

# Workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • SATURDAY MARCH 25, 1972 • No 723 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY ALEX MITCHELL

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He said the package was 'well directed' and went on to praise the new Tory supremo in Ulster, William Whitelaw. 'We are sorry to lose the Lord President who, as leader of the House, has served the House well. All of us would wish him well in this new and tremendous task he has taken on.'

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consider this a spineless act—a devious capitulation to violence.'

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If the Labour and trade union leaders were to take up a genuine fight against this government, it would not last in office another five minutes.

With the Industrial Relations Act being applied against workers up and down the country, with the engineers locked in a mammoth pay clash, civil war and bloodshed on a frightening scale threatened in Ireland, the removal of this government becomes the most crucial demand of the hour.

The working class must be mobilized to force an end to this government and a General Election.



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## Gas strike spreads in NW



Pickers outside the Stockport gasworks

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS

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Over 2,000 gas repair workers in Merseyside, Greater Manchester, N Cheshire and as far north as Blackpool are on strike in sympathy with men suspended from the Stockport gas distribution department.

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NW Gas Board chairman William Hodkinson offered to investigate new disciplinary measures launched by the Stockport

management which have led to 16 suspensions.

After talks with Hodkinson, General and Municipal Workers' Union Lancashire organizer Jack Wilkinson asked a mass meeting of Stockport strikers to return to work.

He was sure the 14 shop stewards from the N Cheshire area would receive a 'sympathetic' hearing.

Hodkinson had made it clear, however, that the strike would have to end and that he had no power to reverse the suspensions.

Angry workers have rejected these pleas and demanded to know why the G&MWU have refused to back the strike with dispute pay.

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O'Kane, unemployed of Londonderry, was sentenced to eight months, suspended for three years, after admitting five charges of obtaining a total of £152 by false cheques in Belfast in 1968 and 1969. A solicitor said full restitution had been made.

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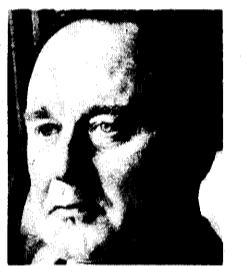
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# US WAGES: 'FIGHT TO A FINISH'

BY JOHN SPENCER

**PRESIDENT Nixon has declared a 'fight to the finish' against the trade unions in defence of his wage-freeze policy. He was replying to the walk-out by union representatives on the Pay Board established last year to hold wages to a 5.5 per cent 'norm'.**

Four of the five union representatives, including George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, resigned after the Board majority voted a 30-per-cent cut in the Pacific dockers' recent wage increase.

The four who walked out represent 14 million workers. They include steelworkers' president I. W. Abel, the machinists' union's Floyd Smith and Leonard Woodcock, head of the Auto Workers' Union.

They cited last month's 0.5 per cent increase in the cost of living as evidence that the Board is an instrument for cutting real wages. The price of meat and other foodstuffs rose by a staggering 2 per cent in February—the largest monthly grocery price rise in 14 years.

Meany said the increase showed Nixon's price policy—mediated by another board which is supposed to hold prices to a 5-per-cent annual rise—is a sham.

'While prices are going up, workers' wages are being held down,' he said.

Nixon has ordered the Board to carry on, reducing the business representation from five to one to balance the gap left by the union chiefs' walk-out.

The lone union representative is Frank Fitzsimmonds of the Teamsters' (lorry-drivers) Union.

Announcing his decision to keep the Board going, Nixon said: 'This is a fight to a finish and with the support of the American people, we will win it.'

'I shall not be deterred by the disaffection of a few union leaders.'

Nixon's decision to carry on with the Pay Board means there will be a collision with the unions each time the Board decides to slash a negotiated wage rise.

Already the dockers are talking in terms of a national strike against the Pay Board decision on their recent settlement.

## Israel backs Kingdom

ISRAEL has signified its willingness to accept King Hussein's plan for a federal kingdom on both sides of the Jordan, although it firmly rejects the borders he proposed last week.

The plan is strongly opposed by Egypt, Libya and Syria. It is also possible that opposition to the plan will help to heal the breach between Iraq and Libya.

## Dollar moves mean huge cash losses in Europe

BIG European companies, particularly in W Germany, have lost heavily as a result of dollar devaluation and chaos of the international money markets.

According to a report in the 'Wall St Journal', one company alone—Bayer AG—lost income worth over \$21m as a direct result of the monetary crisis last year.

Bayer makes chemicals and drugs and exports 55 per cent of its production. Its export prospects were badly hit by the revaluation of the mark last May, and further affected by President Nixon's 10-per-cent import levy imposed on August 15.

## FIERCE FIGHTING AROUND PHNOM PENH

FIERCE FIGHTING continues around Phnom Penh in Cambodia as an estimated three divisions of N Vietnamese troops clash with S Vietnamese ranger and armoured cavalry units.

Saboteurs blew a big hole in a heavily-defended concrete bridge connecting Phnom Penh with the other side of the Tonle Sat river.

The explosives, left in a car, shook the city and many people fled, fearing a renewed rocket and ground attack. Eleven people believed to be concerned in the blast, which killed one soldier and one civilian, were arrested.

US officials in Saigon say a big offensive may be launched soon to discredit Nixon's Vietnamization policy.

Swedish Foreign Minister

Krister Wickman described this policy as being aimed at prolonging the war, not at shortening it, when he outlined his government's policy in parliament.

The Indo-China war was the foremost example of how a super-power's global interests could conflict 'with the poor people's struggle for better conditions'. He claimed that US bombing raids were increasing in intensity.

A Defence Department spokesman has denied a charge by US Senator Mike Gravel that plastic bombs are used in Indo-China. Senator Gravel said that when pieces of the bomb entered the body they could not be detected by X-rays and made medical treatment difficult.

## Indian troops in Bangla Desh battle

INDIAN troops have been used in Bangla Desh to assist local forces to deal with a group of armed Mizo rebels.

It was claimed that the Mizos, who seek greater autonomy from India, had crossed the frontier into Bangla Desh. India accused them of receiving arms from Pakistan.

The Mizos overran two police checkpoints earlier this month, killing two policemen and injuring six others. Premier Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has repeatedly warned that 'anti-state elements' are out to disturb the peace and set up a parallel government.

The Bangla Desh government and the Indian Embassy in Dacca have angrily rejected charges in the American press that Indian troops had never completely pulled out of the country.

Elections may take place in Bangla Desh later this year after a new constitution has been drawn up.

The constitution is to be prepared by an assembly composed of members of the National and Provincial assemblies elected in December 1970, when Bangla Desh was part of Pakistan.

It will thus be dominated by members of the Awami League, whose leader is Sheikh Mujib.

## CEYLON'S INTERNMENT JAILS STILL HOLD 14'000 YOUTH

THE FIRST anniversary of the brutally-suppressed left-wing uprising in Ceylon sees 14,000 young political detainees still languishing in the

## WHAT WE THINK

### ONCE AGAIN: HANDS OFF I.S.

IF THERE is violence on Sunday's demonstration organized by the Anti-Internment League, the full responsibility lies with the Tory government.

Following a Cabinet decision, the Department of the Environment announced that Trafalgar Square could not be used for demonstrations concerning Ulster.

The ban takes away the basic right of free assembly; members of working-class communities in Ulster can be shot dead and British workers cannot demonstrate against the murders.

In preventing groups in Britain from demonstrating against Tory policies in Ulster, the government is engaging in calculated provocation. The police will be in Trafalgar Square in full strength on Sunday just waiting for the chance to attack and arrest demonstrators.

The government would like to have another Grosvenor Square punch-up to whip sections of the middle class behind a law-and-order campaign and thus also behind its new Ulster plans.

The Socialist Labour League contingent on the march will not enter the Tory trap in Trafalgar Square. We will guard our ranks against the infiltration of plainclothes police and other provocateurs.

We will be marching on the following political programme:

- End internment
- Withdraw the troops from Ulster
- Defend democratic rights
- Make the Tory government resign.

### A TORY TRAP

IN THE House of Commons on Thursday, the Leader of the House, Mr William Whitelaw, now Tory supremo in Ulster, was asked very directly the reasons for the police raids on homes of members of the International Socialists' group.

The question was put not by some obscure back-bench crank, but by the Leader of the British Labour Party, Harold Wilson.

This is the second time the Labour Party has tried to get the Tory front bench to make a parliamentary statement on why 60 homes were raided.

When Wilson was snubbed, Mrs Shirley Williams, the Shadow Home Secretary, said: 'It is not a crime to belong to the International Socialists and it is not a crime to express their views.'

But this too failed to shift the Tories; Whitelaw said no statement would be made on the incidents. By refusing to comment Whitelaw is demonstrating the government is completely behind the stepping up of political repression against left-wing groups.

Although our own differences with the 'state capitalists' are absolutely fundamental (see pp. 10 & 11) we reiterate our headline of last week: 'Hands off IS'.

coalition government's prison camps.

The detainees are held without trial because the government has no charges against most of them which would stand up in open court.

In the weeks after the uprising, thousands of young people from the rural areas were herded into prisons and makeshift camps to break the back of the People's Liberation Front (JVP).

The JVP, composed mainly of students and young workers described as 'Guevarists', took up arms against Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's coalition because it has betrayed its election promises and tied Ceylon firmly to world imperialism.

Supported by the pro-Moscow Stalinists and the renegade Trotskyists of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), Mrs Bandaranaike sought military aid from Britain, the US, India, Pakistan, China and the Soviet Union to put down the revolt.

The LSSP, headed by Finance Minister Dr N. M. Perera, have become, with the Stalinists, the most enthusiastic supporters of

internment without trial. Perera recently visited London to seek aid from the Tories for the Ceylon regime.

Since the revolt, arbitrary arrest, mass internment, censorship and suppression of democratic rights have been the order of the day. Newspapers regularly appear with blank spaces 'censored by the Competent Authority'.

Foreign observers—even Liberals like Lord Avebury of Amnesty International—have been denied access to the prisons and even run out of the country.

The army has been placed on full alert and military forces are still combing the central jungles to try and root out remnants of the JVP guerrilla forces.

Popular hatred against the coalition is growing as continued inflation drives prices to astronomical heights, and workers are stripped of their basic democratic rights.

The international labour movement must demand the immediate release of the detainees in Ceylon and fight the conspiracy of imperialism and Stalinism to strangle the Ceylon working class.

**FROM STEPHEN JOHNS**

**WORKERS** occupying the small Lancashire firm of St Helens Plastics are condemning their union for abandoning the fight for the right to work.

The occupation, one of the most bitter in Britain so far, began on March 2 after all the firm's full-time and part-time employees were faced with the sack as part of a deal to sell the plant to the Lincac group.

'Since then we have been fighting it out,' a spokesman for the occupation committee told me. 'The union will not give us official backing. I suppose they look upon us like the employers do—as unemployed men. But we don't think this. We are fighting for the right to work.'

