

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • THURSDAY JUNE 22, 1972 • No. 798 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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FROM STEPHEN JOHNS IN GLASGOW

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'I am sure one of the things that will have to happen is a massive campaign in the unions and among the general public to bring pressure on the government and the steel corporation to take whatever action can be taken to maintain a very high level of employment in the steel industry in Scotland.'

Another STUC official described the huge jobs losses as 'a crisis worse than UCS'.

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Meanwhile, since the liquidation at UCS 12 months ago, 17,000 jobs have been lost in Scotland. That's over 1,400 men made wholly unemployed each month.

These massive redundancies have occurred throughout the electrical and engineering industry—at Plessey, Burroughs, Babcock and Wilcox, National Cash Register and, of course, BSC.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the capitalist media—television and the most reactionary newspapers—the church, the right-wing Labourites, the trade union bureaucrats all climbed on the Stalinists' bandwagon.

The 12 months of endless, demoralizing discussions have wound down the struggle; men have walked out of the yards and whoever remains under the new Tory arrangements will be subjected to vicious productivity levels.

Above all, the political fight against unemployment was deliberately kept out of UCS. The fight to bring down the Tory government and re-elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies and the restoration of full employment was stifled at the time when thousands of Scottish workers were on the offensive.

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the longest dole queues in Scotland. The route is shown on the map above.

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YOUNG SOCIALISTS SCOTTISH REGIONAL CAMPAIGN

### WE DEMAND THE RIGHT TO WORK

Dundee to Glasgow—Sat 24 June—Sat 1 July

## MARCH



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## NIRC to pronounce on picketing

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

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Sir John Donaldson, NIRC president, announced this yesterday after another private hearing attended by lawyers for the Chobham Farm depot workers and the employers.

He said that an important point of law had emerged from the discussions.

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'But what,' asked Sir John, 'if the picketing is undertaken as a means of doing an act which would otherwise be an "unfair industrial practice" for example, encouraging men to take part in a strike of which no notice has been given. Does S. 134 provide any answer to a complaint?'

Section 134 of the Act states that if the picketing is peaceful, and related to an industrial dispute, it is not an offence under the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act 1875 and it is not in itself an unlawful act.

Sir John said there were three reasons why the point was important. It could affect a wide range of industrial disputes, the sort of orders—temporary and permanent—the NIRC could make and vitally affected the sort of evidence that was needed to satisfy the court.

The NIRC had taken the view in the Chobham Farm case that S. 134 did not permit picketing to be used to induce someone to break his contract—conduct which would otherwise be unfair under the Act.

But in the light of arguments in the Court of Appeal, Sir John added, the section had to be clarified before the NIRC could proceed further on this matter.

The dockers would be entitled to put forward arguments but the Court wanted the help of a barrister to act as a friend of the court.

The Official Solicitor would be asked to instruct counsel for this purpose.

The hearing would be as soon as possible. The President added that in the meantime there would be no avoidable delay in dealing with the Chobham Farm workers' complaint.

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June Appeal Fund,  
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## FOREIGN NEWS

## Kissinger's Peking talks are highly secret

**PRESIDENTIAL** envoy Henry Kissinger had two more secret sessions of talks with Chinese leaders in Peking on the second full day of his visit.

He has now held five sessions of negotiations since his arrival and all news about the talks is being rigidly suppressed by the Peking Stalinists.

The secrecy and the intensive character of the discussion lends substance to the idea that the fate of the Vietnamese revolution is top of the agenda.

Suspicion is growing in Hanoi that some of their 'socialist' allies are getting ready to ditch the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front in the interests of peaceful co-existence with imperialism.

Journalist Jean Thoraval reported from Hanoi on Tuesday that 'the few remarks so far about president Podgorny's 72-hour visit indicate that he provoked some bitterness on the part of the North Vietnamese'.

The visit was not publicized in the North Vietnamese newspapers or on the radio and the first public acknowledgement of Podgorny's trip came on Monday with a Foreign Office statement described by Thoraval as 'rich in significance'.

The statement was vague and

# Hanoi fears ditching

added nothing new and, more significantly, bore no official stamp—a very rare omission. While the press kept silent about Podgorny's trip it carried lengthy articles on the 90th birthday of Bulgarian Stalinist Georgi Dimitrov stressing his statement:

'Union of all countries is necessary against imperialism.'

This implicit rebuke to the Kremlin and Peking is accompanied by articles stressing that the Vietnamese revolution can be carried through by the Vietnamese people themselves.

Thoraval adds: 'Observers have

been left with the impression that Hanoi views with disfavour current moves involving three Big Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union and China—and the pressures they are exerting to arrive at a settlement of the Indo-China conflict.

'In this connection, the decision to halt bombing around Hanoi during President Podgorny's visit was seen here as "amoral" and it was noticed that China had failed to react "very energetically" to the increasing closeness of bombing to her frontiers.'



Henry Kissinger

The tightening of the diplomatic noose around the Vietnamese revolution has so far failed to evoke any response from the self-styled defenders of the Vietnamese in the British Communist Party. The 'Morning Star' continues to publish without comment the Kremlin's worthless pledges of continued support to Hanoi.

The 'Star's' silence in the face of these sinister diplomatic manoeuvres is a necessary part of the plot to strangle the Vietnamese struggle on the part of Peking and Moscow.

## Yakir to be tried soon?

SOVIET historian Pyotr Yakir, son of a Soviet general shot in the Stalinist purges in 1937, was detained at his apartment in Moscow yesterday by plain-clothes men, his friends reported.

Informed sources indicated he would be put on trial soon for 'anti-constitutional activity which he had systematically carried on for several years'.

Among the evidence to be produced against him was that he had allegedly organized a group of young people to help him in 'activities of an anti-Soviet and anti-constitutional character'.

Yakir has been a consistent opponent of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and a leader of the movement to defend constitutional rights.

Among his friends are General Pyotr Grigorenko, imprisoned by the Kremlin in a lunatic asylum.

Yakir was among 55 people who signed an open letter to the United Nations Human Rights Commission three years ago.

It expressed deep indignation over 'unceasing political persecutions in the Soviet Union, perceiving in them a return to Stalin's times, when all our country was in the grip of terror.'

Pyotr Yakir is the son of Ion Yakir, one of the most famous Soviet generals and commander of the Ukraine Military District, who was shot on Stalin's orders after a secret trial on June 11, 1937.

After his father was shot, Pyotr Yakir spent 14 years in prison camps on trumped-up charges of anti-Soviet activity—including an alleged attempt to organize an 'anarchistic cavalry band'.

His mother, who died last year, spent 18 years imprisoned for being a member of the family of 'a traitor to the fatherland'.

Both were rehabilitated in 1955 and General Yakir was posthumously rehabilitated in 1957. Yakir now works as a librarian for the Academy of Sciences.

## 'Cowboy' Abrams takes top Army job

**GENERAL** Creighton W. Abrams, Nixon's military commander in Vietnam, has been appointed to replace General William Westmoreland as Army Chief of Staff.

Abrams, a World War II veteran, has the reputation of one of the most gung-ho commanders in the US army. He is also deeply implicated in the scandals of My Lai and the unauthorized bombing of North Vietnam.

Commissioned a second lieu-

tenant in the cavalry in 1936, he served during the war in armoured units. One anecdote tells of him entering a captured German town sitting on top of his tank and blasting away at bystanders with two six-shooters.

He became US commander in Vietnam in 1968, presiding over the run-down of the US troop strength and the escalation of the brutal air war against the North.

As the top man in the Pentagon, this sinister general will be answerable only to the President for his military exploits.



General Abrams (centre) on duty in Vietnam

## WHAT WE THINK

### ONE OUT, ALL OUT

THE LINCOLN Labour Party's dismissal of pro-Market MP Dick Taverne is a timely reminder to all those revisionists who think that the Labour Party is an inconsequential irrelevancy in British politics.

Their sectarian indifference and repugnance of the Labour Party is certainly not shared by the capitalist media. More editorials have been written in defence of Taverne's treachery and his right to continue committing it than even on the question of devaluation.

That oracle of middle-class suburbia, 'The Guardian', leaves no one in doubt about where it stands on Labour's fifth column:

'The sober truth which Labour people should be facing is that the party is not in a state where it can afford to shed either its right or left wings... If Mr Taverne's dismissal by his constituency party is not reversed by the national executive, it may be taken as the beginning of a witch-hunt... It is not entitled to expect that those with deep convictions shall stand on their heads.'

The 'sober truth' which 'The Guardian' tries desperately to hide is that unless the Labour Party sheds its traitorous right wing the working class will be betrayed and roasted in the inferno of a corporatist dictatorship.

Taverne is one-time Gaitskellite, a leading member of the Campaign for Democratic Socialism, an organization which was set up specifically to defy the authority of Labour Party conference decisions and to revise Clause Four of the LP Constitution.

All his political life he has campaigned as an inveterate reformist enemy of socialism and a defender of monopoly capital. His ex-leader Gaitskell was the friend and confidante of Guy Mollet, the man who conspired with Jules Moch to bury the Fourth Republic and bring de Gaulle to power in May 1958.

In a similar situation in Britain, there is little doubt that Taverne and the rest of the pro-Market mob would behave no differently from Mollet and Moch.

The suggestion that this is a witch-hunt is a ridiculous slander on the integrity of the majority of Lincoln Labour Party members—as well as the Party members nationally—who are determined to see that the Parliamentary Labour Party does not become a law unto itself. They are exercising the rights which should have been exercised by the Parliamentary Labour Party leaders.

But this centre group of Wilson, Crossman and company have no intention of doing so and want to use these liberals as a counter to the left.

When another Labour Party—the Basildon constituency party—tried to exclude a certain right winger from being nominated, the right wing and Transport House resorted to the most extraordinary procedural intrigues—including threat of writs—to prevent trade union and left representation on the General Management Committee and the Selection Conference.

There was even a hint about changing the LP constitution to make it impossible for left-wing socialists to get in!

'The Guardian', however, does not exhaust the attorneys for the defence of Mr Taverne. The 'Scotsman' is more than concerned. It is angry.

'Unless Labour's National Executive deign to come to Mr Taverne's aid at Lincoln, there is nothing he can do to stop his undignified ejection from an otherwise quite safe parliamentary seat... [tut, tut]... It will be a blow to the reputation of the Labour Party, for no one will like to see an excellent and promising MP treated in this way... neither the public nor MPs can be reassured while we leave the selection of candidates in the uncontrolled hands of very small cliques of powerful party workers.'

The 'Scotsman' can scream, but every Labour Party member with a feeling for his or her class will instinctively support the Lincoln Party's action as a blow, not to the 'reputation of the Labour Party',

but against the proponents of the most reactionary conspiracy against the European working class.

Time and again these Labour traitors have come to the aid of the Tories in parliament when the credibility of the government was being knocked to hell by the miners, railmen and dockers.

If the NEC refuses to expel those 69 MPs who voted on the Common Market and kept the Tories in power then the least thing that the Labour Party members can do is to prevent them from being put on the short list. The Wilson leadership must be left in no doubt about what is in store for them.

The 'Scotsman's' attack on Party workers is predictable. So long as the leaders betray and confuse their followers, that is good. So long as the capitalist press is able to influence and manipulate opinion in the Labour Party and the unions that is even better. But once the ranks begin to take a hand in formulating and implementing policy that is intolerable—nay, a witch-hunt!

The 'Scotsman's' anger is also explicable. On another page its correspondent David Bradford writes about the Taverne affair:

'There was much interest among Labour MPs yesterday about the Taverne Affair. Some of the fiercest anti-Marketees saw the case as a shot across the bows of those pro-Marketees who, they charged, put their Market loyalty before Party loyalty.'

'One left-winger was muttering: "One out, all out", as if to suggest all the pro-Market rebels should have action taken against them.'

Already Edward Lyons, Pro-Market MP for Bradford East, is beginning to feel the justified wrath of his constituency workers.

'The Times' follows the 'Scotsman's' lead by stating that 'an MP should never lose his seat simply because he has lost the confidence of a handful of local office bearers...'

This is preceded by a structure on representation: 'An MP is not a delegate. He is not obliged to follow the wishes of his constituents...'

