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BY STEPHEN JOHNS

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Later the Congress will have to choose between the TUC General Council line of extending the suspensions until December or the engineers' motion for immediate expulsion under rule 13.

Either way the TUC may face a contempt action in the Industrial Relations Court leading to a heavy fine or possible sequestration of the movement's entire assets.

The NUS lawyers have already informed the TUC that the TUC action in suspending the union could lead to an NUS application to the Court for sequestration of its funds.

The lawyers argue that the TUC acted in contempt by suspending the NUS for refusing to drop its application to the court for an agency shop at sea and that the TUC will continue to be in contempt until the suspension is lifted.

This threat came in May, a month after the TUC received a direct warning from the secretary of the court, Colin Seaton.

This was a heavy hint that more action against unions who stuck to their decision to remain on the register would land the TUC in deep trouble.

Seaton's letter warned: 'Once an application is before the courts no attempt must be made to dissuade anyone from giving evidence in those proceedings and still less must they be penalized for having done so.'

The NIRC said at this stage that it had decided to take no formal notice of the suspension but added, 'If any further action were taken against that union or any action was taken against any other union or person in similar circumstances then a different view might be taken whether or not a complaint was received.'

Again the TUC lawyers minimized this club-waving by the court.

But in its report on the seamen's suspension even the TUC was forced to admit, 'the NIRC, however, acted in unprecedented ways and the TUC might be found guilty of contempt of court by the NIRC which acted as judge and jury in its own cause.'

The report added that if contempt proceedings were brought and the TUC—in line with the policy of non-co-operation—decided to boycott the action the court would inflict a punishment which the High Court of Appeal would find it difficult to overturn.

The stage is therefore set for a crisis within the trade union movement which would dwarf even the strikes and mass protests that broke out after the five London dockers were jailed.

The TUC is almost certain to reject the NUS appeal and continue its suspension when the debate is held next Monday afternoon, the first major session of the Congress at Brighton.

The TUC's own recommended policy constitutes 'further action... against any union' to quote the NIRC warning.

The General Council say the 35 unions be suspended and given until December 31 to get off the register.

If they don't expulsion will follow at the 1973 Congress. Meanwhile the unions concerned will immediately lose these important privileges after the vote:

- Protection against poaching of members of other unions afforded by the famous Bridlington agreement.
- Their leaders will not be eligible for election to the general council.
- They will have to leave the Congress as soon as their suspension has been decided.
- Their resolutions before this year's Congress will fall.

Danger of contempt action may come from two quarters. Should any of the 35 unions come before the court over the next year, court president Sir John Donaldson could activate his earlier unmistakable warnings and put the TUC and Victor Feather in the dock for contempt.

More serious is a possible action for any member of the unions suspended to make an application to the court directly.

The NUS, for example, may find itself in a battle for membership with the rival Transport and General Workers' Union.

This would encourage them to carry out their implied threat of May and apply for sequestration.

The whole issue proves once more that it is impossible for the TUC or any union to 'live' with the Act. They are in constant danger of massive legal attack and confiscation of funds.

This is why a call to oppose the Act without a demand for a General Strike to force the resignation of the Tory government and replace it with a Labour administration to dismantle entirely the legislation, is totally inadequate.

The TUC when it meets in Brighton on September 4 should back the AUEW motion for immediate expulsion under rule 13.

They should also adopt the resolution tabled by the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians calling for industrial action to bring the Tories down and replace them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

This should become the policy of the TUC next week and in the weeks following they should implement it.



Glasgow building workers on the march. Last week they rejected a union bid to send corporation workers back

## Split dangers as builders

### told to return

THE BUILDING workers' fight for the £30, 35-hour week claim enters its tenth week today. Over 270,000 workers are now on strike on 9,000 sites all over Britain.

Yet union leaders still refuse to call an all-out, national strike and in fact are doing their best to sabotage the fight.

They are still trying to get over 20,000 men back to work on the basis of separate company agreements.

And at the same time there is a strong possibility that the claim will be referred to the new arbitration machinery set up between the TUC and the Confederation of British Industry.

This phoney set-up which is nothing more than machinery for wage-cutting will start its life this Friday.

It was none other than George Smith, general secretary of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians, who as chairman of the TUC General Council, played a leading part in fixing up the conciliation deal.

The 12-man conciliation panel includes Peter Trench, chairman of J. Lovell (Holdings), one of the firms currently fighting the building workers. Trench was director of the National Federation of Building Trades Employers and a member of Labour's Prices and Incomes Board.

Smith has now announced that 20,000 workers are to be sent back as a result of 83 agreements signed with separate companies, many of them in Scotland.

Not only is this move aimed at splitting up and demoralizing workers, but it also represents a real retreat from the claim.

The so-called Scottish 'model' agreement is only for a basic wage of £25 a week and contains no cut in the working week.

After ten weeks on strike, however, most building workers realize the complete inadequacy of their leadership.

That is why a meeting of 7,000 building workers in Edinburgh on Friday threw out the policy

of concluding separate agreements.

They demanded those workers who have already gone back in Aberdeen and Dundee be brought out again.

A noisy meeting also called for a 100 per cent strike and no retreat from the full claim for a £30 basic 35 hours and another week's holiday.

In doing that they joined the 4,000 in Glasgow who on the same day completely rejected a call by union officials for local authority workers to go back.

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# workers press

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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# 'Dumping' protests as trade war hots up

BY JOHN SPENCER

**JAPANESE big business is under heavy pressure to curb its exports as Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka prepares for his summit meeting with President Nixon in Honolulu this week.**

A procession of American envoys demanding trade concessions from Tokyo have prepared the way for the meeting between the two leaders, which is expected to centre on US demands for Japan to accept 'emergency imports' of US goods.

William Eberle, the US chief trade negotiator, has warned that protectionist measures will be

taken both in America and in Europe unless Japan takes drastic steps to abolish its trade surplus.

The planned 'emergency imports', which Japan does not really want, would bring the surplus below \$3,000m. But this is unlikely to satisfy American demands.

In addition they will do nothing to stem the rising tide of protests from the Common Market countries against Japanese 'dumping' of electronic products.

Last week the British manufacturers joined a chorus of protest from Germany and the Benelux countries against the rapid growth of Japan's exports in competition with their own products.

The chauvinist agitation against these imports is beginning to penetrate into the columns of the press, where there are now articles calling for protection against the 'yellow peril'.

All this is reminiscent of the trade war of the 1930s, and with their usual lack of principle the

reformist trade union leaders are intervening on the side of their 'own' exploiters.

This is evident from the tone of several resolutions on the TUC agenda for this year's congress.

The National Union of Footwear, Leather and Allied Trades, for example, calls openly on the Tories to institute a quota protection system to curb imports of manufactured goods such as footwear, clothing and electrical components.

There are similar resolutions on the agenda from the electricians and the tailoring and garment workers.

These resolutions will doubtless be grist to the Tory mill at a time when Edward Heath is planning to visit Tokyo to put his own trading demands to the Tanaka government.

Trade unionists must resist this nationalist propaganda, which is aimed at turning British workers against their brothers in other countries.

Unless this is fought the British capitalists will use such chauvinist sentiment as another excuse for cutting wages and worsening conditions at home.

## Husak lashes out

**WESTERN Communist Parties which criticized the recent purge trials in Czechoslovakia were accused of falling for 'the old Goebbels propaganda' by Party chief Gustav Husak at the weekend.**

Husak denied that any of the 46 opponents of the Soviet occupation imprisoned in the trials were tried for the views they held in 1968 or 1969 or the posts they held at that time.

'We have declared on hundreds of occasions that not a single hair will be disturbed on the heads of those who respect the laws of the state, but we also stressed on all available occasions that we will not tolerate any disruption of the socialist state,' he said in Bratislava.

Referring to the muted criticisms voiced by the Italian, French and British CPs, Husak said:

'Unfortunately the bourgeois anti-communist campaign against socialist Czechoslovakia was also assisted by certain representatives of progressive forces in the West, surprisingly indifferent to objective information about Czechoslovakia.'

'We do not conceal that we are sorry about it... The position I have mentioned cannot be helpful to our common class position,' he said.

He said these 'progressive forces' had added their voices to 'the slanders against Czechoslovakia' though 'the recent bourgeois campaign against our country abounded in obvious lies and fabrication which were fully in tune with the old Goebbels propaganda...'

## at critics

Husak's speech indicates the extreme crisis of the Czechoslovak Stalinists, who cannot tolerate even the mildest criticism of their repressions. It also demonstrates clearly the criminal character of the Communist Parties' silence about



Husak

the past purges and repressions in both Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

The Moscow Trials of the 1930s and the Slansky frame-up of 1952 prepared the way for the current purge in Czechoslovakia. The British Communist Party leaders fully supported these Stalinist crimes.

The Czechoslovak leaders' hysterical response to their mild criticism of the present trials shows just how important the British CP's support was to the Stalinists in carrying out their crimes of the past.

## Mass trial of Turkish teachers

THE prosecutor has demanded jail sentences of up to 20 years in a trial of 144 teachers before a military court in Ankara, Turkey.

The teachers are accused of belonging to the Turkish Teachers' Union, described in the indictment as an underground organization aimed at overthrowing the constitution.

They are also charged with circulating communist propaganda and attempting to promote class struggle.

Among the accused is prominent novelist Fair Baykurt, president of the union.

The prosecution has demanded 20 years for him and the same term for Dursun Akcam, the union's vice-president, also a noted writer, and 28 others.

The union was banned shortly after the military junta seized power in Turkey in April last year.

The prosecutor also demanded 16 years' jail for 104 of the defendants and five to 16 years for the rest. He asked for six of the 144 to be acquitted.

### CORRECTION

In Friday's Workers Press we quoted Ginger Pearce, EPTU branch president and a Southampton Trades Council delegate, about the financial situation at the Vosper Thornycroft shipyard. He was quoted as saying the yard had £14m worth of orders. This should have read £130m worth of orders.

## British Steel may invest in apartheid

THE British Steel Corporation, which recently announced 10,000 redundancies at its factories in this country, is planning to establish a vast new plant in South Africa.

Planned in conjunction with the German firms August Thyssen and Kloeckner, the factory has already been discussed in detail with Iscor, the South African Iron and Steel Corporation.

The chosen site is on the coast 75 miles north of Cape Town, at Saldanha. The likely cost of the

project to the BSC is estimated at £500m.

Producing up to 15 million tons of semi-finished steel products a year, the South African factory would be a substitute for planned new investment in Britain to replace plants now scheduled for closure.

In particular it would mean the end of plans for a new factory in Scotland, an area of high unemployment.

