman Who Might have Been Queen (and isn't even Her Royal Highness) and —best of all, this, The Man Who Gave Up His Throne For Love.

It was all like some gruesome fairy story, particularly as the press saw fit to ignore such minor details of the ex-King's life as his meeting with Hitler and his friendships with the extreme right.

But it all might never have happened if the Tory press had its way at the time. While the continental and American papers and magazines were full of details about the divorce of Mrs Simpson and the King's relationship with her, the Fleet Street papers of the day maintained an iron silence.

The King's subjects, in the view of the press lords of the day, were the last people who ought to be told about the Royal scandal—and in fact the news finally broke only as a result of an indiscreet public remark by a provincial bishop.

This illustrates a general principle about the way the Tory papers treat the Royal Family: the constant shower of banal non-information about them is simply a smokescreen to conceal the sordid reality.

This, after all, is about the only way the Tory press could write about these wealthy parasites without provoking a storm of republican, not to say revolutionary sentiment.

The matter at issue is clearly understood by the class-conscious Tories who direct the Fleet Street papers.

'The Times', in its dissection of the reasons for its silence while the Abdication crisis was brewing, writes of the 'keen awareness' displayed by editor Geoffrey Dawson 'of the dangers to which the crisis had exposed the institution of the Monarchy'.

Dawson had known for three months of the back-stage manoeuvres involving the King and the Baldwin government. Like the rest of the press, 'The Times' kept this information from its readers until it could keep silent no longer.

What was Dawson's 'keen awareness' all about?

Writing ten years before the Abdication in his book 'Where is Britain Going', Leon Trotsky castigated the philistine Labour leaders for their slavish admiration of the Monarchy:

'The royal authority, they declare, "does not hinder" the progress of the country, and works out cheaper than a president, if all the expenses of election, etc., are taken into consideration.

'Such speeches from the workers' leaders characterize that aspect of the "oddity" [of British development] which it is impossible to call other than a conservative clownishness.

'The royal authority is weak, so long as the instrument of bourgeois domination is the bourgeois parliament, and so long as the bourgeoisie has no need of extra-parliamentary methods of action.

'But in case of need the bourgeoisie can make use of the royal authority with great success, as the concentration point for all the extra-parliamentary, that is to say, the real forces directed against the working class.

'The British bourgeoisie itself, when in a similar position, knew perfectly well the danger of even the most ficti-

tious monarchy.

'Thus, in 1837 the British government abolished the title of Great Mogul in India, expelling its bearer from the sacred city of Delhi, despite the fact that that title had become a purely nominal one by that time.

'For the British bourgeoisie understood that given certain conditions the Great Mogul might focus the struggle of the Indian upper classes against the British sovereignty.'

The importance of the Abdication crisis for the employing class lay not in the moral issues raised by the King's pro-

posed marriage. At stake were far more radical questions related to the status of the monarchy and its relations with the state.

In the present period, when the bourgeoisie is actively preparing the extra-parliamentary methods of action Trotsky foreshadowed, the monarch still has a key role in its calculations.

So far kept in reserve while the army and the judiciary are pushed into the front line, the royal family are not there simply as decoration: and as usual the Tory press is well aware of the need to keep its real purpose under wraps.





# HOW GANG WAR IS NO SOLUTION

## INTERNATIONAL YOUTH NEWS

Youth gangs are once again hitting the headlines throughout the US, and particularly in the New York areas of the Bronx and Brownsville — densely populated immigrant ghettos.

Here we reprint an article by Abby Rodriguez, editor of 'Young Socialist'—youth section of the American Trotskyist weekly 'Bulletin', analysing the reasons behind the wide-scale gang development.

There has been a recent rise in the development of gangs among the youth. In sections of the city such as the Bronx, Brownsville and in other areas throughout the country, these gangs have grown to large numbers in a short period of months. The Black Spades and the Tomahawks claim to have over 450 members each.