In other words parliamentary democracy presupposes continuous and wholesale renegacy of the Labour opposition!

The concern of the capitalist press has little or nothing to do with the personal fortunes of Taverne. It is closely connected with the deepening economic crisis, the inevitable devaluation of the pound and the collapse of Tory policy and credibility—despite Taverne's collaboration.

They are extremely worried that in the event of a collapse of the Tories and the return of a Labour government the issue of withdrawal from the Common Market will loom large on Labour's agenda. They are trying now to ensure that the Labour Party's commitment to enter the Market—on principle—will remain. As Bradford laments:

'Mr Taverne's trouble comes as the Labour leadership is trying to foil attempts to commit the party at the autumn conference to a declaration that a future Labour government should bring Britain out of the Market unless drastic changes in the terms can be negotiated.'

The Lincoln Party members have not only struck a blow for socialism, they have also exposed the counter-revolutionary alliance of the monopoly press and the Taverne pro-Marketees in the Labour Party. They have also demonstrated the unprincipled attitude of the Stalinists who at the AUEW conference withdrew the resolution condemning the pro-marketees.

The example of the Lincoln party must be followed by trade unionists and Labour Party members in all the other 68 constituencies. It is an integral part of the struggle for a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

● Down with the Common Market!

● For a Socialist United States of Europe!

# Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

## Public gallery cleared as Islington Labourites vote 'Yes'

AFTER A stormy two-hour debate—near the end of which the public gallery was cleared—Islington Labour council voted for the implementation of the Housing Finance Bill at midnight on Tuesday.

The vote itself was something of an empty victory for the upholders of the rule of law. Only 29 voted in favour while 15, including four Tories, voted against. There were several, uncounted, abstentions. And as the council's full complement is 69, several members were not even present for the vote.

Notable supporters of the government's Bill included Jack Straw, former president of the National Union of Students, and Ted Castle, husband of Labour MP Barbara.

Straw, who apparently is seeking Labour nomination at Tonbridge, voted for after a speech which gave everyone the impression he was against.

Throughout the debate there were continuous roars and interruptions from the gallery as the pro-implementers apologized for their actions.

Oppositionists were greeted with loud bursts of cheering and applause.

Council leader Gerald Southgate's speech in proposing the implementation motion well indicated the right wing's betrayal and political bankruptcy.

'If the Bill is passed,' he said, 'it is my intention to deliver a protest in person to No. 10.' (Shouts of 'big deal' from the gallery.)

'Surely one member of the present government could find time to listen to us.

'If we refuse to implement, will our tenants be better off.' (Yes!) 'There is every sign that tenants will be better off.

'If you want to keep rents down, don't throw away the subsidies.' (Bribery.) 'Non-implementation means giving up the fight. We have to go on fighting until the next General Election returns a government to kick the Bill out.' (Collaborator.)

Southgate's speech was then followed by a manoeuvre by Cllr Ray Wylie who had an alternative motion down on the agenda for non-implementation.

Outside the town hall Wylie was reported to have told

FROM PHILIP WADE  
Our housing correspondent



Gerard Flynn (above): Nothing to stop us taking on Tories. Ray Wylie (right): told tenants to go home, then withdrew his motion

tenants he would fight implementation, but advised tenants to go home because they would lose anyway.

Those tenants inside the council then saw the councillor rise to his feet and promptly withdraw his motion to derisive cat-calls from the gallery.

'We have to face the reality of the situation,' he said. 'It would be better if the Bill was implemented by a Labour council than by a Housing Commissioner.'

Tenants made it clear they couldn't see the difference.

Cllr Wylie finally abstained on the vote.

It was left for Cllr Gerard Flynn to clearly put the issues at stake:

'I rise as a Labour Party member, a socialist and a member of a trade union.

'I can't for the life of me agree with implementation. This government has been taken on by the miners, the railwaymen and now the dockers. There is nothing to stop the Labour councils taking on the Tory government.



'The motion says we can soften the blow by implementing. But that's like a man who shakes hands with his friend with one hand and with the other takes money out of his pocket. I shall vote against.' (Wild cheering and applause.)

Another oppositionist, Vic Cordwell also said he was against the Bill and would vote against.

'This Bill is a finance Bill and does no good for anyone but the speculators. For Cllr Southgate to say you can soften the blow is kidology.

'I'm against implementation on principle. At the last council elections we were voted in to run the affairs of the council.

'If the Tories now think I'm going to sit in this chamber and do their dirty work they're wrong.' (Wild applause.)

The deep split inside the Labour Party on the question was revealed in an amazing way when leading implementer Cllr Ernest Bayliss rose to speak.

Heavily barracked from the gallery, he began by referring to chair as Mr Mayor. Shouts of

resign greeted this because the mayor happens to be Mrs Patricia Bradbury.

Mrs Bradbury is against implementation and that could account for her sharp retort to Bayliss:

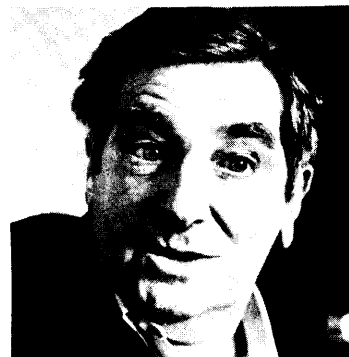
'If you call me Mr Mayor again, I'll call you Mrs Bayliss,' she said. Right-wing Labourites demanded withdrawal by the mayor and were clearly shocked at the venom of her intervention.

'We have a choice of the Labour council or the Housing Commissioner implementing the Bill. The decision on the Bill can only be taken at Westminster. The vote here is not for or against implementation,' said Mr Bayliss.

At this point, 11.20 p.m., the gallery broke into uproar, their patience finally broken by Mr Bayliss. A chief inspector appeared in the gallery and it was finally cleared of the public.

Cllr Jack Straw said he had been in favour of implementation in February.

Now the situation had changed because the government had lost its nerve in face of



Vic Cordwell: Not doing Tories' dirty work

attack by the labour movement. 'In my view those, including myself, who said there would be certain benefits by implementing miscalculated.'

He asked the leader of the council to say if the government refused further representations from the council he would pledge non-implementation.

When the vote came at midnight, Straw voted in favour of implementation.

## Leicester tenants give councillors a rough ride

SHOUTS of 'Cowards' and 'Mice' from angry tenants greeted three Leicester Labour councillors as they announced the Labour-controlled council's decision to implement the 'fair rents' Bill if it became law.

Early this week the message from a meeting of tenants from the recently-formed New Parks and District Tenants' Associa-

tion to the Leicester city council was: 'We will stand up and fight the "fair rent" Act tooth and nail.'

Three Labour councillors outlined the council's position to the meeting. The council were 'completely opposed to the Act', they said, but if it became law they would have to 'work within the framework of that law'.

Shouts and boos greeted this

pronouncement. Said one tenant: 'The council have got no intention at all of fighting this Bill. They are simply going to endorse the Tories.'

Leicester Labour Party has also rejected calls from ward parties for the council to defy the Tories' Rent Bill.

A statement from Labour group leader Alderman Edward Marston and party secretary

Gordon Parker said that the policy was to 'completely oppose the Bill' while it passes through parliament and if it emerges successfully—'an uncertain prospect'—to try 'to obtain the maximum possible benefits for tenants from its provisions'.

The policy was to 'obey the law', but to 'curtail its most divisive and inflationary intentions'.

## BOOKS



Moscow Trials Anthology

Paperback 62½p

MAX SHACHTMAN:

Behind The Moscow Trial

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In this four part series Peter Jeffries traces the history of the British labour movement from the formation of the First International in 1860 to the Taff Vale judgement of 1901. He examines how the British working class built the unions as powerhouses of struggle—and then built the Labour Party after coming under challenge in the courts.

# POLITICS AND THE NEW UNIONISM

## PART THREE

The Industrial Relations Act has effectively killed trade unionism of the 'old type'. The entire system of free collective bargaining built up throughout the 19th century has now been undermined.

Trade unions can survive only to the extent that they are transformed into 'new' unions which become conscious of themselves as organs of proletarian revolution. Such trade unionism can be achieved only under the leadership of the revolutionary party, in struggle against the old reformist and centrist leadership.

It would be a serious mistake if it were thought that this is the first time that the British trade union movement has faced such a crisis in its developments.

The 1880s and 1890s saw a similar transformation of the trade union movement to that which is now required. This was the period in which the movement was forced to dispense with methods of struggle and organization which had become completely outdated and make a decisive turn to a new form of political struggle. It was out of these developments that New Unionism was created and later the Labour Party.

Just as today, so these great changes of 90 years ago were the product of a deep economic and political crisis.

The 1880s marked a period of decisive change for British capitalism. This was the period of imperialism's birth, a time of growing rivalries between the leading capitalist countries, of the growth of monopoly and finance capital and the beginning of the struggle for the division and redivision of the world between these monopoly powers.

## Foreign challenge

Britain, once the 'workshop of the world', now lost its leading industrial and military position. Competition from America, Germany and Japan forced it into more and more open attacks against the working class as desperate attempts were made to modernize and re-equip to face the foreign challenge.

It was in this period of growing world capitalist crisis that trade unionism was itself plunged into crisis. From the 1850s onwards the organized British working class had been characterized by two main features.

(1) The trade union movement was confined almost entirely to the skilled layer in the working class—the 'aristocracy of labour'. Unionization was confined to perhaps around 10 per cent of the working male population, heavily concentrated amongst the skilled workers in engineering, building and iron founding. The policy of the leaders of these unions—of which the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was the typical example—was highly conservative. They believed in conciliation with the employers. They were interested in preserving their privileges and differentials against the unskilled as they were in conducting the struggle against the employers. Their slogan was 'half a loaf is better than none'.

## Extended franchise

That section of the working class which enjoyed the vote—an extension of the franchise had been won in 1867—tended to identify itself with Gladstonian liberalism. The number of organized socialists was extremely small, perhaps numbering only around 1,000 at the start of the 1880s. Such groups were confined almost entirely to the London area, consisted in the main of old Chartists, and were completely isolated from the working-class movement, that is, the unions.

The force which was to shatter these relations was the profound economic changes indicated above. Commenting as early as 1881 on Britain's economic decline, Engels noted (in one of his famous articles in the 'Labour Standard'):

'It will do one great thing: it will break the last link which still binds the English working class to the English middle class. This link was their common working of a national monopoly. That monopoly once destroyed, the British working class will be compelled to take in hand its own interests, its own salvation, and to make an end of the wages system.'

The most significant development took the form, from the late 1880s onwards, of the unionization of the skilled and semi-skilled masses. In a short space of around five years following the 1889 dock strike, the trade union movement was transformed, both qualitatively and quantitatively. This was the period of the birth of the labour movement in its modern form.

Dockers, gasworkers, general

labourers and transport workers swelled the ranks of the union movement and radically altered the balance of power within the Trades Union Congress. Even the older craft unions were affected by these changes. The ASE, for example, faced with severe problems as a result of growing mechanization of the industry, was forced in 1892 to widen its membership to the increasing number of semi-skilled workers. This was but a stage in its transformation into a mass union, the AEU, established in 1921.

These New Unions, as they became known, were built in the face of the bitterest opposition of the employers and also the capitalist state. For the 1890s saw a series of evermore threatening High Court judgements which aimed to destroy the legal privileges of the unions won in an earlier period. These attacks culminated in the infamous Taff Vale judgement of 1901, recently reactivated by the Tory courts.

But the unions of dockers, gasworkers and the other unskilled trades were 'New' in another sense.

In the great majority of cases their leaders turned in the direction of independent working-class politics. Once more this was a product of the great changes which this period saw in class relations.

Gladstonian liberalism had been able to collaborate openly with the leaders of the labour aristocracy. Throughout the 1870s, prominent Liberal Ministers—such as A. J. Mundella—had been regular visitors to the TUC. Agreements had been negotiated for a 'sliding scale of wages' in many trades such as hosiery, which in a period of falling prices after 1873 had meant wage-cuts for many workers.

