

What
we
think

The politics of Bernadette Devlin

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The Workers Press is completely opposed to the imprisonment of Miss Devlin and fights the widest possible campaign in the labour movement for her immediate release. Her sentence is a direct attack on the N Ireland workers who sent her back to Westminster for a second term to fight against the Tories.

But the elementary lack of class consciousness expressed in her congratulatory telegram shows how far—and in what direction—Miss Devlin has gone politically since she entered parliament in April 1969.

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She has been closely connected politically with the International Socialism group, who have been outspoken defenders of the presence of British troops to Ulster.

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A sure sign of her 'arrival' • PAGE FOUR COL. 7

The shape of things to come for the Tories

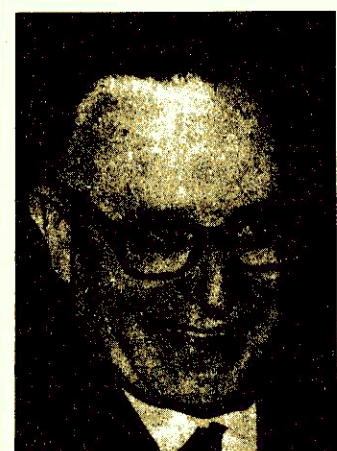
Italian govt forced to quit

By Workers Press special correspondent DAVID BARNES in TURIN

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'The Communist Party is worse than useless. We need a government of the working class, not of the agents of Fiat.'

The Italian workers have forced the Rumor government to quit.

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But wages pressure is reflected at Inverness through the Paddington No. 1 branch resolution urging a national rail strike in October if the minimum wage has not been increased from £15 11s. to £20.

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Any steward who sells or gives away the principle of mutuality will eventually lose all right to fight for higher wages.

Many more lay-offs are now expected.



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BY JOHN SPENCER

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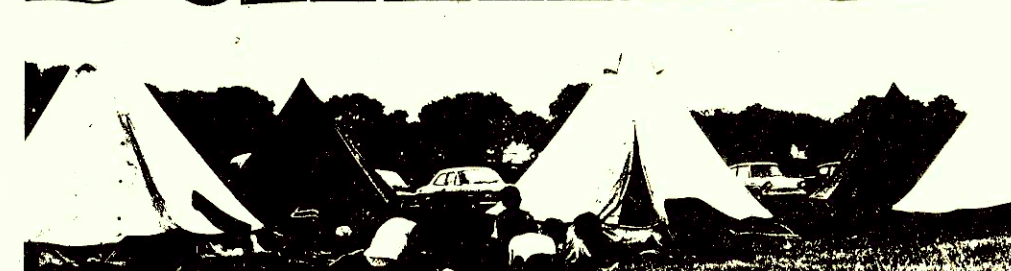
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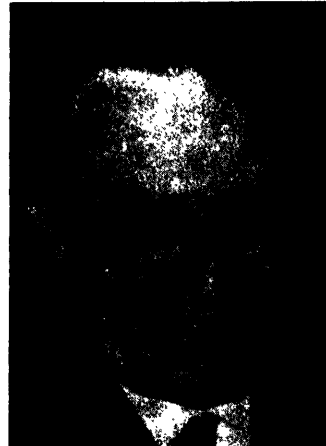
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Some of the women who broke through into the curfew area around the Falls Road to hand over food supplies and newspapers to friends and relatives forced to stay indoors.

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Reform and Revolution in Britain

8

'NEW UNIONISM' AND THE LABOUR PARTY (2)

Some pages from the history of the British working class

BY PETER JEFFRIES

AS WE have seen, the new unionism fought its first battle within the general movement over the legal eight-hour day.

This question was of considerable international importance, having been declared a primary slogan by the 1889 Paris Congress at which the International (the Socialist or Second International) was reconstituted.

The demand for the eight-hour day was the rallying call for London's first May Day (in 1890) when 200,000 paraded through Hyde Park, an impressive show of strength by the new unionism.

Engels, watching the demonstration, proclaimed:

'On May 4, 1890, the English working class joined up in the great international army. . . . The grandchildren of the Chartists are entering the line of battle.'

As a result of the successful May Day (officially opposed by both the Social Democratic Federation and the London Trades Council, which was dominated by the representatives of the old skilled unions) 'The Legal Eight Hours and International Labour League' was established, with Edward Aveling as secretary.

The programme of the League demanded the legal enforcement of the eight-hour day, as decided by the Paris Congress, and the creation of an independent Labour Party with its own candidates at the elections wherever there were chances of success.

Tom Mann was one of the leading propagandists for the League, which gained widespread support. The gasworkers were also to the fore and their report on Britain presented to the Brussels Congress of the International was considered one of the best.

ENGELS

Engels and his followers struggled to find a road to the forces represented in the new unionism.

