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INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 5, 1972 ● No 860 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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FROM JOHN SPENCER IN BRIGHTON

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At Brighton yesterday the TUC was poised to suspend 32 unions which have defied Congress policy and accepted state control under the Tory Registrar.

But they will remain 'in the family': the General Council has pledged that it will not allow other unions to recruit their members.

And a series of backstage manoeuvres be-tween the General Council right wing, the 'left' union leaders and Communist Party members and fellow-travellers in leading positions on union delegations have ensured that there will be no real challenge to them in tomorrow's debate on the Act, either.

After listening to rebel spokesmen general secretary Victor Feather hoped yesterday afternoon they would 'make it possible for their suspension to be lifted' before the end of the year.

Congress went out of its way to spare the rebel delegations any embarrassment. The vote on suspension came at the end of the day's session and there was to be no enforced 'walk out'.

Other unions were not allowed to speak on the appeals.

The gesture of suspension is a cover behind which the union leaders can make their own peace with the Tory government and its anti-union laws.

George Smith, the TUC president, made this clear in his opening speech, when he justified the TUC's talks with the CBI and the government (see page three report).

Yesterday morning the General Council voted 20 to 11 not to support a resolution calling for immediate operation of Rule 13 in the event of any union using 'any of the facilities of the Act'.

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This means that nowhere on the agenda of this year's TUC, whose 10 million affiliated members are facing perhaps the gravest threat to their jobs, wages and trade union rights in their history, is there a single real call to action against the Tories.

A demand from the technical and supervisory section (TASS) of the engineers' amalgamation, for opposition to appearances before the National Industrial Retions Court or payment of fines, had been dropped.

Instead the union's leaders have swung behind the weak and

ambiguous formula that unions should face the discipline of Congress for using the facilities of the Act'.

General Council members privately admit that this formula will leave the interpretation of policy entirely in their hands.

In an attempt to stop the rightwing majority continuing to allow appearances at the NIRC, Scanlon says he will attempt to refer back the relevant section of the General Council's report.

But this manoeuvre will in no way restore the TASS demand: the AUEW motion itself foreshadows the payment of fines through the setting-up of a joint fund to meet any penalties im-posed under the Act.

The squalid manoeuvring which will lead to this formula being put to the Congress tomorrow directly implicates mem-bers and fellow-travellers of the Communist Party.

It is believed that the key points of the ACTT motion were dropped, without consultation with his delegation, by general secretary Alan Sapper at a compositing meeting at the weekend.

No attempt seems to have been made by Sapper to insist that his union's independent

position be expressed in an amendment to the AUEW motion.

Yet his position must have been tacitly endorsed by at least one CP member at a subsequent delegation meeting.

In the case of TASS, deputy secretary Ken Gill and the other CP members in the delegation are known to have favoured acceptance of the composite formula.

Both so-called tactical moves will be considered by many thousands of union members as a completely unjustifiable inter-ference with the agreed policy of their annual conferences.

Yet the CP hails the fact that the compromise allows 'unity' be-tween Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones of the Transport and General Workers' Union, who has already paid £55,000 in fines to the court.

(See page three story on Jones' Sunday-night attack on his docker members.)

The 'Morning Star' yesterday attempted to present this man-oeuvre as a 'challenge' to the TUC General Council, In reality, the Stalinists have already en-sured that tomorrow's debate will be a sham battle.



Bollermakers' president Dan McGarvey (left) makes a point to Clyde-side Stalinist James Reid at an impromptu meeting at Brighton yes-terday. (See What we thrink p. 2.)

## Formula of words sought at UCS

A FORMULA aimed at solving the conflict between boiler-makers and Govan Shipbuilders was being thrashed out yester-day on the Clyde.

Scottish boilermakers' leader James Murray met local officials of the union and Archibald Gilchrist, managing director of the company, to find 'a formula of words' that would be put to a mass meet-

ing of men tomorrow.

The boilermakers want a guarantee from the company that any pay deal will be made retrospective to the date negotiations start.

After seeing leading shop stewards at the Brighton TUC yesterday, boilermakers' president Danny McGarvey, said he hoped the issue would be settled very quickly.

"The problem rests fairly and squarely with the boiler-makers; that is, are they now going to destroy the good work that has been done over the last 14 months?,' he said.

Shop stewards' leader James Reid said he was happy to concur with McGarvey's state-

This was a repeat of Reid's own attack on the boiler-makers made in the Tory press on Monday.

However another obstacle has arisen. Twelve boiler-makers have been refused permission by local union leaders to go to the Scotstoun yard centre for retraining.

McGarvey said that this was against union policy which had already accepted flexibility and interchaneability. He said Murray would be giving an instruction to today's mass meeting on this issue.

Company chairman Lord Strathalmond has said that if he does not get the boiler-makers' pledge to sign a deal he will be unable to advise the board meeting at 10.00 a.m. today that the company should start work on September 11.

BLACKED car components from Creffield Engineering, Tonbridge, Kent, were not handled by fork-lift truck drivers at Ford's Halewood, Liverpool, plant yesterday and 2,000 workers in the transmission plant began walking out during the afternoon. The dispute followed the sacking of a fork-lift driver who refused to touch the goods. A Creffield lorry was then turned away by management.

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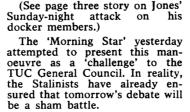
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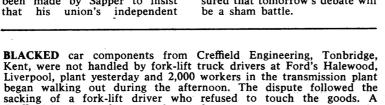
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# **BITTER FRUITS** OF THE UCS BETRAYAL

YESTERDAY'S blistering attack on Govan boilermakers by the Communist Party stewards' committee brings the wheel of betrayal on the upper Clyde full

When the so-called occupation began on July 30, 1971, the selfappointed co-ordinating commit-tee was pledged to the retention of all four yards and not a man

Now they have signed agreements with the Marathon Manufacturing Company and Govan Shipbuilders Ltd which not only contain no hint of jobs guarantees, but which were drawn up with the specific understanding that only about 4.700 men would eventually be employed—half the figure 14 months ago.

The drastic slashing of the workforce would have been seriously impeded without the stewards' agreement on the 'rapid elimination' of work practices unconducive to maximum manpower utilization.

The Tories were dealing with men to whose lips such promises came easily.

Now the chickens have come home to roost. The first 12 of 144 men left in the work-in turned up at Govan yesterday to begin a retraining course which will eventually equip them to work with the new company's 1,200 boilermakers.

The snag is that not only are these extra men, but under the terms of the procedural agreement they not merely retain their old skills but full use of them as well on the basis of total job interchangeability.

In this new species of worker the Govan men see a threat to their jobs and for this and other equally fundamental reasons refuse to sign the agreement.

Stalinist Clydebank convenor and work-in leader James Reid immediately turned on them.

He condemned the boilermakers' action saying it was 'a question of wanting to put so called sectional interests before the interests of the broad mass of their fellow workers'.

He added: 'We fought for 14 months for the principle of the right to work and have argued that no one has the right to deny men that principle. This applies to the government, the employers and to any section of the working class.'

For a man who has personally presided over the loss of over 2,000 jobs, this is obscure

If the boilermakers are fighting now it is precisely because the rest of the stewards were supposed to have won has proved to be non-existent in the face of their acceptance of maximum job mobility.

With this shameful record of collaboration at his back Reid has the nerve to say: 'We owe it not only to our fellow workers but to the Scottish community and to the ordinary people who have supported us so magnificently to make it crystal clear that we are not nor will ever be party to a betrayal of everything we ever stood for.'

He went on: 'We earnestly hope that decency, common sense and sanity will prevail. We hope that those individual sections who have deceived the workers because of their attitude to go it alone will find the true effective answer from the great mass of the workforce of UCS and Britain.'

What he does not say is that if the great mass of the UCS workers have gone along with the agreement, it is largely because they have never laid eyes on it. By invoking the sanction of other workers at the yards, the Stalinists hope to isolate the boilermakers and force them to climb down.

Reid and James Airlie's accusation that the boilermakers are selfish and pursuing sectional interests is a deliberate diversion. The Stalinists know better than anybody that the deal has been rejected not only because of the boilermakers' fear for their jobs but because they have discovered it contains no specific wage and bonus rates and no provision for retrospective pay-

The boilermakers have not had a rise for two years because of the work-in, while the cost of living has skyrocketed.

Yet Reid said: 'We are in no doubt that the majority of boilermakers have been deceived by people who want to apply the concept of the rat race to the trade union movement.'

The fight for higher wages, the rat race which Reid spurns, has always been the very foundation of the trade union movement. The boilermakers' stand is not testimony to their greed so much as to the way the Stalinists have acted as the vehicle for Tory strategy to use unemployment to drive down wages and conditions

Now that they have seen the agreement that the co-ordinating committee signed, hundreds of boilermakers realize that the Stalinists' insistence on the fight for the right to work has been a cover for their complete surrender on all other issues.

With even their own stewards in favour of the deal, the boilermakers have been driven to wage what appears to be a sectional

In reality their lead should be followed by every man at UCS who now looks forward to a period of unprecedented exploitaperiod of unprecedented exploita-tion by their new employers. Their stand has laid bare the final bankruptcy of the Stalinists' so-called fight on the upper

And their determination in the teeth of all odds gives the final lie to the Stalinists' claim that it was never possible to defend the right to work on the Clyde throughout Scotland mobilizing a General Strike to force the Tories to resign.

In June, July and August 1971 tens of thousands of workers took to the streets in defence of the right to work at UCS and now the boilermakers have proved that the will and the energy to bring down the most ment since the war was always

That it never found expression is a political crime that must be laid fairly and squarely at the door of the Stalinists. They put themselves into the lead of the fight at UCS only to betray it at every turn.

The inescapable price of their reformism in the face of inexorable market forces and a ruthless Tory government has been to drag them from one side of the class fence to the other until today they have ended up in the same camp as the government and the employers, with Reid and Airlie making statements indistinguishable from those of Govan boss Lord Strathalmond.

Workers' militancy alone was not sufficient to overcome this conscious treachery. The crisis at UCS and that of the whole working class can be seen more clearly than ever before to be the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

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# we him. Rail strike shakes unstable coalition

THE 24-HOUR strike of Italian railwaymen was due to start last night further threatening the already unstable two-month-old coalition of Signor Giulio Andre-

The railway workers are demanding pay increases, staff increases and massive investment in the rail system.

Industrial struggle is certain to intensify during the autumn as the contracts of some 4 million industrial workers come up for renewal before the end of the vear.

Some 300,000 chemical workers are threating a 24-hour walk out on Thursday in protest over a breakdown in negotiations for a new labour contract.