The leaders of the New Unions repudiated such methods as class-collaborationist. The Liberal Party in the period of imperialism could no longer pose as the 'friend of labour'. A new layer of leaders—often inspired by Engels and Marx's daughter (Eleanor Aveling)—such as Tom Burns, Ben Tillett, Tom Mann, Will Thorne and Keir Hardie, emerged to do battle with the 'Old Guard' on the TUC General Council. For it would be a serious mistake to think that the economic and political changes which were taking place in the 20 years following 1880 in any way automatically brought a transformation in the leadership of the working class.

Quite the contrary.

A tenacious struggle was waged among the TUC leaders in which the old leaders who clung desperately to their ties with the Liberal Party had to be driven out and replaced by those who fought to establish an independent Labour Party.

The crucial struggle in the initial phases centred on the question of the legal eight-hour day. The old, conservative layers of union leaders bitterly opposed the adoption of this demand by the TUC. Typical of this old layer was W. Moses, leader of the Patternmakers, speaking at the 1889 TUC:

'To his mind those who were in favour of the eight-hours movement were putting the Congress in a very humiliating position indeed in asking those who had successfully fought the nine-hour battle without the aid of parliament to vote in favour of calling upon the legislature... Most of the Societies had shown that they were fully competent to deal successfully with the questions as to hours and remuneration.'

When it is recalled that the Fabians, led by Sydney and Beatrice Webb, were also hostile to the turn to politics and consistently opposed the creation of a Labour Party until they realized the battle was lost, we can see that the new turn which the working class was able to make in this period was possible only because of a most consistent fight against all the reformists and opponents of Marxism. This is even more true today. The working class will be completely unable to break from reformism and secure the independence of its unions without the most determined struggle against all brands of revisionism and centrism.

## Role of Marxists

In this connection we should not forget the key role which Marxists played both in the creation of the New Unions and in the break from Liberalism and the formation of a Labour Party.

Our last article showed the fight which dominated the First International around the question of the legal eight-hour day. The crucial significance of this struggle against the anarchists was the decisive preparation both for the Second International and the establishment of a Labour Party in England.

The International convened

in May 1889 to celebrate the centenary of the French Revolution was organized around the call for the legal eight-hour day. And in precisely the same way, the unionization of the unskilled workers in England also proceeded under this same slogan.

What at one stage had been a theoretical matter fought out in the 1860s among a relatively small number of people now became the principle around which hundreds of thousands were drawn into politics for the first time.

This was nowhere more the case than with the gasworkers. Here Engels, along with Eleanor Marx-Aveling, played the crucial role. Eleanor became not only an organizer for the union and a regular campaigner on its behalf in the East End; she also drafted its first rule book and was affectionately known as the 'boss of the gasworkers'.

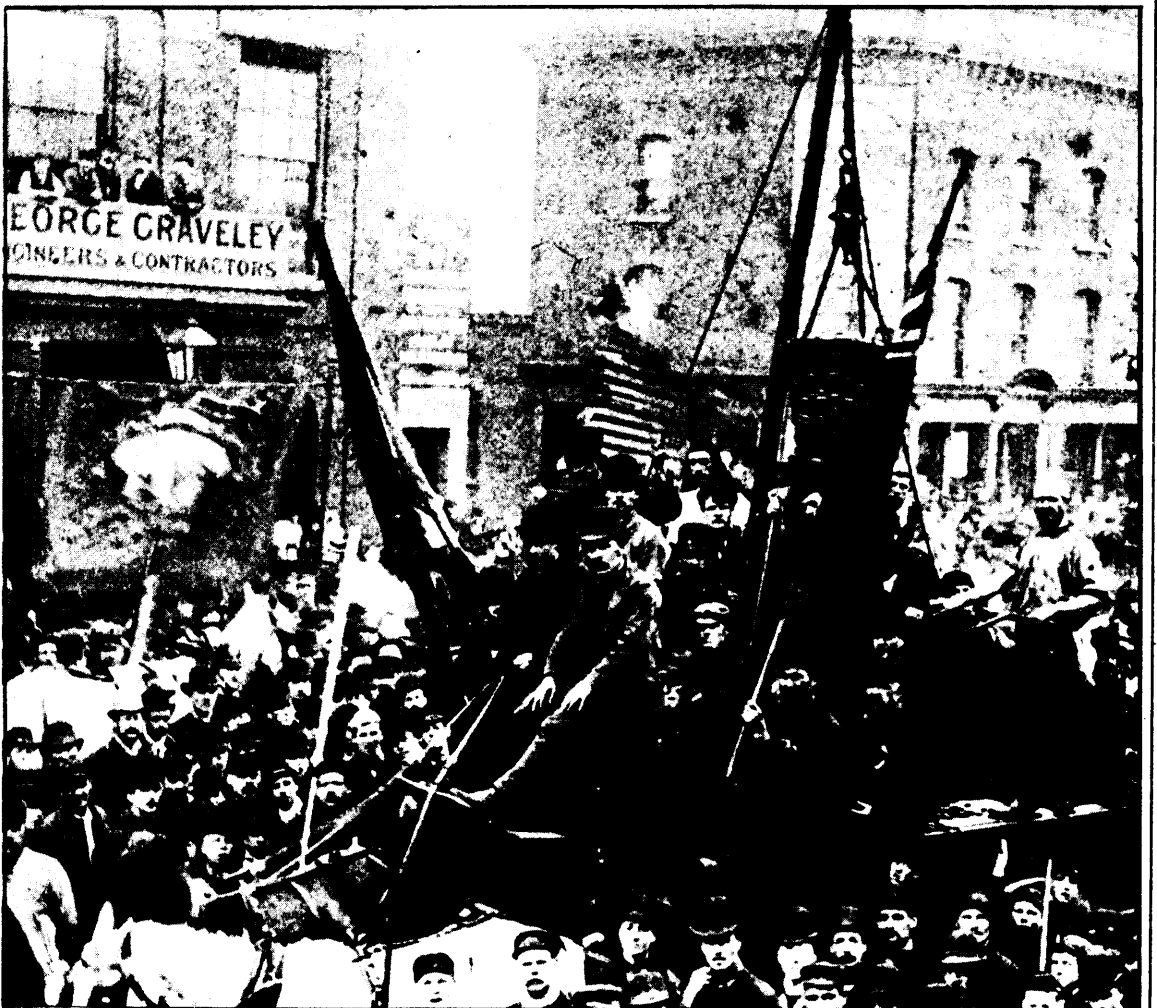
It was under these new, objective conditions which thrust previously quiescent layers of workers into politics, that the Marxist movement was able to begin to change its relationship to the working class. Although still riddled with sectarianism and other weaknesses that Engels and later Lenin were all too aware of, the 1880s did at least see the creation of permanent organizations formally adhering to Marxism. Chief among these—although it was to split many times—was the Social Democratic Federation, established in 1881. It was from this body that the main force was to come which created the Communist Party in 1920-1921 in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution.

The period of the New Unionism has many lessons for today's revolutionary party. In the midst of a world economic crisis, the trade union movement, and indeed the organized working class, can no longer survive under its present leadership, whose continued collaboration with the government alone makes the continuation of Toryism possible.

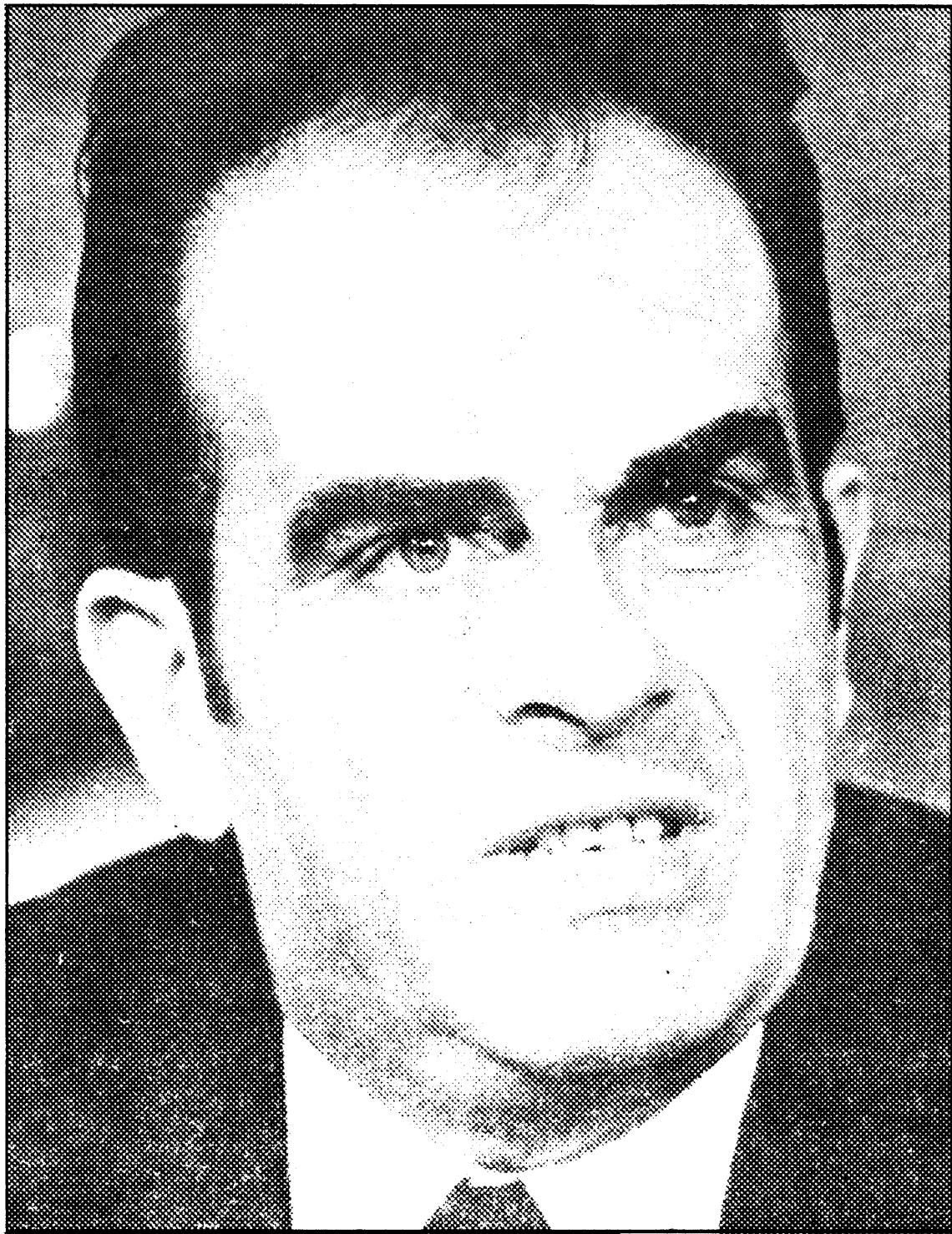
Just as our great-grandfathers of 80 years ago had to clear out their old leadership and build a new political party, so today's generation is faced with the same task.

But our task will be fought out on a far higher political and theoretical level and with immeasurably greater consequences for both the British and the international working class.

CONCLUDED TOMORROW



Great dockers' strike of 1889—in the five years following, 'unskilled' workers formed unions and a new leadership emerged which turned towards independent working-class politics.



## CP PRESS IN TROUBLE

The financial crisis which has struck the French Communist Party daily 'L'Humanité', forcing it to cut its staff, reduce its print and vacate part of its premises, has been looming for many years.

It reflects the crisis which, despite appearances, has been sapping the foundations of French Stalinism in the support of the working class itself. Although the party has to meet many expenses it has also considerable financial resources. All the press has been afflicted with escalating costs, but the trouble with the Stalinist press is that it has also been losing readers.

It is lack of readers, and especially of militants ready to sell the paper and make sacrifices for it, which is at the root of 'L'Humanité's' troubles. It is a political not a financial question.

The paper was established by Jean Jaurès as far back as 1904 and it passed under the control of the Communist Party after the Congress of Tours in December 1920, when the Socialist Party split and the majority opted to adhere to the Third International. A key administrator who joined the majority decided the fate of the paper.

For all its weaknesses as a party paper at this time, which were taken up by Leon Trotsky, it had a base in the working class. In fact, it continued to enjoy a good deal of support even from readers who were not party members. Besides being distributed through commercial channels it was also sold by party militants. Fund drives were organ-

ized and a league for the defence of 'L'Humanité' was formed.

