THE TORY PROPAGANDA MACHINE is going full blast in an attempt to whip up hostility towards the unions and turn attention away from the people really responsible for the mess on our standards of living. Prime Minister Heath spelt it out to the Scots Tories last weekend when he said the government must stand up to any section of the community that behaves contrary to the 'interests of the nation as a whole'.

Ministers like Tony Barber and Maurice Macmillan have repeatedly declared that the government is faced by a small minority determined to hold the country to ransom. A favourite Tory theme of recent weeks has been that the unions, in attempting to win improved wages and conditions, are 'modern highwaymen' holding 'the public' at pistol point.

THE RAILMEN: BIG 'YES' VOTE NEEDED

'Tory's' illegal machine has moved into action again over the railmen's fight for a living wage. Ballot papers are now going to all British Rail's workers in the three unions. The single question on the paper is: 'In the light of British Rail's pay offer (or which you have been informed) do you wish to take part in future industrial action?' The papers will have two squares marked 'Yes' and 'No'. The paper will be accompanied by British Rail propaganda putting their side of the pay dispute.

Socialist Worker, which fully supports the railmen's struggle, hopes that there will be a resounding 'Yes' vote to continue the battle against the Tories and their law.

Dockers' leader defies the law...

'Tid' rather go to jail than appear before the NIRC'

This is Walter Cunningham, a fork-lift driver at Hull docks and chairman of the port's shop stewards committee. He refused to appear before the National Industrial Relations Court when it granted an injunction to a firm called Panamica whose containers are being blocked by Hull dockers.

Mr Cunningham declared on Tuesday that he would still refuse to go to the NIRC even if served with an official court order. He said he was prepared to risk going to jail. While the TUC leaders run for cover rather than fight the Industrial Relations Act and Mr Cunningham's own union has appeared before the NIRC and told its dockers members to stop blacking containers, the rank and file puts up the only principled opposition to the Tories. The stand of the Hull and Liverpool dockers must be backed by the industrial strength of the entire labour movement. Walter Cunningham and his brothers are fighting for our rights. We must use our power to make sure that the NIRC cannot impose fines or sentences on them.

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S W Political Reporter

was in the former chairman of Central and District Properties. On 27 January da Cunno bought 90,000 shares in Central and District at 12½p each. He sold 65,000 of those shares in May 1972 for between 200p and 215p, netting £20,000 on the deal. In June he sold 25,000 of da Cunno's shares held in the result of shares of a possible takeover. He was a director of a bank in the City called Keyser-Ullman. The chairman of the firm is C. L. Edward da Cunno.

Take Mr John Davies, the Trade and Industry Minister. Kicked out as Director General of the Confederation of British Industry in 1969, he was snapped up by merchant bankers Hill Samuel.

Add an on to that 22 million the number of children, old people and housewives—who to the Tory mind don't constitute workers—and the vast, harmless 'general public' that Heath and company claim to represent dwindles somewhat.

And at the top is a handful, the rich and powerful, the 8 per cent of the population who own 60 per cent of the wealth, that the Tories are in power to support. The whole aim of government policy—anti-union laws, a wages ceiling of 7 per cent, unemployment, wage cuts, farm and welfare changes—is to increase that already monstrous amount of wealth going into the pockets of the rich.

Here are the real highwaymen, the tiny minority who live off the wealth we create, while 10 million working people live in real poverty.

But let's take Mr Heath at his word. Let's assume he is concerned about minority groups using their monopoly power to increase their share of the wealth at the public's expense.

Here are the one history of a few modern highwaymen that our Nottisfield prime minister may wish to deal with.

Mr Lord Carrington, the Minister of Defence and owner of 200 acres of land in Buckinghamshite. The noble Tory has not been seen to act on the fantastic market in land prices. He is developing 100 acres to make way for a motel and 100 houses and expects to make a cool £50m profit on the deal.

Take Mr Edward da Cunno, ex-chairman of the Tory Party and MP for Taunton. He
The attacks of Zion
By Ted Crawford

ONE of the leaders of the Israeli Black Panthers, Kokhavi Shemesh, recently addressed an audience of young people on a collective farm just south of the Sea of Galilee.

"I am here to express a very simple message," he began. "We have a responsibility to fight for our rights." Shemesh went on to explain that the Panthers were a group of young people who were reclaiming the land from the Zionist regime.

The Israeli government had been trying to silence the Panthers, Shemesh said, by using a combination of violence and propaganda. But the Panthers were determined to continue their struggle.

Shemesh ended by declaring that the Panthers would continue to fight for their rights, no matter what the cost. "We will not be silenced," he said. "And we will not be defeated."
This chap’s come from the union to withdraw your credentials!

The contempt of the Daily Telegraph

CONTEMPT comes in two forms. The first is when a trade union ignores a court decision and is fined £56,000 for it. The second is when the Daily Telegraph argues the government’s case while it is still before the court and gets away with it.

While the National Industrial Relations Court last week was still hearing pleas before reaching its decision to force railways to work overtime, the Telegraph was arguing in an editorial that the court should order a ballot to ‘help build up some case law, based on precedent, for the efficient working’ of the Industrial Relations Act.

Well, I certainly cannot accuse the Telegraph of wrapping it up. They meant what they said. The railway, regardless of the merits of their case, should be used as legal guinea pigs.

Target

Naturally, the Telegraph is on the side of the commuters and it does not like to see them having to stand on their own feet waiting for trains that do not arrive.

It brings out the instinctive fury the Telegraph reserves for unions. The fact that the target of their editorial blast was a group of workers whose wages many commuters would disdain as expenses did not embarrass the Telegraph in the slightest.

The following day the Telegraph weighed in with another anti-union leader. Its theme was that the law is the law and must be rigidly obeyed—particularly by shop stewards.

The Telegraph did not seem to find the logic of this argument at odds with its complaints against the railway’s rigid adherence to British Rail’s laws.