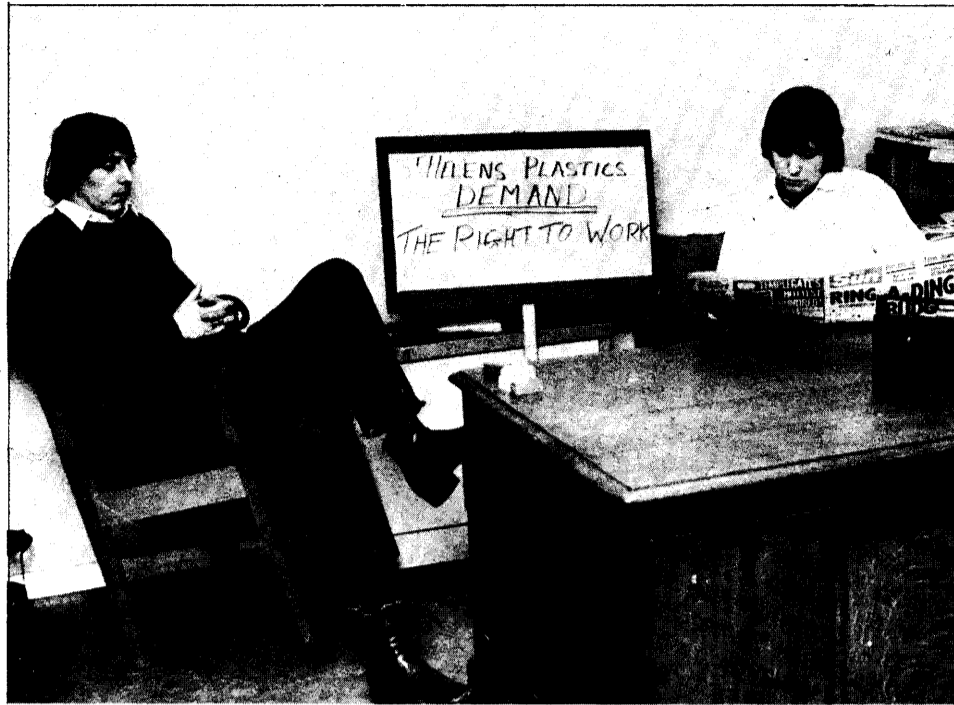
This lack of official support comes from the Transport and General Workers' Union, which, at executive level, stands for a campaign against unemployment and has a special section for the unemployed.

The redundancies were announced when workers reported back to the plant after being laid off two days during the miners' strike. A notice on the main gate told them to report to the canteen where they were told that the firm was selling its factory and plant to Lincac.

The 34 full-time workers all got a week's pay in lieu of notice, were given their cards and asked to leave. The new firm said they might re-employ them on a selective basis in three, six and nine months' time. The angry men replied with the occupation. This is not a token action—the workers hold the keys to the plant and have successfully forced the security men and their dog to withdraw.

The spokesman told me: 'What we do know is that Lincac own another factory in Featherstone. Workers there are in the General and Municipal Workers' Union. They earn about £16 a week and we earn £26. But we will not give in. Our spirits are high. We are not prepared to go on the dole. We want to live like decent human beings and have a good standard of living.'

# Sit-in for work



Workers keep in touch via the firm's inter-com

## Labour men meet on rents policy

LABOUR councillors from all over London meet today to formulate a common policy on the Tory government's 'fair rents' Bill.

The councillors have already been considering the legal advice sent to them by the Labour Party national executive on how to lessen or neutralize the rent increases due in October.

The document was sent to all Labour-controlled councils and those which Labour expects to capture in the May elections.

The essence of the strategy is non-co-operation with the Bill if it becomes law and an assurance that the next Labour government would repeal the Act, restore housing subsidies and seek a higher level of house-building.

One method of frustrating the Bill being considered is to reassess every property on an individual basis and claim that individual rents are already fair.

The Labour Party has also advised councils to publicise the tenants' right to make representations, to put stickers in the rent books to stress the increases are being forced on them by the Tories and to introduce rent rebate schemes in April, even if rents are not increased in October.

The Housing Finance Bill is near the end of its committee stage in the House of Commons.

## SHIPPING ORDERS: BRITAIN 'MISSING THE BOAT'

A HUGE slump in British shipping was disclosed yesterday. The Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom reported that 42 ships, totalling 419,000 tons were laid up on February 29 through lack of employment.

This compared with 14 ships laid up in February last year.

World recession has hit some countries even harder. In Greece the number of ships lying idle is 144 (649,000 tons) and in Liberia it is 66 (656,000 tons).

Altogether there are 592 ships with no work throughout the world. Last year there were 162.

Speaking in Manchester last night John MacConachie, presi-

dent of the Chamber of Shipping, said British shipowners were in danger of 'missing the boat' on shipping orders.

The order book for UK owners had risen by only 5 per cent in a period in which the world order went up by 50 per cent.

'Frighteningly large' sums, he added, would be needed to re-equip fleets with up-to-date ships and equipment.

The Chamber of Shipping had told the government that British shipping could not achieve the profitability necessary for immense investment needed in new ships.

MacConachie, who was addressing the Manchester Steamship Owners' Association, said Britain had already paid out more in foreign currency for the use of foreign ships than she earned by her own ships.

## Rolling their own in the Common Market

British tobacco companies linking up with European cigarette manufacturers have not ruled out the possibility of some sort of a merger.

Carreras, the Piccadilly, Guards and Dunhill group, have held talks with the Dutch Turmac Tobacco Company, Martin Brinkmann AG of Germany and Rothman's of Pall Mall Exports.

The aim of the talks is 'to seek a basis of co-ordinating the interests of their respective companies in view of the expansion of the Common Market'.

McKinseys, the American consultants, have been brought in to 'investigate and report on the matter'.

A Carreras spokesman commenting on the possibility of some sort of a merger said: 'The talks could lead to anything or they could lead to nothing.'

'We have pulled in McKinseys

to advise us on what the possibilities are. It could be a few months before another announcement is made,' he added.

### Rail talks resume Tuesday

PAY negotiations for 200,000 railway workers will be resumed next Tuesday between the three railway unions and the British Rail Board. The unions are hoping for an improvement to the £30.8m deal offered last Tuesday which the board described as 'final'.

## Three million jobless to make industry efficient

THE MANAGING director of one of Britain's big four car firms said on Thursday he was surprised there were not 3 million unemployed.

Mr Gilbert Hunt, head of Chrysler's UK operation, claimed if Britain's industry was to compare with the most efficient in the world, fewer not more industrial workers were needed.

Faced with the impossibility of reflation the home market for fear of unleashing a galloping

inflation and tilting the balance of payments far into the red, this week's Tory budget can be seen as a last-ditch bid to trigger an investment boom and stimulate export industries.

But the continuous downturn in production revealed in January's figures gives the lie to Tory claims that their past economic and fiscal measures have done anything to lift Britain out of recession.

Ever since the failure of Barber's mini-Budget, business circles have shown growing scepticism about the likelihood of 'recovery'.

This week's announcement of 1,014,511 unemployed mirrors the employer's hard-headed determination to trim their sails according to the weather.

They will not wait long to see if the latest Tory 'incentives' work.

The problem, as every businessman knows, is not investment, but markets. Their only chance of surviving the overproduction crisis currently tearing at the fabric of world capitalism is to continually increase production efficiency.

When Hunt says he expects to see 3 million unemployed before British industry has a chance of effectively competing in world markets, he is speaking for the whole of big business.

Not only mass sackings but increased productivity and wage cutting are now absolutely inescapable for every capitalist.

## Cash for jobless shunted about

WITH unemployment at the 1 million mark, the Tories are to encourage the jobless to move around the country looking for work.

Robert Carr, Secretary for Employment, has announced details of a new employment transfer scheme to help workers move to jobs away from home.

The scheme, which comes into force on April 5, is designed to provide financial aid to workers who are unemployed or threatened with redundancy, and who are willing to move outside their area.

Lodging allowances, pending household removal, are increased and the present £100 miscellaneous expenses grant is replaced by a £600 rehousing grant for government trainees obtaining their first job in their training trade away from home.

In addition several conditions around the present scheme are relaxed as the Tories step up their attack on the right to work.

### ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

**SHEFFIELD:** Sunday, March 26, 7.30 p.m. YS premises, Portobello, near Jessop Hospital. 'The engineers' pay claim'.

**WILLESDEN:** Monday March 27, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Rd., NW1. 'Right-to-Work Campaign and the fight to force the Tories out'.

**LEEDS:** Tuesday March 28, 7.30 p.m. Quarry Hill Flats Community Centre. 'The engineers' play claim'.

**W LONDON:** Tuesday, March 28, 8 p.m. Prince Albert, Wharfedale Road, off York Way, Kings Cross, N1. 'Report back from Wembley Pool'.

**SOUTHALL:** Wednesday, March 29, 8 p.m. Southall Community Centre, Bridge Road. 'Report back from Wembley Pool'.

**N LONDON:** Thursday March 30, 8 p.m. Bricklayers Arms, Tottenham High Rd., N17 (off White Hart Lane). 'Report back meeting from Wembley and the Scarborough conference'.

**S EAST:** Thursday, March 30, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, nr. New Cross Station. 'Report back from Wembley Pool'.

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# THE MARCH GOES ON

The five Right-to-Work marches organized by the Young Socialists have climaxed their fight against the Tory government by a massive rally at the Empire Pool, Wembley. Now a new stage of the fight opens up. All the determination and political consciousness raised during the nationwide marches is today turned towards making a huge success of the YS annual conference at Scarborough on April 8 and 9. Scarborough becomes the next signpost on the march to build the revolutionary party in 1972.



Steve Jones joined the Right-to-Work march for 'a good time, a good laugh . . . and to see what it was all about'.

Over three weeks on the road, however, he changed dramatically.

Starting out on February 19 as an energetic and skilful exponent of the drop-out philosophy, Steve entered the Empire Pool Wembley on March 12 as a leading member of the Swansea-London march committee.

'Even on the first day I wondered what I'd wandered into', he told Workers Press before travelling back from London to his home town of Neath last week.

'When we arrived at a pub in Skewen—halfway between Swansea and Neath—a crowd of workers had turned out to cheer us in. Then right out of the blue they made a collection for us in the bar.

'Now if we'd been just a group of long-haired youth we wouldn't have got that kind of response from trade unionists.

'Another thing that really surprised me was when we went to Chippenham, the Tory town which tried to shut us out. There was a real feeling amongst the marchers of hatred for the Tories and hatred for capitalism.'

It was after Chippenham, Steve says, that he became deeply interested in what was happening on the march and what it was trying to do.

At 20, he has already had a variety of jobs, mainly as a building labourer. None of them

satisfied him.

When he first came on the march it was after only very casual contact with the Young Socialists.

Steve came with a belief that youth are looking for freedom. Some of the constraints imposed on the march by police and capitalist-press surveillance irked him.

'After a bit I realized that was wrong', he says.

'The people I've spent a lot of time with on the road shove a label on communism because of what happened in the Soviet Union; they think it interferes with their freedom.

'Also they think that all politicians are just in it for themselves.

'All my family are strict Labour, but up until the time I came on the march, I'd only voted once. And that was for Plaid Cymru.

'But seeing those Labour MPs we lobbied in parliament last Monday—how frightened of us and our questions they were—and comparing that with the support we received, I'm convinced we can win through in the labour movement.

'It's all over for this system really. Even among the older people things like the Queen don't hold any sway at all these days.

'We can't wait years and years until the Tories die off, we've got to get them out now.

'And the only way the working class will do that is by getting out in front now and doing it. We must do it ourselves.'



John Williams had something to say to his train-driver father when he went back to the Rhondda valleys last week.

An unemployed building worker from Treherbert in the Rhondda fawr, John (20) was never very interested in politics before he marched from Swansea to London for the right to work.

But after three weeks on the road, and after meeting his MP at Westminster last Monday, he's now determined to build a big branch of the Young Socialists in his area.

'I'm not just saying I'm going to try to do it, I'm going to do it', he says firmly.

'I've never voted in an election yet. But my father's always supported the Labour Party and particularly Alec Jones, the MP for Rhondda W.'