With the revival of the Communist Party's fortunes from about 1935, the paper enjoyed a large and growing influence which, naturally, it threw onto the side of Popular Front politics. After the Nazi-Soviet pact it was suppressed and reappeared as a clandestine organ; but the party concocted forged copies to give it a resistance pedigree from the start. In fact, in 1940, an attempt was made to enable the paper to appear as a legal journal under Nazi occupation.

At the war's end the Communist Party was by far the most powerful force in the French working class and attracted wide support from intellectuals, peasants and middle-class people. Not only did the circulation of 'L'Humanité' zoom to a claimed one million or more, which gave it one of the largest circulations in the country, but the CP also had a number of provincial dailies, each with wide circulations.

At this time many of the capitalist papers, guilty of collaboration, had gone out of existence. The CP press thus had a clear field. But this did not last. The crisis of Stalinism during the 1950s saw a continuous fall in circulation until circulation was topped by claimed party membership by a wide margin.

Today the French Communist Party claims to have about 460,000 paid up members. An opposition group, using the published balance sheet of the party, recently put the figure at nearer 200,000. Even so, this exceeds the daily sale of 'L'Humanité', which is stated to be 160,000 and may be an exaggeration.

Above: French CP chief, Marchals

Given that the paper is sold to many non-party readers and is shipped in large quantities to East European countries it is obvious that many party members do not bother to buy, let alone read or sell, the main party organ, directed by the Central Committee itself. More, fewer and fewer militants are prepared to fight for the paper as they once did, or organize sales drives for the daily and its sister weekly magazine 'L'Humanité-Dimanche'.

The party has just built itself expensive and ultra-modern premises. It has various enterprises which bring in money. It receives part of the salary drawn by its members of parliament. It has considerable material means at its disposal. What has happened cannot be explained by examining the accounts—or only in part, because it is certain that they show a real membership well below that claimed.

What it means is that although the French working class still votes for the Communist Party and accepts the slogans of the CGT because it sees no alternative, it is extremely reserved towards the party and its leadership. This was shown in May-June 1968 when workers were prepared to go forward to overturn the Gaullist regime and were held back by the party and the CGT.

Lack of confidence in the Stalinists and lack of life in the pages of its organs are sure signs of a deep crisis. The need and opportunity for an alternative leadership for the French working class is the main lesson which must be drawn from the troubles of 'L'Humanité'.

# PORTRAIT OF THE EXILED ARTIST

The hard road of the Soviet artist who does not accept the dictates of the bureaucracy is shown by the case of Yuri Titov, the 43-year-old dissenter who has been permitted to leave the Soviet Union.

His paintings had so much angered the authorities that the Titovs were given the choice of leaving the country or being sent to a prison or a psychiatric hospital.

Knowing what agonies are endured by the victims of the KGB (Soviet political police) they decided to quit. Both had already been arrested in March and Yuri had been put on a course of depressive drugs to break his resistance.

Like novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Titov has taken refuge from the contradictions of bureaucratic rule in the bosom of the Orthodox Church. Isolated from the working class and absorbed in their own inner conflicts, many artists and intellectuals have found this way of expressing their opposition.

Religious themes predominate on Titov's art since his conversion to Orthodoxy in 1962. But the Soviet authorities tolerate other believers. What disturbed them about Titov was that he took an active part in opposition protests, such as that against the imprisonment of the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel.

The arbitrary rule of the bureaucracy and the difficulties of Soviet life have the effect of keeping religious beliefs alive and even driving many sensitive people back to the church. Persecution of those believers who are regarded as oppositionists goes hand-in-hand with support for the church hierarchy which is prepared to work with the state as an instrument of the policy of the bureaucracy. And such persecution tends to make new recruits for religion.

By allowing people like Titov to leave the Soviet Union the aim of the KGB is

not only to punish him and warn others, but to create the impression that the whole opposition shares his religious and 'liberal' standpoint. This is far from being the case. The bulk of the oppositionists defend the nationalized property relations and stand on the principles of materialism and Marxism-Leninism against the distortions of the bureaucracy.

The punishment of Titov did not end with his exile from Russia. He was allowed to take 50 of his paintings. But when they were unpacked it was found that they had been sprayed with acid and were seriously damaged.

Like a number of other oppositionists and Jewish refugees from the Soviet Union the Titovs are now in Rome, where they have no passports and little money. When they make their peace with capitalism the KGB's work will be done. It will then turn more vigorously to crush those oppositionists it fears most, those who, like Major-General Grigorenko and his supporters, call for a political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy.



Titov with one of his destroyed paintings.

## SORRY, COMRADES, NO PAY, TODAY

Nearly 10,000 miners in the Central Bosnian Mines, Yugoslavia, have been without pay for more than a month as a result of the mines' financial crisis.

At the Stara Jama pit, part of the Kakanj mines, 700 miners struck work for two days on July 14 in protest against the non-payment of their wages.

Not far away, at the Haljinica mine, 1,000 miners refused to go down the pit for several days. The mines' administration has stated that for months they have not been in a position to guarantee miners their wages on time, even though the pits are making a profit.

The assistant director-general of the Central Bosnia put the problem down to difficulty in collecting outstanding debts. Customers owe the mines over 80 million dinars (£2.2m) while the mines' debts are only 30 million dinars (£830,000).

Among the debtors are several large state enterprises, notably the Belgrade Railway Transport Enterprise, which alone owes almost £500,000.

The miners decided to call off their strike after two days when the administration promised to pay their outstanding wages by last Monday—ie seven days late.



# PROFITEERS OF THE BUILDING INDUSTRY

BY PHILIP WADE (PICTURES BY MARTIN MAYER)

After a year of talks the building workers' pay claim has exhausted procedure. The offers from the employers have been rejected by the unions.

No progress has been made on the claim for £30 a week for a 35-hour week, a reduction in the working week to 35 hours and more holidays. On May 18 the employers' final offer was made. From June they offered a £2.40 rise in the craft rate making £22.40 a week and an increase in the labourers' rate by £2 to £19 a week.

From next February they offered a further £2.60 for skilled men and another £2 for labourers. And it was obvious from the whole period of negotiations that the employers were preparing for a showdown with the unions.

George Smith, general secretary of the union of Construction and Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT), the largest of the building unions, had this to say about the negotiations in his union's journal this month:

It is by now apparent that the employers at no time seriously listened to the case made by the operatives' side.

The operatives' side have acted with considerable patience in endeavouring to reach a settlement by ordinary negotiations. As a result of the employers' attitude throughout these negotiations we are now faced with a situation of deadlock where it seems that it will be necessary for us to instruct some of our members to take that industrial action which the employers now seem to be forcing on us (My emphasis).

Next Monday (June 26) is the deadline for the exhaustion of procedure. From that date the unions including the Transport and General Workers' and the General and Municipal Workers', will take industrial action.

However, the unions are preparing in no way for what could be a decisive battle in the history of the building workers.

The leadership wants merely selective strikes up and down the country. This can only serve to weaken the union when building workers face their biggest crisis.

Of the 800,000 workers covered by the National Joint Council for the Building Industry, no more than 300,000 are in any of the unions.

Even UCATT, the result of a merger between the ASWP&D (woodworkers, painters and decorators) and

AUBTW (builders), cannot claim more than a 40 per cent national rate of unionization.

The employers are also strengthened by the massive rate of unemployment among building workers.

Over 150,000 workers are unemployed in the industry—a phenomenal rate of about one in seven. And then the employers, who are organized in the National Federation of Building Trades' Employers, still have their most explosive weapon—the lump.

Over 300,000 workers are on the lump.

Labour-only sub-contracting—to give it its full title—is both a source of cheap labour for the big employers and a wedge to be used to try and restrict the bargaining power of the unions.

## GO-BETWEEN

The big employers will fix a rate with a sub-contractor for a gang of workers. Often this cuts out holiday pay, sickness pay, guaranteed time in bad weather, travel money etc.

The sub-contractors—mere go-betweens supplying labour—will fix a rate with the main contractor and pay the lump workers less, making his profit from the margin.

It is reckoned that the average employer might save as much as £7 per man per week when he takes on men on the lump system.

In bad weather an employer saves himself anything up to £30 a week.

Apprenticeships in the industry are fast declining, employers finding it easier to dip into the enormous unskilled pool of labour available.

The lump therefore, is nothing more than the casual, hire-and-fire principle which every employer in Britain would dearly love to have.

This cash-saving device is reflected in the top building firms' profits.

Last year was the 50th birthday of Taylor Woodrow and profits were a record for the tenth consecutive year.

The company owns 84.5 per cent of Mytons and also operates Swiftplan F, Gibson & Co (Newcastle), Taylor Woodrow Construction, Taylor Woodrow Property Co and many others.

In the first six months of 1971, pre-tax profits rose 60 per cent from £1.7m in the first half-year of 1970 to £2.7m.

Chairman and managing



director Francis Taylor actually had his salary reduced in 1970 by 8 per cent—down to a mere £35,967 (£720 a week). Any of his employees seeking emulation with the chairman would have to work over 20 years to earn as much as Taylor did in 1970.

The company gave £10,000 to the Aims of Industry and £5,000 to British United Industrialists in 1970. For services to the building industry the Tory Party got £1,825.

George Wimpey is Britain's largest construction firm, employing over 30,000 people in the UK and operating subsidiaries such as Wimpey Asphalt, The Lathians Quarry Company, Glenthorne Insurance Brokers and so on.

Over half the company's shares are held by trusts set up by Sir Godfrey Mitchell (the chairman) to benefit his family and various charities.

One of Wimpey's most

lucrative investments has been the 40 per cent stake in Harry Hyams' Oldham Estates group. Oldham built Centre Point in London for £5m. It is still standing after seven years and is expected to be worth £20m when finally let.

In April of this year Wimpey's announced the sale of three-quarters of their shares in Oldham for £32m.

All the company's full-time directors are well paid. Deputy chairman and managing director, Mr W. Barr, received £19,400, four others £15,000 and another nine between £10,000 and £15,000.

## SHARES

Any building worker with Wimpey shares will count himself lucky today. An investment of £100 ten years ago would be worth over £500 now.

McAlpine is one of the Tory Party's most forthcoming benefactors. In 1969-1970, £32,357 was paid to the Tories—about £3 for every one of McAlpine's employees.

The 11 directors are all 'McAlpines' and between them control all the company's ordinary shares.

Although no dividend is paid on the ordinary shares over £140,000 goes to the family because of their large holding of preference shares. In 1970 the McAlpines took about £250,000 out of the company in dividends and directors' salaries and fees.

John Laing, the second largest construction firm can boast that its chairman, Sir Kirby Laing, holds the chair in the NFBTE, the employers' organization.

The average pay for each of Laing's 15,000 workers is about £1,500 a year. In 1970 Sir Kirby was paid £17,125.

In addition the directors own 5 per cent of the shares and control another 68 per cent through various trusts.

Bovis up to June 1970 boasted none other than Tory Minister Sir Keith Joseph as a director.

The board is probably the highest bred among any building firms. Directors include the Earl of Albemarle (president), Lady Sharp (ex-civil servant and member of the Independent Television Authority) and two knights.

In 1970 the chairman gave himself an 11 per cent pay rise to meet inflation and received £21,000. The managing director, Mr M. F. Sanderson, got £72,000 in dividends in addition to his salary.

Preliminary figures for 1971 show a 45 per cent growth in sales to £14m and pre-tax profits rose from £3.3m in 1970 to £4.5m in 1971.

The building workers are

now face to face with some of Britain's richest employers who make no bones about their allegiance to the Tory Party.

In this situation, the selective strike strategy is no more than a half-hearted gesture by the union leadership.

## ALL-OUT

Undoubtedly the rank and file will raise the demand for an all-out strike for their claim. A battle with the employers will involve a campaign on the lump, adequate training and safety provisions. (Building site accidents account for four out of every ten industrial deaths. And in ten years the injury rate has more than doubled.)

These questions will not be solved by militancy alone, of

which there is no lack among building workers.

The elimination of the lump requires the liquidation of private enterprise in the industry and the public ownership of big companies.

For building workers, like other trade unionists involved in combat today, it means that the wages and conditions fight has to be taken up within a campaign to force the Tory government to resign.

