

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● MONDAY OCTOBER 16, 1972 ● No 895 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY STEPHEN JOHNS

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Top of the agenda will be state control of wages and this affects every working man and woman in the country.

They must decide whether they want to be the pawns of the Tory state machine, or workers free to fight for the highest possible standard of living.

We have no doubts what the answer must be. The Tory plan must be rejected completely and all contact with this discredited and anti-working-class Tory government broken-off immediately.

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But the men who lead the unions have already made up their minds. They have accepted the principle of wage control and agreed to subordinate the interests of their 9 million members to the so-called 'national economy' that Heath is so fond of talking about.

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Party likely to prove . . . is it likely to be thought more effective than Labour in pursuing what increasingly emerge as policies that should properly be called national socialist . . .'

Older workers will recall that national socialism was the theory of the fascists like Hitler and Mussolini. In the interests of the 'national economy', and with the initial co-operation of many German and Italian trade union leaders, they destroyed the working-class movement and murdered its militant leaders.

These issues are embodied in the Chequers talks. Heath made this clear when he spoke to the Tory Party conference on Saturday. The wages and prices plan he said, 'is an offer to the employers and the unions to share fully with the government the benefits and obligations involved in running the national economy'.

Of course the ruling class and the Tories are a long way from



fascism. They must smash the working class first. In fact Heath's overture to the union leaders on Saturday was a sign of weakness.

Heath knows that if there were a General Election tomorrow his government would come crashing down.

He knows also that the only force standing between him and the verdict of the working class are the union leaders.

Time and time again these men have come forward, held back the working class and saved the government from destruction. They did it over the miners' strike, over the railwaymen's strike, over the confrontation over the dockers and now they are helping out once more.

terests of the 'national economy'. This is the plan the TUC leaders are co-operating with at Chequers today.

To meet this challenge workers need to take the initiative. This is why the All Trades Unions Alliance is putting forward its Charter of Basic Rights and organizing its annual conference next Sunday, October 22.

This is no routine meeting nor is the Charter a pious declaration. The aim will be to launch a new initiative, to break workers from the rotten and corrupt union leadership of the right and the so-called left.

The Tory government is weak. It could not stand up to the organized strength of the working class. With this conviction the All Trades Unions Alliance goes forward with the fight to force the government to resign as the start towards defending basic rights.

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Already union leaders have imposed their own wage freeze. The government industrial workers have had their claim put to binding arbitration. The miners' leaders have postponed their own pay battle until December and the electricity workers' leaders have reduced their own claim in line with the governments own state pay plans.

All this gives the Tories that crucial breathing space to get into Europe and attack the working class from a position of greater strength—it is surely no secret that bosses in every boardroom are devising their European strategy which will involve big sackings and closures in Britain.

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SEE PAGES 9 & 10

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See Alex Mitchell's Special Report p. 12

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Clive Jenkins

## ATUA CONFERENCE

The way forward for all trade unionists

SUNDAY OCTOBER 22  
10-30 a.m.  
TOWN HALL, BIRMINGHAM

Send for delegates' and observers' credentials from: Conference Secretary, R. Goldstein, 103 Lewis Flats, Dalston Lane, London E8

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Branch .....  
Names, addresses and No of delegates/observers

I enclose £ as delegates fees Signature of secretary

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# What we think

## THE LEGACY OF STALINISM

THE WORKING class has the strength to bring down the Tory government. That cannot be doubted after the strike battles that have taken place so far this year. Miners, dockers, shipyard workers, builders—section after section of workers has gone into action against the government's plans to impose state control of wages and drive down living standards.

All that saves the Tories is the cowardice of the Labour and trade union leaders and Communist Party treachery. To that must be added the supplementary political role played by revisionists like the anti-communist International Socialism group.

Its main function is to hold back the development of political consciousness in the working class. To this end it sings the

praises of spontaneous militancy which in practice keeps workers in line behind the very leaders who are selling them out day by day.

Workers can only break from their old leaders in the course of political struggle. This requires conscious effort by the revolutionary party to train cadres who will expose these old leaders and go beyond the limits of spontaneity.

Nowhere has this been demonstrated more clearly than at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders. In the early days of the work-in in August last year, the IS paper 'Socialist Worker' screamed 'Militancy Can Win at UCS'. In all that followed the International Socialists never once fought the CP Stalinists. On the contrary, these state capitalists—apart from

some minor and discreet criticisms—slavishly covered up for the CP not only on the Clyde, but on the docks, the building sites and throughout the trade union movement.

When the Stalinists cooperated with Jack Jones in getting striking dockers back to work, to accept Jones-Aldington, the 'Socialist Worker' declared that the dockers were 'not worthy of their stewards'.

Now, when the UCS 'settlement' has allowed 2,500 jobs to go with many more threatened, and has accepted compulsory arbitration, penal clauses and the abandonment of direct wage negotiations, 'Socialist Worker' complains that 'the "victory" is not nearly as great as it might have been' and constitutes 'another step away from the best traditions of the trade union movement' (October 14).

'Much more was undoubtedly possible' say the state capitalists. Yes—but not without the exposure and removal of Stalinist stewards James Reid and James Airlie. But throughout the work-in, 'Socialist Worker' covered up for these leaders . . . and does so still.

The IS paper says the CP 'failed to break from' boiler-makers' leader Danny McGarvey. Much more was involved than that.

Reid and Airlie consistently carried out the policies of Stalinism, which is an international counter-revolutionary force serving the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

That was why they allowed the yards to be split, and denounced workers who fought for wages as 'rat-racers'.

The state capitalists, who write off the gains of the Russian Revolution because they consider the Soviet bureaucracy to be more powerful than the Soviet working class, follow behind the instruments of that bureaucracy in Britain—the CP and its Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

Basically, the revisionists are convinced that the working class is incapable of going beyond its reformist and Stalinist leaders, just as their forebears—the Mensheviks—were convinced that the Russian workers could not go beyond capitalism.

Writing in the October 14 issue of 'Socialist Worker', Tony Cliff argues that 'many workers are prepared to accept arguments in favour of wage control and that millions of trade unionists are being conned by the Tory policy's appeal to "fairness"'.

He goes on: 'The struggle against the Tory incomes policy—and any Labour version to come—must not be left just at the economic level. The struggle

for the hearts and minds of the workers is now more important than ever before.'

But if struggles are to go beyond 'the economic level' they must become political. And central to a political struggle against the Tory's plan to impose state control of wages (not just an 'incomes policy') must be a fight to force the Tory government to resign.

This is the central issue which the International Socialism group consistently avoids.

Last week another member of the IS Executive Committee—George Kelly—gave an interview to a witch-hunting series of articles in the 'Glasgow Herald'.

'What we do is service strikes,' claimed Kelly. 'If a group of workers have a grievance, then we can organize considerable help for them—leaflets, publicity and on the picket lines.'

In other words—no political struggle, no fight against the Stalinists and the Labour leaders. Just more militancy and a bit of 'service'.

This is precisely what the IS group contributed on the Clyde. In so doing, they assisted Stalinism to prepare a sell-out and save the Tory government.

Now they are forced to inherit its legacy of betrayal.

## FOREIGN NEWS

# No 'peace talks' deal but Thieu is shaken

PUPPET PRESIDENT of South Vietnam Nguyen Van Thieu was yesterday awaiting the return of his ambassadors to Paris and London before beginning a new round of discussions on the Indo-China war. Thieu recalled his diplomats in the wake of intensive secret talks between the United States and North Vietnam—but both sides have made it clear that there has been little progress towards a settlement.

North Vietnamese politburo member Le Duc Tho told reporters when he left Paris for Hanoi on Friday that there are still many difficult issues to settle.

White House press secretary Ronald Ziegler commented: 'We would not challenge Le Duc Tho's statement.' This was Washington's only comment on the results of the talks.

Thieu's fate is widely believed to be one of the talks' stumbling blocks.

The National Liberation Front has demanded a government of national concord formed by merging the present Saigon government and the Provisional Revolutionary Government with other groups in South Vietnam.

They have stipulated that Thieu must go as part of any ceasefire deal. Thieu said last week:

'We will have peace only with victory. We have to kill the communists to the last man before we have peace.'

He added: 'Those in South Vietnam who want to promote a coalition with the communists should raise their hands. I am sure the population and the soldiers will not let them live for more than five minutes.'

Thieu's dictatorship has been badly shaken by the liberation offensive which began in April and continues to take a toll of the puppet forces.

His opposition to any deal with the NLF indicates his desperation and his fear that the Americans may sacrifice him.

POLICE attacked students at the funeral of a 26-year-old law student, José Antonio Ribeiro Santos in Lisbon on Saturday. Santos was shot on Thursday when President Caetano's police raided the Higher Institute of Economic Sciences and broke up a students' meeting. Singing of the national anthem by 3,000 mourners after Santos' burial changed to chants of 'Long live Liberty!' and 'Murderers!'



President Thieu: Recalled envoys

# Lorry chiefs turn down Allende 'peace'

THE TENSE situation continued in Chile yesterday as the leader of striking lorry owners, Adolfo Quinteros, refused offers of mediation from President Salvador Allende to end their five day-old strike, which is paralysing the country's transport system.

The union of lorry-owners called the strike last Wednesday against government plans to set up a state transport service in the far south of Chile.

After a fight between strikers and police on Thursday in which one lorry driver was killed the government declared a state of emergency in ten provinces. Two hundred lorry owner-drivers were arrested, including the president of the Transport Federation, Leon Vilarin, and four other union leaders.

In a nationwide broadcast, General Hector Bravo banned all public demonstrations, the publication of any news which could be 'alarmist or extreme' and announced the setting up of street patrols by the army and police.

The Christian Democratic party, which runs the Transport Federation, retaliated by closing down all shops and businesses.

The petty-bourgeoisie which has been the target of Allende's

showing that they are in no way interested in his policies.

'national unity' programme are The more he tries to appease them by the moderation of his programme, the more they strike out against his Popular Unity government.

In a radio broadcast Allende has attacked those who use political strikes against the government when 'imperialism attacks Chile by putting an embargo on its copper'.

Yet on Tuesday he shared the platform with leading Christian Democrats at a mass rally against the copper embargo. During last week, the Chilean navy was engaged in naval manoeuvres with the US navy off the coast of Chile.

