

UNION CHIEFS BETRAY GASMEN FIGHT MUST GO ON

BY ROYSTON BULL

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The TUC must now be forced to end at once the treacherous postponement of co-ordinated action in support of the hospital workers and other unions in struggle. It must be made to carry out the special Congress decision to lead united trade union action to defeat the state control of wages.

There was never any doubt that the working class, if given a lead, would be ready to engage in a mighty mass strike movement to create the necessary industrial and political conditions to force the Tory government to resign.

Now there is even more evidence from the struggles of the hospital workers and others and despite all the betrayals, the resentment against the blatant class bias of Tory rule and the determination to get rid of the government is daily becoming more powerful.

Following the arrest by police of two shop stewards from the picket line at St Mary's, Paddington, came a flood of decisions by other hospitals either to come out immediately or to come out if the court chose to punish the two men.

In Sheffield, there was a massive demonstration by ancillary workers from 30 South Yorkshire hospitals supported by miners, engineers.

Among civil servants, more strikes than ever before were reported, and in Newcastle, 15,000 civil servants stopped work to coincide with Heath's visit to the city.

But while all this action was taking place, Victor Feather was flouting the wishes of the trade union movement yet again by getting ready for still another forelock-tugging visit to Downing Street to ask the Prime Minister next week if he would kindly agree to a public inquiry into the hospital workers' case.

Even as this totally futile exercise was being prepared, Heath's hard-line Health Service henchman Sir Keith Joseph was repeating for the umpteenth time that there will be no inquiry.

Feather, of course, understands this point absolutely

clearly. He knows that the economy is in such an appalling state that the government dare not make the slightest concession for fear of a British financial collapse.

Feather, Jones and the rest of the General Council are determined to head off the General Strike movement by playing down the present struggles and getting them called off.

That was the reason for the imposition of a secret ballot on the gasmen despite all their delegate conference decisions to reject the offer and go for all-out strike action.

That was the reason for delaying for two months the special Congress decision for a one-day stoppage.

That was the reason for the blatant stalling that has gone on over co-ordinating action in support of the hospital workers and others.

That was the reason for the futile talks at the TUC about who would dare to strike after the Phase Two legislation becomes law on April 1, ignoring the clear fact that thousands are striking, and millions more would strike if only given a lead, regardless of any laws.

Is Feather interested in leading the trade unions to beat the Tory government and its pay laws as Congress wishes, or is he opposed to this policy? It is obvious he is flouting TUC policy.

This brazen betrayal is all the more reason for trade unionists to mount a massive campaign for calling the General Strike and instructing their leaders either to carry out the call or to make way for new leaders who will abide by union decisions.



Ancillary workers' shop steward, Peter Barker, and NUPE branch secretary, Don Steadman, with demonstrators outside Marylebone Magistrate's Court after being remanded on bail.

Court demonstration as workers remanded

BY IAN YEATS

HOSPITAL workers, teachers and London Transport workers chanted outside the Marylebone magistrate's court yesterday as two hospital porters appeared on charges of obstructing the police.

The demonstrators sang the pop song: 'You won't get me, I'm part of the union' as the men were remanded on bail until May 7.

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When they emerged from the courtroom the demonstrators erupted into cheers and gave clenched fist salutes.

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Shop stewards and branch secretaries from all London hospitals were meeting last night to decide what further action to take following the arrest of the two pickets.

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'We are calling a branch meeting immediately and in all probability our branch will be coming out indefinitely with no emergency services covered.'

Fred Kaler, secretary of the joint shop stewards' committee at the London Transport lifts and escalators division, led 15 members on strike for the duration of the court hearing.

Mr Kaler, an NUR member said: 'The way police are picking on pickets is disgusting.'

'They're picking on the weakest unions.' He said the TUC one-day stoppage was 'not enough'. A General Strike was needed, he said, to get rid of the government.

Terry Murphy, a NUPE steward at St Mary's said: 'I would strike if necessary for no other reason than to get rid of this government.'

'The feeling here is very high and there is anger against the police for harassing us. We've pulled out the emergency services.'

Earlier pickets at the St Mary's Hospital where the two men work accused the union leaders of doing nothing about police harassment.

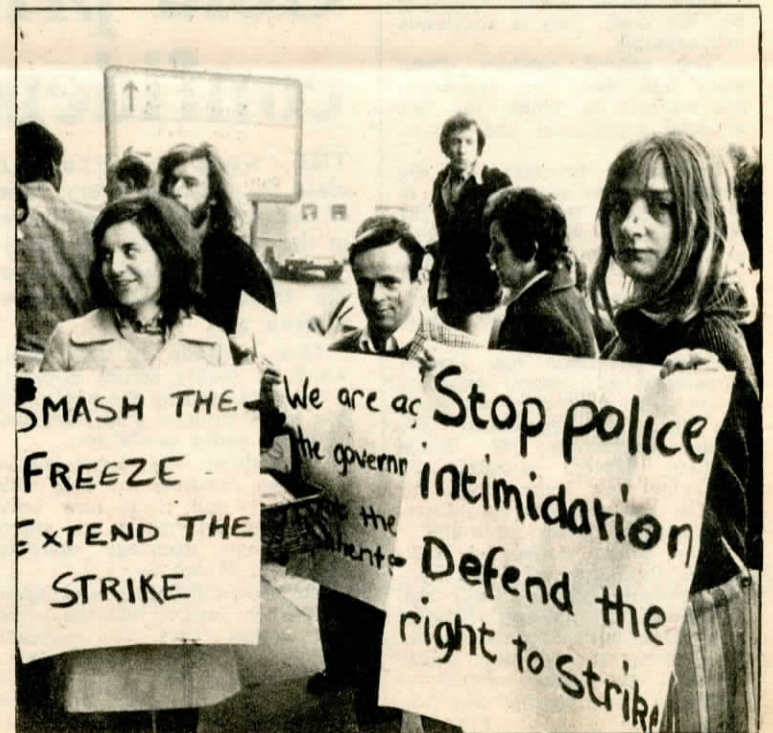
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the busy central London hospital have staged a total strike in protest against the arrests including a ban on emergency services.

Management are using medical students and clerical staff to maintain a skeleton service. NUPE shop steward Dennis Molloney said yesterday: 'I am very disappointed with reactions from other hospitals. They should have walked out immediately on Thursday.'

'I think it is because of the response from the heads of the union. They are not doing anything at the moment—just leaving it to us.'

● At Basingstoke Hospital, where an all-out strike is in progress, a woman ancillary worker was knocked down and injured by a van at the gates.



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WHAT WE THINK I.S. BLAMES THE WORKERS...AGAIN

AS THE union leaders permit sections of the working class to fight in isolation against the corporatist-style measures of the Tory government, it is essential to assimilate the lessons of the current struggles. The central lesson of every conflict since the Tory government assumed office is that it is only the treacherous nature of the working-class leadership that permits the Heath gang to survive.

All those—who matter how left they sound—who evade the vital question of the construction of a revolutionary leadership in the course of a campaign to force the Tories to resign, mislead the working class and assist the present leadership to dissipate workers' energies in piecemeal, isolated actions. This is the role of the revisionist, anti-communist 'International Socialism' group, whose paper 'Socialist Worker' has once again blamed the working class for a retreat on the part of its leaders, particularly the Stalinists.

This week's issue of 'Socialist Worker' claims that the collapse of the proposed strike of Ford workers over their £10 wage claim was due to 'a swift and deep crisis of confidence in the rank and file'. When the dockers were sold out by Jack Jones and the Communist Party last August, this same 'Socialist Worker' declared that 'the dockers were not worthy of their stewards'. When the Communist Party leadership at UCS abandoned every basic principle of trade unionism and permitted some 2,000 workers to be thrown out of their jobs, the only

criticism which the revisionists had of Reid and company was that there had been insufficient discussion and not enough mass meetings.

Now 'Socialist Worker' says that what 'went wrong' at Ford's was 'lack of contact between stewards and rank and file'. It goes on: 'Between success and the Ford convenors and militants who wanted to fight stood two things—lack of organization and lack of propaganda. There were no proper joint shop stewards' committees at either Dagenham or Halewood.'

Nowhere in the entire article is there a single mention of the role of the Communist Party. Neither does it mention the political implications of a wages struggle which clearly involved a conflict with the Tories' state pay laws. Yet these were the central questions. The Ford retreat was the result of the refusal of the reformists and Stalinists in the leadership of the unions and the shop stewards' combine to lead a political struggle against the government over the claim.

The task was not to break Ford's but to break the Tory government. It had been the refusal, above all of the Stalinists, to lead such a fight which enabled Jones and Scanlon to sell out the 1971 Ford struggle and which laid the basis for collapse in 1973. This was the issue at the special Coventry conference of Ford and other workers held on February 18. It was this conference which issued the call for all-out strike to start on March 1.

'Socialist Worker' greeted this decision with rapturous enthusiasm: 'The decision by the Ford shop stewards to

ignore the shilly-shallying tactics of their officials, to take strike action from March 1 and explicitly to fight in unison with health workers and civil servants, is a major step forward.' Only Workers Press warned that the refusal of the Stalinists to allow a resolution calling for a General Strike of all unions to bring down the Tory government to be put to the conference meant that the leadership was deliberately hiding the political implications of the struggle.

When Ford's had first made their offer in line with the Tory state pay laws on February 1 there had been walk-outs at Halewood and Swansea. Yet instead of extending this movement, the combine stewards held off until the conference on February 18. The same day the strike call was made, a Dagenham engine plant meeting voted against any form of action. Despite this clear warning—not of a 'crisis of confidence' in the ranks, but of deliberate manoeuvre by the right wing—the combine stewards waged no campaign at all between February 18 and March 1.

Leading Stalinist Sid Harraway—as revealed in Workers Press, but ignored in 'Socialist Worker'—was telling a local newspaper as early as February 21 that the position will be reviewed. 'Some form of industrial action' would be taken, Harraway declared in the 'Barking and Dagenham Advertiser', and 'it might be sporadic strikes'. In this way the Stalinists—like the leadership of the T&GWU and the AUEW—deliberately sought to divert a struggle which would have raised all the ques-

tions of the unity of action of the working class against the state pay laws and the mobilization of the unions in a General Strike to create the conditions to force the Tory government to resign.

The revisionists deliberately remain silent on the decisive question of leadership. All that is necessary, according to them, is to build 'groups of active socialist militants in every plant and every section fighting to build the confidence of the rank and file, fighting to challenge the company and the government at the level of ideas.'

The only way to 'build the confidence' of the workers is to remove their confidence in their present leaders. But 'Socialist Worker' proposes no fight against either the union leaders or the Stalinists. This is because the IS group works hand in hand with the Stalinists and the 'left' reformists in the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. The revisionists, reformists and Stalinists have one thing in common—an implacable hostility to the building of a revolutionary leadership.

That is why, on every major struggle of the working class, the International Socialism group sings the praises of spontaneous militancy but never raises the role of revolutionary leadership. Victory for the working class, however, depend upon the construction of a leadership around the central task of the fight to bring down the Tory government. That requires the construction of the revolutionary Party which the Socialist Labour League is pledged to build in principled struggle against Stalinism and its revisionist allies.

Nixon: Dictator of world trade

PRESIDENT Nixon's report to Congress on his forthcoming Trade Bill indicates that United States big business has barely begun its trade war offensive against Europe and Japan.

Nixon asked Congress, in his report for complete discretionary power to raise or lower tariffs on all imports into the United States for five years.

US delay troop withdrawals

THE Americans have demanded the release of nine prisoners held by the Pathet Lao and the dismantling of missile sites in South Vietnam before they will complete the withdrawal of their troops, originally scheduled for next Wednesday.

The North Vietnamese have made it clear that release of the prisoners held in Laos must be negotiated with their captors and was not covered by the ceasefire agreement.

Their Press officer, Lieut-Col Bui Tin said: 'This is absolutely unacceptable.'

'You cannot conduct diplomacy like this. The Americans are entirely to blame for this artificial crisis over the prisoners.'

Release of prisoners by the North has also been held up in protest against the failure of the Americans to observe the Paris peace agreement. The American and South Vietnamese counter-charges of infiltration into South Vietnam show the fragile nature of the accord.

President Nixon has already threatened to resume bombing if the other side does not carry out the peace agreement. His Under-Secretary of State, William Porter, repeated on Thursday that there would be 'serious consequences' if infiltration into the South continued.

Even if the troops are withdrawn, thousands of US military and civilian 'advisers' will still remain in the country. Massive supplies of arms and equipment have been poured into South Vietnam in recent months to strengthen the corrupt and tottering regime of President Nguyen Van Thieu.

Given the size and importance of the American market the powers Nixon is seeking would make him the dictator of world trade, able to destroy whole national economies at the stroke of a pen.

It is nonsense for newspapers like 'The Times' to try and console their readers that this report is a blow against protectionism. It is in fact the most protectionist document ever submitted to the Congress.