Already in the Bronx many have been arrested charged with possession of dangerous weapons and the reported beatings by the police of innocent youth are growing. Police agents and provocateurs are busily at work infiltrating these gangs and supplying them with weapons in order to set them up for raids and frame-ups in the very manner in which the Panthers were set up.

The development of some kind of leadership and organization among youth was inevitable because of the worsening conditions of poverty and unemployment and the lack of leadership from the political tendencies that used to exist. It is from the very areas where the nationalists such as the Panthers and the Young Lords\* once had a base that these gangs are now emerging, and it is one of the most dangerous turns for the youth and the working class.

The break-up of the gangs in the early 1960s occurred because youth needed a means in order to fight capitalism. This required a political turn and the nationalists filled the leadership role for a while.

Some like the Young Lords Party were formed from gangs.

But the deepening crisis of capitalism required another leap forward by their leadership. It required the turn towards Marxism and the history of the movement which Huey Newton began but did not carry out, when he turned to dialectics. Because of this the nationalists could no longer provide the leadership required in this new period, leaving the youth now open to all the attacks of the government.

The revisionists and Stalinists played a central role in allowing this reactionary turn towards gangs. It was the Young Socialist Alliance and the Communist Party which adapted completely to nationalism instead of warning of the dangers that nationalism would lead to and fighting to break the youth and turn them towards questions of Marxism.

Now the nationalists are completely with capitalism. The Panthers are supporting the very Democrats and Republicans who support the attacks of the police on the youth and the Stalinists and revisionists have a major responsibility for allowing this.

If there was a need for youth to think politically in the early 1960s, today it is a hundred times more urgent to do so. The gangs today, while some members are political, are not political as a whole.

The leadership which holds positions such as war-lords, peace counsellor, and Supreme, are an élite clique whose decisions are not to be argued or even questioned, as in the 'Tomahawks'. They treat the rest of the members as if they were so much dirt.

But the biggest obstacle is the suppression of political discussions among most gangs which at every point hinders the political development of these youths. This stifling of political discussion is necessary so that these leaders can maintain their privileged positions at the expense of the rest of the members.

This makes these gangs agents of the very capitalist forces which oppress the working-class youth.

Many of these gangs are waging a fight against the pushers in the neighbourhoods. But this fight cannot be effective

without a fight against the entire capitalist system which allows and encourages the use of dope.

What is required now is a revolutionary movement built on Marxism and Trotskyism that can lead a fight against capitalism. The only way forward for these youth is through the Young Socialists who are fighting against unemployment and calling on the unions to do so.

The Young Socialists have the only programme which unites all youth and workers on a class basis against the government.

The call for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay can create more jobs for workers and youth. The call for the building of a labour party made up of workers and youth against the Democrats and Republicans is the only way forward.

There is nothing that youth can accomplish by themselves isolated from the power of the working class, the unions. Gangs will encourage more attacks by the police who would be very happy if this summer was to turn into a gang war between unemployed youth. The political questions facing these youth must be taken up by the members of these gangs and the programme of the Young Socialists as the only alternative must be brought up.

\* The Young Lords are a Puerto-Rican nationalist youth movement in the US.

Top: Police arrest a youth in Manhattan scuffle. Below: Huey Newton whose black nationalist movement now leaves youth open to all the attacks of the government.



# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## GENEVA WELCOMES DICTATOR

Guest speaker at the International Labour Conference in Geneva this week is a curious choice, even by the standards of the UN-backed International Labour Office.

He is the Shah of Iran, whose traditional solution to industrial relations problems consists in putting 'troublemakers' in front of a firing squad.

A typical sample of labour conditions under this enlightened monarch is to be found in a report on child labour submitted to the conference.

It says the bulk of production in the Iranian carpet industry comes from small private workshops and home work.

'Conditions in such workshops are generally extremely poor,' the report says, 'and the employment of very young girls is normal.'

'Home work is a still more severe problem . . . The girls are practically infants and their employment and conditions of work are subject to no controls.'

