

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 16, 1972 ● No. 870 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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# LONDON DOCKS TO LOSE MEAT TRADE

BY ALEX MITCHELL

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The Vestey empire, headed by 31-year-old multi-millionaire, Lord Samuel Vestey, is closing its Riverside store, Nelsons Wharf, in November, adding a further 87 to the TUR. Now Vestey is threatening to close his Thames Stevedoring firm which employs 750 at the Royal Group.

On the surface, the people demanding that the huge New Zealand meat trade be taken away from London is the New Zealand Meat Producers' Board. In a letter sent to 2,000 Royal dockworkers this week, the two companies who handle the New Zealand trade, Scruttons Maltby and Vestey's Thames Stevedoring, make these menaces:

'The poor outputs in London in the last season, resulting in higher costs, have seriously endangered the future of this traffic in the port. It is vitally necessary that between us we achieve immediately an improvement of at least 50 per cent in the output per gang.'

Who are the men of the NZ Meat Producers' Association demanding this 50-per-cent increase in productivity and threatening the men with massive sackings?

The association, formed in 1922, comprises seven representatives from NZ producers and two government appointees.

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Thus the extent of the conspiracy against the livelihoods of dockers becomes much clearer. Vestey's rear sheep in NZ, slaughter it, ship it, stevedore it, store it and then sell it.

Yet Vestey — whose family motto is appropriately 'Stability arises from labour' (YOUR labour)—said in an interview the other day: 'We have no vendetta against registered dock labour.'

And he went on: 'We are making strenuous efforts to keep our business in London.'

As we have already shown, Vestey and his friends are calling the tune in the NZ Meat Producers' Association which is sending pilot shipments of meat through Avonmouth and Sheerness and closing down one cold store after another. Since January 1962 the Vestey group has shutdown eight cold stores in London.

And Vestey and the other meat monopolists have been gradually taking the meat importing business away from London. These figures prove it:

● In 1963 a total of 750,000 tons of meat (chilled and frozen) came into London.

● In 1970 the figure had dropped to 369,000 tons and last year 288,000.

● The total for meat and dairy products (butter, eggs, etc) is: 1962, 835,000 tons; 1970, 517,000 tons and 1971, 460,000 tons.

### Overtime ban

In the face of this onslaught on docks jobs, what is the union leadership doing? Well, we know what Jack Jones, leader of the Transport and General Workers' Union, wants. He has engineered a deal with Lord Aldington, Tory chairman of the Port of London Authority which has itself closed all six cold stores on the riverside in the last couple of years.

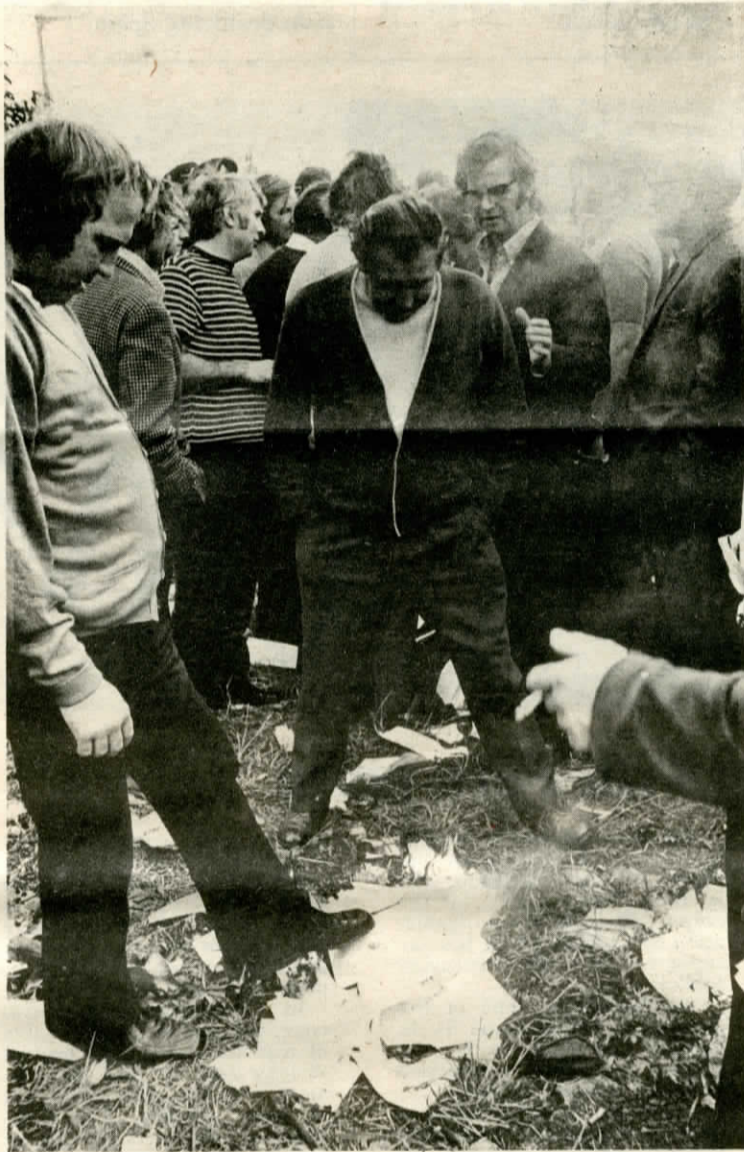
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But at a mass meeting on Thursday the ban was kept in force because the stewards could not get a clear majority of men who wanted it lifted.

This forceful demonstration by rank and file indicates that a growing number of men are dissatisfied with the manoeuvres of their present leadership.

As Workers Press has consistently explained, the fight for the right to work on the docks — as in all industries — requires political solutions.

Only through the nationalization of the docks and road transport industries, that is the expropriation of the Lord Vestey types, without compensation and under workers' control, can the dockers' jobs be safeguarded.



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BY JOHN SPENCER

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A settlement of outstanding points of dispute between the two countries, including the Soviet lend-lease debt, was apparently achieved during three days of talks in the Kremlin earlier this week.

Further talks are to be held later this month, when US Commerce Secretary Peter Peterson visits Moscow. But the basic elements of the deal appear to have been finalized this week and

Peterson will simply tie up the loose ends.

First reaction to the deal from the Common Market was guarded and it is clearly regarded as another trade war victory for the US.

The EEC countries have long been eyeing the potentially lucrative Soviet market, but the new deal will inevitably orient much of Soviet trade towards the United States.

A number of big US consortia are already negotiating proposals for joint exploitation of Soviet mineral resources and exchanges of technological know-how with Soviet enterprises.

The United States is already selling record quantities of grain to the Soviet Union.

Socialist Labour League

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given by  
G. HEALY  
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### London

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Sunday September 17

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## Kissinger moves on to Paris 'peace' talks

PRESIDENTIAL adviser Henry Kissinger met North Vietnamese representatives privately in Paris yesterday for more talks on the Vietnam war.

Kissinger has just returned from Moscow where he negotiated the final stages of a major trade deal and also discussed the Vietnam question with Kremlin leaders.

There has been considerable speculation that the price of the trade deal may be an intensification of Soviet pressure on the North Vietnamese to accept a compromise deal on the war.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam recently issued a lengthy statement of its terms for ending the war—while US officials saw no change of substance in the terms, they interpreted the statement as a slight shift towards a more conciliatory stance.

Kissinger's private meeting with the North Vietnamese yesterday was the fourth since the formal semi-public Paris 'peace' talks resumed two months ago. There has been no public sign that the North Vietnamese have made any concessions to Kissinger in the talks.

Last night the White House



Kissinger

aide was due to fly back to Washington to report to President Nixon on the results of his Moscow and Paris trips.

IN SOUTH VIETNAM, there has been heavy fighting around the city of Quang Tri, held by the liberation forces against a series of puppet troops for more than four months.

Spokesmen for the South Vietnamese army yesterday claimed that the heavily fortified citadel of Quang Tri had fallen.

It is known that repeated strikes by American heavy bombers have reduced almost all of Quang Tri to nothing more than a sea of rubble.

The attack on Quang Tri was set in motion by President Nguyen Van Thieu largely for prestige reasons. He desperately needs a symbolic victory to offset the disastrous defeats his army has suffered—even if it means sacrificing hundreds of troops in a bloody assault.

# Strike wave builds up in Spanish car plants

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

GENERAL FRANCO and his Council of Ministers began talks yesterday in San Sebastian on the fight against inflation and preparations for Spain's entry into the Common Market. About 60 miles away, 12,000 workers in 12 factories and the shipyards in Vigo joined the strike of 5,000 Citroën carworkers in the northern port.

Fernandez de la Mora, Minister of Public Works, set the tone for the talks on Tuesday during Franco's inauguration of a new section of a motorway which will soon link Madrid directly with the French border via the Basque provinces.

'We shall only reach the social-economic levels of Europe by producing as many tons of steel, as many kilometres of motorway as they do... Your Excellency is the one who is really Europeanizing Spain.'

Those European employers who have already taken advantage of Franco's opening up to Europe are finding that the police-state is not sufficient to quell the working class.

The Vigo Citroën factory has been flooded with so many orders from the Benelux countries that the factory production lines cannot cope. The management has intensified work tempos and refused to give the workers the free Saturday afternoon conceded in recent negotiations.