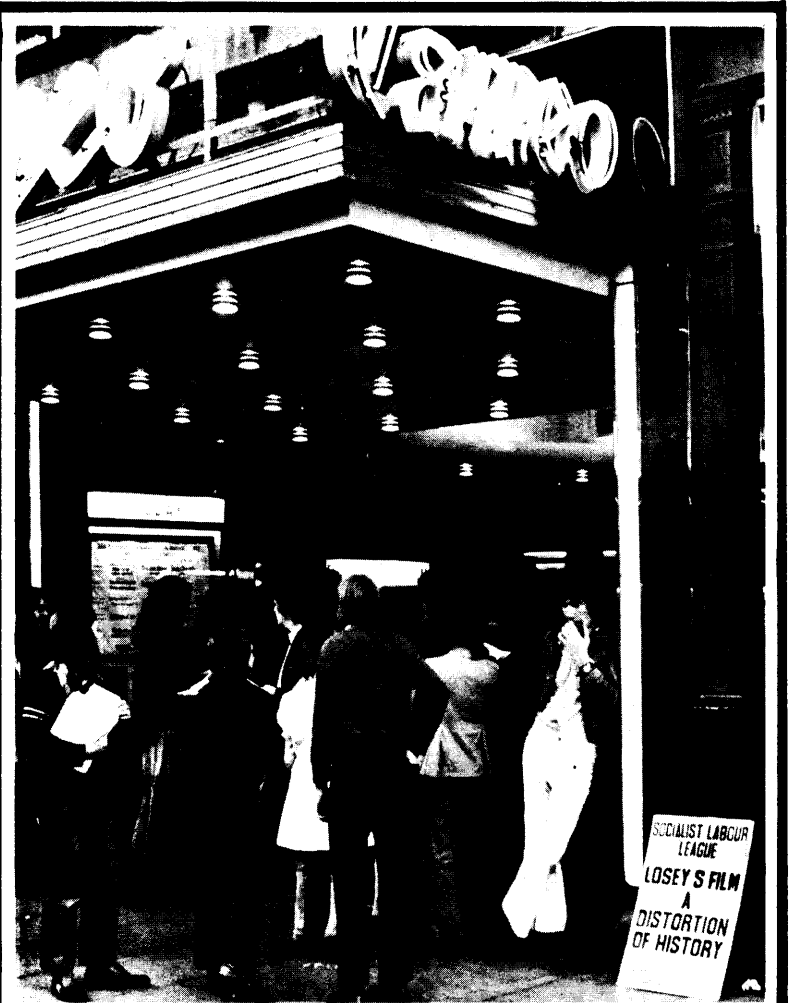
The South African plant would operate with cheap African labour working under the regime's repressive apartheid laws.

These ban trade unions and outlaw strikes. For Thyssen's, of

course, this will be no new experience. Much of the company's wealth was accumulated by the use of slave labour under Hitler.

The BSC's plans are a further indication of what the Common Market will mean for the British working class. The plans for this enormous investment must have the backing of the Tory government, which will be expected to put up much of the money.

Not only will this bolster the racist South African regime, it will also mean capital being stripped from Britain for the purposes of exploiting cheap labour overseas while the dole queues lengthen at home.



## Picket of Trotsky film in Edinburgh

MEMBERS of the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists picketed the Cameo cinema, Edinburgh, on Saturday at the first public screening of Joseph Losey's new film 'The Assassination of Trotsky'.

The film, which goes on general release in October, is being shown in conjunction with the Edinburgh Festival.

Losey attended Saturday's premiere and became somewhat agitated by the leaflets, which were enthusiastically taken and read by the cinema-goers.

Before the screening began he told the audience that whoever wrote the leaflet hadn't seen the film. This is untrue.

Reviewers from Workers Press were present at a special EMI press preview in London three weeks ago. It was then decided that a picket should be staged at the festival to expose the Stalinist-inspired distortions and inaccuracies of Losey.

The leaflet, entitled 'The Second Assassination of Trotsky', demonstrates how Losey has consciously or otherwise sought to demean Trotsky's lifelong struggle on behalf of the international proletariat.

The film ignores his fight to build the Fourth International and, incredibly, tries to suggest that the assassin is not a GPU agent but simply some sort of adventurist psychopath.

Losey told the audience he was prepared to discuss the film with his critics after the showing. But when the film ended an announcement was made that he had to return to London on urgent business.

● A review of the film will appear in Workers Press as a special feature later this week. It has been specially written for Workers Press by film director Roy Battersby.

## China bars Bangladesh from UN

**BANGLADESH entry to the United Nations has been indefinitely postponed as a result of China's decision to use its veto powers and exclude the new state.**

The Chinese ambassador to the UN, Huang Hua, had warned he would 'categorically vote against' the proposal to admit Bangladesh.

Earlier China failed to win a vote on a proposal to postpone discussion of Bangladesh admission.

This motion was supported, significantly, by the United States and the butcher Numeiry regime in the Sudan which has close trade and economic ties with China.

The Chinese excuse is that Bangladesh has failed to implement UN calls for release of Pakistani prisoners of war.

Bangladesh has said it will not consider releasing the prisoners until it is recognized by Pakistan.

The Peking Stalinists supported Pakistan's repression in Bangladesh and supplied arms and funds for use against the liberation movement in Bengal.

They themselves have only been in membership of the

United Nations for ten months and this is their first use of the veto power vested in security council members.

Their action is a calculated insult to the Bengali workers and peasants who fought against overwhelming odds to establish their right to separate from Pakistani rule.

China's admission to the United Nations is a consequence of its counter-revolutionary ties with US imperialism and its puppets not only in Pakistan but also in the Sudan, Ceylon and other parts of Asia.

China was kept out of the United Nations by a similar exercise of the veto for 22 years after the victory of the revolution.

In the Korean war, Chinese volunteers fought against 'United Nations' troops drafted in from the US, Britain and Turkey.

Bangladesh Foreign Minister Abdus Samad commented that China's action had exposed the hollowness of its claim to be 'a champion of the rights of oppressed peoples'.

And a member of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's suite said it was a great shock to him to hear that China, which had been kept out of the UN for more than 20 years, should now use its veto for the first time against a small new nation.

# LESSONS OF A LONDON SIT-IN

ERIC BOGLE, WORKS CONVENOR SPEAKS ON THE SIT-IN AT STANMORE ENGINEERING CO.

Three months ago engineers' union members at Stanmore Engineering Co, Stonebridge, started the first sit-in in the London area in support of the engineers' national claim. They were inspired by the occupations in the Manchester area and were encouraged to go ahead by union officials.

After six weeks the firm took out a court order to have them expelled from the premises. Although the case was withdrawn before the actual hearing, the management was able to enter the factory and take away vital dies which were used for production elsewhere.

The struggles went on a further six weeks, with the men now picketing outside.

Last week the company announced the closure of the factory and the transferring of all outstanding work to their other premises in Stanmore.

## Looking for jobs

The men who carried on that long, heroic struggle are now looking for new jobs, although they are worried about the possibility of finding many in the area. They are not sure they will even get redundancy payments, although the union has told them to apply and says it will represent them at any appeals hearings if the company refuses.

Eric Bogle, works convenor at Stanmore Engineering and one of the sacked men, spoke to Workers Press about some of the lessons of their fight. He told us:

◀ We are striking for the national claim of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

The union told us to go ahead. They said we were a test case. Now the union has let us down badly. We were the ones who started the fight and now we are out of a job.

The union should not have told us to go for the claim if they did not intend to fight it through. Everybody feels bad about it.

The union did nothing to assist us. After the court order was taken out we needed more consultation with the union.

Nobody knew what to do. They gave us no advice. All they said was that we were the first such case in the area and they had no idea what to do themselves.

You can't get anything out of selective strikes, either in the engineering or the building industries.

When one section is fighting the others are standing by. Scanlon said different firms



Top: workers at Stanmore Engineering Co during the six weeks occupation. Above: Eric Bogle the works convenor at the firm.

would do it on their own, but we should have all carried out the fight united.

Scanlon was the one who submitted our claim.

Now he has backed down from it, leaving us in a mess. If you don't expect to keep up the fight, don't start it.

It's the same all over. The dockers are going back to work without any satisfaction. The unions are backing down from these fights and are showing the government their weaknesses.

There have been a lot of opportunities to take on the government, but they are allowing the government to proceed.

Working-class people earning £18, £20 or £25 a week look at Reginald Maulding who was getting £20,000 and wanted more, and they say it is not good enough for such people to tell us how much we should earn. The government is all made up of company directors and people like that, so what can working people expect from them?

We are the unions. We elect the people we think will do the best for us. They should have to answer to all the members and decisions should not just be taken at the top.

Scanlon talked about the claim and then he accepted something quite different.

## Fighting for the claim

A lot of firms were fighting for the claim and have had to drop it. They would not have accepted the new agreement.

The 35 hours was more important than the increase in money because it means more on the hourly rate. Then when you put in for a claim later on you are starting from a

higher level. But the union dropped the fight on hours which would also have helped the unemployed.

None of the leaders are any good. They only go part of the way and then back down. The strength of the working class is OK, but the leadership is no good.

When those dockers were jailed, it was the chance to have a national stoppage. People were not only thinking of releasing those men, but also of getting rid of the Industrial Relations Act and the government.

The union leaders said they were against the Act, and now they are coming to us and saying we must abide by it.

The government put the £55,000 fine on the Transport and General Workers' Union and then withdrew it and put the penalties on individuals. Then it put the fine back on the unions because it knew the union leaders are weaker than their members.

The five dockers who went to jail, they didn't want to go to jail, but they were showing the strength and determination of the working class, and it was that determination that got them out again.

What Vic Feather said the other day about the dockers being violent was disgusting.

He is the leader of the unions and regardless of what

his members may have done you won't go against them in public. The dockers are fighting for their jobs, but he is telling the government the dockers were wrong and agreeing with the government they were violent, and that is strengthening the government.

The leaders of the unions are weak, really weak. But the working class is strong and they are determined.

## Leaders backing down

We must clear the traitors out, both from the unions and the Labour Party because, don't forget, it was the Labour government that tried to pass an Act against the unions. We need a new leadership that is determined and won't back down. We must get rid of this government and make the Labour government nationalize the industries.

Eric Bogle agreed that everything Workers Press said about the union leaders was true. The leaders are backing down, he said.

'Workers Press is a good paper to read because there is a lot of truth in it. That is why Scanlon and others like him don't like it. They are cowards.'



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By Cliff Slaughter

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# BEHIND THE TORY PRESS' RACE RIOTS

IAN YATES REPORTS FROM LIVERPOOL

'There's nothing else to do so we might as well batter the blacks,' a small Liverpool boy in huge boots told me in the centre of a glass-strewn court ringed with decaying tenements.

A fortnight ago a 60-strong police task force with visors, shields and 3 ft batons broke up gang fights in the same court.

Petty feuding between individuals and groups of youth suddenly turned into full-scale neighbourhood riots which lasted four full days.

On the other side of Toxteth at Leighton View Heights, 16-year-old George Osu told me:

'Whenever the white kids see us they beat us and whenever we see them we beat them. It never used to be like this but its getting worse . . .'

Despite all the talk of blacks and whites battering each other, Liverpool is not a city seething with race hatred.

At the beginning of August Fleet Street warned of race war in Liverpool worse than the sectarian violence in Ulster. Enoch Powell seized on Toxteth as a likely source for the apocalyptic rivers of blood which he claims will shortly engulf the nation.

When the television crews arrived the young players in the lurid comic-strip drama seemed to have forgotten their historic roles, however. Black and white youth were encouraged to forage for sticks and bars and line up facing each other to create the appropriate genocidal atmosphere.

## ARRESTS

During the now-notorious battle of Faulkner Place these same allegedly irreconcilable foes temporarily buried the hatchet at the sudden appearance of their common enemy dressed in blue and arresting everybody they could lay their hands on.

Edward O'Hare, who has lived in the Windsor Gardens district for 50 years, saw the whole thing from his doorstep.

'The police even chased them along the landings,' he said. 'One lad hid in the rooms, but they kicked the door down and dragged him downstairs by his hair. His brother got up from his sick-bed to see what was going on and they took him, too.'

