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By Royston Bull

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JOE GORMLEY at TUC special Congress, March 5, 1973.

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So the miners are poised once again to lead the fight of the working class against the punitive burdens being imposed by the Tory government as a cure for capitalism's uncontrollable inflation.

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been changed from the first White Paper about Phase Two to the words in the Green Paper on the Code of guidance to the Pay Board so that the miners' third week holiday deal was deliberately scotched.

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The decision to go directly to the strike ballot was opposed by the Stalinists and only got through on Gormley's casting vote.

Their counter proposal was for a special one-day conference of miners' delegates.

None of the explanations for this move makes much sense. A special conference could have been of use if the executive had recommended acceptance of the offer, but in fact it was unanimously opposed to it, and has been all along.

And any decision of a special conference about strike action would still have to be put to a ballot under the NUM constitution.

Not even the wording on the ballot form could have been decided by a special conference. And, in any case, the eventual wording was agreed unanimously.

It reads: 'In keeping with the 1972 Annual Conference decision, the National Executive Committee has rejected as unsatisfactory the Board's offer [as set out overleaf] to increase wages and fringe benefits within the government's formula.

'Are you in favour of the NEC being given authority to call a national strike or other industrial action as necessary in support of our efforts to obtain a satisfactory response to our claim on behalf of all our members?'

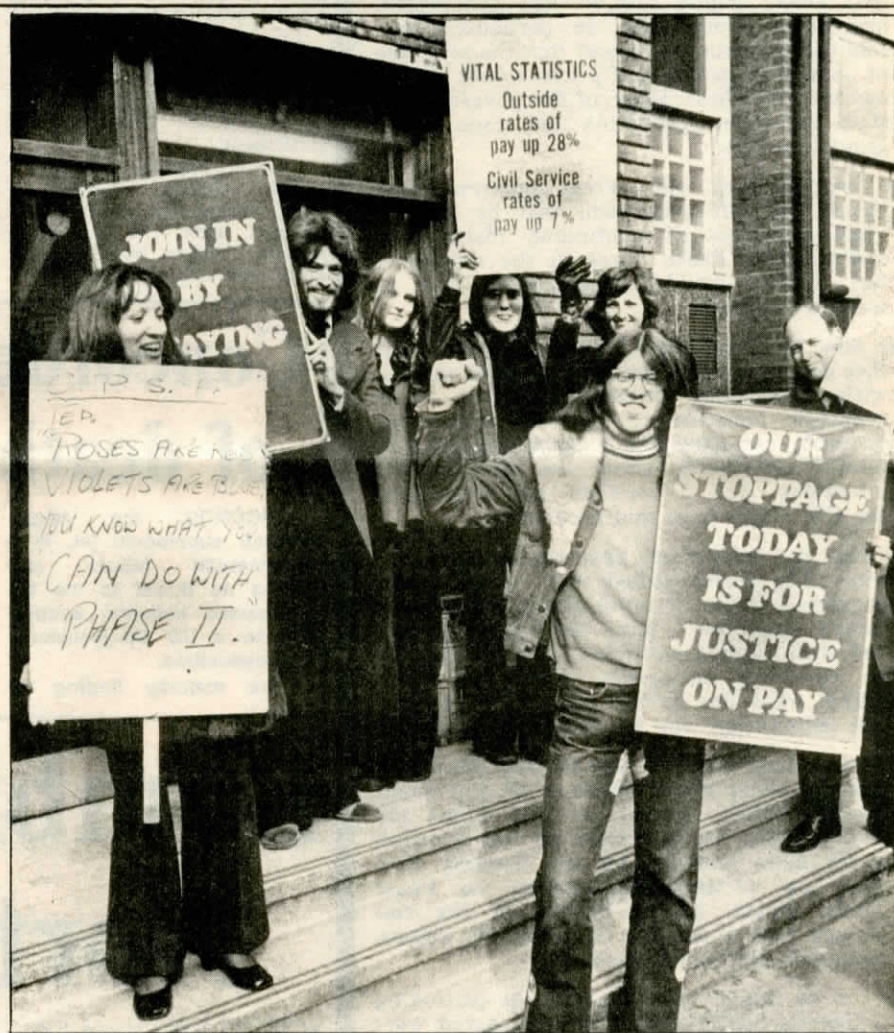
'Yes' or 'No'.

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Authority for industrial action had already been given by the Morecambe 1972 conference.

The main effect of calling a further conference would have been to delay for a further three weeks or so the final decision by the miners in a ballot to strike or not.

The miners' executive policy is now correct. The task is to work to make it a 100-per-cent success.



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## Civil service workers stop Hansard report

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But Commons messengers, members of the Transport and General Workers' Union, have been crossing the picket lines on the instructions of their union leaders, and a CPSA spokesman yesterday confirmed that the union had made representations to Jack Jones about it.



# workers press

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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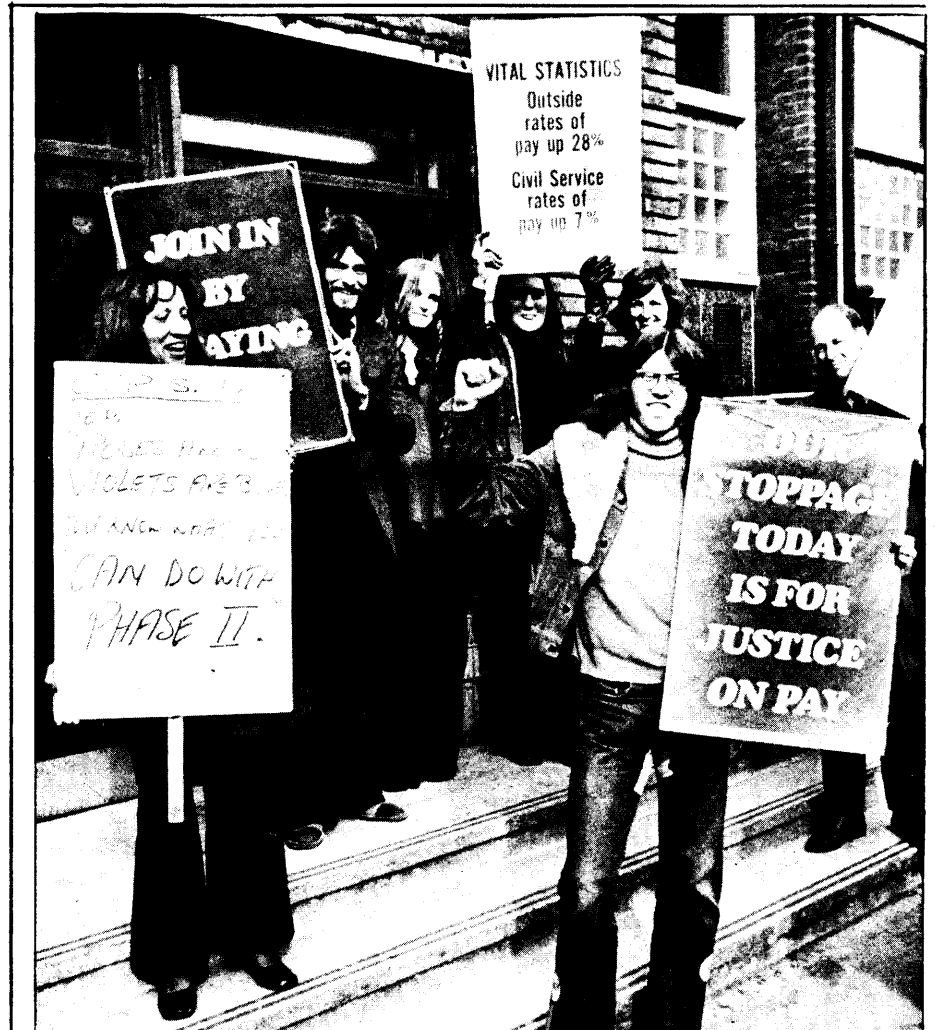
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## WHAT WE THINK

The battle  
is on

TOP EMPLOYERS in the Confederation of British Industry—along with the British Steel Corporation's chairman Lord Melchett representing the nationalized industries—have reached agreement with Tory premier Edward Heath on forcing the unions to accept Phase Two of the government's corporatist state pay plan.

This is what lies behind Thursday's statement by the CBI's director-general, Mr W. Campbell Adamson, and its president, Mr Michael Clapham, after they had conferred with Heath for 105 minutes. 'We have no differences on objectives,' they said. 'The government's fight against inflation has our support. We admire them for the firm way they are tackling it.'

Only days ago, the CBI bosses were threatening that unless higher profits were guaranteed, investment would stop. In particular, they said that without assurances that the principle of control of profits and prices would not be carried into Phase Three of the government's state pay laws, production and trade would grind to a halt.

On Thursday they told a Press conference that Heath had informed them that he had no 'rigid intention' of continuing Phase Two controls into Phase Three in the autumn—but neither could he guarantee that it wouldn't happen!

Yet now Adamson and Clapham announce that they can accept this and hang on until autumn without affecting investment at all. It is economic nonsense to say that investment decisions can hang fire in conditions of continuing uncertainty about the government's intentions. And it conflicts with everything the CBI chiefs have said previously.

So what lies behind this apparent about-turn—what 'The Times' called their 'unexpectedly composed frame of mind about the government's intentions'? Since the top employers and their leading politician have not reached an agreement on profits, prices and Phase Three, what lies behind the CBI's 'support' and 'admiration' for the Heath government?

Only one thing remains: that the real discussion was not about Phase Three at all, but about Heath's ability to take on and defeat the trade unions. An agreement on that question is far more ominous for the working class than any tactical disagreement on Phase Three. Heath, having bought off the employers with a promise to break the unions, must now deliver the goods.

He can do this in only one way—by provoking a General Strike against an unprepared working class on the terms most suitable to the Tories. A defeat inflicted on workers in such a conflict would enable the Tories and the employers to drive them back to work on terms dictated by the boss and the state.

In this situation, the time-wasting and inactivity of the TUC—which leaves workers like the hospital ancillary staffs totally isolated—is a criminal betrayal of the entire working class. Only the Labour and trade union leaders, together with their Stalinist and revisionist hangers-on, refuse to see that the Tories have already embarked on deliberate provocations.