All talk about 'anti-imperialism' and the Chilean 'road to socialism' in such conditions amounts to 'left' demagoguery aimed at disarming the masses as civil war is openly prepared against them.

That is precisely what Allende and the Stalinists want.

# Spanish CP moves further to the right

THE SPANISH Communist Party resolutions at its recent 8th Congress reflected the extreme rightward turn of international Stalinism.

'Mundo Obrero', the Party organ, reports that the Congress expressed opposition to Spain's immediate entry into the Common Market because it would be harmful to the national economy.

It was thought, however, that European economic integration is a reality and that

the EEC 'is not a problem which today divides democratic forces'.

In the event of the coming to power of a popular government, which will occur not through civil war or insurrection, but 'political revolution', the CP would 'support an agreement for association with the EEC which would allow co-operation with European countries as the renewal of

Spain's economic structure allowed it to compete'.

At the same time Santiago Carrillo's Party will 'unite its forces with communist and socialist parties and democratic forces which are for the democratization of the EEC . . .'

With this policy, the CP professes to consider work among Spanish immigrant workers as 'extremely important', yet they already bear the load of EEC super-exploitation and repression along with millions of other immigrants in France and Germany.

SOVIET and US representatives have signed a shipping agreement hailed by the Nixon administration as a first step towards a new era of expanded trade. Final details of a full trade package negotiated since May are still under discussion, but a comprehensive pact is expected to be signed later this year.

TEN YUGOSLAVS have been charged with defrauding a Zagreb import-export enterprise of £1.8m and of leaving it nearly £9m in debt, in the biggest financial scandal in Yugoslavia since the war. The Zagreb district public prosecutor said the accused embezzled the money

for themselves and for their firms abroad. They carried out the fraud by making false invoices, inventing business deals, exporting capital, evading customs and tax payments and usurping export premiums intended for other enterprises. Two of the accused, both directors

of the enterprise—Metalium—had fled the country. The others include three senior clerks of the enterprise, a private craftsman, a director and a senior clerk of a provincial enterprise, an acting-director of a Belgrade bank branch and a director of another Zagreb enterprise.

## IN EUROPE JOBLESS RISES AS PLANNED

The creation of a large European pool of unemployed through rationalization is one of the keystones of the policies of the monopolies in the Common Market.

A recent report from the European Commission in Brussels which deals with developments in the textile industry shows the trend is well under way.

The report points out that between 1966 and 1970 the number of workers employed in the textile industry in member-states of the EEC went down from 1.76 million to 1.68 million and that the extension of the EEC to include countries like Great Britain will accelerate this tendency.

The pious bureaucrats in Brussels express a hope that they will be able to use money from the European Social Foundation in order to create new jobs.

When Spain enters the EEC, the number of unemployed textile workers will certainly rocket.

For some time the Franco government has been closing down its antiquated factories in preparation for its European coming of age.

In 1961 the industry, based mainly in Catalonia, employed 118,000 workers, in 1971 the figure was 84,000.

Rationalization is being carried through under the National Plan for the Restructuring of the Textile Industry. This describes how in 'a situation of permanent technological revolution' the structure of Spanish textiles is 'characterized by out-of-date machinery, excessive capacity and small firms'.

Certainly an accurate description of an industry with 476 'firms' which employ from one to five workers and only three factories with over 500 employees.

But it is a bleak future for the 2,000 textile workers who in the last six months have joined thousands of European textile workers in the ranks of the unemployed.

This planned unemployment in European textiles—the last-ditch effort to beat US and Japanese competition—belies the idea that the EEC is any answer to factory closures.

## PREYING ON FRENCH FOOD FIRMS

British capital is moving into the French food-producing industry. Many French firms are still relatively small and few are as large as the British giants.

'The British financier is everywhere' reports 'Le Monde', 'He comes. He sees. He conquers.'

Cadbury-Schweppes is building up strength in the soft drink and fruit juice industry. Its latest prey is the family firm of Pampryl which produces fruit juices in the heart of the Burgundy wine country.

The government has not yet given permission for the takeover and would prefer to see a consolidation of French fruit-juice producers. After January 1, with Britain's entry, it may no longer be possible to prevent it.



# THE FELIXSTOWE THREAT TO DOCKERS' JOBS

By our industrial correspondent

Steadily growing outside the embrace of the National Dock Labour Scheme is the East Anglian port of Felixstowe.

As scheme-registered dockers' fears for their jobs revived last week, despite the promises of the Jones-Aldington report, IMM Port Development Ltd was letting the first building in a new Felixstowe warehousing complex.

The IMM consortium has let the building—a huge, 175,000 sq ft warehouse adjacent to the docks—to the US military for operation as a storage and distribution centre

for non-perishable foodstuffs.

Which is no surprise, since the £10m needed to develop the 54-acre site has come almost entirely from US sources. It is somehow appropriate that the first beneficiary should be the very agency by which, in the last analysis, US capitalism maintains its investments.

The warehouse is the first of four, the second of which is already nearing completion.

Eventually the complex will include a cold store, a 300-bed 'Lotel' for lorry drivers and 160,000 sq ft of office space.

The site, which is held on a 99-year lease from Trinity College, Cambridge, is situated near a soon-to-be-completed interchange with Felixstowe's

southern relief road. This will give access both to the docks and to nearby Ipswich.

Partners in IMM are Bankers' Trust International, British Anzani and IMM Transportation Services.

Felixstowe's attractions for such hard-bitten concerns are not the 'scenic' character of the docks, or the 'maritime air' of the storage and distribution facilities, about which the ridiculous advertisements placed by letting agents Debenham, Tewson and Chinnock wax poetic.

Felixstowe is considered a safe bet precisely because it is outside the Dock Labour Scheme, which gives dockers a statutory title to their jobs and joint control with the em-

Above: Felixstowe port and container depot. In the background huge warehouses are being built.

ployers over discipline.

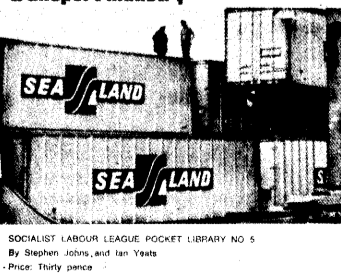
The equivocation of the Transport and General Workers' Union leadership in the fight to register ports like Felixstowe is extremely dangerous here. Like the use of casual labour in the registered ports, to which Jones-Aldington has given rise, it is a backdoor attack on the Scheme itself.

Felixstowe must not only be brought within the Scheme, it must be nationalized without compensation under workers' control in common with the rest of the port-transport industry.

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# THE JAY LOVESTONE STORY

From Stalinism . . . to the CIA. By Charles Parkins. Part Eight

## THE RISE OF THE LOVESTONE EMPIRE

In January 1947, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) Executive Board issued its list of approved organizations to which state or councils could contribute. Numerous relief agencies were included, but those for war-stricken Poland and Yugoslavia were proscribed. The National Negro Congress was out. The right-wing American Legion was in.

In 1948 the CIO, continuing its witch-hunt of the Communist Party, decided to reject calls for a third party and to support Truman. It also adopted a right-wing foreign policy resolution, of which a supporter said:

'There is no pussy-footing in this resolution. There are no weasel words . . . We say to the Soviets: "If you want peace, co-operate with the United States of America." That is what we say and that is what we mean, and that is what they will finally have to do.'

The 1949 CIO convention decided on a constitutional amendment barring anyone who was a CP member or who 'pursues policies and activities directed towards the achievement of the programme and purposes of the Communist Party' from sitting on the executive board.

CIO leader Murray then went on to announce the establishment of investigating committees to examine charges against unions of supporting CP policies. More than ten unions, with a combined membership of one million workers, were expelled. The CIO was made 'safe' for 'democracy'—and enrolled into the Cold War, at home and abroad.

Meanwhile, Jay Lovestone, having distinguished himself as an anti-communist expert while on Homer Martin's staff in the auto-workers' union in the 1930s had continued his rise in the labour bureaucracy.

His patron again was David Dubinsky, leader of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, himself one of a number of right-wingers who had left the Socialist Party.

In 1938, Dubinsky had decided to lead his union out of the CIO and back into the AFL. In 1940, this leader of the traditionally radical garment workers threw his support behind the conservative building union's leader, George Meany, for the post of secretary-treasurer of the AFL.

In 1944, Meany, Dubinsky and Matthew Woll formed the Free Trade Union Committee. Woll, a veteran right-wing AFL leader, had earlier joined Dubinsky in a body called the American Labour Conference on International Affairs. This body publishes a paper called the 'New Leader'. The ALCIA has received considerable funds from the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. It has also been revealed to have received grants from the J. M.

Kaplan Fund—a CIA conduit.

In 1944 it was Dubinsky who suggested Jay Lovestone as secretary for the Free Trade Union Committee and also recommended him as an adviser on international affairs to George Meany.

In 1950, Dubinsky himself was involved in a typical bit of AFL-CIO international affairs. He made a trip to Israel, arranged by the US ambassador to that country, to have talks with leaders of the Histadrut (Israeli TUC). Since then, the Israeli labour bureaucracy has been an important ally of the American union bureaucrats in their efforts in Afro-Asian countries.

Kenya's Tom Mboya and other African union leaders received political training at the Histadrut Afro-Asian Institute. The AFL-CIO International Affairs department has funded this Institute and provided some of the staff.

## ENEMY

On March 13, 1951, George Meany made a review of the AFL's international work, referring to what he called its 'world network in the fight against communism'. Together with the British TUC, the AFL and CIO had managed to split the World Federation of Trade Unions and set up the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Meany also spoke of the Free Trade Union Committee, headed by Woll and Lovestone, and the work it was doing. He spoke of the criterion for AFL 'aid' to 'free' trade unions—that the recipients should be fighting against communism. On the subject of delegations invited by the AFL to tour the USA, Meany said:

'We have found in these delegations sources of invaluable strength and effectiveness in our great struggle against the common enemy—the menace of communism.'

Meany referred to some of the AFL representatives working abroad—Henry Rutz in Germany, Richard Deverall in Japan, Serafino Ramualdi in charge of Latin American activities, Irving Brown—then in Europe, although later to take on responsibility for African affairs.

Brown was an old Lovestoneite, having worked together with Lovestone in the United Auto Workers' Union.