The conference is being held in Geneva. In February the Shah's aide, Prince Amir Dawaalou, was implicated in the case of an Iranian businessman arrested in Switzerland for possessing suitcases full of opium.

The Prince escaped any penalty because he has diplomatic immunity.

## UNISEX

Don Blas Pinar, leading Spanish fascist, national adviser to the Falange movement and promoter of unofficial paramilitary units, has been speaking out once more against the moral decadence of our age.

At a dinner given in his honour in Guadalajara, he declared that he was going to 'put Spanish youth on its feet'.

For Pinar, this youth is becoming effeminate through its use of unisex clothes and its singing of protest rather than patriotic songs.

With his usual subtle grasp of historical parallel, he claimed that in the time of the medieval king San Fernando, there were 'no drugs, no eroticism, nor Marxist books in shop windows'.

(In reality, San Fernando's reign did suffer from the usual rash of randy nuns and lecherous monks in its religious institutions!)

Pinar rounded off his diatribe against youth in revolt against capitalism by expressing the fear that 'an effeminate youth is being created so that it can be destroyed by the virile peoples of the East'.

Pinar shares the benefit with Franco and Carrero Blanco that the mass of Spanish youth are not prepared to be organized in anti-communist bands and quite rightly fears they may not be quite so 'effeminate' in dealing with the Spanish bourgeoisie.

Don Blas Pinar—new campaign against youth.



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# CONFERENCE COMMENT

## From Philip Wade in Hastings



# Engineers reaffirm fight for the right to work

TWO YEARS in succession now the defence of the right to work has been the first resolution down for discussion at the AUEW's national conference.

In 1971 conference instructed the National Executive Council to 'support the right to work as the most important aspect in the struggle against the Tory government.'

It went on: 'Redundancy payments are no substitute for work in a situation where the employing class, with the Tories acting as their political spearhead, are determined to increase unemployment by productivity deals and closures in order to defeat the working class.'

That resolution became an integral part of the successful Young Socialists Right-to-Work campaign launched last winter. The backing of Britain's second largest union for the defence of this basic right was hammered home throughout the entire trade union and labour movement.

The resolution this year took the AUEW further and called on

the NEC to campaign for the return of a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

'This is the only way to get back the right to work', Bill Purvis, delegate from Middlesbrough—one of the hardest-hit unemployment areas—told me after he had moved the resolution.

'Indeed if the Parliamentary Labour Party had voted against the Tories on the Common Market we could have had a General Election already.'

As far as he was concerned the resolution was the most important on the agenda.

'Teenagers educated through GCE, ONC and HNC levels are finding it impossible to get work. Boys and girls are going straight from school onto the unemployment exchange. And remember, they cannot sit in or lock their factory gates.'

'The North East is a national tragedy. The old labour intensive industries are going and the new capital intensive firms don't bring any more job opportunities. And all the redundancy payments in the world don't compensate for that.'

In Consett—where steel redundancies are still hitting the trade unions—the ball bearings combine of Ransome, Hoffman and Pollard has just announced 27 per cent redundancies.



'They are trying for work-sharing. If that fails they will take over the place,' said Bill.

'It's now a question of carrying out the meaning of this resolution. We have to galvanize the working class into a campaign to bring about the downfall of this government.'

'The Tories intend to maintain unemployment to depress our living standards. When Labour is returned they have to carry out Clause 4 and take control of the means of production.'

Len Brindle, convenor at Leyland's, Chorley, Lancs, plant, said the creation of unemployment was in preparation for Common Market entry. The resolution could only be carried out by participation in a struggle against the government.

Bill Graham from Carlisle warned the conference: 'This unemployment began with Wilson's "shake-out" under a Labour government. What the Tories have done is to do what Wilson did—only better. I hope a new Labour government won't try and implement another wage freeze like the one in 1966.'

The other resolution on the first day of the conference was an executive motion on the Industrial Relations Act.

The essence of the resolution read: 'We instruct the NEC to use all the resources of our union to develop a mass campaign at district and national level including, if necessary, strike action to defeat the Industrial Relations Act.'