This is the meaning of British Rail's sanctions against the train drivers, the open encouragement given by the Tories to the middle-class commuter belt to physically assault railwaymen, and the decision to send work normally done by hospital workers to be done in the prisons.

The Socialist Labour League is the only organization today which raises the central question of political leadership for the working class to defeat the Tories. That is the purpose of our demand that the union leaders be made to mobilize the strength of the whole trade union movement in a General Strike to create the political and industrial conditions to force the Tory government to resign.

Either this, or the working class will be forced to accept, in Hugh Scanlon's words—which he refuses to translate into action—'The end of trade unionism as we know it today'.

Anxiety in the  
banking world

BY JOHN SPENCER

FINANCE Ministers of the 14 leading capitalist countries met in Paris yesterday to take final decisions on the monetary crisis before re-opening the foreign exchange markets on Monday.

The meeting was a resumed session of the top-level talks which broke up without substantial agreement a week ago.

Since then the Common Market has announced that the German mark, Danish crown, Dutch guilder and French, Belgian and Luxembourg francs will float jointly against the dollar when the markets reopen.

The EEC delegates opened yesterday's meeting by explaining their plans to the other participants.

US Treasury Secretary George Schultz then answered EEC questions about American participation in a so-called 'international settlement'.

French Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, who chaired the conference, claimed after the morning session: 'There has been a large measure of agreement

concerning the intention of the nations taking part.'

But other EEC sources said Schultz had made only slight concessions in agreeing to maintain the dollar's parity against the EEC float.

Sources said EEC currencies would probably float upwards against the dollar when markets re-opened.

This means that the relations between currencies will be further disrupted as soon as the markets open and the joint float will immediately be under strain.

So any Paris agreement can only be the most temporary and ramshackle.

The Finance Ministers' deliberations during the record fortnight's closure of foreign exchange markets have been a disastrous failure.

They have been forced to put an end to the last vestiges of the post-war fixed parity system and float almost all the capitalist world's main currencies. At the same time they were unable to agree even within the EEC on joint steps to meet the situation.

But the most damning evidence of their failure is the continued rise in the gold price, now over \$82 an ounce on the London market, despite rumours earlier this

week that central banks may sell their holdings of the metal.

Banking circles know there is no way out of the crisis by international agreement.

Those who put their trust in the rumours of gold sales and in the hope that Washington will come to the rescue are deluding themselves with wishful thinking.

The present crisis can end only one way: with a substantial collapse of credit internationally, bankrupting whole sections of industry and commerce and pricking the inflationary bubble which has grown to such grotesque proportions.

This collapse could well be precipitated by developments in the Euro-currency market, the centre for lending and borrowing of much of the pool of 'hot' dollars and other depreciating paper money.

The Bank of England's Quarterly Bulletin, published last week, shows an ominous rise in the short-term debts of British banks on the Euro-currency markets.

Its figures show not only a £9,000m increase in British banks' involvement in this market, but also a sharp increase in their short-term indebtedness.

There has been a marked tendency for banks to bor-

row short-term money and lend for longer terms, often to borrowers who would have been considered bad credit risks in the past.

As the sardonic columnist of the 'Financial Times' put it: 'Lenders have found themselves pressurized to look for outlets of a less conventional kind than the market has contented itself with in the past.'

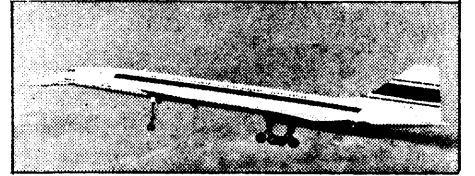
The Bulletin comments on the increased 'lack of balance in terms of maturities between loans and liabilities'.

This has become so marked that whereas 67 per cent of liabilities outstanding were due to be repaid in less than three months, the proportion of loaned money due to be repaid to the banks in the same period was only 58 per cent.

The key role played by the Euro-currency market and its international ramifications mean that one major collapse could rebound with great rapidity throughout the capitalist world's banking system.

Yet this market is beyond the control of any single capitalist country and has virtually no rules to govern its operations.

The increasing short-term debts of London banks on this market can only increase the danger of a failure which could precipitate the collapse of big sections of the credit system.

Concorde given the kiss  
of death by US report

CONCORDE, the Anglo-French supersonic jet, is a commercial failure and poses no threat to the US aerospace industry, according to a US Congressional sub-committee.

The majority finding by

Democratic Senator Proxmire's 14-man committee says:

'More than a failure, this plane that was often alleged to end American dominance of civil aircraft manufacturing has debilitated the aerospace industries of our two

main overseas rivals by devouring resources that might have been used to develop more viable products and has discredited these industries in the eyes of the suppliers of future financing, including the British and French taxpayers.'

Five committee members were against these findings. Proxmire is a leading campaigner against the provision of government funds for an American supersonic jet, a project which some interests are trying to revive.

Bombing threat to  
North Vietnam

NORTH VIETNAM has been threatened with renewed bombing by US President Nixon, who claims it is sending weapons and supplies to the south.

At a Press conference on Thursday Nixon emphasized that he had never hesitated to resort to bombing and other military measures when the North Vietnamese had dragged their feet during the Paris peace talks.

To show he meant business, Nixon stopped the evacuation of American troops from Vietnam. His warnings resembled those

given before the mining of the North's harbours and the big bombing raids last December. He gave no time limit to his ultimatum.

US reprisals might take the form of bombing supply depots and storage dumps in North Vietnam and attacks on the Ho Chi Minh trail.

Talks on US aid for the reconstruction of North Vietnam opened in Paris and will resume on Monday. Officials made it clear that the prospects for such aid looked poor if the alleged North Vietnamese ceasefire violations continue.

Hanoi has already been

promised aid for 1973 from the Soviet Union, China and several East European countries.

North Vietnamese daily 'Nhan Dan' accused the US of supplying South Vietnam with arms via Japan through the port of Da Nang. A Foreign Ministry statement attacked US air intrusions and called for scrupulous observance of the Paris peace terms.

In the latest move to improve relations with China, Nixon has appointed the 75-year-old diplomat David Bruce as head of the US liaison office in Peking which is to open in May.

Nixon challenges Congress over  
White House staff

PRESIDENT Nixon is moving to a showdown with Congress over White House staff called upon to testify before Congressional committees.

The conflict has come to a head over his nomination of Patrick Grey as permanent head of the powerful Federal Bureau of Investigation in succession to the late Edgar J. Hoover.

Grey's conduct of the Watergate affair, in which two members of the Presi-

dent's campaign staff were convicted of conspiring to tap Democratic Party telephones during the presidential campaign, has roused deep antagonism.

Nixon said that he did not think responsible Senators would make Grey a hostage by refusing to confirm his appointment because of the dispute over the Watergate affair. Meanwhile he refuses to allow his staff

to appear before the committees.

Nixon is out to increase the powers of the executive branch and render his own large and expanding staff immune to Congressional scrutiny. This is a direct challenge to Congress.

He claimed that if the Senate wanted to test his ruling by taking it to the Supreme Court, he believed he would win.

## BRIEFLY

AUSTRALIAN Attorney-General, Lionel Murphy, accompanied by police, entered the Australian Security Intelligence Organization headquarters in Melbourne to search files for information on the Yugoslav Ustachi organization. The organization had previously refused to supply the information, required in order to forestall a possible attempt on the life of Yugoslav Prime Minister, Dzemal Bijedic when he visits the country next week.

THE YUGOSLAV army magazine has attacked former vice-president Milovan Djilas, now living in exile, as a traitor who has joined western reactionary circles.

THE US embassy in Belgrade has protested against Press attacks on the Voice of America radio station and embassy officials accusing them of anti-Yugoslav bias. Yugoslav papers claim that broadcasts have encouraged demonstrations and terrorist attacks on diplomatic missions abroad.

PHILIPPINE government has informed the South East Asia Treaty Organization that unidentified troops from outside the country were aiding the Moslem revolt in the southern island, Mindanao. Well-armed rebels have taken over part of the island and are believed to be supported by the Maoist Communist Party which has also been carrying on guerrilla warfare against the Marcos government, a US puppet regime.

# Fear for Meriden jobs BSA workers demand nationalization

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

**WORKERS** at the Meriden works of BSA-Triumph at Coventry are unhappy about the manoeuvres surrounding the fate of the company. Share dealings in the company were suspended this week following a wave of selling which wiped millions of pounds off the market value.

A crash by BSA would mean redundancy for the 6,000-strong work force.

The panic selling of BSA stock was due to 'insider trading'. In other words, people connected with the finance and management of the company decided to unload shares. They would only take this action if they thought the company was in deep financial waters.

There is little satisfaction from the government statement in the Commons on Thursday. The House was told that negotiations had commenced between Manganese Bronze and the Department of Trade and Industry about a possible take over.

Although the Tory Press claimed this was a 'rescue', Mr John Neville, the company's vice chairman, said: 'That is the wrong emphasis to put on it.'

Mr Les Froggett, a worker at the Meriden plant, said: 'We don't want to see any man go on the streets. In the past we have always opposed redundancies. They tell us order books are full. But most of our orders go to America and the Yankee dollar is not worth much these days.'

'If you ask me, that's what is behind the present situation at Triumph. I don't see much future for us under the Tories. A future Labour government must nationalize Triumph. We could run it as easy as ABC.'

Fred Smith, Transport and General Workers' Union shop steward, said:

'We appear to sell every bike we make. We have been told the Americans will buy every bike we can produce, yet the place wraps up.'

'We have just accepted a cut in wages in respect of waiting-time payments to help the firm because they are £11m in the red.'

## Kodak union accepts Phase Two — upsets TUC unions

BY DAVID MAUDE

**KODAK'S** non-TUC house union has accepted the Tory pay-control norm of £1 plus 4 per cent, and as a result 9,400 manual workers expect increases of between £1.89 and £2.56 on their basic rates from April 1.

However almost half the workers involved are likely to be extremely unhappy about the deal, and this could spell big trouble for the company in a month's time.

An estimated 1,600 or 1,700 are members of TUC unions, who have their own much bigger claims in. Another 1,000 or so are non-unionists or failed to cast their vote in a ballot on the offer.

**THE COURT** of Appeal has reserved judgement in an appeal by the 10,000-strong Telecommunications Staff Association seeking recognition by the Post Office.