A Labour government must be committed to socialist policies which include the nationalization under workers' control without compensation of the entire building industry.

Within the building unions a new principled leadership must be built against those reformists like the Communist Party 'Charter' group who will only lead 'Kill the Lump' campaigns, all the time preventing building workers from opening up a political struggle.



E. SOBERS, UCATT steward at Cubitt's, World's End site. 'The main question facing us is sub-contractors. I think the unions should flush them out of the industry. They operate in whichever way they want, provoking trouble and worries and seeking to cripple the unions.'

'The employers encourage them because the main contractors don't want to deal with the unions and call in the subbies instead.'

'Now the employers are stepping up their campaign against the militants by mis-using rule 2b of the NJC working rules. This gives them the right to transfer men to man a continuity of work.'

'But what they're doing is

transferring the militants and then giving them the sack.'

'As far as I'm concerned the union leaders have done nothing to fight the lump. In fact by their actions they've encouraged it. I remember a strike at St Thomas' Hospital where we fought the lump. The executive of the woodworkers' union took a decision to let the lump workers carry on and transfer the trade unionists.'

'At the moment it suits certain employers to provoke strikes because they have clauses which mean they get paid for all delays caused by industrial disputes.'

'The claim we've got now is the most important one we've ever had.'



JOHN FONTAINE, UCATT steward at Cubitt's World's End site in Chelsea, London:

'The best thing about this wage claim is that it wouldn't have happened five years ago. In the last six years we've only won £6 through the union.'

'Now the union—has rejected £5 and that's not because George Smith (UCATT general secretary) has suddenly become a left-winger.'

'There has been much more pressure from the rank and file. The working class is under one of the most vicious attacks for years. Prices have risen 18 per cent since the Tories came in and we've seen our wages dwindle.'

'Then there have been cuts in the social services, the Industrial Relations Act and the

Immigration Act, all attacks on the working class.'

'Now we're fighting for a decent basic wage. At the moment men have to work an average of 50 hours a week here to make a living wage. And at a site at Shepherds Bush they're working 7 a.m. until 7 p.m., seven days a week.'

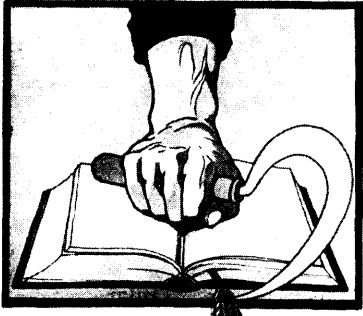
'You can see the strength of the employers in this country by seeing how they rallied round in Manchester when some of them were under attack and raised £1m.'

'I know an all-out strike would be the way to take on this claim, but with the union as it is at the moment, selective strikes are probably the only way until we can strengthen the union.'



# 'THIS LAND OF IRELAND... ANNEXED FOREVER'

## BOOK REVIEW



**'The Green Flag.** By Robert Kee, Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £5.95 877 pages.

A six part review by Jack Gale

### PART 3

The story spread by Craig, Paisley and company that Irish Protestants have always loved the union with England is a lie. When the idea of a legislative union was put forward at the end of the 18th century, the strongest opponents were the Protestant gentry, who were concerned with their own survival as an élite group.

The Orangemen, in particular, were opposed to union. They held a dominant position as things were and they wanted to keep them that way.

The Protestant lawyers and bankers of Dublin also felt they had a lot to lose.

Neither was the Catholic attitude so simple. Laws preventing Catholics from owning land had gone before the end of the 18th century and in 1793 they were given the vote on the same terms as Protestants. But they could not hold state or municipal office—apart from being magistrates, in which capacity they persecuted the Catholic poor with just as much gusto as their Protestant counterparts.

They could not, however, enter parliament.

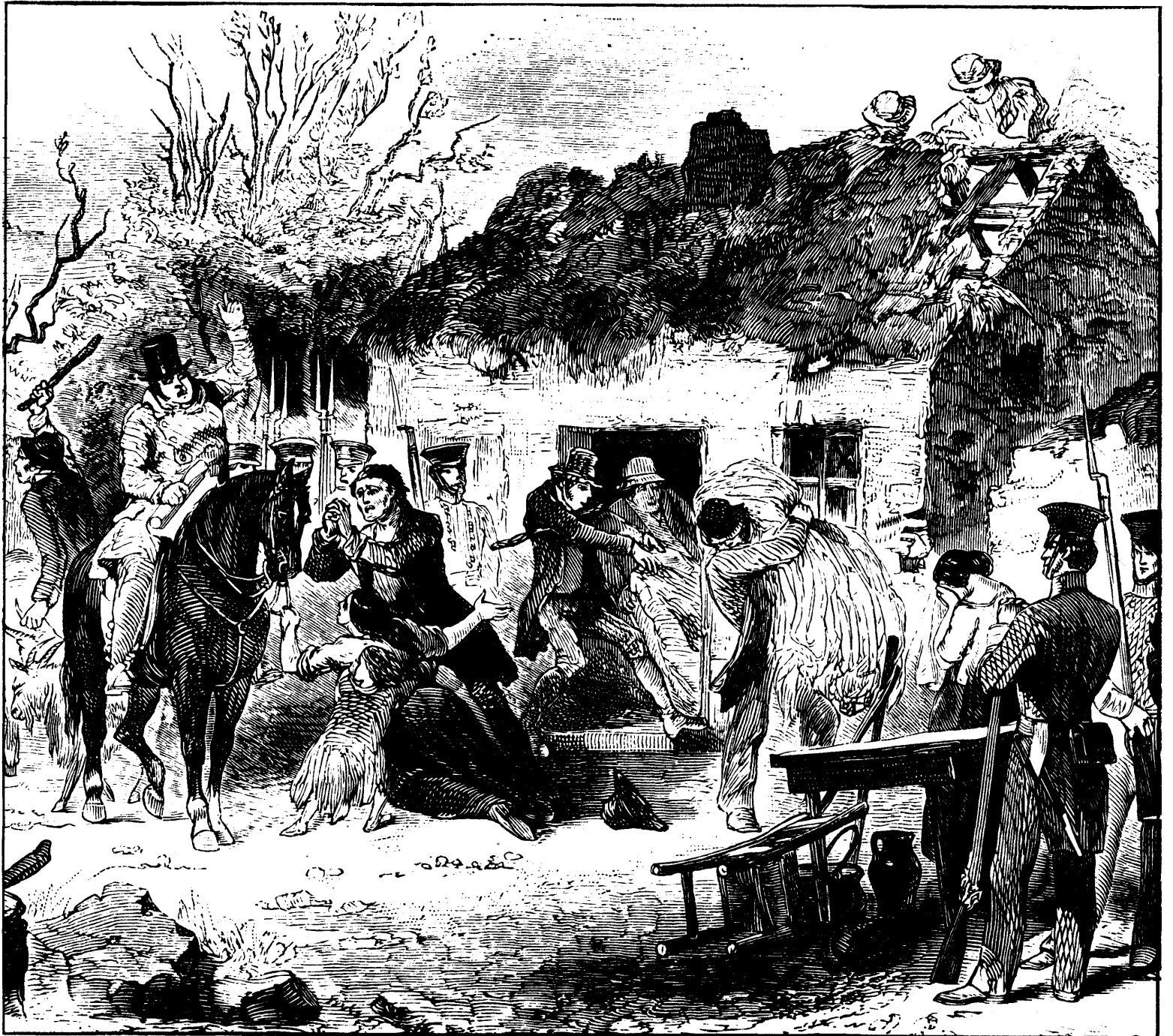
But the claim for such rights was obviously of concern only to wealthy Catholics. To the Catholic poor, 'emancipation' was of little immediate value. Many rich Catholics felt they were more likely to receive emancipation through union with England than through a separatism which left their Protestant rivals with all the advantages.

Thus, the Act of Union of 1801, was supported by many wealthy Catholics and opposed by many wealthy Protestants.

There was no difficulty, of course, in getting union accepted by the Irish parliament. The British government simply handed out 16 English peerages, 28 Irish peerages, upgraded 20 existing Irish peerages and nominated a further 28 'representatives' of Ireland for places in the British House of Lords.

Just to make sure, the British 'mother of parliaments' (the cradle of democracy) persuaded a number of Irish MPs who were too honourable to vote for union, to resign their seats before the vote. Of course, they had to receive suitable compensation.

The vacant seats were then filled by union supporters, most of them English. Their support was certain, since they also were rewarded for their virtue. Kee states that over



one-fifth of the Irish parliamentary seats changed hands in this way, causing one principled politician to exclaim: 'We have little alternative left but to reconcile our minds to the advantages of union.'

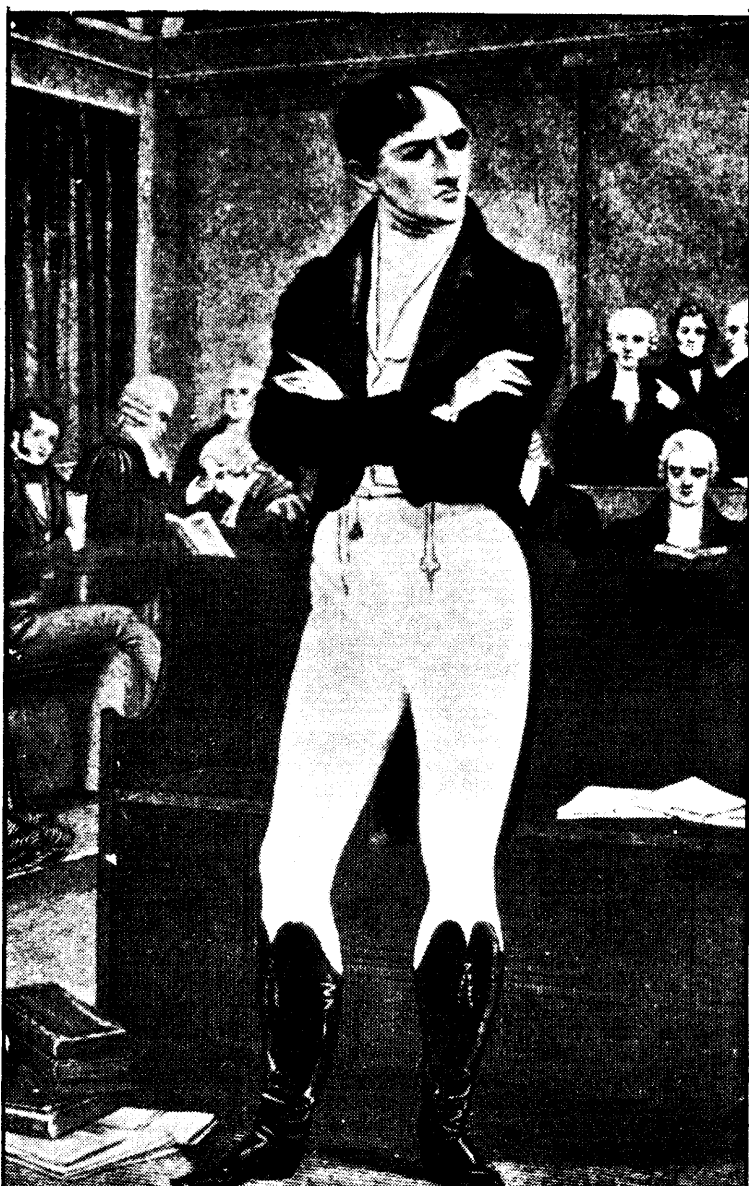
While the parliamentarians were earning their pin-money, a new United Irish Executive was formed in Dublin, led by the Protestant Robert Emmet.

In July, 1803, Emmet proclaimed 'The Provisional Government to the People of Ireland', but the rising was abortive and Emmet was hanged.

In the decades after the Act of Union, the conditions of the Irish peasantry were the worst in Europe. Every landholding was sub-let many times over, with the middle-man taking his cut each time. The common knowledge that the Irish poor lived off potatoes is not the whole truth—in fact they lived on what was called 'lumper potato', because their land was too barren to grow normal ones.

A 19th century parliamentary report, quoted by Kee, described entire families living in one-roomed hovels often together with livestock, lying on bare floors through which ran open sewage, without bedding except straw, and going to church on alternate Sundays because there were not enough clothes to go round.