Quite apart from the solidarity provoked by the intervention of Liverpool's riot squad, theories of deepening race hatred look even more sick when a lad says innocently:

'We were going to have a peace treaty, but another lot of skins wouldn't have it so we said some other time.'

Peace treaties, batterings, territorial rights, Bill said this, Icky did that, Tommy got stabbed because he pinched Alan's tart—all this is the vocabulary of kids playing war games, not races straining to tear each other apart.

In any case the different racial groups are not separate. There are no ghettos in Liverpool except for the work-

ing class on one side and the rich on the other.

Adults who hear the gangs throwing bricks and bottles at each other until well into the night and occasionally, in desperation, call the law, almost all have either coloured relatives or live next door to immigrant families.

When Edward O'Hare stomps exasperatedly to his doorstep, nine times out of ten it is to send packing a group of noisy teenagers and kids hanging about on the stone steps of his Close.

'I don't know what sort of families they come from,' he says, 'they're just looking for trouble. They should be indoors not hanging about here. I've got six daughters and two sons and there's none of them ever out here like this.'

Lads out of school with no money and not much to do together with boys of 15 and 16 who are on the dole form the nucleus of the Liverpool gangs.

Slum tenements and new multi-storey 'heights' stand amid the flattened rubble of Liverpool's dockside slums like islands and gangs of bored youth have turned individual blocks into their own individual territory.

Gang warfare on this basis has been waged in Liverpool's worst working-class districts for as long as most people can remember, and every foot of



George Osu

space on fences, shopfronts and buildings is daubed with their violently large and aggressive names and slogans.

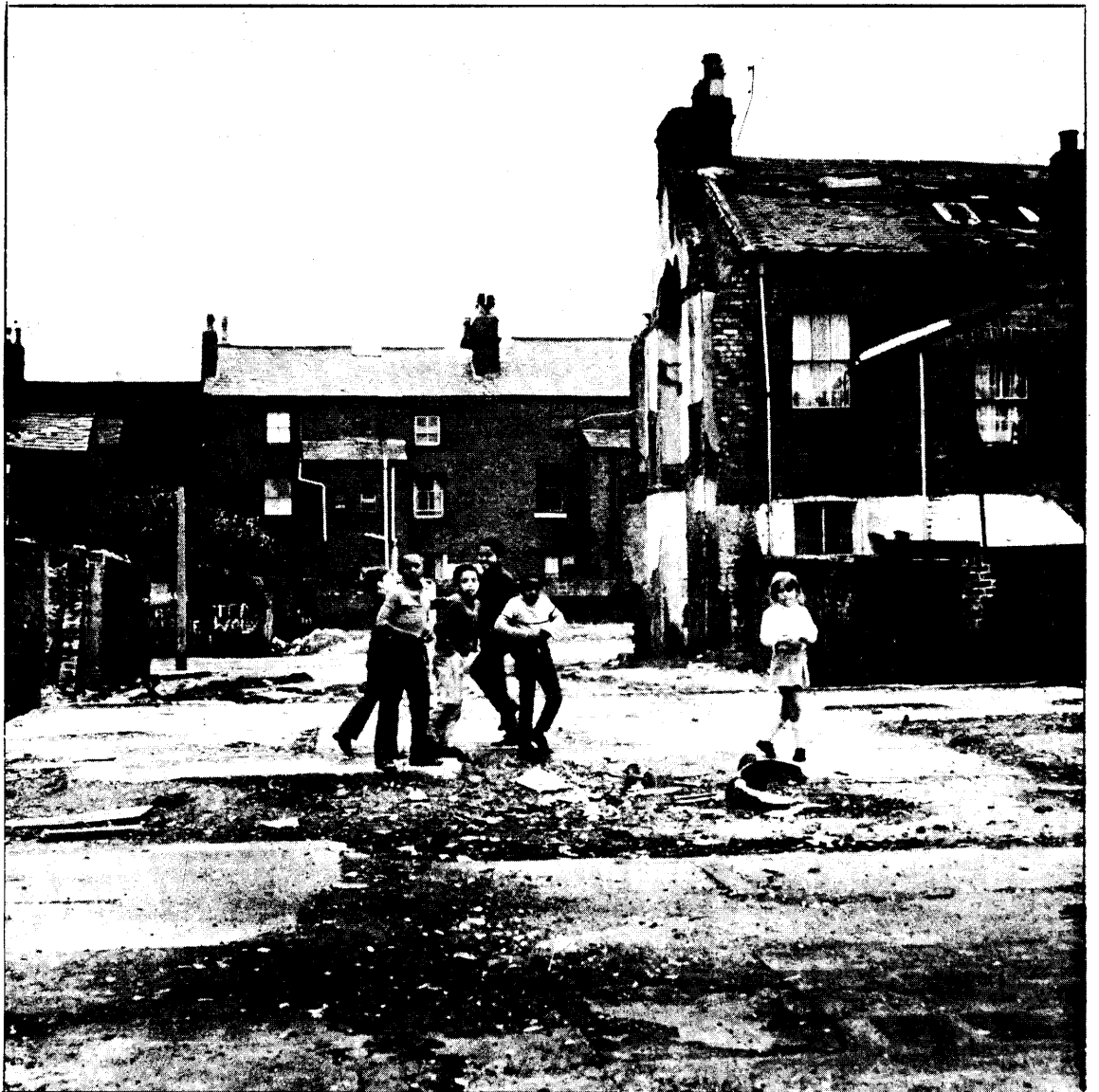
In the past two years the composition of the Toxteth gangs has changed.

The tenements and tower blocks are multi-racial and so used the gangs to be. But gradually the minority of youth who form the neighbourhood gangs have distilled themselves into black and white groups, depending on which colour predominates in a particular block or district.

As working-class families have themselves become politicized by the effects of slump their children pick up more about the real world than kids a decade ago.

Where rents, unemployment, slums and prices are a mounting and dominating topic of family conversation, every child is as sharply aware that 40,000 Asians are about to come into the country as he is that Everton smashed Manchester on Friday.

Over 5,000 boys and girls are unemployed on Merseyside in addition to ten times that number of men and women. Now thousands more redun-



Liverpool: side by side is the rubble of dockside slums (top) and multi-storey wastelands (above right) Gangs of youth such as this (above left) make blocks and streets their own territory.

dancies are threatened in dockland.

Merseyside Youth Employment Service said last week that apprenticeships are likely to be down by 50 per cent next year compared to 1970, and many employers are tipped to be cutting recruitment of school-leavers by 25 per cent.

As industry has shut down, dole queues have lengthened to the point where 40 or 50 men chase one job.

The inflation unleashed and fanned by recession has ensured that Liverpool Corporation's fight against the almost overwhelming problem of slums and sub-standard housing is a losing one.

Two-thirds of Merseyside's decaying urban jungle consists of working-class families struggling anxiously from day to day and increasingly searching for solutions to their worsening problems. It is this which the gangs most sharply express.

## INTEGRATED

In a city which has been multi-racial and integrated since the slave trade—and in addition one of the cradles of trade unionism—it is difficult for racialism to gain currency as a solution to workers' problems. None put it forward.

Despite Fleet Street's attempts to suggest that the Toxteth riots occurred because whites were jealous of black

people getting new houses, local residents of all colours hotly deny it and also that there is even a scrap of real racialist feeling in the community.

The phenomenon of the all black and white gangs has yet to appear outside Toxteth in what is the bulk of Liverpool and where there are large multi-racial communities.

But there is no doubt about the recent emergence of Black Power supporters. The Black Power agitators have so far had little if any impact on Liverpool's multi-racial working-class community, however. George Osu's acid comment on them is as typical as it is widespread.

He said: 'I think people who go round shouting about Black Power are stupid.'

The one thing that is certain and indisputable—that Liverpool youth are bored, frustrated and volatile—applies as much to 15- and 16-year olds with work as much as it does to those on the streets all day long with the swarms of younger children from the city's large families.

Edward O'Hare keeps his sons and daughters off the streets, but one of them told me: 'If there's a fight it's exciting. We get fed up sitting here watching the telly every night.'

There are community clubs, but most if not all of them are run-down buildings only given to the youth when they are no good for anything else. They

are very small and have almost no equipment.

In the rubble wastelands between tenements a patch of green is a rare sight.

But it is not merely soccer pitches and table-tennis tables that are needed to bring down the shutters on gangland.

## DEPRIVED

Like their parents, Liverpool youth are trying to break out of a whole depressed way of life. That is what the violence is really about.

Apart from soccer matches many kids in the most deprived areas never leave their neighbourhoods. There's nowhere to go and even if there was they have no money.

As workers' living standards plunge, gang violence gets worse. Riot police are the only answer from the ruling class.

They, of course, are not disturbed by this kind of crude behaviour. Some of them live at Chessington Park, a private, walled estate in the suburbs of Liverpool where no residence costs under £15,000.

There sprawling 12- and 15-room mansions stand among tennis-courts and croquet-pitches, with lawns and greenhouses, many with two cars in the garage, and some with a caravan and boat.

Far from the violent, peeling, substandard world of the tenements.

# YUGOSLAVIA: THE CROAT FASCISTS AND THE BUREAUCRACY

BY JOHN SPENCER

Last month a group of Yugoslav émigrés, members of the Croatian 'revolutionary brotherhood', drove across the border from Austria and set up a shortlived guerrilla base 400 miles inside the country.

The intruders were put down in short order by the Yugoslav security police and militia units, though not without causing some deaths among them.

The Croat invaders were heavily-armed young fascists whose organization is run by men who acted as Hitler's puppets against the partisans during the war.

They are now trying to cash in on the nationalist and separatist discontent among the various component peoples of the Yugoslav federation.

The Croat fascists, of course, have little popular support among the majority of Croats, who remember their wartime crimes. But the discontent among many sections of the population is nonetheless real enough.

It erupted in December last year when students at Zagreb university struck 2,000-strong against what they considered to be discrimination against the republic by the central authorities.

The leaders of the strike are now on trial in Zagreb in one of a series of prosecutions directed against Croat nationalism.

The Croatian section of the Yugoslav League of Communists has been extensively purged of what are termed 'nationalist elements' in its leadership, who are said to have encouraged the student strikers.

'Political measures'—usually removal from office—were taken against 1,200 Croat Party members in the three-month period following the Zagreb university strike.

Much of the fire has been concentrated against the influential Croat cultural association 'Matica Hrvatska' ('Mother Croatia') to which some of the leading nationalists belonged. The society is accused of spreading anti-state propaganda and glorifying the wartime Ustachi puppet regime.