On Thursday hundreds of strikers, including building workers working on extensions to the Citroën factory, gathered outside the offices of the state-run unions. They demanded nine workers who had been dismissed should be reinstated before they return to work.

The strikers were charged by the local armed police reinforced by police from other coastal towns. Over ten workers have been arrested.

Workers in another of Franco's European ventures, the Seat plant in Barcelona, are organizing go-slows and short stoppages. These actions are connected with the sacking of four militants and the recent arrest of two lawyers and three workers for their involvement in last year's Seat strike.

The indictment order said that the lawyers had allowed strikers to hold illegal meetings in their offices during the strike last October.

The five were released on bail of £180 each and are now awaiting trial.

These strikes show that Spanish workers who experience European managements are not convinced of the Spanish Communist Party's view that Spain's entry into the EEC will lead to democratic reforms.

They are also a blow against the negotiations in Paris between the Moscow Stalinists and the Madrid diplomats.

Sam Russell, foreign editor of the 'Morning Star', visited Spain earlier this year and wrote a series of articles on the struggle of Spanish workers against Franco. Why doesn't he repudiate these negotiations sponsored by his Moscow mentors?



Raul Castro greets General Javier Tantealan in Cuba

## Castro alliance pledge with Peru junta

CUBA has agreed to work closely with the Peruvian military junta towards an integrated Latin American community and mutual assistance in national development.

The pledge came in a joint communique signed by General Javier Tantealan, the Peruvian Minister of Fisheries, and Cuban vice-premier Raul Castro.

Tantealan left Cuba on Sunday after a week of talks with premier Fidel Castro and other leaders. He headed the second major Peruvian delegation to visit Cuba this month.

The first delegation, headed by General Jose Graham, included Dr Carlos Delgado, who is the official leader of the corporatist trade union organization SINAMOS which has the support of the Peruvian Stalinists.

The high-flown tone of the Cuba-Peru communique is in marked contrast with the reality of the repressive Peruvian military regime.

It pledges the two countries to work together to strengthen international peace based on social justice and to collaborate in efforts to achieve an inte-

grated Latin American community of free nations.

The two countries also affirm their common objectives in the struggle for social justice and reaffirm their policy of co-operation in national development and endeavour.

In particular, the two countries agreed on the rights of maritime nations to protect their waters for the development, welfare and well-being of their peoples. The communique also stated Cuba's support for the right of these nations to extend their fishing limits to 200 miles.

## France—former government aide alleges top-level corruption

AN ATTEMPT by a former official to blackmail the French government into stopping the supply of jet fighters to Libya adds another scandal to an ever-growing list.

Gabriel Aranda, former aide to the Minister of Equipment and Housing claims to possess copies of about 160 letters which show corrupt connections between business and Gaullist politicians.

One has already been published by the satirical weekly 'Le Canard Enchaîné' which shows a Gaullist politician requesting special favours for a construction company.

The government fears that not only Aranda but other top civil

servants could publish confidential documents revealing corruption in high places. While his blackmail attempt is unlikely to succeed, the affair will add to the growing disrepute of the Gaullist regime and undermine the confidence of its own supporters.

Coming after the juicy scandal involving a Gaullist deputy in the running of brothels in Lyons, the case provides the press with more sensational copy. With an election in the offing early next year, these exposures come at a bad time for the regime.

A Justice ministry investigation is to be held—to stifle the affair.

In July Pompidou dismissed Prime Minister Jacques Chaban-

Delmas—who had admitted to not having paid income tax on his considerable income for four years—and installed the tough Pierre Messmer to head a class-war government.

## NZ: New strike law

NEW ZEALAND is to introduce legislation banning political strikes, David Thomson, Minister of Labour, announced in Wellington yesterday.

He told parliament the executive of the Federation of Labour (New Zealand TUC) had made it clear to him that it would resist the proposals.

The National Party (Tory)

government has decided to introduce the law following such recent trade union actions during the French nuclear tests in the South Pacific.

But it clearly has a much wider scope than simply barring liberal protest actions. Any trade union action leading to a confrontation with the government could be placed under the ban.

## THE MEANING OF INFLATION

THE GALLOPING inflation which afflicts every country has become a main symptom of the international crisis of capitalism. This week's 'City Press' headline, 'Near Panic Over Inflation', reflects opinion in the financial world.

It went on to say: 'There is near panic this week on the Stock Exchange over the government's inability to halt our galloping inflation.'

'A fierce warning from the Bank of England about the perils of inflation came on Monday, only ten days after a similar broadside from the National Institute and quickly pushed the Financial Times Index down to 496.4, its lowest since July 4.'

The anxiety of the City gents is understandable. They fear that inflation may become completely uncontrollable with the public losing confidence in paper money, as happened in Germany in 1923. Their system could not survive such a whirlwind.

However, the present inflation is different from that of 1923, which came in the aftermath of war and defeat. It is particularly baffling to economists because it is accompanied by increasing unemployment and responds to none of the traditional remedies, or, equally frustrating, it takes place in conditions where such remedies cannot readily be applied because they would be worse than the disease.

The roots of the world-wide, long-term upward movement in prices and continual sapping of the purchasing power of paper money go back to the post-war monetary arrangements established by the Bretton Woods agreement.

Unable to beat down the working class, which had emerged strengthened by the war, capitalist governments adopted policies of concessions through increased spending and budget deficits which would have been impossible under the gold standard.

Every attempt made since then to check inflation by orthodox means has led to recession, unemployment and an aggravation of the class struggle. Faced with a powerful working class, most governments have preferred to accept some inflation as a necessary evil while paying lip service to the fight against it.

But things could not stop there. The period was dominated by an outflow of dollars from the United States on a massive scale. When the Fort Knox gold reserves had fallen to danger point President Nixon abruptly called a halt on August 15, 1971 and the dollar ceased to be convertible into gold.

The world was awash with tens of millions of unwanted dollars, not convertible into gold but convertible into every other currency at an artificially inflated value. The currency arrangements of December 1971, while including a readjustment of exchange rates and a small dollar devaluation, did nothing to solve the basic problem.

Inflation has continued unchecked and almost everywhere has tended to increase. Only the US, through stringent wage and price controls, has been able to check the upward movement for the present.

Other governments, facing the effects of a world recession, have been forced to adopt measures which could only fuel the inflation still more. By lowering interest rates, creating easier credit conditions and pumping more paper money into circulation the governments and banks have been the vehicle for more and more inflation.

# What we think

Inflation eats into workers' living standards and real wages. But since they have fought back and, through strike action, won wage increases, government propaganda and tame economists have tried to blame inflation onto them by talk about cost inflation.

Price rises precede wage increases and tend to outstrip them. In any case continually rising prices assist industry to maintain profits because in its present monopoly stage increases in costs can generally be passed onto consumers with a percentage mark-up for profits. Meanwhile fixed charges, such as interest payments, become less burdensome.

It is when industry faces its competitors on the world market under conditions of intensified trade war created by the Nixon measures and the complete instability of exchange rates that the struggle to contain inflation becomes a decisive question.

If inflation in one country outstrips that in others its exports will be priced out of world markets. The result will be a balance-of-payments crisis, a run on its money and forced devaluation. This problem afflicts Britain acutely and will be aggravated by entry into the Common Market. But the French, German, Italian and other governments are equally sensitive to the inflationary threat.

The ruling class in each country can only deal with the crisis caused by inflation, which it is powerless to turn off, by smashing the fighting capacity of the working class.

It turns to the bureaucratic leadership, reformist or Stalinist, to assist it in this task. The programme of integrating the trade unions into the state comes alive. Anti-union laws become necessary.

Only by defeating the working class can the ruling class face its competitors in the trade war. It hopes to impose a wage freeze which will mean a reduction in the living standards of the working class while enabling profits to be maintained and increased.

There is no national solution to inflation, which has now become a congenital disease of capitalism in decline. There is only the greater or lesser success of the ruling class in defeating its own working class in order to be in the most favourable position to compete on the world market.

When trade union leaders go along to discussions with the Tories, whether at Downing St or at Chequers, on so-called 'voluntary solutions' to the problem of inflation and promise their co-operation, they are, of course, betraying the working class in the same way as if they called for support for an imperialist war.

The working class has to fight to defend its conditions and living standards, which are being driven down by inflation. There are strict limits to what can be done by purely trade union methods. Every worker knows that wage increases are wiped out by rising prices almost as quickly as he gets them.

There is no solution to the problems within capitalism. The trade union and Labour leaders who say there is only display their treachery.

The working class must demand that their leaders break off all talks with the Tory government and prepare a nationwide campaign which will force it to resign. Once this is done, the working class will be considerably strengthened for the fight to elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

## Young Socialists begin north-east Right-to-work march

**YOUNG SOCIALISTS** on the north-east coast of Britain begin their week-long march for the Right to Work today from Middlesbrough.

Unemployed youth from the high-unemployment areas of Newcastle, Sunderland and Teesside will march for seven days and pass through six main centres.

YS national committee member for the region, Dave Jones, said the campaign will involve

jobless youth from the dole queues.

'They will be marching for the Right to Work and demanding the trade unions take action against the Tory government.'

'We want to involve older workers in the fight for this

basic right. But this means an all-out campaign to force the Tories to resign.'