An officer of the TSA had appealed from a decision of the National Industrial Relations Court that the Industrial Relations Act does not confer on members

of a registered trade union the right to take part in or conduct reasonable trade union activities on their employer's premises against his wishes.

Last June, the NIRC ruled that the Act did not restrict the employer's proprietary rights in respect of his own premises.

At the moment it is the only organization recognized by the £62m photographic giant, which has a long history of hostility to trade unionism.

And almost 450 of the house union's claimed 6,000 members voted against.

The TUC unions are to meet on Monday to decide how best to press their claims for recognition in specified departments.

One of the TUC unions which has led the fight for recognition, the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians, submitted a claim to Kodak for a £5 increase in basic rates, plus a cost-of-living rise of £2.70.

Office does not recognize the TSA. All staff negotiations are conducted with the Union of Post Office Workers.

Lord Denning (Master of the Rolls), sitting with Lord Justice Stephenson and Lord Justice Scarman, commented: 'It is a difficult case. We will take time to consider our judgement.'

## Future of Briant Colour plant nearly decided

**A DECISION** on the fate of Briant Colour's Old Kent Road factory, where 105 men and women have been working-in for nine months, will be made in the next 24 to 48 working hours.

Liquidator's spokesman Mr H. B. Blandford Baker said yesterday discussions were still going on with potential buyers, David Brockdorff and Peter Bentley.

But he warned: 'It is not in the interests of any of the parties for this business to go on much longer. There will be some result in the next 24 to 48 working hours.'

I understand the buyers improved their previous offer for the factory when they met the liquidator earlier this week.

But the liquidator is under heavy pressure from two leading banks with preference shares in Briant's to hold out for a still higher figure.

The liquidator has said repeatedly that all offers made so far have fallen below the market value of the assets.

The crunch now rests on whether Brockdorff and Bentley are in a position to squeeze their backers for yet more money.

At the factory yesterday where students and workers from outside the plant are mounting a 24-hour picket in case of an eviction bid, joint shop stewards' committee leader Mr Bill Freeman said the work-in will go on whatever happens.

The liquidator has already obtained a judgement from the High Court requiring the workers to hand over the factory and its contents to its lawful owners.

If, in the next few hours, talks with the potential buyers break down, he will almost certainly ask the court for a new order to bring the occupation to an end.

## Gasmen say 'vote No!' in ballot



**VOTE NO!** — this was the message from south London gasworkers when they met to hear union officials explain the ballot on the latest offer from the Gas Corporation.

Over 400 of them packed Greenwich town hall and cheered speakers from the floor who called for a rejection of the offer and all-out strike action.

One asked why the General and Municipal Workers' Union had accepted the idea of a ballot in the first place.

Voting begins immediately and union officials hope to have all the papers back at headquarters by next Tuesday.

## ASTMS picket for ICI recognition

**TOKEN STRIKES** and protest pickets have been called for by the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs in support of its demand for recognition by chemicals giant ICI.

The national day of action is expected to be observed in one way or another by 1,000 ASTMS foremen and supervisors in the company. What action they will take is being determined locally. At the moment, union members at ICI's Kilroot Fibres factory, Northern Ireland, are committed to a 24-hour stoppage, but elsewhere there will simply be factory demonstrations.

A lobby of the company's London headquarters is planned.

ASTMS—now Britain's eighth largest union—claims a forthcoming recognition ballot among 4,000 supervisors and foremen would exclude ASTMS despite the fact that it organizes 25 per cent.

A union spokesman yesterday dismissed as 'total rubbish' suggestions that this was in any way an inter-union dispute. ASTMS is fighting a unilateral company decision to ballot on an agreement embracing three other unions, it was explained.

## Paid leave for childbirth

**THE TUC** women's conference yesterday called for the banning of private employment agencies, and for three months' paid leave for women workers after the birth of their babies. Private agencies should be replaced by a well-run state service, said the conference, which claims to represent 2.5 million women trade unionists. Women were entitled not only to paid leave after giving birth, said the 250 delegates, but to having their jobs kept open for them.





# CINDERELLAS OF THE WARDS

**PART TWO**  
**BY BERNARD FRANKS**

A massive drive to cut back hospital ancillary staff while holding down pay was begun by the Labour government and was fully backed by the unions and the TUC.

In September 1967, a 22s-a-week pay claim for hospital manual workers was stopped by the Labour government and referred to the National Board for Prices and Incomes for examination. The previous increase had been 7s in November 1965.

The Board's report of March 1967 admitted that these were

some of the lowest-paid workers in the country. It said that their pay averaged £16 9s 6d in 1966 compared with an average for all other industries of £20 6s 3d.

In the Ministry of Labour list of 129 industries: 'There were only six industries where men's weekly earnings were lower than those in the hospital service.' Nevertheless, the Board slashed the 22s claim down to 11s 3d to be paid on May 1, 1967, and to be tied to all manner of 'efficiency' and 'productivity' measures.

## Work-study

These systems included: restructuring of the pay scales using job-evaluation; re-arrangement of work and work-places to cut the number of workers—using method study and Organization and Methods (O&M); introduction of work-study and timing of all working operations by stopwatch; introduction of flexibility of labour; and a breakdown of demarcation lines between jobs.

Extra payments were to be by bonus—tied to how fast you worked—or a fixed sum tied to a fixed high rate of working—a system called Measured-Day Work.

Work-study had been introduced into hospital work in

1958 and the Board said it must be spread throughout the service by 1974. Hundreds of work-study officers had to be taken on.

In the meantime a short-term scheme was to be introduced in the haste to cut staff. A 10-per-cent bonus was tied to a 10-per-cent cut in 'labour costs'. Local committees were to be set up 'to work out and put into effect schemes for saving manpower'.

This Prices and Incomes Board report (No. 29) was titled 'The Pay and Conditions of Manual Workers in Local Authorities, the National Health Service, Gas and Water Supply'.

It dealt with the other services mentioned in the same way as the health service and must be taken as the main policy document of the Labour government on public service wages and conditions at that time.

As hospital and the other workers soon found, these schemes have nothing to do with providing a better service, better working conditions, more job-security and better pay. On the contrary, they were a complete swindle concerned only with cutting back staff, skimping the service and ensuring that the workers never climbed out of the lowest-paid sector.

Far from exposing this fraud, the unions concerned actively took part in it, doing the major work of convincing the workers concerned that

these methods were to their benefit.

The May 1967 edition of the National Union of Public Employees' journal 'Public Employees' claimed the findings of the PIB were 'a dramatic report which holds out prospects of a new deal for workers in local government and health services'.

## 'Well-paid'

According to Alan Fisher, then NUPE's assistant general secretary, the effect of the introduction of productivity bargaining, Measured-Day Work and incentive bonus schemes 'would be to bring the earnings of local authority and health service employees into a close relationship with the earnings of their counterparts in industry generally'.

Of the report, he added: 'It will enable us to produce a well-paid labour force instead of the transitory badly-paid labour force we have at present.' Previously Fisher had been involved in drawing up the PIB's report on the union side.

By July 1968 the NUPE journal could boast 'more than half of our full-time officials have been trained in work-study and other management techniques'. Notice here the operative word 'management'.



Alan Fisher of NUPE. Above left: Hospital workers from Roehampton. Above right: Ancillary workers from Wales. The Tory scheme is to make hospital and nursing staff into workers on a production line, processing non-private patients at the fastest possible speed.



According to the NUPE journal: 'The Ministry of Health agrees that the introduction of new methods of working and payment will more than offset the money spent on appointing hundreds of new work-study officers.'

Hospital authorities are still trying to force these schemes through against hundreds of workers who oppose their introduction, but who have been entirely committed to them by the unions.

A recent letter from a NUPE member in the journal shows how this situation is continuing:

'... coming back to the question of bonus schemes or productivity schemes which the National Health Service are trying to impose on us. A meeting was held recently at St Matthew's hospital, Burntwood, between representatives of the regional board, union officials and artisan staff to discuss same. The members of this branch had previously informed our unions that we were unanimously opposed to such a scheme, but, alas, during the discussion not one union representative made any contribution supporting the members.'

'On the contrary, one man did attempt to support the scheme and was promptly told to belt up. When are unions going to realize that they are paid to represent us and not our employers? And when are they also going to realize that craftsmen with years of experience in the trade are not to be dictated to by union representatives?'

Since 1950, the Department of Health has published a series of reports on hospital work-study by various hospital and local authority O&M

units. The report on dramatic work advised that one observer could watch several employees at once using 'activity sampling'.

So-called 'representative times' were given for the work i.e.:

Sweeping floors—2.08 minutes per 100 square ft.

Sweeping stairs—0.33 minutes per square yard.

Dusting a chair—0.38 minutes (22.8 seconds).

Cleaning lavatory bowl or sluice—one minute.

Cleaning urinal stall—1.56 minutes.

The O&M report on portering dealt especially with the need to cut down stand-by time by 10 per cent. It claimed: 'People employed in tending the sick are, not unnaturally, prone to exaggerate the urgency of a request for assistance in the interests of their patient.'

It recommended classifying importance of requests for assistance as 'immediate', 'as soon as possible' 'early' and 'non-urgent' and urged extension of the pool system for porters rather than having men doing specific types of work.

The O&M report on laundry work estimated that costs could be cut by 22 per cent by increasing the scale and output of each laundry.

From this followed the system of transferring the laundry of five or six hospitals to one laundry department.

In April 1971 the Prices and Incomes Board produced its second report on ancillary workers' pay and conditions in the health service. (Report No. 166.)

The 135-page study, begun under a Labour government and completed under the

Tories, was based on a questionnaire filled in by 470 hospital authorities and on interviews with 1,000 workers.

It claimed to be looking into the problems of low pay, but explained from the outset that workers in the lowest-paid 10 per cent of the working population had no right to expect an increase. It said: 'It would be absurd to suggest that all workers in areas of low pay, in the sense that their weekly wages fall below the lowest national decile [10 per cent level], have a right to have their pay lifted at least to that level.'

So the appallingly low-paid could not even expect to step onto the next rung of the pay ladder. The only way to more money was said to be faster introduction of productivity schemes because '... a general increase in [pay] rates would place an unfair burden on the tax-payer unless it were accompanied by parallel increases in productivity'.