Nixon's report slammed what it termed the 'surplus syndrome' of the Common Market and Japan—indicating that the US government still plans to redress its \$9,000m payments deficit at the expense of their trade.

This crude threat runs right through the proposals of the president's council on international economic policy, headed by White House aide Peter Flanigan, which drew up the presidential report.

The report's main points are:

- Unlimited authority for five years to eliminate, reduce, increase or impose duties, depending on the president's discretion. This is a complete break with previous policy, which gave the executive power to change tariffs by specified amounts.

- An international agreement allowing trading countries to adopt temporary measures (tax relief, subsidies) to safeguard industries hurt by imports.

- Support for the concept of preferences for the products of so-called 'developing' countries, such as those negotiated by the Common Market with countries in Africa and elsewhere.

But the council said the US could not extend preferences to countries that discriminated against US exports in favour of those of other industrial countries.

This is plainly part of an effort by the US to destroy the preferential agreements concluded by the EEC, including its ambitious Mediterranean scheme which has been the target of US opposition for many months.

At the same time the president wants Congress to give him the authority to extend most-favoured nation status for the Soviet Union and other countries of Eastern Europe where the US has trade agreements.

The report shows that the US is not bluffing at the GATT talks in Geneva where its representatives have demanded \$1,000m compensation for EEC enlargement.

Gold price rises, confidence sags

THE world capitalist class is showing every sign of complete lack of confidence in the international monetary 'settlement' agreed between the main industrial powers a week ago.

Their attitude to this deal, which in reality settles nothing, is demonstrated by the continued rise in the price of gold, standard of value under capitalism.

Throughout the latest crisis gold has remained at over \$80 an ounce and it is now only marginally less than it was when the foreign exchange markets closed on March 2.

On that date gold was fixed at \$86 an ounce, but the price fell within days to fluctuate around the \$82 an ounce mark. Even rumours that central banks might sell gold failed to drive the fixing price below \$80 an ounce.

Now the price has again begun to rise: yesterday morning in London it was fixed at \$82.50, 62½ cents up on Thursday's closing price.

The gold market is not the only place where lack of confidence in the future is being shown. On Wall Street, the Dow Jones industrial share average has dropped consistently for the last six trading days.

The fall, which wiped over 5 per cent off share values in a week, took the stock market average from 978.85 to 925.20, a drop of 53.65 points and the lowest level since October 1972.

The 'Financial Times' attributed the fall to 'unfavourable news', including 'rising interest rates, a surge of inflation led by swelling food prices, a threat of higher taxes and international monetary uncertainty following the collapse of previous accords and imposition of a patchwork currency system'.

Big new price increases loom

BIG INCREASES in food prices in the Common Market countries can be expected in 1973-1974 as a result of the recommendations made by the Market's executive commission in Brussels this week.

It said that beef prices should rise by 10.8 per cent, pork by 6.7 per cent and milk by 4.7 per cent. These recommendations will go forward to the nine member countries.

These are guaranteed prices to farmers, while prices in the shops will rise still more steeply as a result of the keeping out of cheap imports and the mark-ups at the different stages of distribution.

Commenting on the Common Market farm policy, the British representative, former Labour MP George Thomson, admitted in a speech in Renfrew on Thursday that British food prices would inevitably rise to continental levels. He described the new farm price proposals as 'a balanced package in the complex circumstances which the commission faced'.

Significantly he was speaking to an audience of farmers, who stand to gain from the changes,

not housewives who will have to pay the higher prices.

The price rises have already been condemned as inadequate by representatives of European farmers and peasants. Dutch farmers want an average increase of 7.5 per cent instead of the 2.76 per cent proposed.

The whole Common Market agricultural policy has been torn apart by the currency chaos of recent weeks. The new prices are calculated to compensate Italian farmers for the downward float of the lira, leaving farmers in the Benelux countries and Germany with a smaller increase.

Farm price policy has always been an issue over which bitter conflicts have raged between the members of the Common Market. These have been made still more acute by the recent change in exchange rates.

In fact the common agricultural policy cannot work without stable currencies. Before the present proposals come into effect the Common Market may have broken up.

Peasant organizations from several countries are expected to call a European demonstration some time next month to protest against what they consider to be the injustices of the new prices. The National Farmers' Union will not support it.

French police attack students

POLICE used truncheons and tear gas to break up a huge demonstration of high-school and university students against the abolition of the deferment of military service in Paris on Thursday afternoon.

There were scenes reminiscent of May 1968 as riot police moved in to provoke clashes. Many injured students were taken into private houses for attention.

Mustering 50,000 students, the demonstration dwarfed the protest march organized by the Socialists on the previous day in co-operation with the authorities. Thursday's demonstration, which had mass support, was first banned and then subject to police violence.

When students streamed into the area where the march was to begin they found hundreds of the para-military CRS drawn up for battle and raring to go.

When they did so they acted with their accustomed brutality, striking out in all directions, pounding their helpless victims and not discriminating between demonstrators and passers-by.

Big demonstrations took place in other French cities and the authorities stated that 2½ million high school students had stayed away from classes.

The Communist Party abstained in the vote taken in July 1970 which ended deferment for students and socialist deputies supported it. It is now trying to head off the movement against the law by placing itself at its head in the same way as it did with the strikes in 1968.

How a broken agreement stopped Leyland

BY JOHN SPENCER

PRODUCTION workers at British Leyland's plant at Cowley, Oxford, are being prevented from working by the company's moves to disrupt existing agreements with the unions and introduce work-study.

The dispute, which began on Monday, has vital implications for the car industry as a whole and for the struggle of all workers against the Tories' Phase Two pay-control legislation.

For the work-study men went onto the production lines at Cowley within days of the company's total rejection of the union's demand for a 14p-an-hour wage increase.

The increase, part of the union's submission for the annual wage review, was turned down summarily by management, which is sticking rigidly to Heath's £1 plus 4 per cent formula.

They offered a wage rise of only 6p an hour and made it conditional on acceptance by the unions of work-study operations on the shop floor.

This offer was instantly rejected by stewards and their decision endorsed, at a 10,000-strong mass meeting on March 15.

The following day all direct workers at the factory received a letter from management setting out the company's intention to introduce work-study men (they term them industrial engineers) onto the production lines.

This was a unilateral attempt to change conditions mutually agreed between the management and the unions last August, when Leyland abandoned its attempt

at work-study in the face of opposition from the workers.

On Monday afternoon, at two o'clock, in an operation organized with military precision, the industrial engineers moved into the plant.

The 25 work-study men moved into the assembly, paint, trim and rectification shops. Work stopped instantly in line with shop stewards' committee policy.

This policy was endorsed on Tuesday by a mass meeting of over 4,000 day-shift workers who had walked out again that morning when the industrial engineers reappeared.

The workers' attitude has hardened since the stoppage began, despite threats and cajolery from the management, who have claimed that their work-study is not intended to create redundancies.

The company has told the stewards that industrial engineering techniques are essential to the factory's continued operation. 'Even if it means turning Oxford into a depressed area this factory will not open again unless these techniques are introduced,' management say.

Their desperation reflects the notorious financial weakness at British-Leyland, whose management appointments are now closely vetted by the chief creditor, Barclay's Bank.

The company has tried for two-and-a-half years to introduce work-study techniques to supplement its Measured-Day Work payment methods.

In October 1970 Leyland brought the MDW payments system to Cowley at the cost of substantial pay rises, on an individual basis and without any agreement with the union.

Agreement was finally signed a year ago, accepting MDW on the basis of 'fair effort', and accepting the introduction of industrial engineers.

Management brought the engineers into the plant last year under this new agreement to prepare for changes in the output of the Marina car.

The management wanted a line-speed increase from 32 to 35 cars an hour day and night on two tracks. According to its work study the line could be speeded up at the same time as over 20 per cent of the men were taken off it.

This would have meant a 33-per-cent increase in effort by the remaining men, which the stewards declared to be totally unacceptable.

They successfully demanded that the management negotiate the line changeover by traditional methods, in which manning would be negotiated between foremen and stewards without the introduction of industrial engineers.

After weeks of negotiation, this was finally agreed. This agreement reached in September last year is still the basis for manning and effort at the Cowley plant. It plainly supersedes the previous deal on work-study signed in the spring of 1972.

Now planning the introduction of a new product, the ADO 71 medium saloon, Leyland want to undertake a thorough work-study in preparation for changeover to volume manufacture of this new car next year.

Their aim is to speed up production of the Marina under conditions where the workers displaced from existing lines can be offered continued employment on the new ADO 71 lines.

Cowley workers vote to strike



10th May 1972

The Trade Unions have declared their determination to at least re-establish in future wage reviews, the present wage relationships between Skilled A and the rest of the Dayworkers covered by the Indirect Dayworkers Agreement.

The Company have stated that while they understand the Unions position, they cannot regard either the present wage relationship or the new relationship which will result from the Company's current wage offer to Indirect Dayworkers, as being fixed or permanent.

The Company have undertaken however, to make positive proposals on this subject taking full account of the aspirations of the Trade Unions as stated in Para.1 during the next wage review Feb 2nd 1973.

The Company and the Trade Unions jointly agree to honour the spirit and intention of this statement.

Geoffrey...
Personnel and Industrial
Relations Manager
Cowley Operations

to sections that have been superseded, when it comes to negotiating away our members' conditions.

'This is a complete double standard.'

'We had all the arguments a year ago about legally enforced agreements. Now what we have is something new—the legal suspendability of agreements.'

'The company have no answer on this question.'

'To test them out we even asked them to offer a wage



Leyland's Lord Stokes

increase, as they are legally able to do, and then refer it to the Pay Board. They didn't want to know.

'They even want to make it a formal requirement that if we accept their government-backed offer we must accept their industrial engineers as well.'

'This is entirely unacceptable. Even if we were going to sell effort for money—and we're not—we would be barred from doing so under the present legislation.'

'The Tory government has put an end even to productivity bargaining which was at one time the employers' method of wringing more profit from their workers. Now they want increased profits without even paying enough to keep up with living costs.'

The stewards believe it is because the Tories want at all costs to hold workers to MDW-style deals, while keeping an iron grip on their wages, that the Cowley stoppage is being suppressed by the mass media.

'Normally we only have to sneeze here and it's front-page news,' one steward said. 'Now after four days on strike we make page 11 of the "Oxford Mail".'

'The national Press has virtually ignored this stoppage. They know this is an extremely explosive issue. In addition the company is on very shaky ground and not keen to publicize the strike.'

'They have no answer to our position on the question of Phase Two and their refusal to implement the pay clauses of the works agreement.'

'They have been severely shaken in their confidence by the solidarity and determination of the workers.'

These plans explain the company's denial on Tuesday, March 22, that the work-study operation will lead to sackings. 'The company has never any intention of using industrial engineers to cause redundancies,' managing director John Symonds wrote in a letter to employees.

In the same letter he quoted from a previous communication warning senior stewards that Leyland intended to introduce the industrial engineers.

The letter, described by stewards as 'misleading', stated 'categorically' that changes in manning levels would be made only 'as a result of changes in work content involving, for example, rebalancing of the line following engineering changes, different methods, model mix or line speed'.

Such changes, as stewards were quick to point out, can take place every week, giving Symonds and his subordinates the opportunity to reduce manning levels almost at will.

A prime opportunity to 're-balance the line' could well occur in the autumn when the Marina is likely to feel the impact of competition for sales from Leyland's new model ADO 69, which is beginning to roll from the company's Longbridge production lines. Those displaced from the Marina could immediately be offered work on the ADO 71.

Such a timetable would enable the company to realize its ambition of increasing effort and cutting manning without paying a penny over the government norm and without provoking the occupation that would surely follow mass sackings at Cowley.

Stewards regard Leyland's action in sending in the work-study engineers as a carefully calculated provocation aimed at destroying the existing mutual agreement in the interests of stepped-up exploitation.

They are particularly angry that the company should be trying to implement an agreement which it is itself breaking by refusing to pay wage increases due on February 2 under the current annual review.

The company not only refused to pay the increases on the due date, but also stuck rigidly in its offer to the government's £1 plus 4 per cent ceiling for wage increases after April 1 under Phase Two.

'If we can't have free collective bargaining, why should they?' one senior steward asked. 'We are tied to £1 and 4 per cent, then why should they be able to demand increased effort?'