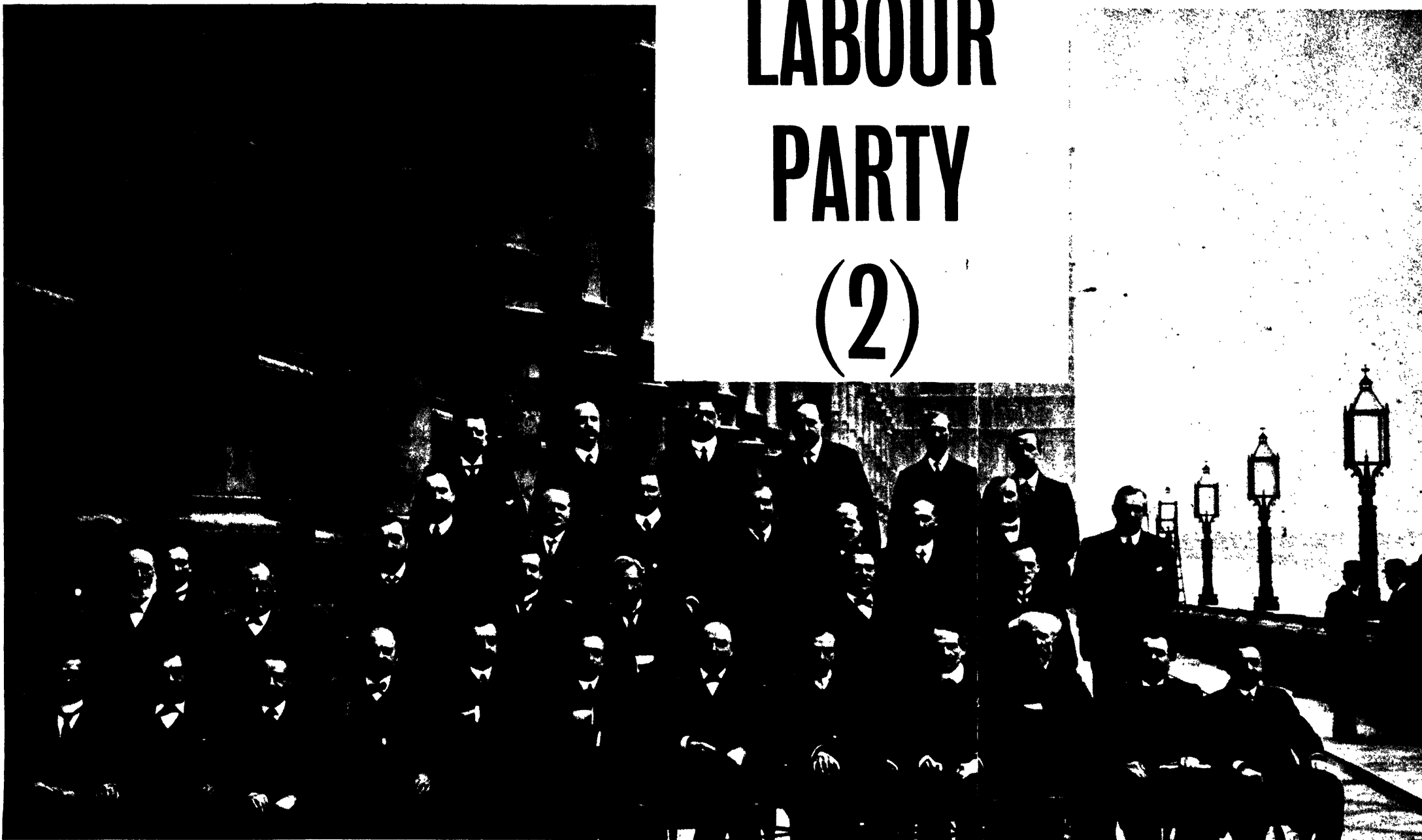
He bluntly described Eleanor Marx as 'the boss' of the gasworkers whose rules were drafted by Edward Aveling. Engels came into bitter conflict with the continuing sectarianism of the SDF. The latter boycotted the 1889 Congress at which the International was reformed, they had tried to sabotage the first May Day march.

But despite the SDF's sectarianism, the new movement made rapid progress.

The 1890 TUC Congress saw the 'old gang' under considerable pressure. Burns and Mann represented the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, mandated to vote for the legal eight-hour day. After a sharp debate the resolution on this question was carried by 193 to 155 and Henry Broadhurst resigned the Congress secretaryship, giving ill-health as his excuse.

The two following Congresses substantially confirmed this victory for the new unionism and those socialists who were prominent within its ranks.

The Norwich Congress Party



Engels

of 1894, on a motion from Keir Hardie—leader of the Independent Labour Party—carried a resolution in favour of complete nationalization.

But Lib-Labism was by no means defeated.

Charles Fenwick, MP, a Northumberland miner, was elected in Broadhurst's place. He was a strong supporter of Gladstonian liberalism. The Parliamentary Committee also continued to be dominated by the old unionists.

In 1894, Burns—who was soon to move to an open position of support for capitalism—and James Mawdsley, a leader of the Cotton Spinners and a strong supporter of the

Conservative Party, proposed changes in the TUC constitution.

These, carried on the casting vote of the chairman, David Holmes, a leader of the Cotton Weavers and strong Lib-Lab supporter, decided to limit delegates to those who were either working at their trade or were full-time union officials (thus excluding Hardie and others) to limit membership of Congress to trade societies (thus excluding the trades councils who had been instrumental in establishing the Congress) and to institute a system of block voting, which gave power to the large unions, particularly the miners and cotton workers.

CHALLENGE

Naturally enough the challenge of the new unionism was not taken lying down by the employers. Throughout the decade of the 1890s and well into the 20th century, a hostility to trade unionism, particularly to the 'new unionism' developed amongst the capitalist class which bordered on the hysterical.

It found expression in the contemporary press, in the increasing intervention of the police in strikes and above all in adverse judgements against the unions in the courts.

The final point of these attacks came with the Taff-

Vale judgement of 1901, whereby the unions found themselves stripped of the legal rights written into the statute book by the legislation of the 1870s.

It was the attitude of the new unionists to state intervention, seen in the campaign for the eight-hour day, which made them the particular object of these attacks.

Opposition to the eight-hour day came from the expected quarters: from business circles, whose mouthpiece was the 'Economist' from social philosophers like Herbert Spencer and, as we have seen, from the old unionists.

Spencer, a positivist and one of the founders of 'sociology' in his introduction to the widely circulated volume of essays, 'A Plea for Liberty' (1891), argued that society has a choice between coercion or freedom of contract and any impediment of the latter must inevitably increase the former.

Such ideas were repeated by representatives of Lib-Labism like George Howell and Henry Broadhurst.

PROMINENT

Howell, one of the prominent representatives of the old unionists, in introducing the second edition of his work, 'The Conflicts of Capital and Labour' (1890), gives an indication of the profound change in temper which was taking place in the trade union movement and also the hostility which the old leaders such as himself felt to these developments:

'Now trade unions (he means those of the aristocracy of labour) are to be praised and commended by all sorts and conditions of men. Their influence is sought socially and politically, and combination is preached as the one great panacea for all kinds of social evils, even by the Lords' Committee on "Sweating".'



Eleanor Marx

And he went on to give his support to the employers' campaign against the closed shop and for the right to use free labour (that is, black-legs):

'Unionists have no more right to compel men to belong to a trade union than the employers have to restrain workmen from joining or remaining in the union. In either case it is a violation of constitutional, social and individual right, and in the end it is ruinous to those who exercise it.'

Edmund Vincent in his essay in 'A Plea for Liberty', entitled, 'The Discontents of the Working Classes', expressed the fear that existed in ruling-class circles over the implications of the new unionism and its break with the 'safe' traditions of the past.