The role of this network of labour agents for US imperialism was described by Sigrid Schulz, a German journalist, in an article in 'Colliers' magazine in November 1947. She described how the movement for German re-armament against communism was gaining ground because opposition from German trade unionists was being weakened by the stand taken by the American labour leaders.

'Pronouncements by the vice-president of the American Federation of Labour, Matthew Woll, play an important role in the "get ready for war" campaign. Hundreds of thousands of organized workers in the Ruhr and in western Germany have been flooded with photostat copies of Woll's editorials in the International Free Trade Union News. The Germans take Woll's statements to mean that "Germany must rearm for the coming war against communism".'

Previously, in November 1946, the American unions'



Top: Guatemalan paratroopers trained by CIA support a regime which has imprisoned thousands of trade unionists. Meany (above) has written in praise of the regime.

activities in Latin America had been brought into sharp focus by the publication in the Cuban trade union paper 'Hoy' of photostats of documents which it had obtained. One, dated June 27, 1946, was a letter from Matthew Woll to the head of the Cuban Maritime Union, Juan Aravelo.

The letter, on AFL stationery, said: 'I was delighted to receive your letter and report of your meeting with Ramualdi and of developments in Haiti. I will be pleased to hear later from you regarding the interview with the captain of the Military Intelligence Service and likewise your visit to Port au Prince and to British Jamaica where you intend visiting Bustamente. I will also await further word from you regarding the Dominican Republic.'

## CONFLICT

The other letter which 'Hoy' exposed was from Aravelo to Bernardo Ibanez in Chile. The subject was a plan to split the trade union movement in Chile and in other Latin American

countries.

In 1954, when the conflict between US imperialism and the Arbenz government in Guatemala began, Meany made it clear that the AFL bureaucracy would stand four square with US imperialism. In an open letter to Arbenz, Meany called on him to stop attacks on US imperialism in the Guatemalan press; to purge the unions of 'communists', and so forth.

In March, Meany supported US government policy in an editorial in the AFL journal. Three months later, when the CIA-instigated coup had forcibly overthrown the Arbenz regime, Serafino Ramualdi wrote in the AFL journal, the 'Federationist', about his trip to Guatemala after the coup. He praised the intentions of the 'liberator' Castillo-Armas and said the people were 'solidly' behind him. He claimed that Castillo-Armas had given definite assurances that trade union rights would be preserved.

In actual fact, within a month, Castillo-Armas had

dissolved the major unions in Guatemala and some 5,000 to 8,000 people, mainly trade unionists, had been imprisoned. So this was 'free' trade unionism, as supported by Meany, Lovestone, Ramualdi, and the CIA.

Meanwhile, in Britain, an organization was established in 1951 called 'Common Cause'. Its aims were clearly stated—to fight communism and industrial militancy. Its sources of funds were a little more obscure; but it is known that besides certain British industrialists who contributed some of the cash, the main source of funds was from the United States.

In 1959, following an internal squabble inside 'Common Cause' some information was leaked and it was found that the organization was also supplying funds for IRIS—the 'Industrial Research and Information Service', operated by a group of retired union officials to put out witch-hunting and anti-communist material in the trade union movement.

In an article in 'The Sunday Times' on August 4, 1968, Eric Jacobs wrote that, among other things, 'Common Cause' was prepared 'to pay the wages and expenses of trade unionists who need time off to carry on the anti-communist struggle'. 'Common Cause' was also a source of funds in the ETU-court case.

Many of the functionaries employed by 'Common Cause' are retired service officers. But in 1963 they were joined by the late Jim Matthews, former National Industrial Officer of the General and Municipal Workers Union, who became a director of this business-financed organization.

Was 'Common Cause' another outpost of the Lovestone Empire? Certainly it seems to have been set up with parallel aims to those of the AFL-CIO-CIA connections. And it should indicate that American union leaders are not unique in having this sort of reactionary connection. **TOMORROW: The Lovestone network in action.**

# FARMWORKERS TAKE ON FLORIDA SUGAR EMPIRE

Reprinted from the 'Bulletin', organ of the Workers League of America. By Bruce McKay

Battle lines have been tautly drawn in Clewiston, Florida, in what promises to be a decisive struggle between the United Farm Workers and the Florida sugar industry backed by the American ruling class as a whole.

It has already been demonstrated that simple militancy or trade unionism is insufficient to win this struggle or to defend the union against the vicious attacks being openly prepared by the sugar companies and the government.

Nor can farmworkers depend on the strategies of middle-class protest or on the good will of politicians and political parties which are financed by their enemies. The only road forward is the fight for a labour party.

Union leaders are now faced—in Florida, in Arizona, in California—with the united front of the employers and their government determined to break once and for all the movement of farmworkers.

United States Sugar Corporation, the largest of the Florida companies, coupled its arrogant rejection of the UFW's recognition demand with a thinly-veiled threat which clearly exposed the political nature of the offensive being readied against the union.

'There may be some legal questions concerning the UFW's right to represent our employees because officials from the Secretary of State's office have informed us the UFW is not a registered labour organization in the state of Florida,' US Sugar President John B. Boy told reporters.

This is an outright lie used by Boy solely to intimidate farmworkers with the power of the employers' state.

Not only is the UFW registered, but its organizers have been forced to submit to the photographing and fingerprinting required by the state, which only serves to make them readily identifiable to growers.

As the UFW prepares to battle the Florida sugar industry, Cesar Chavez and the rest of the union leadership fail to draw the necessary conclusions from the struggles in Arizona and California. Instead, the union leadership continues to foster illusions about George McGovern and the Democratic Party.

The struggle to organize the sugar industry, meanwhile, has been diverted into a campaign to pressure the Nixon Administration through demonstrations and through the use of the court system to keep out the Jamaicans imported by the companies at low wages to cut cane.

This is a dangerous course. As the capitalist crisis deepens, Republicans and Democrats are



Above: Florida sugar worker and his children. The employers are determined to break the movement

quickly joining hands to smash the movement of farmworkers throughout the country.

Men like Ed Ball, the union-busting billionaire owner of Talisman Sugar Corporation, stand behind the most reactionary elements who make their home in the Democratic Party—men like George Wallace.

Dr John Grady, mayor of Belle Glade and candidate for the State Senate from the sugar growing area, is a former vice-president of Atlantic Sugar Association and a member of the John Birch Society. Until deciding to run for the Senate as a Republican, Grady was a Democrat.

US Sugar stands behind the Democratic Party as well as behind George McGovern's campaign. Chairman of the Board of US Sugar is Charles Stewart Mott, at 97 one of the largest shareholders in General Motors Corporation and a Bendix Corporation director.

Mott's grandson Stuart R., heir to the family's immense fortune, is a US Sugar director. He is also McGovern's biggest campaign backer, with a tidy contribution of about \$350,000—some of it perhaps from US Sugar's whopping \$7m profit last year.

Finally, Florida is a right-to-work state,\* and 'liberal' Democratic Gov Reubin Askew fully supports the open shop provision of the state constitution, paralleling McGovern's votes in favour of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act which allows states to enact open-shop laws.

Most of the farmworkers interviewed by the 'Bulletin' want no part of the so-called liberal 'friends of labour'. 'None of the politicians we have right now are any good,' said a woman field worker. 'I don't even know who this McGovern is. All I know is that none of them has ever done

anything for the working people of this country.'

A former millworker at US Sugar said: 'The President gets up there and says what's what for everybody—for all the working people. If we get a labour party, things will be different. We'll start telling these big corporations how to run things.'

Another woman said: 'All I know is that I work out in the fields all day long picking tomatoes for \$12 a day. Now, that isn't even enough to live on anymore. We need something. I think a labour party is a good idea.'

The UFW must carry forward the struggle begun in Florida and in California and Arizona off the path of reformism into a relentless fight within the labour movement for a labour party committed to socialist policies.

\* A state where the closed-shop is outlawed.

## MAO GIVES HEARTY 'WELCOME-IN' TO GERMANY

On October 11 West Germany became the latest capitalist power to establish diplomatic ties with Mao Tse-tung's China.

All German ties with China were severed in 1937 when Hitler's Third Reich allied with Japan, which was then at war with China.

After the massacre of the 'Black September' terrorists and a racist campaign by Chancellor Willy Brandt's government against immigrant workers, Mao gave a hearty welcome to this government's representatives who have worked hard to bring back the shadow of the Third Reich.

The Bonn-Peking agreement was signed by the respective Foreign Ministers, Walter Scheel and Chi Peng-fei, in the midst of the usual Chinese ceremony so beloved by the Stalinist bureaucracy when it is feting imperialist politicians.

After the diplomatic chitchat, there were mutual toasts with Chinese champagne followed by a banquet in the Great Hall of the People.

Western German capital is



Above: Chairman Mao. West Germany is the second largest trader

in search of much more than ceremony, however. The detente with eastern Europe has shown the profits which are to be made by making inroads into the degenerated workers' states by kind permission of the bureaucracy.

After Japan, West Germany is already the second largest trader with China, with a total annual turn-over of £100m. This figure can only rise extremely rapidly with the rightward turn of Chairman Mao.

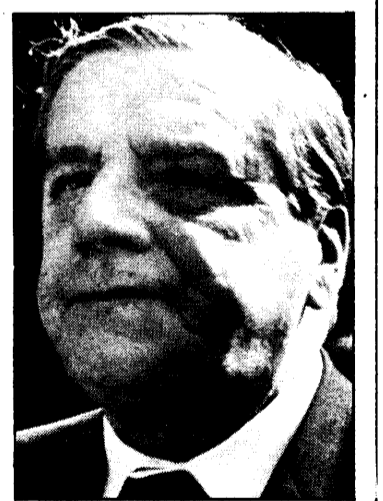
## VIC VISITS POLAND

On October 11, TUC general secretary Victor Feather began a five-day visit to Poland at the invitation of the Central Council of Trade Unions (CCTU).

The visit is not just a rest from the hard work of talking about a state pay plan with the Tories, but is to discuss with his Stalinist colleagues the preparations for the forthcoming European security conference.

CCTU secretary Rysard Pospieszynski is very enthusiastic about what he calls 'positive' developments in the European trade union movement and wants to sound Feather out on prospects for bilateral co-operation and the staging of a European trade union conference.

The security conference will be attended by Stalinist bureaucracies and capitalist governments in Europe, including Spain and Greece. This anti-working class conspiracy



Above: TUC's Feather

needs and is getting vital support from trade union bureaucracies.