'They are telling us that they are required by law to break this agreement but that we must adhere rigidly at all costs, even

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FIRE BOMB ATTACK ON BLACK PEOPLE

unity centre bombed



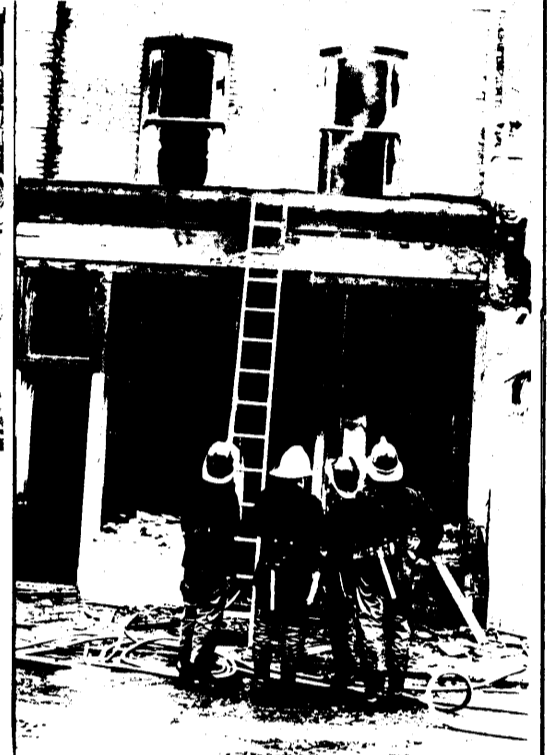
THIS IS UNITY CENTRE

For the past 4 years in Brixton the Black Panther Movement has been working to mobilize the community around our basic needs.

From an empty shell at 74 Pailton Road we created with our own hands the first and only cultural and political centre serving the black and working community in Brixton.

UNITY SUPPORT

There was an immediate response from black and white sufferers. Every day people would drop into the shop to offer assistance, express their support or discuss their daily sufferation at the hands of the Council, the Government, Employers, police and other oppressors.



THE SOUTH LONDON BOMBINGS

An investigation by Ian Yeats

'Fortuitous coincidence is obviously ruled out.'

That was Tuesday's verdict by the 'South London Press' on the second spate of attacks on immigrant shops at Brixton and Tooting in a month.

Although all those involved believe that the petrol bombing of 11 premises was 'organized', no one knows whose hand lit the fuses.

It could have been part of a premeditated campaign by anti-immigrant groups or it could have been the work of isolated fanatics.

Five immigrant shops were attacked at the end of last month, but Tooting police have no clues about the identity of those responsible.

In the case of the six latest attacks they say they may be the work of a scooter rider.

They are looking for a bearded man aged between 25 and 35 wearing goggles and Ulster Defence Association-style parka jacket who may have ridden a stolen Lambretta scooter to deliver the bombs.

Police have now found the scooter in Leicester Square and it is being examined by experts.

In the 11 raids, windows were smashed, stocks were damaged and destroyed and premises were burned.

The Black Panthers, whose Railton Road bookshop was gutted, blame 'fascist groups'.

Some of the Asians whose shops were damaged referred to 'racist groups'.

At least one community relations officer, Charles Boxer, of Wandsworth, has told the Press the attacks may have been planned by 'right-wing extremists'.

A statement from the National Front said: 'It is a matter of record that the National Front utterly repudiates all acts of terrorism directed at individual immigrants and has always done so.'

Such denials do not, of course, rule out the actions of individuals acting alone who may either be members of extremist organizations or influenced by their propaganda.

Anti-immigrant forces are claimed to have been active in the bomb-blighted boroughs for some time.

Recently a number of white families living in municipal accommodation at Brixton received letters purporting to have come from the Greater London Council telling them they would have to move out to make room for Pakistanis.

The letters were proved to be a hoax.

On February 28 the proprietors of the Unity Bookshop, Brixton, received an unsigned letter on GLC notepaper telling them to quit by March 5.

A GLC spokesman assured

me the council rents out no accommodation in Railton Road and that the letter had not been sent by them.

Unlike the other Asian and West Indian businesses attacked, the Unity Centre, which is partly owned by the Black Panthers, has been the subject of considerable publicity.

Two Tory GLC candidates, Monday Club member John Pritchard and Nicholas Bennett, both wrote to Tory Home Secretary Robert Carr complaining about a £150 grant to the shop by Lambeth Council for Community Relations (CCR).

A joint letter said: 'We are very worried about this donation not only because of the ease with which public money can be handed out, but more importantly because of the harm it will do to good community relations in the area.'

TORY PUBLICITY

It added: 'The grant will cause ordinary people to lose credibility in the CCR. Public opinion is bound to take the view that extremists are getting help from public money.'

Without exception the immigrants we spoke to in south London claimed relations with whites were good, yet both Tories said the bomb areas

had 'serious race relations problems'.

Panthers' spokesmen told me they thought the publicity given to the complaint to Carr could have been 'the spur for the attack' on their bookshop.

They claimed there was little doubt that a 'Daily Telegraph' report pointing out that 'public funds' were being given to 'Black Panther militants' had exacerbated the situation.

Nobody who has given even a cursory examination to the aims of the Unity Centre could conclude it was set up to foster black extremism.

A poster over the shop's doorway shows black and white people together, and in their paper 'Black Life' the Panthers say:

'There was an immediate response from black and white sufferers' to the setting up of the centre. 'Every day people would drop into the shop to offer assistance, express their support or discuss their daily sufferation at the hands of the council, the government, employers, police and other oppressors.'

In an editorial the paper said: 'The Centre and book-stall outside Desmond's Hip City distribute information about the history and resistance of black people and about the struggles of the English working class.'

Spokesmen said the com-

bined bookstall included black literature, histories of the British working class and Marxist publications.

The 'Telegraph' report described some of this material as 'anarchistic', and cited books by Angela Davis and Malcolm X.

A Panthers' spokesman told me: 'You can't isolate yourself from what is happening in the country where you live.'

'The Panthers support British workers in their struggles. We are British workers.'

The three-storey centre housed a multi-racial centre, the Union of US Exiles (Vietnam deserters) and the shop selling 'radical' books, poetry and music.

The Panthers are clear. 'It was a political bombing,' they insist.

But Asians whose property was damaged are not so clear. Most of them are middle-class businessmen and they are puzzled by the attacks.

Pakistani Muhammed Saleem has lived and worked in Tooting for nearly 20 years.

Suddenly, out of the blue in the early hours of Thursday, March 15, raiders threw a petrol-bomb into his corner store causing over £200-worth of damage.

At about four o'clock in the morning a passing motorist spotted flames behind a shattered window in the large grocery and textile shop.



Left: Newsheet published by the Black Panther Movement on the fire bombing of their 'Unity Centre' in Brixton. Above: Muhammed Saleem (left), owner of the bombed grocery store in Tooting. Below: The Coach and Horses Pub, Brixton, another bomb target.



CP ECONOMIC POLICY IS FOR 'REFORMED AND CRISIS-PROOF CAPITALISM'

The reactionary and nationalist character of the Communist Party's economic policy is shown in an article by one of its leading economists, John Eaton, writing in the 'Morning Star' for March 13.

He puts forward what he calls an alternative economic policy to that of the Tories which is, he admits, 'not unlike the measures used by capitalism itself during war-time.'

'The fight against Heath,' Eaton says, 'is not only about wages and a few extra pounds, which will soon fall in value. It is also about the way the economy is run . . .' He has, he believes, a better way of running 'the economy', that is British capitalism, than Heath himself.

He puts forward proposals for what he calls 'an immediate alternative'. They resemble very much those which the Communist Party supported during the last war and the period of the post-war Labour government.

His 'simple' policy, he says, is to 'supply the main needs of the people at controlled prices, driving the speculators [pending their complete defeat] back into the area of superfluities and luxuries'—presumably the 'black market' is a likely accompaniment to the kind of policy he proposes.

Completely neglecting the depth and intensity of the world economic crisis of capitalism, he appears to think that there is some solution for Britain in isolation from the world market. So he suggests exchange controls, the rigorous control of speculation and capital movements.

Balance-of-payments problems are no more than 'a by-product of the sacred freedom of capital and its merchandise to go wherever it pleases in pursuit of profit'. He does not see them as a reflection of deep contradictions arising from the uneven development of capitalism.

His 'solution' is strictly nationalist, after the Stalinist pattern of 'socialism in one country', though this time it is a reformed and crisis-proof capitalism in one country. He advocates strict control of imports 'in the light of a home policy that gives first priority

to the basic requirements of the workers and the people'.

This can only mean a sharp reduction in foreign trade and a drive to make the economy more self-supporting. In fact he also advocates subsidies to agriculture—which means higher profits for the farmers and their suppliers, such as the big fertilizer companies.

Completely abandoning the perspective of centralized planning, Eaton proposes programmes for regional development with 'each locality' working out its investment programme.

This is not surprising. Eaton's alternative is an insular, nationalist and extremely reformist programme for making British capitalism work. It is completely Utopian and is merely an up-dated footnote to the 'British Road to Socialism'.

Nothing is said about the international struggles of the working class. The Communist Party is out to appear as patriotic as possible.

In fact, similar ideas are current in certain reformist and trade union circles and do not differ fundamentally from those of the TUC Economic Committee.

Policies of this kind make strange bedfellows. Eaton's thought runs on parallel lines to the extreme right-wing National Front. In a new Statement of Policy this group proposes what it calls 'a policy of economic nationalism', which makes some of the same points as John Eaton.

It says 'that Britain should strive for the maximum self-sufficiency in vital goods of which her resources are capable'.

Like John Eaton, the Front wants controls over capital movements, is opposed to foreign control of British industry and advocates the expansion of agriculture.

No wonder the Communist Party and National Front contingents could march in the same anti-Common Market rally in London recently.

The working class cannot be mobilized against the Tory government on a programme of this kind which says nothing about nationalization or expropriation of the capitalists and landowners. It is a reactionary programme which fosters the illusion that the working class can win substantial gains without overturning capitalist property relations.

The fire was put out before it could do any serious damage, and police took away the remains of a milk bottle with a fuse still attached.

Mr Saleem told me: 'We have had our windows broken about five times in the last six years but this was more serious.'

He said that Tooting was a very peaceful and friendly area and that people of all nationalities shopped at the Pak Food Store.

ORGANIZED ATTACKS

Said Mr Saleem: 'We have never had any hint that anyone had anything against us, although racialist groups are very active in this area.'

'Other people have had their windows broken but they have not always reported it to the police.'

'This time there were about six attacks, all against coloured people, and last month there were some more. For things to happen like this I think there must be some organization behind it.'

'In Germany it was the Jews they did not allow to have shops and homes. Now in Britain it is the immigrants. But it must be some group organizing it because community relations here are very good.'

Asians and West Indians agree in their belief that the bombings were the work of 'an organization'.

The Panthers say they felt their shop was watched by men in a parked car for some time before the fire which destroyed it and stock worth £7,000.

Mr Boxer, the Wandsworth community relations officer, suspects similar tactics at Asian shops in Tooting. He pointed out that one of the blitzed shops in Mitcham Road, Tooting, had no outward sign of being run by immigrants.

He added that only either patient watchers or local people would have known that Tooting's 'Classic' cinema showed Indian films on Sunday. The cinema was slightly damaged.

The police are said to support the theory that the attacks were the work of local people.

Few of the owners of the 11 premises attacked believe the police are doing enough to catch the culprits.

There has certainly been a conspicuous lack of mention of the incidents in the Tory Press.

Some people remarked that had it been the homes of white people, or of a government Minister, the front pages of Tory newspapers would have boiled into hysteria.

Many are also puzzled that after a dozen fire bomb attacks

in which people could have been burned to death no massive security operation appears to have been mounted.

Ostensibly all that has happened is that the police have advised immigrant shopkeepers to put wire grills over their windows.

The Panther spokesman said: 'Any time the left do anything they find someone, but now they can't find anyone.'

He accused the police of 'playing down' the attack on their bookshop. A spokesman for Brixton police assured me that as far as he knew the damage there was purely the result of an accidental fire.

The Panthers' spokesman said: 'The police are not prepared to say it is an organized attempt and to have a proper investigation into right-wing elements in the area.'

Community relations staff say the National Front has intensified its distribution of anti-immigrant leaflets and stickers in south London.

Nobody has accused the Front of responsibility for the bombings.

Last week Battersea Rotary Club published a poem in their magazine about Pakistanis living off the dole, washing in detergent and eating dog food.

Said Mr Boxer: 'It is all part of a general atmosphere being created. Inevitably, prejudiced people become more aggressive in their attitudes.'