In the first place, the individual is subordinated to the class; in the second place, the class desires to obtain the whole of the profits which are derived from capital and labour combined. In other words it desires to confiscate capital.'

It was in this period that a body of influential employers combined to form the Employers' Parliamentary Council, a bitterly anti-union organization, which subsidized a strike-breaking body called the Free Labour Association, headed by a renegade trade unionist William Collison.

LEGISLATION

More significantly, the Council also campaigned for the promotion of new anti-union legislation. It received encouragement from the courts which increasingly handed down decisions in cases of picketing or boycott of non-union firms, which made the apparently secure legal status of the unions extremely uncertain and hazardous.

It was largely this intervention from the capitalist state, culminating in the Taff-Vale case (in which the courts ruled that the unions were liable for losses incurred by an employer as a result of strike action) which was the forcing house for decisive political changes in the working class.

With the formation of the Labour Representation Committee in 1900 the tradition of the past 50 years, in which the working class had relied upon the Liberal Party, were broken.

The Independent Labour Party, established in 1893, was an important step in the creation of this new Labour Party (the LRC changed its name in 1906 and became the Labour Party). It is significant that the base for the ILP came largely from the textile areas of Yorkshire, which before the new unionism had remained largely unorganized.

Engels, while fully conscious of the limitations of the ILP leaders, imbued as many of them were with liberalism and religion, saw in this body an important step in the development of a mass working-class party for which he had consistently campaigned since the 1880s.

Again the sectarianism of the SDF kept it away from this important development.

'It is perfectly clear', wrote Engels to Sorge in January 1893, 'that in the given circumstances people like Keir Hardie, Shaw Maxwell and others are following their personal and accessory aims. But the danger in that lessens as the party itself takes on a stronger and more mass character. . . . In the last years socialism in the industrial centres has got deeply into the masses and I expect that these very masses will discipline their leaders.'

Engels' hopes proved too sanguine.

His death in 1895 was a grievous blow to the developing Marxist movement followed, as it was, by the tragic end of Eleanor Marx in 1898.

The ILP, with no effective challenge from the SDF leader, remained dominated by the opportunism of its leadership.

SECRET DEALS

The emergence of the LRC saw its leaders, notably Ramsey MacDonald, making secret deals with the Liberals to avoid clashes with the latter in elections and prevent the full strength of the working class being realized.

In this MacDonald and company were assisted by the Fabians, who actually opposed the creation of the Labour Party.

They wanted to see a continuing alliance between the leaders of the labour movement and the Liberal Party and only joined the Labour Party once they saw that the movement was in danger of bypassing them.



Ramsey Macdonald

Powerful though the movement which had created the Labour Party had been, under the grip of MacDonald and his friends it degenerated in the years after 1900 into little more than an appendage of the Liberal Party in parliament.

It was largely in response to its complete ineffectiveness as a parliamentary force in the early years of the century that the working class under the influence of syndicalism, began to turn away from politics and towards the trade unions as vehicles for the social revolution.

Our last article will be concerned with the lessons of this period.

Culture and Socialism



Towards an Independent Revolutionary Art

Culture and Socialism and a Manifesto Art and Revolution

An article compiled by the author from a talk he gave to a Moscow club on February 3, 1926, and a number of other addresses.

The Manifesto, appearing in 1938 under the signatures of André Breton and Diego Rivera was in fact drawn up in collaboration with Trotsky. Price: Two shillings and sixpence

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tv column

TROUBLE...

By Frank Cartwright

THE BOREHAMWOOD MGM studios are almost certainly doomed.

Major redundancies have been announced for Shepperton.

Over 60 per cent of the film section of the Association of Cinema and Television Technicians (ACTT) are unemployed.

Fewer films are in production now than at any time in recent years—and both BBC and ITV go on repeating old features ad nauseam.

But then they have their problems too.

The BBC predicts an £8 million deficit by March next year, even after the licence fee has been raised.

Commercial television companies, the £6 million reduction in the levy notwithstanding, report falling revenues from advertising and programme makers in both the 'public' and private sectors complain bitterly of reduced budgets and production schedules and much greater resistance by executives to programme ideas which might be at all controversial.

And with a Tory government which opposed even the committee of inquiry into the future of television set up by Labour, there is great pessimism in the industry.

The certainty that Chataway, new minister responsible for broadcasting, will soon introduce commercial radio does nothing to lighten their gloom.

Such stations are run with minimum staff and will in no way be interested in promoting creative production.

The Musicians' Union is conducting a fight over the proportion of 'needle time' to be allowed them and will no doubt win minor concessions about the employment of live performers.

But there is no coherent, organized, principled opposition to commercial radio.

An important feature of the present crisis in films, television and radio is precisely that it is occurring in all three employment areas at once.

During previous slumps in film



production, certainly since 1945, there have always been some alternative jobs; this time the whole entertainment industry is hit at once, affecting all workers in it from actors to technicians.

Two unions have already made big concessions to employers. Both the ETU and NATKE leaderships have agreed to productivity deals which open the way for the most colossal exploitation.

Opposition from the union bureaucracies is faltering and reformist. The true magnitude and meaning of the situation is only just beginning to make itself felt.

But already more and more people in these industries are turning to political solutions. Many do so very unwillingly; the years of good living and comparative privilege have held back a lot of development.

But equally, the threat that all this is over is now accelerating militancy. The struggle is above all with back-peddling leaderships.

Certainly the current output on television brings no sign of improvement.

Summer is never exactly the high-point of the year, usually being marked by endless repeats of old programmes.

But the present schedules are exceptionally interesting for their boredom.

The preparations to meet the

financial crisis have been going on for a couple of years now and the special feature of the BBC, that it censors itself to avoid direct and open government intervention, has become very evident.

We are faced with innumerable spy series, both American and home-made; documentaries about coyotes, expeditions in the Himalayas or being wrecked on a desert island; plays which are at best, lifeless, and, at worst, embarrassing.

And a news service literally offensive in its partiality. Take the reporting of the recent battles in Ulster.

We were shown film of an Orange parade in Belfast.

The commentator described it as 'good humoured', 'a jovial occasion in bright sunshine'.

And then, mysteriously, fighting broke out, into the middle of which the Orange parade just happened to march!

References to these 'lunatic' conflicts all added to the air of deliberate mystification. It's precisely the absence of analysis of causes, as it is the absence of good production, which marks this kind of output.