Unemployment has hit the youth hard in the north east.

In Sunderland alone last week the youth employment authorities announced they had 120 vacancies for 2,152 un-

people are out of work in the employed school-leavers.

Altogether over 90,000 whole region.

The YS march passing through Hartlepool, Peterlee, Durham, Chester-le-Street, Sunderland and Jarrow, has the backing of two union bodies.

Trades Councils in Sunderland and Jarrow-Hebburn have both voted to give the march as much support as possible.

## TUC and Labour Party collaborate in treacherous series of talks

# Pay freeze and Ulster coalition

BY DAVID MAUDE

**LEADERS** of the TUC and the Labour Party took big steps towards coalition with the Tories this week. Alarmed by the gathering economic crisis and the growing militancy of the working class, they moved to prop up the government's staggering wages and Ulster policies.

Share prices moved up on the London stock markets yesterday on the strength of optimistic headlines about the union chiefs' talks with premier Heath.

The reason for this is clear: Thursday's talks were a gross betrayal of Britain's 10 million trade unionists.

Last week the TUC General Council backed a resolution which it claimed meant no wage restraint. Yet in this week's talks with Heath and the Confederation of British Industries 'all three parties had agreed on the urgency of keeping down wages and prices' (The Times, September 15). This followed a unanimous vote at the TUC—including the Communist Party—to talk to the Tories and bosses.

As Workers Press warned immediately these talks were first mooted, the union chiefs have shelved even their demand for scrapping of the Industrial Relations Act.

And as we also warned, the TUC's pact to keep the Tories in office is being larded with cynical talk about helping the lower paid.

The depth of the General Council's treachery can be gauged by the statement of the CBI's president after Thursday's day-long meeting:

'It does mean a relative worsening of the position of the higher paid.'

No matter how they may try to deny it, every union leader who took part in Thursday's talks knows this to be the case.

And sections of the capitalist class are demanding more. Yesterday's 'Daily Telegraph' editorial condemned the builders' pay rise as 'horrific', condemned increases even for low-paid workers and expressed scarcely-concealed impatience for a compulsory wage freeze.

'Time is running short for voluntary policies to combat inflation. In any case, all these ideas for increasing the pay of the lower paid are, in themselves, inflationary. They are also... egalitarian in a far-reaching way, and to that extent are unhelpful to true economic growth.'

Despite such indications of the employers' determination to freeze wages and create massive unemployment, the trade union leaders are to continue discussions with the Tories and the bosses over the next ten days preparatory to another full-scale meeting on September 26.

These talks continue because the only alternative to them is full mobilization of the working class to bring down the Tory government. All the TUC leaders, 'left' and 'right' alike—are implacably opposed to this—an op-

position which is supported by the Communist Party and the revisionist groups who hang on to their coat-tails.

Yet the union leaders know full well that major class battles are inevitable as the Tories jack up prices and attack living standards on the eve of entry into the Common Market.

Their talks with the government, therefore, are in no sense some kind of boom era compromise. They are aimed at striking blows at the working class.

As Feather and his colleagues help the Tories to hold down wages, Harold Wilson helps them over Ulster.

The day before the union leaders met Heath in the Great Parlour of Chequers, the Prime Minister's luxurious country house in Buckinghamshire, Labour Party leaders were also involved in discussions in the office of the deputy leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons.

This meeting was with leaders of the Northern Ireland Social Democratic and Labour Party. Since Heath had been unable to find a formula which would enable the SDLP to attend the 'all-party' talks on Ireland, Wilson was trying his hand.

Precisely when the working class of Ulster faces its greatest dangers, the Labour leaders operate a bipartisan policy which lays the basis for further military repression.

As the economic crisis deepens the Labour and trade union leaders rush into the arms of the Tories, willing to perpetrate ever-greater betrayals on behalf of the capitalist system they love.

The enormous fighting spirit shown by builders, dockers, railwaymen, miners and all other sections of the working class cannot by itself achieve victory without a political programme to replace these 'labour lieutenants of capitalism' with a revolutionary leadership.

## P & O-Bovis: Two rebels

TWO more directors of the giant P&O shipping group have rebelled against the company's £148m takeover bid for Bovis, the building and civil engineering group.

D. Brown and A. B. Marshall told the board yesterday they could not associate themselves with the bid recommendations. Lord Inchcape, a third director, has already objected to the Bovis

takeover.

The objectors believe the bid terms value Bovis too highly, though the building firm has forecast a big profits increase this year. By contrast, P&O's half-year pre-tax profit is down to £410,000 for the last six months, compared with £1,445,000 in the corresponding period last year.

## Council of Action for West Brom

WEST BROMWICH Trades Council has voted to convene a special meeting to set up a Council of Action.

The resolution read: 'We are completely opposed to the attack now being waged by the Tory government against all basic rights. The campaign must be waged to unite the whole working class in a struggle to bring down the Tories through a General Strike called by the TUC, and to replace them by a Labour government pledged to nationalization.'

## SPECIAL ATUA MEETINGS

CENTRAL LONDON :

Inaugural meeting of the entertainments and press unions.

SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 17, 7 p.m.

'The crisis of technology and unemployment.'

SHAFESBURY HOTEL  
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Speakers: Roy Battersby (ACTT. In a personal capacity).

A London docker.

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'Crisis in the car industry. Fight for the right to work.'

STORK HOTEL  
QUEEN'S SQUARE

Speakers: Alan Thornett (deputy senior steward Morris Motors, Oxford. In a personal capacity).

Mike Banda (SLL Central Committee).

SWINDON:

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Speakers: Tim O'Sullivan (senior night steward, Morris Motors, Oxford, in a personal capacity). Member of the Swindon building strike committee. Representative from the Thornycroft (Basingstoke) occupation.

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# UNITS FOR WORKERS' SELF-DEFENCE

Part 16 of a series on Picketing by Bernard Franks

## The Workers' Militia

The crisis situation in which capitalism prepares to call up all its most malevolent forces of coercion and violence, is also the period in which the working class builds its own great units of self-defence — the workers' militia.

Marx and Engels both took time to examine and recommend the necessary tactics of the physical struggle of their day.

Trotsky wrote of the link between the picket and the workers' militia:

'A strike is inconceivable without propaganda and without agitation. It is also inconceivable without pickets, who, when they can, use persuasion, but when obliged, use force.'

'The strike is the most elementary form of the class struggle which always combines in varying proportions "ideological" methods with physical methods. The struggle against fascism is basically a political struggle which needs a militia just as the strike needs pickets.'

'Basically, the picket is the embryo of the workers' militia. He who thinks of renouncing "physical" struggle must renounce all struggle for the spirit does not live without flesh.' ('Whither France'.)

In May 1917 Lenin congratulated the workers of one region who had formed a workers' militia and required the capitalists to pay for its operation, for the hours and days which the workers concerned took off to operate it. He recommended this as an example which should become a model for all Russia.

Trotsky wrote in 1934, when the fascists were on the streets in France, of the need to build the workers' militia and arm the working class in the pre-revolutionary period, warning of the great dangers of being too late. To those who said such action was premature in a non-revolutionary situation, he remarked:

'This profound argument means the workers must permit themselves to be slaughtered until the situation becomes revolutionary.'

To other opponents he wrote:

'"To call for the organization of a militia," say some opponents who, to be sure, are the least serious and honest, "is to engage in provocation."

'This is not an argument but an insult.'

'If the necessity for the defence of the workers' organ-

izations flows from the whole situation, how then can one not call for the creation of the militia? Perhaps they mean to say that the creation of a militia "provokes" fascist attacks and government repression. In that case, it is an absolutely reactionary argument. Liberalism has always said to the workers that by their class struggle they "provoke" the reaction.

'The reformists repeat this accusation against the Marxists, the Mensheviks against the Bolsheviks. These accusations reduced themselves, in the final analysis, to the profound thought that if the oppressed do not baulk, the oppressors will not be obliged to beat them. This is the philosophy of Tolstoy and Gandhi, but never that of Marx and Lenin. If "l'Humanité" [newspaper of the French Communist Party] wants thereafter to develop the doctrine of "non-resistance to evil by violence", it should take for its symbol, not the hammer and sickle, the emblem of the October Revolution, but the pious goat which provides Gandhi with his milk.'

Later, not long before being brutally struck down by one of Stalin's agents, Trotsky re-emphasized that fascism is not an inevitable stage of development, that only betrayal and dissipation of the strength and ability of the working class by renegade leaders opens the door to the success of reaction.

He wrote: 'We may set it down as a historical law: fascism was able to conquer only those countries where the conservative labour parties prevented the proletariat from utilizing the revolutionary situation and seizing power.'

'In Germany, two revolutionary situations were involved: 1918-1919 and 1923-1924. Even in 1929 a direct struggle for power on the part of the proletariat was still possible. In all three cases the social democracy and the Comintern (the Stalinists) criminally and viciously disrupted the conquest of power and thereby placed society in an impasse.'

'Only under these conditions and in this situation did the stormy rise of fascism and its gaining of power prove possible... Ahead lies a favourable perspective, providing all the justification for revolutionary activism. It is necessary to utilize the opportunities which are opening up and to build a revolutionary party.' (From Trotsky's 'Last Article', Fourth International, October 1940.)