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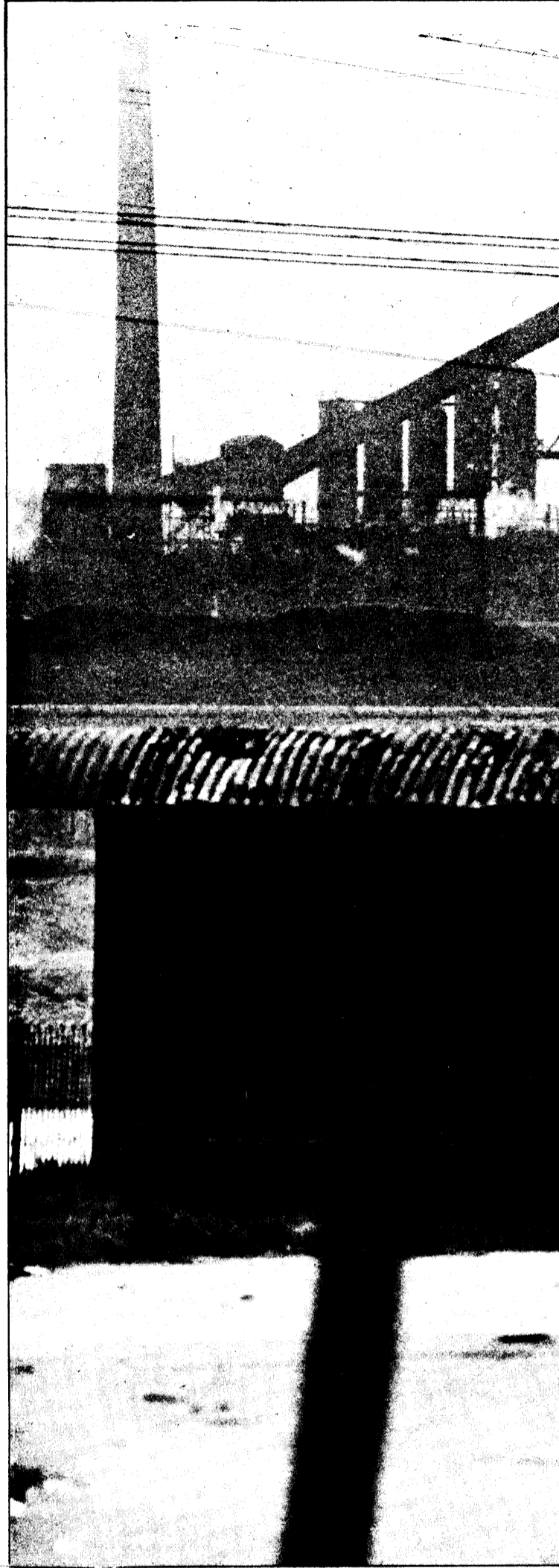
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ON THE FUTURE OF JOBS IN STEEL

Next Tuesday the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' steel committee meets to discuss action against the redundancies that are facing its members in the industry. What are the real prospects over a fight against sackings? Stephen Johns reports.

The most serious initiative to fight closures in the steel industry will be made at Shotton in North Wales on April 13.

Nearby Connah's Quay, the Deeside steel town threatened with destruction under the Tory 'plan' for the industry will be the venue for a rank-and-file conference of steelmen—the first held in the history of the industry.

They will be considering some grim evidence.

Apart from the 50,000 redundancies announced by the government, which mean death to Ebbw Vale, Connah's Quay and a host of smaller industrial communities, the delegates will take a hard look at the campaign so far—or rather the non-campaign so far.

There has been a lot of

shouting by MPs, marching by men, banner waving, clashes with police and general argument—none of which has impressed the hard-faced men in the Tory Cabinet who are determined to carry out Common Market policy and cut steel down to the size suitable for capitalist West Europe.

But perhaps the most devastating happening of all was the grand steel conference organized by the TUC two weeks ago in Sheffield.

This drew together the official worthies of the steel unions—dominated by Sir Dai Davies, boss of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation who stands on the extreme right of the trade union political spectrum.

Geoff Hett, member of the Shotton action committee—most outspoken of the unofficial bodies that have sprung

up to defend jobs—fairly summed up the conference at his Connah's Quay house.

'It was a total shambles,' he said. 'Absolutely nothing was achieved, no one was prepared to commit themselves, everybody was waiting. Meanwhile we all get nearer the dole. It was a terrible disappointment for some—but for some more than others.'

Anger at the Sheffield betrayal was sharpened at Shotton by the realization that far from opposing outright the Tory plan for steel some of their officials seem prepared to accept it in principle.

The capitulation to capitalist policy for the industry goes under the guise of 'recognizing the need for modernization'—in Shotton, modernization which means 6,500 men on the dole by 1980 and perhaps double that number as an

indirect consequence of steel closure, is a dirty word.

Ken Monti, action committee chairman—firmly expresses the resolve of Shotton.

'Our spirits are high. We don't talk about alternative employment—this is a myth, everyone knows that it is impossible to get that number of good-paying male jobs out here on Deeside.'

'Men who talk about "modernization" in the context of this government are deliberate illusion-mongers. We have one policy and one policy only. Steel will not leave Shotton.'

Everything, therefore, is staked on the Shotton conference. Delegations from a wide cross-section of the industry are already scheduled to attend.

The central talking-point will undoubtedly be a proposal to take industrial action

throughout the industry whenever and wherever the axe falls first.

The date of the first execution could be July and the place could be Newport, South Wales, where the tubes factory is earmarked for closure.

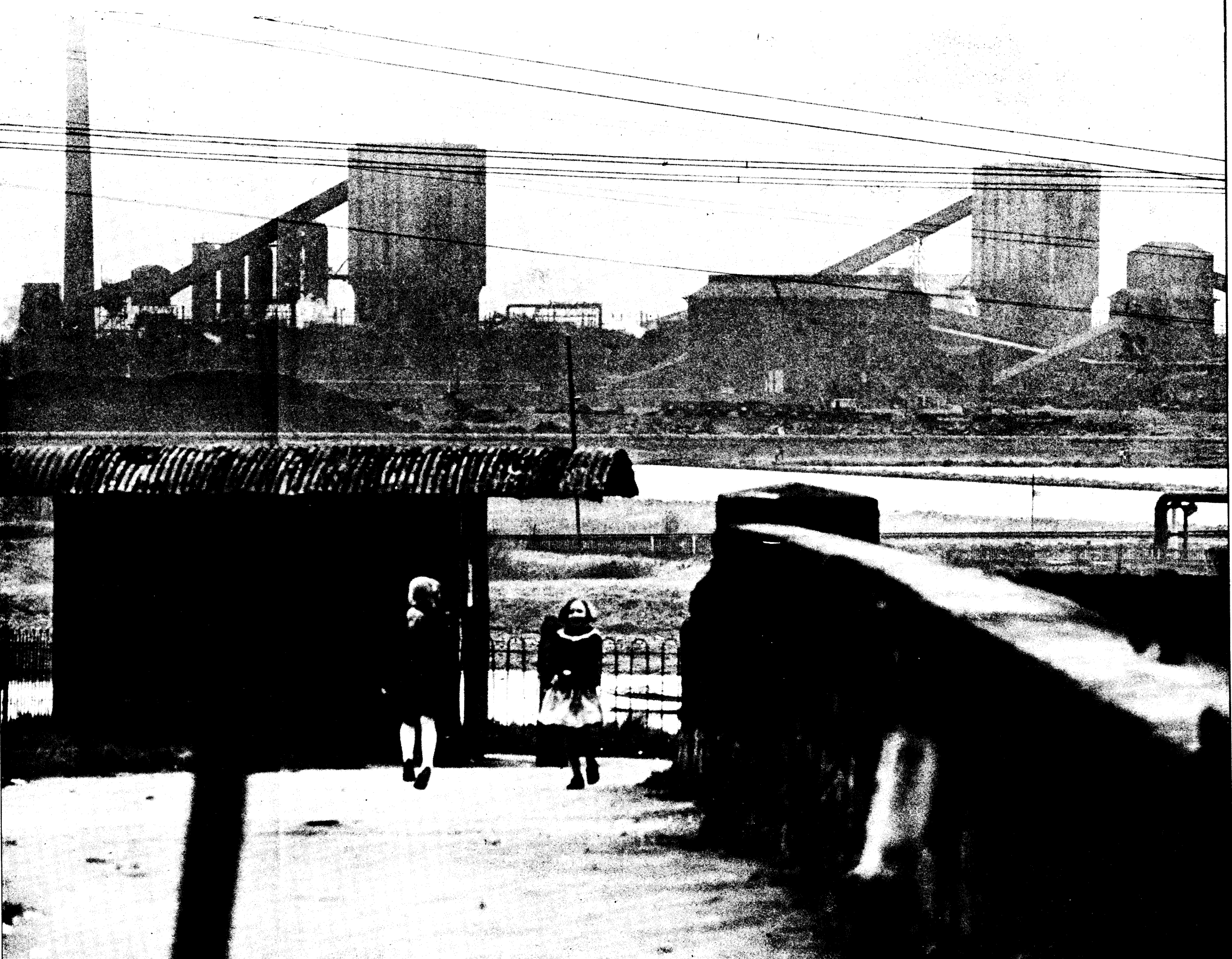
Despite the conference there are still enormous problems facing the steelworkers.

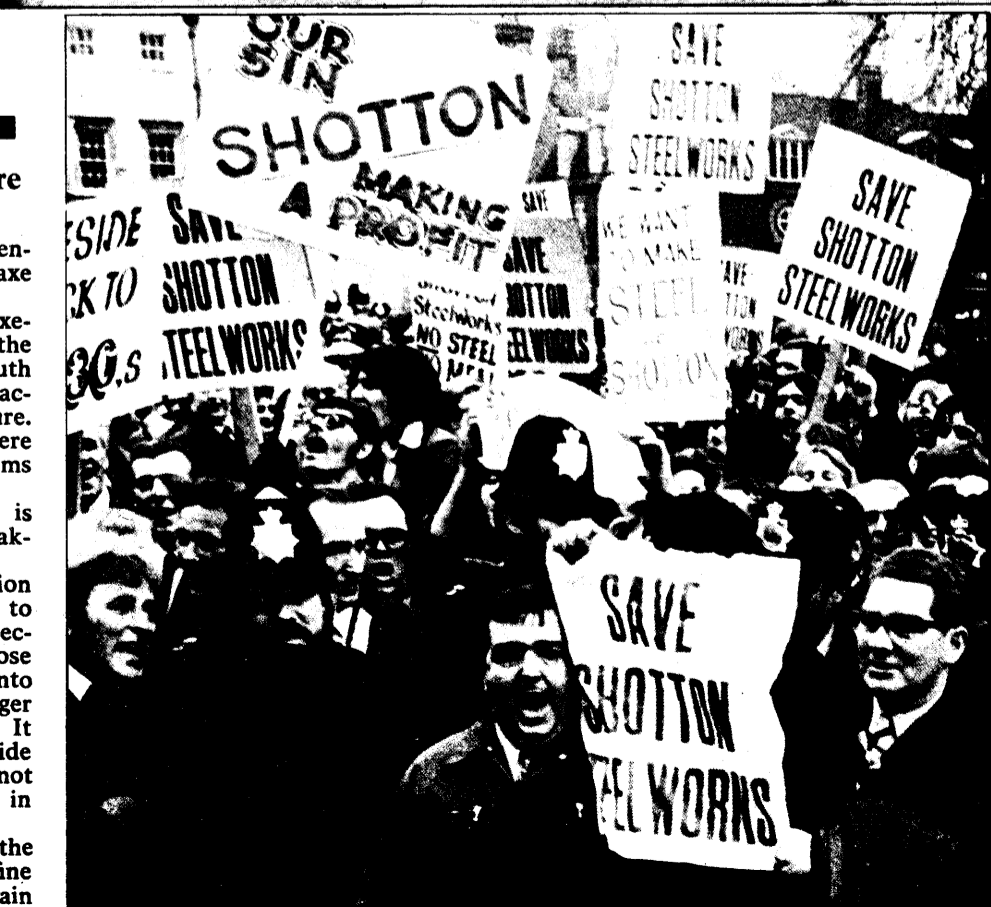
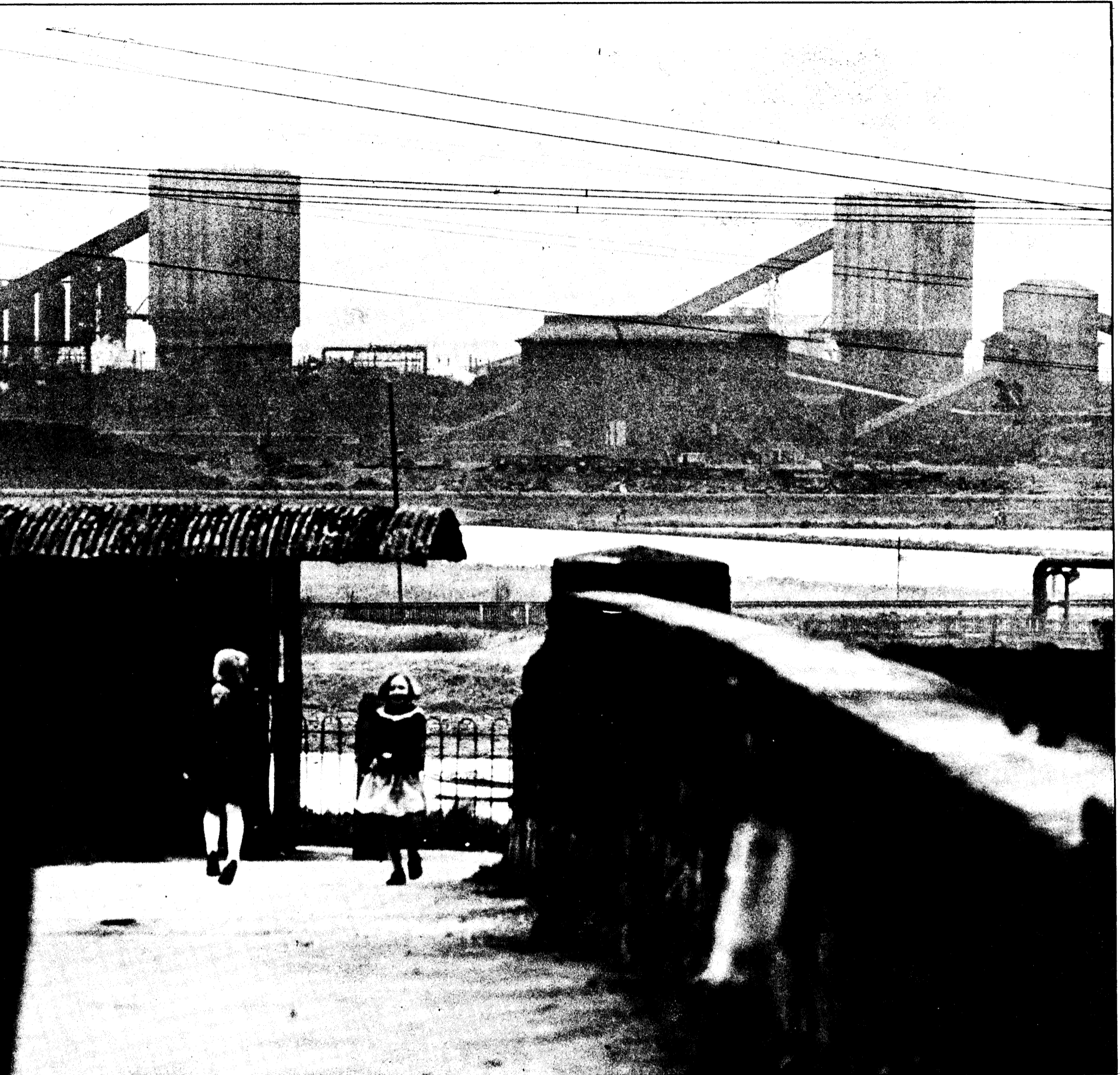
The official leadership is obviously an enormous weakness.