Equally, the attempts to pass off these sycophantic conversation pieces between Frost and Richard Burton or Peter Ustinov, between Bernard Levin and Spiro Agnew, reveal the bankruptcy of the system.

He sees himself as liberal, sceptical, even as a 'left-winger', but calmly describes his early career making public relations and industrial films without a qualm.

'Mogul' was brought into being with the initially sceptical, but later enthusiastic co-operation of oil firms like Shell, BP, Esso and so on.

Elliot was well connected in these firms (old friends from the services and so on) and despite assertions of his 'independence', his narrative strikingly shows the objective reality.

Such illusions may be cherished, but make no difference to the class position taken in the scripts produced.

Accounts of trips to Africa and the Middle East to get the 'feel' of the material, 'hospitality' and entertainment, gentlemanly and accommodating changes to scripts—all this and more of the dealings between an 'independent' writer, the 'independent' BBC and the oil firms makes fascinating reading.

There's also an attempt to show the inside workings of television, suitably garnished with gossip, intimate asides and frank revelations.

The book is full of illusions, but the reality, shines through, however hilariously or bitterly, despite the intention of its author.

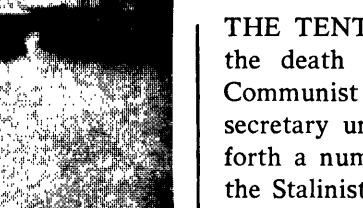
And nowhere is the intention of 'The Troubleshooters' made clearer than in the Foreword, written by Paul Fox, Controller BBC-1.

This is true especially when its writers seem to reveal the human weaknesses, the endearing foibles, the odd quirks and passions of the top hirings of capital. Indeed that has been one of the central quests of the series since its inception.

Published last week was 'Mogul: the making of a myth' by John Elliot (Barrie and Jenkins 25s). Elliot was the originator of the series and the book is an excellent insight into the process.

What is especially revealing is the way in which everything seems to be upside down.

Elliot is one of the older generation producers in television and was active when all drama was done live and was mostly photographed stage plays.



Gunboat Courtesy

SPANISH SAHARA, the barren territory lying on the NW coast of Africa between Morocco and Mauritania, has only recently come into the headlines.

At the moment a Spanish colony, it is claimed by Morocco and the southern area (the Rio de Oro) is claimed also by Mauritania.

Mauritania is an ex-French colony and is effectively still tied to French imperialism.

Franco is determined not to cede it to Morocco because large phosphate deposits have been discovered in the interior.

Work is well advanced for exporting the minerals through the main town, El Ajun. Spanish, French and W German capital is heavily involved.

On June 17 more than ten people were killed when Franco's troops in El Ajun fired on several thousand demonstrators

against Spanish occupation. Subsequently 5,000 Spanish soldiers were flown to the area and the town surrounded. A strong flotilla of warships, including frigates, destroyers and a helicopter carrier, stationed itself off the coast in what 'The Times' delicately referred to as 'a courtesy visit'.

Latest political proposal from the Franco regime is for a referendum on adherence to Spain.

Since no one knows the population of the area, except that it is a good deal larger than those registered by the Spanish authorities (mainly in the tribes whose chiefs have been bribed), the referendum offers great scope for the ballot-riggers.

In any case, the Spanish authorities have been encouraging dissident elements to emigrate into Morocco and Mauritania for the last ten years.

THE TENTH anniversary of the death of Harry Pollitt, Communist Party general secretary until 1956, brought forth a number of articles in the Stalinist press.

Coming at the same time as the election of a Tory government and the approval of Moscow Radio for this event, it recalls some aspects of Pollitt's career the 'Morning Star' didn't mention.

In the course of his 26 years in the leadership of British Stalinism, Pollitt had the task more than once of turning the Party towards an alliance with Toryism.

In 1938 the CP's 'Popular-Front' policy was at its height. It was aimed at uniting under the banner of 'anti-fascism' all forces which could be persuaded to support a pro-Soviet foreign policy.

When, seeing the dangers to British imperialism in Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler and Mussolini Eden resigned from the Tory cabinet, the CP's already right-wing line took a violent lurch to the right.

Support for a 'broad-based' government, including Eden, Duff-Cooper and the arch anti-communist Churchill, became the order of the day.

By February 1939, Pollitt is writing: 'They try to frighten us with talk about Winston Churchill, Eden and Duff-Cooper. Surely it is a matter of political interest that inside the ranks of this great powerful Tory Party cracks are appearing: powerful leaders of Conservatism in this country openly declare that Chamberlain is sacrificing the interests of Britain.'

This is not something for us to cry about. It is something for us to welcome, to encourage, to stimulate, whatever their motives may be. They differ from us, they stand for capitalism, for the exploitation of man by man.

'We stand for socialism, for the

behind THE NEWS

When Pollitt backed the Tories

elimination of private property and private control. But if now a Conservative or a Liberal is prepared to take a stand against Hitler and Mussolini, to prevent any more bombers raining death on innocent people, we believe our class is strong enough to handle them.' ('Defence of the People')

While pouring out their lies about the Trotskyists being agents of imperialism, Pollitt and his associates were trying to turn the workers' movement towards the most far-sighted representatives of the British Empire.

After retiring from the scene while Stalin was Hitler's ally, Pollitt returned to the leadership in 1941 when Churchill was not a Tory 'rebel', but the Tory leader.

Now there was no need for coyness: the line was for open and unconditional support for the most outstanding enemy of the October Revolution.

his attitude to Churchill, former friend of Mussolini, in the words: 'The people must be roused to support and strengthen the government. Sustain Churchill in carrying out the Anglo-Soviet Treaty and in opening the Second Front'

At this time, Churchill was preparing to use the Stalinists against revolution after the war—and then to get ready for war on the USSR.

The CP faithfully supported the 'political truce' between the Tories and the Labour leaders. This meant that, where a Tory MP died, the Labour Party did not contest the by-election to replace him.

Pollitt, speaking to the 1942 CP Congress, made no bones about it: the Stalinists had to persuade workers, with difficulty, to vote Tory.

idea that telling workers to vote Tory was an obstacle to winning them to the Party.

The ruling class was not unaware of Pollitt's services.