Some of the Swansea-London marchers treasure the memory of John, normally taciturn, standing up in a House of Commons committee room after meeting Jones and other MPs declaring in his deep valley accent: 'What a bloody shower!'

The five-month period since John last had a job is the longest he has ever been out of work.

'I'd never had any trouble finding work before the Tories came in', he says. 'But since then they haven't been offering anything.'

'I was offered a place in a government training centre once, but even that was never pushed through.'

John says: 'I suppose I blamed the situation generally on the Tories, but before I came on the march this wasn't really a very hard feeling. And I certainly didn't know what to do about it.'

When first approached by the Young Socialists, John was against the idea of marching.

A few weeks before he had walked with his friend Geoff Hurst some 26 miles in one day in a bid to find work at the BP oil refinery sites at Llandarcy and Port Talbot. The purpose of a march to London was hazy.

When Geoff and another friend decided to participate, however, John decided to go along.

'I must admit even when we started out I thought it was just a protest against unemployment', he said.

'But then we got such a great response from all the ordinary people we met. That really surprised me, really started me thinking.'

'The first time it really got through to me was at Rolls-Royce where we had 2,000 workers out to cheer us past and they gave us tremendous backing.'

'As we went along, I got to feel more and more bitter about the Tories, what they are doing

and the people in the Labour Party who are allowing them to do it.'

For John—as for all the marchers — Wembley was the climax.

'The night when we met all the other marchers at Northampton was very good', he says. 'We were all together, chanting and singing. All fighting for the same thing.'

'The Empire Pool was something different—we looked out as we marched in and there were 8,500 people cheering us.'

'At first I thought most of them must have come to hear the pop groups later, but then there was the collection. £1,000 for the Right-to-Work campaign in just a few minutes.'

'I think everyone who went through all that feels far different about things now than when we set out.'



Northampton: 'We were all together, all fighting for the same thing.'



Above right: Dictator Lanusse, who claims to want to 'democratize' Argentina, signing a defence pact with Allende

# LANUSSE: ARCH EXPONENT OF LAW AND ORDER

By our foreign correspondent

Argentina has been ruled by a military dictatorship since 1966. Immediately upon taking power General Juan Carlos Onganía proceeded to send military forces into the universities, purging all leftist, progressive or democratic professors.

Though Onganía came to power with the support of some sections of the trade union hierarchy and attracted some popular following on the basis of his populist corporatist ideology, he proceeded to violently repress strikes, to intervene in unions and to jail or purge thousands of trade union militants.

The closing of 'unprofitable' sugar mills in the province of Tucuman led to massive confrontations between the military and the workers.

By the beginning of 1969 it appeared that Onganía had consolidated his corporatist-style state. His law and order was praised by investors as a model for Latin America.

## URBAN

In May 1969 the dictatorship's social peace was shattered by one of the most massive violent urban uprisings in the hemisphere. In Cordoba, industrial workers, unemployed and semi-employed slum dwellers and white-collar workers took over city streets, and held off the army for several days.

The incidents which ignited the uprising were the killings by the police of the students (Pamillón in Cordoba, Aldofo Bello in Sante Fe, Juan José Cabral in Corrientes and Blanco in Rosaria).

The Cordobazo—as the Cordoba workers' uprising of May 1969 is commonly known—was a spontaneous outpouring of hatred toward the Onganía dictatorship; it was the people's response to declining salaries, police-state repression and the thousand-and-one indignities that the regime imposed on the people of Argentina.

With Onganía's image of law and order severely shaken, the military high command met and decided it was necessary to change leaders in order to maintain the system. General Roberto

Marcelo Levingston was elected 'President' by the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

Parallel to the development of massive working-class resistance, at least five urban guerrilla groups emerged and dealt the government and its supporters a series of military and political blows.

The growing opposition from all sectors of the population, the deterioration of the economic situation and the growing political isolation of the military forced Levingston to grant some marginal concessions—a pseudo-nationalist political campaign 'Buy Argentina' to promote 'national industries' (that were already in large part in foreign hands) and partial lifting of the government enforced wage freeze.

## JUSTICE

The police and the repressive forces, under constant attack from all sides, began to take 'justice' into their own hands: selective terror emerged as a new means of social control. Known professionals were threatened and in some cases kidnapped and assassinated. The Argentine counterparts of the Brazilian 'squadron of death' began to act.

The disintegration of the Levingston regime became apparent by the ninth month in office: even lower-level police officials of the Interior began to join the popular demonstrations. In March 1971 a second Cordobazo took place and the central government had to fly in federal police as well as the army to regain control of the city. General Lanusse replaced Levingston.

Lanusse has followed a policy of marginal concessions while maintaining and strengthening the bureaucratic-repressive apparatus of the police state. Recognizing the military government's low level of popular support and prestige, he legalized the non-revolutionary opposition parties, returned Eva Peron's corpse to her husband and promised free elections in three years.

At the same time he declared that the anti-guerrilla campaign was an internal war and put the army in control of the hunt against the 'subversives'.

The officially condoned selective terror by the police-right-

wing gangsters continues: lawyers of suspected guerrillas disappear; guerrilla suspects are arrested, the arrests are denied by the police—the bodies turn up in anonymous graves.

Given the centralized structure of the Argentine administration, and especially law enforcement, structure, these official acts of police terrorism cannot be passed off as the activities of marginal right-wing extremists acting contrary to the wishes of the General—"President".

Lanusse's decisions not to undertake a thorough investigation of the links between the police and right-wing political assassinations strongly suggests that it is not convenient, that he too shares the police assassins' reasoning that the lawyers of the political prisoners are interfering with official investigations because . . . they demand and end to torture.

Surrounded by a sea of hostile social forces, the police and army are striking out wildly at individuals innocent of 'subversive' behaviour. The continued mass unrest, the spiraling inflation, the lack of co-operation, even from the middle class, has demoralized some sectors of the police and has made others more vicious. The question is posed: Is Argentina headed into the abyss—will it become a Brazilian-style police state? The selective terror belies Lanusse's claim that he aims to democratize the country and to reconcile all Argentinians.

Given the growing radicalization of the working-class movement and its proneness to resort to direct action, alongside the growth of increasingly active urban guerrilla units, it is hardly possible to envisage the 'easy' conversion of Argentina into a Brazil.

That type of change has to pass over the corpse of an aroused population which begins with a strong antipathy toward the military: a costly civil war is the alternative to democratization—and the terror that Lanusse tolerates and/or permits can lead Argentina down this road.

On December 16, 1970, Nestor Martins, a lawyer well known for his defence of militant trade unionists and for his public exposure of police use of torture, was kidnapped by secret police agents in broad daylight along with one of his clients (Nilo Zenteno).

From that day nothing is known of them.

Repeated inquiries concerning his whereabouts have received virtually a deaf ear from all public officials — including the President.

On March 8, 1971 Diego Ruy Frondizi, the nephew of a former President of Argentina, his friend Manuel Belloni and the chauffeur Ruben Greco were gunned down by police—unarmed.

The police justified this murder by stating that they were 'suspected' of being guerrillas. In fact they were supporters of the nationalist Peronist movement, which has several million members.

On July 13, 1971 Juan Pablo Mestie and his wife Mirta Elena Misotich were kidnapped by secret police agents while leaving the house of her parents. Two days later his body turned up in a grave with two bullets in the back. The police said it was a plain case of suicide.

## PROMISE

Mirta Elena Misotich is still missing, despite Lanusse's promise that she would be returned safe and sound. Apparently there is some disagreement among the assassins as to who is and isn't on the list.

On June 2, 1971 Dr Verd and his wife Sara Palacios were arrested by police, who brought their two daughters to Dr Verd's sister. Subsequently the police denied having made the arrest and the Home Secretary claims it was a case of . . . self-kidnapping to get publicity.

On October of 1971, a psychiatrist, Enrique Pujals was arrested—his wife's letters to the President requesting information have gone unanswered.

The terror goes on. The arbitrary and violent nature of these officially condoned selective assassinations has alienated the professional classes.

The line separating the police from the political underworld has been deliberately blurred; as a result all arrests and all policemen have become suspected gangsters. It may reach the point where many Argentinians will think it is the better part of wisdom to resist rather than risk arrest—and possible death.

# SECRET DOSSIERS ON FIAT WORKERS

Allegations have been made against Fiat, claiming that the giant Italian car firm has compiled secret files on every one of its 180,000 employees.

The files are said to contain basic political information about each and every worker.

Now 77 people, from police chiefs to company officials, face criminal investigations. And similar action is expected against at least another 20 people.

The accusations so far include complicity in corruption, 'revealing office secrets', and 'unauthorized private investigations'.

Conviction could mean heavy jail sentences. Under Article 319 of Italy's criminal code, a term of between two and five years in prison is laid down for people found guilty of corruption.

Article 326 punishes those who reveal 'office secrets' with jail terms of between six months and three years.

The dossier scandal broke in Turin, Fiat's HQ, last July when an employee called Caterino Ceresa was sacked on the spot.

But it appears that someone blundered in dismissing him in such an arbitrary way, as Fiat soon found to their cost.

Ceresa, a former member of the Carabinieri, told a tribunal that although he had been officially hired as an 'office boy' his real job was to spy on other Fiat workers and inform management.

Sticking to his rights the company spy then demanded redundancy payment based not on manual workers' earnings but on the better salaries earned by white-collar staff.

His statements opened the floodgates. Within four weeks a magistrate ordered seizure of the secret files Fiat was supposed to be keeping.

Turin is also known as 'Fiatville' and the company's influence has been known to stretch as far as the police and other state authorities in the town.

So the magistrate decided the best thing to do would be to get the case out of town. Now the affair is being handled by the Public Prosecutor at Naples — more than 400 miles away.

'This sort of thing is done when it is feared that local judges will not be completely objective or disinterested in carrying out their investigations into a given case,' said the new inquirer Dr Ivan Montone.

At the moment the probe is in its early stages. But eventually it will have to be decided whether to press formal charges and bring the 77 to trial.

The accused so far include a Carabinieri Colonel, two police commissioners, and several Fiat company officials — among them former deputy chairman Gaudenzio Bono; the co-director general, Niccolò Giola and the personnel officer, Umberto Cuttica.

Cuttica is also alleged to be responsible for Fiat's counter-espionage office.

The investigations to compile the files on workers are alleged to have been carried out by policemen and Carabinieri who were on the company's pay roll.

The seized documents are also alleged to contain a list of police agents and informers who were paid by the company to snoop on workers.

For years now Fiat has tried to maintain a fatherly image as far as its workers were concerned. It was one of these 'cradle-to-the-grave' firms with cheap housing for many workers and its own social welfare scheme.

But Fiat workers were in no way kidded or confused by this paternal attitude. In the first six months of 1971, for instance, strikes caused the loss of nearly 135,000 vehicles.

Strong allegations about company spies are no more than a sign of these new times of crisis for Italian capitalism.



# WILLIAM CRAIG IS THE PROTESTANT BACKLASH

BY ALEX MITCHELL

At Ormeau Park in Belfast last weekend the Ulster Vanguard, the extreme right-wing of the Unionist Party, turned on a public show of strength. It was impressive. About 75,000 turned out.