The CCTU leadership gave its full backing to the breaking of the Irish cement workers' strike and the Asturian miners' strike by shipments of Polish cement and coal to help out the respective bourgeoisies.

Perhaps this international scabbing, under the guise of 'socialism in one country' is one of these positive developments in Europe?

The strike-breaking activities of the TUC leadership are well known. The acceptance of the Tory wage freeze has long ago been acknowledged by leading members of the CBI and Heath's cabinet.

This get-together of bureaucrats in Poland can only mean more danger for the European working class.



# 90 PER CENT UNEMPLOYED

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT PHOTOGRAPHS BY P. J. ARKELL

Nicholas Hunter is a young actor in a long-running West End play, 'A Voyage Round My Father', at the Haymarket theatre. He's been in the acting profession for nearly three years, he's married, and his wage is £19 a week. For this he works every day of the year so long as the play runs except Christmas Day and Good Friday, when the management can deduct one eighth of his salary.

If he's sick he goes on half pay for three weeks, and after that nothing. When the play closes in London this week he goes on tour for three weeks. After that he joins the 90 per cent of actors who are unemployed. (This figure was given recently by 'The Times', Gerald Croasdel, general secretary of Equity, the actors' union, said in a speech at the Brighton TUC that the figure was 70 per cent. As to what is to be done about unemployment, he has said nothing.) Equity's present claim for the West End theatre is for a minimum wage of £30 a week, both for playing and for

rehearsal (rehearsal pay at the moment is £12 a week); for two weeks' paid holiday a year; for three weeks' sickness pay at full salary; for a 36-hour week and £1-an-hour overtime; and a number of other demands, including a guarantee of eight weeks' employment, an allowance for touring and a scale of payments for understudying other parts, for which actors at present get nothing.

The claim was lodged in December last year, a full six months before Nicholas Hunter got his job at the Haymarket. But as negotiations are expected to continue till October 12, he won't benefit by their outcome so far as this job is concerned.

However if he gets another West End job between now and the end of 1977 he will, since the agreement is to run for five years. That was the condition the employers' association laid down before they would agree to negotiate, and that condition was accepted by Equity's negotiators.

Marius Goring, one of the negotiating team, is also in a successful West End play, 'Sleuth'. But Mr Goring's pay is rather better than Nicholas Hunter's. He gets a percentage of the gross receipts at the box office, which in a busy week could mean about £250. No doubt this kind of wage,

by freeing him from the ordinary hardships (how do you keep a family on £19 a week?) allows him to concentrate his mind on the problems of the claim. And there are many.

For instance the fact that the employers won't meet it. They've offered a £30 minimum performance wage from January 1. But for rehearsal pay their offer is £25, and £1 a year till 1977. And Equity has stated that £30 is a 'non-negotiable' demand.

They've offered one week's holiday a year, or a week's pay in lieu, whichever they shall decide. They've offered no reduction in hours and have rejected the demand for £1 an hour overtime. They've offered next to nothing on sickness pay. And so on.

But this, so far as Equity's leadership is concerned, is not the main problem.

## REALISM

After all, as they say, negotiations are a matter of 'give and take' and their purpose is to produce, at the end of the day, an acceptable 'package deal'. They put in a claim for the members. They discover, in the course of several months of the gross receipts at the box office, which in a busy week could mean about £250. No doubt this kind of wage,



And at that point they pack their bags and return to the membership to present their package of concessions in the best possible light.

This is realism, realism being determined by the all-important criterion of maintaining stable relations with the employers.

The main problem for the leadership is the membership. The claim is launched in a period when the economic crisis of capitalism gives rise to class battles on a scale not seen since 1926. In one conflict after another workers have demonstrated their readiness to fight back against a government determined to take away rights won in 200 years of struggle, to drive down wages, to reduce the working class to pauperization.

This crisis and these developments must affect all sections of workers and professional people.

Actors, who were conditioned to see themselves as occupying a place on the margin of society, now find themselves in the centre of struggle, subject to the same pressures as workers everywhere.

Unemployment, which they were told to accept as a peculiar hazard of their chosen profession, now, as it mounts to a level where it engulfs the entire profession, can be seen

to be only a chronic reflection of unemployment generally.

The closure of MGM studios and the threatened closure of Shepperton and of numerous theatres are seen to be not arbitrary mishaps, but part of the crisis of the entertainment industry within the crisis of industry as a whole.

Under these conditions the role of the leadership becomes apparent. The collapse of the fight against the Industrial Relations Act, symptomized by the presence of the general secretary in the Industrial Relations Court pleading for Equity's 'approved closed shop'—on the very day when the Court was handing out prison sentences to the five dockers—is a prelude to the retreat of the TUC leadership, which now recognizes and accepts the Act.

The deal which the Equity Council has made with the BBC is a prelude to the wage-cutting which the government, with the active assistance of the TUC, intends for workers everywhere.

Four months ago, when the new Equity-BBC agreement was introduced, the BBC began cutting actors' wages.

This attack was not without warning for anyone who cared to read the signs. For some while before seminars had been held in the BBC inform-

ing production staff of the necessity to tighten budgets and cut costs.

It had already been announced in the press that the overall budget for the drama department had risen by only 2 per cent despite an increase in costs of 12 per cent.

## MARKET

Nevertheless the Council opposed a resolution at Equity's Annual General Meeting calling for an immediate termination of the agreement on the grounds that the full facts of the case were not yet known.

For the next three months wage-cutting continued.

A precedent was established whereby a major employer could cut wages without any reprisal from the union. The union's only action during this period was to issue a circular to a small section of the membership informing them that a crisis was at hand. And this was shortly followed by another circular which announced that a solution had been found.

'Much of the problem,' it says, 'arose from the fact that the BBC now wish to lengthen existing 45-minute programmes to 50-52 minutes [for which there is a better international market]. Under the Category system [i.e. the old agreement],

cost costs [i.e. wages], would have been double those of 45-minute programmes, and the BBC's attempt to achieve a rationalization brought inevitable cuts in former Category B levels.'

In other words the BBC is in financial crisis. In order to increase its revenue it has to compete on the international market, and to do that it has to cheapen its product by cutting wage rates.

The new agreement allows it to do precisely that. It can now lengthen narrative serials, classic serials, programmes like 'Dixon of Dock Green', any 45-minute programme, and pay actors 50 per cent less than the increase they would have got under the old agreements.

The price of the new agreement is a productivity deal, which is 'imply wage-cutting in different clothes. Wage rates which stand in the way of rationalization are dismantled—by arrangement with the union leaders.

So with every step that the leadership takes towards the employers and the Tory government, it draws further away from the objective requirements of the rank and file. And at the same time it is compelled to have recourse to more and more undemocratic methods in order to maintain its position and carry out its policies.

In the case of registration the Council resorted to a referendum in order to reverse the union's policy of total opposition to the industrial relations laws.

It opposed a resolution at the Annual General Meeting which reaffirmed total opposition to the Act and called on the Council to demand that the TUC mobilize the trade union movement in a campaign to defeat the Act in its entirety, on the grounds that the referendum prevented it from taking any action. Nevertheless the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority. Since then the Council has ignored it.

## SECRET

Similarly, in the case of the West End claim, the Council has warned that whether or not the membership rejects the employers' final offer, the Council itself will decide whether to accept it.

It is clear therefore, that so far as the leadership is concerned, the policies of the union are to be decided by secret ballot, in accordance with the requirements of the Act itself.

They see the function of Annual General Meetings of the membership as merely consultative, while they determine the wages and conditions

which, in practice, facilitate the employers' needs for speed-up, productivity deals and rationalization.

What is important, however, is that this retreat of the leadership towards corporate state policies is the opposite of the growing movement amongst the rank and file.

This movement does not occur evenly or predictably. In the builders' strike it was those sections which were traditionally least organized which took the lead.

In Equity the development takes place in the West End, traditionally the most conservative section of the membership, overlorded and intimidated by the aristocrats of the theatre.

The initiative taken by the company of 'Hair' and by many of the London deputies in lobbying the Council to demand an open meeting of the membership on the West End claim, petitioning support for the resolution carried at the AGM demanding strike action if the claim is not met in full, is of enormous importance in strengthening the union as a whole.

What is essential is that these two issues, the West End claim and wage-cutting at the BBC, be seen as fundamentally connected and that behind these two major employers stands the government.

Top left: Nicholas Hunter, a young actor in the West End play, 'A Voyage Round My Father'. When the play closes in London this week it will mean he'll join the 90 per cent of actors already unemployed. Above right: Marius Goring (centre) one of the negotiating team for the Actors' Equity pay claim.

Actors cannot overcome any of the problems which face them without a political fight. And the centre of that fight is the struggle to force the Tories to resign and to return a Labour government pledged to nationalize the entertainment industry and all basic industries without compensation and under workers' control.

No section of the industry as it is has the resources to employ, let alone develop, more than a fraction of our skills, or to meet any of the needs of the community.

Nationalization, therefore, means not simply safeguarding those sections of the industry which are threatened with destruction in order to preserve the industry in its present state.

It means the provision of full resources to train performers and technicians, to build theatres and studios, in order to end unemployment and cultural deprivation.

Only a socialist state can provide these resources.

'Parliamentary reform' and the working class by Jane Brown

# HOW THE WORKERS WON THE VOTE

## PART FOUR

During the 1820s some of the diehards in the Tory government left office. An improvement in trade (the gold standard was restored in 1823) led to the tentative repeal of the Combinations Act in 1824, though the activities of workers' organizations were still extremely restricted.

The lull in 'revolutionary' activity among the working class enabled the middle-class radicals to get a more sympathetic hearing from a parliament representing the landed aristocracy and gentry than at any time since the 1780s.

The similarity of Whig and Tory attitudes towards the question of reform is very marked. Members of both parties were beginning to see that the existing system was so anachronistic as to be unworkable and that limited reform to admit new classes of property - owners into the House of Commons would be the most effective way of isolating the working class rebellion from its articulate middle-class leaders.

Both parties had a very real fear of popular revolution. The one-timer 'Friend of the People', the Whig leader Grey, said of 'The Mob':

'Is there one among them with whom you would trust yourself in the dark? . . . A cause so supported cannot be a good cause.'