Sections of the lower middle class are also being hit by Italy's economic crisis. Butchers, grocers and greengrocers in Rome are to shut down this week in protest against an emergency 60-day price freeze imposed by civil au-

thorities two weeks ago.

The shopkeepers claim the freeze is often forcing them to sell food less than the price they pay the wholesalers.

Andreotti's centre-right coalition of Christian Democrats, Liberals and Social Democrats, supported from the outside by the Republicans, is already torn apart by internal wranglings about the introduction of colour television.

It seems unlikely to last for

### Significant Central Highlands victory

# Liberation troops win strategic Ranger base

BY JACK GALE

NORTH VIETNAMESE troops advancing into the Central Highlands have captured a vital government Ranger base at Plei Me, about 20 miles west of the key city of Pleiku. The Americans called in two flights of heavy B52 bombers in a desperate and unsuccessful attempt to repel the North Vietnamese attack.

This defeat is the most serious military setback to the South Vietnamese government since last June. Heavy fighting is also taking place on the north-east approaches to An Loc, 60 miles north of Saigon.

Meanwhile, the South Vietnamese government has announced a new 2,000-man armoured drive across the routes used by the liberation forces between southern Cambodia and the western Mekong

In Cambodia, government forces have still made no progress towards breaking the grip of the liberation forces on Highway Two, the main link to the south from the capital, Phnom Penh.

PRINCE SIHANOUK said yesterday that China and North Vietnam had found new ways to transport supplies through North Vietnam to the southern battle-fields despite the American aerial bombardment.

'The bombing is having some effect. There are less weapons getting through but we have still got enough,' he said.

Chinese Premier Chou En-lai has told him that in the event of the war going on another four years, China would continue to make all-out efforts to assist the Indo-Chinese peoples until final victory.

There has been a new agreement between the Soviet Union and China for the trans-shipment and China for the trans-snipment of Soviet war material through China to North Vietnam to offset American mining and blockading of North Vietnamese ports and the renewed US bombing campaign.

Liberation forces cut the highway at several points along an 18-mile stretch last week.

Cambodian troops also failed to free Highway Five, the only road to the north-west, which supplies Phnom Penh's rice.

Some liberation army forces are now within 12 miles of Phnom Penh.

In Laos, North Vietnamese and Pathet Lao troops now control 80 per cent of the country, leaving only the major popula-tion centres and land along the Mekong River bordering Thailand in government hands.

Diplomatic reports say that Prince Souvanna Phouma's government intends to try to regain some of the territory it has lost over the last three years in northern Laos and the Bolovens Plateau in southern Laos. This would strengthen the government's hand in a hoped-for conference between the two sides.

In the latest exchange of messages, Pathet Lao leader Prince Souphanouvong, who is Prince Souvanna's half-brother, rejected the Prime Minister's call for a cease-fire under international supervision. He has also rejected a suggestion that military and political problems should be discussed separately.

In turn the government has refused a long-standing Pathet Lao demand that the United States stop bombing operations

The Pathet Lao claims that since President Nixon took office, the Americans have dropped more than 3 million tons of bombs on Laotian territory.

Without this bombing, of course—which began at his request in 1964 — Prince Souvanna would be unable to keep the battered Laotian army in the field.

Prince Souvanna also faces a political threat from rightists in the National Assembly who have called for a complete government reorganization.

But all the foreign powers—including China—connected with the 1962 Geneva Agreement, which placed Prince Souvanna in office, have indicated that his government is the only acceptable one for eventual negotia-tions on the Indo-China war.

Prince Souvanna has stated that his government needs two more years to achieve 'national conciliation' with the Pathet Lao.

#### **FOREIGN NEWS**

### Anniversary clashes due in Chile

FIERCE CLASHES were expected yesterday throughout Chile between supporters of President Salvadore Allende and right-wing Christian Democratic wing Christian Der National Party members.

Union leaders have called on workers to down tools and join the parades and rallies to mark the second anniversary of Allende's electoral victory in which he obtained 31 per cent the vote and defeated the Christian Democratic candidate Radomiro Tomic.

Popular Unity leaders have warned of a 'September Plan'

organized by domestic and foreign reactionary groups aiming at the overthrow of Allende's regime.

Former President Eduardo Frei, whose Christian Democrats ruled from 1964 to 1970, has issued a statement saying that if the Popular Unity called its people onto the streets then we, too, should do the same because we are the biggest single party and we also have the right to occupy the streets'.

#### Ulster marathon at **Olympics** Prime Minister

Edward Heath strongly called on his Irish counterpart Jack Lynch to crack down on IRA activities operating from the south. Both are in Munich at the Olympic Games.

Heath was in a tough mood when the two men met for an hour-and-a-half at the British Consulate General for talks on the Northern Ireland situation.

The talks come one week be-fore Heath is due to meet leaders of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. They also precede the all-party conference on the future of Northern Ireland ar-ranged for later this month by Ulster Supremo William WhiteAs well as Northern Ireland, the Heath-Lynch talks were expected to cover entry into the Common Market. This is Heath's first meeting with Lynch since the signing of the EEC accession treaty in Brussels last January. Heath and Lynch will both have separate talks with West German Chancellor Willy Brandt later this week.

Heath is also due to meet West

Heath is also due to meet West German Foreign Minister Walter Scheel and the Bavarian right wing leader Franz-Josef Strauss. Another key 'Olympic' meeting involves Willy Brandt and the

French President Georges Pomp-

### **Under the Dome**

#### TRADES UNION CONGRESS 104 THE DOME BRIGHTON

# Shades of Lloyd George

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS IN BRIGHTON

TUC PRESIDENT George Smith yesterday defended the General Council's talks with the Tories and the employers, despite the fact that his own building union members are locked in bitter struggle with them over pay.

Smith, general secretary of the Union of Construction Allied Trades and Technicians, insisted: 'We must never imagine that we are an alternative form of government.

In his opening address to Congress, he said that union leaders had to make certain their views were delivered and heard throughout the land. Therefore representations to

government were a particularly essential part of their respon-

essential part of their responsibilities.

He claimed that the Heath government, which had appeared 'hell-bent on pursuing abrasive policies' had now been 'compelled to recognize the need for co-operative effort, understanding and intelligent approach to our present economic and social ill'.

In a clear bid for the support of the most conservative ele-

of the most conservative elements of Congress he talked darkly about what is happening to workpeople out of economic circumstances and the disturbances of social conditions in the United Kingdom.
Shades of the Festival of

Defending the TUC-CBI conciliation and arbitration service, whose panel of arbitrators includes a former director of the National Federation of Building Trades Employers, he said they could lead to a reliable, independent method of dealing with problems through the agreed exercise of free will.

Then he returned to the reactionary core of his argument:

'When I spoke about the alienation which is expressing itself at every level of the community', he said, 'I could almost have said that there is a degree of normlessness prevailing which threatens the whole of our social fabric in a manner which does not conform to any classical exposition of social revolution or class struggles.' What lies behind this, of

course, is the unaccustomed rough ride Smith had been given by his members in his attempts to settle their pay claim piecemeal.

But combined with his re-



**George Smith** 

marks about the government, it shows just where the Congress right wing is moving.

In 1919 Lloyd George had to tell the TUC leaders their place. 'If a force arises . . . which is stronger than the state . . . it must be ready to take on the functions of the state, or withdraw and accept the authority of the state', he

challenged.
Today the union leaders themselves convey this mesage to their members without any prompting from Heath.

## UCS not joining strike

UPPER CLYDE shipyards will not be joining in tomorrow's one-day strike called by the Communist Party-controlled Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

This was revealed yesterday at Brighton by the Clydebank yard's sub convenor, Gerry

Mr Ross said that it was not appropriate in the existing circumstances for the men to join in the protest which is against the Industrial Relations

He also revealed that the

Communist Party-dominated shop stewards' co-ordinating committee at the yards had not called for the men to support the strike.

port the strike.

This complete capitulation is despite the fact that James Airlie, the Stalinist who is second in command to James Reid on the co-ordinating committee, is also chairman of the Scottish Liaison Committee.

At a macting last week in

At a meeting last week in Glasgow Airlie called on all stewards to mobilize the men in their factories behind the

# Asians: LP carte blanche to Tory racialism

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

LABOUR leader Harold Wilson is to meet his Shadow Cabinet in London today to discuss the party's position on the issue of the Uganda Asians expelled by General Idi Amin.

Wilson, who has declared his complete and total support for the Tory government's policy of appeasing the racialists, returned overnight for the meeting from a three-week holiday in the Scilly Isles.

He has issued no statement condemning the statements of several big Labour councils that they have no room for the Asians—statements which have been shamelessly used by the Tory press to whip up racialist propaganda.

And in a statement yesterday to the 'Daily Express', which has been at the centre of this campaign, he had this to say of the expelled families: 'They must be spread as widely as possible and their entry period phased over the maximum period.'

In other words, the Labour leader will put up no fight against the racialists within his own ranks and is prepared to give carte blanche to whatever calculated humiliations the Tory government may have in store government may have in store for the Asians.

If Labour 'lefts' like Michael Foot, MP, do not roundly condemn this unprincipled, opportunist and dangerous stance at today's meeting with Wilson they will stand exposed as its allies.

In Leicester today, Labour councillors led by Alderman Edward Marston will try to tell members of the Tories' Uganda Resettlement Board that the city has reached 'saturation point'

Board chairman Sir Charles Cunningham will be led on a carefully-staged tour of the Highfields area of the city which is obviously designed to attract maximum publicity for the Labourites' claims.

Meanwhile the extreme right-wing British Movement, led by Colin Jordan, who last week notably escaped arrest after disrupting a Leicester council meet-ing, took advantage of this atmosphere to call on air and transport workers who might be involved in the resettlement pro-gramme to withhold their labour

Every trade unionist will reject these ravings, but they must also take up the fight against those in their ranks who create the conditions under which they can be made.

### **TREMENDOUS** INTEREST IN LIVERPOOL **LECTURES** TONIGHT

Tremendous interest has been shown in Liverpool for the series of lectures starting to-night. Already large num-bers of tickets have been sold. If you are interested in obtaining your ticket please contact:
Bill Hunter, 58 Leighton View,
Liverpool 8. Tel.: 051-709 7734.

Socialist Labour League **FOUR LECTURES** THE THEORY AND

given by

G. HEALY
(SLL national secretary)

1. Marxism as the theory of knowledge Tuesday September 5

PRACTICE OF MARXISM

2. Development of Marxism through working-class struggle Tuesday September 12

3. Nature of the capitalist **crisis** Tuesday September 19

4. Historical materialism today Tuesday September 26

**AEU HOUSE Mount Pleasant** Liverpool 1, 7.30 p.m.

### Jones hits at militants

PUBLIC attack on militants in the trade union movement who oppose the policies of the official leadership has been launched by Jack Jones, head of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Speaking at a poorly-attended "Tribune'

meeting in Brighton on Sunday night, Jones appealed against what he described as 'thugs and anarchists' within

the ranks.