The poorest of all lived as serfs on quarter of an acre plots, giving their labour all the year round for no wages and in return receiving the right to grow enough lumper potatoes to live on. They were



Top: an eviction in 1848 during the Great Famine. Above: Robert Emmet appearing before the court which sent him to be hanged.

frequently evicted and allowed to take nothing with them except the rotten straw from their hut roofs.

When the potato crop failed—as it did in the Great Famine of 1845-1848—it killed over a million people.

**It must be stressed that only the potato crop failed. Every other plant thrived. Not one of those people need have died. Instead of providing food for the starving, the landlords—Catholic and Protestant alike—evicted, murdered and hung.**

In some country towns the dead lay in the streets for six or eight days without burial.

Kee recounts the case of a man accused of sheep-stealing, whose wife was so hungry that she had been eating the thigh of her own daughter who had died from famine fever. He was hanged.

During the Famine, evictions spread like wildfire. Landlords seized the opportunity to clear their lands of all unwanted tenants, whether they were paying their rent or not. In one set of evictions at Kilrush in Co Mayo, 15,000 people were cleared out. In many cases, landlords burned down peasants' huts and then hired thugs to beat them out of ditches when they tried to live there.

Despite all this, Kee can still say that accusations of genocide against the British government were 'unjust and absurd'. And the government, he claims, cannot be called anti-Irish because the British working class also lived in appalling poverty!

**CONTINUED TOMORROW**



# TORY PRESS



## FAMILY FEUDING IN FLEET STREET

BY ALEX MITCHELL

The methods of the capitalist press were revealed glaringly in a case just adjudicated by the Press Council.

It concerns complaints made by residents of a housing estate against the 'Kirkby Reporter', the 'Daily Mail' and the 'News of the World'.

The first article in the 'Reporter' was headed 'Reign of Terror Keeps Family Housebound'.

It described damage to a neighbour's home, attacks on children and threats to the occupiers. The story said Cllr James Hackett was trying to get the family rehoused and appealed to people to stop attacks on the family and 'live and let live'.

The second article was headed: 'Good Neighbours End Children's Loneliness'. Happiness restored, it seemed.

But enter the northern edition of the 'Daily Mail' hot on the story. It claimed in a banner headline: 'A Truce Stops Family's Fear of Torment'.

It described how a 'local ban' on making friends with the family's children had been lifted. The following day the 'Mail' went to town again with —'THE ORDEAL—by the mother sent to Coventry'.

But it was Rupert Murdoch's men on the 'News of the World' who produced the gem of all. They described the story as 'Family at War' and the article contained the phrase: 'It rivals the persecution of Nazism...'

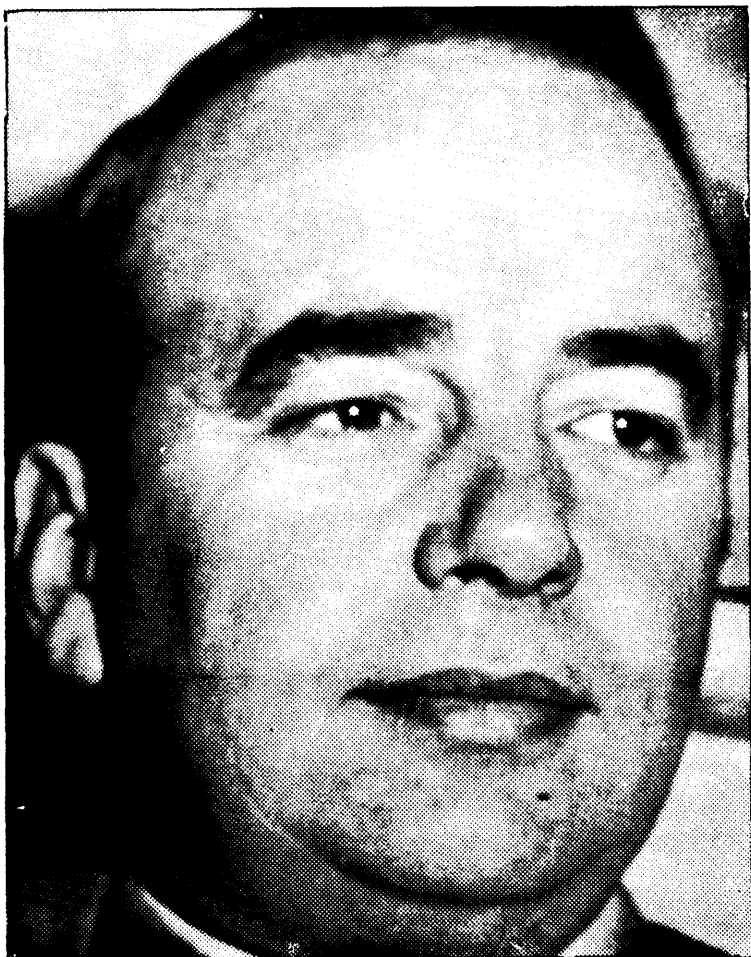
This was too much for Mrs I. Rowe of Burnard Crescent, Kirkby, who, with 23 neighbours, wrote off to the Press Council, a creation, one should point out, of the newspaper proprietors.

In its findings the Council said the complaint against the 'Reporter' was not upheld. But the complaints against the 'Mail' and the 'News of the World' were found justified.

Referring to the Murdoch interpretation that the feud was reminiscent of Nazi persecution, the Council said it was 'unjustified and in bad taste'. Which must rank as one of the great understatements.

But whereas the capitalist press loves nothing more than sensationalizing family feuds, it is most reluctant to report similar rows among its own fraternity.

Take the bland announcement made last week that the 'Observer' is to end its printing arrangements with 'The



Top: Rupert Murdoch. Left: Lord Thompson. Right: Lord Goodman

Times'. For 14 years the 'Observer', owned by the Astor family, has been published on lease at Printing House Square, headquarters of Times Newspapers.

Under a new arrangement, part of the printing will be undertaken by the 'Financial Times' just up the road near St Paul's and the remainder will be done at Leeds at the 'Yorkshire Post'.

The idea is to get half the print done in London and the other half transmitted to Leeds by facsimile satellite link for a northern edition much the same as the link with Manchester and Belfast that the 'Mirror' operates.

'The Times' reported the changeover in very terse terms. It's not difficult to see why. For one thing the loss of the 'Observer' contract will mean cancellation of the £200,000 printing contract which 'The Times' sorely needs.

There is an added financial burden for 'The Times'. The compositors, linotypes and machine men who produce the 'Observer' each week at Printing House Square are on 'The Times' payroll, not the 'Observer's'. The loss of the contract leaves 'The Times' with the prospect of a large bill for redundancies.

That is, of course, if the unions will even go along with such a massive cutback in staff! The new alliance between the 'Observer' and the 'Financial Times' also spells more pressure on the Times Newspapers group.

As one 'Times-man' remarked: 'As far as advertising revenue is concerned, a daily "Financial Times" with an "Observer" on Sundays could be a serious challenge to "The Times" and "The Sunday Times". If such a battle dev-

eloped, we would have trouble because we don't have the powerful economic base of the FT group.'

This is certainly true. The FT, owned by Lord Cowdray, is Fleet Street's wealthiest asset. It forms part of the Pearson empire which has made Cowdray one of the richest men in the country. Apart from the FT and the 'Economist', the Pearson group also owns Lazard's merchant bank, which was the lead bank for Rolls-Royce up to its bankruptcy.

Cowdray's man negotiating the mating is chairman of the FT, Lord Drogheda. By chance the chief negotiator from the Observer Trust is an old friend, Lord Goodman. The ganging up of these two peers is sending a shiver of apprehension down the spines of the Times executives.

The Times group is currently seeking approval to build gleaming new offices in Gray's Inn Road to house both 'The Times' and 'The Sunday Times'. The scheme has been dogged by trouble with planning permission and, since the idea was first mooted, costs have soared.

With his finances desperately stretched, Lord Thomson of Fleet is badly placed to fend off Drogheda and Goodman.

That is, unless they all agree to get together and form the 'Times'—'Financial Times'—'Sunday Times' and just scrap the 'Observer'.

Casting this thought around this week one insider told Workers Press: 'Such a solution is not beyond the realms of possibility. The "Observer" has never been a terrifically good money-spinner. As competition and costs become more troublesome, something's got to give.'

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## A NEW INVASION

The Irish are about to suffer a new invasion—this time from across the Atlantic.

In fact, it's already begun in the shape of bronzed and ageing Cary Grant. Last week he sank a spade into the green turf of Co. Clare and sighed: 'This will be my home.' Actually Mr Grant will be sharing his peace and quiet with about 2,000 other people—he's building a new town.

Unfortunately the Irish won't be able to live in it. The 500 hotel rooms and the 1,250 garden apartments that nestle beside the river Shannon are for millionaires only.

The place will be called Shannonside. There's about 550 acres of real estate involved costing a cool £10m but Grant and Co hope to make a lot of lolly out of the investment.

Grant is a director of the cosmetic firm Faberge, the owner of the profitable Western Airlines and a director of the famed millionaire holiday town of Treasurer Gaz in the Bahamas.

Now he and fellow director Bill McIntosh are turning their attention to Ireland. They plan to fly plane-loads of millionaires to Shannon airport and then by hovercraft up the river to their modest dwellings.

Grant has already been touring the area getting to know the locals. 'You need not fear,' he said, 'we will not destroy the aesthetic or the architectural beauty of the countryside. After all, this is why we are coming here because of the beauty...—and the money of course.'

## ALPHABET

In their paper 'Monthly News', the Tory Party publish an alphabet of their achievements in the two years since coming to power.

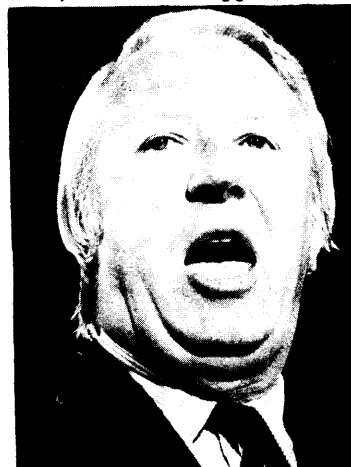
At the top of the list? Britain's defence capability

has been strengthened by raising four regular infantry battalions, retention of five battalions of Gurkhas, a 10,500-man increase in the TA and Volunteer Reserve, an extra five front-line squadrons of aircraft, an accelerated naval shipbuilding programme and the retention of the aircraft carrier 'Ark Royal' in service.

## LESSON

Union leaders are beginning to learn a hard lesson in capitalist economics.

The boom that they are always asking Heath to produce, if it could happen, would



not substantially affect the level of unemployment. Examine these latest statistics.

The production of food, drink and tobacco is much the same as it was at the end of 1970, the same can be said for textiles. But employment in food, drink and tobacco is down 5 per cent and in textiles 10 per cent.

In mechanical engineering, production is down 4 per cent and employment 10 per cent.

City brokers Simon and Coates nail the reason for this. When they released these figures they commented: 'Few major sectors of manufacturing industry will be taking on labour until demand is much higher than at present and many capital-intensive industries will continue to reduce employment even on booming demand.'

# BOOKS



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# Miners' families incensed by Motorway search



The south side of the Corley service station on the M6 motorway where 18-year-old Pamela Bonham (above left) says a detective stripped her and even searched her hair.

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

**MINING families in the Cross Keys-Newdigate area of Bedworth, near Coventry, are disturbed by last week's events on the nearby M6 motorway's Corley service station.**

On Tuesday June 12, between 11 p.m. and midnight 11 women petrol pump attendants were stripped by a detective in an attempt to investigate the alleged theft of several hundred pounds.

The women say that manage-

ment's own records prove that no money was missing on the day that they were searched and stripped. There were no arrests.

As a result of the incident there was a short strike and 13 workers have now left their jobs at the Trust House-Fortes-owned Corley service station.

Our reporters have talked to a number of the women and their families.

Mrs June Hayes was cashier on the Southside service area. She is a mother of five and wife of a Daw Mill miner.