The strongest resistance to reform came from the Tory right wing under the Duke of Wellington. After becoming Prime Minister in 1828 he reluctantly passed an Act allowing Catholics to vote—but deliberately raised the property qualification for a vote to £10, in order to exclude the mass of 40s Irish Catholic freeholders.

He sealed the fate of his government with a speech on November 2, 1830, in which he declared:

'I have never read or heard of any measure which can in any degree satisfy my mind that the state of representation can be improved. I will go further and say that the legislature and the system of representation possess the full and entire confidence of the country . . . I will go still further and say that, if at the present moment I had imposed upon me the duty of forming a legislature for any country, my great endeavour would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results . . .'

Such a eulogy on the existing state of affairs can only be understood in terms of the Duke's consciousness that he was defending the interests of the whole landed class and ultimately of 'property' in general. He did not share

Whig illusions that one Reform Act would put an end to the reform movement. It was now linked inextricably with the pressure of workers for better conditions.

In the debate on the 1832 Act, Macaulay stated the Whig case for reform. Once again the defence of 'property' overrides all else:

'We know what effect distress produces, even on people more intelligent than the great body of the labouring classes can possibly be . . . I am opposed to universal suffrage, because I think that it would produce a destructive revolution. I support this plan, because I am sure that it is our best security against a revolution . . . If this Bill should be rejected, I pray to God that none of those who concur in rejecting it may ever remember their votes with unavailing remorse, amidst the wreck of laws, the confusion of ranks, the spoliation of property, and the dissolution of social order.'

Amid renewed working-class demonstration, petitions, violent outbursts (such as the storming of the Duke of Wellington's London mansion), and a flood of propaganda from middle-class radicals in Reform Unions up and down the country, the 1832 Act finally became law.

Bourgeois historians never tire of pointing out that the Duke of Wellington was 'right in the long run'.

The idea that the road to better living conditions lay through parliament had become deeply rooted in the working-class movement. The 1832 Act did in fact open up a century of struggle for universal franchise, the 'workers' vote'.

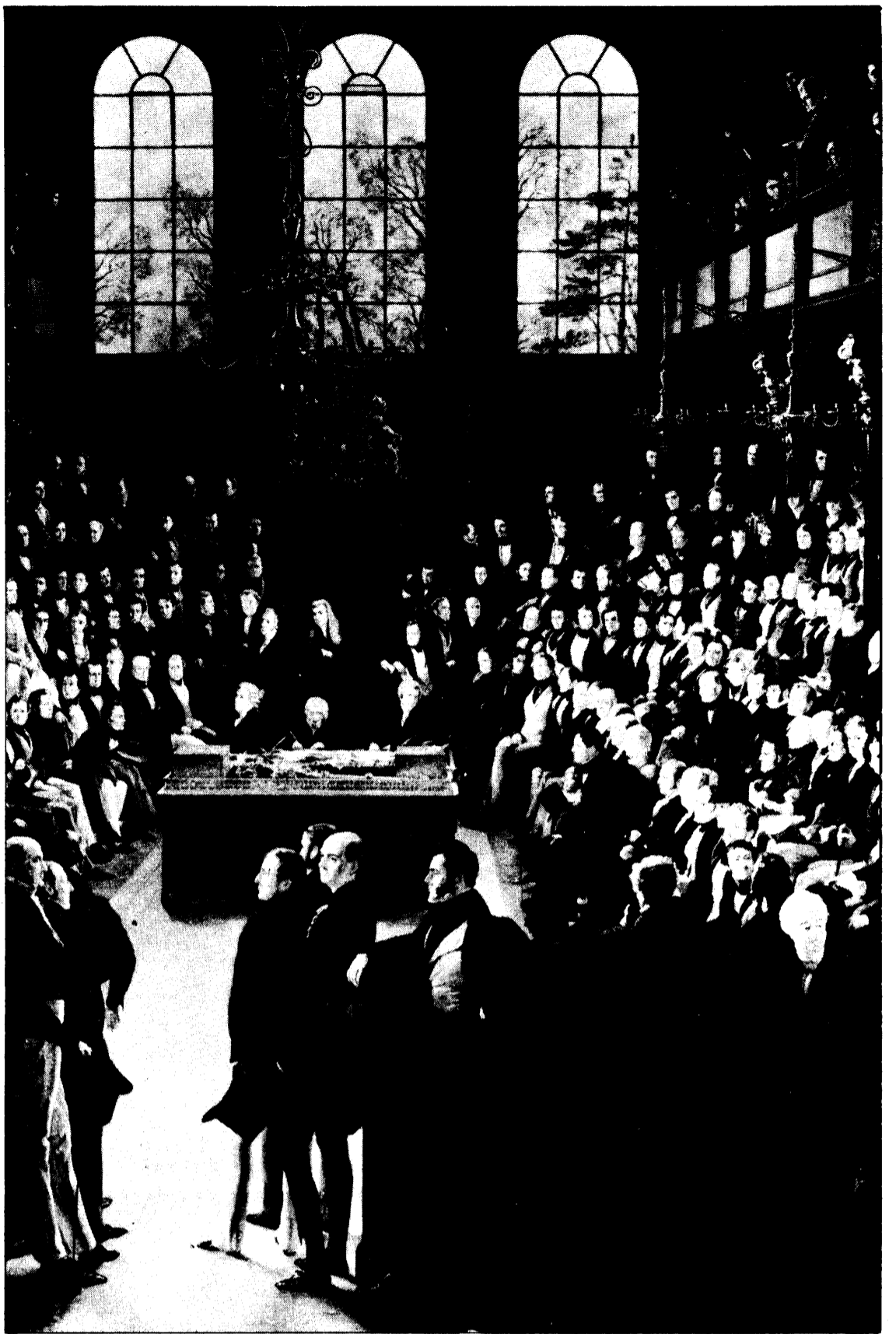
Within a few years of the 'Great Reform Act' the parliamentary reform issue was to be taken up again with new force and class consciousness by the Chartists, who regarded the middle-class radicals who had 'used' them before 1832 as traitorous enemies.

The extent of this betrayal is shown by a brief examination of the state of representation before and after 1832.

## VIRTUALLY REPRESENTED

Before 1832 there was a uniform 40s franchise in the counties, but no uniformity at all in the boroughs. In most boroughs very few people could vote—often only the 'freemen' or members of the town corporation. Yet the very anachronisms of a system dating from Elizabethan times, and partly from the 13th century, did allow some of the poorer citizens to take part in elections.

Certain 'ancient tenements' enfranchised their inhabitants; in some towns payment of the 'scot and lot' tax was a voting qualification. In others, every man who could boil a pot on his own hearth had a vote; while in the most extreme



case, Preston, every single adult who had spent the previous night in the town could go to the polls on election day! These oddities made it possible to argue that every section of society took some part in voting, and was thereby 'virtually represented'.

Even this much could not be said after 1832. Though the most scandalous 'pocket boroughs' (where the electorate was very small) lost the right to send MPs to parliament, the seats made available were redistributed so as to perpetuate the predominance of the landed classes as far as possible.

The middle class got some representation and the working class none at all, in Preston or anywhere else.

Only 78 seats went to new boroughs (giving Leeds, Manchester and Sheffield their first MPs, while 67 were redistributed among the counties.

Overall, 371 MPs were to be elected from south of a line from the Wash to the Severn, compared to a mere 120 from the great manufacturing districts north of this line.

The size of the electorate went up by less than 50 per cent. A standard borough franchise was fixed (all householders paying £10 rates per year were to have the vote).

As Engels concluded: 'We have seen in what manner the omnipotent House of Commons is recruited; the question now is — who really rules England? Property rules . . . The rule of property is expressly recognized in the Reform Bill through the establishment of property qualifications.'



CONTINUED TOMORROW

Top: Parliament 1832. Above: Prime Minister Wellington and Peel



# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## MAUDLING



Reginald Maudling, the ex-Home Secretary, was a roaring reactionary. He favoured capital punishment, he supported the use of torture in Ulster and he absolved from any blame the soldiers who murdered 13 innocent civilians on Bloody Sunday (January 30, 1972.)

But not right wing enough for the Monday Club. In their newspaper, 'Monday News', the club has a front-page statement on Maudling's rapid and embarrassing departure from office.

'We cannot in all conscience claim that we were whole-hearted supporters of the Home Secretary in the conduct of his policies at the Home Office.

'Indeed, it would not be unfair to assert that hardly a single member of the Monday Club thought him a particularly apt choice as Home Secretary. Reggie Maudling was not sufficiently tough on law and order, he seemed to fail to comprehend the growing menace of subversion.

'Moreover he showed no apparent inclination to tackle the worst manifestations of the permissive society. We would have thought that the Home Office, above all other ministries, needed a strong right-winger at the helm.'

Will the ex-director of Securicor, Robert Carr, satisfy the jackals of the right? We'll keep you informed.

## FIRED

Robert McNamara, chairman of the World Bank, is a very disagreeable character. He was, you will remember, one of the chief architects of the US military build-up in Vietnam, a leading supporter of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the strongest advocate of US imperialism in both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Our undercover correspond-

ent at the World Bank reports an astonishing exchange at a recent meeting of that body.

It appears that a study was carried out on cost efficiency. Giving details of the study, a chief executive said that 11 of the senior ranking bank officers were now getting on in years and unable to carry their previous workloads.

The report was very sympathetic to their maturing years and suggested the work be spread around. At the conclusion of the report McNamara is alleged to have said: 'After this meeting I want those 11 names. We'll have to fire them.'

Below: McNamara



## PROPAGANDA

Derek Ezra wants miners to engage with the National Coal Board in a joint campaign to push up productivity in the industry.

He also wants their co-operation in a drive to improve quality, slash costs and push up sales.

Since Ezra is NCB chairman, none of this is really surprising. What is disturbing, however, is the platform he has been given to make his call... 'The Miner', journal of the National Union of Mine-workers.

Under the sickeningly sycophantic, not to mention corny, heading 'We're two of a mind', Ezra has been given 15 valuable inches of space in the current issue to make his call.

The theme of the article is that the Board and the union are at one every major issue. On productivity, costs, quality and sales he says: 'No one can doubt that we are all fighting on these four vital fronts.'

Any more articles like this and 'Coal News', the NCB's own propaganda organ, might as well go out of business.



Above: Betty Reid, an old Stalinist spokesman and author of the anti-Trotskyist booklet 'Ultra-Leftism in Britain' now lends her talents to the Tory Press for new witch-hunts against Trotskyism.