Talk about modernization and alternative jobs serves to strengthen the weakest sections of the industry, those who want to slip quietly onto the dole, from the younger element who want to fight. It also promotes a nationwide split between the plant not facing closure and those in the redundancy plan.

Such a split is based on the illusion that everything is fine in the plants that will remain







Left: Shotton steelworkers on their demonstration and lobby of Parliament. Above left: Ken Monti of the action committee. Above right: The Shotton steelworks which are due to be closed by Tory plans for rationalization.

open—in fact there will be a future of continual redundancies even in places due for 'expansion', like Scunthorpe.

This will go side by side with a fierce drive for higher productivity. But there is no attempt by the leadership to unite workers in the industry on the basis that they face a common assault on basic rights.

Next Tuesday the steel committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers meets.

This plays a key role. Some of the most militant steel men are in the AUEW, but so far engineers' council member John Boyd has been keeping a very low profile, talking about welcome modernization and letting Davies's general union make the running.

But there are crucial meetings coming up in the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation too.

This year is remarkable for the ISTC because it is holding an annual national conference—the first for 25 years. In June the delegates will get together and the talking point will obviously be the crisis in the industry.

Militants, however, look towards the conference with some gloom.

The ISTC rules on elections to conference are curious to say the least.

The union membership is divided into six categories, depending on their class of work. Each of these categories has a set number of delegates at conference.

However when it comes to voting the total membership any one area can vote on all the candidates in every section.

This tends to load the conference heavily in favour of Scunthorpe and Port Talbot—the country's two largest steel-making centres, which are not noted for militancy and not facing any outright closures.

One Shotton action committee member speculated on the possible outcome: 'It could be that the plants facing

closure get no representatives at all—this would allow the officials to sweep the whole issue under the carpet with some fine-sounding platitudes.'

All roads seem therefore to point to the key unofficial meeting on April 13.

Here the steel workers of the country will have the opportunity to face reality. The Tories are not going to be persuaded with arguments. Industrial action certainly will have to be taken.

But alone industrial action will not be enough.

Steel closures are part of the general offensive against the working class. The working class must fight them as a class.

As well as proposing their own action they will therefore have the opportunity to send out the message to all unions to create the industrial and political conditions for forcing the Tories to resign.

All steel workers interested in attending this meeting vital to their future interests should contact:

Ken Monti,
25 Chester Close,
Connah's Quay,
Flintshire,

STALIN'S FELLOW TRAVELLERS, PAST AND PRESENT

BOOK REVIEW



BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

A new book by David Cate has touched some people on the raw, and they are squealing. One of these is Victor Kiernan, a historian, who wrote a full-page review of Cate's book in 'The Times' Higher Education Supplement (February 16, 1973).

Kiernan was himself once a Communist Party member, but like many others resigned at the time of the Khrushchev report and the Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956.

His review, of 'The Fellow Travellers' (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £5.75) apart from a few gentlemanly references to it as 'interesting and informative' in parts, is pure venom.

Kiernan claims that 'regrettably, a great part of it could scarcely be worse. It reeks of prejudice against the Soviet Union'.

He concludes: 'Mr Cate has little to teach us.'

The fact is that Kiernan goes to work to whitewash the Stalinist fellow-travellers.

Cate's book has its faults—it is too anecdotal, and it does not explain the essential question of how and why Stalinism is the opposite of Bolshevism—but it has done a very important job.

Cate has documented the way in which a section of the 'left' middle-class intellectuals prostituted themselves to the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy.

This role of the fellow-travellers was indefensible, from the working-class, Marxist standpoint, and Kiernan's decision to defend it against Cate is a warning that, for all the 'liberal' noises some ex-Communist Party members may make, they are ready to play the same game again.

Kiernan himself is an interesting case in point. He is willing to acknowledge in passing that it was a perilous mistake to 'identify the advance of socialism and of socialist countries too closely with their leaders . . .', but he wants above all to avoid any real facing up to what this meant, and he is especially concerned that those who begin to examine the history should not turn to the genuine Bolshevik tradition of struggle against Stalin, the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky.

Hence his complaint that Cate neglects the case of Isaac Deutscher . . . a fellow-traveller whose life and work proved how a communist could turn against Stalin without either turning against communism or taking refuge with Trotsky.

Deutscher conducted for many years a necessary and important defence of Trotsky at a time when that condemned him to isolation and calumny from the Stalinists.

He did not at all share Mr Kiernan's apologetic stance in favour of the 'left' fellow-travellers of Stalin. This Kiernan chooses to ignore.

We in the Trotskyist movement had deep differences with Deutscher.

We consider that his expressed hope of a future communist movement 'neither Stalinist nor Trotskyist' was not only wrong, but opened the door to a whole generation of intellectuals to run away from their revolutionary responsibilities. Mr Kiernan has seen this in Deutscher, and nothing else!

But let us look at Kiernan's statement once again.

What does he mean by 'take refuge with Trotsky'? Here is a very peculiar expression.

Kiernan knows very well that for a socialist intellectual to go to Trotsky's theory and the Fourth International was the very opposite of 'taking refuge'!

Trotskyists were on the receiving end, not just of vilification and abuse, but of a campaign of physical liquidation.

In the years of World War II, this campaign was carried out by the fascist and imperialist states as well as international Stalinism. It ill befits Kiernan, for so many years himself a Stalinist, to refer to Trotsky as a 'refugee'!

What is called for, from all those like Kiernan, is some political humility, in the sense of a revolutionary and class-conscious accounting with their own past from the Marxist standpoint, in order to prepare as revolutionaries in the future.

Kiernan cannot do this because, like so many who joined the Stalinist parties, he shares the very characteristics of the 'fellow travellers' which have been exposed by David Cate.

It is simply not true that Cate's book 'reeks with prejudice against the Soviet Union'.

It is Kiernan who identifies Stalinism with the Soviet Union. This enables him to dismiss as 'anti-Soviet' anyone who criticizes the intellectual handmaidens of Stalin.

RUTHLESS

The vast majority of the fellow-travellers made a 'common sense' identification of the economic achievements of the first workers' state with the rule of the bureaucracy and Stalin. Cate exposes this ruthlessly.

It is because Kiernan does the same thing that he reacts so sharply.

Thus it is remarkable that in a very long review Kiernan at no time says where he stands on the basic question: the struggle between Stalin and the bureaucracy on the one hand, and Trotsky and the Left Opposition on the other.

Cate's summary of this is too short, but it demands an analysis from the reviewer. And he demonstrates irrefutably that the 'fellow-travellers' made a conscious decision against the revolutionary line of Trotsky. Kiernan chooses to ignore this, the most important question of all.

Sidney and Beatrice Webb, those eminent Fabian fellow travellers of Stalin (they recognized him, they said, as a good Fabian!) opted against Trotsky, explaining that 'patient construction' triumphed over 'flamboyant iconoclasm' (Cate p. 88).

Anna Louise Strong reported that Trotsky had advocated 'adventurous escapades among the nations whose workers were not ready for revolt'.

Harold Laski burred about the 'fire and audacity' of Trotsky, but considered Stalin right against Trotsky in the 'theory' of socialism in one country. He thought Trotsky lacked Stalin's skill in party management.

These are the people Kiernan chooses to defend.

What Cate shows is that they 'fellow-travelled' not out of sympathy with or understanding of the October Revolution but through identification with the bureaucratic 'planning' of Stalin, and were prepared to justify or ignore every atrocity committed by him along that road. The betrayal of the proletarian revolution in one country after another was a means to this end.

In their books and speeches the fellow-travellers sustained the lies of the Kremlin about 'socialist construction' in Russia and made themselves available to justify the purge trials both pre-war and post-war.

In their own countries they graced the platform and editorial boards of the 'Popular Fronts' after 1934, instruments to disarm the working class of any political independence.

Cate neglects this question, and makes the most utter confusion of the problem of united front and 'popular front'. But Kiernan, predictably, does not complain about this!

There is no contradiction in the ability of the Webbs, bitter opponents of the 1926 General Strike, to become enthusiasts of the Stalinist regime in the early 1930s.

As Cate says: 'Trotsky's judgement was rough: the Webbs, he said, found in the USSR neither Chartism nor the October Revolution nor communism, they found only an administrative mechanism and a bureaucratic plan.' (p. 263.)

Kiernan sweeps aside the real Stalinist past (and his own) with nice phrases. He can end his review: 'Only principles are beyond doubt'.

Presumably everything else is shrouded in obscurity, and no one need take any responsibility. Thus: 'Perhaps the peasantry underwent tortments. . .'

Perhaps?! Kiernan knows the results of the forced collectivization in millions of deaths and the near-ruin of Soviet agriculture.

His choice of 'perhaps' is surely a retention of the fellow-travellers' permanent get-out: we need not acknowledge criticisms of the USSR, there are plenty of capitalist spokesmen to do that. . .

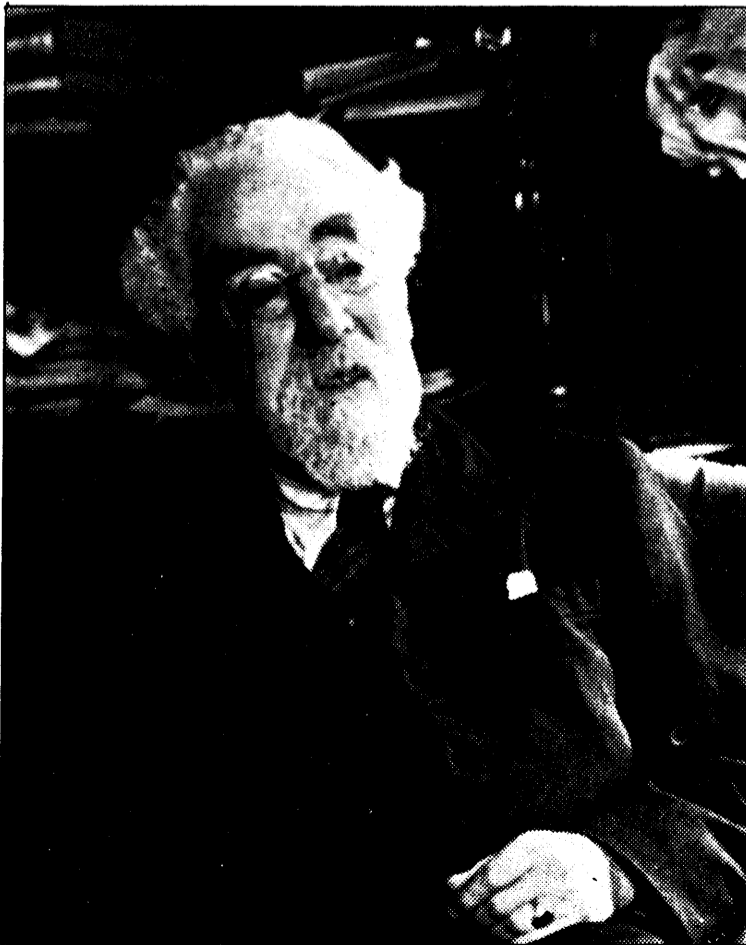
DISASTER

It is not a question of opposition to collectivization. What happened was that Stalin and his clique turned empirically and brutally to collectivization in their ultra-left 'Third Period' because they had brought the workers' state to the brink of disaster with their earlier right-wing course to the peasantry.