He called on trade unionists to resist any splits in their ranks.

'We must resist pres-sure from the few', he 'I say to those who have been doing many things to besmirch the name of trade unionism that they are only splitting the movement.

This was a veiled reference to angry dockers who attacked Jones after docks delegates voted on his recommendation to call off the recent national

Jones also made it clear that he was prepared to make his union a prisoner of the right wing:

'My own union has made it clear that it has no intention of

going it alone. We will



Jack Jones

always accept the decisions of the General Council, even if they have been against us, because a split would

delight our opponents.'
Jones' speech is the
keynote of the conference.

Under the name of unity he has made a

pact with Hugh Scanlon of the engineers over the Industrial Relations This effectively

scotches any possibility
of the TUC taking a hard line on appearances before the National Industrial Relations Court or pay-ment of its fines. The 'Tribune' meet-

ing had an abysmally low attendance. The room was half-full, with about 40 people, at the start. Later this rose to 60 to hear Labour Party chairman Anthony Wedgwood Benn make a speech on the Common Market.

Why a Labour **Government?** 

A reply to some centrist critics

By Cliff Slaughter

A series which appeared in Workers Press in June, 1972 is now available as a pamphlet in Socialist Labour League Pocket Library.

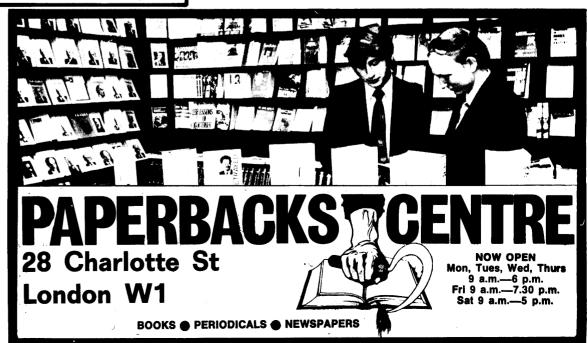
**WHY A LABOUR GOVERNMENT?** A Reply to some centrist critics.' By Cliff Slaughter Price 5p

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# WARTIME LAWS AGAINST THE UNIONS

Part 6 of a series on Picketing by Bernard Franks

In 1914 the Defence of the Realm Acts were passed (DORA I & II), giving the King wide powers to issue regulations to the Admiralty and Army Council 'for securing the public safety and defence of the realm'.

They virtually enabled permanent rule by martial law and included the right to court martial civilians who were alleged to be obstructing the war effort—'in like manner as if such persons were subject to military law and had on active service committed an offence'.

The court martial section was repealed the following year allowing trial by jury once more, but the emergency powers remained.

In June 1915, the Ministry of Munitions was set up, and the first of the Munitions of War Acts were passed.

War Acts were passed.

This designated certain 'controlled establishments' where munition work was carried on and where all strikes and union rules and practices claimed to be restricting output were suspended. To work any such rule was made an offence. The Act required any dispute between workers and employers to go before the Board of Trade, the decision of which would be final and binding.

No wage increase could be paid without the agreement of the ministry. A munitions worker could not change jobs unless he held a certificate from his last employer consenting to the change. The laws authorized the wearing of badges or other distinctive marks by persons on munition work.

The Acts also enabled the government to commandeer any factory required for war work and issue orders to the workers employed.

Amendments in 1915 and 1916 put a fine of £5 a day on munition workers for striking and provided for non-union labour to be brought into closed-shop factories. To get round the especial hostility of workers towards the compulsory dilution of labour, whereby semi-skilled and unskilled labour was brought in to do skilled work, it was stipulated that employers must promise that this was for the duration of the war only.

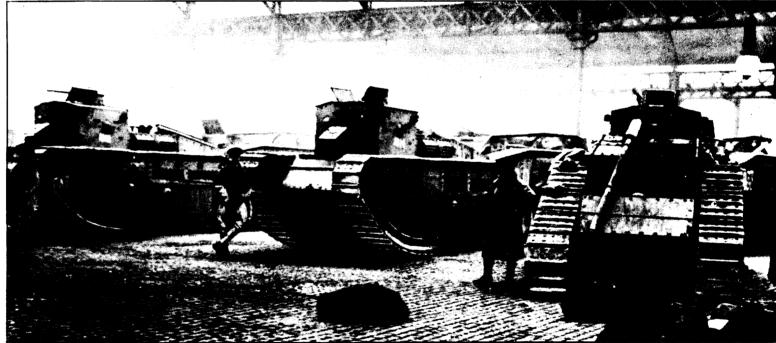
Munitions tribunals were set up which would consider appeals by workers against being refused a certificate to change jobs and which also imposed the fines.

It was also under the Ministry of Munitions that a special secret service to spy and report on industrial unrest and political organizations was set up, later to be incorporated into the Special Branch of the

Any action, speech or publication showing the true nature of the imperialist war was suppressed—and the culprits charged with 'discouraging recruiting' or 'spreading false news'. Police raided houses and seized books and pamphlets of a left wing and anti-war nature. They could also ban any public meeting. A heavy press censorship was imposed from the beginning.

Within a month of the first Act, 345 establishments were declared controlled, including the main armament and shipping firms. The list was gradually extended to toolmakers, then all major firms





Top: a woman munition worker gauging shell cases. Employers were forced to promise that 'dilution of labour' where unskilled or semi-skilled workers were brought in to do skilled work was only for the duration of the war. Above: tanks in the Glasgow Saltmarket, 1919, sent to suppress the demands of unemployed munitions workers for a 40-hour week.

in engineering, iron, steel and chemicals, together with makers of rubber goods, optical instruments and certain textile and printing works.

By the end of the war 5,600 factories were controlled, employing more than 1.6 million men and 600,000 women. The enormous powers given to the employers and the state had been directly conceded by the union leaders. In March 1915 trade union leaders had met with the government and voluntarily agreed to industrial peace for the duration of the war. From the conference a declaration was made, known as the Treasury Agreement, in which the leaders of 35 trade unions recommended to their members changes in working conditions and customs to enable accelerated output. further proposed that there should in no case be any stoppage of work on munitions. This agreement enabled the Munitions of War Act to be passed. It was in answer to this betrayal by the union leaders that the shop stewards' movement arose, led by the Clyde workers whose Manifesto said:

THE SUPPORT GIVEN TO THE MUNITIONS ACT BY THE OFFICIALS WAS AN ACT OF TREACHERY TO THE WORKING CLASS.

"Those of us who refuse to be sold have organized the above committee representative of all trades in the Clyde area, determined to retain what liberties we have, and to take the first opportunity of forcing the repeal of all the pernicious legislation that has recently been imposed upon us . . ."

More and more strikes broke out to protect rights and conditions, gathering momentum towards the end of the war. A terrific struggle was needed after the war to repeal the Munitions of War Act, not finally achieved until August 1919.

The massive struggles of 1919, the rail strike, the Scottish General Strike, the fight against military intervention in Russia against the Bolshevik Revolution have been recently documented in Workers Press.

It was in this year that the British ruling class performed one of its most savage acts of imperialist repression and murder and showed its true face to the world's workers.

In India, on the basis of the alleged existence of a revolutionary and anarchical conspiracy in Bengal and other states a special Emergency Powers Act was proposed, including trial without jury and internment. Opposition to this by the Indian people was ruthlessly suppressed.

In the city of Amritsar General Dyer proclaimed

martial law and ordered troops to open fire on an unarmed crowd killing 450 and wounding 1,500. At a subsequent enquiry Dyer admitted that the demonstration could have been dispersed without violence, but added that his attack would have been even more violent if he had not been restricted by space. He said that his avowed purpose was 'to strike terror into the whole of the Punjab'. To this end he had refused all aid to the wounded after the massacre.

He was mildly admonished for his action by the House of Commons, but the House of Lords 'deplored' this treatment of the General as 'unjust' and as 'establishing a precedent dangerous to the preservation of order in the face of rebellion'.

Four months later in Britain the Emergency Powers Act was passed.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



Members of the National Council of the fascist vertical union, a state run body which organizes workers and employers. Ramal is in foreground.

# SPAIN'S FASCIST 'UNION'— IT'S A CRIME NOT TO JOIN

#### BY OUR SPANISH CORRESPONDENT

Don Enrique G a r c i a Ramal is Minister for Trades Union Affairs in Franco's Spanish government. He is the head of the fascist vertical union which organizes Spanish employers and workers in the same organization to promote the harmony of capital and labour and ensure that the national life flourishes.

Workers have to belong to this union and it is a crime for them to build their independent organizations, like the Workers' Commissions.

Ramal expressed the philosophy of fascist trades unionism in a speech he made recently in the northern town of Lugo:

'Can't you see how the standard of living is going up? Haven't you noticed how people's tastes and habits are improving, how they always want the best service and quality?

'I don't think that any problem can be solved by wage-increases, but by the creation of jobs which are sufficiently remunerative. I think the capital of Lugo should create wealth. The capitalists should build up industries. Capital is by nature rather nervous; the job of the government, the job we are doing at the moment is to calm it down.'

These bland remarks, which are not unlike the statements of reformists in the British labour movement, are the Spanish explanation of the police murder of workers in El Ferrol and Seat: the best way to keep capital calm is to shoot striking workers and repress trade unions.

The agreement signed by the National Union of Employers and the National Union of Technicians and Workers in the Union for the Wheat Industry gives some idea of the quality of life that some of Ramal's members enjoy.

Approved by the Ministry of Labour on August 23, it establishes the following basic rates:

Technicians will earn about

£42 a month. Administrative workers will earn between £30 and £42 a month. The bakery workers themselves will earn the magnificent sum of £25 or £26 a month, depending on whether they work in a mechanized bakery or not. Apprentices will earn £10 a month.

These wage-rates are worked out for a six-day 48-hour week

This tremendous exploitation is the achievement of Ramal and Franco's police state. It receives the support of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which is constantly entertaining the technocrats of the fascist regime. Recently, an industrial engineer, Manuel de Aranegui, who for many years was a local head of government in Alava, left for Moscow at special invitation from the Supreme Soviet 'to visit Moscow and have exchanges with leading Soviet citizens'.

Before his departure, Aranegui told the press: 'I have always had good relations with that sector. When the Foreign Minister knew I was going with this invitation, he encouraged me to go. I shall use my fortnight there to improve relations.'

The working-class struggle against low wage rates, and the growth of the Spanish-Soviet Union friendship, of course has thrown the Spanish Communist Party into crisis.