While the resolution also called for complete non-cooperation with the Act and for a TUC fund to assist those unions who might have their assets sequestered, it posed no real fight with the government.

The executive had carefully drafted the motion to avoid even mentioning the Tory government. This confusion and vacillation was compounded by reference to strike action 'if necessary'.

Hugh Scanlon set the tone for the debate with a short speech which lacked any fire and which was permeated with complacency.

Said the AUEW President: 'There's not much more that can really be added. I covered most of it in my address this morning and the motion is self-explanatory.'

Seconding the motion from the



Bill Purvis (left) from Middlesbrough who moved the right-to-work motion: 'The North East is a national tragedy.' Bill Graham (right): 'Unemployment began with Wilson's "shake-out".' Below: Youth on one of the five Young Socialists' Right-to-Work marches which were based on the AUEW national committee resolution passed at last year's conference.



floor Andy McKay from South Shields said: 'I congratulate the NEC for putting this motion on the agenda. We are really speaking to the converted here. The Tories realize they've created a monster and now they don't know what to do with it.'

'The worst thing is that we have met an about-face by the TUC leadership and leaders of unions like the electricians who are prepared to register.'

Sid Harraway, a convenor at Ford's, Dagenham, said they had to endeavour to 'spread the atmosphere from this meeting.'

There was a need to confront the government. When this happened, he added, the NIRC seemed to find a way around the situation where it had to call people to the courts.

The only real discussion came after an addendum was moved by delegates from the construction section which called upon a future Labour government to

pay back fines extracted from unions by the NIRC.

Cliff Arrowsmith from Portsmouth said the Tories had intended to put the trade unions on the rack.

'We are in a struggle and there's nothing wrong with the addendum. We've always said when we re-nationalize industry we wouldn't pay compensation—which is the same principle.'

But Peter Povey said it was a form of escapism.

'Whether we like it or not we're saddled with the Tory government for another two and a half years and there's no guarantee of a Labour government after that. It is so much pie in the sky. The EC policy is a credible one.'

Scanlon also spoke against the addition to the motion, saying he never did like retrospective law. The addendum was eventually withdrawn and the EC resolution passed unanimously.

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## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

WANDSWORTH: Thursday June 15, 8 p.m. Selkirk Hotel, Selkirk Rd, Tooting Broadway. 'Build Councils of Action'.

LINCOLN: Thursday, June 15, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Wragby Lincoln.

NORTH KENT: Tuesday June 20, 8 p.m. SOGAT House, Essex Rd, Dartford. 'Why a Labour government pledged to socialist policies'.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday June 20, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe

Ave. Barking. 'Fight the Tory rents policy'.

SOUTH LONDON: Tuesday June 20, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

SHEFFIELD: Wednesday, June 21, 7.30 p.m. 'New White Lion', Wicker. 'Build Councils of Action'.

NORTH LONDON: Thursday June 22, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Road

(near White Hart Lane). 'Building the revolutionary party'.

CROYDON: Thursday June 22, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

LUTON: Thursday June 22, 8 p.m. St John Ambulance Brigade Hall, Lea Rd. 'Stalinism'.

SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday June 22, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club (opposite New Cross Stn.). 'Stalinism'.

# TV



'Man Alive' on BBC-2 tonight delves into pupil protest

## BBC 1

9.20-9.35 Pogles' Wood. 9.38 Schools. 10.45 Boomph with Becker. 10.55 Cricket. Benson and Hedges cup. 11.35 Schools. 11.55 Cricket. 1.00 Disc a dawn. 1.30 Camberwick green. 1.45 News. 1.52-2.00 Cricket. 2.05 Schools. 2.25 Cricket. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Magic roundabout. 4.45 Jackanory. 4.55 Starsport. 5.10 Pixie and Dixie. 5.15 Search. 5.44 Hector's house. 5.50 News and weather.