In 1967 the health service had employed 200 O&M and work-study staff. This had been increased to 620 by 1970 and was to be 1,300 by 1974. By December 1970, only 4,216 workers were on the schemes of which 2,093 were on Measured-Day Work (mainly in domestic work).

In fact, the Board found that the schemes, far from being spread throughout the service by 1974, would not be fully in use until 1984 at the present rate of introduction.

According to the report: 'The fully work-studied incentive schemes introduced have led to average net savings, apart from improvements in standards, of £146 a year for each worker covered.'

In spite of the mass of

publicity and union persuasion in favour of the schemes, the survey found only 41 per cent of men not yet covered by the schemes in favour of them and only 30 per cent of women.

Average bonus earnings were £2.05 for men, £1.84 for women. Meanwhile, hospital workers' pay was falling even further behind. Average total pay for men in the National Health Service manual work was £21.07 compared with the national average for manual work of £28.05. This was almost double the difference of three years earlier.

So much for Fisher's prospect of hospital workers' earnings coming into 'a close relationship with the earnings of their counterparts in industry generally'.

Said the report: 'On average, we estimate that around a quarter of the male work force have earnings in the lowest tenth of earnings for all men in manual work in Great Britain.' The only concern of the Board, however, was to prevent bonuses being paid where working levels were not being maintained, and to introduce yet another interim scheme.

## Lead-in

This was called the Ancillary Work Efficiency Scheme, and was to act as a gradual lead-in to fully work-studied systems. The scheme itself would not require any reduction in manpower or changes in performance, but would introduce the methods which could later be used to bring about the required cuts in staff.

The setting-up of teams of experts was advised. These would act '... for example in a case where a hospital claimed that no manpower savings could be made without jeopardizing the services provided'. Not until the small print of Appendix D, page 121, did the report reveal what 'savings' could be made.

Discussing a research study into the work of domestics, porters and catering staff it said: 'We estimate that in respect of the categories of staff studied a reduction in manpower of about 13 per cent of the total labour force would be achieved through reducing staffing at hospitals with above-average numbers of staff to the defined average for the appropriate size of hospital.'

An important part of the Tory conspiracy against the health service is the enforced impoverishment of the ancillary workers and the nursing staff. Far from any consideration for the importance of medical services, the main idea of all these systems is to turn all hospital staffs into factory hands and the hospitals into just another production line, processing non-private patients at the fastest possible speed and at the lowest possible cost.

In particular, health and pensions are being thrown open to the profiteering activities of the City tycoons. The fight to defend and extend the basic right of a free and adequate public health service is of fundamental importance to the entire working class. The encroachment on this and on other basic rights, a process begun by the Labour government and now being escalated by the Tories, must be decisively defeated.



## THE COMMON MARKET REBELS:

On October 28, 1971, the House of Commons passed the following motion: 'That this House approves Her Majesty's Government's decision to join the European Communities on the basis of the arrangements which have been negotiated.' The voting was: Ayes 282; Noes 244—a majority of 38 for Edward Heath's Tory government. Sixty-nine Labour MPs defied a three-line whip and voted with the Tories. A further 20 abstained.

# NOT INDIVIDUAL 'CONSCIENCES' BUT A RIGHT WING PLOT

BY JACK GALE

Several of those who marched into the Conservative lobby on the Common Market vote on October 28, 1971 had been Ministers in the Labour Government.

Roy Jenkins, the Labour Party's Deputy Leader, had been Chancellor of the Exchequer; Shirley Williams had been Minister of State for Education and Science, then Minister of State for the Home Office.

Harold Lever had been Paymaster General; Edward Short had been Minister of State for Education and Science; Michael Stewart had been Foreign Secretary; Ray Gunter had been Minister of Labour; Roy Mason had been Minister of Power and then President of the Board of Trade.

This act of treachery saved the government from certain defeat—at least half the Tory anti-Market rebels would have stood firm under any circumstances—and paved the way for the Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Act and state control of wages, as well as entry into the Common Market.

It was a much larger defection than had been anticipated only a few months earlier. As recently as May 10, 1971, 'The Times' had estimated that only 'two score or more' of Labour MPS would vote pro-Market—and that on a free vote.

But the way had been prepared for a large pro-Tory vote by the weakness of the Labour 'lefts', as well as by the duplicity of the Labour leaders. It just is not true, for one thing, that the Labour leaders have consistently stood out for 'satisfactory terms' for British entry and that they would never have accepted the conditions under which Heath joined Europe on January 1, 1973.

The first formal application to join the EEC was made by Harold Wilson's Labour government in 1967.

**This application was completely unconditional.**

When Wilson presented the application to parliament, he said that negotiations 'ought not to be unnecessarily complicated with lesser issues, many of which can best be dealt with after entry'.

According to a recent study ('Diplomacy and Persuasion', by Uwe Kitzinger, Thames & Hudson, £2.75) it was at a Chequers meeting on October 22, 1966, that George Brown and Michael Stewart presented a paper on European policy which called for Common Market entry.

Here there was opposition from Barbara Castle, Richard Marsh, Douglas Jay and Fred Peart. Richard Crossman and Anthony Wedgwood Benn 'expressed reservations', but agreed to a 'tentative approach' to the EEC.

According to Kitzinger, the effect on food prices was raised, but it was felt that if, by the target date for entry (1968), the economy was in an upswing (!) increased prices could be absorbed, and if it wasn't they would be in trouble anyway.

Following this meeting, Wilson and Brown toured Europe. In December 1966 they were in Rome, in January 1967 in Strasbourg, in February in Paris and in March in Luxembourg. It was at the end of this tour that the application for unconditional entry was made—and subsequently vetoed by France's President de Gaulle.

The line-up in the Cabinet at that time was as follows: Harold Wilson, George Brown, Michael Stewart, Roy Jenkins, Anthony Crosland, Gerald Gardiner, Anthony Wedgwood Benn and Ray Gunter were in favour of entry; on the other hand, Douglas Jay, Fred Peart, Denis Healey, Barbara Castle, William Ross, Richard Marsh and Herbert Bowden were against. Anthony Greenwood inclined against, Cledwyn Hughes inclined in favour. That left Jim Callaghan, Patrick Gordon-Walker, Richard Crossman, and (outside the Cabinet but involved in its discussions) the Chief Whip John Silkin somewhere in between, in the category of 'maybes' on the strategy, though on the tactics they—like the rest—agreed on the unconditional application being tabled in Brussels.

## CABINET SUPPORTS WILSON

All of them wanted a vigorous and swift follow-up to the application to leave no doubts as to Britain's seriousness and to get the issue decided soon.

So it was the whole Cabinet, without any hint or threat of resignation, that supported Harold Wilson when he made his announcement in the House, on May 2, 1967, that Britain would apply.

The House approved the application overwhelmingly by 488 votes in favour and only 62 against. A mere 35 Labour MPs voted against applying to join the Common Market without any conditions or safeguards whatever. And 260 Labourites voted in favour and some 40 or 50 abstained.



Seven Labour Ministers sacked their parliamentary private secretaries for voting against the application—and one who did this was the Minister of Agriculture, Fred Peart, a 'Tribune'-ite MP who had opposed entry in the Cabinet, but dutifully voted for it in the Commons.

Labour lost the election of June 18, 1970, and negotiations for Market entry were taken up by the incoming Tory government. What changed? The answer is—nothing!

In fact only 12 days elapsed between the election and the opening of negotiations.

The Tory negotiators, appointed only eight days earlier, simply picked up the dossier prepared for their Labour predecessors. The Foreign Office regarded the application as a bipartisan issue and made no change in its negotiating positions as a result of the change in government.

In fact, Harold Wilson had been so sure of a Labour victory that he ordered George Thomson, Labour's chief negotiator, and his private secretary, Crispin Tickell (who was later Anthony Barber's and then Geoffrey Rippon's private secretary), to prepare—at the height of the election campaign—the draft of his opening speech at the EEC entry negotiations.

It was this draft that formed the bulk of Anthony Barber's presentation at Luxembourg.

(But for the decision of the electors in June, 1970, it would have been Harold Wilson who received the accolades of the European capitalist class at the end of 1971!)

By this time, with no opposition from the leadership—which, as we have shown, took the same position itself—and with no opposition either from the 'lefts', the right-wing, 'entry-at-any-price' faction was growing and becoming more vocal.

In 'The Guardian' of May 11 the Labour Committee for Europe published a full-page advertisement:

'We, the undersigned parliamentarians, are convinced that the causes of social democracy, world peace, and economic advance in both developed and developing countries would be strengthened by the addition of the United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark and Ireland to the European Economic Community.'

This was signed by some prominent European social democrats—including Willy Brandt, Guy Mollet and Pietro Nenni. It was also signed by 100 Labour MPs, of whom eight were Shadow Cabinet members and 23 more sat on the Opposition front bench.

These developments led to growing concern among the Party's rank and file at the increasingly pro-Tory swing within the Parliamentary Labour Party. Yet the leader-

ship made an attempt to prevent any discussion of the EEC at the Party's 1970 conference by trying to resurrect an old regulation that no issue could be discussed more than once within three years.

Then they avoided a real discussion by promising a special conference if the parliamentary vote on entry seemed likely to be held before the 1971 Party conference.