One of the first manifestations of this crisis was the development of Maoist tendencies in the Central Committee of Santigao Carrillo's

It is understandable that in the early 1960s workers and students in the conditions of fascist Spain might see a revolutionary alternative in Maoism. After the Nixon-Mao talks and Mao's butchering of the Asian revolution, the Spanish Maoists cannot claim their ignorance of Chairman Mao's peaceful chat with President Nixon, head of the 'Yankee imperialist system which backs Franco'.

However, the latest issue of 'Vanguardia Obrera', the monthly organ of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), does manage to remain silent on the Stalinist manoeuvres of Mao.



Maoists proudly display this picture of its members painting slogans in tube stations and discussing with passers-by on the front page of their paper 'Vanguardia Obrera'.

It also describes the various trips abroad of the 'archrevisionist' Carrillo as 'international trickery', without accounting for his visit as a leader of a Party delegation on an official visit to China.

This deceit and falsification is matched by a typically adventurist practice. The CP (ML) proudly relates how tirelessly its militants painted revolutionary slogans on the walls of tube-stations and persuaded passers-by of their correctness, or how they threw Molotov cocktails at the buildings of the fascist unions.

Essentially, the Maoists have no differences with Carrillo. He wants 'national reconciliation'; they want a 'Federal Popular Republic'. Both defend the Stalinist policy of the Popular Front: the Maoist journal declares: 'The Spanish people is republican . . . to get this solution, we must create a broad Patriotic Revolutionary anti-Fascist Front.'

Perhaps that is why many Maoists decided to rejoin Carrillo after his visit to Chairman Mao.

#### RIDDING MADRID OF ITS RATS

The Madrid Office of Health and Social Security has just completed 'Operation Deratization 1972'. Madrid and its river Manzanares is infamous for harbouring rats.

With the scant attention paid to disposal of rubbish and waste in Spain's capital, the rats multiply and in the heat of summer become a great threat to health, especially of those who live in its slums.

But is was probably fear of the loss of tourist trade that could result from a bout of the plague or any other such infection which led to 28,000 pounds of raticide being spread around Madrid's sewers and streets. If the municipal rodent operatives were being paid by the tail, they must have made a fortune, since they exterminated almost 300,000 rats!

### THE GERMAN RIGHT PREPARES

Leaders of Germany's extreme right met last week in Munich to secure an electoral victory in November.

They prepared collaboration between small openly fascist tendencies and the CDU-CSU (Christian Social Union—Christian Democratic Union) coalition party.

The right wing is determined to defeat the SPD-FDP (Social Democratic Party — Federal Democratic Party) government of Willy Brandt.

The main hero of the West German right wing is CSU leader, the Bavarian demagogue Franz Joseph Strauss. Strauss is already notorious for his vicious anti-working class policies.

In previous elections in Bavaria, he had the backing of NPD (neo-Nazi) voters. He has called for cuts in government expenditure, and says that West Germany requires unemployment to tame the unions. Above all his attacks are launched against communism and against Brandt's policy of detente with the Soviet Union.

Last year a scandal erupted when Strauss was exposed red-handed bribing members of Brandt's coalition to join his own ranks.

Today's situation is much sharper. Brandt's government is extremely weak. When the CDU-CSU opposition tried to topple Brandt this spring, it was only the enormous class action of West German workers that kept him in power.

The employers now aim at gaining control of the government. This is why the right wing was able in the secret Munich talks to achieve a cer-



CSU leader, Strauss.

tain agreement as to their elec-

toral policy.

The CSU is seeking alliance with the NPD, and its offshoot, the 'Action Resistance' group. Action Resistance, led by ex-Nazi, Dr Peter Kleist, organizes raids on the premises of the trade unions, socialist and communist parties.

Two other right-wing groups, AKON and MUT were involved in the talks. Strauss's close friend, Dr Frey was also there.

The following points were

agreed:
1. Small groups such as AKON and MUT would vote directly for the CDU-CSU. The slogan, 'United People's Front' should be used as a rallying point against the left. A witch-hunt was to be conducted against the SPD's 'communist' lean-

ings.
2. This witch-hunt was to be financed by the CSU and industrialists who stand close to the CSU.

3. The NPD would stand candidates, but would tell its supporters to give their first vote to the CDU-CSU candidates and their second vote to the NPD





# **JAPAN: MOVING INTO ASIA**

#### BY JOHN SPENCER

of Japanese economic ex-

Japan now dominates the capitalist economies of the

Its domination is sowing the seeds of great inter-imperialist conflicts and raking up all the questions left unsolved by the Pacific War of 1941 to 1945.

major issues on the agenda at the recent meeting between US president Nixon and

Hawaii.

States sphere of influence, in with startling speed.

'Its steel builds virtually all the buildings in the region, its cars and motorcycles dominate the roads, its ships fill the ports, its radios bring the news and its advertising keeps both the region's press affoat and its

America's economic terests in the area are growing at a snail's pace by comparison with the Japanese, who are beginning dominate South East Asia

dominate it militarily as well. The strategy of Japanese big business was frankly outlined in the mid-1960s by Fujino Chujiro, president of Mitsubishi, the country's largest trading firm and one of

monopolies:

problem people must even now unite our strength.

this persists still.

a new age by changing our thinking both about giving aid and about being aided.'

There new-style 'sphere' forecast by Chujiro has already taken shape and like the old it is based on cornering sources of raw materials and markets

The missing factor — a powerful army to enforce Japanese hegemony—is being rapidly developed in open defiance of the post-war constitution which outlaws

Japan's share of the world

Japan to consolidate even further its position in Already it is the predominant industrial power in the area, head and shoulders above

the country's goods.

The inevitable moves to-

wards protection in the other

major capitalist countries must

the other countries. It buys virtually all the raw materials that are for sale in Asia and is making a concerted effort to tie up as much as possible through long term

**APPETITE** 

contracts for the future.

Since 1967 Japan has been the world's largest importer of raw material; two years ago these imports accounted for 44 per cent of the country's

By 1980 on present trends, Japan will absorb 30 per cent of all the world's raw material exports.

Japanese demand for major raw materials accounts for between 10 and 20 per cent of all consumption in the

Japanese industry's rapacious demand for raw materials is only the other side of its appetite for markets.

are closely integrated with the state in a centralized machine for conquering foreign markets while keeping down standard of living of working class.

relatively low wage rates.

There are state facilities for

The trading companies themselves are heavily supported government finance and their profit margins are kept low in order to sharpen com-

These aspects can be seen of the Meiji emperors.

The Japanese employers have proved extremely adept at turning the disaster of wartime defeat into a powerful

which have kept the country's industry extremely modern and competitive. They were also able to make

supplying the requirements of the US war machine in Asia —first in the Korean war and afterwards in Vietnam. At the same time, Japanese

ese shipping for almost three big business undertook a determined drive to export capital to the countries of South East Asia, at first under the guise of war reparations. As one commentator put it:

forced to pay out of their own pockets to maintain the low price of Japanese exports: ex-

'AID' MONEY

Hence the appearance for

the first time since the war of

bitter strike struggles, like the

important seamen's strike this

summer which tied up Japan-

raise their domestic prices. for waging a war; now the crimes committed during the

The mechanism can clearly

be seen in the Japanese 'aid programme, which has been one of the spearheads of the The price to the Japanese country's expansion in Asian working class is enormous. markets. than the degree of increase in in the form of long-term labour productivity which is loans, frequently with stiff re-

made possible to a large extent payment conditions attached. by capital from the banks and In most cases it is simply an accounting device to allow re-There is also a rapid incipient countries to pay for crease in the cost of living their imports from Japan. which hits the working class

The 'aid' money in these cases goes more or less directly into the pockets of the Japanese corporations concerned, leaving the recipients only with debts.

Japan is more and more taking over the US aid 'burden' in Asia, moving in as equal partner in such enterprises as the Asian Development Bank.

Japanese imperialism, both through 'aid' and through direct investment, already owns the biggest slice of Thailand and Malaysian industry and is well on the way to achieving the same status in Singapore, India, Pakistan and the Philippines.

Japanese investment in other Asian countries is now

ouild up of military forces, which has full backing of the United States. Above: Tanaka

roaring ahead. From 1951-1970 Japan invested only \$2,700m abroad. In three vears that \$10,000m.

In the background, the methods of coercion are being readied to maintain the pre-eminence of Japanese capi-

tal in Asia. The latest defence budget is 22 per cent up on last year and the military chiefs are clamouring for advanced

weaponry on a vast scale. The American trade war measures against Japan must intensify enormously the drive for markets and the class struggle at home. The combination of militarism and trade war puts the revival of Japanese fascism on the

agenda for the ruling class. Japanese imperialism cannot hope to overcome the closure of the US markets decreed by Nixon and the breakup o world currency relations.

But it is being driven inexorably along the same road as it took in the 1930s-the road of militarization and 'export or die'.

The speed and intensity pansion in Asia has 'sent chills through its neighbours' according to the 'New York Times'.

Far East in a way which has not been seen since the days of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere of the

It was certainly one of the Japanese premier Tanaka on

On what has since the war

been regarded as a United Japanese industry has moved

The 'New York Times' says: cities lit up at night.'

increasingly to politically and have plans to

the big three Japanese

has its EEC. 'Europe

America is sufficient within itself. We coloured peoples who have become the world's

'I believe the old Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere was essentially right. The only trouble was that Japan looked only to its own advantage and resentment of

'From now on we must meet with the United States represents more than half that

for finished goods. throat.

Japanese rearmament.

market has increased enormously in the past ten years. Its share of exports to the United States has all but doubled as has its share of the South East Asia trade.

At the same time, it has been steadily building up trade with Europe and now forces a chorus of outraged European capitalists complaining about lumping Japan's huge trade surplus

country's total trading deficit with the rest of the world. One of Nixon's prime purposes in summoning Tanaka to Hawaii was to deliver a categorical ultimatum: cut your exports or we cut your

The US, which has already forced Japan to revalue the ven by over 16 per cent in a move designed to slash Japan's exports to America, is now threatening to build an impregnable wall of tariffs against capitalist world, second only

to the US.