### 6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 WHERE IN THE WORLD.

7.00 SPY TRAP. Who Among Us?

7.25 STAR TREK. Private Little War.

8.10 THE EXPERT. Smither-eens.

9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.

9.20 SPORTSNIGHT. European football championships and Tokyo Olympiad.

11.15 24 HOURS.

10.50 Weather.

## ITV

10.20-2.00 Schools. 12.55 Wills open tennis tournament. 1.40 Schools. 2.32 Good afternoon (London, Yorkshire, Tyne Tees only). 3.00 Tennis. 3.45 Edgar Wallace. 4.40 Hatty town. 4.55 Lift off. 5.20 Fly into danger. 5.50 News.

### 6.00 TODAY.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 THE SMITH FAMILY. Anniversary.

7.30 CORONATION STREET.

8.00 CADE'S COUNTY. Safe Deposit.

9.00 THE MAIN CHANCE.

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 FOOTBALL.

11.25 WILLS OPEN TENNIS TOURNAMENT.

12.10 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.

12.25 EPILOGUE.

## BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.35-7.00 Open University.

7.05 MEASURE OF CONSCIENCE. Lord Hailsham.

7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.

8.00 TIMES REMEMBERED.

8.10 MAN ALIVE. Pupil Protest.

9.00 POT BLACK. Snooker.

9.20 FILM: 'CRY THE BELOVED COUNTRY'. Canada Lee, Sidney Poitier, Charles Carson. A white man and a black man in Natal come to understand each other through suffering.

10.50 NEWS ON 2 and weather. 10.55 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

## REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 10.20-3.55 London. 4.05 Paulus. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Good afternoon. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 F troop. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure hunt. 7.30 London. 12.07 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 12.07 News, weather. 12.11 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 11.00 London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Jokers wild. 7.30 London. 12.10 News. 12.20 Weather. Epilogue.

HARLECH: 11.00 London. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Dave Cash. 7.00 Jokers wild. 7.30 London. 8.00 Hawaii five-O. 9.00 London. 12.10 Weather.

HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 3.45 Hamdden. 4.15-4.30 Miri mawr. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd.

HTV West as above except: 6.15-6.30 Report West.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 London. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Ghost and Mrs Muir. 4.40 Magic ball. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. Police five. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Odd couple. 7.30 London.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sporting challenge. 7.30 London. 8.00 Bonanza. 9.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 10.00 London. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Hatty town. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Jokers wild. 7.30 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 12.10 Odd couple. 12.40 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 London. 3.30 Yoga. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.30 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. What's on. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Dr Simon Locke. 7.30 London.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 London. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 Jokers wild. 7.30 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 12.10 News. 12.25 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 11.00 London. 3.30 Hatty town. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.15 Cartoon. 6.30 Melody inn. 7.00 Jokers wild. 7.30 London. 12.15 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00 London. 3.38 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Jimmy Stewart. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.10 Grampian week. 7.00 Jokers wild. 7.30 London. 8.55 Police news. 9.00 London. 10.30 Marcus Welby. 11.25 London. 12.10 Epilogue.

## Insurance cash lost

INSURANCE companies lost £25.5m on policies last year, in spite of the extra £80m paid on premiums, the British Insurance Association reported yesterday.

## Court clash avoided

A CLASH between workers and the Appeal Court over industrial relations was avoided yesterday when 32 Hartlepool's fitters called off a threatened strike after a management climb-down.

The men who work for the Expanded Metal Company were due to withdraw their labour in protest against alleged blacklegging by members of the General and Municipal Workers' Union.

Their action would have been in defiance of the Appeals Court which granted the company an injunction banning strike action.

The Hartlepool district secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Fred Richmond, said management had taken the G&MWU member off the fitters' job. Talks on the situation would continue today.

When the case came before the National Industrial Relations Court the AUEW did not attend, in line with union policy.

But the Court refused to issue an order calling off the 13-week strike. This was reversed in the Appeal Court.

'It is a little too early to call this a victory', said Mr Richmond. 'There has been some movement, but we will have to wait and see what position management hold.'