The man who summoned the meeting and who fired the audience into flag-waving and cheering was William Craig. In a stony, expressionless voice

Craig declared: 'We are going to do more than just talk. Whatever the call of duty requires we shall do.' As the crowd hushed, Craig continued: 'We must build up dossiers on men and women who are enemies of this country because one day, ladies and gentlemen, if the politicians fail, it would be our job to liquidate the enemy.' The speech sent a shiver through liberal circles in London;

but it's difficult to understand why. In Ulster's Tory politics Craig has been one of the most outspoken and consistent spokesmen for the extreme right wing. As early as October 1969, the 'Daily Mirror' said: 'To put not too fine a point on it, Mr Craig, who is drawing massive crowds wherever he travels, has become the man wielding the biggest whip in the Protestant backlash.' If Craig has been more silent in the past two years, it is

simply because the Tory government at Westminster and the British army have been carrying out policies to which Craig is sincerely dedicated. He wanted a large-scale army in Ulster—he got it. He wanted the repression of the Catholic community—he got it. He wanted soldiers given the authority to shoot to kill—he got it. He wanted internment—he got it. In that sense Craig is the man who represents the true Tory mentality in Ulster and he is responding today to the needs of the Belfast bourgeoisie who fear that their profits and privileges might be threatened by the Tory 'initiatives'. Craig has worked assiduously in Ulster to build his political base. By profession a solicitor, Craig was a long-serving chairman of the Young Unionists before being elected to Stormont in 1960. Two years later he became the Party's chief whip. He moved into a spacious detached house in Belfast which is conspicuous for its flagpole in the front garden from which the Union Jack always flutters. For his high-powered political organizing in the Party's grass roots, Craig travels in his sleek limousine (his recent models have included a Jaguar, a Daimler and a Chrysler). He has a boat on one of the

lakes and enjoys shooting. In 1963, aged 37, he was appointed Minister of Home Affairs and took his place in Captain Terence O'Neill's cabinet. In effect, Craig was Ulster's Home Secretary; responsible for the police and civil rights (or lack of them). Within a month of taking ministerial office Craig showed his stamina—and his attitude to the working class. He attacked the unions for not giving proper service and accused the unemployed of refusing to acquire new skills or travel 20 to 30 miles for jobs. When the trade union leaders complained about these remarks, Craig told them: 'Grow up, or, failing that, for the good of all, take a running jump off a great height.' Craig's brand of hardline politics was revealed even more explosively in October 1968 during the first riots in Londonderry. Civil rights marchers defied Craig's ban on parades and came into collision with large squads of baton-wielding police. Ninety-six civilians were injured in street battles. Television cameras, photographers and reporters captured scenes of police officers openly beating up marchers. But as shock swept through Ireland and Britain, Craig went on radio

to pronounce: 'I am quite satisfied that the police used no more violence than was absolutely necessary and, in fact, showed considerable restraint.' (If you transpose the word 'police' for 'troops' the statement is almost identical to what General Ford said after the 'Bloody Sunday' massacre in the same town in January this year.) Craig then began a spirited defence of the police, the B-Specials and the local government arrangements which ensured privileges for the Protestants. He also joined the Rev Ian Paisley in attacks on what would be described as 'popery'. The outbursts were seen as a challenge to O'Neill's fragile leadership. In the event, in December 1968, Craig was purged from the Cabinet. In his letter to Craig telling him of his dismissal, O'Neill said: 'I have known for some time that you were attracted by the ideas of a UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) nature. On at least two occasions it has been necessary to ask you to delete comments from your speeches which attempted to show that we could manage on our own . . . or that we should contemplate a breach with Britain.' But it was a measure of Craig's strength that within months of

his dismissal, O'Neill himself was ousted. In the backroom manoeuvres which ended O'Neill's premiership, Craig played a dominant role with another hard right-winger, Brian Faulkner. On coming to power Major James Chichester Clark took steps to isolate Craig and a clique of right wingers who he correctly saw as the greatest threat to his tenuous hold on Stormont. For his part, Craig barnstormed Unionist strongholds declaring: 'We are facing the most determined attack ever made in our history to destroy Ulster and all that Ulster means to us.' The burning overriding consideration of the new government is to strengthen security arrangements. A special division of highly-trained men is needed to cope with armed subversives.' When he refused to support a motion of confidence in Chichester Clark he was drummed out of the Unionist Party. Once again, only a matter of months elapsed before Chichester Clark, another premier, was toppled. With the Unionist Party torn asunder with factions, Craig decided to mount his first serious attempt for the leadership. At this stage his political proposals began to show a degree of irrationality; one newspaper said: 'The Craig doctrine is a form

of madness.' In effect, Craig proposed that Ulster become a state of the United Kingdom or, as he put it, a 'Smith government'. When he lost the leadership contest by 26 votes to four in March 1971, Craig announced: 'I will support Mr Faulkner as long as he pursues the policies this country needs. But if he follows the line of the Chichester Clark administration, we shall not hesitate to fight him.' In November last year Craig announced the formation of his Ulster Vanguard, a body of Loyalists and Orangemen, dedicated to 'the Loyalist line and the constitutional status of Ulster'. The party came into formal operation a month ago with the aims of 'defending the country by force if necessary and even by making the supreme sacrifice'. A propaganda leaflet said: 'It is essential that every Loyalist should unite now and help destroy for all time this evil in our midst. Unity under Vanguard is there for all true Loyalists. Make up your minds now, and prove to the world that the long-awaited Protestant backlash is no myth.' At the opening rally in Lisburn he called for the mobilization of all Loyalists to defeat 'an evil conspiracy which threatened

the country's existence. 'And God help those who get in our way, for we mean business,' he added. 'We must look to ourselves for the Loyalists of this province should stick together or sink together.' At another meeting in Londonderry he told the faithful: 'I can promise you that before March is out, notice will have been served on all and sundry that Ulster is not for sale.' On the face of it Craig's Vanguard group has wider support than the Rev Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party, another offshoot from the official Unionist Party. Organizations which already have affiliated with Vanguard include the Ulster Loyalist Association, the Loyalist Association of Workers, the Ulster Special Constabulary Association, the Young Unionist Council, the Ulster Defence Association, the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, the Royal Black Preceptory and the Apprentice Boys. Representatives elected to serve on the central council are: the Rev Martin Smyth (Grand Master of Belfast and District Grand Orange Lodge); the Rev R. Dickinson (Grand Master of Derry Grand Orange Lodge); Mr A. Lee (Grand Master of Co Derry Grand Orange Lodge); Mr John Brown (Grand Master of Co Antrim Grand Orange

Lodge); Mr J. Molyneux, MP (head of the Royal Black Preceptory); Capt A. Ardill (chairman of the Ulster Loyalist Association); Mr H. Petrie (Loyalist Association of Workers); Mr G. Green (Ulster Special Constabulary Association); and Mr Brian Smith (Ulster Unionist Association). Joint president with Craig is Mr Billy Hull, chairman of the Loyalist Association of Workers. It is the presence of senior RUC men and ex-B-Specials that gives Vanguard its para-military overtones. This aspect of the party was even more firmly evoked at last Saturday's large rally when row after row of Protestant youths marched in formation to the park. They wore black berets and dark sunglasses to avoid identification from the army photographers who, as usual, were busy taking pictures of everybody. Craig clearly has the whip-hand among a large section of the Protestant population. It remains to be seen how he intends to use it.

Above: William Craig, Stormont MP, seated behind fellow Unionist at Loyalist rally. Left: When RUC officers beat up civil rights demonstrators in Londonderry Craig said no excessive violence was used.

# STALIN'S POLICY OF 'DISPERSAL'

BY TOM KEMP

**THE MASS deportation of about 1.5 million people to remote parts of the Soviet Union during World War II is one of Stalinism's lesser-known, but still important crimes.**

These people, from eight distinct nations, including the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tartars and a number of Asian minorities in the southern region of the country, were packed into cattle trucks and dumped in remote eastern areas.

About 500,000, mostly children and elderly people, died in transit.

The suppression of these nationalities' rights, the abolition of their national autonomy and the deportations were kept as secret as possible. Even today, the rights of the Crimean Tartars and Volga Germans have not been fully restored.

Even before the German attack on the Soviet Union in June, 1940, the Soviet bureaucracy had reason to doubt the loyalty of the N Caucasian nationalities. The region suffered heavily in the purges of the 1930s when thousands of Communist Party members were arrested and many executed. One report puts the number of arrests at 120,000.

Unrest in the area gave the lie to the Stalinist claim to have solved the nationalities question. Hatred of the bureaucracy was exploited by religious and nationalist elements. Undoubtedly the Germans were welcomed as liberators in some places and recruited soldiers from among the population.

When the Germans had been driven out, collective punishment

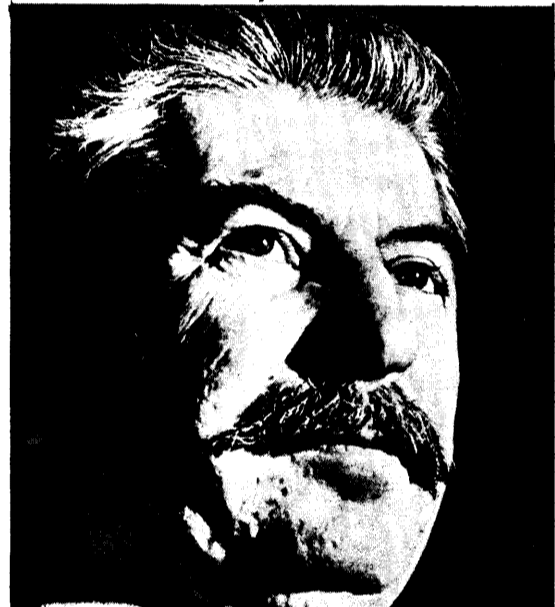
was imposed on the entire population, regardless of its behaviour and including Communist Party and Young Communist League members. NKVD (secret police) forces were then sent in, headed by the notorious First Special Service Division.

This is the picture which author Robert Conquest\* pieces together: 'The method employed was for the units to be brought into the area some weeks before the operation with the purpose of making detailed plans and familiarizing themselves with the position. When action commenced each village was surrounded by armed troops, and a number of soldiers detached to accompany the "operational" security-police officers each detailed to round up the families in a given group of houses.'

In the case of the Karachis and the Kalmyks, the decree was formally read in the villages and each family was allowed 100 kilograms of property, including food. The inhabitants were then assembled in the fields or other convenient places where they remained, often for a day and night, before the transport columns appeared to take them to the railroad.'

The Chechens were treated rather worse. The round-up took place when the villagers were celebrating Red Army day. Many were shot down when they protested and they were allowed only 50 kilos per person. Many died during the weeks-long journey.

Conquest is a leading anti-Soviet and anti-communist writer. He makes the best of crimes and brutalities of Stalin and the bureaucracy. He tries to trace them back to Lenin's time. For



Top: Khrushchev, Bulganin (in uniform) and Serov (centre). Serov was security chief, head of the GPU (secret police). Left: Lavrenty P. Beria, Stalin's last chief of Police, 'liquidated' in 1953. Right: Joseph Stalin.

this reason, while his book contains most useful information about the history of the nationalities concerned, its assumptions and main conclusions, have to be treated with considerable caution.

After Stalin's death the bureaucracy tried to make amends, carrying out a certain amount of rehabilitation and restitution as far as the N Caucasian nationalities were concerned. But there is no indication that Khrushchev or anyone else opposed Stalin's orders at the time. Some of those most closely concerned with deportation orders were shot, together with their chief, Beria, in 1953.

Others, such as Serov, who had been awarded the Order of Suvarov, First Class, and later became a Hero of the Soviet Union for his part in the deportation of the Chechen-Ingush, continued to hold high office. So did others who had been deeply involved.

It was many years after the deportations that the bureaucracy at last admitted that the indiscriminate accusations against the nationalities had been unfounded. A decree of 1964 rehabilitating the Volga Germans blamed them onto 'arbitrariness during the period of the cult of Stalin's personality'.