# TORY AND STALINIST WITCH-HUNTERS UNITE AGAINST SLL

By Cliff Slaughter, a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League.

**'We are now concerned with getting the maximum co-operation to make a success of the new venture on Clydebank. We know it is a boom market and it is our concern to co-operate as best we can to make it successful.'**

These were the words of James Reid, spokesman for the Clydebank shop stewards and Communist Party member, on the day the work-in at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders ended.

Truly no employer could wish for a more unqualified statement of goodwill and class-collaboration from a 'workers' representative. Having already signed what amounts to a four-year 'no strike' pledge, Reid, fellow Stalinist James Airlie, and the union leaders are now giving guarantees that they consider the interests of the employers (the American Marathon Manufacturing Company) and the workers to be identical. They are to collaborate in exploiting a 'boom market' in oil-rigs.

This kind of politics is long established in Britain. It is called opportunism: it is collaboration with the employ-

ers, for some supposed sectional and temporary interest of one group of workers, at the expense of the general interests of the working class in the struggle to overthrow capitalism.

The Communist Party was founded—largely out of shop stewards' struggles on the Clyde in World War I—to break from this opportunism. But by the time of the 1926 General Strike the young Communist Party had already succumbed to the influence of the growing Stalinism of the bureaucracy in the USSR. Today the CP, through men like Reid, plays the most reactionary role.

Right at the time when international capitalist war and depression threatens millions of workers and poses the question of forcing the Tory government to resign and returning a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, Reid told a TV programme on Sunday October 8 that the deal with Marathon could well lead to a 'regeneration of the Scottish economy'.

This statement indicates very clearly how far Stalinism has gone.

A traditional industry, shipbuilding, is faced with shut-down. State subsidy creates the conditions for American

big business to invest in the shut-down yards. The unions accept a 'no-strike' pledge and guarantee collaboration on speed-up. Thousands are left at the end of the day without work. And Reid hails the regeneration of the 'Scottish' economy!

Is this then the Communist Party's vision of the future for the workers of Britain?

## COVER

Industries getting rid of surplus labour and outdated equipment, receiving subsidies from a Tory government, tying the unions to the employers with an Industrial Relations Act behind them and international finance capital invited in under special licence to exploit the workforce!

This is the real meaning of the Communist Party's 'peaceful coexistence' and 'advanced democracy'! Within this, the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism operated. The Stalinists have become the perfect cover for the trade union and Labour leaders.

In these circumstances, the interminable hymns of praise being sung to Reid by the capitalist press are perfectly understandable.

Foremost in the chorus is

Continued on Page 10

## BOOKS



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the Tory 'Glasgow Herald'. Already having featured Reid's scandalous attack on the boilermakers in the Govan yard, the 'Herald' now turns against the Trotskyist movement, with the open help of James Reid and the Communist Party.

On Thursday, October 5, the 'Herald' began a series of articles entitled 'The Insiders', by one Ian Imrie. Imrie's purpose is to condemn Trotskyists and 'ultra-lefts' as 'the wreckers in Scottish industry' and to boost the Communist Party sky-high as a party of self-sacrificing idealists with a 'vital approach to life'.

Neither of these two aims is surprising, in view of Reid's role on the upper Clyde and the awareness by the capitalist class of the great struggles ahead.

What is particularly interesting is that Imrie has gained the collaboration, in his witch-hunting articles, of the Stalinist spokesman on Trotskyism, Betty Reid, author of the anti-Trotskyist booklet 'Ultra-Leftism in Britain'.

There are so-called 'Marxists' such as the International Marxist Group and International Socialists, who tell us that it is no longer correct to call the Communist Party 'Stalinist'. But how are we to explain the work of Mrs Betty Reid, who lends herself to the open witch-hunting of the Tory press?

If this is not a continuation of the 1930s and 1940s, when the Stalinist bureaucracy physically liquidated Trotskyists and collaborated with capitalist governments to kill and imprison them, what is it?

Mrs Reid is quite conscious of this Stalinist continuity. She told the 'Glasgow Herald': 'I had experience of ultra-left arguments in the early years of my political involvement in relation to, for example, sanctions against Italy for the invasion of Abyssinia and the whole popular front period which is the subject of great controversy and attack.'

'Because of this early experience I have tended to study ultra-left publications and to see how these advocate policies which, in my view, impede the building of a strong mass movement pledged to a change in the nature of our society.'

Here Mrs Reid sets herself up as a qualified expert to help the capitalist press. She says in effect: as an old Stalinist I am your best possible assistant in witch-hunting revolutionaries. She cynically refers to 'strong mass movements' as if the 'Glasgow Herald' was opposing Trotskyists because it wants a 'strong mass movement'!

On the upper Clyde, the policy of the Socialist Labour League was precisely to mobilize the mass of workers along with the UCS men in a political struggle to make the government resign, as the only answer to unemployment, crisis and the Industrial Relations Act.

## EXECUTIONERS

The Communist Party's policy was violently opposed to this mass movement, deliberately broke it up and confined the struggle to the UCS work-in, a protest to get concessions from capitalism.

Mrs Reid's historical examples are interesting indeed. The 'Popular Front' of the 1930s was Stalin's policy of liquidating the independence of the working class and the communist parties into broad fronts led by capitalist parties.

In periods of actual revolution, as in Spain, the Stalinists served as actual executioners of revolutionary workers on behalf of the capitalist state.

So Mrs Reid is perfectly conscious that the Stalinists today continue the same betrayal.

The 'Glasgow Herald' continues: 'Mrs Reid says that Trotskyists have a very simple recipe for the period from 1920 to 1945. This is that all defeats of the working-class, and the failure to follow up the



Above: Stalinist James Reid (second from right) who is lauded in the capitalist press, with other UCS shop stewards and Wedgwood Benn at the Labour Party conference in Blackpool this year.

October Revolution with further revolutions in Europe, were all due to the communist parties and the Communist International.'

This is a pack of lies, deliberately fabricated by an expert in such lies. Mrs Reid's purpose here is to obscure the essential thing: the rise of a bureaucracy in the USSR which began in 1924 to corrupt the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International. She knows very well that the Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, has always based itself not only on Lenin's Bolshevik Party and the Russian Revolution, but also on the first four Congresses of the Communist International, when it was led by Lenin and Trotsky.

It was after Lenin's death that the privileged Stalinist bureaucracy led one Communist Party after another into defeat. From the British General Strike of 1926 to the 1936 Spanish Revolution.

Betty Reid thinks that by this kind of distortion she can cover up the history of the Stalinist bureaucracy and escape the responsibility of the British Communist Party's leaders, including herself, for the crimes and betrayals of Stalinism.

The same 'Glasgow Herald', which has many times used Stalin's crimes to discredit communism and the USSR, uses Mrs Reid, the apologist and defender of the 1930s Moscow Trials, to witch-hunt the Socialist Labour League. That is very understandable.

She even descends to the depths of painting the SLL as some kind of conspiracy:

The SLL faithfully maintains the atmosphere of conspiracy, feuding, public attack upon individuals, and blow-by-blow accounts of controversies with rival groupings which has so frequently been a feature of the Trotskyist movement.'

It is exactly this kind of picture that the Tories and the Press would like to build up in preparation for future repressions. The Socialist Labour League, however, fights openly for its policy in a daily paper and through its members in the All Trades Unions Alliance and the Young Socialists. Its policies on every major question are known to tens of thousands of workers.

Mrs Reid's 'expertise' is called in to give some credibility 'from the inside', as it were, to the conspiracy myth.

The Stalinists have now become the essential hand-aid of the ruling class.

The deeper the crisis of capitalism, the greater the threat of workers' revolution, the greater the threat to the Stalinist bureaucracy, and the more the communist parties will go to the right.

They defend the treacherous trade union leaders in every dispute and to cover their tracks they attack the Socialist Labour League. Thus Mrs Reid:

'The use of the strike weapon is advocated indiscriminately by the SLL whether or not the conditions demand a strike, and every other proposal is branded as betrayal. Once a strike has begun, the tactic must be to keep it going whatever the circumstances and to describe any negotiation and agreement as treachery.'

Here again we have a series of lying statements strung together without a shred of evidence offered. It is all meant to add up to the picture required by the Tory Press and the government—a conspiracy which wants strikes for the sake of pure disruption.

Mrs Reid's real concern is this: many workers, in the great strike struggles since the government came into office have learned in bitter experience the role of trade union leadership. Mrs Reid chooses not to analyse a single one of these experiences, and thereby she implicitly defends the leaders who retreated.

Should Tom Jackson, Norman Stagg and Maurice Styles have ordered the postmen back to work or should they have fought on with a campaign to bring the whole labour movement behind them against the government?

Should Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon have accepted the penalty clauses insisted on by Ford's?

Should Jones have campaigned to get the dockers back to work or should he have led the 'strike to a successful conclusion'?

Should the builders' strike, after 12 weeks out for £30 and 35 hours, have been ended on a deal of £26 for 40 hours?

## SLANDER

To cover up these deals—in which the Stalinists helped out the union leaders — Reid ignores each actual struggle and turns on the Trotskyists with a general accusation of wanting nothing but strikes. It is the principled struggle of the SLL and the ATUA for new revolutionary leadership that is worrying the trade

union and the Stalinist bureaucracy. And Reid is trying to answer with a slander campaign through the Tory Press.

Small wonder that the 'Glasgow Herald' viewed the Communist Party itself in a very favourable light. Grateful for the work of James Reid at UCS, they say: 'The CP is given most blame for industrial disruption, but researches show that while they make no secret of their militancy, it is usually an above-the-board, disciplined approach which is adopted.'

Not only that, the 'Glasgow Herald' goes out of its way to emphasize the collaboration given them by the Stalinists:

'During the years I have found them willing to answer telephone queries, helpfully, at almost any hour of the day or night.'

If any reader thought until now that this 'helpfulness' was only a matter of 'tactics', then the witch-hunting collaboration of Mrs Reid, as well as James Reid and other leading Stalinists who gave interviews for this series, should disabuse them.

In a second article, which is nothing more or less than a massive public relations job for the Communist Party, with nauseating 'human interest' touches, the 'Herald' concludes:

'Mrs (James) Reid, Mrs Swan (CP national chairman), Mr Murray (CP Scottish Secretary) and Mrs Airlie are reasonable and likeable people, and in Scotland their Party shows a militant but disciplined approach to industrial affairs. They are willing to co-operate with Conservatives, the Labour Party, or businessmen, if they think the outcome is likely to be for the good of workers.'