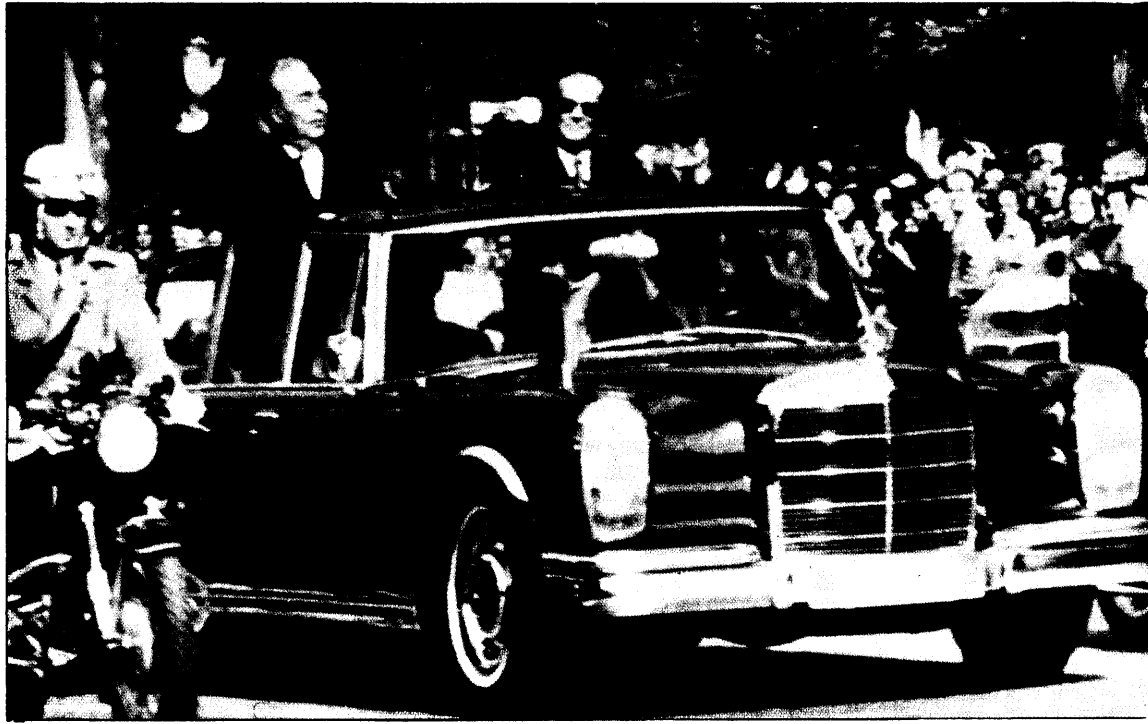
There is no question that the Croat nationalist resurgence endangers the gains of the Yugoslav revolution. Some of the agitation of the nationalists has been openly restorationist.

But Tito and his supporters have yet to explain how it is that 27 years after the revolution these ideas can still exercise a hold even over layers of youth who have never known capitalism.

And the process is not confined to Croatia. There have been dark warnings from government officials about nationalist conceptions spreading in other republics, notably Serbia and the Vojvodina, inhabited mainly by Albanians.

The nationalist tendency has been able to grow only as a result of the bureaucratic character of the regime and its isolation.

The privileged officials of the Yugoslav government and League of Communists are primarily interested in protecting their own position, not only against restoration of capitalism but also against the working class.



Accordingly Tito acts in a Bonapartist manner, dealing blows not only against the right but also against the left.

While the Zagreb trials were in preparation a court in Belgrade handed out stiff prison sentences to three students accused of Trotskyism.

Their chief crime in the eyes of the bureaucracy was that they had sent a delegate to the International Youth Rally in Essen, West Germany, organized by the Fourth International.

At the same time there have been a number of important strikes among factory workers, railwaymen and builders.

Tito's government is in reality a series of balancing acts. He tries to balance between the USSR and imperialism, accepting credits and opening the country to foreign capital while cementing his ties with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon).

Simultaneously, he is seeking closer ties with the Common Market and trying to make the weak dinar convertible with the currencies of the capitalist world.

Within the Balkans, he trades with the colonels' Greece and is on cordial terms with these butchers of the Greek working class.

And within Yugoslavia itself, the regime rules by arbitrating between the six republics which now enjoy very considerable autonomy in both financial and regional affairs.

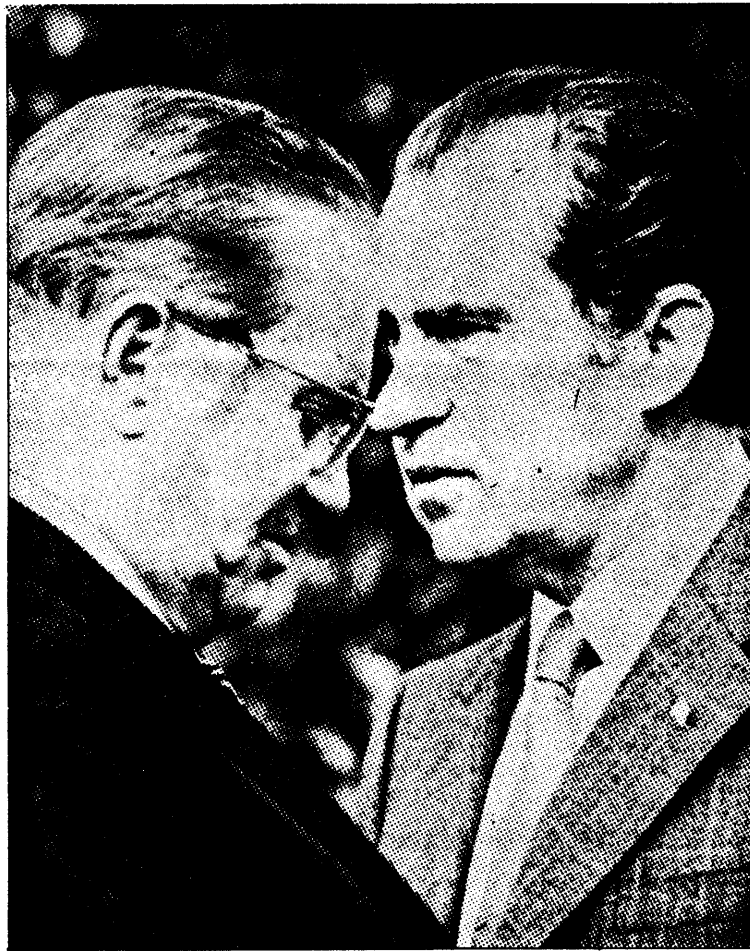
It was financial questions which sparked the Zagreb students' demonstrations in December. The leaders maintained that Croatia was being 'unfairly' deprived of its 'rightful' share of total foreign exchange earnings.

Tito settled this question by giving the Croatian separatists even more rope: they achieved virtually all their demands in relation to foreign exchange earnings.

Historically, Yugoslavia is a bastard state created on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

In the years after the war, the Tito leadership was able to preserve a measure of unity on the basis of the gains made by the workers and peasants in their revolutionary struggle to drive out the Nazis and establish a workers' state.

Now, however, the economic and political crisis facing the regime and the immense gulf between the bureaucracy and



Tito is simultaneously seeking ties with the USSR, America and the Common Market countries, accepting credit and opening Yugoslavia to foreign capital. Top: Tito with Brezhnev in the streets of Belgrade. Above: with Nixon at the White House on Tito's visit to the United States last year

the masses brings all the old centrifugal tendencies to the surface.

These have been greatly strengthened by the devolution of responsibility to individual managers—under the guise of 'workers' control'—which used to give rise to so much enthusiasm among the English Fabians and revisionists.

The radical constitutional revisions, mainly brought about over the past five years in order to facilitate the penetration of foreign capital, have also undermined the central power.

The re-emergence of Ustachi and fascist tendencies, even among the émigré youth, is an indication that the bureaucracy is bankrupt and unable to arouse popular support.

Hence the intensification of secret police activity, including the creation of another secret police bureau.

These are measures of desperation, through which Tito and his Party attempt to solve

problems which are in reality insoluble so long as Yugoslavia remains an isolated workers' state.

The Titoites who broke empirically with Stalin in 1949 never broke from the fundamental conceptions of Stalinism. The price for this failure now has to be met by the Yugoslav working class.

They have their own scores to settle both with the Ustachi and other nationalists and with the privileged bureaucrats whose wealth and corruption devours the products of their labour.

What is certain is that the Yugoslav workers will not tolerate the peaceful restoration of capitalism under Ustachi or any other kind of rule.

They will defend the gains of their revolution, alongside Tito in so far as he fights the fascist threat, but also in struggle against the bureaucracy whose policies increasingly menace their position.

# RECORD PROFITS FOR FORD'S USA

Last month Ford of Britain announced a £30m trading loss, the first since it moved to Dagenham 39 years ago. After tax adjustments the loss was reduced to £17m.

Ford's, however, is a multinational empire. The losses in one corner of the globe can soon be balanced out through the exploitation of workers in another part.

In the United States the mighty automobile empire has just returned the massive profits figure of \$51.6m for 1971.

For Henry Ford II the philosophy he holds is as arrogant and ruthless as that of his



Henry Ford

grandfather who made his profits with the use of hired gunmen to break the unions in his plants.

At the annual shareholders' meeting he made it clear that he was in business to make profits and nothing else.

'I believe that the social responsibility of the corporation today is fundamentally the same as it has always been: to earn profits for shareholders by serving consumer wants with maximum efficiency . . . this is the heart of the matter.'

'Maximum efficiency' in this case has led to over-lengthening dole queues outside the Ford plants. For their benefit Ford had this to say:

The company 'cannot hire people merely because they need work'. He also added that they could not 'provide products and services for which no profitable market exists'.

The record Ford profits, termed by the 'Wall Street Journal' as an 'embarrassment of riches' shows how well the Nixon government's pay freeze has served the bosses.

While the government Pay Board, set up after the August 15 measures, freezes car workers' wages, while the Price Commission demands more productivity from these workers, profits soar.

Meanwhile unemployment in the car town of Detroit is up to 8 per cent and to a staggering 50 per cent among minority youth.

The speed-up in the plants for those with jobs knows no limits, while services such as education and health deteriorate because they are not 'profitable'. On this the Democrats, Republicans and Ford agree.



# NIXON'S DEATH AND DESTRUCTION MACHINE

According to Secretary of State William Rogers, North Vietnam will soon be forced to swallow Nixon's terms for ending the war.

He believes that the combination of relentless American bombardment and pressure from China and the USSR for a compromise settlement will force the Vietnamese to their knees.

His statement has been denounced by the Vietnamese liberation fighters as a pre-emption propaganda stunt and they have reaffirmed their determination to fight to a finish against the US military juggernaut.

Nixon would certainly like to go before the electorate as the man of peace who brought the American boys back from Vietnam.

But he has an overriding interest in keeping Nguyen Van Thieu's puppet regime in office in Saigon.

Only in this way can the US imperialists hope to dis-

courage the workers and peasants of other lands from revolutionary struggle to overthrow their exploiters and drive out capitalism and its agencies.

If we are to believe Nixon's public relations machine he has been 'winding down' the war ever since he took office. The reality, however, is the exact, grim, opposite.

In three-and-a-half years his administration has dropped more explosive on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia than that of president Johnson did in four.

From February 1965 to January 1969 roughly 3 1/2 million tons of American bombs fell on Indo-China. From then until June this year the figure was over 3 1/2 million tons.

The results of this bombardment against the towns and villages of North Vietnam can be seen from the accompanying photographs taken by North Vietnamese cameramen.

They show the constant rain of death from the skies

which is meted out every day to the people of Indo-China for their temerity in daring to challenge the might of American big business.

Their reply is summed up in a recent article from 'Nhan Dan, the Hanoi newspaper, celebrating the 27th anniversary of the August 1945 uprising against the French.

The article defies both Nixon and the Stalinist 'big powers' to break the fighting spirit of the Vietnamese.

The revolutionary offensive spirit that has incessantly developed over the past half-century and surmounted all trials is actually the invincible strength of the Vietnamese revolution.

'Opportunism often appears in times of regression and at turning points due to the lack of revolutionary dynamism.

The disastrous opportunist tendencies of all sides, from outside have not been able to do any harm to this land. This is thanks to the revolutionary offensive spirit

of the millions of people and their well-tested vanguard brigade.