The decree withdrawing the accusations against the Crimean Tartars did not come until 1967. It said: 'After the liberation of the Crimea from the fascist occupation in 1944, accusations of the active collaboration of a section of the Tartars resident in the Crimea with the German usurpers were groundlessly levelled at the whole Tartar population of the Crimea. These indiscriminate accusations in respect of all the citizens of Tartar nationality who lived in the Crimea must be withdrawn, the more so since a new generation of people has entered on its working and political life.'

Nevertheless, neither the Volga Germans nor the Crimean Tartars have been permitted to return

to their former homelands.

The Meskhetians, formerly resident in Georgia, were not freed from MVD control until 1956 and even then were not allowed to return home. Like the Tartars, many have been trying to get back ever since without success.

In other parts of the Soviet Union there were also deportations during the war, but they did not include whole peoples. Measures against the nationalities were part of the Stalinist terror aimed first against the Trotskyists and then against all those suspected of opposition, including for instance, former prisoners of war.

Stalin undoubtedly feared the nationalities and simply abolished the rights which they enjoyed as a result of the policy established by Lenin after the Russian Revolution. One has only to ask whether Lenin would have taken the measures which Stalin ordered against the nationalities; in the light of his approach to the national question and his practice—including his opposition to Stalin's methods in the Caucasus—the answer is definitely no.

Even the bureaucracy, which supported Stalin's measures at the time, had later to admit that they were senseless. It does not even try to claim that they were necessary on military grounds or for reasons of security. A police apparatus which was able, during a full-scale war, to deport millions of people was surely able to take care of the minority of traitors that there may have been.

Stalin and the bureaucracy not only mistrusted the small minority nationalities, they suspected the Soviet masses as a whole. As a parasitic and usurping caste, they can only maintain their rule by police terror and repression.

And, as General Grigorenko put it, in the course of his courageous campaign on behalf of the Crimean Tartars:

'You think you have only to deal with honest people. This is not the case. What was done to your nation was not done by Stalin alone. And his accomplices are not only alive but holding responsible offices.'

They still hold their offices. But they have taken their revenge on Grigorenko, not with a bullet or a prison sentence, but by having him declared 'insane' by a KGB psychiatrist and put away in a mental ward. The Tartars struggle continues and today has become an important part of the opposition movement to the bureaucracy.

Providing that it is used with a full recognition of the authority's hostility to Leninism, this volume, like his previous study of the purges, provides much useful information about the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

There are guilty men in the British Communist Party's King St headquarters as well as in the Kremlin. Party secretary John Gollan and all the apologists for the bureaucracy's crimes must also be called to account. They must be forced to say where they stand on this question as well as on the Moscow Trials.

Honest Communist Party members and readers of its 'Morning Star' must demand that they explain how these mass deportations took place and why restitution took so long and is still not complete.

They must be called to account for their own complicity in this disgraceful business. All socialists must demand the full restitution of the rights of the Tartars and other nationalities oppressed by the bureaucracy and the release of Grigorenko and other oppositionists who have carried on this fight in the Soviet Union as communists and supporters of Lenin's nationalities policy.



General Grigorenko of the Red Army

\* 'The Nation Killers' by Robert Conquest has just been published by Sphere Books Ltd at 45p.





The capable and gracious whites inspecting Singapore's defences including one of the famous 15-inch guns which faced the wrong way.

The British Empire, Part 11, entitled with unique aptness 'The Gift of Endless Dreams', contrived to plumb even more profound depths of nonsensical, anecdotal, impressionistic reaction.

In dealing with an immense and vital subject — British colonialism in China and Malaysia, the rise of Japanese nationalism and the onslaught of the Pacific War—BBC producer Tom Haydon somehow managed to concentrate his attention almost entirely on the not only biased, but also exceedingly banal and boring opinions of a small group of upper-middle-class English gentlemen and their ladies.

Were he merely presenting an account of the exaggerated pretensions and inflated egos of a particular former ruling clique, a clique sheltering behind the defence mechanism of nationalistic nostalgia, then the programme, might have passed muster: but given a vast historical panorama with which to deal, it seems possible that Tom Haydon scratched his head and came up with a few 'angles'.

Haydon's mind was obviously burning with a sole question: By what magic did a small group of white rulers direct thousands of square miles of territory and millions of people in relative calm, without massive revolt? The answer is not magical at all, residing as it does in the lag in consciousness of exploited peoples under certain historical circumstances.

Tom Haydon's programme, however, painted a different picture—that of the justice and benevolence of British colonialism.

Not that Haydon questioned Mao Tse-tung's evaluation of the western colonial powers as having arrived in China 'with the Bible in one hand and opium in the other'. The facts now corroborate this view so clearly that it is accepted by even the most reactionary of historians.

But in the case of Malaya and Singapore, the intention has always been to uphold the notion of happy native peoples governed by gracious, capable whites, until the 'dastardly' Japanese came along and smashed the idyllic harmony. Haydon did

## TV REVIEW BY ANNA TATE

# ENDLESS IMPERIAL DREAMS

little to dispel this view. To paraphrase Mao's dictum, Tom Haydon arrived in Singapore with a BBC Producers' Handbook in one hand and his liberal illusions in the other.

The truth is very different. In dealing with the Malaya campaign and the fall of Singapore, the programme did not attempt any objective analysis whatsoever. Nothing was mentioned of the world depression which had led to the rise of Japanese nationalism, militarism and the drive for expansion. England had for long dominated the East for profit, now Japan sought to corner those resources under the blanket of a Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

Japan, armed with the more openly violent militarism of Nippon nationalism, rapidly gained the ascendancy, since the ruling class in England, and Winston Churchill in particular, preferred to disguise their intent behind open-door policies and co-existence, as long as it was someone else's door and another country's existence.

What resulted from this grossly hypocritical posture was that thousands of British working men and women were sent into a suicidal holocaust, together with thousands of colonial peoples, in one of the biggest military blunders of all time—the Malaya campaign.

In the spate of post-mortems which have been conducted on the great failure by a galaxy of colonels and brigadiers, the one blaming the others, only points of military detail have been argued, not the political implications. Part 11 of the British Empire series carried on that tradition.

Optimism was built on the

'sure I am' reassurances of Winston Churchill, who was only sure of anything from a position of almost total ignorance, cloaked in chauvinistic phraseology. Although the Japanese threat had not appeared overnight, but had been maturing for over a decade, Churchill could still say when war broke out: 'I confess that in my mind the whole Japanese menace lay in a sinister twilight... If, on the other hand, Japanese aggression drew in America, I would be content to have it.'

The point is that the western powers had watched over the agony of the Chinese people as Japan proceeded from July 1937, to carry out a full-scale invasion of that country. The same western powers watched, without intervention and with no great sympathy; watched in the hope that Chinese resources and markets would satisfy Japanese appetites.

They then exploded with self-righteous indignation, caught unawares as Japan overran French Indo-China, proceeded on to the great rubber and tin arsenal which was Malaya and from there to the oil-rich Dutch East Indies.

This was beyond the bounds of fair play. Undemocratic behaviour. Unfortunately, however, it was also the logic of the capitalist system which is profoundly anti-internationalist and based on fierce competitiveness. It was by deliberately drawing a blind over this logic that the Winston Churchills of the world were able to hide behind the notion of 'sinister twilights'.

This is why Churchill only heard of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour when his butler Sawyers brought him a radio to the dinner-table at Chequers. As one historian has described the scene: 'The BBC had beaten Churchill's own intelligence service by hours, with news that came as a profound—and to Churchill an almost exhilarating—shock.'

The 'exhilarating shock' of Churchill led to the death of 138,708 British, Indian and Australian troops during the Malaya campaign, but this aspect of the situation did not preoccupy Tom Haydon. For him, and for liberal thinkers like him, sentimentalism has become a substitute for history.

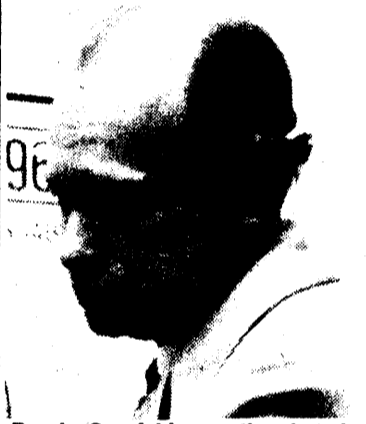
# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## HOT TIP

If you've been thumbing through the finance pages of various national newspapers lately, you may have come across a prominent advertisement for London Life Assurance.

The advertisement is remarkable because it features a large-size photograph of Mr Patrick Sergeant, the city editor of the 'Daily Mail', and contains his personal recommendation for everyone to rush out and take policies with London Life.

We seem to recollect the same debonair city editor also recommended Bernie Cornfeld's Investors Overseas Services (IOS) as a red hot tip.



Bernie Cornfeld: another hot tip

## BEER

One aspect of entry into the Common Market which shouldn't be overlooked. In a letter to the 'Economist' this week, Mr D. A. Walker of Yorkshire reveals:

☞ Sir—An interesting theory on one effect of Britain joining the common market:

- Eventually the duty on wines will cease and vin ordinaire will be sold in supermarkets at around the same price as it is in France — thus becoming the drink of the working classes.
- The predicted price rises in public houses as a result of them opening continental hours will push the price of beer up to the point where it is largely enjoyed solely by the more affluent ☞

## BUCKS

International Telephone and Telegraph, one of America's most powerful private communications corporations, is currently involved in a scandal involving top people in the Nixon administration.

It has been claimed that the Justice Department's anti-trust division dropped three anti-merger suits against ITT after being favourably impressed by a donation of \$400,000 to the Republican convention.

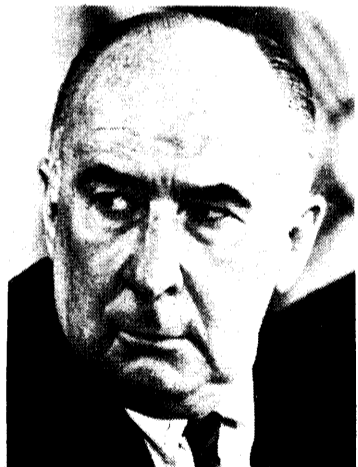
The ex-head of the department, Mr John Mitchell, has stoutly denied the charges.

Which is not surprising since Mitchell resigned two weeks ago to become Nixon's campaign manager. And it also just so happens that Mitchell and Nixon were previously partners in the same Washington law firm.

None of these scandals has seriously influenced the company profitability.

Last week ITT shares rose \$2.6 to \$61 a share.

The giant conglomerate reported worldwide revenues of a record \$7.35 billion in 1971, or 13 per cent above a re-stated \$6.48 billion in 1970. Its net income was up 12 per cent to \$406.8m, or \$3.45 a share, before an extraordinary \$70m charge to reserves for the loss by expropriation of its partly-owned Chilean telephone subsidiary. Earnings in 1970 were \$362.5m, or \$3.14 a

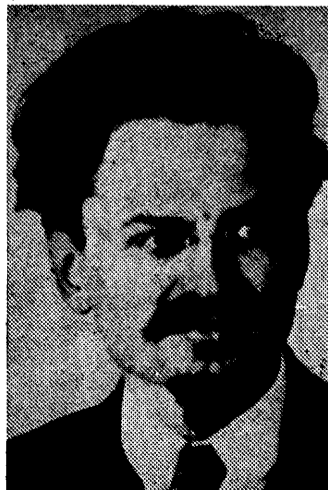


John Mitchell: denied charges

share, adjusted to reflect companies acquired through pooling of interests.

No wonder they could afford to give way a few bucks to Nixon.