A leaflet issued by the Economic League, 'Why Strike? (1943)' quotes him as saying: 'Strikes in the present circumstances do not harm the employers. No one knows better than I do how prevalent is the idea that now is the time to sock the employers. That theory is understandable but shortsighted.'

In fact Pollitt was even more outspoken inside the Party.

At the 1942 Congress he had said: 'I salute our comrade, a docker from Hull... When the rest of the dockers struck work, he fought against it because he believed that the course of action he recommended would get what was wanted without a strike. What courage, what a sacred spirit of real class consciousness, to walk on the ship's gangway and resume his job.'



As more and more workers were attracted to the 'theory' of fighting the employers, Pollitt glorified scabbing.

This theory became still more prevalent in the following years, when the British workers got ready to kick Churchill out at the 1945 election.

Pollitt continued his battle against it, right to the end.

In his report to the 1944 Congress of the CP, he declared: 'It is necessary to break the hard core of dyed-in-the-wool Tories. This is why, whatever the form of the new government, it must rest on a solid majority of Labour and progressive Members of Parliament.'

And who were these 'progressives'? In a pamphlet on the Crimea Conference of Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt, issued in March 1945, Pollitt explains: 'We are of the opinion that a government should be formed which corresponds to the results of the election, which should be based primarily on the Labour and progressive majority returned at the election, but which should include representatives of all

political sections supporting the Crimea policy.

'This means that Labour should take the initiative of inviting into the government those leaders and representatives of other parties that stand for the fulfilment of the Crimea policy.'

So Pollitt's policy in 1945 was for a coalition government including Tories and especially his hero Churchill.

In the event, the British workers made it impossible even for the Labour leaders to avoid forming a Labour government.

In the June 27 issue of 'Comment', Betty Reid writes of Pollitt's 'Marxist understanding of the role of the working class'. Reid and the other Stalinists of today continue the Pollitt tradition. But they do so in a period when the Tories are preparing to launch a massive attack on the workers. We must not be surprised when they carry out Pollitt's heritage of Stalinist treachery by collaborating to the full with the political leaders of British capitalism.

REGIONAL ITV

- CHANNEL: 2.15-4.17 London. 4.27 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Look-around. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'Redhead and the Cowboy'. With Rhonda Fleming and Glen Ford. 8.30 London. 11.30 Gazette. 11.35 Les francais chez-vous. 11.50 Weather.
- WESTWARD. As Channel except. 4.25 News. 4.27 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 11.30 Faith for life. 11.35 Weather.
- HARLECH: 2.45-4.15 London. 4.25 Women today. 4.40 Diane's magic theatre. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report. 6.10 Parkin's patch. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Champions. 8.00 Mr and Mrs. 8.30 London. 11.30 Interview. Midnight weather.
- HTV (West) colour channel 61 as above except. 4.25-4.25 and 6.01-6.35 Scene West.
- HTV (Wales) colour channel 41 as above except. 10.30 Interview. 11.00 Y dydd. 11.30 Dan sylw. 12.15 Weather.
- HTV Cymru/Wales black and white service as above except. 6.01 dydd. 6.30-6.35 Report Wales. 8.30 Dan Sylw. 11.15 Barwn. 12.10 Weather.
- ANGLIA: 2.15-4.15 London. 4.30 Newsroom. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 'Submarine Command'. With William Holden, Nancy Olson, William Bendix and Don Taylor. 8.25 London. 11.30 Letters from the dead. 11.58 Living word.
- ATV MIDLANDS: 2.15 London. 4.10 Peyton Place. 4.40 Origami. 4.50 Catweazle. 5.15 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Western: 'Wagonmaster'. With Ben Johnson, Yvonne De Carlo, Harry Carey Jr. and Ward Bond. John Ford epic about two young horse traders who agree to lead a wagon train across unexplored territory. 8.25 London. 11.30 Douglas Fairbanks presents, weather.
- ULSTER: 2.15-4.15 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Mona McCluskey.
- 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 'Tarzan and the Huntress'. With Johnny Weissmuller, Brenda Joyce, Johnny Sheffield, Patricia Morison and Barton MacLane. Tarzan meets a formidable lady trapper. 8.30 London. 11.30 Parkin's patch.
- YORKSHIRE: 2.15 London. 4.15 Tingha and Tucker. 4.30 Matinee. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.25 Nanny and the professor. 6.50 'Jailhouse Rock'. With Elvis Presley and Judy Tyler. A young man is jailed for manslaughter when he accidentally kills a man in a fight. 8.30 London. 11.30 All our yesterdays. Midnight weather.
- GRANADA: 2.15 London. 4.15 News. Short story. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.00 Newsview. 6.05 All our yesterdays. 6.30 Get Smart. 7.00 Movie: 'Siege of the Saxons'. With Ronald Lewis and Jeanette Scott. Broadwords flash and arrows whistle in old England. 8.25 London. 11.30 Four just men.
- TYNE TEES: 11.25-1.30 Cricket. Northumberland v Lancashire. 2.15 London. 2.45 Cricket. 2.55 London. 3.10 Cricket. 3.20 London. 3.45 Cricket. 3.55 London. 4.10 Newsroom. 4.15 My three sons. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today at six. 6.25 Where the jobs are. 6.30 Jpc. 7.00 Film: 'The Huggatts Abroad'. With Jack Warner and Kathleen Harrison. 8.30 London. 11.30 News. 11.45 Epilogue.
- BORDER: 2.15 London. 4.10 News. 4.12 School ship. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 'Five Steps to Danger'. With Ruth Roman and Sterling Hayden. Suspense thriller. 8.25 London. 11.30 News.
- SCOTTISH: 2.15-4.10 London. 4.15 London. 6.00 Summer scene. 6.30 Telephone game. 7.00 Movie: 'The Ballad of Andy Crocker'. With Lee Majors and Joey Heatherton. 8.25 London. 11.30 Late call.
- GRAMPIAN: 2.15-4.15 London. 4.25 Survival. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. Farming news. 6.15 Vintage comics. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.55 Movie: 'Fort Dobbs'. 8.25 London. 11.30 A kind of living.

Doxford yard talks break down

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

MORE lay-offs in the Doxford and Sunderland shipbuilding group affecting up to 3,500 men are expected after talks between national AEF officials and the employers' association, as well as local representatives, broke down after eight hours on Sunday.