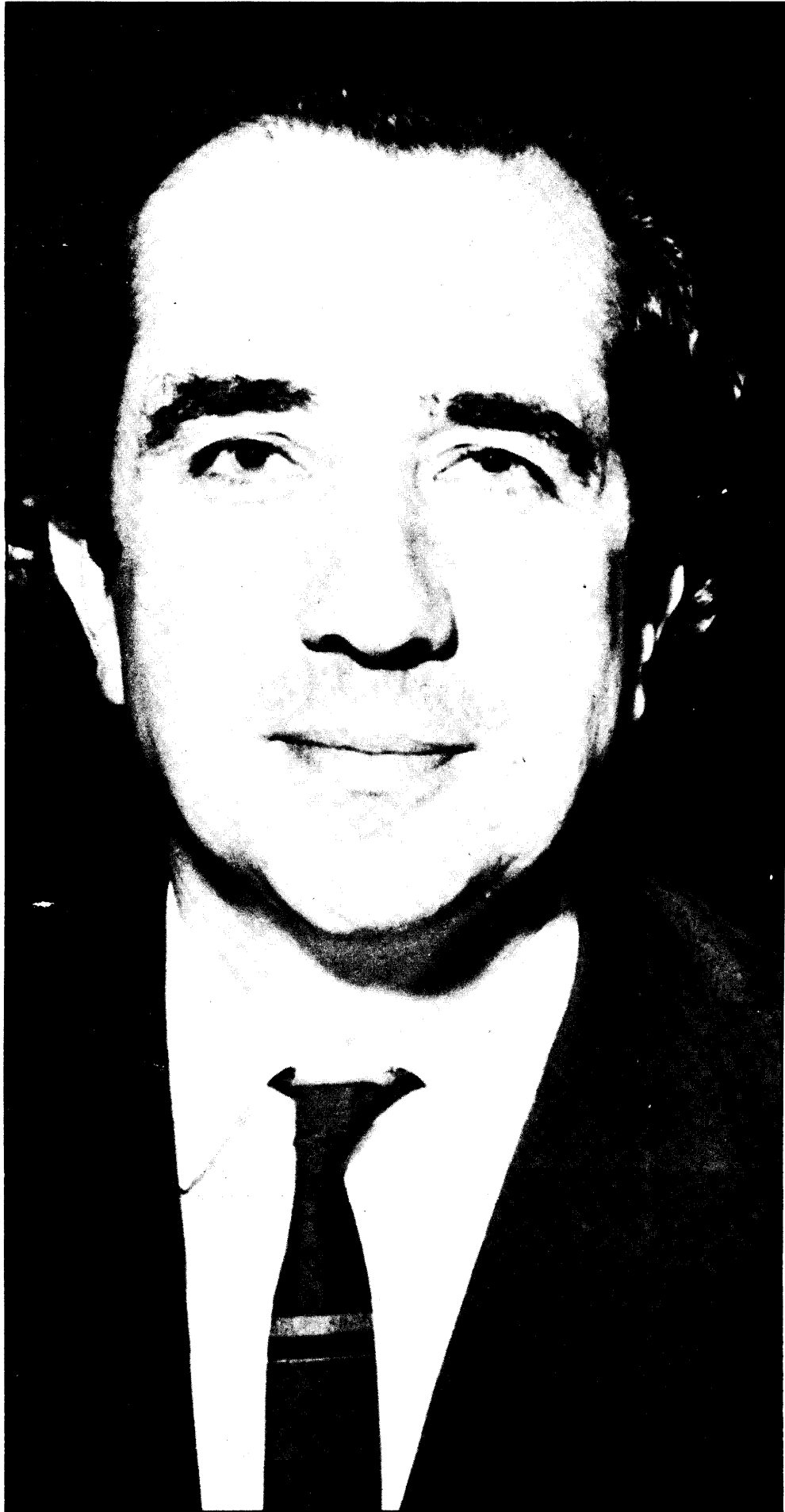
In fact such a special conference was held—on July 17, 1971—after a majority of only one on the NEC in favour of calling it.

But this conference was rendered impotent at its outset when it voted by 3,185,000 to 2,624,000 to accept an NEC recommendation that it should be purely consultative and take no decisions.

Hugh Scanlon of the AUEW called on the conference to take a firm decision and to make it binding on all MPs. However, Scanlon himself has not pressed for any action against AUEW MPs who voted with the Tories. These include Charles Pannel of West Leeds and Ben Ford of Bradford.

Neither has Scanlon's 'left twin', Jack Jones of the T&GWU, taken any action against Maurice Foley (West Bromwich), Robert Sheldon (Ashton-under-Lyne), or John Silkin (Dentford).

When the Labour Party conference convened at Brighton in October 1971—a few weeks



Above left: Robert Mellish, Labour's Chief Whip, in political agreement with the 'rebels'. Centre: William Rodgers MP, organized the pro-Tory Common Market 'rebels', and also had a hand in the Gaitskellite Labour Fifth column in 1961. Right: Roy Jenkins, leading pro-Marketeer.

before the vital Commons vote—a recommendation from the NEC opened the door for the pro-Marketees.

It merely 'invited the Parliamentary Labour Party . . . to unite wholeheartedly against the government's policy.'

From then on the manoeuvres of the right wing became more bold. It must be stressed that the Common Market vote was NOT an act of individuals 'acting in accordance with their consciences' but an organized right-wing plot.

A key figure in this was Douglas Houghton, the member for Sowerby and chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. While the political leader of the group, Roy Jenkins, had to tread carefully, the PLP chairman acted as a channel of communication between the Labour rebels and the inner core of the Tory government.

On the Tory side the main 'contact man' was William Whitelaw, the present Minister of State for Northern Ireland.

But the organizing force behind the right-wing conspiracy was William Rodgers, Labour member for Stockton-on-Tees.

This man had served his apprenticeship in intrigue when he master-minded the pro-Gaitskellite Campaign for Democratic Socialism which worked to overturn the Unilateral Disarmament decision

taken at the Labour Party's 1960 conference.

## RODGERS LEAKS TO THE PRESS

Discreet notes, signed W. T. Rodgers, informed potential 'rebels' that 'some of us' were holding a quiet little discussion at various times and places. One of Rodgers's first tasks was to scotch the idea of a mass abstention, canvassed by James Wellbeloved, member for Erith and Crayford, and insist on organizing for a complete line-up with the Tories.

Another of Rodgers's ploys was to leak information to the Press on the night the Brighton conference voted against entry indicating that there would be a mass revolt in parliament.

It was a result of this 'leak' that 'The Guardian' next day headlined 'Market Could Get 70 Labour Votes'.

Rodgers closed the last meeting of his group in early October with the words: 'So we'll meet in the lobby, then.'

There is no doubt that the right-wing strength in the Parliamentary Labour Party considerably exceeds the 69 who voted outright with the Tories.

The 20 who abstained were clearly in full support of the 69. The main reason for ab-

staining was fear of being kicked out by their constituency parties or by their sponsoring unions.

But there were also another 20 Labourites who—although voting in line with the whip—were politically sympathetic to the Jenkins-Rodgers clique.

One of these was the Chief Whip himself—Robert Mellish—who was a staunch pro-Marketeer. In the early summer he had opened the imposition of a three-line whip on the question and admitted that he himself was prepared to vote for entry.

Also, the Rodgers group had taken a decision that two other whips should vote against entry in order to retain their positions. A fourth whip—Alan Fitch, member for Wigan—resigned his post and abstained.

Little wonder that Labour's three-line whip was ineffective!

## FOUR MAJOR UNIONS IN FAVOUR

In fact, several of the pro-Marketees who voted against were influenced not by the whips' office, but by their own Constituency Labour Parties. One of these was the member for Shoreditch and Finsbury, Mr Ronald Brown, Lord George-Brown's brother.

The pro-Market right wing was active in the unions as well as in the Parliamentary Labour Party. At Brighton four major unions had been in favour of entry on the Tory terms. These were Lord Cooper's General and Municipal Workers' Union (with 650,000 votes), D. H. Davies' (now Sir David) Iron, Steel and Kindred Trades Association (91,642 votes), Roy Grantham's Clerical and Administrative Workers (80,530 votes) and Jack Peel's Dyers, Bleachers & Textile Workers (49,000 votes).

At the Party conference there had been calls for serious action against any pro-Tory rebels. Mr Jack Brooks, Cardiff SE, had said: 'I hope there are consequences. If they go into the lobbies and support the most hard-faced bunch of freebooters since the coupon men of 1918, this party will never forgive them.'

Two days later, Ian Mikardo the 'Tribune'-ite MP, who was that year's Labour Party chairman, told a 'Tribune' meeting: 'If, as the newspapers are saying this morning, a squalid deal has been done to allow 60 pro-Market Labour MPs to eat their cake and have it—a deal which will make us offensive to our friends and a welcome laughing stock to our enemies—then those 60 constituency parties will have the right, and some of them may exercise it, to pass a verdict

on that shabby manoeuvre.'

But the right wingers were not to be deterred by words which remained unmatched by actions. At the PLP meeting on October 19, 87 right wingers voted for Michael Stewart's motion for entry into the Market on the terms agreed by the Tories, 89 voted against Wilson's proposal to oppose the Tories and 111 voted for a call for a free vote on the issue.

The parliamentary vote of October 28 revealed that some 109 Labour MPs shared the conviction of the Tories on joining the capitalist conspiracy against the working class known as the Common Market. These people are standard-bearers for coalition government.

They are agents of Toryism within the ranks of Labour and must be immediately swept aside. They must be replaced by socialists selected on the basis of their undertakings to fight for socialist policies.

No more Tavernes! Kick the right wing out!





# CIA MONEY TAKES TAMPOE TO THE STATES

Part two of a series on revisionism and Ceylon by Jack Gale.

The complete political bankruptcy of Jaya Vithana is shown by the way he scratches around desperately for bits of 'dirt' to put in the International Marxist Group's pamphlet 'Ceylon and Healy School of Falsification' and which he thinks he can use against the Socialist Labour League.

He comes up with the shattering fact that in 1964 the League's national secretary, Gerry Healy, stayed at a hotel in Ceylon, which had previously been patronized by Central Intelligence Agency men.

This after nine years! He cannot, of course, establish any shadow of connection between our secretary and such agents. He knows very well that Comrade Healy went to Ceylon as a party member doing party work—and that the trip was paid for by the Socialist Labour League.

By sharp contrast, Vithana's Unified Secretariat is forced to admit that the secretary of its Ceylonese section, Bala Tampoe, made a trip to the United States that was paid for by the CIA!

Any one of the actions which

the Secretariat's Ceylon Commission established had been committed by Tampoe would merit expulsion from a genuine Trotskyist organization.

Vithana has to admit that Edmund Samarakkody laid these serious charges against Tampoe and demanded that the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary) be disaffiliated from the International. And he tells us that the Ninth World Congress decided not to disaffiliate Tampoe's group.

But, according to him, such serious charges were not even investigated! And this he considers to be a defence!

He claims there was no Ceylon Commission, no investigations and no reports. But, in doing this, he conflicts not only with us—but with the Unified Secretariat's own publication 'Intercontinental Press'.

## Official documents

This journal—edited by Joseph Hansen and with Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel and George Novack as contributing editors—carried on November 20, 1972, an official statement of the Unified Secretariat of the Fourth International dated October 29.