Top: Trotsky during the Civil War. He wrote: 'Basically the picket is the embryo of the workers' militia'. Above: In Germany 1918, armed workers took control of the streets of Berlin.

CONTINUED ON MONDAY



Immigrant workers in Zurich, Switzerland—exploited a source of cheap and manageable labour

# CHEAP COLONIAL LABOUR IN EEC

By Philip Wade

In the last ten years over 8 million immigrant workers have flooded into the Common Market countries from southern Europe and north Africa.

They provided the bourgeoisie of the metropolitan capitalist countries with a source of cheap and manageable labour during the period of the boom.

In that sense the Common Market proved over and over again one of its true aims: to reduce the poor countries, many just 'independent' politically, to the status of colonial states once more.

Direct social, political and economic hegemony of these states was ended. But in their place came, in reality, a new form of colonialism.

The reactionary bloc of European monopolists was formalized in the Common Market. Around this bloc a whole number of countries were granted affiliate status. It was a relationship between master and servant, as can be

seen from the deep-going poverty and degradation which still exists in the countries of the old empires.

Today the Common Market is associated with 18 former African colonies of the Six, three Commonwealth countries in East Africa, and Turkey, Greece and Malta. And trading agreements have been concluded with several other nations.

Because the economies of these countries have been kept backward, their workforce was forced to emigrate to central Europe to find work and send home savings.

They took the jobs which were lowest paid and the most unskilled, like street-cleaning, road-building and underground work.

Employers went to great lengths to bring them in. In July, for example, an illegal traffic in immigrant workers from French-speaking west Africa was discovered in France when a lorry carrying 59 of them from Mali and Senegal broke down. Police said they had been smuggled in from Italy and were destined for underpaid jobs on

building sites in Paris.

In France, where there are more than 3.2 million immigrant workers, many of them have been crowded together in ghetto shanty towns on the outskirts of the cities built out of flattened petrol cans.

Now, as unemployment rises in Europe, the plight of these workers is becoming ever more desperate. Seeking to head off the metropolitan working class, the bourgeoisie is attempting to stir up racialism.

There have been several clashes recently in France between Algerian workers and particularly the middle-class expelled from that country after independence.

In Holland, extreme right-wing forces have provoked serious rioting against the homes of Turkish workers living in crowded neighbourhoods.

And the Pompidou government has just introduced racist legislation to limit the intake of immigrant workers to 150,000 a year from countries with which it already has immigration agreements.

# AIR FREIGHT THREAT TO DOCK JOBS

By Stephen Johns

Airlines who are finding their passenger potential exhausted are turning to a relatively new but lucrative field of air freight.

Despite the recent recession common to all forms of freight transport many of the major airlines are convinced that an increasing proportion of cargo will fall into their laps. The development means profits for the big transporters, like BEA, BOAC and Lufthansa, but further depression for the traditional dockland areas of the world.

Lufthansa have pioneered a new service which has taken them to the top position in the European air-freight league, above BEA.

## Starting results

They have just put into service a Boeing 747F jet which is a purpose-built, all-freight aircraft. The first results are startling, on its eastbound flight from New York to Frankfurt the 747F carries 89.2 metric tons of cargo.

This, of course, is less than a full sea-ship load but Lufthansa can take this kind of cargo across the Atlantic six days a week from the Frankfurt cargo centre, whereas a modern ship can take anything up to 15 to 21 days to make the sea voyage—and this ignores the lengthy wait at the docks at either end of the journey.

The 747F is built to take 28 containers, 8 ft wide, 8 ft high and 10 ft long, as well as palletized and grouped loads.

The costs are higher per mile than the sea voyage, but the saving in time is phenomenal. The plane has a turn-around time of two hours—and all but 30 minutes of this is taken up by refuelling.

Eventually great time savings at the cargo centres are hoped for with round-the-clock working and night flights. Lufthansa are planning the full

computerization of their operations and have been working for six years on a cargo consultancy service in a bid to convince exporters that loads, other than perishable cargo, can be best transported by air.

The only goods still totally unsuited for air freight are bulks—grain, ores or liquids—but now Boeing think it's feasible to build a plane that can carry these types of commodities as well.

At present only 0.4 per cent of the North American dry cargo freight travels by air, but the total is growing all the time.

According to Karl Zingelmann, Lufthansa's cargo manager for western Europe, cargo is destined to overtake the passenger trade as the No. 1 money spinner for the airlines.

'All forms of transport developed as passenger carriers. Cargo was a side issue,' he says. 'But on sea, road and rail cargo quickly outgrew passengers. The same thing will happen to air transport. We all agree it will come. The only difference among us is as to when. Ten years? Thirty years? Our passenger potential is nearly exhausted, but the freight potential is not yet tapped.'

## Advance means less jobs

The impact of air freight can be exaggerated. Many of the heavier sea-going cargoes are vastly uneconomical to transport by air. But with products where the cost-to-weight ratio is high, like machine tools and other machinery that need careful handling, the plane is the best carrier.

As always, technical advance will mean less jobs. The freight the airlines win will be lost to the docks and there will be no compensating increase in employment at the airports.

The internal power systems on the cargo jumbo jets allow the two-man crew to store and secure a maximum load in 30 minutes!

## STAGGERING RISE IN UNEMPLOYED YOUTH IN US

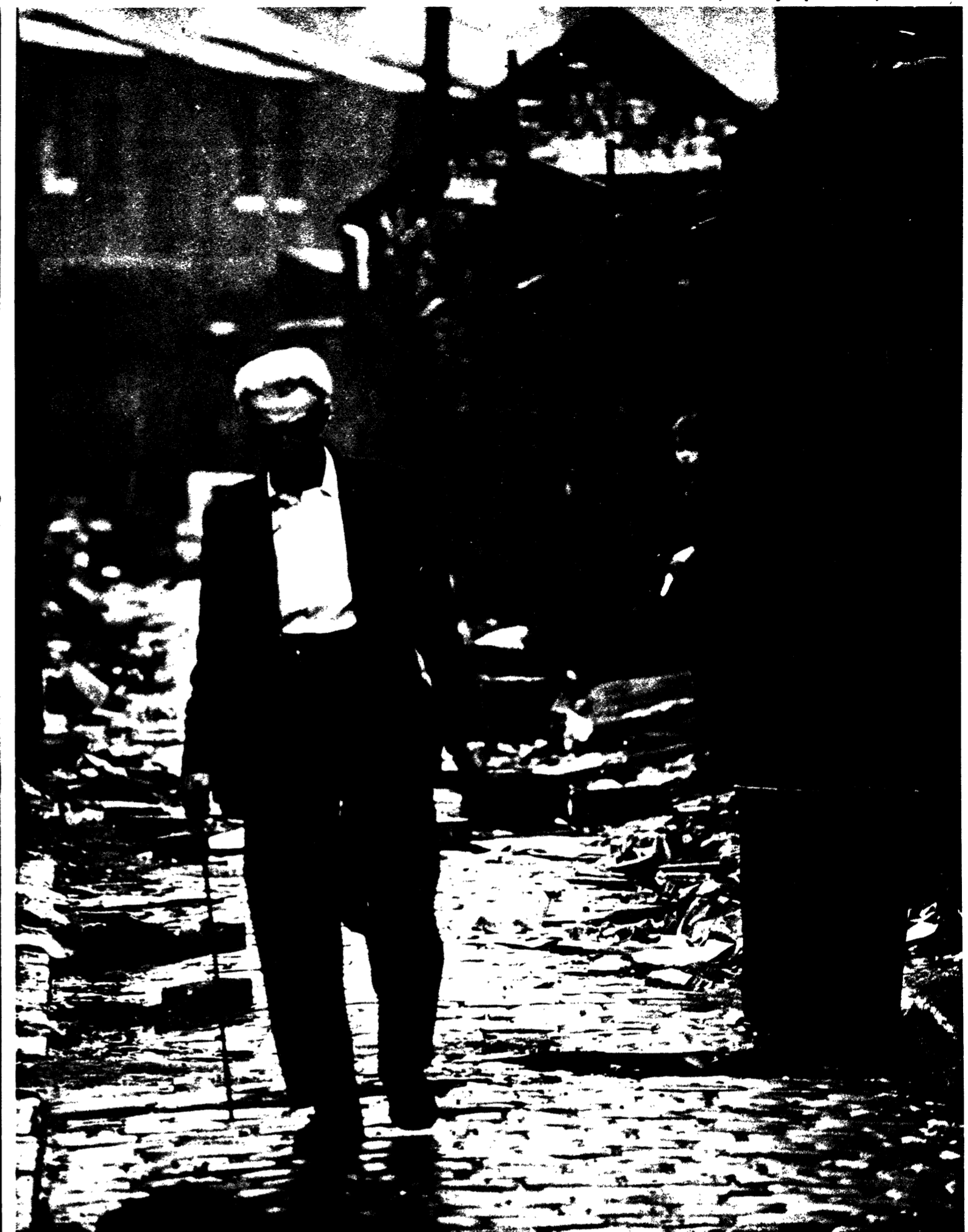
Total unemployment in the US is now 5 million. But it is clear that the youth are feeling the brunt of President Nixon's declaration of trade war on August 15, 1971.