In the Mirror there was a laugh a line from Woodrow Wyatt—if you like sick jokes. Since the railways board is planning to axe 10,000 jobs in the coming year:

The contempt of the Daily Telegraph

ANGER and consternation among the social democrats of Tottenham when the local paper published in good faith the following advertisement: ‘Bruce Grove Labour Party present their GRAND SELL OUT FAIR, lots and lots of goodies for sale—furniture, clothes, books, records and principles, etc. Admission 2p at Tottenham Town Hall, Bruce Grove.’

Distressed Labour hacks bombarded the luckless paper with complaints, but couldn’t stop a large number of people turning up at the Trades Hall on the appointed day. Seems there’s quite a market in discredited reformist principles these days.

IMPARTIALITY of the law: A man was crushed to death after a firm had twice been warned that a conveyer belt was dangerous. Wolverhampton’s magistrates were told. The firm, tyre makers Goodyear, were prosecuted last year for not having machinery, including a conveyer belt, severely buttressed. In spite of this a man was dragged into the conveyer and crushed to death. The firm pleaded guilty and was fined £100.

Bosses defy the law and cause a death. £100, TGWU members defend their jobs £35,000.

This disgusting animal habits of greedy, grasping proles is often contrasted by the press with the high business ethics of the employing class. The bosses of the southern region of the British Oxygen Company seem to be letting the side down.

Wronged by the intrusion of the Calor Gas firm into the cylinder gas market, BOC bosses have issued a news sheet to all employees asking for their snipping help in dealing with the beastly Calor cutters. Employees from all departments are asked to keep a look out for Calor salesmen and to note down on a specially provided ‘Calor Activity Card’ full details of their customers.

The reward for all this painstaking homesteading by the workers? More money, bonuses, promotion? Not quite. To encourage a gong what you see and what you hear, vouchers for books of Green Shield stamps will be awarded.’

While the workers are about it, they should find out if Calor pays better wages than BOC and change employers. Or would BOC consider that an unfair industrial practice?

NIRC—rubber stamp for Tories

THE LAWYER representing the railway white-collar workers claimed at the hearing of the National Industrial Relations Court that the NIRC has acted ‘to all intents and purposes as a rubber stamp for the executive’. In other words it has acted as a tool of the government.

Of course it has. What else could be expected? The government drew up the law. The government appointed the judge and pays his wages. It is unlikely, to put it mildly, that Heath would have thought himself bound to hand the NIRC without asking sure that the man could be relied upon in a crunch.

It is no use at all to complain, as the TSSA lawyer did, that the order for a ballot of the workers was ‘unlawful and unjust’. What is lawful is what the judges say is lawful and the Court of Appeal can be relied upon to endorse the order of the NIRC—order of the government, that is.

Some right-wing nincponmo in the House have been arguing that it is necessary to go to the court in the hope of building the chain. This is the way to win. The only way. It, as near as certain, fines are imposed, they should not be paid. If any attempt is made either to seize property or to imprison one or more strikers, industrial action is the answer. Every dock worker should stand and the whole movement must give massive financial support.

The case of the railwaymen has proved to the hilt what we write about the trade union. To waste a court order in order to get the law on your side and the TGWU instruction to the same effect. Their chairman, Walter Cunningham, is refusing to appear before Judge Donaldson. This is the way to win. The only way. It, as near as certain, fines are imposed, they should not be paid. If any attempt is made either to seize property or to imprison one or more strikers, industrial action is the answer. Every dock worker should stand and the whole movement must give massive financial support.

We go to see that the rail workers were right to refuse to get failures and the TGWU instruction to the same effect. Their chairman, Walter Cunningham, is refusing to appear before Judge Donaldson.

The unions’ claim is not mentioned in it. The employers’ order is. Then again, who operates the ballot? The employer—British Rail—operates it. BR can’t spend it or slow it down as it sees fit. It has ample scope for delaying tactics if it thinks they will help to dislodge the unions.

Only way to win

This week another vital case is heard, the complaint that Panelpina Transport is still being blacked in the Hull docks. Here the shop stewards have correctly and courageously presented their case to the court orders. To refuse to accept the TGWU instruction to the same effect. Their chairman, Walter Cunningham, is refusing to appear before Judge Donaldson.

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More at stake

With the official leaderships if possible, without them if need be, the fight against the law must go on. This is not a struggle that can be avoided. It is a bread and butter question, a question of jobs and redundancy, a question of wages, a question of working conditions.

There is even more at stake. Three hundred odd years ago, the capitalist class in this country were faced with a hostile outburst of workers who were demonstrating against unemployment. That government, the government of Charles the First, sought to impose new and onerous laws that were against the vital interests of the workers and the of course the right to demand that Jones and the other ‘left leaders’ show the same determination in the interests of our class.

Our class faces the same challenge. To defeat the law is to defeat the Tories and open up the way for the defeat of the whole system of private profit-seeking and exploitation.

SOCIALIST WORKER 20 May 1972 3
Pit prop profiteers mine fortune with numbers game

Two of the major mining equipment manufacturers who supply the National Coal Board are involved in a sophisticated 'numbers game' to boost the pound in millions of pounds a year in stock it writes off and replaces with 'new' stock at higher prices.

And the NCB has no procedures for dealing with the situation and has no idea what it is doing. "We just go along with the practices out. They are the main conclusions of a confidential report now circulating in the NCB head office. Prepared by members of the Board's Operational Research Executive on their fourth attempt to get some action.

The way the system works is detailed as follows in the report. Manufacturers contract to supply powered supports—walking pit props—and to supply parts which the NCB holds in stock. The part units are identified by the manufacturers' serial number, which is in turn coded into the NCB.

But the manufacturers constantly make slight and often unnoticeable changes in the parts which the NCB holds in stock. So when a part unit is replaced, the new one is not the same as the old one, number is changed.