NE busmen's fourth strike

THREE THOUSAND employees of the Northern General Transport bus company who are claiming a basic £20-a-week wage are today staging their fourth protest strike against their union national executive's attitude in not pushing through the claim.

WEATHER

London area, SE, central southern, SW England, E and W Midlands, Channel Islands: Sunny intervals. Scattered thundery showers. Winds variable, light, becoming SW moderate. Warm. Max. 24C (75F).

NW, central northern England: Mainly dry. Rather cloudy, but some bright periods. Winds variable light, becoming SW light or moderate. Near normal. Max. 20C (68F).

Edinburgh: Sunny intervals. Scattered showers. Winds SW, moderate. Warm. Max. 20C (68F).

Glasgow area, Northern Ireland: Sunny intervals and showers. Becoming cloudy later with some rain. Wind SW, moderate or fresh. Near normal. Max. 17C (63F).

Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Showers or longer periods of rain in the North with normal temperatures. Mainly dry and rather warm in the South.

Liverpool & London docks Big 'No' to Devlin schemes

LONDON dock stewards met yesterday to decide their attitude to last week's suspension of second-phase port 'modernization' until July 20 by the port employers.

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

Implementation of this key stage of Lord Devlin's reorganization plans was postponed on Friday after running into a heavy groundswell of opposition from tally-clerks, lightermen and members of the 'Blue' National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers.

And with the deadline for official national strike action by members of the 'White' Transport and General Workers on another issue—their £20 basic wage claim—only seven days away, Phase Two seemed yesterday to be running into further difficulties among rank-and-file dockers.

On Merseyside, where dockers were last Friday offered similar pay terms for almost identical Phase Two proposals, Workers Press reporters found at the weekend widespread opposition to having any truck with the scheme.

'We'll be meeting to discuss this with our representatives on the port modernization committee on Wednesday,' a T&GWU steward from Liverpool's Gladstone dock told us, 'but the general feeling amongst the men is that they're not having it.'

Early yesterday morning, as dockers mustered for the week's jobs near the Royal group of docks on London, our reporting team found that many were waiting for a lead from their stewards—some of whom were unwilling to state their position.

But both 'Blue' and 'White' cardholders, although many of the latter admit to voting for acceptance of the employers' terms in their union's recent ballot, were increasingly concerned about the scheme's shift-working, labour-cutting and stringent discipline.

'Many men feel we should go all out for the national claim and then get shut of Phase Two altogether,' commented one T&GWU member. 'Some of the stewards are trying to say the national claim is only for ports that aren't going to get a Phase Two scheme, but that's not on. What do we need Phase Two for if we can get the £20 basic and increase in the piecework?'

'I can't say what we'll do at this stage,' said another. 'But I'll tell you this for free: I'm glad the Liverpool lads look like they're going to kick it back.'

The employer's hoping Phase Two's going to be his salvation, a 'Blue' union man told the Workers Press. 'And what's good for him's bound to be bad news for us. I don't know which way the men'll jump on this dock, but in my view the employer's after productivity on the cheap.'

In a bid to remove at least one of the hurdles they have so far proved unable to jump, the London port employers met representatives of the port's tally-clerks—they are demanding a £41-a-week wage—yesterday.

And on the advice of the national modernization committee, to which union officials and employers reported their difficulties on Friday, T&GWU and NAS&D representatives are to meet today to discuss their differences.

For T&GWU officials, most of whom desperately want Phase Two implemented, this is going to be a busy week. They will report and will report to the union's national docks committee.

And they will face a recalled meeting of the rank-and-file docks delegates on Thursday.

At the end of last week, Merseyside employers again attempted to show their main trump—the threat of unemployment—for forcing productivity concessions from the dockers.

Cunard-Brookbank managing director T. H. Telford, chairman of Liverpool's Steamship Owners' Association, warned a bi-centenary dinner that 'the repeated strikes, almost all unofficial, many for trivial reasons, which have bedevilled the port over the last two years have resulted... in a very serious loss of confidence in the future of the port.'

Many leading Merseyside dockers of both unions fear as a result of such statements that employers may try to break their fighting strength through transfers of work from port to port and other similar measures.

This is why unity of all ports against the threat to jobs, wages and established conditions posed by Devlin Phase Two—linked to a concerted struggle for their nationalization under workers' control—is now absolutely essential.

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Ulster 'killings' march



SIX HUNDRED marched to Downing St behind the banners of the Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front on Sunday to deliver a letter of protest to the British over the recent killings in Ulster.

One man was arrested in what was described by the organizers as 'a deliberate act of provocation' by the police.

At a meeting afterwards witnesses were called for to help organize his defence.

Extradition danger still hanging over Frank Keane

THE CASE for the extradition of Frank Keane to Eire is now due before a London magistrates court on August 14.

BY JOHN CRAWFORD

Keane, left-wing member of the Irish Republican movement, has been charged with the killing of a policeman in the course of a Dublin bank robbery and with another robbery in Co. Wicklow in February.

He declares that the charges are a frame-up by the Eire Special Branch. Under the 1965 Backing of Warrants Act, the Irish police do not have to produce any evidence to support their charges for Keane to be handed over by the British court.

A warrant for his arrest would be sufficient, except for 'purely political' offences. Keane, whose opposition to the Fianna Fail government is well known, fears that, even if the Irish police did not proceed with their frame-up murder charge, which carries the death penalty, they could hold him without charge indefinitely, like hundreds of others, under the infamous Offences Against the State Act.

A number of political prisoners have died while in the hands of the Irish police. These fears are intensified by the present government crisis, which could lead to a coup by right-wing elements in the Eireann Army. If the August 14 decision is for Keane's extradition, he can appeal to a higher court. The British trade union and labour movement must demand that Frank Keane be allowed to stay in Britain and freed from the British court.

Union branches should send resolutions to the Irish Embassy, Mount St, London W1, and demand that Labour MPs act to stop the extradition being carried out.

When the troops were sent in, 'The Newsletter' stated: 'It is necessary to organize the maximum mobilization to force Wilson to withdraw the troops immediately.'

On August 19 we warned: 'The British troops are there to carry out a policy of repression. That is why the campaign of the Socialist Labour League and "The Newsletter" to demand the withdrawal of these troops is now decisive.'

Ulster

FROM PAGE ONE

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On August 19 we warned: 'The British troops are there to carry out a policy of repression. That is why the campaign of the Socialist Labour League and "The Newsletter" to demand the withdrawal of these troops is now decisive.'