Intensely export - oriented, the big Japanese corporations

This has enabled a rapid increase in productivity—based in part on the post-war rebuilding of factories and plant to ultra-modern specifications -and the maintenance of

To organize this drive, the Supreme Export Council, chaired by the prime minister and composed of government and business chiefs, determines goals of exports to be achieved, item by item and country by country.

collecting export information from all over the world. In addition, the state is extremely active in promoting

mergers and formation of cartels, restricting imports and limiting the influx of foreign capital—all measures to protect and build up domestic big business.

war have been used as an excuse for consolidation of petition with foreign firms.

but they are more marked in Japan, where the state has played a very large role in industrialization since the days

The devastation of the war was only the first of a number of 'scrap and build' cycles

a great deal of profit from

months. The Japanese workers are

port prices are held down by 'Previously the maintenance of government decree while

markets'.

hard.

government funds.

heir wage rises are far less

# MALTHUS REVISITED

#### Part 2 of a series on Science and the Environment by John Crawford

At the end of the 18th century, as British capital's enslavement of the industrial working class was beginning to take its modern form, a wave of terror swept the ruling class. Support for the French revolution and demands for alleviation of the lot of the factory labourers were widespread among intellectuals and within the young working class itself.

The state went to work, suspending Habeus Corpus and passing the Combination Act. but it desperately needed ideological backing.

This is where the Rev Thomas Robert Malthus came on to the scene. He was able to provide the comforting argument that the misery of the masses was not due to any defect in the system of production, but arose from in-exorable natural laws: they starved because they bred too

his 'Essay on the Principle of Population, as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society' (1798), he denied 'the possible existence of a society, all the members of which should live in ease, happiness, and comparative leisure; and feel no anxiety about providing the means of subsistence for and families.' themselves

The Christian gentleman argued like this:

The power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man . . . This difficulty must be felt somewhere; and must necessarily be severely felt by a large por-

### No right

On this basis, Malthus opposed the Poor Laws, which, he declared, would increase population without increasing the food for its support'. Christian principles helped him to face these conclusions quite

happily: A man who is born into a world already possessed, if he cannot get subsistence from his parents on whom he has a just demand, and if the society do not want his labour, has no claim of right to the smallest portion of food, and, in fact, has no business to be where he is. At nature's mighty feast there is no vacant cover for him. She tells him to be gone, and will quickly execute her own orders, if he do not work upon the compassion of some of her guests. If these guests get up and make room for him, other intruders immediately appear demanding the same favour.'

(This passage from the second edition of Malthus' 'Essay' was tactfully omitted from later editions.)

After the great success of his 'Essay', Malthus went on to become a leading political economist, arguing against Ricardo that the idle and wealthy play a productive role by consuming the surplus produced by the rest of society!

Marx and Engels never lost

an opportunity of denouncing these ideas. Engels called them this vile and infamous doctrine, this repulsive blasphemy against man and nature.' Marx showed that Malthus' 'Essay' 'is nothing more than a schoolboyish, superficial plagiary of De Foe, Sir James Stuart, Townsend, Franklin, Wallace, etc., and does not contain a single sentence thought out by himself.' ('Capital', Vol I. p. 616.)

For Marx, a 'law of population' could only be related to a particular stage of history. In particular, he described the way capitalism, driven forward by the search for profit, pushed up the productivity of labour, but in such a way that too many workers were continually being thrown on to the job market for the needs of capital.

But 'an abstract law of population exists only for plants and animals, and only in so far as man has not interfered with them'. (Ibid, p.

#### Revival

The 'argument' of Malthus —that population goes up geometrically, doubling every so many years, while food supply goes up arithmetically, adding the same amount each year—had soon been discredited.

Engels writes about it in a letter (to Lange, March 29,

'We start from the premise that the same forces which have created modern bourgeois society — the steam engine, mass machinery, modern colonization, railways, steamships, world trade—and which are now already, through the permanent trade crisis, working towards its ruin and ultimate destruction—these same means of production and exchange will also suffice to reverse the relation in a short time, and to raise the productive power of each individual so much that he can produce enough for the consumption of two, three, four, five or six individuals.

But a century and a half after Malthus' best-seller, his ideas once more began to revive. The new Malthusians, of course, could not argue that Engels had exaggerated the productivity, espec in agriculture. Instead, they claim that it is accompanied by an even greater expansion of population and, even more loudly, that modern produc-tion has brought with it the danger of overwhelming the natural resources of the planet.

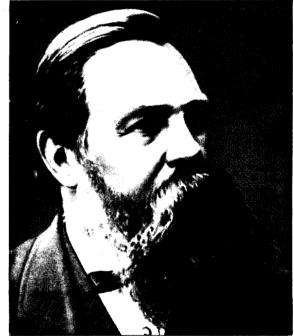
Where the good Parson Malthus would have denied that techniques could ever improve sufficiently to enable subsistence to catch up with population growth, his 20th century descendants cry out in terror that there is too much technology, too much industry, too much affluence.

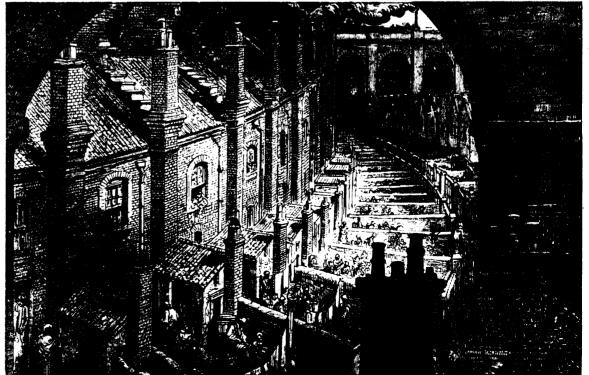
The difference is significant, for it reflects the difference between capitalism in its ascendancy and the same system in its death agony. The similarity is even more important, however. Both Malthus and his modern disciples are driven by a terror of revolution.

**CONTINUED TOMORROW** 









Top: Thomas Robert Maithus. To him the misery of the masses was not due to any defect in the system, arose from 'natural laws'. Centre left: the economist, Ricardo. Right: Engels who called Malthus' a 'vile and infamous doctrine'. Above: conditions of the working class during the late 18th century.

# THE REAL FACE OF ANARCHISM

#### LETTER AND REPLY

Dear Editor,

As I am neither a 'Trotsky-ist' or a 'Marxist-Leninist' I only buy the 'WP' out of curiosity, and because, in this benighted neck-of-the-woods it is the only 'militant' 'left-wing' paper I can lay my hands on. I am always glad to see your itinerate Comrades in my Tory Blimp, ex-officer dominated 'local' where, so I am told, the only sales take place in the 'saloon' bar—and not amongst the Proles.

But, once again, as an anarcho-syndicalist, I must take exception to the peculiarly inept, misinformed, and thankfully anonymous 'Book Review' 'WP' Aug 5 p. 4, of 'Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism' by the three godfathers of social fascism-Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Everybody knows that it was the authoritarian Marx who split the First Inter-national when he broke away from Bakunin and ran away to London to form a splinter group, which, following the path of parliamentary reformism, paved the way for the dictatorships Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, Khruschev, Castro, Mao et alia.

Your reviewer states that the Spanish anarchists 'tail-ended the bourgeoisie' (I take this to be a euphemism) during the Civil War (1936-1939). If I may be permitted to use another euphemism, 'spherical objects', or in fluent Spanish, 'Cojones!'

The two million anarchists (CNT-FAI) were the main resistance to Franco and the Stalinists in the Barcelona (1937) Uprising, and on the Aragon Front where they were virtually blockaded and starved of supplies by the Stalinists.

And who were the greatest of them all? **Durruti**—shot in the back by the SIM? Federica Montseny—as gentle as Durruti was wild. And Garcia Oliver, whose oratory stilled the pigeons in the Plaza Catalunya. We even allied ourselves with the POUM. We hate the Tories. We support the workers in their struggle. We oppose the In-dustrial Relations Act. We despise this government.

We also reject and despise the alternative. What is the use of a non-revolutionary and perfectly futile 'General Strike' to get rid of the Tories if the only alternative is the return of yet another reformist Labour government? Look at their record. The 'IRA' is Barbara Castle's baby—under pressure from the Gnomes of Zurich.

The Labour Party is not a Socialist Party. There is only one Socialist Party in this country, and that is the SPGB. (Which we also reject).

The Labour Party broken more strikes and sent more troops into the docks than any other party in power. They deserted the International working class and supported the first imperialist world war, while the TUC suspended its rules for the 'duration'.

• They nearly dragged us into the second IWW over Munich. They supported this war without reservations.

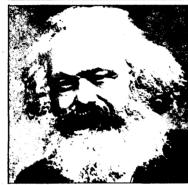
● The Attlee post-war government introduced military and industrial conscription 'peacetime'.

• They nobbled the Social Services, and introduced prescription, teeth, and spectacle charges.

They fathered the Industrial

Relations Act.

Over 60 of their members support the Common Market.



Top: Bakunin. Above: Marx.

What a shower to support! At least, with the Tories we have an honest adversary. We know who our enemies are. There are no divided loyalties or sloppy sentiments about 'upsetting' the government, or 'rocking the boat'.

As Malatesta asked: 'Vote! What for?'

Only those who are hoping to ride to power on the backs of the working class are asking for votes. (As always).

Just one more suggestion. Could your readers have less dreary jargon and industrial disputes in 'WP' and more fundamental issues Women's Lib, the sexual revolution and the future of the family, instead?

Yours fraternally, Gavan McCarthy

#### **PETER JEFFRIES**

It is entirely appropriate that McCarthy, a self-professed anarchist, should join with every revisionist and reformist in opposing the consistent campaign by the Socialist Labour League for the removal of the Tory government and its replacement by a Labour government pledged to a socialist programme.

We alone have fought along this line because we believe that under revolutionary leadership it is entirely possible for the working class to with the reformist traitors who have for so long dominated and misled its movement. And it is only by forcing the Labour leaders to take office that this campaign can be brought to a high

While McCarthy can declare his 'hatred' of both the Tories and the Labour leaders, he offers not a hint of an alternative programme to that for which we have fought. Indeed, to the extent that the Tories constitute an 'honest adversary' he is presumably in favour of them staying in office as against a Labour government!

Not only is this a line which will be treated with justified contempt by the millions of workers who have been locked in bitter struggle against the Heath government; it also indicates how in a period of crisis left-sounding, sectarian phrases, can turn into their very opposite. We must warn McCarthy and all those who share his position: it is always

the extreme right who demand that 'honest' politicians should come forward to lead the nation in its hour of crisis.

And it is also no accident that in many countries, notably Italy, an important section of the fascist movement had started life on the extreme left, as anarchist opponents of Marxism.

The struggle between Marxism and anarchism has been a long and bitter one. It dates back to Marx's polemics against Proudhon in 'The Poverty of Philosophy' (1847). The consistent line of anarchism has always been based on a hatred of revolutionary politics in the working class. Because the anarchist, a petty bourgeois sees 'authority' as the main enemy, he consistently struggles to turn the working class away from the building of a revolutionary party which alone can enable it to take power and establish its dictatorship over the defeated capitalist class.