# BOOKS



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# Right-to-Work marches and

# the revisionists

AS JOHN BARRIE, leader of the five-week Glasgow-London Right-to-Work march said at the Empire Pool, Wembley, rally on March 12, the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work campaign has written an imperishable page in the history of the working class.

These marches established the incontestable fact that the basic rights of the working class cannot be defended or extended by the traditional reformist leadership of the working class.

The campaign of slander and distortion by the right wing and the consistent—but unsuccessful—operation of the proscription list and the black circular by the Labour Party NEC and the TUC strengthened the conviction of every marcher that the creation of a new revolutionary party to lead the working class to overthrow capitalism and smash the Labour traitors was the most vital need of this epoch.

To ignore or belittle this task or to object to those who try to carry it out is to betray the working class and defend bureaucracy and imperialism.

This is precisely the task of 'Socialist Worker', the mouthpiece of the International Socialism group. After trying, unsuccessfully, to join the Right-to-Work marches and convert them into yet another protest against the Tories, the state capitalist fraud now tries to damn the YS campaign with a mixture of distortion, malice and faint praise.

IS policy on the right to work, since it flows from a completely reformist and non-Marxist analysis of capitalism, is diametrically opposed to SLL and YS policy. That is why there could be no agreement with this revisionist group.

The IS position on unemployment is based on the false and Utopian assumption that the capitalist system is not in the throes of a mortal and insoluble crisis determined by objective laws and that the capitalist class can be forced to maintain full employment through industrial militancy.

This non-class attitude to the right to work is abundantly revealed in the IS seven-point Industrial Conference Resolution on unemployment.

No productivity deals (a convenient *volte-face* since IS in the past advocated acceptance of productivity deals on the grounds that such deals couldn't be defeated!), a £25 minimum wage, a 35-hour working week, no redundancy with work-sharing (and the reactionary principle of first-in, last-out), work or full pay (this renders the right to work meaningless), organize the unemployed and support the Claimants' Union (a thoroughly reformist exercise in condescending charity) and nationalization under workers' control.

Nowhere in this resolution is there even a passing reference or a demand for a campaign to force the Tories to resign and replace it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

Nor, for that matter, do the authors outline the task of creating a revolutionary leadership for the working class.

Their leading industrial spokesman, Chris Davison, made it exceedingly clear that there was no necessity to force the Tories out; that full employment and Toryism were compatible:

'We have to make the demand for a 35-hour week a serious one . . . If the trade union movement enforced a 35-hour week, it would create 1 million jobs overnight' [sic]. ('Socialist Worker' February 5, 1972.)

If this seems ridiculous, what would readers think of the following gem:

'The fastest way to cut unemployment in Britain today would be for the trade union movement to fight for an end to overtime working.' (January 29, 1972.)

This is reformist twaddle. Under conditions of falling profit rates and a collapse of the monetary and credit structures of capitalism, a shorter working week or an end to overtime will only spur on the monopolists to intensify rationalization and the capital-intensiveness of their investments.

In the context in which these demands are advanced by the



The Glasgow-London Right-to-Work march

By  
**Michael  
Banda**

revisionists, they cannot even marginally solve the problem of unemployment.

Does this mean that Marxists oppose the struggle for the 35-hour week or an end to overtime working? Of course not. What we maintain is that an exclusive reliance on these minimal trade union demands will confuse workers about the nature of the economic crisis as well as the cause of unemployment and ultimately lead the militants into a reformist blind alley.

As the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International correctly states:

'The Fourth International does not discard the programme of the old "minimal" demands to the degree to which these have preserved at least part of their forcefulness. Indefatigably, it defends the democratic rights and social conquests of the workers.'

'But it carries on this day-to-day work within the framework of the correct actual, that is,

revolutionary perspective. In so far as the old, partial "minimal" demands of the masses clash with the destructive and degrading tendencies of decadent capitalism—and this occurs at each step—the Fourth International advances a system of **transitional demands**, the essence of which is contained in the fact that ever more openly and decisively they will be directed against the very basis of the bourgeois regime. The old "minimal programme" is superseded by the **transitional programme**, the task of which lies in systematic mobilization of the masses for the proletarian revolution.'

Further on Trotsky makes crystal clear the purpose of these demands:

'The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind.'

'If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. "Realizability" or "unrealizability" is in the given instance a question of the re-

lationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle.'

'By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical success may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery.' ('Transitional Programme', New Park Publications, pp 15 and 17.)

The task of Marxists is to integrate the minimum demands within the Transitional Programme and not to seek to counterpose the minimum to the transitional programme as the revisionists do.

This slavish allegiance to the minimum programme by the IS group found its most sinister expression during the miners' strike. Having for months denounced the SLL demand for a campaign to force the Tories to resign as 'sectarian', 'divisive', 'premature' and 'ultimativistic', the IS, in 'Socialist Worker', during the seven-week strike did everything possible to divert the miners from the political implications of the strike and confine the struggle exclusively to the question of wages.

In this way the IS group played its traditional role as a 'left' adjunct to the union bureaucracy and the greatest

opponent of socialist politics within the mining industry.

All the IS demands do not threaten the existence of this decadent system, but in fact are designed to foster illusions that it can be perpetuated by militancy and more rank-and-file pressure on trade union leaders.

Now we can see clearly why the IS paper gave no publicity to the five marches and why IS members actively opposed the march in trade union branches and shop stewards' committees as in the Linwood Chrysler plant.

Their hostility makes a mockery out of the 'Socialist Worker's' simulated concern and admiration for the YS marchers and also explains why their anonymous correspondent, in keeping with many capitalist reporters, deliberately minimized the attendance at the rally of 8,500 by as much as 3,500.

It is doubtful whether an IS reporter was present, although one was invited, since the report talks of four marches when in fact five contingents entered the Empire Pool under their own banners! (Our estimate of 8,500 is based on ticket counterfoils—not on inventive imagination.)

The omissions, however, are by no means the most obnoxious

## WIDE SUPPORT FROM LABOUR MOVEMENT

### SCOTLAND

Standard Telephones, E Kilbride

T&GWU, Dumfries

AUEW, Annan

Polkemmet Pit, W Lothian

Cumnock Baroney pit

Dalkeith pit

Massey Ferguson, Kilmarnock

Ibros bus garage, Glasgow

Woodside AUEW, Glasgow

Kilbowie AUEW, Glasgow

### NE

NE Marine and Clarks

Swan Hunter's Wigan yard

Swan Hunter's naval yard

Reyrolles

South Shields trades council

Sunderland trades council

Peterlee trades council

### NW

Allied Mills, Bootle

Bird's Eye, Kirkby

Fisher Bendix, Kirkby

Kraft, Kirkby

Hygena, Kirkby

Dickenson's, Kirkby

Otis Elevators, Kirkby

CAV, Liverpool

Lucas, Liverpool

Lockheel's, Liverpool

IRO site, Bootle

Plessey's

Crompton colliery

Grove St building site

Stanlow oil refinery site,

Ellesmere Port

Vauxhalls, Ellesmere Port

Leyland Motors, Leyland

BAC, Preston

Docks, Preston

Docks, Birkenhead

Dunlop's, Liverpool

Wigan trades council

Durries site, Skelmersdale

Durants, Skelmersdale

### SWINDON

AUEW district committee

Trades council

### CSEU

British Rail works committee

### YORKS

Haythorne Davey, Leeds

Sumrie's, Leeds

Baird's, Shipley

Daniel Doncaster, Sheffield

Barrow colliery, Barnsley

Saville colliery, Barnsley

Glasshoughton colliery,

Castleford

Wheldale colliery, Castleford

ICI AUEW, Huddersfield

Fenner's strike committee, Hull

Saltend site, Hull

Bird's Eye, Hull

Kelley's, Chesterfield

### OXFORD

Banbury Export Packing

T&GWU stewards

Morris Motors 5/55 T&GWU,

Oxford

5/60 T&GWU Pressed Steel

BMC Service

Whitney trades council

### MIDLANDS

Indian Workers' Association

Derby

IWA, Wolverhampton

Plessey's, Nottingham

Nottingham busmen

AUEW Coventry district

committee

Rolls-Royce, Ansty, Coventry

Coventry district DATA

British-Leyland Alvis, Coventry

Keresley miners

British-Leyland Transmission

AUEW shop stewards,

Birmingham

British-Leyland Pressed Steel-

Fisher, Birmingham T&GWU

shop stewards

Lucas AUEW shop stewards,

Shaftsmoor lane, Birmingham

Dunlop AUEW shop stewards,

Birmingham

Bentley labour club, Bentley

### LONDON

Newham ASW painters and

decorators

POEU Post office tower branch

committee

Foster and Wheeler's, Northfleet

power station

Stone Manganese Marine,

Charlton

Sovex, Erith

Vickers, Crayford

Sainsbury's, Charlton

Sainsbury's Blackfriars

Triang's, S Wimbledon

Decca Radar, Battersea

P. B. Cow Industrial Polymers,

Streatham.

Garton's Glucose, Battersea

RACS, Wandsworth

Ford's, Croydon

Express Dairy, Cricklewood

Witton James, GEC factory,

Wembley

POEU Met. NW branch

Lucas Aerospace, NW10

Beck and Pollitzer, W Hampstead

Vivasol Precision, NW10

Hendon bus garage

Gestetners, Tottenham

Garrick International Telephone

Exchange

Bellings, Enfield

Brimsdown power station

Vauxhall's, Luton

Ford's, Basildon

### BRISTOL

Rolls-Royce, Bristol

BAC Bristol

Smelting Works, Bristol

Docks, Bristol

feature of this liberal-opportunist tendency. In keeping with state-capitalist tradition, the report continues:

'The fact is that the considerable number of experienced industrial militants who need to be brought together into a revolutionary organization... were hardly represented at the rally. No doubt this was because of the sectarianism of the organizers in refusing to allow organized participation in the campaign by other revolutionary organizations besides the SLL.'

Of all the fantastic lies of the IS, this certainly lays claim to be the most ludicrous.

Some 8,500 to 9,000 people—mostly industrial workers with considerable industrial experience—attend a rally to declare their readiness to fight for real revolutionary principles and the IS states that trade unionists 'were hardly represented!'

To quash this grotesque lie once and for all we publish the evidence of some of the industrial representation at the conference. While we do admit that there are still many industrial militants who still adhere to Stalinism and social democracy, we are also aware that the rally and the marches have helped to convince many such militants about the correctness of our policies and methods.

That is why many Labour Parties defied the NEC prescriptions and many trade union branches and trades councils turned a blind eye on the black circular of the TUC and welcomed the marchers into one provincial town after another.

We are confident that in the coming period thousands more will rally to the banner of Trotskyism and swell the ranks of the YS and the SLL to form the revolutionary party.

Intelligent and politically honest readers of the report in 'Socialist Worker' will readily see that the charge of 'sectarianism' is nothing more than a cover for incredible distortions:

'Even more disappointing was the failure of the speakers to put forward any real programme for linking the fight against unemployment to the day-to-day struggles of organized workers on the shop floor.' (Our emphasis.)

'Any real programme?'

The SLL has been the only organization, particularly since the July measures of Wilson in 1966, to relate the fight against unemployment to the daily struggle against inflation, intensified exploitation, etc.

Before the ATUA was formed, its predecessor, the Oxford Liaison Committee, outlined a programme for this struggle. At every stage we were opposed by the IS group, who viciously attacked the SLL demand for the replacement of Wilson by a new leadership.

They collaborated openly with the Stalinists and the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions in opposing every lobby of the YS against the Prices and Incomes Act.