This leads to the incredible situation where the Board renders stock part numbers and 1971 in 'new' stock for no other reason than that the manufacturers have components different from the serial number, which the manufacturers themselves have coded into the old one.

The extent of the operation is reflected in years 1966-1969, alone one firm, Gillick, 'ceased to use' 8477 part numbers which it indicated that it was using.

These were replaced with new components.

Only the manufacturer knows how many of these modifications are made. The Board does not keep records of these.

Gillick has also been allowed to invoice the Board for what are called 'unnecessary additions to the support'. These are additions which a phase IV valve gear has been modified to a systems systems, which the NCB does not make use of. The report estimates that this quire modifications could have cost the Board £1 million a year.

In 1969 Dowty took over a small mining machinery concern in Bondy Engineering for £1.4 million cash and a payment every year for five years based on Dowty's UK sales. At the time of the agreement, it was considered unlikely that the payments would exceed £150,000 in total over five years.

In 1970 Dowty paid over to Bondy the annual payment. It totalled £410,000.

A major shareholder is Lord Robens' son, Alfred, with his wife, to the main shareholders, with good insurance, the 'numbers game' is extremely profitable.

Pit prop profiteers mine fortune with numbers game

Three weeks after the Board's Operational Research Executive's report, we tried to get some action. We had the same troubles in the twenties and we fought then, just as you are trying to fight today—but we fought them then through hunger.

RIGHT POLITICS Rule out atrocity

OF COURSE the International Socialists should criticise the IRA at a political meeting in a political context. This is the only relevant criticism from a political point of view.

Right-wing politicians attempt to mislead and demoralise the working class and the left in order to bankrupt them. Right-wing politicians who try to build up the demonstrations and the political organisations are always supported by the imperialists.

It is important that we should not appeal, even to ourselves, to the political and humanistic considerations. Right-wing politicians argue that a man, who, on the way to a great deed, robs and murders, is a good politician.

It is, or should be logically impossible to discuss the atrocities committed by anyone with a correct political aim.

The IRA does not blind us to its lapses and mistakes, but these lapses are always rectified in political mistakes and it is in this sense that we should argue.

DUNCAN MACPHERSON, Twickenham, Middx.

Insurance

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ARThUR MALONE

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Ireland

JOHN PALMER on how, despite a political lull of independence, political unrest is still very much the British government on the Irish.

PAUL BORRIDGE analysis of the facts of the Ballymurphy arbitration in Northern Ireland.

BRIAN DUNCHER on the "two nations" argument and what it does not keep the Protestants to the Labour Party.

New workers on the Unions.

EMANUEL MADDEN on why the movement has always been the Six.

Hamshede has no success with his United workers movements.

Right politics rule out atrocity

DUNCAN EALLAS in his centre pages article 'The right to strike' points to the very brief reference to the Communist Party in its ruling document. This is the only relevant criticism from a political point of view.

Unfortunately, we do not see any reference to the Communist Party in its ruling document. This is the only relevant criticism from a political point of view.

We are not blind to our lapses and mistakes, but these lapses are always rectified in political mistakes and it is in this sense that we should argue.

DUNCAN MACPHERSON, Twickenham, Middx.

WRONG FIGURES

DUNCAN EALLAS in his centre pages article 'The right to strike' points to the very brief reference to the Communist Party in its ruling document. This is the only relevant criticism from a political point of view. As his proof of the failure of this policy he claims that "membership of the official labour movement sank from 11,120,000 in 1930 to under 3,000,000 in 1939."

This is not an attempt to defend the Party. The Party has made numerous mistakes which cannot be dealt with in this black non-dramatic review. It is to have a long way to go before it can give a serious analysis of a very complex period in history.

I would have no objection to the Party and the Communist Party as an integral and consistent people. If, when I came to write about the Party, to have a Party to write about. To the Party, if I want to give a serious analysis of a very complex period in history, I would have no objection to the Party and the Communist Party as an integral and consistent people. This is not an attempt to defend the Party. The Party has made numerous mistakes which cannot be dealt with in this black non-dramatic review. It is to have a long way to go before it can give a serious analysis of a very complex period in history. I would have no objection to the Party and the Communist Party as an integral and consistent people. If, when I came to write about the Party, to have a Party to write about. To the Party, if I want to give a serious analysis of a very complex period in history, I would have no objection to the Party and the Communist Party as an integral and consistent people. This is not an attempt to defend the Party. The Party has made numerous mistakes which cannot be dealt with in this black non-dramatic review. It is to have a long way to go before it can give a serious analysis of a very complex period in history. I would have no objection to the Party and the Communist Party as an integral and consistent people. If, when I came to write about the Party, to have a Party to write about. To the Party, if I want to give a serious analysis of a very complex period in history, I would have no objection to the Party and the Communist Party as an integral and consistent people. This is not an attempt to defend the Party. The Party has made numerous mistakes which cannot be dealt with in this black non-dramatic review. It is to have a long way to go before it can give a serious analysis of a very complex period in history. I would have no objection to the Party and the Communist Party as an integral and consistent people. If, when I came to write about the Party, to have a Party to write about. To the Party, if I want to give a serious analysis of a very complex period in history, I would have no objection to the Party and the Communist Party as an integral and consistent people. This is not an attempt to defend the Party. The Party has made numerous mistakes which cannot be dealt with in this black non-dramatic review. It is to have a long way to go before it can give a serious analysis of a very complex period in history. I would have no objection to the Party and the Communist Party as an integral and consistent people. If, when I came to write about the Party, to have a Party to write about. To the Party, if I want to give a serious analysis of a very complex period in history, I would have no objection to the Party and the Communist Party as an integral and consistent people. This is not an attempt to defend the Party. The Party has made numerous mistakes which cannot be dealt with in this black non-dramatic review. It is to have a long way to go before it can give a serious analysis of a very complex period in history. I would have no objection to the Party and the Communist Party as an integral and consistent people.
Close-up on the man who poses as the people's friend

Terry Ward

Enough to make old Owen turn in his grave

IT USED to be said that there were three wings of the Labour movement—the Labour Party, the trade unions and the co-operative movement. Many working people think that by the word "co-operative" in them there is something morally to do with their class interests. After all, the movement still officially pays lip-service to the ideals and principles of its founder, Robert Owen.