"It was 10.45 p.m. and we were coming off shift. There were four of us on the south side. A CID lady came in, closed the door and said she wanted to make a search. I said, go ahead,

search my bag. "No, it's not just your bag," she replied. "We will go over to the women's room."

"Walk across," she told us, "and no silly carry on". A man detective walked with us. We went in. She searched my handbag, then my pockets. Then she wanted my clothes off one by one. As she was doing it, she asked me where my husband worked, how many kids I had.

"I said: "What's my husband and kids got to do with you?" "Nothing," she said. "I'm bored,

'If there had been a union up there this would not have happened.'

Team supervisor Margaret Hughes claimed: "When they gave us the new contract, they told us the only difference was improved holidays."

Mrs Mulhern, another Daw Mill miner's wife, told us. "I was only there a week. I never signed a contract. I've never been in contact with the police in my life and I got that.

"We should have finished at



Miner's wife Mrs June Hayes with four of her children.

we have to say something."

"Then she said "Give me your pants and tights." "Pants and tights?" I said. "Yes," she said. As she was stripping me, I thought I'll never come back to this place.

"I was frightened to go to the shops last week in case people had read the papers."

On May 5 employees had been issued with a new contract of employment. Clause 13 was not in the previous contract. It reads: 'The company may require an employee, their person, their personal belongings or their locker to be searched at any time.'

The reason for the new contract was said to be the merger of Forte and Trust Houses.

No one remembers being told about the clause.

June's husband John commented: "They would not have got away with this in the pit. Imagine saying to a group of dockers: "There's something missing off the ship, strip your clothes off."

11.00 p.m. It was 1.30 a.m. when I got home. If we had had a union I'm sure it would have been different."

Mrs Mulhern's father, Jim Hudson, is an ex-Scottish miner now working in the engineering industry.

"There's no charges, the police are taking it no further. A union agent would have given them protection. I suppose this is another side of 1972. Under the Tories they are trying to make it so as the working class have no say in their lives."

When Newdigate miner's daughter, 18-year-old Pamela Bonham was stripped 'she [the detective] even searched my hair.

"We all went to the office to complain at the way we were treated. We were very upset. There was a lot of yelling.

"We made them show us the pump readings. We were not any money down.

"Three times we went back to try and get our rights. The third time we were ordered off the site."

## Roll-on, roll-off plan for Hull dock

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

**A NEW roll-on/roll-off terminal will be built at Hull for a service to Finland starting early in 1973.**

The British Transport Docks Board said the terminal would be used by the Finland Steamship Company Limited and the United Baltic Corporation Limited.

The £280,000 terminal will be sited in the south-west corner of Queen Elizabeth Dock at Hull where extensive shore facilities already exist. This is the second new roll-on/roll-off berth announced for the port this year.

In 1971 traffic passing between Hull and Finland by conventional vessels amounted to about 160,000 tons, but the board says the new scheme will increase this tonnage 'rapidly'.

Mr J. A. Lacey, port director, Humber, said: "Hull is increasingly becoming a centre for shipowners operating unit load services across the North Sea.

"Since 1969 roll-on/roll-off traffic passing through Hull has increased steadily and over 1.5 million tons of unitized traffic is now handled by the port each year."

What Lacey doesn't point out, however, is that with each step taken by port technology, men's jobs are lost.

Dockers don't resent technology, but they will bitterly fight the threat to their right to have a job and earn a decent living. The only solution is the nationalization of the docks under workers' control, without compensation to the present owners.

Only under this socialist policy can dockers protect themselves from the onslaught of the profit-seekers.

## Docks Board profits up

**THE BRITISH Transport Docks Board made an operating surplus of £7.6m last year —meeting its financial target.**

Its report out yesterday showed a 5.6 per cent return on assets of £135m and was £3.2m up on the 1970 figures.

Interest payments, however, came to £6m and an allowance of £1.2m was made for depreciation costs. The transfer to general reserves, therefore, was £400,000.

The trade at the board's ports was 6.7 million tons down on the 1970 total at 79.4 million tons. The decrease was caused by substantial falls in the tonnages of several important bulk commodities, including oil traffic, coal shipments and iron ores.

Containerized traffic rose last year to the record level of 3.5 million tons.

Newport was the most profitable, with a surplus of over £660,000. Hull's deficit worsened from £800,000 to nearly £1m.

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## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

**NORTH LONDON: Thursday June 22, 8 p.m.** 'Bricklayers Arms', Tottenham High Road (near White Hart Lane). 'Building the revolutionary party'.

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

**SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thurs-**

**day June 22, 8 p.m.** Deptford Engineers' Club (opposite New Cross Stn.). 'Stalinism'.

**ACTON: Monday June 26, 8 p.m.** Co-op Hall, High Road. 'Support the dockers. Force the Tories to resign'.

**LEEDS, Tuesday, June 27, 8 p.m.** Peel Hotel, Boar Lane. 'Build Councils of Action'.

**EAST LONDON: Tuesday June**

**27, 8 p.m.** 'Aberfeldy', Aberfeldy Street, E.14 (nr Blackwall Tunnel). 'Build Councils of Action'.

**SOUTHALL: Thursday June 29, 8 p.m.** Community Centre, Bridge Rd. 'Force the Tories to resign'.

**WANDSWORTH: Thursday June 29, 8 p.m.** Balham Baths, Elmfield Road, Balham. 'Build Councils of Action'.



## BBC 1

9.20 Mr Benn. 9.38, 2.05 Schools. 11.25 Cricket. 1.30 Joe. 1.45 News, weather. 2.25 Cricket and Racing. 4.40 Magic Roundabout. 4.45 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 Boss Cat. 5.44 Parsley. 5.50 News, weather.

### 6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 ROYAL ASCOT. Highlights of the Gold Cup Day.

7.00 SPY TRAP. Who Among Us? Final episode.

### 7.25 TOP OF THE POPS.

### 8.00 THE GOODIES.

8.30 THE BURKE SPECIAL. With James Burke.

### 9.00 NEWS, Weather.

9.20 ELIZABETH R. Shadow in the Sun.

10.50 24 HOURS.

11.35 MISTRESS OF HARDWICK.

12.00 Weather.

## BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 4.30 Cricket. 6.35 Open University.

### 7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.

8.00 GREAT PARKS OF THE WORLD. (New Series) with Anthony Smith. Part 1 Bayerischer Wald, West Germany.

### 8.30 THE VISITORS. Part 2.

9.20 SHOW OF THE WEEK. MORECAMBE AND WISE.

10.05 YESTERDAY'S WITNESS. Veterans of the earliest London-Paris civil air flights reminisce about journeys.

10.35 NEWS, Weather, Cricket highlights.

10.45 WORLD CINEMA: 'THE THREPPENNY OPERA'. First of three films by the German director Georg W. Pabst.

# TV

## ITV

12.30 Cook Book. 1.00 Remember. 1.30 Challenge. 2.00 Arthur. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Jokers Wild. 3.45 Marcus Welby. Nuts and Bones. 4.55 Secret Squirrel. 5.20 How. 5.50 News.

### 6.00 TODAY.

### 6.40 CROSSROADS.

7.00 FILM: 'A TIME FOR KILLING'. George C. Scott, Michael Parks. Dissension among crew of US submarine after dropping of atomic bomb on Hiroshima.

8.00 DANNY LA RUE AT THE PALACE.

### 9.25 THIS WEEK.

### 10.00 NEWS.

### 10.30 CINEMA.

11.00 SOMETHING TO SAY.

12.00 IDEAS IN PRINT.

## Regional TV

CHANNEL: 2.55 Tommy Tompkins. 3.45 Frozen summer. 4.05 Nuts and bones. 4.18 Puffin. 4.22 Funny face. 4.50 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Hogan's heroes. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Champions. 8.00 London. 10.30 Maverick. 11.20 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.18 News. 6.00 Diary. 10.30 Report. 10.59 News. 11.03 Theatre of stars. 11.55 Epilogue.



June Whitfield (l) and Joan Sims join The Goodies at 8 p.m. on BBC 1 tonight

SOUTHERN: 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Afloat. 3.30 Bird's eye view. 4.0 Houseparty. 4.15 Send for Dithers. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Richard Lionheart. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Film: 'The Over-the-Hill Gang'. 8.00 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Film: 'Seven Keys'. 12.20 Weather.

HTV: 1.25 Arthur. 2.00 Out of town. 2.20 Share cut. 3.20 Cook book. 3.45 Dr Simon Locke. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 London.

6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Sky's the limit. 7.05 Saint. 8.00 London. 10.30 Gallery. 11.00 Film: 'The System'. 12.45 Weather.

HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.15 Miri Mawr. 6.01 Y Dydd. 10.45 Writers world.

HTV West as above except: 6.18 Sport West.

ANGLIA: 2.30 Good afternoon.

3.00 Lincoln show. 4.10 News. 4.15 Jimmy Stewart. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Norfolk in trust. 8.00 London. 10.30 Arts for everyone. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 Avengers.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Family affair. 4.35 Rupert Bear. 4.50 Pretenders. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Gun That Won the West'. 8.00 London. 11.00 O'Hara.

ULSTER: 4.10 Gourmet. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Partners. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Shirley's world. 7.30 Challenge. 8.00 London. 11.0 What's it all about? 11.20 Avengers.

YORKSHIRE: 2.32 Good afternoon. 3.00 Lincoln show. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Bugs Bunny. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 Film: 'Murder at the Gallop'. 8.00 London. 10.30 Yorksport. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 Scales of justice. 12.10 Weather.

GRANADA: 2.30 Saint. 3.25 Yesterdays. 3.55 Camera in action. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.50 Make a wish. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. Police file. 6.25 McMillan and wife. 7.50 Sylvester. 8.00 London. 11.00 On the line. 11.30 Transatlantic race.

TYNE TEES: 12.20 Mr Piper. 12.45 Bird's eye view. 1.10 Edgar Wallace. 2.05 Survival. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Lincoln show. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Bonanza. 8.00 London. 10.30 Sport. 11.00 Police call. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 Short story. 12.00 News. 12.15 Epilogue.

GRAMPIAN: 3.32 News. 3.35 Job look. 3.40 Women. 4.10 Julia. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Folk afore us. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Andy. 7.30 Hogan's heroes. 8.00 London. 11.00 Viewfinder. 11.35 Survival. 12.00 Epilogue.

## Industrial correspondent David Maude at the CSEU conference

# The Clash of giants was as silent as natural gas

IT TOOK the leaders of Britain's 3 million engineering workers just under 75 minutes to decide their pay policy this week... if you can call it a 'policy'.

There had been predictions of a clash of giants at the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions' conference.

Union leaders, some said, were preparing to tear each other limb from limb over the failure of the plant-bargaining strategy to which they switched in mid-January.

No such clash occurred.

The eve of conference announcement of a fresh offer by the Engineering Employers' Federation was all that most of the delegates needed to avoid a serious review of the disastrous plant-bargaining which has been pursued during the past few months.

Completely absent from the debate was the immunizing effect this policy has had on the pay struggle.

No one admitted that the only thing staring engineers in the face today is wage-cuts and greater unemployment.

Instead we had more natural gas, a commodity which is also thought to flourish off Llandudno in the Irish Sea.

The successful resolution—sponsored by the 1.2 million strong engineers' section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers—reaffirmed support for the 13-point pay claim approved by the CSEU last July. It congratulates union members who are taking action on the claim and instructs the CSEU executive to 'vigorously

strengthen' the campaign in all the main engineering centres.

The executive is instructed to resume national talks 'when in their opinion the time is opportune'.

A move to ditch national claims once and for all was heavily defeated after being moved by the Electrical and Plumbing Trade Union.

The decision is a curious one, about which a number of officials who have had experience of action at plant level have serious reservations.

'How are we expected to generate enthusiasm for the factory-by-factory campaign when people know there are national talks in the offing?' one prominent CSEU local leader asked after the vote on Tuesday.

Others voiced different worries.

When Reg Birch, the Maoist executive council member of the AUEW, went to the rostrum he said that negotiators could not rush back to the EEF and settle for the £20 and £25 basic rates they had put forward as a peace formula last December.

'Now we must raise our ante', he said. 'If our members say they want £25 and £35 we must say to the employers that we want it without trembling.'