Since that time, as is well known, the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists have campaigned ceaselessly for the withdrawal of troops.

No other political tendency can match this principled Trotskyist stand. When the troops were sent in during August, their presence was welcomed by the revisionists of the International Socialist group.

'SECURITY' Their paper 'Socialist Worker' (August 21, 1969) announced that 'The deployment of British troops in Ulster provides some sort of security against the lawlessness of the RUC and the B Specials.'

The intervention, according to these unprincipled revisionists, provided 'a temporary breathing space in which the defences of the Catholic community can be strengthened.'

AUSTRALIAN LETTER

Sydney, July 1.—'We Australians are certainly not as egalitarian as we thought we were,' claimed a gentleman called Mr Justice John Angus Nimmo this week.

Mr Justice Nimmo, chairman of a committee of inquiry into health insurance, was amazed to discover that one million Australians live below a 'miserably low poverty line', thus revealing what most socialists here have always known, that regardless of what the politicians keep telling the people, Australia is no more devoid of the inherent evils of capitalism than other advanced industrial nations.

But perhaps such things are unavoidable, or as much a part of man's lot as rainy days and cold winds, for according to Mr Justice Nimmo: 'The gospel tells us there will always be poor among us.'

Even if Mr Justice Nimmo does not realize what the position is, the working class does. Like their counterparts in England they are at present fighting some hard battles. And like their counterparts in England, the employers are just as determined that this new mood among the workers will have to be broken.

The words of Minister of Shipping and Transport, Mr Ian Sinclair will be quite familiar to British trade unionists. In a meeting this week in which he was asked if the government was afraid to act against the unions because it feared the threat of a general strike, he confessed he felt they could go on much longer without intervention.

He felt strong action would be necessary '... to maintain any industrial harmony'. He also expressed his displeasure in the growing political awareness of union members, and criticized the way they had not '... restricted themselves to industrial matters but had moved more towards political issues.'

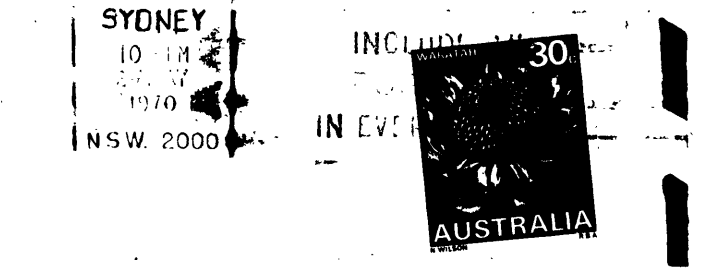
These sentiments are obviously shared by most employers. Only a few days before, the metal trades employers' magazine published an editorial calling for effective sanctions to control militant trade unionists.

This can be read as a call to reintroduce the penal clauses of the Arbitration Act—a system which was imposed on strikers, but which is at present frozen.

Unions over the government \$30,000 (£14,000) which has been outstanding for more than a year. But the general feeling is that faced with such a strong working class, the government just dare not try to demand the money, and will have to think of some other methods to whip the workers into line.

The metal trades employers of New South Wales made a few suggestions earlier in the month when they agreed to adopt measures to break the continuity of employment of strikers for leave purposes; refuse jobs for strikers or laid-off men in other factories; ban any collection of strike funds in factories; and the use of penal clauses when appropriate.

NSW government transport workers have accepted a pay increase of \$4 a week (£1 17s) an increase of 40 cents (\$3 9d) on an earlier government offer. The men had called for an increase of \$10 (£4 13s) and recently held a 24-hour-strike to back up their demand.



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S Vietnam to train Cambodians

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

TEN THOUSAND Cambodian soldiers are to be trained in S Vietnam over the next two months. The first batch of 3,000 arrived at the Chi-Lang training camp in South Vietnam's Seven Mountains area.

The other 7,000 are due to be trained in Nha-Trang, on the Vietnam coast. The US and S Vietnamese high commands have supplied more than 30,000 weapons, including 3,000 mortars and rocket launchers to the Cambodians.

Many of these were captured during the US occupation of E Cambodia last month. Stem advance These preparations are part of a desperate attempt by the US and S Vietnamese armies to try and stem the advancing communist forces in Cambodia, which are continuing to threaten the capital, Phnom Penh, and have already liberated most of the rest of the country.

Rumanians snubbed by Brezhnev absence

BY A WORKERS PRESS FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

SOVIET Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev is conspicuously absent from the list of high Soviet officials visiting Rumania this week to conclude negotiations on a Soviet-Rumanian 'friendship' treaty.

Instead the delegation is being led by premier Alexei Kosygin. Officially, Brezhnev is suffering from a cold, but this is interpreted as a calculated snub to the Rumanians, who have angered the Soviet Stalinists by their failure to endorse the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia two years ago, and by their continued flirting with China.

The Rumanian Stalinists, in addition, want greater latitude to trade independently with the West and are believed to oppose the Soviet proposal—embodied in the draft 'friendship' treaty—for setting up an international investment bank for the E European countries.

Last month, a Rumanian delegation visited China and paid tribute to the Chinese achievement in launching an earth satellite.

Real spirit The real spirit of the meeting was militant, prepared to fight, and the platform tried to head this off. The role of the present leadership was made clear. Workers in the industry can have no illusions that they are prepared to put up a fight.

They'll talk 'left' only in the hope of keeping the rank-and-file quiet. Rank-and-file members must mobilize themselves into action committees under the policy of nationalization under workers' control to meet this crisis.

Film men must fight for new leadership

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

WORKERS in the film industry are facing a major crisis. Film production has slumped to an all-time low resulting in massive unemployment.

With the cynical and underhand closure of MGM's studios at Boreham Wood, hundreds of workers have been made redundant. It was in this context of crisis that workers of the industry met at the Apollo Theatre in Shaftesbury Avenue on Sunday.

They came concerned about their jobs and futures, expecting a fighting policy to be hammered out from the platform. One and a half hours later they could have cherished no such illusions.

Paraded before them were all the tired half-baked illusions of union bureaucrats and defeated Labourites could muster. The resolution from the chair urged 'all concerned, particularly the appropriate local authorities [sic], to prevent the development of the site for any purpose other than film production'.