But Owen started painting a different picture. One of the biggest co-operative bodies in Britain is the Co-operative Insurance Society with assets of more than £564 million and a premium income of £94 million in 1970.

Massive

Labour relations in the society have never been so bad. In the past year there have been more than 2000 cases of major industrial action. A recent report of the BMA/MSF/Cryne committee, in a report on the betterment of medical practice in the United Kingdom, observed that the number of doctors on strike had increased threefold since 1980.

Millionaire

The dispute occurred shortly after the inauguration of the Society's premiums' collectors who had lasted more than two months.

In recent years, the CIS has invested a sizeable proportion of its assets in large-scale property development. The company, which has a controlling interest in one of the shares in Oldham Estates, one of the largest property-speculating millionaires' empty office blocks, Centre Point, insures thousands of homeless families in London. Far from being embarrassed by its holdings, CIS has increased its stake since the building firm George Wimpey pulled out from Oldham Estates.

Perils

The CIS appears to be run like any other capitalist insurance company, uninterested in housing shortages or low wages. It is interested solely in generating premiums and selling policies to people anxious about the loss of the famer's or the pensioner's breadwinner or the monetary perils of retirement in the welfare state.

Socialist Worker 20 May 1972
DOCKLANDS’ BATTLE

IT’S a disturbing experience to pick your way through London’s docklands with their derelict dock buildings and docks with contracts within the London docks. The firms which have picked them up will not be concerned in increasing their labour force. The transfer of work from port to port has long been a favourite tactic of the employers. Recession—-with the massive development of containerisation—has been used ever more often. Now the companies are concentrating their energies on ports outside the dock labour scheme at Dover, Felixstowe and Sheerness for example.

They have also gone inland, building massive new cold storage facilities under the innocuous names of subsidiary companies.

Property

They learned all their tactics from an outfit called Hays Wharf.

Just four years ago Hays was the biggest single employer of dock labour in London with 1,900 men. From the 1970s onwards one of its directors, David Barnett, used the dock scheme to build up a massive property holding on the south bank of the Thames in London. The time would come when wharfing activity would be transferred out of London and the property redeveloped with spectacular profits.

Later, as chairman of Hays, Sir David Barnett would be responsible for finding the locations for new, expanded depots out of the dockworkers and money control over their work. He was paid for that. It looked like the London government and the implementation of the Docklands to make the time just right.

Bill Tonge, another Hays director, spent two years selling the Docklands productivity deal to the dockers. Dockers would have job security for the next five years, a bonus of £500 a ton, a 10 percent increase in pay, and after that, a 15 percent increase. Tonge, who told them he was selling them a deal, said loud and often.

Within a year of getting the Docklands phase one accepted, Hays Wharf closed down the dockers’ land and milk and honey forever, selling the new unattached pool.

While negotiating, Hays and all the other employers had grounds that no man would be unattached for more than 14 days. By last year 14 percent of all Britain’s dockers were unattached, almost 30,000 men. In 1969 the 35 acres of land Hays was going to buy in London was valued in the company’s accounts at £14.6 million. Now, three years later, the Hays Wharf accounts record only a 50 percent write-off of its original costs from its interests in the Tookey Storage Trust.

That’s a $100 million scheme is made up of a warehouse at Kings Cross, a home, office blocks, flats for city priests, as well as an expansion of the dockers’ land and honey under its ports. The various parties in the deal will have earned a total of £11 million ($16 million in local and $18 million in construction costs and interest charges). For this immense contribution to the welfare of the human race they will get a profit of £160 million per year.

The danger, the dirt, the cold, the wet they earn every penny

The news was a let-down of the scramble on the scrapheap of unemployed dockers he has been used to create.

Forget the fairy tales the CECG and trade union leaders have told you about the efficiency of the electricity supply industry and the supposed productivity drives which mean the facts the boss is paying you—-in a useful handbook in the factory—wages and working conditions and to save jobs. 25p more post.

PLUTO PRESS
6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 BN3
In the HEADY DAYS of 1966, Jack Jones persuaded the Labour Party executive to include a pledge to nationalise the docks in Labour's election manifesto. 'Don't let there be any illusion... this is complete nationalisation at a massive rate', Ian Mikardo, chairman of Labour's port study group, announced enthusiastically in March of that year.

But the Labour government had set up the Devlin Committee of Inquiry into the dockers' pay claim shortly after the 1964 election victory. The Devlin inquiry was to blossom into a scheme to nationalise the docks from top to bottom. Backed by the licensing system introduced in the 1966 Docks and Harbours Act, the emergence of giant new monopolies would be encouraged and financed by the government with a whole flotilla of investment grants.

So too was the financing of new ports outside the control of the National Dock Labour Board scheme, a attitude grants for docks. Productivity deals would pave the way to flexibility and mobility of labour, the reduction of manning levels and that most desirable of all goals for big business: higher profits through wage and employment cuts.

To get to grips with the dockers, an offer to eliminate some of the major injustices of their working lives would have to be made. Employment security, pensions, sick pay and half-decent amenities would be phased in. Decentralisation was the key.

Top level co-operation from the trade union movement was achieved by Labour's honest pledges to nationalise the industry backed up by the union leaders' own inability to tackle the whole question of technological progress for fear of what it meant.

Soon Labour was claiming that before the ports could be nationalised, they should first be rationalised, a fine piece of card playing.

In September 1967 phase one of Devlin's 'joint and bites' scheme was brought in. For the first time in three generations of dockers' lives, there was a real measure of job security, plus sick pay, other welfare amenities.