Although Birch is a staunch defender of the plant-bargaining strategy, AUEW president Hugh Scanlon immediately launched a sharp attack on... the morality of his colleague's suggestion.

It might be true, as Birch had said, that workers had been

betrayed in the past, Scanlon admitted. But one thing the working class did have was a morality and if the negotiators had said they would settle for £20 and £25 last December, they could not ask for more now.

In other words, the basis of the informal talks Scanlon expects may start in London today will not be the 13-point claim but the rock-bottom negotiating position with which he tried to avoid a breakdown last December.

I talked to two CSEU officials, both full-time officers of the AUEW, about what happens now.

Bill McLoughlin, secretary of the No. 8 (London) district of the CSEU, thought that the plant-by-plant strategy had met with 'reasonable success' in money terms, though not on hours.

There have been some settlements of £3.50, and in one case, a £5.40 offer had been rejected.

But he admitted that some such rises might have been achieved even without the plant-by-plant action for the national claim.

An opponent of the switch to plant-bargaining originally, he had been disappointed by the slowness of the campaign in his own area.

But now moves were being made to step it up. A meeting of shop stewards will take place in working hours within the next few weeks to plan the action.

John Tocher, secretary of the No. 29 (Manchester) division, said that the 'first wave' of the struggle in his area was now vir-

tually over. A second wave—comprising factories not so far involved in action—could be expected to start shortly.

But he attacked those unions who have failed to pay out strike pay to their members, even during the first wave.

'The employers have paid out

far more than £2m in order to keep this going in Manchester', he said. 'How are the members expected to fight for 12 weeks in some cases with nothing at all?'

Both men agreed that what the EEF approach has done is to present a real debate on these issues at the conference.

## NOW WEEKLY

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## Fresh talks on Singer strike

FRESH TALKS to solve the five-week-old strike at the Singer sewing machine factory, Clydebank, Scotland, began yesterday.

If they are unsuccessful, the dispute is likely to go on until after the three weeks' annual holidays, which begin next Friday.

The workers want an improved pay and bonus award on top of a series of fringe benefits already offered by management.

If the peace move does fail and the strike lasts another four weeks, then most of the firm's 1,300 staff will be fired.

The claim is part of the national engineering pay battle which is now being fought in several Scottish plants in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen where 1,700 workers have lodged carbon copy demands for better pay and conditions.

**BANGLA DESH** has launched its own merchant shipping fleet. 'Vishva Prem', a modern ship, has been acquired from the Shipping Corporation of India Limited. She has been renamed 'Bangladoot'.

## Small internationalist voice

TWO RESOLUTIONS expressing alarm at the influx of cheap Japanese goods to the British market were passed by the CSEU delegates.

The Electrical and Plumbing Trades Union sponsored a motion calling for government action against 'unfair competition' from Asian countries in the radio, television and electronics industry.

And the General and Municipal Workers' Union — supported by the EPTU, the white-collar ASTMS and the Transport and General Workers' Union—called for government support for the British ball and roller-bearing industry.

Bill Blair, for the electricians, fulminated against the 'blitzkrieg of economic warfare', he said had been unleashed by the Japanese industry and government.

He did not think it was much use urging people to buy British, he said, since experience had shown this didn't work. But the CSEU should express itself in favour of some sort of embargo against Japanese goods.

Support for this line came from what at first seemed a surprise quarter — the left-wing Technical and Supervisory Section of the AUEW.

George Doughty, TASS general secretary, warned it would not be easy to get government action.

Ken Baker, of the G&MWU, showed a trace of embarrassment at Blair's line of argument. It was 'unfortunate' he had to follow it, he said, but follow it he did.

Len Dixon, a Communist Party member of the AUEW executive, put the unanimous support for Baker's motion. He wanted the utmost pressure on the government for financial aid to the bearing industry.

The only speakers even to nod at an internationalist position were

Len Edmondson of the AUEW engineers' section and Bob McCusker of ASTMS.

Said Edmondson: 'The reason why there are low wages prevalent in some of these countries we are talking about is not because they are backward or undeveloped, but because trade union organization is weak or repressed there.'

He said the CSEU should act in support of weak unions in their struggle against repressive legislation and to improve their members' standard of living.

In that way the menace of cheap goods would be reduced.

## Briefly...

COLLABORATION between the trade union leaders and the Tories took a new step forward last night when the TUC and the Confederation of British Industries met to discuss new arbitration and conciliation plans. The meeting, at a dinner given by the TUC, is the first at top-level for two years.

SOUTH of Scotland Electricity Board earnings last year totalled £29,482,000, it was announced yesterday. But there was a loss of just over £3m after interest payments of more than £32m. The Board called for a reduction in the price of coal.

CHILD Poverty Action Group says deprivation and poverty in Ulster are more widespread than in other parts of the UK. It has called on the Tory government to introduce a 'new and more generous' social policy.

A SITE of just over half an acre in the City of London is changing hands in a £4.25m deal announced yesterday. Fast expanding property group, British Land is buying the Aldersgate Street HQ of Steinberg & Sons, clothing manufacturers.

REPRESENTATIVES of unions in the air transport industry are thought to have had behind-the-scenes talks in a bid to bring the two sides together in the BEA pilots' dispute. No new moves have been made at an official level, however, to avert tomorrow's threatened strike.

## Confed 'dismay' over TUC and Act

FROM DAVID MAUDE IN LLANDUDNO

RAILWAYMEN and dockers had answered the Industrial Relations Act in the only way the Tory government understood Hugh Scanlon, president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers said yesterday.

He was speaking at the Llandudno conference of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions in a bid to rebuild their shattered common front against the Act.

A motion supported by three sections of his union—the engineers, technicians and construction workers—sought to reaffirm CSEU's 'total opposition' to the Act and all its agencies.

The motion was carried by 1,323,100 to 346,000 with nearly a million abstentions.

It called on conference to express its dismay at TUC General Council's reversal of its advice not to recognize the National Industrial Relations Court—and at its refusal to recall congress.

There had been those who said the Act would never be used, Scanlon reminded the delegates. But even the most vociferous critic of the Act could not have envisaged that within weeks of its introduction the NIRC would have imposed compulsory balloting, levied massive fines and threatened three dockers with imprisonment.

The General Council had been 'completely wrong' in attempting to reverse the spirit and intention of the TUC's decisions at two conferences last year.



Scanlon

He questioned whether the so called victories which had been obtained in the courts as a result of this reversal were really victories.

While the T&GWU had been repaid its fines, the net result of the Denning judgement had been to make the shop steward the most vulnerable section of the trade union movement, he said.

Of course they had one supreme defence. The 'good fairy'—in the shape of the Official Solicitor—would not have acted had not the ports stopped almost to a man.

The situation which had faced the dockers, he said, had not yet come to the engineers.

But if the decisions which had been taken on wages were brought to a conclusion, then small employers such as those who had acted on the docks might come on the legal scene.

'Nobody wants a confrontation,' Scanlon said. 'Nobody wants to be a martyr. But is it not time to say that there comes a time when you have to say "Thus far, and no further".'

It would be highly desirable, he said, if the engineering industry unions could speak with one voice on these questions.

Scanlon attacked the claim of Tory premier Edward Heath that the unions were overshadowing the state like the medieval barons.

'If we had that authority, and I sometimes wish we had, we would not have been arguing yesterday about £15 basic rate for labourers,' he said.

The unions, in fact, had acted in a most responsible way in their opposition to the Act.

JOHN SPENCER LOOKS AT...

## Reformist treachery and the economic crisis

TORY attempts to dismiss the prospect of sterling devaluation have done nothing to reassure the City of London or the currency markets.

The 'Financial Times' share index dropped steadily yesterday amid rumours that the bank rate is about to be raised. A significant sign was the continued fall in the price of government bonds—a sure index of lack of confidence in the government's pledges.

The pound continued close to its parity floor, though dealers said there was slightly less selling of pounds than on Tuesday when the Bank of England and Common Market central banks were forced to support sterling on a big scale.

The run on the pound, coming after the government's climb-down in the face of the dockers, is a clear indication of the Tories' extreme weakness.

Gripped by the world economic crisis and the development of trade war, they are being forced towards a step no Tory government has had to take.

But this is emphatically not an excuse for complacency in the workers' movement. With their backs to the wall the Tories will hit out with all the vindictive viciousness at their command to make the working class foot the bill for devaluation.

The Labour leaders' position in this situation is extremely dangerous. At the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions' conference yesterday two resolutions expressing chauvinistic opposition to Japan's trade drive in Europe were passed with support from the 'left'. (See top of this page.)

The logic of this position is to line up with the Tories and the employers against the 'yellow peril', just as the MacDonald traitors did in the 1930s.

Against this patriotic flag-waving we assert that the main enemy of the working class is not in Japan, but right here in Britain. It is the Tory government kept in office by the treachery of the reformist union leaders and their Stalinist hangers-on.

The sterling crisis is conclusive evidence that the December 18 currency realignment has solved nothing for world capitalism. Devaluation of the pound will be a major and decisive breach in this fragile deal.

It also makes nonsense of the painful efforts of the Common Market countries to weld their currencies into a single monetary block against the United States and Japan.

The Common Market central bankers now find they are committed to supporting sterling under conditions where the Tory government is clearly not prepared to defend the pound.

British capitalism has already lost the first round of the trade war—since 1968 export prices have risen 37 per cent, the highest increase for any major capitalist country and 14 per cent above the world average increase over that period.

Advantages of the 1967 devaluation have disappeared despite the crippling revaluations inflicted on the yen and the mark last year as a result of American pressure.

Cynical Treasury civil servants are reported to be displaying a keen interest in Brazilian exchange control techniques. The Tory leadership and their military friends will no doubt also be keenly studying Brazilian methods of counter-revolution!

## Carr babies

THE Industrial Relations Act has a long life ahead of it, says Robert Carr, who piloted it through the Commons.

'I think we can all see now that if anybody feared the government's infant was going to be still-born, they were wrong.

'It is indeed lusty and this is a child which is going to grow up with a long life ahead of it and in due course will have children of its own.'

## Plane probe

THE GOVERNMENT inquiry into Sunday's Trident air disaster is expected to start taking first evidence next week. Already the Aerospace Minister's report to parliament suggests that a pilot error in cockpit was responsible.

It now appears, however, that another key factor in the aircraft's stalling was overloading. But this aspect has so far been kept out of the headlines.

## WEATHER

SOUTH Wales, the Midlands, East Anglia and southern England will be mostly cloudy with occasional rain or showers.

North Wales, northern England, Northern Ireland and Scotland will have showers and clear or sunny intervals. Later in the day it may become generally cloudy in the north-west, with rain at times. It will continue cool in all districts. Outlook for Friday and Saturday: Continuing cool, with showers or longer periods of rain but also sunny intervals.

## Racialism on increase

RACIAL discrimination remains widespread, especially in promotion opportunities, white collar work and in private housing, says the annual report of the Race Relations Board out yesterday.

Reporting a 5-per-cent increase in unlawful discrimination among particular cases examined over the past year, the Board warns that the Race Relations Act itself will not stop discrimination from becoming an extensive feature of society.

On the other hand, the Board says, there are 'strong reasons for supposing that discrimination in services and in places of public resort has greatly diminished and that the Act has made a major contribution to this'.

The report suggests a number of changes in the Act, particularly in relation to its machinery for investigation. The Board wants powers to launch investigations without prior need to suspect a breach of the Act.

It wants to see an end to the situation where an employer is allowed to discriminate 'in good faith' to preserve a racial harmony.

## ADVANCE NOTICE

**Socialist Labour League Public Meeting**  
DON'T LET THE DOCKERS FIGHT ALONE  
DEFEND BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS  
MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN  
SUNDAY JULY 2, 7 p.m.

Acton Town Hall,  
Acton High Street, W3.  
Speakers will include G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary), S. HANNIGAN (London YS Secretary),  
Corin Redgrave.

## LATE NEWS

THE CONFED conference at Llandudno went on to defeat a boilermakers' resolution 'appreciating the efforts' of unions in complying with TUC non-registration advice.

Earlier Hugh Scanlon had described the resolution as 'an endorsement of attendance at court.'

The vote against the boilermakers' move was 1,284,500 to 582,600.

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