This was the fundamental difference between Marx and Bakunin during the period of the First International. While Marx insisted upon the need for a political struggle, to raise the understanding of the working class, Bakunin fought bitterly to confine this struggle to a purely economic level against the employer.

Thus his opposition to the demand of the International for the legal eight hour day and his support for the slogan of the eight hour day, to be won against each separate employer.

Certainly Marx 'split' the International — in order to drive out Bakunin and his petty-bourgeois trend and pre-pare for the Second Inter-national. But we must point out to those ignorant of the out to those ignorant of the history of the International that whereas Marx fought openly against Bakunin, thrashing out the issues at each stage, it was this latter, the professed upholder of 'democracy' and 'freedom' who fought in the most under who fought in the most underhand, secret and authoritarian manner through his group— The Alliance for Social The Alliance for Democracy.

Much more serious is McCarthy's slander in lumping together Lenin and Trotsky with Stalin, Khrushchev, Castro and Mao. Trotskyism represents the only trend which continues the work of Lenin against the degenera-tion of the Soviet Union and

His hatred of Marxism also forces our correspondent to distort the real lessons of the Spanish Revolution. While it is true that large numbers of anarchists provided the forces for the struggle against Franco, it was the mis-leaderagainst ship of the anarchists which, amongst other things, allowed the continued existence of a Republican parliament in Catalonia, despite the fact that workers had occupied many of the large factories and established a workers' militia.

And when he savs: even allied ourselves with the POUM' he reaches perhaps the lowest point of distortion. For he deliberately fails to tell us that the anarchists, renouncing all their professed opposition to 'government', actually provided key ministers in the popular front government dominated by Stalinism which then proceeded to disarm the working class and prepare for the victory of Fascism. So his hatred of Stalinism is of an entirely fraudulent nature. What the anarchists hate is not Stalinism but Communism.

So despite McCarthy's pleas, Workers Press will not only continue to give its unrivalled coverage of all industrial disputes which has won it such wide support in the working class; it will at the same time continue to take up the theoretical struggle against the anarchists and all other defilers and opponents of Marxism.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

FESTIVAL LORD
A power behind last week's
London Festival for Jesus
(apart from Jesus himself, who apparently had difficulty Coming) was undoubtedly Lord Longford.

The 66-year-old pornography peer — once just plain Francis Pakeham — was up front with the hallelujahing dolly birds from the King's Road on Thursday afternoon.

Anyone who answered the call, made on leaflets handed out by the organizers in advance, to 'watch the river . . . at 4 p.m.' on Thursday would have seen Longford and his friends sailing up the river in a rather hysterical attempt to recapture the 'Dunkirk spirit'.

In view of some of the stranger claims made by the same leaflet, it is worth recording one of Longford's less publicized activities on behalf of

his festival's national sponsor. 'Britain is in danger of being broken apart at all levels', began one paragraph of the leaflet rather strangely. With violence, crime, venereal disease and divorce statistics constantly rising, it is high time we got down on our knees and asked God for

Longford has been visiting regularly and corresponding with moors murderers Myra Hindley (29) and Ian Brady. He claimed earlier last week that after three years of his visits and letters Miss Hindley is 'certainly now devout'.

another miracle in our land.'

At this rate Longford should have cleared all Britain's prisons in only another 88,000 years. Then for VD and divorce . .

Longford (right fore-Below: ground).



# **BOOKS**



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### **ALL TRADES** UNIONS **ALLIANCE MEETINGS**

DAGENHAM: Tuesday September 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue, Barking. 'Lessons of docks strike, UCS jobs fight.'

**HULL: Tuesday September 5, 7.30** p.m. White Hart Hotel, near Dry-pool Bridge. 'Victory to the building workers.'

WEST LONDON: Tuesday September 5, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, (off York Way), Kings Cross. 'Stalinism and the builders' struggle.

WOOLWICH: Tuesday September 5, 8 p.m. Queen's Arms, Burrage Road, SE 18. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

LANCASTER: Wednesday, September 6, 7.30 p.m. Trades Hall, Fenton Street. The building Fenton Street. workers' strike'.

SLOUGH: Wednesday September 6, 7.30 p.m. Slough Community Centre, Farnham Rd. Force the Tories out! Expose the traitors in the labour and trade union move-ment!' Speakers: Frank Tomany and Brian Bailey, both in a personal capacity.

GREENOCK: Wednesday September 6, 7.30 p.m. Salon Hall, Town Hall. 'The rents struggle and the Scott-Lithgow engineers' fight.'

SUNDERLAND: Wednesday September 6, 7.30 p.m. Trade Union Club, Frederick Street. Speakers: H. Nicol (ATUA), E. Ennew (President of Sunderland Trades Council, in a personal capacity). Build Councils of Action. Defend the right to work. Stop rents increases. Make the Tories resign.

MANCHESTER: Thursday September 7, 7.30 p.m. Basement Theatre Town Hall. 'Build Councils of Action. Force the Tories to resign.

CLYDEBANK: Thursday, September 7, 8 p.m. Clydebank Town Hall, Clydebank. Lessons of the UCS struggle.

RHYMNEY: Thursday September 7, 7.30 p.m. Rhymney Workingmen's Club, Rhymney, South Wales. 'Crisis of leadership in the trade unions.'

SOUTHALL: Thursday September 7, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Bridge Road. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

EAST LONDON: Thursday September 7, 8 p.m. Festival Inn, Market Square, Chrisp Street, Market, E14. What is Market, E14. Stalinism?

SOUTHAMPTON: Friday September 8, 7.30 p.m. 'The Glebe', Corner of Brintons Road and Northam Road. Speaker: Alan Thornett (deputy senior steward Morris Motors, Oxford, in a personal capacity). 'The lessons of the docks strike and the fight for jobs.'

CROYDON: Monday September 11, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Lessons of the dock

**HULL: Wednesday September 13.** 7.30 p.m. Church Hall, Wayne Road, Bransholme (opp 'The Road, Bransholme (opp 'The Swallow'). 'Fighting the Tories' Rent Act.'

# Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

# Miners organize Council of Action on rent betrayals

**ROUND-UP BY PHILIP WADE** 

THERE is now almost a complete collapse of opposition to the Tory 'fair rents' Act by Labour councils throughout Yorkshire, providing bitter reactions from thousands of tenants.

Sheffield Labourites brought the betrayal to a head last Tuesday when 41 of them voted with 17 Tories for the implementation of the Act. On the same night, the Labour council at Bentley, near Doncaster, voted nine to five to impose the £1 increases under the Housing Finance Act from the beginning of October.

But delegates from the powerful North Yorkshire and Barnsley Panels of the National Union of Mineworkers have declared they will strike if any tenant is evicted for non-payment of the rent increases.

And Woolley NUM branch has already passed a motion calling for the formation of a Council of Action to lead the fight against the Act and for the resignation of the Tories.

On Saturday 400 Barnsley tenants ceremoniously burned their notices of rent increases, together with an effigy of Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath (see picture). Members of the Athersley Tenants' Association had earlier lobbied Barnsley's Labour MP Roy Mason-who voted for the Tories on the Common Market—and were promptly told to pay the increases. 'I fought the Bill in parliament, but it was passed and that's the end of the fight,' was his inspiring message. 'I am not leading anyone into defying the law.

Committee member Mrs Anne Bunting told Workers Press: 'We've got to get the Tories out and return a Labour government that will be forced to carry out socialist policies. I think the Councils of Action are the way to do that.'

Mrs Carol Walker, another committee member, also agreed with the call for Councils of Action: 'I'm prepared to go to jail over these increases. At least I'll get three meals a day there. Under the Tories' Act, by the time I've paid the rent and fed the children, I'll only be able to afford one.'

A third committee member, Mr C. Stones-a miner at Woolley Colliery-commented:

'The Tories want us on the floor, but they won't get us there if we keep on fighting. The function of a tenants' association is not social but political. We have to get rid of the Tories and get in a Labour government pledged to socialist

'We want to see bigger and better Councils of Action' says Mr Stones. 'We want everybody in them, from the unions and every working-class organiza-

Castleford council has reversed its previous policy of opposition to the Act and voted by 21 votes to four to implement the

The behaviour of the Labourites at Pontefract was more bizarre, but no less treacherous. The Labour group had intended to abstain 'en masse', but during the council meeting it was discovered that only one of the four Tory councillors was pres-

A hurried Labour group meeting — called during the council meeting—decided to provide a seconder for the motion to carry out increases, which was to be moved by the Tory. This was duly carried out with one Tory and one Labourite voting for the motion and everyone else abstain-

However, at Knottingly and at Garforth, the Labour councils voted not to implement the Act. A Garforth Tory motion was rejected by 14 to four and Cllr John Rathford stated: 'We are prepared to go to jail.'

Only 40 Labour councils all over Britain now stand out against the Tory Act. The prostration before the feet of the Tories has represented a gross betrayal of tenants throughout

Millions of tenants yesterday morning got their increase notices, the vast majority published by Labour councils.

In face of this capitulation only the building of Councils of Action can mobilize millions of tenants alongside other workers in a fight to force the Tories to

It is not a question as yesterday's 'Morning Star' states of making this 'blatant landlords' Act unworkable'.

That means that the Com-munist Party is not opposed to Tory government, but only the Housing Finance Act. And it only wants to make this 'unwork-able'. The 'Morning Star' calls for support for the TUC motion which urges support for those fighting the Act, but nothing

The Stalinists only want to put spoke in the wheel of the Act while leaving the government in power. It is a treacherous policy which can only lead to defeat.



Bentley tenants hold a meeting outside the local council chamber while the council is in

ANGRY Bentley tenants shouted 'traitors' when the vote to implement the hated rent-doubling Act was announced in the council chamber on Satur-

The vote followed a mass lobby of the Labour council by tenants particularly angry at the manoeuvres of the local Labourites.

Only two months ago, Cllr Gordon Ward assured tenants at the founding meeting of the Bentley tenants' association, that

the council would never implement the Act. He and other councillors would be prepared to go to jail rather than raise the rents, he said.

When it came to the crunch, however, Ward voted for implementation when the Labour-controlled finance committee met to decide the recommendation for the full receipts. council meeting.

Even the five 'opponents' could only move reference back of the recommendation and re-

Tenants cannot restore their basic right to decent housing at

reasonable rents in this way. They must join with trade unionists fighting for the right to work and to strike in Councils of Action which have a policy of making the TUC call a General Strike

until the Tories resign.

fused to put up a fight in front of the tenants.

When tenants realized what had happened, real anger broke through. 'There's been no discussion. You are traitors to the working class. This is une working class. This is not a Labour council meeting—it's a Monday Club meeting,' shouted Jack Nimmo, president of Bentley NUM.