Stewards

But on dockside, people started to learn the lessons, and be driven into a situation where they had to fight for their very survival. Job insecurity, which Devlin was supposed to end, became more intense than ever before.

In Liverpool they learned from London and Hull's experiences—no unrest and no recognition of severance payments. Slowly a national shop stewards' leadership began to re-form, hammering out how to deal with the issues of national level in the face of official union co-operation with the destruction of their industry.

But within the present structure and policies of the TGWU it would not be long before the attempt was made to head off the jobs fight by throwing other issues into the background. That came after the briefing in the National Industrial Relations Court, when dockland's fight for survival became a question of 'unfair industrial practices' and compliance with someone else's law.

Now as Jack Jones talks with Employment Minister Macmillan about higher severs payments being pulled up by a nominal levy on containers, there might be compromise—for a time.

The dockers could deal this government a blow as significant as the miners. But short of a clear victory on jobs and containers, the basic issue will be still be there—whose progress, at whose expense?
With the unions fighting for their lives, a new series looks at the movement’s beginnings

I envy you your work in the Dock Strike. It is the movement of the greatest promise we have had for years, and I am proud and glad to have lived to see it. If Marx had lived to witness this! If these poor downtrodden men, the drags of the proletariat, these odds and ends of all trades, fighting every morning at the dock gates for an engagement, if they can combine, and terrify by their revolt the mighty Dock Commissioners, why then we need not despair of any section of the working class... If the dockers get organised, all other sections will follow... It is a glorious movement and again I envy those that can share in this work.

So wrote Frederick Engels, Marx’s life-long collaborator, to Marx’s daughter at the height of the London Dock Strike of 1889. To socialists of the time, the strike was recognised as an important event—the symbolic beginning of a new movement among the working class—and it remains one of the most famous struggles of organised labour in Britain.

Trade unionism in the 1880s had made many socialists despair. Union membership totalled only three-quarters of a million or about one worker in twenty. The movement was dominated by the moneyed or skilled craftsmen. By rigid controls over entry to their trades these were able to maintain relatively favourable wages and conditions. But dockers and other lower-skilled workers, members of the working class, continued to work under the tyranny of capital. Their unions were weak and unorganised.

Their industrial policy was to a large extent based on collaboration with employers. This attitude was summed up in a bootmakers’ song of 1872:

Capital and labour seem
By our Maker joined;
Are they not like giant twins
In the World of man?
...So let just meet
Labour shall co-operate,
And to help with all their might
Masters to compete.

This attitude carried with it a position of extreme political complacency: not only were the established unions committed to working within the framework of capitalism, they took no interest in demands for reforms which might improve the general position of the working class within the capitalist system.

In terms of policy, the TUC throughout the 1880s was a moribund organisation. Weak and indecisive, it was in 1885: "The great trade unions... form an aristocracy among the working class; they have succeeded in enforcing for themselves a relatively comfortable position, and they get it to the end... They are very nice people nowadays to deal with, for any sensible capitalist in particular and for the whole capitalist class in general."

Yet there were some signs of change. The late 1870s and the 1880s were the years of the ‘Great Depression’, with unemployment over 10 per cent for much of the time.

In the worst affected section of the working class, demands for a short-time payment were made. These were particularly strong in the London docks, and they led to the formation of the Social Democratic Federation, the first explicitly socialist organisation in Britain for decades. The Fédération démocratique socialiste (Social Democratic Federation) was formed in 1881 and in 1884, with the成立了 the Independent Labour Party. The movement was gaining strength, and the working class of the docks was ready for action.

Demands developed for less exclusive policies and for action to advance the interests of the whole class. The suspicion grew that capitalism could not as secure a source of benefits for trade unions as was previously the case.

The attitude was encouraged by the formation in the 1880s of the Workingmen’s Christian Union, which attempted to overcome the domination of the trade unions and to make the church a place where socialists could meet.

Particular attention was paid to the unemployed. Massive demonstrations took place, several being met by police violence.

The most spectacular was in the Dock Strike of 1889. The strike was called for the improvement of wages and conditions for dockers, who had been working under the tyranny of capital. The strike lasted seven days and was successful.

The strike led to the formation of the Dockers’ Union in 1890 and to the establishment of the Independent Labour Party in 1893. The movement was gaining strength, and the working class of the docks was ready for action.
VIEWERS of The Lotus Eaters, the BBC's latest venture into unseamly, Sunday night entertainment, might imagine television might find the series rather lacking in substance, given the nature of the meat of trade union opposition by workers in the film industry. Throughout, the BBC showed an arrogant contempt for the union's principles of fair and a culture disregard for the terrible human suffering of trade unionists in Greece itself.

This is what happened: In 1969, after making the film in Greece, the filmmakers went on an extended tour of Greece to show the film and to discuss the film with union officials. The tour resulted in some 2500 people being arrested, 188 people being beaten up, and one major film was abandoned.

The film was shown in Greece, American films which often use British crews when filming in Europe also changed their location. It was a particular success in Greece as the shooting of the film was a powerful blow to the regime because location filming before had been anachronistic and trade union.

ACTT knew they were having an effect because in due course an emergency national agreement was reached to explain that the regime had set up new unions. They are now on film asking for the blacked instruction.

CHANGED

Then in 1971 ACTT heard from one of its members in Greece that a new series of film crews were being approached by the BBC that a drama series to be made in Greece in 1972 at the Film Technical Committee was to include a location in Greece. A meeting was arranged at which ACTT, held where the point was made that there was no longer any reason for it to be in Greece, it would be in Crete.

It would be in any case, the location could easily be changed. The feeling was the meeting was over after a form letter 'astonishingly lacking in film making.'

After the meeting, one of the employees of the trade union, wrote to the BBC saying that as a result of the meeting, the blacked film in Greece since 1969 and the BBC were concerned for the first time.

The BBC's response to this was a meeting which took place in London, which included some personal meetings. Although ACTT had been recommended for a TV contract, the Corporation did not recognize the union and the employees in the film industry.