In the fight against Barbara Castle's anti-union White Paper, these rascals covered up for the TUC through their support for the Liaison Committee.

Today the only comprehensive programme for the working class which links the struggle for political power with the daily struggles of the trade unions is the Draft Manifesto of the ATUA and the Charter of Basic Rights.

The Draft Manifesto begins correctly by spelling out the political and economic implications of entry into the Common Market and the consequences of the Roy Jenkins-Heath alliance for the labour movement.

This is crucial to the understanding of the situation in Britain and the tasks of building an alternative leadership to Wilson. It is instructive—if not revealing—that for all their demagogic talk, the IS could not take a decisive stand on the Common Market.

'How can 'socialists' remain indifferent to the greatest conspiracy of the European monopolies to drive down living standards, create mass unemployment and smash trade union organizations? Tell us Mr Protz!

The IS programme, since it is separated from the strategy of taking power and building an alternative leadership in the class, actually retards the development of socialist consciousness, enables the right wing to remain in power and opens the door for fascism and war.

That is the meaning of the IS attack on the Empire Pool rally.

## SATURDAY TV

### BBC 1

11.55 Weather. 12.00 Double Deckers. 12.25 Pink Panther. 12.45 Grandstand: 1.20, 1.50, 2.25 Racing from Newbury; 1.40 International Motor Racing; 2.10 Big Fight Preview; 2.25 International Rugby Union—Wales v France; 4.40 Final Score. 5.00 We want to Sing. 5.30 News. 5.45 Dr Who.

**6.10 FILM: 'THE SATAN BUG'.** Alistair Maclean's thriller starring George Maharis, Richard Basehart, Anne Francis, Dana Andrews. Development of ultimate weapon in bacteriological warfare.

**8.00 THE DICK EMERY SHOW.**

**8.30 THE BEFRIENDERS.** Nobody understands Miranda.

**9.20 NEWS, Weather.**

**9.30 EUROVISION SONG CONTEST 1972.**

**11.10 MATCH OF THE DAY.**

**12.00 Weather.**

### BBC 2

9.35 Open University. 3.00 Film: 'You Can't Have Everything'. 4.35 Private Lives. 5.00 Everybody's Revolution. 6.50 Television Doctor. 7.05 Westminster.

**7.25 NEWS, Sport, Weather.**

**7.35 RUGBY SPECIAL.** Wales v France.

**8.25 SOUNDS FOR SATURDAY.** Buddy Rich and his Orchestra.

**9.15 THE CRAFTSMEN.** Casting in Bronze.

**9.30 CHRONICLE.** Award for Industrial Archaeologist Groups.

**10.25 SUNSET SONG.** By Lewis Grassic Gibbon. Dramatised in six parts. Part 1: The Unfurrowed Field.

**11.10 NEWS, Weather.**

**11.15 FILM NIGHT.**

**12.00 MIDNIGHT MOVIE: 'SONG OF SCHEHERAZADE'.** Yvonne De Carlo, Brian Donlevy, Jean Pierre Aumont. Story of Rimsky-Korsakov's inspiration for Scheherazade.

### ITV

10.55 Road Report. 11.00 Sesame Street. 12.00 Grasshopper Island. 12.15 Joe 90. 12.45 News. 12.50 World of Sport: 1.30, 2.00, 2.30 Racing from Hexham; 1.45, 2.15, 2.50 Racing from Doncaster; 3.00 All England Badminton Championships; 3.50 Results, Scores, News; 3.54 Wrestling from Bedford; 4.45 Results Service. 5.05 News. 5.10 Both Ends Meet. 5.40 Sale of the Century.

**6.05 THE COMEDIANS.**

**6.35 FILM: 'ROGUE COP'.** Robert Taylor, Janet Leigh, George Raft. Gangster thriller.

**8.00 SATURDAY VARIETY.**

**9.00 THE PLOT TO MURDER HITLER.**

**10.00 NEWS.**

**10.10 HAWAII FIVE-O.** Follow the White Brick Road.

**11.10 THE ODD COUPLE.**

**11.40 ALL OUR YESTERDAYS.**

**12.05 STRANGE REPORT.**

**1.00 MUSIC MATTERS.**

### REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC-1 except:  
Wales: 5.00 Disc a Dawn. 12.02 Weather.  
Scotland: 4.55 Sportsreel part 1. 5.40 Sportsreel part 2. 11.00

Sportsreel. 11.15 Come Dancing. 11.50 News, weather.  
N Ireland: 5.40 Sports. News. 12.02 News, weather.  
England: 12.02 Weather.

### REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 12.45 London. 5.10 Randall and Hopkirk. 6.05 Sale of the century. 6.35 Film: 'Tanganika'. 7.58 Weather. 8.00 London. 10.10 Jason King. 11.10 UFO. 12.00 Weather.

don. 9.00 Hawaii five-o. 10.00 News. 10.10 Both ends meet. 10.40 Name of the game. 12.05 Who knows?

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 Gus Honeybun. 12.10 Rupert Bear. 12.20 Bugaloos. 12.00 Faith for life. 12.05 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.15 Yesterdays. 11.45 Thunderbirds. 12.42 Weather. 12.45 London. 5.10 Tommy Cooper. 5.40 Comedians. 6.10 Sale. 6.40 Film: 'Scarlet Angel'. 8.00 London. 9.00 Theatre of stars. 9.55 Film Diary. 10.00 News. 10.10 Plot to murder Hitler. 11.10 Man in suitcase. 12.05 News, weather. Discoverers.

ULSTER: 12.30 Grasshopper island. 12.45 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 Sportsreel. 6.05 Dick Van Dyke. 6.35 Sharps show. 7.00 O'Hara. 8.00 London. 9.00 Film: 'Return of the Seven'. 10.00 News. 10.10 Film (continued). 10.50 Plot to kill Hitler. 11.50 Comedians.

HTV: 11.25 Skilful Rugby. 11.50 Captain Scarlet. 12.15 Seaspray. 12.45 London. 5.10 Shari's show. 5.40 Bugs Bunny. 6.00 Dr Simon Locke. 6.30 Both ends meet. 7.00 Sale of the century. 7.30 Comedians. 8.00 London. 9.00 Hawaii five-o. 10.00 News. 10.10 Saint. 11.10 Cinema. 11.40 Weather.

YORKSHIRE: 11.20 Yesterdays. 11.50 Phoenix five. 12.15 Bugs Bunny. 12.45 London. 5.10 Randall and Hopkirk. 6.00 Cartoon time. 6.10 Film: 'The Last Hunt'. 8.00 London. 9.00 Please sir. 9.30 Comedians. 10.00 London. 11.10 Edgar Wallace. 12.15 Olivia's scrapbook. 12.45 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 7.00 Sion a Sian.

TYNE TEES: 11.20 Yesterdays. 11.50 Arthur. 12.15 Lidsville. 12.45 London. 5.10 Bonanza. 6.00 Film: 'Beneath the 12-Mile Reef'. 8.00 London. 9.00 Please sir. 9.30 Comedians. 10.00 News. 10.10 FBI. 11.10 Challenge. 12.00 Avengers. 12.55 Were you there?

ANGLIA: 11.20 Yesterdays. 11.50 Cowboy in Africa. 12.45 London. 5.10 Rovers. 5.40 Flintstones. 6.05 Sale. 6.35 Film: 'California Conquest'. 8.00 London. 10.00 I spy. 11.10 Theatre of stars.

SCOTTISH: 11.35 Beagan Gaidhlig. 11.50 Bush boy. 12.20 Primus. 12.45 London. 5.10 UFO. 6.00 Comedians. 6.30 Film: 'Gunsmoke'. 8.00 London. 9.00 Randall and Hopkirk. 10.00 News. 10.10 Scotsport. 10.40 Late call. 10.45 Marcus Welby.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12.10 Horoscope. 2.15 Captain Scarlet. 12.45 London. 5.10 It takes a thief. 6.05 Sale of the century. 6.35 Film: 'Wyoming Trail'. 8.00 Lon-

GRAMPIAN: 12.15 Bugaloos. 12.45 London. 5.10 Batman. 5.40 On the buses. 6.10 Film: 'To the Shores of Tripoli'. 7.35 Comedians. 8.00 London. 10.10 Hawaii five-o. 11.10 Jimmy Stewart. 11.40 Yesterdays.

## SUNDAY TV

### BBC 1

9.00 Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan. 11.00 Seeing and Believing. 11.30 Boomph with Becker. 1.00 Croesi'r Bont. 1.25 Farming. 1.55 Children Growing Up. 2.20 Made in Britain. 2.30 Going for a Song. 3.00 Ask Aspel. 3.20 Shari Lewis Show. 3.30 Film: 'A Bell for Adano'. 5.10 The British Empire. 6.05 News.

**6.15 PAUL: ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY.**

**6.45 SONGS OF PRAISE.**

**7.25 ENGELBERT.** With The Young Generation and The Goodies.

**8.10 FILM: 'THE WAR LORD'.** Charlton Heston, Richard Boone. Chrysgagon, one of Duke of Normandy's war lords, is sent to defend a remote village.

**10.05 NEWS, Weather.**

**10.15 OMNIBUS.** The Three Faces of Jazz.

**11.15 AD LIB.**

**12.00 Weather.**

### BBC 2

9.00 Open University. 7.00 News Review, Weather.

**7.25 MUSIC ON 2.** Colin Davis.

**8.20 THE WORLD ABOUT US.** Mrs Helen Robinson, 71, and her ambition to catch a giant black marlin.

**9.10 DANIEL DERONDA.** Part 3: The Diamonds.

**9.55 ANEURIN.** Film portrait of Aneurin Hughes a Welsh countryman.

**10.15 THE BLACK AND WHITE MINSTREL SHOW.**

**11.00 NEWS, Weather.**

**11.05 UP SUNDAY.** Line-up takes a last look at the week.

### ITV

10.35 House and Garden. 11.00 Service. 12.05 Cover to Cover. 12.30 It's Your Money. 12.40 Take a Cine Camera. 12.55 Out of Town. 1.15 Stingray. 1.45 University Challenge. 2.15 The Big Match. 3.15 Jason King. 4.15 Shirley's World. 4.45 Golden Shot. 5.35 Pretenders. 6.05 News.

**6.15 THE GOOD LIFE.**

**6.30 ADAM SMITH.**

**7.00 A HYMN FOR TODAY.**

**7.25 ON THE BUSES.**

**7.55 FILM: 'THE DARK AT THE TOP OF THE STAIRS'.** Robert Preston, Dorothy McGuire, Angela Lansbury. Mid-west family in America during 20s.

**9.50 POLICE FIVE.**

**10.00 NEWS.**

**10.15 MAJOR LAVENDER.**

**11.15 THE FROST PROGRAMME.**

**12.05 MUSIC MATTERS.**

### REGIONAL BBC

All Regions as BBC-1 except:  
Wales: 3.00 Spy Trap. 3.50 Rugby Union. 4.40 Canu'r Bobol. 6.15 Y Gwr Piau'r Goron. 10.15 O'r Neuadd Gyngedd. 12.02 Weather.

Scotland: 10.30 Service. 1.00 Children Growing Up. 11.15 Labour Party Conference. 11.40 News, weather.  
N Ireland: 11.15 Sunday Gallery. 11.45 News, weather.  
England: 12.02 Weather.

### REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 11.00 Service. 12.05 Cover to cover. 1.50 Weather. 2.00 Big match. 3.00 Film: 'Ferry Cross the Mersey'. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Inspector'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Epilogue. Weather.