Today the Vietnamese revolutionary offensive spirit is again shining with all its radiance, pushing back the terrible pressure of the huge US air force and navy, of the blockade and mining, and also of all kinds of none-too-agreeable actions in one way or another exerted by tendencies of compromise from all sides.

The key to the success of the Vietnamese revolution is valiancy and tenacity, dynamism and revolutionary offensive spirit. Our offensive spirit has become a potential force of millions of people in their daily revolutionary work in every aspect of life.

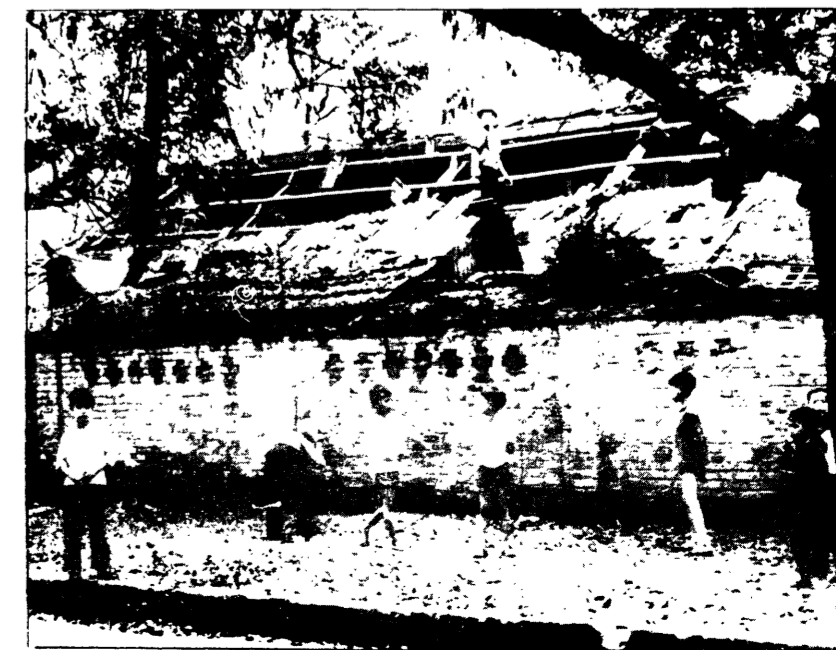
Both Rogers and his friends in Moscow and Peking, the authors of the 'none-too-agreeable actions' referred to by the Hanoi commentator, are discovering that the road of counter-revolution against the Vietnamese workers and peasants is no easy one.



Top: a raid by United States bombers on the night of April 16, 1972 destroyed these workers' living quarters of the Ngo Quyen district glassware factory in Haiphong. Above: soldiers of the North Vietnamese army are greeted by villagers



Above: the surgical section of Haiphong's 'Vietnam-Czechoslovakia' hospital damaged by a US missile. Below: children playing in Doi Can street, in the Ba Dinh quarter of Hanoi, destroyed in a raid on April 16, 1972



From the Dockers' Tanner Strike 1889 to Devlin 1967. An historical series on the organization of the dockers by Jack Gale

# THE RECOGNITION STRIKE AND THE BETRAYAL

PART 10

Between September 1954 and May 1955 10,000 men in the northern ports (40 per cent of the labour force) left the Transport and General Workers' Union joined the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union (the 'Blue' union).

The scale of this walk-out gave the lie to Stalinist claims that it was an artificial adventure.

It was the product of tension building up inside the docks membership of the T&GWU through at least six major strikes since the war. This was intensified by the issue of compulsory overtime and the use of Dock Labour Board (DLB) disciplinary powers by officials of the T&GWU.

Subject to no control within the union, T&GWU officials had acquired the power—through the DLBs—to deprive men of their livelihoods.

The imposition of the closed shop—a desirable condition in itself—nevertheless further strengthened the power of these union officials. It guaranteed membership for the T&GWU no matter how little the leaders of that union did for its rank and file.

Ever since the war the real fighting leadership on the docks had been provided, not by the T&GWU but by unofficial committees.

The dockers' section of the NAS&D had itself been formed as a result of a break from the T&GWU. This occurred in 1923 when the then secretary, Ernest Bevin, signed an agreement with the port employers accepting a wage reduction.

Thousands of London dockers left the T&GWU and joined what was then the Stevedores' Protection Society.

The 1954 break was similarly inspired (see previous article). By March 1955 there were five NAS&D branches in Birkenhead, 12 in Liverpool, two in Manchester and seven in Hull.

The TUC promptly suspended the 'Blue' union. The employers were also anxious—for obvious reasons—that the T&GWU should preserve its monopoly in the northern ports.

In April 1955 the employers in Manchester and Merseyside refused to issue new registration books to men who could not produce a paid-up T&GWU membership card.

This attempt to exclude the 'Blue' led to an immediate strike which closed the three ports, the employers capitulated in two days.

The following month a NAS&D delegate meeting in London voted for strike action if the employers continued their refusal to recognize the 'Blue' in the northern ports. 20,000 men stopped work—including thousands of T&GWU members.

In this situation, the T&GWU leadership could summon up some energy. They declared they were prepared to spend £9m to break the strike.

But they found it wasn't so easy. One Manchester T&GWU official boasted that the strikers would end by having to eat crusts. But when T&GWU officials called a meeting in Manchester they had to call for a police escort to get them away—and dockers pelted them with crusts of bread as they went.



In the Northern ports the break from the T&GWU took place in 1954. By 1955 there were 12 branches of the NAS&D in Liverpool alone. Above: Liverpool dockers at a mass meeting of the 'Blue' in the 1950s.

The strike lasted six weeks. With no strike pay, the men suffered real hardship. But it was not this which brought defeat.

The strike was lost because a section of the 'Blue' leadership in London, who had welcomed the northern men into their union, not only let them down, but did so by flouting the whole democratic traditions of the 'Blue' which had attracted the new members in the first place.

This betrayal resulted from pressure exerted by the TUC and by the Communist Party. The Communist Party, which had no desire to see the working class free itself from the domination of the trade union bureaucracy, had opposed the 'Blue' union from the start.

In 1954 Vic Marney—a leading docker member of the Communist Party and secretary of the Communist Party dominated Liaison Committee—wrote in 'Tribune' that the Liaison Committee would 'under no circumstances be involved in any struggle for the recognition of the NAS&D in the northern ports.'

When the recognition strike began, the Liaison Committee, together with the executive of the lightermen's union, met the London executive committee of NAS&D and demanded that the strike be called off.

Meanwhile the Communist Party's 'Daily Worker' was consistently playing down the numbers of men on strike and seeking to give the impression that it was all on the verge of collapse.

After the strike had lasted for two weeks, the London NAS&D executive—under pressure from the Liaison Committee—pushed through a decision to end the strike at a conference between itself and delegates from the northern ports. Every single northern representative voted against ending the strike.

But when this recommendation was put to mass meetings it was rejected not only in the North, but in London as well.

Two weeks later the same procedure was repeated. Again the membership rejected the leaders' recommendation to end the strike. But these obvious efforts to sell out clearly encouraged the employers to hang on.

A delegate conference of the 'Blue' then agreed to go before a disputes commission appointed by the TUC. Its representatives were three national officials from London.

This disputes commission offered to lift the ban excluding the 'Blue' from the TUC—in return for an end to the strike and the expulsion of all the northern men from

NAS&D!

The London executive of the 'Blue', in direct contradiction to all previous procedure in the union, then passed a resolution, moved by a member of the Communist Party, to accept the demand and order a return to work.

Representatives of the northern men were excluded from the vote. No rank-and-file meeting was called by the official union leadership.

Unofficial meetings were held in the north. The men there had no alternative in the face of this treachery but to return to work—but they refused to leave the 'Blue' union.

One week later the secretaries of the 'Blue' union branches in the north received a letter from the acting general secretary of NAS&D curtly informing them that they were excluded from membership of the union as from July 6, 1955.

But the 'Blue' union men in the north refused to lie down and die. They decided to maintain their organization and to fight their expulsion in the courts. In March 1956 their test case—Spring v. the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers—came up in a Liverpool court.

To the jubilant applause of dockers who crowded the courtroom, judgement was given that a docker named

Spring had been wrongfully expelled from NAS&D.

This meant that all the northern men were still legally in the 'Blue' union.

Needless to say, attempts to drive them out continued. The employers in the North denied recognition.

The T&GWU several times called for a show of cards in order that 'Blue' men could be put off the dock. Whenever this happened it was foiled by the united action of 'Blue' and 'White' dockers.

The executives of the two unions even produced a ludicrous scheme whereby the northern men retained their NAS&D membership cards but were serviced by the T&GWU.

This was laughed out of court.

A hard core of 'Blue' union members still remains in the northern ports, but membership has seriously declined. The responsibility for this rests entirely on the leadership of NAS&D, and their backers in the TUC and the Communist Party.

The leaders of NAS&D were reformists. Politically, they were basically no different to the bureaucrats of the T&GWU.

The struggle over Devlin—like the struggle over Jones-Aldington—was not to be led by them.



# HOW TO COVER UP A WHOLE YEAR'S BETRAYALS

STALINIST CRISIS BY JOHN SPENCER

Writing in the current issue of *World Marxist Review*, an international journal of Stalinism, Gordon McLennan — a member of the political committee of the Communist Party—finds himself in some difficulty when reviewing the events of the past year.

As he rightly says, a particularly important and significant struggle was that on the upper Clyde. The 'simple and brilliant' strategy of working for the liquidator was, McLennan points out, originally centred on the demand: 'Not one man will be dismissed.'

McLennan has to modify that a bit.

The 'possibility' of the four yards remaining open in full production and with no loss of jobs 'is now very real' he declares (our emphasis). A clear statement that all the yards and jobs would be saved has been transformed into a 'possibility' that they might be.

But unfortunately for McLennan, his article was written before the details of the Marathon and Govan shipyards deals became known.

It is now public knowledge that not only will all four yards not continue on full production, but that thousands of jobs have been lost.

What is more a four-year, no strike pledge has been signed with Marathon, one of the chief signatories being James Reid, an executive committee member of the British Communist Party.

And at the time of writing Govan Shipbuilders are pushing for a deal which will include 139 'work-in' men and which will exclude definite guarantees on boilermakers' pay.

A thousand redundancies have occurred at the Clydebank yard alone during the last 14 months and a further 1,000 men have little hope of being absorbed in the Govan Shipbuilders' complex.

Thus McLennan's 'great victory' sounds good in the pages of *World Marxist Review*, but rings hollow on the upper Clyde.

But this Stalinist hack runs into even greater difficulties in dealing with the struggle against the Industrial Relations Act and unemployment.

He describes the 'mighty demonstrations' when workers responded to the TUC's one-day strike call last November and concludes: 'In the view of many militants this great day of working class action ended rather tamely' with Vic Feather's meeting in Central Hall, London.

In fact the TUC general secretary made it clear that he was going to lead no action to bring down the Tory government and guarantee jobs.

Similarly the mass demonstrations against the Industrial Relations Bill were also led up a blind alley by the TUC leaders.

McLennan, of course, is unable to explain that the only organization demanding that the TUC call a General Strike to force the Tories to resign was the Socialist Labour League.

When the TUC General Council voted against a resolution for a one-day General Strike, McLennan relegates this to secondary importance.

The main thing, according to him, was 'agreement was maintained on the need to oppose the Bill'. Agreement to



James Reid and Wayne Harbin sign the Marathon deal

oppose the Bill, provided nothing was actually done to oppose it!