If Kiernan wanted to 'explain' Cate's comments and lay the basis for a more objective criticism of the fellow-travellers, why did he not refer to these historical questions?

The fact is that Kiernan shares the fellow-travellers' agreement with Stalin against Trotsky, against the proletarian revolution.

He caricatures Cate's case in order to maintain this stand. Consider for example this sentence, supposed to summarize Cate's version of the fellow-travellers gullibility:



Sidney Webb, eminent Fabian fellow traveller of Stalin. In 1936 he brought out, with his wife Beatrice, a two volume work, 'Soviet Communism, a New Civilization?'

'He depicts a long procession of men and women, some with the finest endowments and highest ideals of the age, simplistically taken in by the cunning Bolshevik showman'.

Here it is Kiernan, who, by sleight of hand, identifies Bolshevism with Stalinism. Cate does no such thing.

But what were these 'fine endowments' and 'high ideals'? Hundreds of lawyers, writers, priests and poets used their 'endowments' to endorse and embellish and even bless the torture and forced confessions and judicial murder of the flower of the Russian revolutionary movement in the Moscow trials!

Kiernan knows he is covering up when he says they did not know what they were doing.

Many of them reconciled themselves to their actions with the excuse that it was necessary in the face of the fascist danger.

We are not concerned with their 'sincerity' or otherwise. The essential question is that they provided the sustenance of bourgeois ideology to Stalinism which enabled it to politically betray the working class. This is what their 'endowments' and 'high ideals' were used for.

Even the Spanish Stalinist leader Dolores Ibarruri ('La Pasionara') is defended from Cate by Kiernan, who compares her with Joan of Arc! This same 'La Pasionaria' as Cate records, said on August 9, 1938: 'The Trotskyists must be exterminated like beasts of prey' (p. 171).

All this was justified (and is justified by Kiernan today) in the name of a Popular Front alliance and defence of the Soviet Union to 'save democracy'.

Cate's book confirms what was clear to every Trotskyist at the time.

The fellow travellers wanted to preserve their own place in bourgeois democracy—against fascism if they could, but certainly against their 'own' working class! And world Stalinism ensured them against that, by dealing (like 'La Pasionaria') with the Trotskyists.

For the internal politics of the USSR, then, these 'Popular Front democrats' suspended their democratic consciences.

The Webbs participated, in a manner reminiscent of Edmund Burke: 'An indulgence in unlimited freedom of discussion especially if accompanied by unlimited duration of debate, has the drawback that it is apt to militate against the effectiveness of corporate action.'

It was this attitude which led Trotsky, years before to warn: 'In the sympathies of many lefts for the Soviet Union (alongside hostility to their own communists) there is contained a good deal of the deference of the petit-bourgeois towards a strong state power.' ('Problems of the British Revolution', p. 15.)

Lincoln Steffens (the American writer) is quoted by Cate as saying: 'I am for them to the last drop, I am a patriot for Russia; the future is there. . . But I don't want to live there.' This was uttered from the Italian Riviera!

CONTINUED TOMORROW

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

HAYDEN WON'T SUPPORT VICTORY TO THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

By our own correspondent

Tom Hayden, former SDS activist and 'Chicago Seven' defendant, appeared jointly at the Claremont Colleges recently with Monique Truong and Jean Pierre Debris, a French teacher who spent two years in Chi Hoa prison for participating in a Saigon protest demonstration.

The meeting was called ostensibly to publicize the plight of political prisoners held in General Thieu's jails, but its real significance was the unveiling of the Vietnamese Stalinists' political strategy in the coming period.

Miss Truong is the daughter of Truong Dinh Dzu, a lawyer who ran as a vague 'neutralist' against Thieu in the 1967 South Vietnamese presidential 'elections', thereby providing a cover for L.B.J.'s propaganda line at the time that its 'free elections' proved that South Vietnam's government was 'turning toward democracy'. Despite services rendered, Thieu threw Dzu in prison where he remains today.

Dzu represents that thin stratum of Saigon intellectuals who have vainly waited, along with former generals like Duong Van ('Big') Minh, for a nod from US imperialism should it decide to dump Thieu as it did his predecessors, Diem, Khanh and Ky.

For the Vietnamese masses, the 30-year war has always been a class war between the working class and peasantry against the merchant and landlord class, French and US imperialism and the Vietnamese mercenaries in their hire.

The landlords want their rent—25 per cent of the peasant's crop, annually—and, in the words of President Eisenhower—the US entered the war to retain access to 'the tin and tungsten that we so greatly value.'

The great fear that lies at the heart of the consistent foreign policy pursued by Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon is the realization that a victory for the Vietnamese would provide a dangerous example for the international working class which has grown steadily stronger since the end of World War II.

The aspiration of South Vietnamese 'liberals' like Dzu is to compromise the bloody struggle of the Vietnamese within the framework of the bourgeois state, capitalist property relations and US imperialism. The central danger to the Vietnamese Revolution in the critical weeks ahead is the coincidence of interests between Dzu and the Vietnamese Stalinists and the respective forces behind them.

Only after the massive mobilization of the Vietnamese in response to the horrors of the Japanese occupation of World War II did the present leadership in Hanoi reluctantly assume the responsibility to give direction to the struggle. Under Hanoi's tutelage the same pattern was repeated in the late 1950s in South Vietnam by the several thousand cadres left behind when the Viet Minh moved north of the 17th parallel—this time after Diem's massive repression and the defensive mobilization of the South Vietnamese peasantry.

In 1973, as was the case in 1954, under pressure from Moscow and Peking, the native leadership is forced to contain the mass mobilization at the moment of victory through class collaborationist concessions to imperialism.



Tom Hayden with Jane Fonda. Hayden's 'programme of action' is nothing more than protest politics.

Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda, who were recently married, have both been guests of the North Vietnamese and would not likely embark upon a nationwide campaign based upon a political strategy contrary to that of the Vietnamese Stalinists. This is the significance of Hayden's complete endorsement of Miss Truong's assertions that 'the South Vietnamese don't want communism but a coalition government,' and that 'the average Vietnamese just wants the US to leave him alone.'

The Hayden-Fonda 'Indochina Peace Campaign' is depicting the Vietnamese conflict in nationalist rather than class terms deliberately in order to prepare world public opinion for a pro-capitalist 'government of national reconciliation', with or without Thieu, under which the Vietnamese Stalinists would attempt to discipline their ranks accordingly, as they have offered to do in the 1960 Programme of the National Liberation Front and, more recently, in the programme of the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

This is the same treacherous policy of class collaboration which Stalin pursued in Spain from 1936-1939 in order to endear himself to the French and British bourgeoisie and to crush the Spanish Revolution. It is the same policy which the Peking bureaucracy pursued in support of Indonesia's Sukarno which led in 1965 to the slaughter of a million people and the destruction of the largest communist party outside the workers' states.

Such 'Popular Front' formations which the Stalinists are using in Chile and France and preparing for Vietnam only provide time for imperialism to create the necessary rightist forces to overthrow the compromise coalition and

destroy all of the organizations of the workers and peasants.

By insisting that the major issue in Vietnam is the question of 'self-determination' rather than victory for the Vietnamese Revolution, the Socialist Workers Party provides the same kind of cover for the Stalinists as Hayden and Fonda.

In Hayden's own words, now that the January 27 Peace Accords have been signed, Thieu 'must bend to the will of popular opinion' in Vietnam, and the US working class and youth should 'put pressure on Nixon to abide by the accords.'

According to Hayden and Miss Truong, the Vietnamese revolutionaries should enter into a coalition government, and students in the US should write letters to Democratic Congressmen 'to force Nixon to respect the 1973 agreements which', unlike those of 1954, 'the US signed over 150 times'. January's 'historic victory for the Vietnamese' can be strengthened by American student government councils 'extending speaking invitations to representatives of the PRG to prove its legitimacy.'

However, as the Fourth International's statement on Vietnam, published in the Workers Press (20.2.73) made clear, although the shifting tactics of US imperialism reflect the growing strength of the world working class, its goals remain the same. Nixon, himself, would gladly 'prove the legitimacy' of the Provisional Revolutionary Government if the Vietnamese Stalinists could guarantee the dismantling of the Liberation Army and the use of their cadres to channel the mass struggle into a political defeat. This, of course, is the purpose of the tremendous pressures on the Vietnamese originating

in Washington and channeled through Moscow and Peking.

However, unlike the 1930s, the present period is not one of working class defeats upon which Stalinism grows and prospers. It is the boundless courage of the Vietnamese masses which presently makes it impossible for the world Stalinist apparatus to complete the deal with Nixon. Their willingness to sacrifice their lives by the hundreds of thousands, in military offensives which have shaken the Saigon government to the core time and time again only to be halted short of imminent victory by the Stalinist leadership in the hopes that such 'pressure' will produce the desired political coalition in Saigon, continues to be the major obstacle to the designs of the Washington-Peking-Moscow axis.

Only a complete victory for the Vietnamese and the utter destruction of capitalism in South Vietnam can assure the release of the political prisoners whose conditions were so vividly described by the French teacher, Jean Pierre Debris.

Their continued torture and assassination is a consequence of the spring offensive being stopped short of its obtainable goal. That is why Hayden was forced to cut short the comments from the floor of a supporter of the Workers League who asked why all US prisoners have been released while only a few hundred of the estimated 300,000 to 650,000 prisoners of the South have been granted their freedom.

Despite Hayden's 'programme of action', neither 'pressure' on the butcher Thieu nor protest letters to the increasingly impotent national leadership of the Democratic Party can insure a victory for the Vietnamese and a defeat for US imperialism.

DEPRESSED

In November last year 58-year-old Wilfred Dodd was made redundant. But his problems didn't end there. He was then told to move out of his cottage so that it could be 'modernized'.

Mr Dodd went to the nearby Bridgewater Canal at Bollington, Altrincham, which was a favourite fishing spot of his. He was depressed, a fellow fisherman said, and he smoked a lot.

When his companion left Mr Dodd threw himself into the river and drowned. His body was found lying face down in the water which was frozen over.

DRESS UP

Why don't the workers of Stockport wake up to themselves? The Mayor of Stockport, Alderman Jack Crowther, has given them a dressing down for not dressing up.

He says they are snubbing civic occasions and they won't dress up in their best suits. 'No one from the trades council seems to attend functions at the town hall,' groaned Ald Crowther.

'But they expect to be recognized on other occasions as an official body speaking for many local workers.'

'They ought to come to one or two civic affairs at least—especially the mayor-making ceremony.'

Harry Smith, secretary of the trades council, replied: 'We just haven't the time. Dressy social functions are low on our list of priorities. We are busy getting on with important work. We just don't like evening dress, dinner suits and all the trappings.'

Ald Crowther is boss of a local fuel firm.

ARMED

Watch out, here comes the rent man.

Lewisham council, London, is to use armoured cars to collect its rents.

It will hire two 'rent office vans' from a security company and pick up rents from 32 collection points.

Door-to-door rent collections will be stopped except for pensioners in council bedsitters as it is felt the rent man's call gives a useful contact with old people.

The security follows several assaults and robberies on rent collectors.

WILLIAM

The economic situation is critical—but this is ridiculous.

William Arethyn, an investment consultant, has found a way of playing the stock market.

He sits down with his shaggy sheep-dog, William, and reads share quotations from the 'Financial Times'.

If William wags his tail after hearing a name, Mr Arethyn buys the share for William's account.

In the past four months William has built up a bank account from zero to £10,000.

There is an added bonus—Mr Arethyn claims that because William is not a person he will not have to pay capital gains tax.

BBC 1

10.00 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.30-10.55 Aventura. 11.00 Croesi'r bont. 11.25 Weather. 11.30 Camberwick green. 11.45 Motor mouse. 12.05 Outaspacel. 12.30 Grandstand. 12.35 Football preview. 1.00 1973 Grand National. 1.15 Ice hockey. Toronto Maple Leafs v New York Rangers. 1.40 Rugby league top try competition. 1.50. 2.25. 3.30 Racing from Newbury. 2.10. 2.40 International boxing. Johnnie Frankham v Charlie Green. 2.55. 3.50 Rugby league. Leeds v Salford. 4.35 Final score. 5.50 Eurovision song contest preview. 5.35 News. Weather. 5.50 Dr. Who.