The picture is the same all over the country. In the St Louis area, jobs declined by 12,600 in July. By the end of the year, it is expected that 6,000 more workers will be unemployed.

General Motors, McDonnell-Douglas and other firms in the area plan to reduce their work forces. Up to 300 workers a week run out of unemployment benefits and are thrown off the lists.

In Chicago, 14,000 were jobless in August, with the figure steadily rising. And of the 3,000 out of work in California's Hunters Point, 2,000 are youth over school-leaving age.

Unemployment among American youth now stands at the staggering figure of 17 per cent, following a 2 per cent jump in August alone.



# LIFE IN THE SLUMS

Photographs from SHELTER by Nick Hedges

**A report issued by Shelter (the National Campaign for the Homeless) on Thursday shows that slum areas get the worst of everything — not only housing, but education, health, unemployment and transport.**

The report—'Reprieve for Slums'—highlights slum life in London, Manchester, Bradford, Cardiff, Newcastle upon Tyne, Edinburgh and Liverpool.

**OVERCROWDING:** In Manchester, there are 50 persons per acre in Moss Side, compared with 19.9 for the city as a whole and 13.4 for suburban Didsbury.

**ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION:**

In Cardiff grit fall-out in tons per square mile, 1961-1971, totalled 28 tons for the deprived Splott area compared with 12.3 for the area around

the City Hall. Similarly sulphur dioxide per cubic metre of air reached 102 micrograms in Splott compared with 84 for the City Hall area.

**MENTAL HEALTH:**

Tulse Hill in Lambeth recorded 24 referrals per thousand dwellings compared with 11 for the borough as a whole and seven for the Streatham South area.

**POVERTY:**

This was done by comparing the average monthly expenditure per thousand primary school children in Newcastle upon Tyne and the average for May, 1972, in three West End primary schools. The figures were £49.10 for the city as a whole and £83.70 for West End.

**YOUTH**

**UNEMPLOYMENT:**

The deprived area of Man-ningham in Bradford showed a rate of 2.9 young people under 18 unemployed per thou-

sand of the population compared with 1.7 for the city as a whole and 0.9 for the more prosperous Heaton.

**EVICCTIONS:**

The number of possession orders per hundred of the population granted in 1967 for non-payment of rent was 0.78 in Liverpool as a whole, but 1.19 in the slum area of Granby. In the better area of Childwall it was 0.35.

**EDUCATION:**

Granby had 4.15 children per hundred classified as educationally sub-normal. Liverpool as a whole had two and Childwall 0.45.

**HYGIENE:**

Because sanitation was poor and there was a lack of baths and hot water, 8.94 children per hundred in Granby had to be deloused. The figure for the whole of Liverpool was 4.98 and in Childwall it was 0.58.

Individual case histories cited are harrowing:

*'I had another little girl,' said one woman, but the ceiling fell on her and she died... The kids had fleas. They were practically running alive, with big holes in their heads and sores and yellow stuff. They had to have all their heads shaved.*

*Another woman said: 'Our house is disgusting inside. The dampness in the house is terrible. All we can use is the back bedroom and the back kitchen and that's leaking when it's raining. I've got a nine-month-old baby. It's not right to keep a baby in a place like this. I've had the doctor down nearly every week to see his chest. I've had the sanitary and health people down. The council won't consider us because we haven't got enough points.*

*'The house is plastered with mice so we got a cat. Once I just went out the front and when I came back in the baby was playing with a rat in the pram.'*

The Shelter people have collected a mass of useful facts. It amounts to an enormous condemnation of capitalism. Shelter, however, doesn't see it like that.

Anxious to do good, they recommend the Tory government to finance local authorities to enable them to 'tackle multiple problems with co-ordinated solutions', whatever that means.

They even claim to have observed 'the first hint that a government is prepared to consider a solution to the problems'.

But an immigrant worker quoted in the report sees things much more clearly than its authors:

*'I have rats, bugs everything. It's very damp. That's why I send the kids away from here. They've got a lot of future so the more healthy you can keep them and away from all these things it is better for them. When I get somewhere nice and clean, I'll have them back.'*

Left: at £3.50 rent, this family has two rooms and the kitchen landing while sharing toilet and bathroom with tenants downstairs. Above right: Manchester, Moss Side where the younger families move out, leaving behind in the inner city areas the old, the poor, the disabled and the unemployed. Right: a room where seven children sleep while their parents have only a settee

*'I've been fighting for a decent place to live for the past five years, but the council always says there's nothing. I pay £6.50 for my two rooms. I earn good money and I don't care about the expense as long as I get some place decent. We are just stuck in this rubbish. Whether it's suitable or not, you've got to live somewhere. Even if you are ashamed to turn the key in the lock, you've got to live somewhere.'*

*'The bosses, they don't know how the working half live if it just isn't exposed. It's the same all over the world. The working half are always living in poorness. We live terrible.'*



A three part series by Juan García, our Spanish correspondent on how the depression of the 1930s hit the Spanish province of Catalonia, and the resulting struggles of workers against unemployment while the armed forces of the state prepared for Civil War.

# THE FATAL INTER-UNION STRIFE ON THE DOCKS

When major struggles in defence of jobs began in Spain in the early 1930s the employers could rely on inter-union rivalry to weaken the struggle of workers.

This was the case in the Barcelona dock strike in 1932. The drastic drop in exports led to mass unemployment among dockers. In some sections, 30 per cent were unemployed and in others up to 80 per cent.

This situation inflamed the rivalry between the social democratic UGT and the anarchist CNT on the docks. The CNT tried to outflank the UGT through support from the powerful CNT Transport Union of Barcelona.

In June 1932, the workers and employers came to an agreement of shifts. This agreement recognized the CNT as the union with sole rights.

But the agreement was not put into operation—on July 6 a General Strike was declared in Barcelona. Only coal and perishable foods were unloaded.

The CNT was demanding an increase in the daily rate from 15 to 20 pesetas, the establishment of unemployment relief and the organization of shift-working so that no workers would be permanently unemployed. On July 25 the strike was settled with the offer of 17 pesetas as well as two pesetas that the employers would pay into social welfare.

This success increased the strength of the CNT, which decided to make a determined effort to clear the UGT out of Barcelona port.

The dockers, who were UGT members, refused to pay dues to the CNT and consequently CNT members refused to work with UGT members.

Truckers belonging to the CNT transport union would not move the goods handled by UGT dockers. The employers stepped in and sacked the truckers, thus provoking a strike in most sections of public transport in the city.

The new inter-union conflict in the docks lasted almost a month, from October 3 to October 29.

On October 14 UGT workers signed an agreement with the management to return to work. At once the CNT attempted to bring out all transport workers in the city, but without success. The CNT workers finally returned to work on October 29, winning none of their demands.

In December, the Civil Governor, Anguera de Sojo, intervened to establish the shift system and that the work would be shared out—45 per cent to the UGT, 45 per cent to the CNT and 10 per cent to the remainder.

However, the CNT rejected this settlement since they had more members in the docks than the UGT. After fights with UGT workers and a street battle with the police, in which one worker died and several were wounded, the CNT accepted the governor's ruling.

De Sojo's ruling marked a sharp turn in the policies of the Catalan government. In June President Macia had supported the CNT against the UGT. This was part of the opportunist relationship between the CNT leadership and the Esquerra, the party of the bourgeois Catalan left of Luis Companys.



Above: Largo Caballero, Socialist Party Minister of Labour.

The CNT leaders traded the votes of their members for the Catalan petty-bourgeoisie in exchange for support in the unions against the UGT. This suited the bourgeoisie very well, since the workers who rebelled against the class-collaborationism of the UGT—expressed in its highest point in the Ministry of Labour under Socialist Largo Caballero—were attracted by the ultra-revolutionary rhetoric of the CNT.

This rhetoric brought the most dynamic section of the working class behind the liberal wing of the Catalan bourgeoisie.

After de Sojo's decision, the Esquerra intervened on behalf of the CNT. One of its newspapers, 'L'Opinio', came out against the decision, as did the majority of the party. On December 23, the governor was forced to resign, in spite of support from the National Labour Office and the Barcelona Chamber of Trade.

## Militants arrested

The *quid pro quo* from the CNT was participation in the 'jurados mixtos', the joint body with the employers, from the beginning of 1933. This lasted until April, when the CNT started a third dock strike against the treatment it was getting in the port. The strike lasted a month.

However, it did not close

the port since UGT members continued working and unemployed UGT members took over CNT workers' jobs.

On April 17 the unloading of coal was stopped when the truckers refused to move supplies. The CNT brought out sections of Barcelona transport in sympathy. CNT members attacked truckers who scabbed by moving coal and several workers were killed.

The new Civil Governor intervened, closed down the Transport Union, arrested leading CNT militants in transport and shut down various anarchist headquarters.

On April 24, trucks arrived to remove coal and other goods. This led to a General Strike of all transport workers with the dockers and to full-scale strike-breaking.

Several buses and lorries ventured onto the streets driven by 'volunteers' and guarded by police. Many of the volunteers belonged to the fascist Estat Catala which focused its attention mainly on the destruction of the CNT.

On April 27, the transport strike ended, but the dock strike continued. 200 CNT members who had been arrested were removed to a nearby prison ship.