However, a principle about the union's position and the workers in the BBC were concerned for the first time.

History at school is kings, dates and the doing of the mighty. But at Ruskine College, Oxford, last week a different kind of history, about the ordinary people and viewed from the bottom up, was being argued by more than 2000 teachers, students, trade unionists, children and even a few professional historians.

The event was the third History Workshop and this year's subject was the position or rather lack of it of children in accounts of the past.

History Workshop started as a small seminar of many mainstays of social historians interested in exploring problems of working-class history. Its first two meetings were on Chartism and working-class education in the 19th century.

But from the start the Workshop wanted to combine its clear overall solidarity with the working-class political movement with a detailed examination and recreation of working-class people's whole way of life and leisure. The Workshop would discuss issues as well as Factory Acts and working men's clubs as well as their trade unions.

The Workshop wanted not only to enlarge the scope of its history but to make it less academic and professional. The ex-trade union students at Ruskine often contributed historical papers based on their own experience in their industry. Bob Gilding, for example, who was a London cooper before Ruskine, could compare his own trade experience with the struggle for workers' control in his industry in the 19th century and Dave Douglass, who had personal experience in his current experience in the NUM to illuminate the history of previous rank and file movements in the pits.

Snowballing: This kind of history has given the Workshop its especially deep-seated political passion. As ES member Terry McCarthy put it in his appeal for funds for History Workshop: 'Most of the trade unionists who get here were slung out of school labelled "thick." For us to write the history of our class is to show that workers are always right. We stand for the recognition of the snowball effect, not of the middle class and a few professional historians. Walter Lanchester, who used to run the Education Service, is an example of the many.

The 1973 History, more properly, Winter and Spring of 1973, took place in History and at the present rate will probably have to take place in the Albert Hall. Book now to avoid disappointment.
The International Socialists is a demo- cratic organization whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organizations.

We believe in independent working-class action for the abolition of exploitation and replacement by a classless society with production for use and not for profit.

We work in the mass organizations of the working class and are firmly com- mitted to a policy of internationalism.

Capitalism is international. The go- vernments have investments throughout the world and use all their resources to support themselves and the economic system they maintain.

In Europe, the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class. A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organization in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international within which we can work to achieve this.

We are independent socialists who believe in the necessity to unite socialists with the demands for social reform and the need to build the revolutionary international that will lead to the abolition of the whole capitalist system.

We believe all those who believe in the necessity of revolution should come together to work towards the realization of this.

We are the GLR and the GLR is the leading organization of all those who believe in the necessity of revolution.

WE STRUGGLE FOR

TUC climbdown

by MALCOLM REID

THE FIVE MONTHS’ long struggle at C Parsons’ engineering works in Newcastel ended last Friday. The 1400 members of the Engineering and Supervisory Section (TASS) of the engineer- ing union accepted an offer by the company. They were given the right to continue negotiating by a five-to-one majority, represents a compromise over the question of redundancy and an abandonment of the fight for better working conditions.

The struggle began in January when 900 redundancies were threatened. The men banned overtime and sub- contract work and imposed a four-day week. The com- pany was soon forced to make a partial retreat. It lifted the threat to manual workers, but persisted in plans for office redundancies. The TASS members were forced to fight alone.

In March the second round of the management attack was brought into play. Under a closed shop agreement, it was supposed to lack the few remaining workers in the offices who refused to join a genuine trade union and who were members of a shop, probably over the closed shops of the United Kingdom Association of Professional Engineers. But Parsons managed to delay doing this until the Industrial Relations Act was brought in. Therefore, there have been reports (for example in The Guardian of 11 May) that the Tories brought the day of implementation of the Act forward two days in order to help out Parsons and UKAPE.

TUC climbdown

When TASS members tried to enforce the previous agreement by declaring the work of UKAPE members black, the NIRC obligingly issued an order that this action should cease. TASS members refused to accept this and were backed by a special emergency session at the start of the union’s conference a fortnight ago. A massive confrontation with the law seemed inevitable.

Nevertheless the argument continued. No pressure was put on members of the TASS, as essential for the members inside Parsons, as the manual workers in the plant traditionally have not been especially militant and their stews refused to refuse to help the TASS men, as agreed by the national conference of that union.

But then a fortnight ago the General Council of the TUC decided to convene a meeting to discuss the post by the Industrial Relations Act. It said unions could appear before the NIRC and made it clear that it would not pay the fines of unions who clashed with the law. TASS’s case was not considered, although it was the threat to the hill of ill will of George Doughty, the TASS representative.

The only members of the General Council to vote full support for TASS were the representatives of the AUEW and the RMT. The TUC’s officers and Daily Mail, were strangely silent.

Four days later, on Tuesday of last week, a meeting took place at the Iona Hall, between the management and national and local officials of the union. Managing director, John B. Burns, and the general secretary, James Doughty, had an account of background events and made a resolution forward a series of proposals for a compromise agreement.

There would be no sackings this year, but only voluntary redundancy at both the Iona Hall and in Newcastel - which the company had previously said it was closing - and at Newcastel. Short time working would be introduced, on a departmental basis after discussion with the office and the company committee, but this was to be no later than from 15 December, and for no group. Discussion would begin on manning requirements for next year.

The union for its part, said Krasau, would call off all actions against the company—including the closed shop—question. If these points were accepted all redun- dancy notices and sackings for applying union sanction would be withdrawn.

This was the settlement noted by TASS members last Friday. Unfortunately, the TASS national leadership decided against giving a clear lead to the members and they then reacted to the attempt to bar away the closed shop. When the question was first raised a couple of years ago in Parsons most of the national leaders personally spoke to the rank and file on the need to fight.

Now they made the mistake of waiting for the ordinary members to vote before stating their own position and left it to the office committee to put up the case for continuing to insist on 100 per cent trade unionism.