We published this statement—Healyites smear Bala Tam-

poe—in full in Workers Press on December 7, 1972. It declared: 'The author of the articles [i.e. the articles in Workers Press in October 1972] indicates as his source of information only Edmund Samarakkody, a former factional opponent of Tampoe.'

'An investigation undertaken by us in 1969 showed that the slander was cooked up and put into circulation originally by the former Trotskyists in Ceylon who betrayed the movement.'

We showed, in Workers Press of December 7, that our sources were not only Samarakkody, but official documents of the Unified Secretariat released by him.

We also showed that Samarakkody was not just a 'factional opponent of Tampoe', but a member of the revisionists' International Executive Committee who attended their World Congress.

The point here, however, is that in attempting to answer our charges, Vithana denies the existence of documents which every leading member of the Unified Secretariat and of IMG knows do in fact exist and which have been publicly acknowledged by their highest international body.

In quoting this statement from the 'Intercontinental Press', we have shown Vithana to be a liar and the leadership

of IMG to be a collective body of liars.

They know, as we know, that the members of the Ceylon Commission included Therese, Abel, Kailas, Pia, Peng and Okatini. They know, as we know, that a motion from Pia asking to be removed from the Commission was defeated. They know, as we know, that a resolution from Abel, following the report of the Ceylon Commission, called for a further investigation by the International Control Commission and was defeated by 14 votes to 28 with eight abstentions.

They know, as we know, that Bala Tampoe was then nominated for the International Executive Committee by 'Walter' and elected unanimously.

We printed the extracts from the proceedings of their Ninth World Congress dealing with all these matters in Workers Press on December 6.

Any honest IMG member knows that this is the truth. They know that the majority report, referring to the charges mentioned above, said: 'In none of these instances is there any evidence that the party [i.e. the LSSP(R)] took what the Commission considered a policy consistent with revolutionary Marxism.' (Workers Press, December 4.)

And they know that the minority report of the Indian

Left: Tampoe (with followers) leads a Ceylon Mercantile Union demonstration. Right: Edmund Samarakkody who laid the charges against Tampoe.

member of the Commission argued that the LSSP(R) had placed itself 'in the camp of the enemy as opposed to workers in action'. (Workers Press, December 5.)

## Deliberate lie

Every serious member of IMG—and of any other section of the Unified Secretariat—knows that our report was the truth and that Vithana's pamphlet is a deliberate and clumsy lie which clashes even with the official statements of their own International Executive Committee.

Their own Commission found Tampoe guilty of travelling to the United States on CIA funds, scabbing on strikes and honouring British imperialism and ex-Nazis—as we showed in the detailed quotations from their documents.

Any self-respecting organization in the labour movement—and certainly one claiming to be Trotskyist—would have instantly expelled such a man from its ranks.

But your International, IMG members, re-elected this scab and renegade to its Executive Committee!

CONTINUED MONDAY



## WORKERS NOTEBOOK

### RECRUITS

The Tories have an answer to the chronic problem of unemployed youth in Blackpool. They are recruiting them into the army.

Figures just released show that junior enlistments this year are higher than in the two previous years. In 1970-1971, 34 boys signed up; 1971-1972 there were 35; and in 1972-1973 there are already 66.

Major James Seed, careers information officer for north Lancashire, said the army was so pleased with the results that they opened a new office in Blackpool on March 2.

### IN EEC

The intriguing story of the inaugural meeting of the European Trade Union Confederation in Brussels last month—apart from Victor Feather's acceptance of a lucrative Euro-job—was the application by the Soviet Union to join the newly-formed body. When this was reported in the Tory Press in Britain, the Communist Party's 'Morning Star' took a curious line.

Its 'special correspondent' reported the application, but that it had been 'officially denied'. Denied by whom? All is revealed, however, in the EEC's official publication called 'European Community'. The journal says that the Soviet trade unions and those in the Warsaw Pact countries did apply for membership of the new confederation:

'The request had been made verbally in Moscow ten days before the congress by Soviet Central Trade Union Council president Alexander Shelepin to Herr Vetter [Heinz Oskar Vetter, president of the West German TUC].

'Herr Vetter reported this and it was noted by Congress.'

In other words, the application has been formally noted

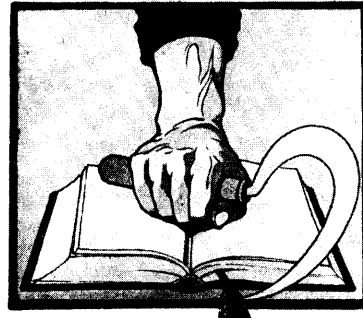


Heinz Oscar Vetter

in the minutes of the inaugural meeting. Now it can be explained why the 'Morning Star' was absolutely silent about Feather's disgraceful abandonment of TUC policy and his acceptance of the job of president of the new confederation.

The 'Star' can't attack Feather or transport union secretary Jack Jones for participating in EEC institutions while Stalinist leaders in eastern Europe are seeking an accommodation with the same capitalist-inspired bodies.

## BOOK REVIEW



'The Spanish Revolution' By Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press (New York). Price £4.15 cloth. £1.65 paperback.

BY TOM KEMP PART 5

**What a contrast between the casuistry of the supple-spined Palmiro Togliatti, Stalin's menial in Spain, and Trotsky's forthright denunciation of the Popular Front!**

Taking up an article in 'La Lutte Ouvrière', which supported the line of the Partido Obrero Unificación Marxista (POUM) and the entry of Andres Nin as Minister of Justice in the government of Catalonia, he dealt with the role of the bourgeois ministers like Azana.

These politicians, Trotsky pointed out, did not represent the middle class but were the 'political exploiters of the petty bourgeoisie in the interest of the big bourgeoisie. They remain in the camp of the popular masses like scarecrows—and the crows are the leaders of the Socialists, reformers, and also, alas, the POUMists. They dare not touch private property, and they stoop even to the role of defender of "justice" based on private property.'

This was no doubt a reference to Nin, Minister of Justice in a bourgeois government.

The class-collaboration policy of the centrist POUM 'has terribly paralysed the upsurge of the workers and peasants and piled up defeat on defeat'. In fact, it was the government in which Nin occupied the Justice Ministry which dismantled the workers' committees set up in July 1936. It was the Stalinists and their allies who insisted that this should be done. The POUM and the Anarchist leaders acquiesced. The powers of the regular police and courts were restored. A powerful para-military force for internal security was built up by the Negrin government and armed with Russian weapons, while soldiers at the front fought Franco's legions with World War I rifles, if they had arms at all.

It was in the light of these conditions that Trotsky was bound to draw the necessary conclusions about Nin, 'the Spanish Martov': 'He has impeded the construction of a revolutionary party in Spain.

Answering questions put to him by the Dewey Commission on the Moscow Trials, Trotsky made his position quite clear:

'The victory of Franco is assured by the present policy of the Comintern', the policy as put forward by Stalin's advocate, Togliatti. As he put it in an article written a few days later, even the military victory of the Stalin-Caballero government 'could not be firm or lasting' and would result only in the final subordination of the working class to the bourgeoisie or the outbreak of civil war in the Republican camp.

The proletariat could only hope to emerge victorious from such a conflict if it had at its head a revolutionary party. This consideration necessarily again brought up the role of Nin and the POUM who, after crawling to the Catalan bourgeoisie and the Stalinists, were thrown out

# TROTSKY ON SPAIN



Barcelona after an air-raid by Franco's Forces.

of the government and still learned nothing. At that time, only weeks before the May events in Barcelona, the POUM was still trying to persuade the government to take the road of socialist revolution and had not broken with the Popular Front.

Nin was still talking about the workers taking power by peaceful means, while the Stalinists were preparing the shock troops to drive the working class from its last strongholds in Catalonia and finally establish the supremacy of the bourgeois army and police.

The last hope remaining to the POUM was to break decisively from the capitalist and middle-class parties, from the anarcho-sindicalist leaders. But the present leadership of Nin, Andrade and Gorkin was incapable of making such a break. 'The whole question is in the leadership', Trotsky proclaimed.

The events in Barcelona in May caught the POUM leaders unawares. In the previous weeks Nin had supported the expulsion of Trotskyists from the POUM. But when the Barcelona working class fought for a genuine revolution they had taken seriously the POUM's revolutionary pretensions and expected it to give leadership. The failure, once again, to act decisively, did not save Nin. Arrested by the GPU unit in Barcelona, he was tortured and then murdered. Stalin could tolerate no opponents on the left, even those as indecisive and vacillating as Nin.

In the May days, the POUM continued to demand the re-entry of its leaders into the government and proclaimed that the working class could come to power without resort to arms.

Trotsky saw the decisive character of the events in May 1937:

'If the Catalan proletariat had seized power in May 1937—as it had really seized it in July 1936—they would have found support throughout Spain. The bourgeois-Stalinist reaction would not have found two regiments with which to crush the Catalan workers. In the territory occupied by Franco, not only workers but also the peasants would have turned towards the Catalan proletariat, would have isolated the fascist army and brought about its irresistible disintegration.'

While this policy did not make victory certain, the policy of the Popular Front—the union of Stalinism and bourgeois reaction which the POUM backed—could lead only to defeat for the working class, whatever the outcome

of the Civil War. As Trotsky put it:

'The Spanish revolution once again demonstrates that it is impossible to defend democracy against the revolutionary masses otherwise than through the methods of fascist reaction. And, conversely, it is impossible to conduct a genuine struggle against fascism otherwise than through the methods of the proletarian revolution.'

That was what the centrists would never admit.

In the 'Lessons of Spain: the Last Warning', written in December 1937, Trotsky drew a balance sheet of the Spanish events, using his experience of the Russian Revolution and characterizing the role of the different tendencies. In it he strips bare the 'theory' of the Popular Front, exposes the betrayals of the Stalinists and explains why the Socialists and the Anarchists capitulated to the demands of the Soviet bureaucracy.

So the Popular Front allies tolerated the crimes of the GPU on the basis of 'saving at any cost private property from the proletariat, and saving as far as possible democracy from Franco'. The Popular Front had promised the bourgeoisie that it would defend bourgeois property. The Anarchists entered the government as Ministers and 'turned out, to the great surprise of the whole world and themselves, to be a fifth wheel in the cart of bourgeois democracy. But not for long; a fifth wheel is superfluous.'