Nobody should be deceived by the smooth talk and the blackslapping. Stalinism is the main anti-revolutionary, anti-working class force on the world arena, just as it was in the 1930s.

Mrs Reid is one of the survivors, one of the guilty, of those days. What she has done in service to the Tory Press witch-hunt is only advance notice of the preparations of the Stalinist bureaucracy to collaborate on suppressing the revolutionary working class.

To expose Mrs Reid and the Stalinists at every turn, and to construct the alternative revolutionary leadership on the foundations laid by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, is the central task of the Workers Press and the Socialist Labour League.

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**BBC 1**

9.38 Schools. 12.00 Profit by control. 12.25 Cywain. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Along the river. 1.45 Look, stranger. 2.05-3.55 Schools. 4.00 Pixie and Dixie. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Magic roundabout. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 The long chase. 5.45 News and weather.

**6.00 NATIONWIDE.**

**6.45 TRANSWORLD TOP TEAM.** United Kingdom v Canada.

**7.10 Z CARS.** Damage.

**8.00 PANORAMA.**

**9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS.** Weather.

**9.25 PLAY FOR TODAY: 'A LIFE IS FOREVER.'** By Tony Parker. With Maurice O'Connell. A man is sentenced to a recommended 30 years' imprisonment for murdering a policeman.

**10.40 MASTERMIND.**

**11.10 LATE NIGHT NEWS.**

**11.15 IRELAND.** The Land for the People.

**11.40 Weather.**

**ITV**

9.30 Schools. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Larry the lamb. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Mr and Mrs. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 Schools. 2.20 Cartoon. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'Holy Matrimony'. Gracie Fields. 4.25 Freewheelers. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 Bless this house. 5.50 News.

**6.00 TODAY.**

**6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS!**

**7.30 CORONATION STREET.**

**8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.**

**8.30 LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR.**

**9.00 KATE.** Second Time Round.

**10.00 NEWS AT TEN.**

**10.30 FILM: 'LONGSTREET.'**

James Franciscus. An explosion in his office leaves insurance investigator Mike Longstreet blind and kills his wife.

**11.50 DRIVE-IN.**

**12.20 THE NEW MISSIONARIES.**



Tony Parker's 'A Life Is Forever' is tonight's Play for Today on BBC 1. Maurice O'Connell plays Johnson, a man serving 30 years for murdering a policeman.

**TV****BBC 2**

11.00-11.25 Play school. 5.35 Open University.

**7.05 CHILDREN GROWING UP.** One Step at a Time.

**7.30 NEWSROOM.** Weather.

**8.00 ALIAS SMITH AND JONES.** Return to Devil's Hole.

**8.50 OUT OF THE BOX.**

**9.25 SHOW OF THE WEEK: SACHA'S IN TOWN.** Sacha Distel with guests Sid James, Mama Cass, Topo Gigio, Caterina Valente, Francis Lai.

**10.10 THE PHILPOTT FILE.** A Shepherd in the City.

**10.40 JOHN SEBASTIAN.** In concert.

**11.15 NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

**11.20 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.** Cole Porter (1891-1964).

**REGIONAL TV**

**CHANNEL:** 9.30-12.05 London. 1.10 News. 1.30 London. 2.20 Yoga. 2.50 Film: 'Noose For A Lady'. 4.15 Puffin. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Addams family. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.50 News, weather.

**WESTWARD. As Channel except:** 12.05 London. 6.00 Diary. 6.35 Date with Danton. 11.50 News. 11.53 Faith for life.

**SOUTHERN:** 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 Film: 'Another Shore'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 My scene the South. 11.00 News. 11.05 Theatre. 12.00 Farm progress. 12.25 Weather.

**HARLECH:** 9.30 London. 1.00 Helen McArthur show. 1.30 London. 2.00 Common Market cook book. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 Film: 'He Laughed Last'. 4.25 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 6.00 News. 6.02 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'Desire Under the Elms'. 12.30 Weather.

**HTV Cymru/Wales 41 as above except:** 6.01-6.22 Y dydd.

**HTV Cymru/Wales 7 as 41 plus:** 8.00-8.30 Yr wythnos.

**HTV West as above except:** 6.22-6.45 This is the West this week.

**ANGLIA:** 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 12.40 Report. 1.00 Mr and Mrs. 1.30 London. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 Saint. 3.55 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Journey to the unknown. 11.30 Drive-in.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 9.30 London. 12.00 Local promotions. 12.05 London. 2.00 Shirley's world. 2.30 London. 3.00 Film: 'The Over the Hill Gang'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Stanley Baxter picture show. 11.00 Name of the game. Weather.

**ULSTER:** 11.00 London. 1.33 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 Film: 'Who Done It?'. 4.22 News. 4.25 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 Smith family. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.35 Film: 'The Search for Bridey Murphy'.

**YORKSHIRE:** 9.30 London. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 London. 3.00 Film: 'Cash on Demand'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.25 Country calendar. 6.45 London. 10.30 Band of the year. 11.00 Name of the game. 12.25 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 9.30 London. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Film: 'Cruisin' Down the River'. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 This is your right. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Curse of the Mummy's Tomb'.

**TYNE TEES:** 9.30 London. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 News. 2.31 Common Market cook book. 3.00 Film: 'The Honeycomb Machine'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.25 Seal hunt. 6.45 London. 10.30 Face the Press. 11.00 Spyforce. 11.55 News. 12.10 Greatest fights of the century. 12.25 Epilogue.

**SCOTTISH:** 9.30 London. 2.00 All our yesterdays. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 Film: 'The Over the Hill Gang'. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Late call. 10.40 Scottish national orchestra. 11.45 Theatre.

**GRAMPIAN:** 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.45 Enchanted house. 3.00 News. 3.05 Film: 'The Mouse That Roared'. 4.25 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Julia. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 Meditation.

# Sit-in backlash

OVER 200 Liverpool engineering workers are occupying their factory in support of a wage claim and against a management bid to drive them off piecework. The men are employed by Manesty Machines Ltd, Speke, part of the Renold engineering combine.

Their dispute, one of the remaining skirmishes in the ill-fated engineering pay claim, began on June 23, when the Manesty workers struck for a substantial pay increase, shorter hours and better holiday pay.

The sit-in which began last Tuesday, is a backlash against engineers' president Hugh Scanlon's signature to the national agreement with the engineering employers when the Manesty strike was nine weeks old.

In common with many engineers involved in plant-by-plant battles throughout Britain, the Speke workers won little from the national agreement.

They met management and asked for a local deal involving a general pay increase of around £6 and average pay during holidays.

It was then that management stepped up their offensive and insisted that any settlement must involve an abolition of piecework.

'They played it tough all along,' John McShane, a spokesman for the shop stewards' occupation committee told me.

'The group are part of the Engineering Employers' Federation and they backed the Federation's stand when other

local employers like Lucas were settling,' he said. 'When the deal was reached at national level I reckon they imagined we were in a weak state, therefore they added this element of a new payment system.'

Mr McShane told me the stewards were not opposed to ending piecework in principle. But they were insisting that this had nothing to do with the current dispute.

**Manesty Manufacturing was formerly the engineering section of the pharmaceutical firm Thompson Capper Ltd of Liverpool. In 1964 it got its current masthead when the engineering firm John Holroyd Ltd took it over. Later Holroyd merged with the Manchester-based power transmission and machinery producers Renold Chains Ltd.**

**Profits of the combine after tax were £3.3m in 1969; £3.8m in 1970; £4.8m in 1971 and £4.1m**

'We are quite prepared to discuss the issue after this claim has been settled to our members' satisfaction,' he said.

The last offer made by management was £2. 'With the saving in administrative costs the abolition of piecework involves they won't be giving anything

## Speke men fight pay and piecework battle

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

away with this scheme,' Mr McShane told me.

The sit-in began last Tuesday afternoon after a further meeting. Shop stewards were put in charge of their respective sections and they went to the strategic points of the factory and locked the gates.

By 7 p.m. management had vanished from the plant. They are now hol-

for the year ending August 1972.

Manesty, which produces pill-making machinery, has a very high rate of return on capital. Some stewards put the figure as high as 50 per cent.

Renolds has 11 British subsidiaries but 66 per cent of the sales are outside the UK—31 per cent to Europe. In his latest report, chairman Sir Thomas Robson warned of the tough time ahead for the firm.

ing out in the Cheshire village of Lym.

'It was a decision we had to take. We could not just go on picketing outside as we had done for the last four months. Some escalation was necessary to force the issue,' said Mr McShane.

Though the sit-in is one

of the most disciplined I have witnessed, the Manesty men have been subject to considerable intimidation.

On the first full day of the sit-in the 160 staff turned up for work with a contingent of police.

'They were told they could join the occupation, but on no account would they be allowed to work,' said Mr McShane.

A chief constable warned the workers that they could not obstruct the staff. Eventually a 30-strong force of police marched forward, lifted the main gates off their hinges and shut off the plant's electrical supply.

Now a car with two occupants, either staff or plain clothes police, keeps continual watch on the factory.

The plight of the Manesty workers is an indictment of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' national leadership.

The plant-by-plant strategy—the brain-child of Hugh Scanlon and his executive—fragmented and destroyed one of the most important charters of demands made by British workers since the war.

The result was a series of deals—some merely kept engineers up with the cost-of-living, others were

# Pay-grade strike by Lucas sparks

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

UP TO 30 per cent of all production workers throughout the Birmingham group of Lucas factories have now been laid off following the strike by 230 electricians.

The electricians struck on October 5 over pay grading and have been in deadlock with management ever since. A meeting of Lucas convenors was told last Friday of the lay-offs.

John Allan, electricians' and plumbers' (EPTU) shop steward at the BW4 lamps factory, Shaftmoor Lane, told Workers Press: 'Prior to negotiations earlier this year on the national engineering claim, all skilled workers, including electricians, pipe-fitters, millwrights, and so on, were paid on a five-grade system. The electricians occupied the top three grades.'

It was during these negotia-

tions that works' engineers had won the right to be considered for the top two grades, something which they had not had before.