The meeting began with a detailed report by Terry Rodgers, the chairman of the office committee, who explained that the meeting had been called at the request of the new president, Arthur Scott, and the general secretary, George Doughty, to get an account of background events and make a resolution.

KRAUSE: union must call off sanctions

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

NOTICES

WARIED: Assistant business manager for 10 Socialist Worker, 38-40 Boundary Road, London N1, is Alastair Thomas. For all business-related matters, please contact him on 020 7988 1275.

WE COMPROMISE

Copy for What’s On must arrive first post Monday or before Monday evening. Notice must be received no later than 5 mins before the event. No exceptions without payment—invitations cannot be guaranteed

MEETINGS


DEMONSTRATE US! Contact: Indo-China Solidarity Campaign, 442 Whitehall, London SW1, for details.

YOUng WORKERS and APPRENTICES MEETING: Sat 25 May, 4pm. George Square, Glasgow. Contact: Youth Socialist League, 84 Brodie Street, Glasgow.

KILBRURN TUC meeting: John Bell Lecture Centre, Kelvinhall, Glasgow, 7.30pm, 25 May.

LEEDS: How To Beat The Tories! Open Forum, 15 Upper Fountain St, Leeds 1. Contact: Capital Union, 7 Upper Fountain St, Leeds 1.

MEETINGS IN MANCHESTER on Tuesday 26 May, 7pm: The Left, Manchester University, Students Union, 2nd Floor, 32 Oxford Road.

HINCHLEY AND ILLINGTON E public meeting: Manchester Metropolitan University, Institute of Science and Technology, 22 May, 8pm. All seats reserved. Contact: Hinchley, I, or Hinchley, I and A.B. 842 478.

POST OFFICE WORKERS E public meeting: Monday, 25 May, 8pm, TUC Congress Hall, Ducie St, Manchester. Contact: TUC Congress Hall, Ducie St, Manchester.

MEETINGS IN LEEDS on Tuesday 26 May, 6.30pm: United Kingdom Union of Socialists, 2nd Floor, 32 Oxford Road, Leeds 1. Contact: United Kingdom Union of Socialists, 2nd Floor, 32 Oxford Road, Leeds 1.

COMING SOON


HINCHLEY AND ILLINGTON E public meeting: Manchester Metropolitan University, Institute of Science and Technology, 22 May, 8pm. All seats reserved. Contact: Hinchley, I, or Hinchley, I and A.B. 842 478.

CHEAP FLIGHTS TO Budapest, Rumania, and Belgrade. Contact: Socialist Workers Party, 28-30 Boundary Road, London NW1. All bookings must be made before 20 May. The cost is £5.00 for a return flight to Budapest, £6.00 for a return flight to Rumania, £7.00 for a return flight to Belgrade.

HINCHLEY AND ILLINGTON E public meeting: Manchester Metropolitan University, Institute of Science and Technology, 22 May, 8pm. All seats reserved. Contact: Hinchley, I, or Hinchley, I and A.B. 842 478.

Postal union conference may end headlong retreat

THUS, THE Union of Post Office Workers conference, which opens in Blackpool next week, will discuss the effect of productivity deals and the Industrial Relations Act. A built-in requirement for the union leaders are in headlong retreat.

The UPOE has been working closely with productivity for years, and since last year it has finally decided to achieve good conditions through trade unions. Instead, the leaders hope that if the POFI is at an end, the workforce will be rewarded with pay increases.

But that UPOE conference rejected a major part of this strategy when a work and staff-membership scheme for postal officers was voted down.

Cut costs

The leadership is now suggesting local union leaders, by which management and unions try to cut labour costs and share the blame for competitiveness. This is not about to bolster this deal by agreeing that postmen will deliver all mail, with the material—such as the UPOE's first strike.

The union has taken the same line as the wider strike failed into Acts. Although voting for official TUC policy, it is going against the Industrial Court over the recognition of the sub-union of telecommunications, the Telecommunications Staff Association. The only reason the breakaway union has achieved such recognition is because of the UPOE's poor record among telecommunications—such as not being able to pay by appealing to a TUC judge.

Angry crowds block council

LABOUR COUNCILS now control almost all the major towns in the country, but any opposition to the Tories' Rent Bills is likely to disappear soon.

Already only four of the 21 London boroughs are still committed to refusing the rents increases and recent statements by National Labour Party leaders are encouraging the surrender to Tory pressures.

The latest piece of advice comes from Anthony Crosland, Labour's spokesman on local government. In a letter to the Labour Council on how to deal with the Bill, Mr. Crosland said that the council should be prepared to go down the same path as the London boroughs by giving in to the demands of the government.

THE RENTS BATTLE

CROSOL, wrong in principle.

Tories to justify their argument that the council would not be as bad as often claimed, and that it is also being used as an excuse by Labour councils to justify implementing the Tory measures.

But in fact there is no evidence at all that the council is prepared to go down this path.

Under the Bill councils are to charge rents with regard to the return that it would be reasonable to expect as an investment—in other words, the council would be forced to make a profit. The council would have to ensure that such rents are set in line with the market rent levels. The Bill would also require the council to set rents at a level that would be reasonable for the residents.

Forced up

If councils do manage to get away with imposing 'fair rents', with the Bill imposing a maximum rent in October, that will not stop rents for most local housing being forced up soon afterwards.

In Birmingham, for instance, only some 25% of the rents in October, at the end of the month, will have to be set at 'fair rents'. The council, however, has no option but to go with the 'fair rents' to the assessment committee if it does not, the low rents will come down to the level of the committee's preferred rents.

In the end the tenants will face the original increases anyway.

The result is likely to be a fairly low increase for many councils in October, with the council's local committee getting to work much larger increases will follow. In the meantime they hope that much of the opposition to the October rents will be quelled, and that the council will be seeing that a major concession has been made.
THE TRIAL of the Metro Four, four black youths from Notting Hill, began at the Old Bailey last week. It is in the series of trials intended to intimidate London's black community.