This compared with 1970's record loss of £31.3m. Premium income rose 'sharply' to £296m, compared with £216m in 1970, but this was not enough to 'offset the effects of inflation on claims costs,' said the report.

Claims in 1971 increased to 2,158,000 from 2,029,000 in 1970 with the average cost per claim up by 14 per cent. Loss as a percentage of premium was 8.6 per cent compared with 14.5 per cent in 1970.

Repair costs increased sharply during the year and while they continued to do so, premiums could not be stabilized.

'The future outlook', said the report, 'both as regards premiums and profitability will largely be conditioned by the effects of inflation.'

The association later warned that car insurance premiums are likely to rise by up to 30 per cent this year.

## Chrysler men back

PRODUCTION at Chrysler UK's Coventry factories resumed yesterday after a week-long strike by 1,000 trim track workers. The company laid off 1,500 other employees during the dispute. The strikers had protested about being laid off too frequently. The management is now considering a union peace formula dealing with lay-off payments, grievances and future wage negotiations.

### LECTURE Sheffield

Monday, June 19, 7.30 p.m.  
Burgreave Vestry Hall

Lecture on Marxist philosophy by Cliff Slaughter, Central Committee member of the Socialist Labour League

## Doctors' fears over mental health policies

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CONCERN about official Department of Health policy on services for the mentally ill was expressed by a doctors' committee report out yesterday.

Set up by the British Medical Association, the Royal College of Psychiatrists and the Society of Medical Officers of Health the committee said that no mental hospital should be closed down until alternative services in the community are really adequate and efficient.

Department of Health policy is that large mental hospitals should be phased out over the next 15 years and replaced by psychiatric departments in general hospitals and by community care hospitals.

Community care, says the

committee, is still completely inadequate in some local authorities.

'Unfortunately, the Department of Health and Social Security appears to have planned as if community care was already an accepted service of excellence', the report stated.

'This is seen in the extremely low ratio of mental illness beds considered necessary (0.5 per 1,000 population) in their official guidelines, and in their policy of running down the existing mental hospitals even now, and of eventually closing them altogether.'

## 2nd strike in Jarrow

JARROW dustmen have gone on strike after refusing to work with a man who they say scabbed on a strike last year.

Trouble began at the Ellison Road cleansing depot on Monday when Herbert Lown was returned to work there. This led to an immediate walk-out and the dustmen say they will keep their action up until Friday.

Other council workers in the town are threatening a one-day token strike. This is the second time in five weeks Jarrow council workers have struck over Mr Lown.

## O'Brady released in Eire

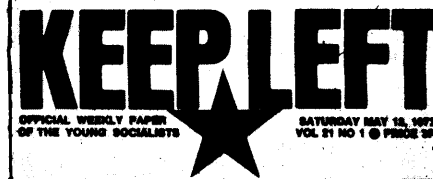
PROVISIONAL Sinn Fein leader Rory O'Brady was yesterday cleared of all charges when he appeared at Eltham Court, Co. Roscommon, Eire.

He had been accused of being a member of the IRA and of being in possession of incriminating documents. O'Brady has been on hunger strike for the last two weeks at Mountjoy jail, Dublin, since his arrest under the Offences Against the State Act.

Since the weekend, his wife has also been on hunger strike outside Mountjoy.

Last week, his brother Sean O'Brady, Sinn Fein Provisional publicity director, was also released after the prosecution offered no evidence against him. He was also charged with being an IRA member.

## NOW WEEKLY



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## Shares drop as trade in the red... again

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

TRADE figures released yesterday gave a fresh indication of the continued deterioration in Britain's economic performance.

They revealed that for the fourth successive month that visible trade with the rest of the world was well in red.

The deficit for May was £43m against a revised deficit of £50m for April. This means Britain's trading performance has grown worse during the three months March to May.

The average monthly deficit for this period was £59m compared with an average deficit for the first five months of the year of £42m.