On May 4, the strike ended. The CNT returned to work with an agreement that was worse than the one negotiated with de Sojo: 45 per cent of portworkers would be UGT, 40 per cent CNT and 15 per cent non-union, or smaller unions. The CNT represent-

atives on the docks returned to the 'jurado mixto'.

These inter-union struggles wore down the militancy of the working class and prevented any development of political consciousness amongst their members.

Towards the end of the dock strike, on April 17, the building workers in Barcelona came out on a strike which was to last for three-and-a-half months.

## Workers hit by recession

It was another strike which showed the willingness of workers to fight unemployment and the impossibility of winning this fight with a reformist programme.

The main demand of the building workers was for a 36-hour week to replace unemployment, which in 1932 had meant that 50 per cent of building workers were unemployed. This was the section of workers most severely hit by the recession and it was the main base of the CNT, controlled by the FAI.

The CNT building workers' union began by not recognizing the 'jurado mixto' for the building industry, which first granted a concession of one peseta a day more, and then, at the beginning of May, an increase of two pesetas and a half-day's pay for days when the weather made work impossible.

The CNT kept to its original demand for a 36-hour week, rejected the wage increase and restated that the aim of the strike was to give work to unemployed building workers through a reduction in hours.

Some employers considered that the increase granted by the 'jurado mixto' was excessive and appealed to the Ministry of Labour. In June, however, most employers agreed to the one peseta increase, although with the backing of the 'jurado mixto', they refused to reduce hours.

When both the Spanish employers and striking building workers rejected a wage increase and 44-hour week in July 1933, the anarchist CNT began a campaign of terror.

Bomb attacks were launched on sites which were scabbing on the strike. When the police broke up a demonstration of strikers in the university square in the centre of Barcelona, a shooting match broke out in which several workers were killed.

The police set up guard-squads for scab-sites, but in July there were only 230 scabs in the whole of Barcelona.

Finally, in August, the strike was called off: the CNT leaders accepted a 44 hour week, compensation for periods of bad weather and a minimum daily rate for labourers of 10 per cent. On August 16, the workers returned to work, after all imprisoned strikers had been released.

CONTINUED ON MONDAY





## BBC 'MIGHT HAVE BEEN' FALLS FLAT

TV REVIEW BY TOM KEMP

An extraordinarily dramatic and interesting programme for TV might have been devised on the theme of what a Nazi conquest and occupation of Britain might have looked like. The BBC's timid attempt — 'If Britain Had Fallen', screened on Tuesday night for almost three hours—turned out to be a full-scale bore.

After constructing a successful Nazi invasion of Britain, largely based on German propaganda film which had been shot in advance, it went on to deal with what might have happened in Occupied Britain. Here it fell into a number of errors, largely resulting from fear of taking up the political issues which defeat and occupation would have raised.

Also the programme was documentary not dramatic in form. It therefore had to depend upon the reminiscences of middle-aged people from Jersey or the smaller European countries which had known occupation. It gave Sir Oswald Mosley the opportunity to deny that unlike his counterparts in occupied Europe, he would have been the Gauleiter if not the Fuehrer in the event of a German victory.

The same law of libel which prevents one from surmizing Mosley's role, also protects those who were on the list of probable collaborators which the Germans had carefully drawn up. The omission of prominent names from those the Germans intended to arrest forthwith might also give some food for thought.

Sir Samuel Hoare was mentioned as the possible head of a Quisling government in Britain, but there were no offers for a British Petain, though there would have been no lack of aspirants to the role.

In fact, the complete absence of any reference to the French situation, surely the closest guide to what would have been likely to have happened in a defeated Britain, was a striking feature of the programme.

A serious discussion along these lines would have put some life into the programme—and also have made it politically unacceptable.

For one thing, the Dane who said that collaboration cut straight down through the social pyramid was wrong. The collaborators of the Nazis were drawn predominantly from the ruling-class establishment. The volunteers for the SS and the Eastern Front were the counterparts of public-school types. Police, army and civil service accepted German orders and carried them out.

Occupation did not end the class struggle, but intensified it. The working class suffered most and, after the initial confusion, fought back with strikes, sabotage and other forms of resistance. The ruling class profited from German contracts, got rich on the black market and rubbed shoulders with the conquerors with no embarrassment.

Although we are dealing with a might-have-been, the French example is suggestive. What is more, Nazism had plenty of friends in Britain in high places in the 1930s, some of them organized in bodies such as the Anglo-German Friendship Association, or the 'Link.' Nazi policy had obvious attractions for the ruling class and was not so distant from traditional ideology: discipline, racial superiority, worship of physical strength, hostility to socialism or communism.

Not only would employers have welcomed the setting up of a Labour Front—the abolition of trade unions and the outlawing of strikes—but it is not difficult to think of trade union leaders of the time who would willingly have operated a 'Labour Charter' as their counterparts did in France. There was a missed oppor-

tunity for a discussion about the Industrial Relations Act!

It cannot be doubted that the propaganda machine of Dr Goebbels would have scored considerable success—though it would have avoided the stupid 'I married a German boy' commercial shown during the programme. The Nazis were much too serious and political to descend to such a level.

There were a number of themes in Nazi propaganda, not least anti-Semitism, which could have won a response. Sanctimonious public figures and clergy would have appealed for a return to morality and a national revival under Nazi protection. The 'Festival of Light' would have begun 30 years earlier than it did.

Literary figures, journalists, broadcasters and politicians would have come forward, often as genuine converts to the Nazi cause. Big business would rapidly have made its peace in order to conserve its property and profits. Industry would have been tuned to supply the needs of the German war machine on the Russian front.

Before that happened, in 1940, 'The Daily Worker' might have appealed to the Nazi Kommandatur for permission to re-appear (the CP paper 'L'Humanité' tried to publish under German occupation during the period of the Nazi-Soviet pact).

All these things would have been worth discussion. As it was the programme was too long, too slow-moving and insufficiently dramatic to dispel the boredom which grew as the three hours drew towards a close.

One theme which came through was that of Hitler's desire to construct a united Europe with Britain as a necessary part. The analogy with the Common Market was uncomfortably close. Can it be that the producer was making propaganda for (or against?) Britain's entry?

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## RUE DE BOVIS

The Bovis Group, the family firm of Tory Cabinet Minister Sir Keith Joseph, is quickly reaping the rewards of closer ties with Europe.

The company's property division is to carry out an £11.5m redevelopment project in Paris—its largest European scheme ever.

The company has purchased three buildings in the Rue de Lafayette which will be converted into prime office accommodation. It will eventually provide 180,000 square feet of air-conditioned office space close to the Gare du Nord in the heart of the capital.

Bovis is already carrying out several developments in Paris, including an office tower in Rue de Bercy. The company has also just set up subsidiaries in France and Holland.

Sir Keith, the millionaire building tycoon and Minister for Health and Social Security, is, of course, a dedicated supporter of the EEC. For obvious reasons!

Below: Sir Keith Joseph



## ALL-SORTS

One surprise at the Brighton TUC was the continued attendance throughout the week of the National Union of Bank Employees' delegation.

After they had been suspended on the first day for their faithful allegiance to the Tory industrial relations legislation, it was assumed they would all depart, as most of the other 32 suspended unions did.

But Leif Mills and his colleagues were discovered that night, and subsequent nights, going the rounds of bars and receptions just like all the other delegations.

A joking reference to their continued presence on one occasion drew the response: 'We are staying on to form a rival TUC.'

After suitable laughter at this devastating drollery, the situation was found to be even funnier. The bank employees meant it seriously.

'There's ourselves, there's a few other sane unions. And then there's the housewives; they haven't been organized yet,' said a spokesman. 'There's 3 to 4 million people who could get together.'

The anti-working class attitudes of these gentlemen were now all too apparent. Some trade unionists threw in some helpful suggestions.

'Yes, you could get a lot of Conservative MPs to join. And Army Lieutenant-Colonels haven't got a union, either. And then there's the priests and bishops, private detectives, Soho mafiosi, call girls—all sorts of people.'

The NUBE bureaucrats retired in confusion.

## NEW TRIO

Hill Samuel, Britain's biggest merchant bankers, are getting ready for entry into the Common Market. Three new directors are to join the board—two Americans and a Belgian.

The idea is to 'internationalize' the bank's operations. The Americans are Richard S. Vokey, recently senior vice-president of the First National City Bank and for seven years in charge of their operations in the UK, and Hulbert S. Aldrich, until recently vice-chairman of the Chemical Bank in New York.

The European is Juan de Liedekerke, who was served with Lazard Frères in France, the International Finance Corporation in Washington and then Smith, Barney and Company.

The new trio will sit alongside British financiers Viscount Bearstead (of the Shell family), Sir Charles Clore, Sir Charles Hardie, Lord Kearnton and Sir Richard Powell.

At the top of this pile is Hill Samuel chairman Sir Kenneth Keith, also a director of Times Newspapers.

Before Keith's financial wizardry is proclaimed from the rooftops, it should be recalled that he was involved in recommending to shareholders the stock of Bernard Cornfeld's Investors Overseas Services only a few months before the operation fell apart.