Indeed the Communist Party leaders twisted themselves into knots finding formulas which could sound good to their members, but which avoided demanding that the TUC brought the Tories down by a General Strike.

Gollan called for 'all-out action, including, industrial action to sweep away this Act' but did not specify what this industrial action should be.

McLennan declares that the Communist Party 'will continue their fight to win the trade union movement to exercise its full power to defeat the government, make the Act unworkable, and by doing so help further to create conditions for a General Election'.

Yet this wordy froth avoids the immediate, direct demand for a fight within the unions to force the TUC to call a General Strike to continue until the Tory government is actually brought down.

In fact the Stalinist-controlled Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions consistently fights against such a policy and was, indeed, brought into existence precisely for that purpose!

At no point do the Stalinists wish to clash with the trade union leaders.

On the 1971 Post Office workers' strike, McLennan writes:

'The longest and in many ways the most difficult strike battle was conducted by the Union of Post Office Workers.

'With a membership of 200,000 this was the first all-out national strike in the history of the union. But finally the union leaders settled for advances in wages and conditions far below what they and their members were demanding.'

McLennan blandly ignores the fact that members of the Communist Party on the national executive of the Union of Post Office Workers all voted to call off the strike for that settlement.

And he makes no mention, either, of the responsibility of the TUC leaders who allowed the UPW to fight it out alone.

This year's miners' strike, of course, was a victory. The Tories were forced to retreat and pay out much more than

they had originally intended to do.

McLennan states that 'after six weeks of working-class militancy and solidarity the government was on its knees'.

But he does not go on to say that this advantage was not driven home.

The union leaders permitted the Tories to remain in office when they could have been driven out. Had the union leaders linked the fight for wages with the fight for jobs and the fight against the Industrial Relations Act, the Tory government could have been defeated.

But the Communist Party nowhere called for that. It continued to cover up for the trade union leaders.

And when the Socialist Labour League continued to fight for its policy through the ATUA, the Stalinists opposed it in the LCDTU. The main lesson of the past 12 months is that the Tory government remains in office through the courtesy of the Parliamentary Labour Party, whose right wing voted with them on the Common Market, and through the courtesy of the TUC who refused to mobilize the working class against it.

Yet John Gollan, general secretary of the Communist Party, in his report to its 32nd Congress last November, called for 'a broad democratic struggle for political power and socialism based on the unity of all the socialist forces, with far-reaching political and social struggle, extra parliamentary as well as parliamentary, isolating the forces of the Tories and big business, achieving a socialist government of Labour and Communist Members of Parliament'.

This perspective deliberately leaves out any struggle against the reformist leaders of the Labour Party and the unions.

It excludes the struggle for revolutionary politics within the unions based on the demand that the TUC call a General Strike to bring down the Tories and elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

The continuing struggle of the Socialist Labour League on that programme can only intensify the crisis of Stalinism, and make it increasingly difficult for such as McLennan to conceal it.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## UNHAPPY

One of the less happy appointments by the Foreign Office is our man in Jordan.

His name is Mr Balfour Paul. To the locals he is cynically called 'Mr Declaration Paul'.

## NATIONALIST

Here is an interesting piece of news for liberals who idealize the leadership of some of the black national liberation movement fighting against Portuguese fascism.

The leader of the Guiné guerrillas PAIGC is Amilcar Cabral (below).

He was among those who sent congratulations to King Hassan II of Morocco after surviving the recent—and fourteenth—attempt on his life. This must raise serious questions within PAIGC and the politics of its leadership.

As a purely nationalist movement it generally plays down this issue to its cost.

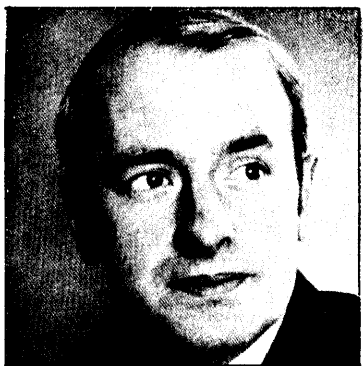
Hassan is a feudal absolutist monarch who rules the poverty-stricken Moroccans with a police regime of torture and oppression. How can Cabral come to send greetings to this man? Has he in fact any sympathy with the way he rules Morocco?

Others who commiserated with the Moroccan leader were Franco and Nixon—not exactly the type of company a guerrilla leader would expect to be found amongst.

One wonders what kind of regime Cabral has in mind for his people when Guiné is liberated.



## INDICTMENT



Top: Scanlon. Above: Taverne

The monthly journal of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers is an indictment of Hugh Scanlon, the union's president.

The latest has a full-page article by 'Bro Austen Albu', the Labour MP for Edmonton.

Albu belongs to the Jenkins clique.

He has voted time and again for the Tories' Common Market legislation and abstained on numerous occasions. By so doing he not only eased Britain into the EEC, a haven of the monopoly capitalists, but he also kept the Heath government in power.

There is no room in the labour and trade union movement for such people. Like Dick Taverne, the Lincoln MP, they should be deprived of their right to represent the working class.

How Scanlon lets him write a column called 'Parliament in focus' after his record, is anybody's guess. His lame answer is, of course, that the journal is Jim Conway's pigeon and he can't interfere.

Is this an excuse which any engineer should accept?

## BOOKS



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# OLDHAM ENGINEERS THREATEN SIT-IN



Tom Staples (above) leader of the Kirkby Fisher-Bendix occupation spoke to a mass meeting of Oldham engineers after which the vote was taken to resist the Bodden's closure.

Engineering workers in Oldham may stage the first sit-in ever held in this old Lancashire mill town.

The men—800 of them—face redundancy after a decision by Scragg's of Macclesfield to close their Oldham subsidiary Bodden's.

Recently they were visited by Tom Staples, leader of the Fisher-Bendix occupation in Kirkby. After hearing Staples a mass meeting passed a resolution to resist the closure 'by all means at their disposal.

This will include banning goods leaving the factory—especially machine tools and components. If this pressure fails workers say they will consider an occupation.

Closure would be a very serious blow for Oldham.

In 1971-1972 the town has experienced the worst unemployment since the 1930s, when the cotton slump brought a holocaust of poverty to the ugly mill towns of Lancashire and North Cheshire.

In February this year total unemployment stood at 7.1 per cent. It has fallen with the regional trend since then but between June and July the total began to rise again.

If the 800 Oldham workers go onto the dole the total will leap up to over 10 per cent.

This prospect does not appear to concern Tory Under-

Secretary for Industry Christopher Chataway.

He was due to meet Oldham worthies last Monday but cancelled the appointment because of 'insufficient time to prepare papers'.

Oldham workers drew their own conclusions. They found it significant that on the Tuesday the Tory Minister was due to fly off for his holidays.

Already workers in the area have pledged full support to any action at Bodden's.

This is hardly surprising. The factory is not unique. The closure embodies recent industrial trends in South-East Lancashire as a whole.

The two basic industries—textiles and engineering—are in steep decline. Textiles, mainly cotton, has been crushed by the twin factors of sheer obsolescence and competition from abroad.

Engineering also has the problem of obsolescence but it is also hit by the decline in cotton. Scragg's is the traditional supplier of heavy machinery to the industry.

Oldham has been badly hit. 20 years ago the view from the hill which dominates the town was littered with hundreds of mills, large and small. Now these gloomy Victorian constructions can be counted in tens.

The biggest engineering employer in the district, Mather Platt, has closed down five plants over 15 years — again

mainly because of the slump in textiles.

If Oldham workers do make a stand over Bodden's they will be in for a tough fight.

They face a traditional opposition: the hard-line Lancashire boss who still talks about 'hands' and when there is trouble 'Luddites'.

Scragg's have already fired a broadside at the Bodden's men.

In a rather lordly communication G. E. Bucklow, managing director, made the first dark accusation of the 'red plot' spreading in Oldham.

There were, he said, 'indications that an attempt is being made to turn this matter into a political issue.

'Should this happen, the effects will be disastrous in relation to the company's prospects for recovery, and the welfare of employees in our other factories at Macclesfield, Langley and Altringham will be seriously jeopardized.

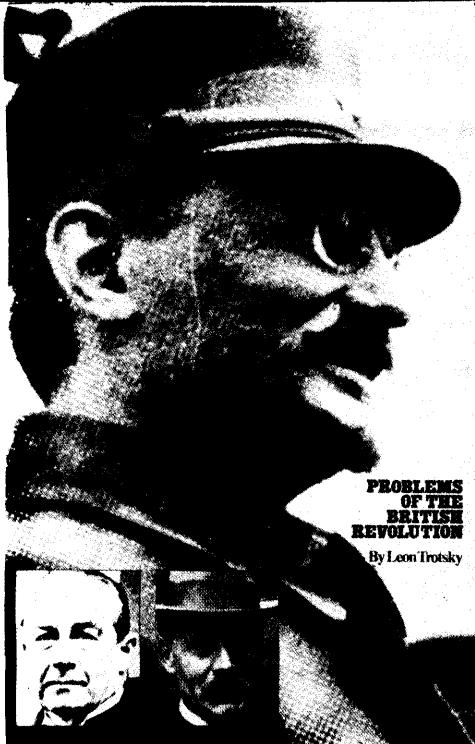
'This would be particularly unfortunate in that negotiations with other unions have now been successfully concluded with reference to the redundancies which we have been obliged to declare in these particular areas.'

It seems that a normally tranquil region of industrial Britain will shortly experience a major struggle. Even the patience of the placid Lancashire mill-town inhabitant can be exhausted.

## Trotsky's reply to critics of 'Where is Britain Going?'

This collection of articles was penned by Trotsky in reply to various critics of his then recently-published 'Where is Britain Going?' They appeared in the Soviet press of the time and constitute a necessary corollary and sequel to that work. Trotsky here dissects the arguments of all the brands of opponents of Marxism: reformist, centrist, pacifist, Fabian, trade-union bureaucrat and by implication, its Russian counterpart, the nascent Soviet bureaucrat. Here also he unravels many of the knotty problems facing the infant Communist Party developing a strategy for power in the revolutionary epoch.

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# TV

## BBC 1

9.15 Mary, Mungo and Midge.  
9.30 Robinson Crusoe. 9.55 Magic roundabout. 10.00 Olympic grandstand. 10.05, 12.45, 3.35, 5.00, 5.30 Olympic games. 10.40, 1.30, 2.10, 2.35, 4.00 International cricket. England v Australia. 1.50, 2.20, 3.20 Racing from Ripon. 2.55, 4.30, 5.35 Motor racing.

**7.00 NATIONAL NEWS and weather.**

**7.10 DISNEY TIME.**

**8.00 FILM: 'Gambit'.** Shirley MacLaine, Michael Caine. A cockney crook plans the perfect crime.

**9.45 NEWS and weather.**

**11.00 TODAY AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES.** Gymnastics, diving and canoe slalom finals.

**12.30 Weather.**

## BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 3.45 Penelope Pitstop. 4.05 Play school. 4.30 International cricket and motor racing.