Eventually, the frightened Labourites called the police to clear the gallery. By the time they arrived, however, the tenants had

returned pledged by the mass movement to nationalize under workers' control and without compensation the land, building industry, building societies and insurance companies to lay the basis for a socialist housing programme.

A Labour government must be

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#### Ford EEC move opposed

FORD workers at Halewood, Liverpool, are to stage a oneday strike on Friday against company plans to transfer large amounts of production into Europe. The action has now been endorsed by plant meetings involving all 11,000 workers at the complex.

A mass meeting is being arranged for Friday at the Top Rank centre in central Liverpool.

#### Air show £1.75 demo

GOVERNMENT industrial workers will demonstrate when the Prime Minister visits Farn-borough Air Show today, to show Heath how they feel about the £1.75 a week pay rise they have been offered.

Workers at the Royal Aircraft Establishment at Farnborough have formed an action committee

to carry out a 'programme of dis-ruption' at the show.

Nearly 200,000 government industrial workers — mainly in naval dockyards and ordnance naval dockyards and ordinance factories—plan to increase strike action and working-to-rule if the offer is not improved.

Executives of the 17 unions involved will meet in Brighton on Thursday to decide if the dispute should go to arbitration by

pute should go to arbitration by the new TUC-CBI service. Rankand-file workers are bitterly hostile to the idea.

# Right-wing pressmen routed over Act

CORRESPONDENT

the National Union of Journalists will not easily recover from the defeat inflicted on it at the weekend over the question of registration under the Industrial Relations Act.

Despite an unprecedented campaign by the Tory press to whip up anti - Trotskyist hysteria within the NUJ in recent weeks, and despite all the publicity given to the proregistration faction, the re-called conference of the union voted to deregister by 177 to

THE RIGHT WING in

More than that, the delegates to the special delegate meeting held in London at the weekend pushed the right wing even further back than had the annual delegate meeting at Tenby in April.

It was in opposition to the

Tenby ADM decision to deregister the NUJ, in spite of the result of a referendum on the matter, that the right wing organized a petition among the more backward branches to get the matter re-debated at an

But apart from reaffirming the Tenby decision, the SDM also passed a motion instructing the executive in future only to hold referenda when required by rule or when instructed to do so by a delegate meeting.

This takes away from the executive the right to hold a referendum on an issue when it suits them, which is what they did originally on the registration question, contrary to all the rules of the union.

General secretary Ken Morgan and the rest of the executive were eventually only saved from a censure motion (for having put the union in confusion because of the referendum stunt)

by a dubious declaration of the motion 'lost' by president Harold Pearson. Pearson refused a scrutineered count on the vote.

But the real issue was not so much the sowing of confusion as the complete absence of any leadership from the executive over the registration question.

Although the executive called on members to vote for deregistration 'out of loyalty to the TUC', they in fact issued the limpest of statements against registration and failed to call a single meeting to debate the

They calculated (correctly) that in the absence of any discussion, and under the full blast of press and TV propaganda against the union being outside the law, a middle-class majority could be found to vote for

But the active trade unionists in the NUJ have now twice reversed this betrayal by the

And in doing so they have reaffirmed the sovereignty of ADM on the union's affairs, as opposed to deciding things by referendum.

The next step for journalists to achieve by delegate democracy is a change of rules, to make the full-time officials of the union subject to regular, three-yearly re-election instead of being in for life, as they are at present.

With a growing catalogue of disasters to the executive's credit—from the wages issue to the Industrial Relations Act-it cannot be long before there is a general clear-out.

### strikers stay out for two guarantees

BY OUR OWN **REPORTERS** 

TWO HUNDRED and fifty workers voted yesterday morning to continue a strike at the Grove Hill works of Armstrong Patents Beverley, near Hull.

They stopped work on Thursday afternoon after Transport and General Workers' Union convenor Jean Jepson had been suspended by the management.

The previous day she had called a mass meeting at the factory which had agreed that no machinery must be moved out of the factory and the work was not to be speeded up.

After the meeting the manager called her into his office and said that she would be put off pay. She refused to go into management offices unless she was accompanied by a full-time union

After this another shop steward, John Sullivan, went with her to see the management and he was ordered off the premises.

When the workers heard this on Thursday they walked out. On Friday the shop stewards had a meeting with management, who agreed to lift the suspension but wouldn't give any guarantees about the moving of machinery or speeding up the work.

The workers say they will now stay out on strike until they get these guarantees.

## Benefits taken back

THE DEPARTMENT of Social Security has shocked and angered many London dockers by planning to deduct from their wages supplementary benefits paid during their recent strike.

Dockers with wives and children received the money to maintain their families, but at Nine Elms Cold Store, Vaux-

hall, London, Workers Press was shown a wage-deduction notice. It said anything the docker in question earned over £24.30 would be stopped until £4.25 was repaid.

'Some dockers have got £13 to pay back,' said Ted Hedges, a shop steward at the Store. 'None of us knew this was going to happen when we were paid the money. Every one is up in arms about it.'

Ted Hedges, a member of both the London Port shop stewards' committee and the national port shop stewards' committee said the Tories were deliberately trying to create ill-feeling over the Asian immigrants.

'What is happening is that our eyes are being taken off the question of dock unemployment.

#### BBC 1

9.45 Joe. 10.00 Robinson Crusoe. 10.25 Sounding out. 10.50-10.55

Magic roundabout. 12.00 Olympic
grandstand. 1.30 Trumpton. 1.45

News and weather. 1.55 Olympic grandstand. 5.45 News.

7.00 NATIONAL N E W S.

Weather.
TOM AND JERRY. The

Dog House.
FILM: 'CASANOVA'S BIG
NIGHT'. Bob Hope, Joan
Fontaine, Basil Rathbone.
A tailor's apprentice takes the place of the great lover

NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.

BILL PALFREY, COPPER. The ex-Chief Constable of Lancashire talks about his life.

T O D A Y AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES. Weight-10.00 lifting, boxing and fencing.

Weather.

#### BBC 2

Live coverage of Trades Union Congress to be announced. 11.00-11.25 Play school. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Scooby doo. 5.10 The story behind the story. 5.35 Magic roundabout. 5.40 Sounds of

6.40 BIRD'S EYE VIEW. From Bishop Rock to Muckle

Flugga. **NEWSROOM.** Weather 8.00 PICK OF 'REVIEW'.
Artists and their Art.

8.55 COLLECTOR'S WORLD.
9.25 OUT OF THE UNKNOWN.
The Chopper.

10.15 WHOOSH. An outline of

H. G. Wells.

11.05 NEWS ON 2. Weather.

11.10 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP INTERVIEW. E. R. Braithwaite.

11.00 Trades Union Congress. 12.25 Women today. 12.50 Craftsmen. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Felix the cat. 1.40 Flintstones. 2.05 Castle haven. 2.30 Danger man. 3.25 Let's face it. 3.55 Cartoon. 4.10 Yak. 4.25 Union showtime. 4.50

Magpie. 5.20 Olympics and news.
6.00 TODAY.
6.40 CROSSROADS.
7.05 QUEENIE'S CASTLE. The
Patter of Tiny Feet.
7.35 FILM: 'CROWHAVEN

FILM: 'CROWHAVEN FARM'. Hope Lange, Paul Burke. A childless\_couple inherit a New England farm when the owner dies

mysteriously.

ARMCHAIR THEATRE: 'A
TOUCH OF THE VICTORI-ANS'. June Brown. Peter

10.00 NEWS AND OLYMPICS AT FESTIVAL IN EDINBURGH.

Robin Ray.
CHILDREN TO CHILDREN. From Cheste University, Spain — A Cell of New Families.

12.20 ADDICTION.

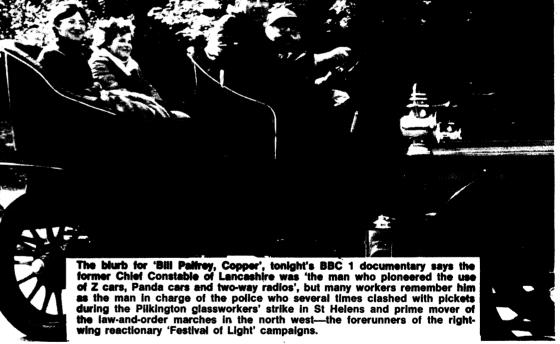
#### REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 4.05 Puffin. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.25 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.45 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Frenchie'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.45 Actualites et projections. 12.00 Gazette. 12.05 Weather.

WESTWARD As Channel except: 11.00-12.45 London. 2.15 TUC. 3.28 News. 3.30 Odd couple. 4.00 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 11.47 News. 11.50 Faith for life.

**SOUTHERN:** 11.00 London, 12.45

News. 12.50 Jobs in the house and garden. 1.15 Dick Van Dyke. 1.40 Farmhouse kitchen. 2.10 Bellbird. 3.30 TUC. 3.40 Houseparty. 4.00 Junior showtime. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Film: 'The Price of Fear'. 6.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 10.50 Fiddler on the road



Guideline.

HARLECH: 11.00-12.30 London. 2.15 TUC. 3.45 Let's face it. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Shirley's world. 7.10 Film: 'Tarzan and the She Devil'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.50 Collecting on a shoestring. 12.20 Weather. HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/ Wales as above except: 4.15-4.25 Miri Mawr. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 11.50 Sion a sian. 12.20 Weather. HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Report West.

ANGLIA: 11.00 London. 1.35 Remember. 2.00 Mr Piper. 2.25 Walsingham. 2.55 Houseparty. 3.10 Junkin. 3.40 News. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.25 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 McCloud. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.50 Jesse James.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-1.00 London. 2.15 TUC. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 7.00 Film: 'The

11.35 News. 12.10 Weather. Desperadoes'. 8.30 Queenie's 7.00 Film: 'Border River'. 8.30 9.00 London Stories worth telling. Weather.

> **ULSTER: 11.00-12.45 London. 2.15** TUC. 4.00 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Lidsville. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Lorna Doone'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.50 Shirley's world.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00-12.45 London. 1.40 Scotland Yard. 2.15 Bell-bird. 2.30 Survival. 3.00 Master 3.15 Hadleigh. Enchanted house. 4.25 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Belle Starr'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.50 Spyforce. 12.35 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 London. 12.30 Galloping gourmet. 12.55 Rainbow country. 1.20 Mel-o-toons. 1.25 Junkin. 1.55 Corwin. 2.50 Cartoon. 3.05 Danger man. 4.00 Chess masterpieces. 4.10 News. Enchanted house. 4.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Amazing world of Kreskin. 6.30 Dr Simon Locke. Queenie's castle, 9.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 11.00-12.45 London. 1.40 Scotland Yard. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Bath, a city preserved. 3.00 Master chefs. 3.15 Hadleigh. 4.09 News. 4.10 Raulus. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Guns of Fort Petticoat'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.50 News. 12.05 Epiloque.