With earnings from invisible trade such as banking and investment running at £50m per month, this continuing poor performance on visibles is threatening to plunge Britain's entire trading account in the red.

The City was quick to react to the news—government stocks dropped by up to 50p and leading industrial shares slid back a penny or two.

The figures follow the news that industry is not responding to the government's limited attempt to revive the economy.

The Department of Industry and Trade has revealed that almost half the firms in manufacturing industry are even more pessimistic about future investment than they were before the spring budget and publication of the Industry Bill.

The DTI survey shows confidence over the last six months has deteriorated more sharply than in any comparable period for the last nine years.

The level of manufacturing investment has steadily declined since 1970 and the total for the first three months of this year is £10m below the last quarter of 1971.

A note of alarm over the level of business activity was sounded yesterday by Robin Brook, president of the London Chamber of Commerce.

He warned that unless Britain improved its industrial relations, investment would start flowing out of Britain to seek markets abroad.

Prospects are, however, unlikely to improve. More deflation to change pessimistic attitudes in industry would only further jeopardise the balance of payments and threaten a further devaluation of the pound.

# Inquiry bait to end dockers' strike action

## But will delegates bite?

BY DAVID MAUDE, Our industrial correspondent

UNION LEADERS will today try to call off the threatened national docks strike.

They will offer dockers' delegates meeting in London a six-week inquiry into providing jobs for men without an employer.

Conducted jointly with the port bosses, the ostensible aim of the inquiry would be to secure work for dockers on the temporary unattached register.

A statement issued yesterday morning from a meeting of the special union-employer committee on the docks thought it should be possible to provide 'a useful number' of jobs for dockers in the container industry.

The statement—signed by Jack Jones of the Transport and General Workers' Union and Lord Aldington of the Port of London Authority—was later discussed by the ports' national joint council.

A meeting of the T&GWU

docks and waterways committee yesterday evening considered the outcome of both meetings. Today's delegate conference is expected to hear a recommendation from the committee.

Dockers from most major ports, however, will be on strike today demanding national official action on the jobs issue, and a mass lobby of the delegate conference has been called for.

Almost 5 per cent of Britain's 40,000 dockers were registered as temporarily unattached yesterday morning.

Jones and Aldington are clearly hoping for a reduction in

this figure by the time their report falls due. But dockers have little reason for believing this will be the case and the inquiry will be widely seen as a mere delaying tactic.

The air of sweet reasonableness in yesterday's statement has been generated by representatives of precisely those men who have produced the jobs crisis in the ports.

Most of yesterday's unattached men—1,655 out of 1,908—were in London.

The bulk of these are men returned to the pool by Southern Stevedores Ltd, which has links

with the influential Ocean Steamship group.

Several other stevedoring firms have attempted to throw labour into the pool in recent months, including Wallis, Smith, Coggins Ltd, a partnership between T. D. Wallis Ltd of London and the Liverpool-based company A. E. Smith Coggins.

Directors of the partnership also have interests in other firms which have tried to shed labour, including Regent Stevedoring and J. Leete and Sons Ltd.

Thomas D. Wallis is chairman of ICD London East, which runs the Chobham Farm container depot currently being 'blacked' by London dockers.

He is also a director of Cargo Services Ltd, of Felixstowe, and a member of the London Dock Labour Board.

George Tonge, chairman of the National Association of Port Employers and a leader of the national joint council, is a director of at least two other firms which are being blacked and picketed by the London dockers.



WORKERS at Leadgate Engineering, Consett, Co. Durham on the march against unemployment. The firm is due to close on June 30, but the workers have occupied the premises and say they will stay there. See Workers Press tomorrow for the full story of this battle for the right to work.

## Engineers split jobs fight from socialism

FROM PHILIP WADE in Hastings

BRITAIN'S engineers called on the Tories to adopt policies of full employment at their annual conference in Hastings yesterday.

The country's record jobless totals was the main talking point at the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' conference.