6.05 TOM AND JERRY. 6.25 **FILM: 'MASTER OF THE WORLD'.** Vincent Price. A mad inventor plans to destroy the entire armed forces of the world. 8.00 **THE SOUND OF PETULA.** Petula Clark with guest Sacha Distel. 8.30 **THE DICK EMERY SHOW.** 9.00 **A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE.** His Fiddlers Three. 9.50 NEWS. Weather. 10.05 **MARCH OF THE DAY.** 11.05 **PARKINSON.** Michael Parkinson and guests. 12.05 Weather.

BBC 2

8.55-1.30 Open University. 3.00 Film: 'The Barkleys of Broadway'. Fred Astaire, Ginger Rogers. Musical about a husband and wife song and dance act. 4.45 Play away. 5.10 Pets and vets. 5.25 Storm in the peninsula. 6.10 **MAN ALIVE.** Possessed. 7.00 **WESTMINSTER.** 7.25 **NEWS AND SPORT.** Weather. 7.40 **RUGBY SPECIAL.** France v

SATURDAY TV

Wales. Gloucestershire v Lancashire. 8.30 **PASS WORD.** 9.00 **BEL-AMI.** Clotilde. 9.50 **SOME OF MY BEST FRIENDS.** A look at the state of some current British prejudices. 11.35 **FILM: 'JOHNNY & APOLLO'.** Tyrone Power, Dorothy Lamour. An embittered college graduate becomes a mobster.

ITV

9.00 Time off. Music in the round. 9.30 Exploring mind. 9.55 Return to Peyton Place. 10.20 Sesame street. 11.20 Cartoon. 11.30 Partridge family. 12.00 Flaxton boys. 12.30 News. 12.35 World of sport. 12.40 On the ball. 1.05 International sports special. Cycling. 1.20 ITV six. 1.30. 2.00. 2.30 Racing from Hexham. 1.45. 2.15. 2.50 Racing from Doncaster. 3.10 International sports special. Indoor athletics. USA v USSR. 3.50 Results, scores, news. 4.00 Wrestling. 4.50 Results service. 5.10 News. 5.15 Black beauty. 5.45 Doctor at large. 6.15 **SALE OF THE CENTURY.** 6.45 **FILM: 'JASON AND THE ARGONAUTS'.** Todd Armstrong, Nancy Kovack. Search for the Golden Fleece. 8.30 **THE JULIE ANDREWS HOUR.** Guests Jack Cassidy, Smothers Brothers, Rich Little, Alice Ghostley. 9.30 NEWS. 9.40 **HEC RAMSEY.** The Green Feather Mystery. Richard Boone. 11.00 **RUSSELL HARTY PLUS.** 11.50 **PRIORITIES.** Howard Root talks to Nigel Calder. 11.55 **DEPARTMENT S.** Les Fleurs du Mal.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 11.35 Bonanza. 12.30 London. 5.20 Tarzan. 6.15 London. 6.45 Persuaders. 7.45 Film: 'First Men in the Moon'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews. 10.40 Parade. 11.20 Spyforce. 12.10 Weather. WESTWARD. As Channel except: 9.55 Jobs around the house. 10.20 Foreign flavour. 10.45 Joe 90. 11.10 Cartoon. 10.30 Gus Honeybun. 11.35 Bonanza. 12.10 Faith for life. 12.15 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Foreign flavour. 10.10 All our yesterdays. 10.35 Wildlife theatre. 11.05 Stingray. 11.35 Cowboy in Africa. 12.25 Weather. 12.30 London. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.10 Persuaders. 7.05 Sale of the century. 7.35 Film: 'HMS Defiant'. 9.30 London. 9.45 Julie Andrews. 10.40 News. 10.45 Film: 'Monkey on My Back'. 12.30 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.00 London. 9.55 Time to remember. 10.20 Bugs Bunny. 10.30 Once upon a time. 10.45 Grasshopper Island. 11.00 Sesame street. 12.00 Osmonds. 12.30 London. 5.20 It takes a thief. 6.15 Persuaders. 7.15 Who do you do? 7.45 Film: 'Come to the Stable'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews. 10.40 Parade. 11.20 Name of the game. 12.40 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 5.20 Upper crusts. 5.45-6.15 Tra bo dau. ANGLIA: 9.00 London. 10.00 Hammy hamster. 10.15 Rovers. 10.40 Film: 'Stop the World I Want to Get Off'. 12.30 London. 5.20 Tarzan. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Film: 'Beckett'. 9.30 London. 9.45 Julie Andrews. 10.40 Parade. 11.15 Man in a suitcase. 12.20 At the end of the day.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Foreign flavour. 10.10 Skippy. 10.35 Jackson five. 11.00 Abbott and Costello. 12.30 London. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.15 Film: 'Fort Apache'. 8.30 Longstreet. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews. 10.40 Parade. 11.30 Gordon Bailey. 11.35 Film: 'The Sheriff'. Weather. ULSTER: 10.10 Look up. 10.30 Sesame street. 11.30 Thunderbirds. 12.30 London. 5.15 Sports. 5.45 Beverly hillbillies. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 On the buses. 7.15 Film: 'Dangerous Crossing'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 Parade. 11.25 Kreskin. YORKSHIRE: 9.15 Looking at... 9.40 Foreign flavour. 10.10 Tomfoolery. 10.35 Elephant boy. 11.05 Abbott and Costello. 12.30 London. 5.15 UFO. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Persuaders. 7.40 Film: 'Geronimo'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews. 10.40 Parade. 11.20 To see ourselves. 11.50 Dr. Simon Locke. 12.20 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Foreign flavour. 10.05 You and your golf. 10.35 Sesame street. 11.35 Follyfoot. 12.00 Huckleberrry Finn. 12.30 London. 5.20 Big valley. 6.15 Film: 'Big Deal at Dodge City'. 8.00 Who do you do? 8.30 Longstreet. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews. 10.40 Parade. 11.20 Film: 'Night Monster'. 12.40 Seaway. TYNE TEES: 9.15 Wildlife theatre. 9.40 Foreign flavour. 10.10 Tomfoolery. 10.35 Joe 90. 11.05 Abbott and Costello. 12.30 London. 5.15 UFO. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Persuaders. 7.40 Film: 'Geronimo'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Julie Andrews. 10.40 Parade. 11.30 Challenge. 12.25 Lectern. GRAMPIAN: 10.45 VAT 73. 11.15 Jackson five. 11.45 Ron and friends. 1.30 London. 5.20 UFO. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Sky's the limit. 7.15 Film: 'The Black Dakotas'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 Parade. 11.20 Lucy show. 11.50 VAT 73.

BBC 1

9.00 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 9.30 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.00-10.25 Aventura. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and believing. 12.50 Farming. 1.15 Made in Britain. 1.30 Parents and children. 1.55 News headlines. Weather. 2.00 Along the river. 2.15 Shari Lewis show. 2.25 Animal game. 2.55 French show. 3.25 Bird's eye view. 4.15 Film: 'Devil on Horseback'. Googie Withers, John McCallum, Jeremy Spenser. Racing story. 5.40 A little princess. 6.05 NEWS. Weather. 6.15 **THE SUNDAY DEBATE.** The Distribution of Wealth. Sir Frederick Catherwood, former director NEDC and Anthony Quinton, Oxford tutor, put their views. 6.50 **SONGS OF PRAISE.** 7.25 **THE BROTHERS.** A Marriage is Arranged.

SUNDAY TV

8.15 **FILM: 'THE GRAPES OF WRATH'.** Henry Fonda, Jane Darwell, John Carradine, Charley Grapewin, Dorris Bowdon. John Ford's adaptation of the John Steinbeck novel about a family of sharecroppers forced off their land. 10.20 NEWS. Weather. 10.30 **FIDELIO FINKE. WHERE ARE YOU NOW?** Omnibus investigation of musical unknowns who were considered geniuses in their day. 11.25 **KENNETH HARRIS INTER-VIEWS.** Piero Bassetti, millionaire member of Italy's industrial aristocracy. 12.10 Weather.

TV REVIEW

Land of milk and honey—sour milk

Food destroyers unmasked

THE Tory government has admitted the existence of an 'Intervention Board for Agricultural Produce' empowered to buy up commodities as a safeguard against falling prices.

The board has its headquarters at Tothill Street, Westminster. It was set up in November but began operations proper from February 1 when Common Market agricultural policy came into force in Britain.

A spokesman for the board told me that from now on if the European Commission in Brussels decides production is too high for such commodities as beef, sugar, butter and cereals the board will intervene to keep prices up.

So far it has only bought up to 3,000 tins of skimmed milk which is being stored in private warehouses. The board has no storage facilities of its own, but rents warehouses and refrigeration facilities from private firms.

They have already drawn up lists of stores throughout the country in anticipation of a growing business.

They may not have long to wait. Only this week the European Commission recommended price rises of 10 per cent for beef, 7 per cent for pork, 3 per cent for cereals and 5 per cent for milk.

Agricultural economists expect cereals and butter to begin to move into government warehouses in the next few weeks. Food bought in this way can be released back to the market at a later date when prices begin to rise.

But the board is empowered to mix dyes with farm produce to render it unfit for human consumption, though appropriate for animal feed. The effect of these operations is to ensure that whatever the state of agricultural technology, techniques and output, produce is permanently in short supply.

This 'guarantees' farmers their annual income. It also means that working-class families hit from all directions by inflation will increasingly go without high-protein farm produce.

The same Tory government which is screaming about the need to force prices down and check the upward movement of wages is in fact consciously keeping food prices up and vigorously fanning the flames of inflation in the service of agricultural profits.

TUESDAY'S documentary 'When Johnny Comes Marching Home' gave a confused and inconclusive but nonetheless shattering glimpse into the bankruptcy of the so-called 'American dream'—in its current form of the Vietnam veterans returning to the land of milk and honey where there's no honey left.

For the past two or more years the GIs have been coming home to cash in on all the promises that have been made to them of the good life ahead, the pick of the job market, the great future set up by the American government for 'her boys'.

The promises were a hollow mockery. With more than 5 million unemployed in the US in its 'up' seasons, the rate soon rose amongst the veterans to a conservative estimate of 11 per cent unemployed.

The programme showed us Dempsey, black ex-military policeman, roaming the streets of San Francisco with the thousands of others unemployed—out of work over a year and still, hopelessly now, searching for work.

And as he implied, there's a kind of stigma attached to the GI now. A subtle influence is at work to suggest perhaps that in some way the giant failure of the US to wipe communism off the face of south-east Asia is attributable to the 'boys' themselves; that they are dope fiends or deserters or mentally incapacitated and that deep down, it's really all their fault.

Other distinctions are made, too, in the form of the PoWs who are being used for petty propaganda purposes. Unlike the ordinary 'vets', these men return to tickertape parades, bands, cheering crowds, \$50,000 back pay in the bank, new cars and holidays.

Grim farce is played out in the welcome-home ceremonies where the officers run through their speeches and ring through all the old sham phrases: 'The President, your Commanding Officer, wishes to express his deepest thanks to all of you who have fought for your country. . . .'

But the ordinary men, those who do not receive the full treatment, and indeed many of the fattened up, smiling, apparently unscarred PoWs who have been drilled in the return procedure down to the words of their welcome-home interview as they step off the plane, have suffered a vital blow.

They do not believe any more.

Like Jerome, the young captain who asked 'why \$2.5 billion to Vietnam this year and in my town they can't afford to build a new high school', and who sees that the war was fought for nothing.

Like the 'American as apple pie' family which has been ripped apart by sons whose lives have been broken by the war (Gerrard the alcoholic, Eugene the mentally-disturbed loner who attacked his parents).

Like thousands more who are faced with the reality of the war and return to see the sham played on, these men drift dangerously and without direction in violent disillusionment and despair.

Change has been unquestionably wrought in them—but they need a direction in their lives or they may fall fodder to the worst kind of influence. People like these wandering in utter bewilderment over old ground and finding it does not hold up any more can easily find satisfaction in all sorts of diversions, including fascism.

The wife waiting at home, who, as it was suggested by the programme had been 'politicized' by the tragic absence of a husband for many years, spoke of the firm stand she would take on all questions in the future, of her new awareness and concluded with the remark 'what I really feel is that if there has to be another war—let it be a whole-hearted one and not just for a handful of Americans'.

A drug problem, huge unemployment, a maimed or permanently disabled existence, a giant currency crisis and imminent trade war—these are some of the harsh facts facing the Vietnam veterans on their return to America.

These are clear issues. The war itself was, and is, a clear issue. The programme (Tuesday 9.25 p.m., BBC 1) and its reporter and director, Julian Pettifer and Frank Smith, seemed to add only confusion with all kinds of hints and suggestions: surely this war should never have happened? surely it was the wrong kind of war? surely it will not happen again.