**7.30 A. P. HERBERT'S MIS-LEADING CASES: 'A Tiger in Your Bank'.**

**8.00 CONTROVERSY: 'The Case Against Foreign Aid'.** Taking part are Judith Hart MP and Lord Caradon.

**9.15 THIRTY MINUTE THE-**

## ITV

9.30 Cliff's kids. 9.45 Clapperboard. 10.15 Name of the game. 11.30 Cartoon time. 11.40 Autumn across America. 12.30 Skippy. 1.00 Castle haven. 1.25 Bank Holiday sport. Racing preview. 1.30, 3.30 Olympics 72. 1.35 They're off! 1.40, 2.10, 2.45, 3.20 Racing from Epsom. 1.55, 2.30, 3.05 Racing from Newcastle. 4.20 Racing results service. 4.30 Robinson Crusoe on ice. 5.15 Film: 'Tarzan's Magic Fountain'. Lex Barker, Brenda Joyce. 5.45 Olympics and news. 6.00 Film continued.

**6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS! CORONATION STREET.**

**8.00 FILM: 'Shane'.** Alan Ladd, Van Heflin, Jean Arthur, Jack Palance. Film classic about homesteaders fighting for their homes and lives in Wyoming.

**10.15 NEWS AND OLYMPICS.**

**11.00 PLAYHOUSE: 'Lament of An Unmarried Father'.** By Fay Weldon. Clive Francis, Jennifer Jayne, Simon Williams.

**12.00 CRAFTSMEN IN THE CHURCH.**

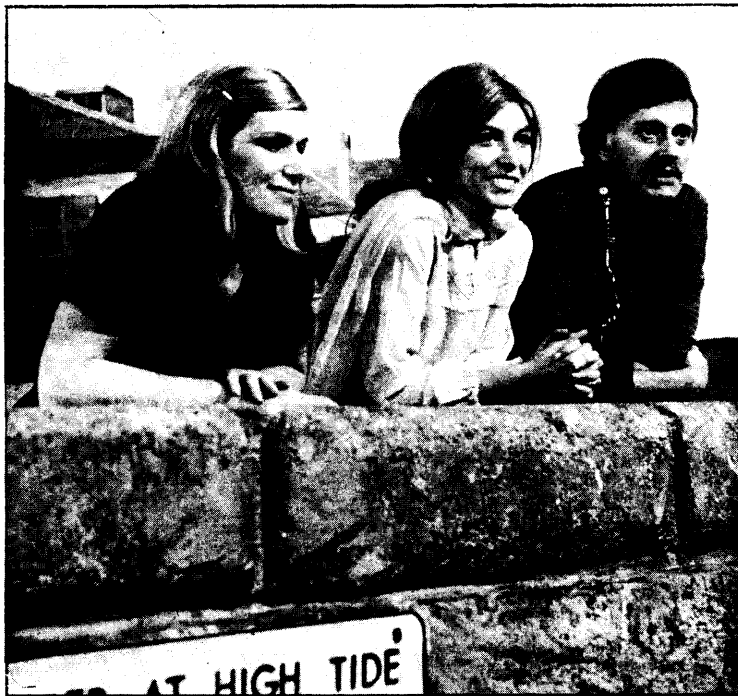
**ATRE: 'Too Far'.** By Joan Morahan. With Barrie Ingham, Sheila Allen, Ann Lynn.

**9.45 HIGH CHAPARRAL: 'The Promised Land'.**

**10.35 WILD AND WINSOME WOMEN: 'Everybody fluffed up and got in touch'.** Selena Jones, Doris Troy, Esther Marrow.

**11.05 NEWS ON 2 and weather.**

**11.10 FESTIVAL 26.**



Sheila Allen (l), Ann Lynn and Barrie Ingham in 'Too Far', BBC 2, 9.15 p.m.

## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 11.40 Autumn across America. 12.30 Seaspray. 1.00 Clapperboard. 1.25 London. 11.55 Visages de France. 12.10 Weather.

**SOUTHERN:** 10.30 Twizzle. 10.45 Lone Ranger. 11.00 Film: 'The Young Ones'. 12.50 News. 12.55 My three sons. 1.25 London. 4.30 Sylvester and tweetie pie. 4.45 Saint. 5.45 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 12.00 News. 12.10 Weather. Guideline.

**HARLECH:** 1.10 Tinkertainment. 1.25 London. 4.30 Film: 'Carter's Army'. 5.45 London. 6.01 News. 6.03 Robinson Crusoe on ice. 6.45 London. 12.00 Weather.

**HTV Wales as above except:** 12.30 Sain, cerdd a chan. 1.10 Cantamil.

**HTV West as above except:** 6.01-6.03 News.

**HTV Cymru/Wales as above except:** 1.10 Cantamil.

**ANGLIA:** 1.40 Romper room. 1.25 London. 5.15 Arthur. 5.45 London. 6.00 Joker's wild. 6.15 Cartoon. 6.45 London.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 12.55 Horoscope. 1.00 Women today. 1.25 London. 5.15 Skippy. 6.00 ATV today. 6.40 London.

**ULSTER:** 12.35 Romper room. 12.55 Let's face it. 1.25 London. 5.15 Seaspray. 5.45 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Smith family. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 12.00 Monday night.

**YORKSHIRE:** 9.30 Cliff's kids. 9.45 Breath of life. 10.00 Survival. 10.25 Saint. 11.15 Film: 'Batman'. 1.00 Arthur. 1.25 London. 5.15 Cat in the hat. 5.45 London. 6.00 Popeye. 6.15 Hogan's heroes. 6.45 London. 12.00 All our yesterdays. 12.30 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 12.20 Cliff's kids. 12.30 Cat in the hat. 12.55 European journey. 1.25 London.

**TYNE TEES:** 9.30 Cliff's kids. 9.45 Breath of life. 10.00 Bewitched. 10.25 Saint. 11.15 Film: 'Batman'. 1.00 Felix the cat. 1.25 London. 5.15 Cat in the hat. 5.45 London. 6.00 Popeye. 6.15 Funny face. 6.45 London. 12.00 A drop in the ocean. 12.25 Epilogue.

**SCOTTISH:** 12.25 Casebook. 12.55 Horoscope. 1.00 Women today. 1.25 London. 5.15 Cat in the hat. 5.45 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 12.00 Late call. 12.05 Festival.

**GRAMPIAN:** 12.30 Yoga. 12.55 Women today. 1.25 London. 5.15 Rumble jumble. 5.45 London. 6.00 Cartoon time. 6.15 Me and the chimp. 6.45 London. 12.00 Songs of Bill McCue.

# Tenants to march against rents Act

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

**MANCHESTER** tenants plan to demonstrate through the city on September 16 against the Labour council's decision to implement the Tory Housing Finance Act.

The tenants plan to publish the names of all those councillors who—in breach of their election pledges—voted to implement the Act.

Mrs Constance Fahey, secretary of the Manchester Tenants' Action Group (MTAG), told Workers Press her organization would put up alternative candidates in next May's local election 'to oppose the traitors'.

On August 15, over 400 tenants led by the MTAG picketed Manchester town hall where the Labour group of councillors was meeting. Many passers-by joined in the picketing. After a long meeting the pickets heard that the Labour councillors had voted 59 to 29 in favour of implementation.

Said Mrs Fahey: 'The councillors were frightened to leave the meeting, and the police were called in to escort them. At one stage the 400 pickets obstructed the gates leading from the town hall car park and refused to allow the councillors to leave until they had informed the picket of their decision.'

'The response to the decision was boos and jeers from incensed tenants. After a good deal of chanting and jostling the pickets elected members there and then to speak to the councillors on everyone's behalf.'

'They were reminded in no uncertain terms that in May 1973 they would be looking for votes and that only those councillors who had voted against would get their votes.'

'The councillors were also told by the elected pickets that the tenants intended to inspect the minutes of the meeting in order to discover the ones who had broken their pre-election promises and those who had kept them.'

The September 16 demonstration will form up outside Granada Television studios at 11.00 a.m. and march through the main streets of Manchester to St John's Park, where a mass meeting would be held.

## Rolls-Royce sackings shock

**ALMOST 1,000** jobs are to go in Coventry and Bristol in a reorganization of the Tory-owned Rolls-Royce company.

The shock announcement came in a company statement at 11 a.m. on Friday.

It said that management hoped that with union agreement the manpower reduction could be achieved without compulsory redundancy. This would be done by redeployment and voluntary redundancy.

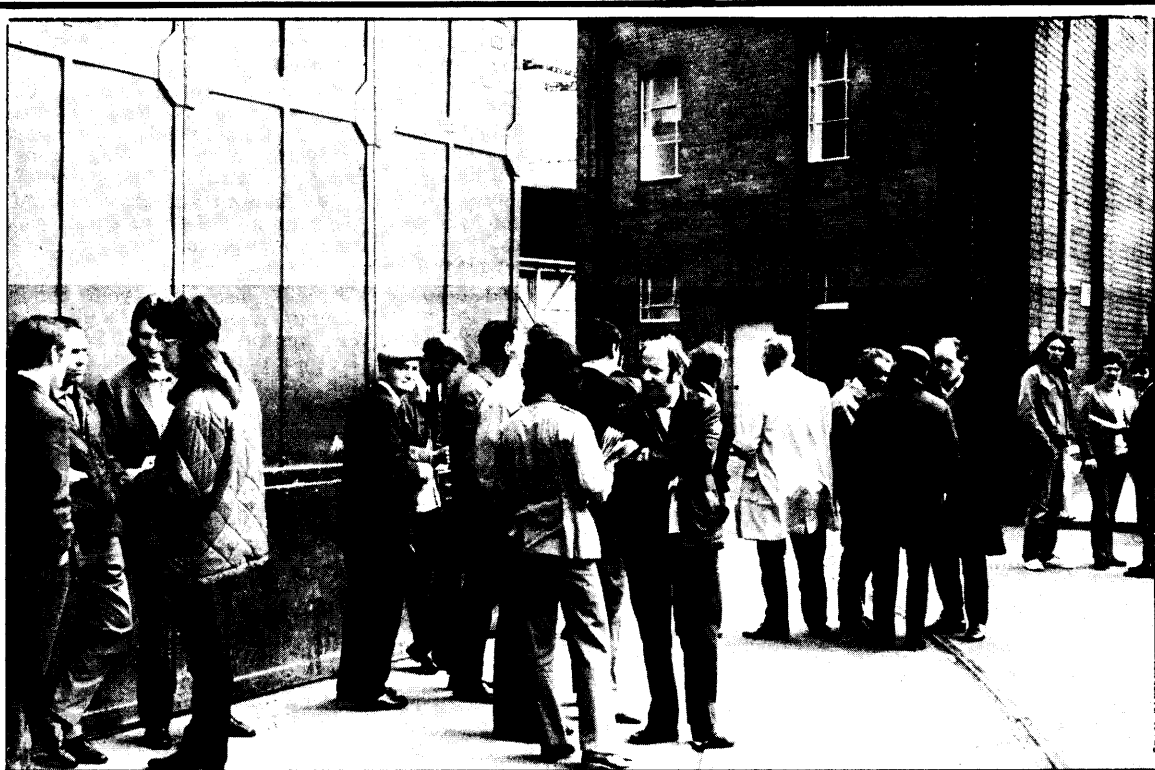
Within an hour of the statement Norman Evans, Coventry district organizer of the Transport and General Workers' Union, appeared ready to oblige.

'We understand that the 300 here will be accounted for by natural wastage, retirements and volunteers, he said.'

'We are told there will be no compulsory redundancies and that the process should be complete by November this year.'

The precise breakdown of jobs to go are 675 at Bristol and 300 in the Parkside and Ansty plants in Coventry.

The major part of the run-down is expected to be completed within 12 weeks, but the closure of the Whitchurch factory, Bristol, extends through to March next year.