The main motion, moved by Wallsend-on-Tyne delegate Les Allen asked the government to

'adopt a policy of full employment' and for the TUC to ensure that every government endorsed this policy.

Six demands were put forward including a shorter working week without loss of pay, reduction in overtime, lower interest rates, control of export capital and cuts in arms expenditure.

The motion also called for direction of industry and special investment grants and higher social security benefits and wages with the aim of creating 'a higher consumer market'.

Early speakers in the debate were at pains to separate the fight for socialism with a struggle on 'immediate' demands outlined in the motion.

'Until we achieve socialism we will have unemployment', said Les Allen. 'And by socialism I mean the control of the means of production by the working people.'

Then he added: 'Having said that, we have an obligation in the short term to ameliorate the unemployment position to the best of our ability within the economic system we live in.'

Sheffield delegate Herbert Howarth said the organized labour movement was now putting forward a programme for struggle on unemployment 'even before the attainment of that ideal land that lies in the future—socialism'.

He asked delegates not to come out categorically against men accepting work-sharing at lower wages.

Bill Anten, Stockport delegate, questioned whether those who would vote for the resolution were prepared to support the mandate given to the NEC.

'Delegates sitting in this room,' he said, 'have accepted deals recently on wages without any reduction in hours. If you're not prepared to fight don't put your card up.'

Technical section delegate H. Blair spelled out the dilemma facing delegates.

'The demand for the right to work is one which the capitalist system cannot really give', he said.

'Unemployment is rife throughout the capitalist world. Capitalism is faced with a declining rate of profit. This pressure on the system will only be broken when we change and tear the structure down.'

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Earlier Len Miseldine, Waltham, moved a motion also carried calling on the NEC to give full support and use all its resources to back members defending their right to work.

Workers who refused to do work transferred from closed or merged factories should be supported.

Miseldine called for a share in technological advancement through a reduction in hours and longer holidays.

Stan Cole, Manchester, said in the recent engineering fight in his area the biggest resistance they had met from employers was to the demand for a reduction in hours.

## Whitelaw in talks with Ulster far right

ULSTER Secretary William Whitelaw and the province's army chief, Sir Harry Tuzo, yesterday held talks with the leadership of the extreme right-wing Ulster Defence Association.

The fact that Whitelaw is conducting amicable discussions with the UDA presents great dangers to the Republican movement.

The UDA is a military body comprising Unionist, Loyalist, Orange Order and other reactionary elements.

Late yesterday Whitelaw's office in Belfast would not disclose the names of the UDA spokesmen in the delegation.

Former UDA chairman Harden Smith is in custody in London on an arms-smuggling charge.

The UDA has vowed to permanently set up 'no-go' areas in Belfast and other major centres this weekend unless the army does something to end the Catholic 'no-go' areas—Creggan and Bogside.

The additional troops being sent to Ulster by Whitelaw are the First Btn Royal Scots Regiment, which is making its fourth tour of duty.

The 550-odd men will bring the army's strength in Ulster to 15,000.

## JUNE FUND STANDS AT £230,28

THE RESPONSE to our June Fund is disappointing. At a time when the Tory government is forced to concede to the railwaymen, we must increase our efforts to make this crisis-ridden government resign.

To be lulled by the Tories is dangerous. In the meantime, they will use this situation to prepare to fight back even more viciously than before.

We urge you all therefore, don't waste a moment. Workers Press is vital in preparing the working class for the next stage of the fight. Make a special effort today for our June Fund. If you can add something extra yourself. We must raise our target which includes an extra £500 on time. Post all donations immediately to:

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CIRCULATION  
01-622 7029

APART from rather cloudy weather in southern districts at first, it will be a dry day in England and Wales with sunny spells, particularly in the west.

Scotland and Northern Ireland will start dry, with sunny intervals, but cloudy weather with occasional rain will spread to Northern Ireland and West Scotland later. It will be rather cool.

Outlook for Thursday and Friday: Becoming dry in many places, with sunny periods. Rain at times in the south east. Rather cool.