They face charges of carrying an offensive weapon, possessing or using offensive weapons and affray.

The youths ran into the club, where other members, including one of the accused, tried to barricade the door, to prevent the arrests.

POLICE receipts from all over London were arrested. The Metro Youth Club was burned down, and the police claimed that they were in possession of an offensive weapon. The walkie-talkies were at the Metro Youth Club in Notting Hill. The youths were㿗入 had telephoned lawyers, and the on-duty workers and others to witness the arrest. Before the murder, the police walked in with truncheons drawn, to ‘disrupt’ the meeting, the photographer who attempted to photograph the police had his camera smashed by the police.

OVERTIME: A 350 engineering shop stewards voted on Tuesday to drop the 35-hour week from the list of demands being fought for throughout the district.

The meeting, organized by the district committee of the Confederation of Engineering Unions, heard a report on the decision of the AUEW national committee to give priority to the claims to the question of pay and holidays rather than hours. In line with this, the local officials recommended that factors where no offer over hours had been made should be allowed to settle over pay and holidays alone.

But the officials had to recognize that overtime was a strong issue among migrants in the area. Some of the workers occupying their factories could have settled for money alone weeks ago, but were determined to hold out for a cut in the working week - a gain which would have an immediate effect in cutting unemployment.

DEMAND

So a successful resolution insisted that no overtime would be worked in plants where no concessions on hours have been made.

But about a third of the stewards felt that this attempt to hide the retreat over the hours issue was not good enough. An overtime ban is no substitute for a shorter working week. They voted for an amendment to delete the paragraph setting aside the 35-hour week demand.

The amendment was defeated because there were many stewards at the meeting from plants like AEI Trafford Park which have already settled without making any gains over hours. They were able to outvote the factory stewards which are still holding out.

ISOLATION

Many migrants were shocked at what they saw as an unprecedented alliance between the local officials of the three migrant trade union groups, the Christians, the Communists, and the convener of AEI, Brennan, whom the migrant has described as a ‘traitor’.

The vote also reflected some stewards’ undoubted fear of isolation after eight weeks of struggle. But the way to overcome is not through a retreat on the hours issue, but by establishing real unity between the different factories.

There is an urgent need for a joint committee of the occupied factories to go to the workers because of the bust of the struggle and to send delegations throughout the country to campaign for support.

STRIKES and demonstrations by London schoolchildren this week and last have spotlighted the growing discontent by pupils at the undemocratic nature of the education system. The strikes, organized by the Schools Action Union, are demanding:

- An end to testing
- No compulsory uniform
- More pupil participation in the drawing up of school rules
- No victimization
- An end to the undemocratic, authoritarian role of head teachers.

Support for the demonstrations comes from many children in west and north-west London. Many joined at first out of street boredom but after several days of activity they had a deeper awareness of the causes of their indignation.

They are now demanding better conditions for teachers as well. They realize, more clearly than the education authorities, that it is the teachers’ union that cannot teach.

Support from school authorities has been substantial and the school capacity to withstand the pressure on the union Schools Action Union in Southwark.

But at a nearby boys’ school, the head called the police when 17 pupils struck the police only 15 pupils struck the police. They were brought back in police vans, questioned and charged.

The head called the police the following day to remove girls from the playground. They were encouraging boys to join the strike. The police questioned boys for names of strikers.

TWO HUNDRED people attended an enthusiastic Rank and File Teachers’ conference in Birmingham last weekend.

The conference, organized by the Schools Action Union, was invited to the Birmingham Education in Capitalist Society, was introduced by Brian Ross of the Education Society.

He said that the capitalist system is implemented in the education system. School teachers are given a high level of literacy and those of them who are not satisfied can command for the former, to submission for the latter.

She described how the potentially revolutionary forces in the schools, pupils, and teachers, were struggling for democratic control.

A resolution was passed in a private session giving full support to those school students struggling, by direct action, to democratize the school for abolition of corporal punishment, detention and compulsory uniform, and against any victimization of pupils or teachers.

Chris Smith explained the second part of the conference on The Role of the Socialist Worker, he showed how the system forced teachers into an unnatural conflict in the classroom in the denigration of real education and the development of children’s personalities.

BARRICADES RISE AGAIN AFTER ATTACK ON PUB

BELFAST: Eight people were killed and 30 other killed in the bloodiest fighting last weekend in Northern Ireland. Fighting, undeniably, is a general strike being worked in many parts of the country.

The events were triggered off by a protest outside a Catholic pub in the Ballymurphy, As people fled from the pub, that had been burning in the town of Ballymurphy, British troops opened fire from a nearby Protestant Springmart druarte.

The British Army took no action to stop this outrage at first. It was only after the local sections of both wings of the IRA started firing at the British troops, that the British army moved in to ‘separate the two sides’.

It was a clear signal to the British army to disband the defenders rather than the attackers. This is certainly the belief of the people of Ballymurphy.

It is, if a belief, strengthened by the distorted account the army gave of the bombing, claiming there was no violence. But the bomb was planted deliberately, even though many witnesses said three men were running away just before the explosion and they were too near to the building.

The pub indicated a carefully prepared attack.

The evidence is that the army’s aim was not so much to stop the fighting as to destroy the community.

Most people in the Catholic working-class districts, such as Ballymurphy, do not believe in armed resistance.

But by their inaction, they allow the British Army to disarm the local community. The case of the IRA in 1971, that only acts after the British army has been advised to start shooting at Catholic communities, is evidence of this.

The long-term problems of Northern Ireland are not to be solved by political workers beginning to understand sections of the IRA, they are to be solved by the British army being disarmed.

The long-term problems of Northern Ireland are not to be solved by political workers beginning to understand sections of the IRA, they are to be solved by the British army being disarmed.

But in the meantime, socialists in Britain have to support the right of the Catholic communities to fight to survive and to fight to throw out the army of our own Tory government.