**INFORMAL** talks have started on the long and bitter strike of engineering workers at the lower Clyde shipyards.

These follow the firm resolve of the 750 workers to keep out on strike despite the settlement of the claim at national level.

The men have been in dispute for over ten weeks at the shipyards of the Scott-Lithgow consortium.

Clashes with police have occurred, but the hardest blow of all came over a week ago from Hugh Scanlon, president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, and his executive.

He has signed a national deal which means hardly any increase at all for the Lithgow workers.

Like most engineers who have been involved in the battle for the claim at local level the in-

crease in the basic rate agreed with employers will mean very little to their wage packet.

Scott-Lithgow managing director Ross Belch has indicated that the firm might improve its original £2.75 offer.

But John McFadyen, vice-chairman of the strike committee, says the Lithgow engineers were united and determined to win a 'substantial' wage increase.

# T & GWU officials send drivers back to work

BY SARAH HANNIGAN

**TRANSPORT** drivers have returned to work at Manbré Sugars Ltd, West London, under management proposals banning their union representatives from ever holding office again.

Their representatives, Transport and General Workers' 1/1172 branch secretary Jim Butt (seven years convenor at Manbré), vice-chairman Pat Harrison and shop steward Mike Gash refused point-blank to accept the conditions and were not re-employed.

But they say they will continue their fight for reinstatement.

On Wednesday the 70 drivers, who are now employed by Brockelhurst Transport Co as part of an efficiency drive by Manbré, had staged a token stoppage calling for their representatives to be re-employed.

But paid T&GWU officials, district officer Bob Kay and road-transport group secretary Bill Packer, refused to call an official stoppage and eventually proposed to put the case to their executive committee as one of victimization. The drivers would not agree.

However when it was proposed that the three should be taken back for six months without their union credentials, the drivers voted overwhelmingly to put this to management.

Brockelhurst refused to agree on these terms and laid down four conditions for the men's re-employment. They must:

- Go away from the firm for four weeks without pay and without 'contacting and intimidating' any of their members.
  - Never hold trade union office again.
  - Accept management orders as final.
  - Their union branch would be the custodians of their behaviour.
- Management also wanted them to state their acceptance of these 'conditions' in front of a meeting of all the drivers. All three refused.
- The officials then moved in and proposed and seconded a return to work.

# Leyland strike today against redundancies

BY PHILIP WADE

THOUSANDS of British Leyland workers are expected to strike today—a normal working day for them—against the hiving-off of a Leyland subsidiary with the loss of hundreds of jobs.

Over 5,000 workers at the Cowley, Oxford, Morris Motors plant will stop. Workers will also come out at other factories, including those at Bathgate, Longbridge, Leyland and Llanelli.

The sale of Transport Equipment Thornycroft, Basingstoke, Hants, for £5m is designed to raise cash to finance BLMC expansion plans inside the Common Market.

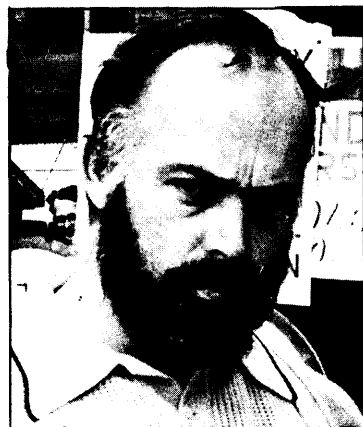
Lord Stokes' empire is in such deep financial trouble—it owes £80m to the banks—that he is selling off assets to raise cash.

On August 15, 1,200 workers at Thornycroft took over their heavy transmission factory in a bid to save their jobs.

Buyers of Thornycroft's are to be the Eaton Corporation of Ohio, USA. The price—£24m. A company called English and Continental Property has bought the 50-acre site on which the factory stands, also for £24m.

Thornycroft workers first heard of the deal soon after BLMC blandly announced on June 7 that 344 workers would be sacked by September 30.

In making this announcement, BLMC tore up a procedural agreement made last summer



Gordon Owen-Jones

following a successful six-week strike against redundancy. For one clause stated: 'Company agree that in the event of situations arising which may involve redundancy, there must be consultation at local level before final decisions are made.'

## WEATHER

AN ANTI-CYCLONE is almost stationary over southern Scandinavia, while a thundery trough is slow moving over northern France.

Eastern England and Scotland will be mostly cloudy with a few sunny intervals. Southern England will be rather cloudy with some sunny intervals and perhaps a few thundery showers.

The Midlands and central northern England will be dry but rather cloudy with a few sunny intervals.

Wales, North-West England, Northern Ireland and a. of Scotland except the East will be dry with sunny periods.

Temperatures will be near normal in most areas but it will be rather cool on the East coast.

**Outlook for Tuesday and Wednesday:** Mainly dry with sunny periods, particularly in the West but showers in some southern counties. Rather warm in the West, but cool in the East.

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Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.



Thornycroft workers with a clear message for Lord Stokes at the occupied factory on Saturday

When Lord Stokes eventually disclosed the name of the new owner of the factory, Thornycroft workers soon found Eaton had no intention of expanding production. Rather the reverse.

Eaton's only had a three-year lease on the 20-acre factory site, and what they planned was a steady run-down in jobs.

At that point, stewards, staff representatives and local union officials declared a policy of no sackings, no closure, no sell-out. The support of the powerful BLMC combine shop stewards' committee was sought and won.

It is clear that BLMC's hive-off—the sixth since the merger to form the combine—is only the beginning of an immense rationalization programme.

Over 30,000 workers have lost their jobs in the last three years. And BLMC still needs something like £25m in ready cash.

'What we want to know is what is the future for factories like AEC Southall, Park Royal and the other bus and truck plants in the division,' Gordon Owen-Jones, works convenor at

Thornycroft, told Workers Press on Saturday.

'Is everything going to be transferred to the National Bus Co in Cumberland? Are they going to have one big truck company, centralized somewhere?'

'We haven't had answers from them on any of these questions,' said Owen-Jones.

Workers in the car plants will also tell you about rumours about Leyland's plan for one central car place. So there are questions to be asked about the future of Standard's and Rover's.

Lord Stokes and the rest are obviously unhappy with the state of the company.

Thornycroft is a warning to all Leyland workers. We're the sixth company which has been completely sold or half shares got rid of.

Leyland management always tell us about their 'desperate straits' and the fact they haven't got enough money for research and development. But just after they told us of the sackings, they

## Prisoners demand union rights

PRISONS throughout Britain will be hit by a three-day strike soon unless Home Office recognition is granted to an organization for prisoners' rights.

PROP—the Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners which organized strikes by prisoners in 33

jails on August 4—yesterday said the date for the new stoppage would not be revealed.

Strikes would involve total non-co-operation with the authorities, refusing to work and sit-downs in the exercise yards, said a spokesman.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

TUC MUST BREAK OFF ALL TALKS WITH HEATH!  
MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN!

**NOTTINGHAM: Tuesday August 29, 7.30 p.m.** People's Hall, Heathcote Street. 'Victory to the building workers.'

**WANDSWORTH: Tuesday August 29, 8 p.m.** Selkirk Hotel, Selkirk Road, Tooting. 'Lessons of the docks strike.'

**EAST LONDON: Thursday August 31, 8 p.m.** Festival Inn, Market Square, Crisp Street Market, E14.

**PRESTON: Wednesday August 30, 8 p.m.** Railway and Commercial Hotel, Butler St (nr railway station). 'The Tory government and the building workers.'

**CAMBRIDGE: Thursday August 31, 8 p.m.** Red Cow (behind the Guild Hall). 'Lessons of the docks and Builders' strikes.'

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

**SLOUGH: Tuesday September 5, 7.30 p.m.** Slough Community Centre, Farnham Rd.

'Force the Tories out! Expose the traitors in the labour and trade union movement!' Speakers: Frank Tomany and Brian Bailey, both in a personal capacity.

Lessons of UCS and the Docks Strike.

**ABERDEEN: Monday August 28, 8.00 p.m.** Trades Hall, 24 Adelphi.

**DUNDEE: Wednesday August 30, 8.00 p.m.** YMCA Constitution Room.

## Gear-box strikers seek Ford backing

WORKERS at Creffield Engineering, Tonbridge, Kent, are to ask Ford shop stewards to back their struggle for union recognition by blacking the firm's products.

The Creffield men, who have been locked out for seven weeks, will meet the stewards on Wednesday.

If the black is imposed it will be a severe blow for the firm, part of Spa Holdings, since a substantial proportion of their gearbox and transmission products goes to Ford.

The 100 Creffield engineers want the right to organize the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers in the factory, but have met opposition from the management who have a record of hostility to unions.

Their factories at Enfield, North London, and Ashington, Northumberland, are both non-union shops and the Creffield men are planning to picket them.

On Friday a Creffield solidarity march was held through Tonbridge. Building workers, Labour Party members and the Tonbridge Young Socialists joined the engineers who shouted slogans demanding union recognition and 'Tories out!'

Building worker George Tapp, who is also chairman of Ton-

bridge Trades Council, said the building workers on the demonstration were proud to be associated with the Creffield men. Unity in action was what workers needed to win their demands.

Bob Todd, chairman of the strike committee, thanked the marchers for their support.

## Court threat to pickets

PICKETS outside the Wm Griffiths concrete plant at Chartham, near Canterbury, have been told that a High Court writ is to be taken out against them.

A steward told Workers Press the company would go ahead with legal action 'unless we removed ourselves from company property, stopped picketing and went away'.

The application will be made tomorrow, the men were told. Recorded letters have been sent to the homes of the pickets informing them of the company's plans.

The dispute began eight weeks ago when six fitters—members of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers—were sacked

bought Innocenti in Milan and an assembly plant in Belgium.

What Leyland's are doing in this rationalization is carrying out government policy to the fullest extent.

The 1,000 workers in Basingstoke cannot change this policy on their own. It must be fought by all the factories in the combine.

If they get away with it here Leyland will carry the policy through to other parts of the group.

Although it is a fight to get support from the combine, it would be good if we could also get support from the wider labour movement. Our fight is the same as the dockers' and the miners.

The crisis inside British Leyland is a measure of the crisis of British capitalism itself.

With exports falling and the home market being squeezed by Japanese competition, BLMC is attempting to turn to direct production in Europe in line with entry into the Common Market.

Because of its weak financial position, it is forced to sell assets to raise the necessary cash.

In that sense Stokes has no choice but to pursue the policy he is now implementing. The crisis of Leyland and British capitalism is to be offloaded on to the backs of the working class.

If BLMC cannot guarantee jobs, the question posed is its nationalization under workers' control and without compensation.

The implementation of this policy requires the TUC to call a General Strike to force the Tories to resign, and the return of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. The 160,000 Leyland workers must now lead the fight for this campaign.

for downing tools when the management refused to negotiate on a 10p-an-hour pay claim.

They have been picketing every day, and last week members of the Snowdown branch of the National Union of Mineworkers joined the line in solidarity.

Cavanagh Weaver, the fitters' steward, said: 'We feel that it's not a court order for trespassing, but an injunction to stop us exercising our basic trade union rights.'

'There's been no violence of any description during the previous eight weeks. We are prepared to go all the way in defence of our rights.'

## Socialist Labour League

FOUR LECTURES  
THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

given by  
G. HEALY  
(SLL national secretary)

1. **Marxism as the theory of knowledge**  
Tuesday September 5

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

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

4. **Historical materialism today**  
Tuesday September 26

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