Soccer. 3.15 Johnny Nobody. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'Yellow Rolls Royce'. 10.00 London.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 1.20 Sound of the Settlers. 1.40 Farm and country news. 4.30 Date with Danton. 12.05 Epilogue. 12.10 Weather.

ULSTER: 12.05 London. 12.55 House and garden. 1.45 London. 3.15 Film: 'The Huggets Abroad'. 4.45 London. 6.30 Hymn. 6.55 Adam Smith. 7.25 On the buses. 7.53 Sport. 7.55 Film: 'Bitter Victory'. 9.30 Jimmy Stewart. 10.00 London. 12.05 Epilogue.

SOUTHERN: 10.35 London. 12.00 Weather. 12.03 Farm progress. 12.30 London. 12.55 Cover to cover. 1.20 Little cheaser. 1.30 Stingray. 2.00 Big match. 3.00 Film: 'You're My Everything'. 4.35 News. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Moving Target'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Weather. Discoverers.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00 London. 12.55 House and garden. 1.25 Farming. 1.55 Calendar. 2.15 Soccer. 3.10 Film: 'Last Holiday'. 4.45 London. 7.25 Both ends meet. 7.55 Film: 'The VIPs'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Weather.

HTV: 11.00 London. 12.55 House and garden. 1.45 London. 3.10 Film: 'How to Murder a Rich Uncle'. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'Night Creatures'. 9.30 Mr and Mrs. 10.00 London. 12.05 Weather.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 London. 12.55 House and garden. 1.25 Farming. 1.55 Out of town. 2.10 Jobs. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Twice Around the Daffodils'. 4.45 London. 7.25 Both ends meet. 7.55 Film: 'Teacher's Pet'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Epilogue.

HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 12.05 Dan Sylw. 12.40 O'r Wass. 12.55 Utgyrn Seion.

SCOTTISH: 12.05 London. 12.55 House and garden. 1.25 Yesterdays. 1.55 Airline pilot. 2.50 Tom Grattan. 3.15 Film: 'Kill or Cure'. 4.45 London. 6.15 Another way. 6.30 London. 7.25 Film: 'Operation Crossbow'. 9.40 Conference Report. 10.00 London. 12.05 Late call.

ANGLIA: 11.00 London. 12.55 House and garden. 1.20 Challenge. 1.50 Weather. 1.55 Farming. 2.30 Mountbatten. 3.25 Dick Van Dyke. 3.55 Football. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Liquidator'. 10.00 London.

GRAMPIAN: 12.05 London. 12.55 House and garden. 1.25 Farm progress. 1.55 Messiah. 2.50 Film: 'Goodbye My Fancy'. 4.45 London. 7.25 Both ends meet. 7.55 Film: 'The Beauty Jungle'. 9.40 Conference report. 10.00 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 London. 12.55 House and garden. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 Yesterdays. 2.15

# Fewer dockers needed—Peyton

TRANSPORT and General Workers Union secretary Jack Jones heard Tory Transport Minister John Peyton claim at a port employers' lunch in London yesterday industry could not afford to carry surplus labour.

Peyton praised the government's decision to give more cash to the National Dock Labour Board because, he said, this would enable 'improvements in

the severance scheme for registered dock workers'.

He warned: 'We must not lull ourselves into the belief that in the modern world industry can carry labour surpluses and avoid being fatally weakened as a result.'

'It is here that the National Dock Labour Board and the local boards have a great responsibility and the onerous task of fixing the size of the register.'

'I believe that if the scheme were operated by all concerned

with determination and goodwill it could be the means of providing the ports with an efficient labour force of the right size.'

Peyton said the employers have made progress in tightening up on the docks, but he stressed that there was still a need for employers to rationalize their own numbers:

'Things are a good deal easier and simpler when the whole operation, ship, quay, shed and shore vehicle is carried out by one operator who controls all the labour force and equipment.'

# STEELWORKERS HOPE FOR STRIKE PAY

SEMI-SKILLED workers at Bredbury steel works, Stockport, Cheshire, were waiting anxiously yesterday to hear whether their union would back their occupation with strike pay.

Andy Doherty, an ex-steel worker, and Stockport organizer of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, said a request for £6 a week dispute benefit for the men was now before the

national executive. The decision could take up to two weeks.

FORTY FIVE engineering tool-makers and press setters at Pressac, Long Eaton, Derbys, are on official strike for a £3-a-week pay claim.

# ANTI-UNION LAW HITS PORTWORKERS

SPECIAL INVESTIGATION BY DAVID MAUDE AND PHILIP WADE

DOCKLAND — already simmering towards a national strike in a fortnight's time — has been brought to boiling point by the first-ever order of the National Industrial Relations Court against a trade union.

The order is a temporary one telling the Transport and General Workers' Union to stop its docker members in Liverpool 'blacking' containers handled by a local transport firm.

But next Monday the order could be made permanent, opening T&GWU leaders Jack Jones and Tim O'Leary to the threat of imprisonment if they refused to comply with it.

A second threat they face is of considerable discontent in the ranks of the road-transport section of their union, caused by their own opportunist policies.

The NIRC has brought several long-forgotten chickens home to roost.

Containerization is a key issue in the row over dock jobs which threatens to halt the industry from April 7.

According to G. E. 'Bill' Tonge, the chairman of the National Association of Port Employers, containers, pallets, roll-on roll-off and other new cargo-handling techniques bear chief responsibility for the cut-back of job opportunities this year. Nationally 3,000 jobs are threatened.

The haggle about whose job it is to load and unpack containers — giant, reinforced metal boxes carrying 20 or 30 tons of cargo at a time — has been going on at least five years.

Its first major outburst in Britain, however, was when the port of Liverpool came to a standstill in July 1969 over the use of non-registered labour at a container base in nearby Aintree.

It was in the course of that strike that dockers first came up

against their leaders' looking both ways on the issue.

In May 1968, three T&GWU officials — Jones (then assistant general secretary), dock secretary O'Leary and Ken Jackson, the recently-resigned, road-transport secretary — signed an agreement with Sir Andrew Crichton's Containerbase Federation.

This provided for the Aintree depot to be manned by non-registered labour: lorry drivers and general labourers rather than dockers. But the first the dockers themselves heard of it was when the deal was reproduced in the local press at the start of their strike.

Nothing was really settled by the formula which ended that strike after four days; Crichton's agreement remained intact.

And although a whole series of unofficial stoppages, one-day token strikes and other actions have taken place since then, the issue is still not resolved.

On Monday and Tuesday of last week, Liverpool dockers opened a campaign aimed at ensuring that work on loading and unloading of containers was carried out by registered labour.

T&GWU members had formed a joint committee of dockers and road-transport men to launch the campaign.

They made the point in a broadsheet that the answer to the problem could not be found by Merseysiders alone.

'The exercise on March 20 is designed as a platform for national action,' they said.

From that date hauliers operating from Merseyside docks were invited by the T&GWU to sign an agreement. The main clause read:

'It is agreed that the company will not undertake a work contract that would involve the stuffing and stripping of containers, other than those done by customers' labour at point of manufacture or reception (this being work normally done by registered dock workers), without prior consultation with the appropriate officer of the union.'

Heaton's Transport (St Helens) Ltd is a transport and warehousing firm. It delivers and

collects containers from the dock and has containers brought to its warehouse for packing and unpacking.

On Monday the firm, whose drivers are members of the T&GWU, arrived at Gladstone Dock, Liverpool, with a container. They were refused permission to unload because the company had not signed the agreement.

The same thing happened on Tuesday. Managing director Robert Samuel Heaton then decided to use the Industrial Relations Act against the union. Things moved swiftly.

That same day the firm's solicitors applied to the National Industrial Relations Court for an interim order against the union.

The company sought three remedies in court: a declaration that the T&GWU's action was unfair; an injunction to compel the T&GWU to stop the action and compensation for traffic lost as a result of the 'blacking'.

Only 48 hours after the solicitors sent their letter a hearing was arranged at the NIRC for Thursday at 2 p.m. By 4.15 p.m. the interim order had been granted.

The union, which is unregistered, made no appearance in court which is its privilege.

The President, Sir John Donaldson, eventually returned to say a prima facie case of unfair action by the union had been made out under S 96(1) of the Act.

The clause reads: It shall be an unfair industrial practice for any person, in contemplation or furtherance of an industrial dispute, knowingly to induce or threaten to induce another person to break a contract to which that other person is a party, unless the person so inducing or threatening to induce the breach of contract—

a) is a trade union or an employers' association, or b) does so within the scope of his authority on behalf of a trade union or an employers' association.

Sir John said that T&GWU officials had knowingly sought, on the face of it, to induce Heaton's drivers to break a contract which Heaton's had with another company, namely to deliver containers to Liverpool docks.

As far as this section was concerned, trade union meant a registered union. So the T&GWU, which remains unregistered, did not fall within the scope of subsection (a).

An interim order was made against the T&GWU in London instructing them to tell their Liverpool members to call off the 'blacking' until the case could be heard in full on Monday March 27.

The T&GWU is not compelled to make an appearance at the NIRC. But if the order is made permanent they will be in contempt of court if they do not comply with it. The question of compensation also comes up on Monday.

In taking the T&GWU to the court, Robert Heaton has placed before the leadership of Britain's biggest union precisely the sort of challenge it wants to avoid.

The T&GWU Docks and Waterways Committee has now dropped from its programme of

immediate demands on the general jobs issue its call for nationalization of the industry. So has the unofficial national stewards' committee.

Yet this is now crucial.

In London, there are currently 604 men on the unattached register. The Hull figure is 273.

Employers in the capital's enclosed docks forecast that by June 1 they will have a surplus of 1,097 dockers, in addition to the men already in the pool.

This figure includes up to 100 men employed by T. Wallis Smith Coggins and Southern Stevedores, whose cases are still going through procedure under the 1947 Dock Labour Scheme.

But the first group—about 50-strong—have now become a test case for the whole industry. If they become unattached on April 7 every major port could stop work.

There can be only one realistic demand in that strike-nationalization without compensation under workers' control.

It must be prosecuted with the same determination the Tories have shown in the first action of the Industrial Relations Court.

## Lucas to raise cash

LUCAS, the car components firm have announced a £30m cash-raising operation by offering shareholders one new share for every five currently held at 380p.

About £11m would go towards reducing bank borrowing and short-term loans and the remainder will be used for increasing working capital and improving manufacturing facilities.

Lucas reported that pre-tax profits for the six months to the end of January had hit a new half-time peak of £8,812,000, an increase of £1,739,000 over the same period last year. Group sales increased by £7.1m to £164m.

## £1,250 MARCH FUND NEEDS £543.54

OUR total now stands at £706.46 and we have seven more days to the end of the month. We ask all of you, our readers, to help us with a big effort this weekend to complete our target on time.

As the employers become strengthened by the use of the Industrial Relations Act, all the forces of the working class are needed more than ever to fight back. Workers Press is vital to this fight. So go all out today. Don't waste a moment. Collect as much as you can for our Appeal Fund this month. If possible add something extra yourself. Rush every donation immediately to:

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

## LATE NEWS WEATHER

IT WILL be cloudy over Scotland and N Ireland with occasional rain, but brighter though showery weather will spread SE across Central and N Scotland during the day.

England and Wales will have some mist or fog patches with frost in a few places at first, followed by a sunny day.

It will become rather cloudy in northern areas later in the day and a few showers are likely to develop further S, more particularly in SW England and S Wales.

It will be warm or rather warm over England and Wales, but over Scotland and N Ireland temperatures will be above normal.

Outlook for Sunday and Monday: Changeable, with some rain or showers at times and sunny intervals. Becoming cooler.

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Make the Tories resign!**

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