All skilled workers had accepted the company's final offer of £4.25, except the electricians, who demanded that the gap between top and second

**BAKERY workers meeting 2,000 strong in Glasgow on Saturday rejected union officials' pleas to return to work and called for the resignation of Alex Mackie, national organizer of the Scottish Union of Bakers and Allied Workers. West of Scotland bread supplies have been shut off by the strike which began in Glasgow last Wednesday and has since spread to Edinburgh. The men came out in protest against**

grade be increased from £1 to £2.

'Then management offered to institute a sixth grade, £1 above the previous top grade,' added Mr Allan. This was turned down at a mass meeting last Monday, despite a four-hour attempt by an EPTU councilman to persuade them to return.

the union's acceptance of a £2.50 wage offer in answer to their demand for another £5 a week.

Union officials who said they could not make the strike official were howled down by the meeting.

● Between 70 and 80 Glasgow public houses were closed over the weekend because of the strike by bar staff employed by Tennent Caledonian Breweries.

Jack Lynch, convenor of the works' engineers group throughout the Birmingham combine, is also opposed to the new grade.

'It would mean our members working their way up through six grades instead of five. We have been fighting for years to reduce the number of grades,' he said.

Skilled workers in the Lucas combine in Birmingham have been in the forefront in recent years to push up wages.

Last year the management attempted to drive a wedge between the different sections by granting electricians and tool-room men average pay for holidays, but refused it to works' engineers.

After a four-week strike in September, however, they were forced to climb down and pay up.

# Thornycroft 'peace' plan rejected

## Dock shop stewards meet under strength

DOCKS shop stewards from London, Liverpool, Hull and Manchester met in Birmingham on Saturday

Under discussion at the poorly-attended meeting was the future of the blacking and picketing campaign started by the national port stewards' committee earlier this year.

The LIVERPOOL men have lifted the black on their biggest target, Heaton Transport (St Helens) Ltd, although the stuffing and stripping of containers by Heaton's has still not been resolved.

HULL stewards say there is a basis for discussion with the firm that took them to the National Industrial Relations Court, Panalpina (Northern) Ltd. But they say the firm's present proposals on container handling are not acceptable.

In LONDON the Vestey family's Midland Cold Storage depot has sacked 27 of its 51 workers rather than concede the demands of dockers' pickets for jobs there.

BY PHILIP WADE

BRITISH-LEYLAND proposals aimed at ending the nine-week occupation of the Thornycroft factory, Basingstoke, Hants, were thrown out by a mass meeting in the plant yesterday.

Only eight men voted in favour of accepting the offer, fixed up at York last week, which delays the hiving-off to the Eaton Corporation until January 1 and a promise that Leyland would supply enough work to keep the 750 men employed for another three years.

The feeling among the men—who occupied on August 15 to stop the hive-off to Eatons—was that the deal constituted no real improvement on previous offers and was, in fact, a return to square one.

Leaders of the occupation committee are standing absolutely firm in their basic demand for the whole £5m deal to be 'unscrambled'.

They were also angry yesterday that details of the York proposals negotiated with national union officials should have been leaked to the Press immediately, despite an agreement that nothing would be said until a mass meeting at Thornycroft originally planned for Wednesday.

A statement by the joint occupation committee said discussions would now continue at local level. Meanwhile they were

'encouraged and fortified' by the support from the rest of British-Leyland combine.

Particularly heartening was the stand of the men in the bus and truck division at Leyland, Lancs, who are planning to strike on Wednesday in support of the Thornycroft men and against intensive lay-offs now taking place.

## Canteen women unite against British-Leyland

TWO HUNDRED and fifty canteen workers from the five British-Leyland factories in the Oxford area have voted unanimously to continue their strike which is now in its third week.

The workers, members of the Transport and General and General and Municipal Unions, are employed by two canteen operators. They rejected the offer of £2.20 made in reply to their £6-a-week claim.

The employers have been unable to answer the very strong case submitted by the trade unions but it is clear they have been strengthened by the 'wage-ceiling' policies of the Tory government.

## Group expels pro-rent rise Labourites

NINE councillors who tried to reverse Bedworth council's 'fair rent' non-implementation policy have been expelled from the Labour group.

The executive committee of the group, which control the urban council near Coventry, endorsed the recommendation on Friday night.

Until October 23, when the nine will be allowed to state their case, they will be independent members of the council.

Only recently the nine angered the majority by calling a special council meeting to try and force the implementation of the rent

## Labourites

increases. It was only defeated by 13 votes to eight, with one abstention, when the Liberals unexpectedly voted with Labour.

Six of the nine are members of the council's policy-making management committee.

Tomorrow the council will debate a resolution to remove them from these positions.

The nine include the former clerk to the council and the council chairman.

# Rail job cuts-workers must answer now

THE JOBS CRISIS facing railway workers was summed up by a British Rail official who told Workers Press: 'The question is whether our rail service will be cut by a half or a third.'

Senior officials of the Department of the Environment have completed a 61-page 'Blue Book' setting out their proposals to drastically carve up services. Now British Rail Board is drawing up its counter-proposals.

But both plans have one thing in common—they both mean huge redundancies and lines closures. On top of the 26,000 redundancies at present being discussed with the unions, the new proposals will mean an additional 25,000 jobs lost.

The documents reflect the new Tory doctrine in relation to the railways—they want to smash the present rail system, leaving only the Inter-City routes and commuter services around the major industrial cities. And the Tories want the private road hauliers to take a greater share of the freight business.

The 'Blue Book' is a chilling analysis of the financial decline of the rail industry. Completed in June this year—during the rail pay dispute—the report seeks to show that only massive cuts can make British Rail financially viable.

There have been two major financial reorganizations in the industry—in 1962 and 1967—and on both occasions huge debts were written off.

On coming to power the Tories made clear they were not prepared to write-off such large debts nor to continue the policy of subsidies. This view found an eloquent spokesman in the

person of John Peyton, the Minister of Transport and a member of the right-wing Monday Club.

Peyton and his ministerial supremo, Environment Secretary Peter Walker, ordered the long-term surveys into the industry when it became clear that British Rail was entering a period of unprecedented losses. It is understood the loss this year will amount to £40m and by 1976 it may reach £100m.

(In 1971 British Rail in fact made an operating profit of £30.2m. This was eaten up by a crippling £45.6m interest burden.)

The main recommendation of the department's 'Blue Book' is that the present rail network of 11,600 miles should be cut to 7,000—a cut of 40 per cent. The planners add that an even smaller system of 3,800 miles should not be ruled out and with heavy-handed arrogance they demand that British Rail should prepare studies based on this figure.

The Tory attack is calculated to give the privately-owned road transport a far greater share of freight haulage.

About 62 million tons of British Rail's 196 million ton freight business will be switched to the roads creating a huge bonanza for the road hauliers.

The Tories are giving these financial hand-outs to the road haulage industry against the advice of environmentalists and

road-safety experts. These lobbies point out that the additional road traffic will have the following effects:

● An increased danger of fatal road accidents on the motorways.

● Deterioration in the condition of roadways with the resultant increase in costs for road repairs.

● The slowing down of traffic on major roadways, thus causing a loss in man-production hours.

● A sharp increase in noise and fume pollution.

The 'Blue Book' cynically dismisses these objections. Road accidents would go up 'slightly', but this should not be a stumbling block to pursuing the suggested strategies, the Book says.

To the environmental lobby the planner says: 'In some situations local environmental disadvantages could be quite severe'—but the report goes on virtually to tell the objectors to 'belt up'.

The reports and counter-reports are now with Peyton. But there should be no confusion in any trade unionists' mind about the present state of play: whichever report is accepted massive cuts are on the way.

There is also the most dangerous illusion among some railwaymen that BR's chairman, ex-Labourite Richard Marsh, will be able to forestall the Tory attack.

This is rubbish. For various reasons of status there are a

## OCTOBER FUND £326.58 NOT YET HALF WAY

WE ARE now halfway through October, but still have £548.42 more to raise to reach half our monthly target. Clearly, it's all stops out from now on to pull our position up.

The increased attacks by the Tories is the go-ahead to employers everywhere to step up their onslaught against the working class. Sackings, closures, attacks on union rights face workers everywhere.

Entry into the Common Market will mean even greater measures being taken against the working class as the employers of Europe get together.

There is not a moment to lose. Our paper is needed to fight back against these attacks and to lead the fight against this Tory government. All your support is needed therefore for our Fund this month. We know with a huge effort we can turn the situation around. So, raise all you can. Post every donation immediately to:

Workers Press  
October Appeal Fund,  
186a Clapham High St,  
London, SW4 7UG.

WEATHER: Dry weather is expected in all areas. Northern Ireland and northern England, mist and fog will be fairly widespread at first, clearing during the morning with sunny periods later. Over south-east England and East Anglia some mist or fog is likely at first, clearing quickly with sunny periods later. South-west England and Wales will have sunny periods. It will be rather warm in Northern Ireland, the Lake District and southern and central Scotland, with near normal temperatures elsewhere.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

ACTON: Monday October 16, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Street, W3. 'ATUA conference'.

CROYDON: Monday October 16, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road (near South Croydon Stn). 'ATUA conference'.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday October 17, 8 p.m. Festival Inn, Grundy St, Christ St Market, E14. 'ATUA conference'.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday October 17, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue, Barking. 'Force the Tories to resign'.

PRESTON: Wednesday October 18, 7.30 p.m. Oddfellows Arms, Mount Street. 'ATUA conference'.

KENT: Thursday October 19, 8 p.m. 'The Legion', Burgess Road, Aylesham. 'Reinstate William Griffiths fitters. Prepare the ATUA conference.' Speakers: A Griffiths' striker and leading Kent miner (both in a personal capacity).

Socialist Labour League

## Leeds

LECTURES  
THE THEORY AND  
PRACTICE OF MARXISM

Given by  
Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central  
Committee member)

The nature of capitalism  
Monday October 16

Historical materialism today  
Monday October 23

Building the revolutionary party  
Monday October 30

PEEL HOTEL  
Boar Lane, 8 p.m.

Socialist Labour League  
PUBLIC MEETING

Behind the  
Assassination  
of Trotsky

A reply to  
Joseph Losey's  
film

Tuesday October 24, 8 p.m.

CONWAY HALL  
RED LION SQUARE  
LONDON WC2J  
(Nearest tube Holborn)

Speaker: G. Healy  
(SLL national secretary)

Admission 10p

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