## BOOKS



**LEON TROTSKY:**  
Germany 1931/1932  
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87;  
**Where Is Britain Going?**  
Paperback 37p  
**Revolution Betrayed**  
Paperback 62p—cloth £1.05  
**Problems of the Chinese Revolution**  
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Peter Jeffries examines the latest moves by international 'economists' to eliminate gold from the monetary system

# What is future for gold?

AMIDST ALL the discussions about the 'reform' of the international monetary system now taking place in Brussels and Washington, there is absolutely no agreement on one key question: what is to be the future role of gold?

Latest to pronounce on the subject is US Treasury secretary Paul Volcker. Giving evidence this week at the first hearings of joint sub-committee on international trade and payments into US gold policy, Volcker stated that the Administration remained firmly committed to phasing out gold's monetary role. He said the importance of gold 'should and must continue to diminish'.

Even more forthright is Xenophon Zolatas, governor of the Bank of Greece until 1967. In a 'Times' feature, called 'Eliminating gold from the monetary system', he wrote: 'I believe that the international monetary system cannot be stabilized as long as its links with gold are not totally severed.'

Zolatas went on to urge that all currencies should be immediately linked to Special Drawing Rights (SDRs). These were the units created some three years ago in an attempt to find an alternative to gold following the March 1968 monetary crisis.

Not surprisingly such views are bitterly opposed in Europe, principally in France. Also giving evidence before the US Congress, Jacques Rueff, Paris professor and former deputy governor of the Bank of France, proposed that the official gold price be raised at once to \$70 an ounce. This would almost double its present official \$38 level.

If the gold price were doubled, argued Rueff, this would free the \$31,000m of gold in other countries and international financial institutions outside the US. This amount, he suggested, could then be loaned back to the US as a sort of 'Marshall Aid in reverse' which would in turn allow the Americans once more to make all world dollar holdings freely convertible into gold.

The French demands of course would only intensify the present chaos. All those countries, such as France, with a large proportion of their reserves held as gold, would find their reserve position greatly increased, whereas those with a low proportionate gold holding—such as Britain, Japan and all the colonial and semi-colonial countries—would find their reserves slashed in value if the dollar were to be devalued officially to half its present exchange rate.

Rueff's proposal was immediately denounced as 'reckless' by former US Treasury and International Monetary Fund official Edward Bernstein.

It is inevitable that the ever-sharpening conflicts on monetary and trade matters should centre on the question of gold. For gold has been and must remain the basis of world capitalism's financial arrangements.

One simple point seems to have escaped most of the 'experts' taking part in the debate: gold, unlike paper currency, embodies real value. It is a simple point, but fundamental. As Marx showed in 'Capital' over 100 years ago, the measure and content of value is socially-necessary labour time. A small quantity of gold is 'valuable' because a considerable quantity of labour is necessary to find it, mine, refine and transport it.

The quantity of paper money produced depends only on the speed at which the presses roll. In fact most 'money' in the international financial system consists only of figures in the ledgers of merchant banking houses!

Why was this paper 'money' able to represent real value for so long? Only because it was backed first by the British-gold-reserve and later by the US gold stock. After 1934 dollar holders were guaranteed a fixed rate of exchange against US gold—at the rate of \$35 to an ounce.

It was this basic prop which Nixon knocked away last August 15 when he suspended dollar convertibility and left the holders of over \$40 billion throughout the world without backing for their 'assets'. What had previously been means of raising credit were now turned overnight into their opposite—dollar debts which nobody wanted to hold.

Since that date the world payments system has been without a corner-stone. It was only because Bretton Woods forced all governments ultimately to settle their balance of payments deficits in gold that any discipline and regulation was maintained within the capitalist system.

## Trade war

It is this 'discipline' and regulation which the US is now forced to remove. With all currencies 'floating' against each other, divorced from gold, the stage is set for a ruthless trade war and a series of devaluation cycles on the pattern of but many times worse than the 1930s, when currency undercut currency in a vain attempt to make exports competitive.

Despite what the 'experts' say and the labour leaders hope, the international monetary system cannot be 'reformed'. Bretton Woods reflected a big retreat before the strength of the working class. Inflation was the product of that retreat, inflation which undermined the dollar's position and paved the way for August 15, 1971.

To restore value to the billions of paper currency within the capitalist system and make it once more convertible into gold, means to extract that value from the backs of millions of workers in every country in the most violent and bloody manner. This is the real meaning of the now frenzied discussions which are taking place about the future of gold.

# Builders hostile to new deal

THERE WAS an immediate hostile reception to the builders' pay deal throughout the country yesterday. Here are some reactions from different areas.

The following resolution was put by Skelmersdale builders' Action Committee to the north-west Action Committees meeting in Wigan yesterday:

'Over 300,000 of us have been on strike for six weeks and some for over 12, without strike pay and enduring great hardship, but clear with the knowledge that this strike would be decisive for the building industry.

'Yesterday the union leaders signed a deal which was a clear betrayal of their members and a victory for the employers and the Tory government.

'On the lump and on hours there is silence. The pay differential has widened and, most important of all, the deal lasts two and a half years.

'As the capitalist system enters daily into deeper crisis, the Tories are forced to attack the working class even more viciously to retain their profits.

'In three months we go into the Common Market. Increased productivity and redundancy will have to be forced on the working class. The Tories use the Industrial Relations Act, mass unemployment, raging inflation and the Rent Act against the working class.

'Yet the TUC joins with the CBI and the Tories on talks to end strikes and lower wages. The strength of the miners, railwaymen, dockers, builders and other sections of the working class has prevented the Tories from fully using the Industrial Relations Act, even though the union and Labour Party leaders have collaborated in its use.

'We call for the end of class compromise with the employing class and the breaking-off of all talks between the TUC, CBI and the Tory government.

'We totally reject the latest sell-out and completely endorse the decision taken at yesterday's mass lobby in London recommending all members to continue the strike.

'We call for a national meeting of all Action Committees to mobilize for an all-out national strike in preparation for a General Strike to force the Tories to resign so that a Labour government pledged to socialist policies can be elected.

'We demand that they nationalize the building industry and all the other basic industries including the banks and the land, without compensation and under workers' control, and that they repeal the Industrial Relations Act and the Housing Finance Act.

'Only in this way can the working class defend its basic rights.'

A mass meeting of Wigan building workers yesterday morning voted by 600 to 10 in favour of staying out on strike.

Bolton Action Committee spokesman Ian Hayes said: 'We throw the deal out and we will co-ordinate an attack on the executive committee of UCATT. We must get them out and draw up new rules and procedures of the union.'

Secretary of 9/79 Transport and General Workers' union in LEEDS, Patrick Herlihy, commented.

'We have been sold out by the union leadership. The men have run the strike here—the union have not assisted in any way. We have built up militancy of the men from scratch. We have got to educate building workers for struggle and we are learning fast.

'This agreement could have been signed before the strike started. The impression that I got is that it was settled before yesterday probably through secret negotiations.

'We have had no say when it came to negotiations. Instead of fighting the Industrial Relations Act the union leadership are frightened of the Tory government. They are frightened any

action may be taken against them. 'The mood of the men in Leeds is that we don't want to go back to work.'

A mass meeting of 200 building workers from Leeds, Wakefield, Barnsley and Sheffield at Leeds Trades Council Club yesterday passed a resolution rejecting Thursday's deal.

It pledged to fight for £10 across the board for 35 hours for all men working in the industry, including labourers.

A mass demonstration was planned for today to 'reject the deal'.

This meeting called on the Action Committee to organize coaches for Monday to continue the picketing.

Jimmy Linley was one of the pickets from all over the Midlands who converged on Portland Cement Co in Rugby earlier this week. He commented:

'If we lose this battle we will be set back 20 or 30 years. Back will come the lump in force, and we'll have far worse conditions than even now. I don't want to retire to die at 65, I want to live a full life.

'The situation is being twisted by the racials. As it is, more people are leaving this country in the year than are coming in. But while people are fighting amongst themselves, they are going to leave the gaffers alone. In some countries colour is used, in others it's religion.

'But workers can learn in struggle. I was a Protestant at the time of the troubles in Northern Ireland. I got involved in the struggle on the building sites two years ago and in May I joined the Communist Party. I've been on picket lines with Jamaicans and Indians. Struggle changed my way of thinking.

'This strike has been like fighting an octopus. While you are cutting one arm off and maybe stunning it for a few minutes, another arm is strangling you.

There is only one way to kill an octopus—that is straight through the eye.'

A mass meeting of over 7,000 building workers at Glasgow Green yesterday morning was narrowly split over a vote of a return to work.

Called by the Glasgow strike Action Committee the meeting was addressed by UCATT executive committee member Danny Crawford.

He told the men that the settlement was a 'good' one and that it could not have been achieved without the solidarity of the rank and file. But he said, in other parts of the country there was evidence of 'crumbling' in the solidarity.

But when he explained that by June 1974 the craftsmen would be earning all of £29 basic a week there was uproar and he was told to get off the platform.

Then Communist Party member Eamonn Monaghan began repeating the agreement, but said he didn't agree with it.

Builders should continue with the picketing, he said, and not allow scabs to return to work.

'The fight is to discredit those who sold us out'.

But when he took a vote on whether or not to return, he was faced with a narrow majority in favour of going back.

A further meeting is due to be held on Wednesday.