It was not surprising that Anarchists in other countries, to distract attention from the disgraceful capitulation of their Spanish friends, began vociferously to raise the bogey of Kronstadt and Makhno.

Despite its adherence to the theory of the permanent revolution, the POUM's record was no better. 'Instead of mobilizing the masses against the reformist leaders, including the Anarchists, the POUM tried to convince these gentlemen of the superiorities of socialism over capitalism'. And Trotsky spelled out with deliberate emphasis:

**'Contrary to its own intentions, the POUM proved to be, in the final analysis, the chief obstacle on the road to the creation of a revolutionary party.'**

Trotsky had to strip bare the POUM and expose its role because of the sympathy which it had been accorded by the centrists, both in the London Bureau and among 'platonic or diplomatic partisans of the Fourth International', potential Nins in their own countries.

Spain also demonstrated that it was impossible to fight fascism without overthrowing capitalism. The working class was strong enough to conquer power, as it showed in the opening days of the military insurrection and again in Barcelona in May 1937. What was lacking was the revolutionary party.

From the start of the revolution in 1931, Trotsky had to reckon with the fact that the leadership cadre for such a party was small and weak; he had to try to shape it into a Bolshevik leadership. He took Nin as the starting point because of his undoubted qualities and his experience in the Spanish workers' movement.

Looking back in 1939, Trotsky wrote: 'We put all our hopes on Nin, and his policy consisted of personal manoeuvres in order to avoid responsibility. He played with the revolution. He was sincere, but his whole policy was that of a Menshevik. It was a tremendous handicap, and to fight against this handicap only correct formulas falsified by our own representatives in the first period, the Nins, made it very difficult.'

Nin entered a centrist formation, the POUM, which put a brake upon the revolution and was destroyed while doing so. It fell victim to the contradictions in its own policy.

'It wanted, on the one hand, to participate in the Republican government and to enter as a loyal peace-loving opposition into the general bloc of ruling parties; on the other hand, to achieve peaceful comradesly relations at a time when it was a question of implacable civil war. For this reason the POUM fell victim to the contradictions of its own policy.'

The POUM proved to be no match for the Stalinists, who pursued a consistent policy as the 'fighting vanguard of the bourgeois-republican counter-revolution. They wanted to eliminate the need for fascism by proving to the Spanish and world bourgeoisie that they were themselves capable of strangling the proletarian revolution under the banner of "democracy". This was the gist of their policies.'

The apologists for the Popular Front could not unload responsibility onto the GPU, which only acted as 'the most resolute detachment in the service of the Popular Front'. It did, of course, extend the methods of the Moscow Trials and purges into Spain, aimed at all revolutionaries.

It can be added that when Stalin began to turn towards an alliance with Nazi Germany in 1939 he hastily brought to an end the Soviet commitment in Spain. Togliatti and the other functionaries of the GPU made a hasty and ignominious flight, leaving the Republican fighters to their fate and washing their hands of the Spanish working class.

Trotsky's writings on Spain have stood up to the test of events, while nothing which the Stalinists and other tendencies produced at the time can be read today without adding to their discredit as the betrayers of the Spanish revolution.

But they do not only provide an incomparable account of the Spanish revolution and the reasons for its tragic failure. They also contain enormous lessons for today and it is for this reason above all that they conserve their freshness and must be studied in all sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International as part of the struggle against Stalinism and centrism.







# The Home Secretary doesn't need new laws

Right: The long blue line in Shrewsbury. Right below: Some of the marchers assembling on Thursday.



THE COURTS are determined to stamp out mass picketing by making an example of the 24 building workers sent for trial at Shrewsbury on Thursday. Home Secretary Robert Carr is already examining the law in relation to pickets in the wake of last winter's miners' strike.

He is under heavy pressure from the Confederation of British Industry to take a tough line with those who, director W. O. Campbell Adams on claims, have 'no respect for rules or democracy'.

Section 134 of the Industrial Relations Act merely says that picketing is lawful provided it does not constitute a criminal offence.

The bosses would like it spelled out to workers in ten foot high letters what sort of picketing constitutes an offence.

But if Carr is taking his time, it is because the police already have a welter of law which, if applied religiously, could all but outlaw picketing.

An important part of this legal arsenal is the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875 under which the 24 building workers have been charged.

The Act forbids the use of violence, intimidation, watching and besetting and inducing a breach of contract.

It also decrees that provided an act or acts committed by pickets are punishable as crimes in certain cases, workers can be charged with conspiracy. Six of the building workers have been so charged.

In addition to the 1875 legislation, picketing can be construed as a common law nuisance, to be causing obstruction or to be in breach of the peace.

The mere presence of a large group of people on a picket line can be illegal as can shouting 'scab', deliberate jostling or manhand-

# 1875 Act virtually outlaws picketing

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

ling of workers or the public, attempts to break through police cordons, alarming, upsetting or provoking workers, the public or deliverymen; in short virtually anything but the peaceful obtaining or communicating of information.

In an article on miners' pickets at Longannet power station published in the 'Industrial Law Journal', Liverpool law lecturer Peter Wallington says:

'Basically any form of mass picketing almost inevitably involves the commission of offences.'

Summing up the possible impact of the law if it were to be applied rigorously to pickets, he says: 'The effect of mass pickets is largely lost by the restrictions.' He goes on: 'The existence of a mass picket is, in fact, almost entirely by courtesy of the police.'

At no time in the long history of trade union legislation has legal sanction been given to any other form of picketing than the peaceful communication of information.

The employers and the police argue that this can be done by a handful, or perhaps even two people. It is almost certain that Carr will introduce legislation severely limiting pickets' numbers.

Trade unions won legal status in civil law in 1871 and in 1875 under the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act they were given the right to picket peacefully.

But they have never been exempted from the great body of class law defining criminal offences and it is this which is now being invoked against the Shrewsbury building workers.



## Students' president barred from college

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

STUDENT leader Angela Littlewood has been banned from her teachers' training college by a High Court judge for demanding recognition.

Miss Littlewood (23), daughter of a Nottingham councillor, was sabbatical president of the students' union at Nonington College of Physical Education, near Canterbury. But the authorities refused to recognize her.

It was claimed in court she had organized a six-week sit-in, a boycott of lectures, controlled the administrative building and allowed an NUS rally at the college, without permission.

After the hearing, she said she was disappointed:

'I thought the judge could have been a little more sympathetic.'

She will leave the college premises, but will continue her campaign as union president from a room at the university of Kent, ten miles from Nonington.

## 'Evidence was fabricated': Three detectives suspended

THREE DETECTIVES from forces in the Midlands have been suspended from duty after an investigation into allegations of fabricated evidence.

The six-month investigation was carried out by Det Supt Stanley Shaw and Det Chief Insp Jack Ridgway, both of Manchester and Salford police.

It followed a complaint by Mrs Margaret Bennett, of Daisy Farm Road, Warstock, Birmingham, that evidence had been fabricated by Midland Regional Crime Squad officers against her husband, Donald.

Mr Bennett was acquitted at Coventry Crown Court last June of five charges of breaking and entering shops and a warehouse. He had spent 19 weeks in custody on remand.

Birmingham's Assistant Chief Constable (Operations) Mr William Donaldson, said yesterday, following discussions with the Director of Public Prosecutions, three officers attached to the regional crime squad had been suspended on full pay.

One of the officers, Det Chief Insp Percival Postans, was a member of the Birmingham force.

The other two officers, both detective sergeants, were members of the West Mercia and Warwickshire and Coventry forces.

It was a matter for those forces whether their names were disclosed.

Mr. Donaldson said that consideration was still being given to what action if any, would now be taken.

## Pickets shown Home Office directive

POLICE harassment is threatening the success of a five-week-old strike at a Rotherham, Yorks, factory called because of the sacking of the works convenor.

A mass meeting of the men at Knowles Woodworking Ltd refused to surrender a bonus book to management after they alleged incorrect operation of the scheme was responsible for low payments.

The workers had only recently obtained the bonus book from their employer after persistent requests over an 18-month period.

Knowles immediately sacked convenor Mr David Tonks for refusing to return the book and has turned down all requests for a meeting with the strike organizers.

Mr Tonks said yesterday: 'We have had excellent support from local trade unions and Knowles goods are being blacked on many building sites.'

'Our main problem is with picketing. The police have told us they won't allow more than three pickets on each gate.'

'The local police super-

intendent had us down to his station and showed us a new Home Office directive on picketing which denies us the right even to flag a vehicle down.

'The law is based on one thing—protecting the property owner.'

'They have got no need of tougher laws against pickets. If they enforced the law as it stands, we'd have no picketing now.'

The strike committee has appealed to all trade unionists to black Knowles products.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

**'Forward to the Revolutionary Party.'**  
**BASILDON:** Sunday March 18, 5.30 p.m. Barnstaple Community Centre.  
**COVENTRY:** Monday March 19, 7.30 p.m. Biggin Hall Hotel, Binley Road. 'Victory to the hospital workers. Force the Tories to resign.'  
**RUGBY:** Monday March 19, 7.30 p.m. 'The Engine', Bridgett Street. 'Victory to the hospital workers. Force the Tories to resign.'  
**DAGENHAM:** Tuesday March 20, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue.  
**BRIXTON:** Tuesday March 20, 8 p.m. Control Room, Brixton Training Centre.  
**EAST LONDON:** Tuesday March 20, 8 p.m. Festival Inn, Crisp Street Market, E14.

**ACTON:** Tuesday March 20, 8 p.m. 'The Rocket', Churchfield Road, W.3.  
**TOTTENHAM:** Wednesday March 21, 8 p.m. Bricklayers Arms, Tottenham High Road, nr. White Hart Lane.  
**WOOLWICH:** Wednesday March 21, 8 p.m. Castle, Powis Street, SE18.  
**READING:** Wednesday March 21, 8 p.m. Transport and General Workers' Union office, Kings Road. 'The battle against the Tory pay laws.'  
**WEMBLEY:** Wednesday March 21, 8 p.m. Cobeland School, High Road, Wembley.  
**SOUTHALL:** Wednesday March 21, 8 p.m. The Library, Osterley Park Road.  
**HOLLOWAY:** Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road.  
**HACKNEY:** Thursday March 22,

8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, opp. Town Hall, Mare Street.  
**LEWISHAM:** Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Road.  
**SLOUGH:** Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road, Slough.  
**STEVENAGE:** Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. 'Red Lion', Stevenage Old Town.  
**WILLESDEN:** Thursday March 22, 8 p.m. Labour and Trades Hall, High Road, NW10  
**WANDSWORTH:** Monday March 26, 8 p.m. Kings Arms, High Road, SW18. 'The Fight against Stalinism'.  
**BRADFORD:** Thursday March 22, 7.30 p.m. Room 1, Central Library, Bradford.  
**MIDDLETON:** Thursday March 22, 7.30 p.m. 'Assheton Arms'.