SCOTTISH: 11.00-12.45 London. 2.30 TUC. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Yak. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Hogan's heroes. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Red Beret'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.50 Late call. 11.55 Alexander the greatest. the greatest.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00-12.45 London. 2.15 TUC. 3.10 News. 3.20 Yoga. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Yak. 4.25 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.10 Dick Van Dyke. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.55 Film: 'Take the High Ground'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London.

### Such a polite suspension

BY JOHN SPENCER

THE TUC voted overwhelmingly yesterday to suspend 32 unions which have registered under the Industrial Relations

The unions, with a combined membership of just under 500,000, will remain suspended until they come off the register. If they remain on they can expect to come up for expulsion next

Three card votes on individual appeals by unions against suspension showed clear majorities of between 5,935,000 and 7,436,000. Show-of-hand votes on the other six unions which took advantage of their right to appeal were also overwhelming.

The suspended unions remained in their seats until the end of the session, but were asked not to come back today.

Replying to the appeals, Victor Feather said that in the last analysis the decision was one of principle, and not so much one of detail.

'Don't let us forget that when the rope has been stretched far enough the majority has the right to decide', he told delegates.

Delegates of the Confederation of Health Service Employees Ltd earlier walked out to a slow handclap after general secretary Frank Lynch had mounted the rostrum to announce. I am here to tell you this is not an appeal. I will not take part in this tra-

The arrogance of the right was best expressed, however by Bill Hogarth of the National Union of Seamen, who said: 'We consider we are a special industry needing special treatment'.

The seamen had been exempt from various Acts in the past and the Tories had given them special permission for a closed shop under the Industrial Relations Act. For this reason his conference had voted to register.

Hogarth attacked 'the sort of unity that grows out of the barrel of a gun' and he asked 'are you judging this case on the dictates of our problems or on those of shallow fundamentalism?

Tolerance, 'as traditional as Auld Lang Syne', was in danger of being choked, he said.

Bank employees' leader Leif Mills pointed out that his union had supported the Industrial Relations Bill in 1971 and the Act at its conference this year.

'Who is to dictate union policy?' he asked. 'Is it to be the members of the individual unions who may happen to be in the majority at a particular time?'

Gerald Croasdell, of Actors' Equity, appealed on the grounds that Equity was 'defending its very existence by registering and seeking a closed shop under the

He hoped the TUC would prove 'big enough' to allow Equity to continue in membership, despite its registration.

Many of the unions on the ruc's list made no attempt to defend themselves.

### Cold Store pickets claim

# Union knew of dock job cuts

BY PHILIP WADE

MIDLAND Cold Store pickets-knowing that up to 1,000 London dockers face immediate redundancy through closures - yesterday denounced their union secretary Jack Jones for his collaboration with Lord Aldington. Since the Jones-Aldington report, and in the confusion following the returning to work by dockers, the employers have moved fast.

It seems almost certain that New Zealand meat producers and shippers will be pulling out of the Port of London in the near future. Later this month the New Zealand Meat Producers' Board is sending ships to a not yet completed berth at Sheerness. First there was due to be the 'Southland Star' next week, but the start of the new arrangements had been delayed by the builders' strike.

When they do start, however, the arrangements will raise serious questions about the jobs of the 750 London dockers employed by Thames Stevedoring (1965) Ltd, mainly on the New Zealand meat trade.

Both the 'Southland Star' and Thames Stevedoring are owned by Lord Vestey, whose Midland Cold Storage company initiated the legal moves which jailed the Pentonville Five.

Thomas Borthwick's Deptford wharf—which also handles meat—is to close by the end of the year with the loss of 153 jobs.

Another Vestey concern, Nelson's wharf, is also to close by 1973, putting off another 50 dockers. Vestey said Jones and Aldington had been told about the shut-down

Pickets at Midland yesterday told me they had also heard that Chambers wharf, part of the giant Hay's Wharf group, was also going to close.

'About all I've got to look forward to is going on the labour exchange,' said a Royal group docker. 'But the men still don't want to know about it. They must wake up before it's too late.

'Where are all these men going to be employed?' he asked.

'None of these wharves can afford to take me on. And there are no jobs for us outside the docks the way things are.

'We went back to work for nothing. Give it four years and these docks won't exist as we know them today.'

pickets were dockers Two from the doomed Borthwick wharf. One told me: 'The direc-tors told the National Dock Labour Board about their plans as far back as early June. Yet we've only just heard about it.'

Borthwick men yesterday held a mass meeting and instructed stewards to find out the actual date set down for closure.

Borthwick dockers were also informed at their meeting that an official Transport and General an official Transport and General Workers' Union circular was out asking for the picketing of cold stores and other places to be called off.



Dockers picketing the **Midland** Cold Store yesterday.

'This is a repetition of Devlin,' said one of the Borthwick men. 'No,' said the other, correcting him. 'It's worse than that. Our union leaders have allowed this trouble to develop since Devlin Phase I. They knew all this was going to happen and should have jumped on the Vesteys then.'

Last Tuesday 1,350 of the 1,623 dockers on the national temporary unattached register were Londoners.

Although no clear picture can yet be obtained of the effect of the Jones-Aldington terms, the London Dock Labour Board is in receipt of 650 applications for voluntary severance from the

#### 83989888312401188818789893111887922888118898189888117481768881174 SEPTEMBER **FUND STARTS**

WITH £21.25

WE MUST try and maintain a good record every day this month. We start so far with £21.25. Don't leave it to the end of September, let's immediately begin to push ahead.

The TUC conference at Brighton this week poses no direct challenge to the Tories on the Industrial Relations Act. The decision to suspend those unions who register remains just a fake fight. The real issue is to mobilize all the unions to force this government to resign.

Workers Press must be used build an alternative for workers everywhere. Our monthly appeal Fund is therefore decisive for this fight. So wherever you can, either at work or amongst other supporters—take a collection for our September Fund.

Let's set our sights on a record month for September. Last month you raised the magnificent sum of £2,160. Can we try and beat it? Post all donations to:

> **Workers Press** September Appeal Fund 186a Clapham High Street London SW4 7UG.

### Briefly ...

BURNLEY, Lancashire, CAV workers, on strike for 11 weeks over a parity claim, are to receive a £5 donation from the joint shop stewards' committee at CAV, Acton, west London, following the chairman's rejection of an amendment calling for a £20 donation and a factory col-

# **Sheffield** builders clamour for action

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

A MASS meeting of over 300 building workers in Sheffield yesterday voted overwhelmingly for the union leaders to call an all-out national strike and for them to cut off all building suppliers.

The meeting also demanded that the refractory workers—those that line blast furnaces with bricks—also be called out on strike for the £30, 35-hour week claim.

Once more the decisions were taken in the face of hostility from the platform.

'I'm not against a national strike and I'm not for it either,' said Sheffield UCATT official Hylton Steward, trying to please everyone all the time. But he revealed his true position when he added: 'If a national strike was called only 50 per cent

would come out and we would look stupid.'

But the vast majority of those present completely disagreed with him and went on to pass

As the dispute entered its 11th week yesterday — with about 290,000 out on strike—a picket was arrested by police at the Trollope and Colls site in Devon-

shire Place, London.

The majority of the 100 workers employed by sub-contractors had refused to cross the four-man picket line. But a few did and when a picket—the convenor of Camden council workers—tried to persuade them not to, the police arrested him for obstruction and insulting behaviour He was due to proper behaviour. He was due to appear before the magistrates yesterday.

A site at White Lund, between Lancaster and Morecambe, has been stopped thanks to solidarity

been stopped thanks to solidarity by factory workers with the building strike.

The site, a new building for plastics firm Storey Bros, had been visited by pickets but work was continuing.

A meeting of Transport and General Workers' members employed by Storey's in the nearby factory and warehouse declared that they would black the new building unless scab labour was withdrawn.

One of the workers told Workers Press that the site had now stopped.

now stopped.

Elsewhere in the area pickets report a big response to the strike. Amongst the big sites which have been stopped in Lancaster are the Greyhound Bridge, the University extension and the Marsh days lower tite. and the Marsh development site.

In Morecambe, the Heysham power station strikers, who were the first out in the area, have been joined by workers from the college of education and Balmoral Road school sites and a

number of others.

The strike has also stopped work on bridge reconstruction for British Rail.

#### WEATHER

A DRY but rather cloudy day is Sunny spells are likely, especially in southern Scotland and in southern and western England and also Wales. Temperatures will be near or a little below the normal for early September.

Outlook for Wednesday and

Thursday: Rather cool, with rain at times. Dry and rather warm in the south at first.

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# 'Mobilize fight against Rent Act'

LAMBETH Council of Action vesterday called for a series of public meetings held in conjunction with tenants' associations to mobilize the fight against the Tories and their so-called 'fair rents' Act.

The 100-strong meeting overwhelmingly passed a resolution which will be circulated to all local trade union branches and trades councils demanding mobilization of the working class to force the Tories to resign.

The meeting passed a second resolution calling for the Workers Press, the 'Morning Star' and all other labour newspapers to be other labour newspapers to be granted special dispensation to publish at times when trade unionists stop work as in the case of the imprisonment of the five dockers.

Speakers stressed the urgency of bringing all issues affecting workers together in a single BY OUR OWN

programme aimed at replacing the Tories with a Labour gov-ernment which they said must be forced to carry out socialist policies.

A suggestion from Labour Party Young Socialists that a rent strike should be organized in Lambeth to help tenants face the immediate prospect of heavy increases was given no support.

Sarah Hannigan from Clapham Young Socialists said that she had seen the outcome of rent strikes in Ulster.

She said: 'The Tory government is not going to let people get away with not paying rent. They already have their plans in Northern Ireland for getting the money back through Social Security or any other payments they can get their hands on.

'What do you do when you've created adventures and suffering,' she asked, adding: 'The lesson of Northern Ireland is the lesson of defeat.'

From Clapham branch of the Socialist Labour League, Mike Banda warned that the trade union bureaucrats and the leaders of the Labour Party were not going to fight the Tories but he said individual fights on a whole series of issues could only lead

to defeats and demoralization. He said: 'We want a clear programme on which the working class can be rallied.'

Referring to the plea for rent strikes he added: 'The most important thing is not the action but the preparation for action and that means agitation and propaganda.'

His admendment to the main resolution calling on leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party to expel all racialists was carried unanimously.