About 500 Aberdeen building workers met yesterday and decided to postpone a decision until Sunday.

Hull building workers are to return to work on Monday, their local Action Committee decided yesterday.

A 1,500-strong mass meeting was evenly split on the vote to go back or stay out and on this basis the Action Committee said that the men should start work as recommended by their leadership under the deal.

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# RELYING ON UNIONS TO BACK RENT REBELLION BARNESLEY RENTS FIGHT BUILDS UP

BY IAN YEATS

AT 9 a.m. on Monday October 2, Barnsley Corporation rent collectors will fan out on their rounds of the town's 11,000 council houses.

At hundreds of homes on Barnsley's three sprawling estates instead of the usual greeting they will get an icy reception.

As the tiring week goes on housing officers will know the extent of the tenants' rebellion against increases of up to £1 a week levied under the Tory Housing Finance Act and they will be considering counter moves.

The first step will be to send letters advising all tenants refusing to pay the increase they are in arrears and warning them to pay up.

The Athersley Tenants' Association, with 700 members drawn from 9,000 homes on the estate, is by far the largest in Barnsley. On all three estates already 1,000 families are expected to pay no more than their normal rents on October 2.

Faced with accountability to Tory auditors, housing officials dare not allow such large sums of money to remain outstanding for any length of time. According to deputy town clerk Mr R. Dickson the first move is likely to be court orders against all those wilfully in arrears. If these were ignored the Labour council would be asked to consider putting in bailiffs.

TORY Environment Minister, Peter Walker, has warned BIRMINGHAM city council of 'serious consequences' if they refuse to implement the Housing Finance Act.

In a letter to Councillor Stan Yapp, leader of the Labour-controlled council, Walker repeats his order that the city's council house rents must go up by 55p a week.

Leader of the 32-strong Labour group on the 40-member council Alderman Brian Varley left no doubt what the council's actions will be now that they have voted to implement the Act.

He told me at the Town Hall: 'I believe in the principles of democracy and in a democracy we all have the obligation to obey the law.'

Despite the fact that some of the Labour councillors vowed on August 16 they would go to jail rather than implement the Tory Act, in the crunch vote all but three raised their hands for implementation—the others abstained.

Said Ald Varley: 'It is now our duty to implement the law. Once you break down respect for the rule of law democracy is finished.'

'If we had not implemented, rents would have been handed over to Tory commissioners and the tenants would still have to pay the increases.'

Walker's letter to Birmingham came before the decision by GLASGOW's Labour-controlled city council—59 votes to 43—not to implement the Housing (Financial Provisions Scotland) Act.

Councillors in favour of non-implementation are now liable to a heavy surcharge, estimated at around £5,000 a month for

lost revenue, if the Act is disobeyed.

Paisley tenants whose council has implemented the Act voted to take part in today's demonstration through Glasgow against the Rents Act which has been organized jointly by the Glasgow Trades Council, the city Labour Party, the Scottish Tenants' Association and the Glasgow AUEW district committee.

He added: 'My sources say that all the machinery was ready for this. We did not intend to hand over this town to the Tories so that they could achieve by the back door what they could not do at the ballot box.'

'If any of my electors don't like what I'm doing they have the remedy next time. But let us remember that is was a considerable section of the working class who were foolish enough to put in this reactionary government in the first place.'

Asked why he had not resigned rather than implement the Act Ald Varley said: 'I don't think it would have succeeded if individuals had stood out against the Act.'

'The general public should have the intelligence to know what would happen if we had voted against the Act. We would have been personally responsible for finding the money and it would not only have affected us but our families as well.'

At the beginning of this month 42 Labour councils were pledged to defy the Act and many individual Labour councillors have resigned.

Just five miles away from Barnsley, at Hoyland, housing committee chairman Cllr Dennis Eaden has quit after 33 years because, he said, 'no one can sit on two stools at once.'

Hundreds of Labour voters feel they have little to lose and everything to gain from opposing the rent rises and with the present rate of inflation few believe they can afford to wait, democratically, for the next Labour government to repeal the Act.

Housewife and Athersley tenant Mrs Molly Wadsworth told me bitterly: 'They will not get voted for at the next election.'

'For the first time in the Barnsley area the working class are beginning to kick. I am anything but political, but they are asking us to pay an extra £1 a week and we just can't afford it.'

In fact it is not just another £1 on the £3.5 rent that Mrs Wadsworth and thousands of other tenants are facing.

She said: 'My husband's on £22 a week flat and we won't get a rebate. But with rent, coke, gas and electricity we will be paying £7 a week just for the house. They say these rents will double in three years.'

Tenants know the law will be used against them. They will elect street stewards who will mobilize the neighbourhood if evictions are attempted and court orders will be ignored.

But, said tenants' leader Brian Sefton: 'We know on our own it is an impossible fight. We know it needs all the working class to band together.'

'If the police move in because we are withholding the increases we will rely on the unions—in this area the NUM.'

'I think we all realize better than ever before that an alternative leadership is needed and this leadership will come out of a Council of Action.'

The rents movement has united different groups of workers in Barnsley as nothing else has, but with 20,000 men working in the 22 local pits many council tenants are miners.

Miner Chris Stones told me: 'The unions have got to be brought into this. If industry is brought to a complete stop and there is a General Strike all the way through, the Tories will be forced to resign.'

Barnsley panel of the NUM has backed the setting up of a Council of Action and there are resolutions before the Trades Council from two branches of the T&GWU and the AUEW.

The TUC is committed to oppose the rent Act and there is a resolution before the national executive of the NUM calling for industrial action to support the tenants.

However NUM executive member and south Yorkshire compensation agent Arthur Scargill made it clear at a New Lodge Club meeting on Thursday that the brunt of the fight against the Act should be borne by the rank and file.

He claimed that 'massive action' by the labour movement in a 'tremendous protest' could force the Tory government to change its mind.

Communist Party member Percy Riley called for as many marches and demonstrations as possible to show the Tories how the working class felt and he suggested the setting up of action committees to co-ordinate these activities.

But all the protests of the past two years, however militant, have left the Tory government in power to press on ruthlessly with the task of creating the conditions for capitalism to ride out the present slump.

The necessity of building Councils of Action to defend the tenants and the rights and living standards of all workers by mobilizing the whole class in a General Strike to force this government to resign is more urgent than ever.

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## WEATHER

NORTHERN Ireland and south west Scotland will be dry but rather cloudy. Remaining areas of Scotland and north east England will be mostly cloudy with drizzle in places.

Wales and remaining areas of England will be dry with sunny spells after clearance of local mist or fog patches.

Temperatures will be near normal.

Outlook for Sunday and Monday: Dry with sunny periods. Rather cool in the east. Near normal temperatures in the west.

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## Strike may continue on Monday Builders planning mass opposition to deal

BY PHILIP WADE

BUILDING WORKERS lobbied the London Action Committee yesterday demanding a mass meeting in the capital on Monday to reject the pay deal and continue the strike.

Others went to Transport House to see Les Kemp, Transport and General Workers' Union national building officer, to tell him the two-year agreement should be thrown out in its entirety.

A mass meeting of 300 Camden, North London workers, decided without a vote to fight to continue the strike until the full claim was met immediately.

In a two-and-a-half hour meeting, speaker after speaker demanded the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians' executive leadership resign.

'It's still £30 for 35 hours. We stay out,' Frank Westerman, T&GWU militant from the Gleason's, Essex Road site, told Workers Press after the meeting.

'No one wants this bonus agreement and we're right against holding on until November 1974 before we can fight again. The cost-of-living is just going to soar.'

John Howard, UCATT steward on the same site described the terms of the deal as 'pathetic'. 'Smith as chairman of the TUC general council talked about a shorter working week to help unemployment.'

'Now he turns round and tells us there can be no reduction in hours. None of the lads want to go back on this basis.'

'It seems we have to get 40 branches organized to get a special meeting of our general council when we can demand their resignation.'

Others in the meeting thought it no accident that the deal was signed the same day as the TUC was discussing wages' norms with the Tory government.

Camden direct building workers came out 650 strong in support of the claim, even though they have separate negotiations with local government employers.

Twice they have rejected attempts to get them back. Yesterday, they too condemned the settlement.

'There's no offer on hours and we don't want a two-year agreement,' said T&GWU steward Billy Gerrard.

BIRMINGHAM building workers yesterday occupied the offices of the Midland Federation of Builders in protest at the deal.

Shop stewards have 'totally rejected' the new wage agreement. Their spokesman, Peter Carter, said:

'We decided unanimously to reject the agreement, and called for the resignation of the officers and general secretary of the union.'



Frank Westerman

SIXTY men representing strike committees from the north west unanimously passed the resolution from Skelmersdale (see page 11 for full text).

They also decided to send a telegram to George Smith and the UCATT district organizer stating 'We demand recall of regional council to discuss employers' offer before any resumption of work.'

The national builders' delegates conference will be held at 2 p.m. on Thursday, September 21, at the Central Labour Club, Wigan. All communication should be to Wigan 47112.

'There will be no return to work here on Monday and we are organizing a mass rally for Tuesday to decide on our next moves.'

The mass meeting of Birmingham building workers yesterday called for the resignation of George Smith and all the UCATT national executive who either voted for or abstained on the acceptance of the offer.