ORPINGTON and SIDCUP Council of Action

### DEMONSTRATION

- Halt rising prices and rents.
- Force the Tories to resign.
- Elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies and to restore democratic rights.
- Victory to gasmen, civil servants, hospital workers, teachers, railwaymen and car workers.

### SATURDAY MARCH 24

Assemble: 10.30 a.m. Corner of North Cray Road and Orpington High Street.

FOUR Royal Marines who admitted assaulting a workman at a Co Antrim power station where they were on guard duty last year have been fined a total of £150 in Belfast.

Judge William Johnson told the men at Antrim County Court that their 'brutal assault' had been totally unjustified.

Marine Gerald Rodgers (21) was fined £30; Marine Edward Marr (19) £10; and Cpl John Tilley (31) £16. L/Cpl Bernard Finan (27) was fined £50 and given four months' suspended sentence.

Crown prosecutor Mr Fergus McCartan, said the workman, Mr Patrick Kelly, was hit on the head by a rifle by Rodgers as he was going to work on January 20. Later Mr Kelly was taken to a guard room at the power station and beaten up by the four soldiers.

He sustained a dislocated elbow, multiple bruising, a black eye and an injured nose and had to stay in hospital for five days.



# The enemy at Empire Pool

ON SUNDAY, March 11, the Empire Pool at Wembley was packed with 10,000 trade unionists and youth in the biggest indoor rally against the Tory government since Heath was elected in June 1970.

Before the rally and concert, a three-hour Pageant of working class history was presented. It was the first time ever that working-class history acted and interpreted by workers themselves had been staged in Pageant form in Britain.

The event, therefore, was unique and its sheer size and enthusiasm was a tremendous tribute to the working class, without whose support it could never have been staged. But not a line about the rally and Pageant appeared in any national daily newspaper. It was completely ignored.

Was this because the capitalist Press didn't know about it? No. Workers Press and 'Keep Left' had carried advertisements and a considerable amount of coverage of the rehearsals and those taking part for weeks beforehand.

A Press conference was arranged in the week preceding the rally. Invitations were sent to all news editors of national newspapers. Not one showed up.

This is the same blind eye treatment which our Right-to-Work marches received a year earlier.

The Press barons, the mouthpieces of the Tory government, know that there is only one serious Marxist movement in Britain today that is fighting to unite the working class in a political struggle to remove the Tories from office.

At all costs such a movement must be belittled and derided.

But we have uncovered



one mention of the Empire Pool triumph. It's in this week's 'New Statesman'.

It appears in their diary. A snivelling paragraph written by Corinna Adam, the daughter of an ex-BBC mandarin and wife of Neal Ascherson of the 'Observer'.

Under Anthony Howard's stewardship 'NS' has drifted rightwards and is now openly campaigning for the Jenkins faction in the Labour Party. It has completely cut off any pretence at representing the 'radical' section of the party.

Howard and Adam don't believe that there is a class struggle ('that's old hat').

Nor do they believe that there is a monumental economic crisis sweeping capitalism in Britain and internationally. (We're in for a period of growth,' says Peter Paterson, deputy editor.)

These political buffoons stumble into Empire Pool and conclude that during the speeches 'not all enthusiasts stayed.'

'Several young people approached me at this point, asking whether it would be possible to get the tube to Piccadilly and still arrive back in time to catch their

midnight coaches home. I must confess to telling them the truth. It was not only possible, but easy—and by then in its way tempting.'

This is middle-class hostility and fear expressed at its clearest.

The one thing that deranges them the most are successes and strides taken by the working-class movement.

If they can sabotage it, they will. If they can deride it, they will.

Indeed, this article will be the subject of mindless, frenzied discussion in the Fleet Street wine bars and the salons of the trendies and the revisionists.

The 'New Statesman', whose circulation is dropping by the thousand,

couldn't organize a seminar of 100 people, let alone stage a Pageant and pack an auditorium with 10,000 people from the labour and trade union movement.

The real gain of the Pageant for us is expressed in a letter we received from a worker new to politics the day after the Pageant:

'Dear Sir,  
I went to Wembley on Sunday and was amazed at the greatness of it all and the emotion it raised amongst the people there. The Tories forced me to give up drinking and smoking because of the cost of living. In doing so I looked at my life and now I've decided they are my enemy.

'I've never taken an interest in politics before but this government has made a "sit-at-home-zombie" out of me with their wage freeze, high rents and in general their attitude of not giving a damn for any part of the working class. Thank you for waking me up. Forward with the SLL.

Eric Coleman,  
London, NW8.  
(Full address supplied.)  
'PS: My wife and children also enjoyed the Pageant.'

# Whittington returns after fortnight



FOUR HUNDRED Workers at London's Whittington hospital on all-out strike for the past fortnight voted overwhelmingly yesterday to return to work. Shop stewards told the meeting that they had been let down by union leaders, but that they would continue to fight in the hospital with a work-to-rule. But hospital workers at Southampton decided to continue their action until their claim was met.

# Half-hearted TUC backing

THE TUC is trying to stem the rising tide of anger at its abandonment of the hospital workers by urging trades councils to organize protest meetings and demonstrations in their support.

Letters to the 500 trades councils affiliated to the TUC went out yesterday morning. Besides the meetings and marches, they suggested that collections for the strikers should be held. Agreement on the sending of the letters was reached at a meeting on Thursday night between TUC secretary Victor Feather and leaders of three of the main hospital unions.

Discussion of other ways in which the TUC can assist the hospital workers' struggle against the Tory pay laws will be discussed at a special finance and general purposes committee meeting next week.

The TUC is supposed to be committed to leading 'co-ordinated action' in support of unions who ask for assistance, but two weeks have already gone by since this decision was made.

Next Thursday will take the hospital workers to within a week of the Tories' pay control becoming law.

Yesterday 50,000 hospital workers from an area stretching from Lincolnshire

to the Welsh border staged a two-hour lunchtime strike as a gesture of defiance to Sir Keith Joseph, Minister of Health and Social Security.

Earlier this week Joseph urged the hospital workers to return to work, accept a derisory £1.80-£2 pay offer and take their case for a £4 increase to the state Pay Board.

The hospital strikes spread yesterday to Cornwall and Devon for the first time, when laundry workers stopped work for up to a week.

This brought the total number of hospitals totally or partially affected to 274.

## MARCH FUND £471.90 - STEP UP FIGHT THIS WEEKEND

THIS weekend is a great opportunity for a special campaign to boost this month's fund. Our target is £1,750 and we have 15 more days to complete it. Let's go into action today.

As miners prepare to join the thousands of hospital workers, gasmen, railwaymen and civil servants in a struggle against Phase 2, it is clear that an enormous movement is growing against the Tory government.

But it is just at this point that Workers Press is needed to warn of the dangers ahead in this fight. The Tories will do everything they can to try and drive back the working class

and, in this, they have the trade union leaders as their allies.

Our paper must be used to build an alternative leadership throughout the trade union and labour movement. Only Workers Press is prepared politically for the situation ahead. Help us therefore with a very special effort this weekend for our March Fund.

Make sure the situation is changed. Raise all you can—give as much as you can. Post all donations immediately to:

Workers Press  
March Fund  
186a Clapham High Street  
London, SW4 7UG

# De-'freeze' frozen foods—plea

AFTER a record week for price increases Britain's leading frozen food manufacturers want the Tories to release their products from all controls.

The two big frozen food giants, Bird's Eye, owned by Unilever, and Findus, a subsidiary of Imperial Tobacco, want an end to all curbs on frozen vegetables.

The two companies buy the bulk of the British fresh vegetables crop—and have the power to control prices.

Bird's Eye chairman Kenneth Webb wants to increase the price of frozen peas immediately by 10 per cent. He and Michael Coburn, managing director of Findus, would like to see frozen vegetables free to rise in price like frozen fish.

This new threat to the cost of living follows 230 price rises over the last week.

Brands that raised their prices include Twinning and Melrose coffee, Pedigree petfoods, Tappax, Kavit margarine, Robirch pies and sausages, Kraft American Lard, Somerwest sausages, pies and cooked meats, Rob Roy canned fish and Adco washing powder.

The Tory Press has kept the headlines to the 310 price reductions—but few reports reveal what kinds of foods are falling in price (ice cream, crisps and soft drinks—hardly the sustenance to keep a working class family well fed and healthy.)

The reductions are a result of the Chancellor's sop to the housewife when he exempted these foods from VAT. This had the effect of removing them from purchase tax which will be abolished after VAT comes in on April 1.

'The Grocer' magazine reports a steady increase in general price levels—processed food' is up 0.11 per cent this week and fresh food is up 0.15.

The magazine says the current rate of increase will mean food prices would almost double in three years.

Foods subject to the biggest increase are bacon and ham, up 3.4 per cent this week, fish up 7.65 per cent and eggs up 2.26 per cent.

● Food costs in the Irish Republic rose by over 16 per cent during the past 12 months, a government consumer price survey disclosed in Dublin yesterday.

The overall cost of living rose by 10p in the pound, with clothing increasing by 12 per cent and durable household goods by 10 per cent.

The rises are among the highest recorded in the republic.

# 13th ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF YOUNG SOCIALISTS BLACKPOOL APRIL 14/15 1973

SATURDAY AND SUNDAY, APRIL 14 & 15, WINTER GARDENS, BLACKPOOL

FOR DETAILS TELEPHONE 01-622 7029

SOVIET security police, KGB, intend to hold oppositionist Pyotr Yakir in jail beyond the nine months permitted by law, which runs out on Wednesday. One of the most outspoken critics of Stalinism, Yakir has spent 14 years in labour camps. His father, Ion Yakir, was shot on Stalin's orders in 1937.

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