It went on to say: 'It is impossible to maintain a strong British film industry without adequate studio facilities.' It might have added that it is impossible to maintain a strong British film industry without finance, for that is the real centre of the crisis in Britain and America.

It is the falling rate of profit of the capitalist class that is throwing workers onto the scrap heap. 'Further we are deeply concerned at the heavy unemployment which would ensue if the studio remains closed.' Not would ensue, is ensuring.

So we urge the government to intervene to save MGM British Studios and protect British film production'. This is no programme to meet the crisis, this is the voice of bureaucrats dodging a fight, and actively preventing alternative policies being discussed.

One resolution calling for the nationalization of the industry under workers' control was refused at a hearing from the platform, even though the meeting protested.

French dockers strike as Greek trial opens

THE DOCKS section of the French CGT trade union federation yesterday staged a 24-hour ban on all work connected with Greek ships yesterday in support of the fight of the Greek people against the colonel's regime.

In Athens, at the same time, 35 opponents of the colonel's regime are on trial, many for their lives, before military courts.

Eight of the accused, leaders of the underground Greek Communist Party, face possible death sentences under the Civil War law 509, passed in 1947 to deal with 'communist subversion'.

Others on trial include 20 alleged members of the Rhigas Feraios organization, charged with having printed and circulated an underground Communist Party newspaper.

The present round of trials is a further indication that, far from 'liberalizing' as some of its British Tory friends have tried to make out, the Greek regime is becoming more bloodthirsty and dictatorial against the organizations of the Greek working class.

SHEEPSKIN MESSAGE

YET another face of Trades Union Congress general secretary Victor Feather was revealed to the world in the Isle of Man yesterday. This time it was home-spun Vic—in his best wolfskin coat but with his usual sheepskin message—primarily warning delegates to the National Union of Mineworkers' conference against 'loose talk' about Tory union-bashing.

'There is at least one good reason why there will be no union-bashing and that very good reason is the trade union movement itself,' he chuntered. 'The unions themselves would not like it. Like the lady wasn't for burning, so the unions aren't for bashing.'

Support for Cables strikers more likely

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

STRIKERS from the Erith and Greenwich Submarine Cables plants—part of the Standard Telephones and Cables Group (STC)—are to hold separate meetings today.

700 workers in all are involved in the strike against the management's threat of 280 sackings. The likelihood of support for the Erith and Greenwich men grew at the weekend after a London meeting of transport union shop stewards from Standard factories.

If the Catholics of the Falls Road now face repression under very unfavourable circumstances, those who welcomed the British troops last year and betrayed Marxist principles on this fundamental question bear a full measure of responsibility.

The intervention, according to these unprincipled revisionists, provided 'a temporary breathing space in which the defences of the Catholic community can be strengthened.'

Attempts to white-wash gas

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

ATTEMPTS are being made to whitewash the implications and dangers of the CS gas released at a South Shields public house last Tuesday. A police spokesman admitted that it was first thought the gas was similar to that used by troops in N Ireland.

'But,' he added, 'we are informed by the Army's Special Investigations branch that the unused capsules found after the incident were the sort used in practice.'

The serial numbers on the capsules have been traced to the Navy and it is certain that the gas capsules were not used in regular service, but were for training purposes only.

This 'practice' gas sent 12 people to hospital for medical treatment. Their clothes had to be de-contaminated. The ignited capsules were finally brought under control and neutralized by 11 firemen and a squad of policemen.

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LATE NEWS

ULSTER PRISONERS REMOVED

One hundred prisoners are to be moved 40 miles from Belfast to Armagh, because street riots over the past two weekends have left the prisons overcrowded, the N Ireland Ministry of Home Affairs announced yesterday.

'ARMED CRIMINALS'—BALNEIL

Restrictions on movements were imposed in Belfast at the weekend to restrict the operation of armed criminals, Lord Balneil, Defence Minister of State, told the Commons yesterday. The restrictions were imposed by the military commander as an operational measure for the safety of the community.

Capt Lawrence Orr (C., Down South) said: 'What appears to have happened is that the army have frustrated in advance a dangerous conspiracy of armed rebellion against the Crown and the whole House owes them a deep sense of gratitude and support.' Capt Orr is Grand Master of the Grand Orange Lodge.

ONLY THREE FALLS DEATHS—CLAIM

Ulster police claimed yesterday that three men—not five—died in the Falls Road area riots on Friday night and Saturday morning.

The third man was Zbigniew Uplik, 24, of London, a British subject of Polish-born parents. He died of gunshot wounds.

After the meeting a union spokesman was reported as saying: 'The shop stewards are going back to the unions with a firm line that could well involve industrial action in all STC plants.'

MEETINGS

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

MANCHESTER LECTURES

Two lectures to mark the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth. SUNDAY JULY 12, 7 p.m. 'Theory, practice and the revolutionary party'. SUNDAY JULY 19, 7 p.m. 'Lenin and the coming English Revolution'. Lesser Free Trade Hall, Peters St. Both lectures will be given by G. HEALY, national secretary of the Socialist Labour League.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE National Docks conference

LIVERPOOL: Saturday July 18, 2 p.m. Central Hall, Renshaw St. 'Scrap Devlin Phase Two! Fight the Tories! For a £20 basic wage and nationalization under workers' control'. Credentials and further details can be obtained from L. Cavanagh, 5, Gamlin Rd., Birkenhead.

NORTH LONDON: Tuesday July 7, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park. 'Withdraw British troops from Ulster'.

SW LONDON: Tuesday July 7, 8 p.m. Princes Head, Falcon Road, SW11. 'Productivity deals, anti-union laws and the Tories'.

SOUTHALL: Thursday July 9, 8 p.m. Southall Community Centre, Elm Road, Southall. 'Fight back now! Force the Tories to resign!'

COVENTRY: Thursday July 9, 7.30 p.m. City Arms, Smithford Way. 'The working class can defeat the Labour government'.

DAGENHAM: Thursday July 9, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Hford lane, Ilford. 'Fight back now! Force the Tories to resign!'.

SE LONDON: Sunday July 12, 3 p.m. Kenfield Tavern, Grove Lane, Camberwell Green, SE23. 'Anti-union laws and the Tory government'.

CROYDON: Thursday July 16, 8 p.m. Rusklin House, Coombe Rd. 'Fight back now! Force the Tories to resign!'.