This is dangerous confusion. There was no accident about this war, nor any of the others which have killed millions over the last centuries under capitalism.

As long as capitalism endures, and as the confrontation with the working class emerges stronger each day, the danger of further war persists with all that this implies.

There can be no more 'Peace with Honour'. The legacies of any further war could only be indescribably worse than those of this last.



Emmrys James, Ronnie Barker in 'If Fly You for a Guild', BBC 2.

BBC 2

8.55-1.30 Open University. 4.25 Money at work. 5.25 Horizon. 6.15 **NEWS REVIEW.** Weather. 6.50 **NEWS SUMMARY.** Weather. 6.55 **R. S. THOMAS.** Priest and Poet. 7.25 **THE WORLD ABOUT US.** Through the Gates of Hell. Transnavigation of British Columbia. 8.15 **SEVEN OF ONE.** Ronnie Barker. 8.45 **THE WEISS DUO.** Sidney Weiss (violin), Jeanne Weiss (piano), play Suk, Vitali, Beethoven, Walton. 9.40 **THE PEARCROSS GIRLS.** Sad Helen. With Penelope Wilton. 10.30 **THEY SOLD A MILLION.** The Young Generation and Vince Hill with Cliff Richard, Julie Rogers. 11.15 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

ITV

9.00 VAT 73. 9.30 Were you there? 10.35 UFO. 11.30 Weekend world. 1.00 Thunderbirds. 1.50 Look up. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 O'Hara US treasury. 4.15 Junior police five. 4.35 Golden shot. 5.30 Parade. Rain Mountain. With Japanese percussionist Stomu Yamash'ta. 6.05 NEWS. 6.15 **ADAM SMITH.** 6.40 **THE SUNDAY QUIZ.** 7.00 **SONGS THAT MATTER.** 7.25 **WHO DO YOU DO?** 7.55 **FILM: 'REVENGE'.** Shelley Winters, Bradford Dillman. A young couple are imprisoned by a deranged woman in a dungeon. 9.20 **POLICE FIVE EXTRA.** 9.30 **THE UPPER CRUSTS.** A Tradition of Service. 10.00 NEWS. 10.15 **PLAY: 'PLEASED TO MEET YOU'.** Barry Foster, Janet Key, Michael Coles. 11.15 **THE FROST PROGRAMME.** David Frost. 12.15 **PRIORITIES.** Howard Root talks to Bernard Heyhoe. 12.20 **SCALES OF JUSTICE.** The Material Witness.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 11.30-1.00 London. 2.13 Weather. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Prince of Pirates'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Dingaka'. 9.30 London. 12.10 Epilogue. WESTWARD. As Channel except: 9.30 London. 10.30 All our yesterdays. 11.00 Gus Honeybun. 11.05 Tomfoolery. 1.00 Talking hands. 1.15 Branded. 1.45 Farm and country news. 1.55 Acres for profit. 12.10 Faith for life. 12.15 Weather. SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 10.30 Farm progress. 10.55 Weather. 11.00 World War One. 11.30 London. 1.00 Superman 1.20 Lucy. 1.50 Jimmy Stewart. 2.15 London. 3.15 University challenge. 3.45 Cartoons. 4.00 Parade shot. 4.50 Parade. 5.30 News. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Return to Peyton Place'. 10.00 London. 12.15 Weather. Guideline. HARLECH: 9.30 London. 10.35 Farming diary. 11.00 Angling today. 11.30 London. 1.00 University challenge. 1.30 Drive-in. 2.00 Bugs Bunny. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'The Huggetts Abroad'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Carnival of Thieves'. 10.00 London. 12.15 Weather. HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 6.40-7.00 Swn y jiwibll. ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 10.30 Circus. 10.55 Doris Day. 11.20 Cartoons. 11.30 London. 1.00 Champions. 1.50 Weather trends. 1.55 Farming. 2.30. Film: 'Meet Me After the Show'. 3.55 Match of the week. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'The Condemned of Altona'. 10.00 London. 12.15 Bible. ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 10.30 All our yesterdays. 11.00 Farming today. 11.30 London. 1.00 Champions. 2.00 Soccer. 3.00 Film: 'Dangerous Moonlight'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35

Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Life at the Top'. 10.00 London. ULSTER: 11.00 VAT 73. 11.30 London. 1.00 Foreign flavour. 1.30 Jobs around the house. 1.55 Pebbles and bamm bamm. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Cruisin' Down the River'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 Sports results. 7.25 Film: 'The Hallelujah Trail'. 10.00 London. YORKSHIRE: 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 Untamed world. 11.00 Partners. 11.30 London. 1.00 Farming outlook. 1.25 Calendar Sunday. 1.55 Soccer. 2.50 Film: 'State Fair'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'A High Wind in Jamaica'. 9.50 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 12.15 Shirley's world. 12.45 Weather. GRANADA: 9.30 London. 10.35 Untamed world. 11.00 Time to remember. 11.30 London. 12.55 Saint. 1.55 On the line. 2.25 Football. 3.20 Film: 'The Name of the Game'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Sands of the Kalahari'. 1.00 London. TYNE TEES: 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 Jobs around the house. 11.00 Ugliest girl in town. 11.30 London. 1.00 Farming outlook. 1.25 World War I. 1.50. Where the jobs are. 1.55 Big match. 2.50 Film: 'The Lady is a Square'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Murderers Row'. 10.00 London. 12.15 Dr. Simon Locke. 12.40 Lectern. GRAMPIAN: 11.00 Farm progress. 11.30 London. 1.00 Foreign flavour. 1.30 Jobs around the house. 2.00 Sport. 3.25 Film: 'Tarzan and the Amazons'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Bonnie Prince Charlie'. 10.00 London.

Scots steelmen to stay out

STEELWORKERS at the Craignuck steelworks at Motherwell are to stay on strike indefinitely. The 1,400 men are out in protest against a proposed rundown in the works.

Tom Robertson, secretary of the trade union combine committee, which represents 14 unions, said: 'We are against the transfer of jobs.'

'We have been waiting for three months for a document

which the BSC has promised us. It tells us the future programme for the forges, foundries and engineering group.'

They feel management should immediately stop the contracting-out of the accounting system which they are proposing to transfer to Sheffield.

Fate of Briant's in balance

THE expected announcement from liquidator Patrick Granville White on the fate of Briant Colour Printing's Old Kent Road factory has been postponed.

Spokesman H. B. Blandford Baker disclosed that he had further talks with potential buyer Peter Bentley this week but that there were still matters requiring further discussion.

Last Thursday he warned that his patience was becoming exhausted and said that a deal would be completed within 48 working hours.

The difficulty appears to be that the liquidator is not satisfied with the financial backing Mr Bentley has obtained.

Yesterday a spokesman said that negotiations had reached a delicate point and that Mr Bentley was not in a position to comment.

Firmer action planned to win union rights

WOMEN workers at the Empire Pool, Blackpool, today enter the seventh week of their strike for union recognition.

The girls, about 80 of them, are out solid and only four have gone back since the strike began.

The management is refusing to talk to the strikers and every weekend are bringing in scab labour of students and civil servants to check the pools.

The police with dogs are down at the factory every Saturday to protect the scab workers as they enter the factory.

The striking women are demanding to belong to the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers.

Workers from Duple's, the coach builders, come down every weekend. Following the regional conference of the Labour Party in Blackpool recently a total of two delegates came down to join the picket line.

Mrs Barbara Fitzpatrick said: 'This ladylike business has got us nowhere. The time has come for firmer action.'

'The USDAW officials say they have tried everything they know to make the strike succeed.'

'On Saturday students from Poulton College are going to join the picket line in opposition to the students who are strike-breaking'.

ATUA

Central London branch

Censorship, the media and the Tory government.

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Speakers: Stuart Hood, David Maude and other speakers from Fleet Street and ITV to be announced.

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Sunday April 1, 7 p.m.

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Civil servants' pickets out at Swansea

Civil servants stand firm

CIVIL SERVICE union members at the motor vehicle licensing centre in Swansea are in the second week of their selective departmental strikes against the Tory pay laws.

This week the members in the data conversion section, and the computer operators, are out in dispute.

All mail (estimated to be 10,000 items a day) is being turned back by the pickets. This action has received full co-operation from the local postal workers' union branch.

Last week management tried to use the union's policy of selective tactics to break the strike. They asked union members working in the centre to do work of the strikers.

These members refused and were promptly threatened with suspension of pay and dismissal. Officials of the Clerical and Public Services Association threatened to call everybody out unless the management withdrew the notices. The management then backed down.

Nevertheless the lack of strong leadership from the CPSA officials shown in the dispute has left its mark. Not one member of the picket line would be photographed individually or have his name quoted for fear of victimization.

Civil servants are angry at being behind the national standard of living for the past two years, and their last rise only being 7½ per cent.

'I'm 22 years old, married with a heavy mortgage and I take home £94 monthly which includes the shift allowance,' one striker told Workers Press.

'My wife has got to stay at work and therefore we can't afford to bring up a family. The government's offer of £1.48 is out of the question.'

Left-wing editor on trial

FULVIO GRIMALDI, editor of the Italian left-wing daily 'Lotta Continua', is on trial in Milan. The newspaper is accused of slandering the government, armed forces and the judiciary.

The prosecuting magistrate is calling for a sentence of seven months' imprisonment for Grimaldi. His defence has been prevented from presenting evidence proving that government ministers have links with the Mafia and the Italian fascist movement.

SLL LECTURE SERIES

The Socialist Revolution in Britain

Middleton (nr Manchester)

Langley Community Centre
Middleton
4 p.m.

Sundays: March 25

April 1 and 8

Lectures given by
Cliff Slaughter

(SLL Central Committee)

The Socialist Revolution in Britain:

1. Political tasks facing the British working class. Marxism and the revolutionary role of the working class. Lessons of the history of the working class in Britain.

2. The roots of capitalist crisis: Marxism and the contradictions of capitalism. Britain and the world crisis.

3. The state and revolution. Reformism and revolution in Britain. The fight for democratic rights today means preparing for working-class power.

Basic reading:

Perspectives for transforming the SLL into a revolutionary party.

Marxist Analysis of the Crisis. Problems of the British Revolution (Trotsky).

Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International, Communist Manifesto.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

'Forward to the Revolutionary Party.'

LEWISHAM: Monday March 26, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Road. 'Build Councils of Action'.

WANDSWORTH: Monday March 26, 8 p.m. Kings Arms, High Road, SW18. 'The Fight against Stalinism'.

WATFORD: Monday March 26, 8 p.m. Trade Union Hall, Woodlands Road, near Watford Junction.

ABERDEEN: Monday March 26, 8 p.m. West Front Room, Music Hall, Union Street.

DUNDEE: Tuesday March 27, 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Constitution Road.

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- 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 Cray Avenue and Orpington High Street.

Socialist Labour League
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The Road to Workers' Power
Build the revolutionary party

LIVERPOOL

Sunday March 25, 7.30 p.m.

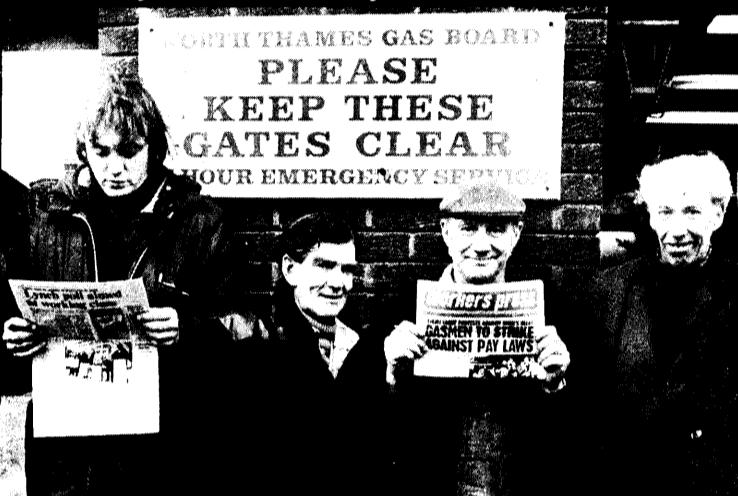
Mona Hotel, James St (entrance at back Moor St)

PRESTON

Sunday March 25, 8 p.m.

Windsor Castle Hotel, Egan Street

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Pit rescue goes on

STEPHEN JOHNS
at Lofthouse Colliery

THE MINERS' union may call for changes in regulations which control mining near abandoned collieries because of the Lofthouse pit disaster.

Arthur Scargill, area secretary of the NUM, told me yesterday: 'There are a number of disturbing features about this disaster which must be avoided in the future.

'There are many other pits in the same situation as this one but no one knew about these things until this happened here.

'We will be making a full statement when the facts are fully known. Our own mining engineers have been investigating all aspects of this disaster for this purpose.'

The statement from Mr Scargill—made minutes before he went underground to join the final stages of the rescue operation—was the first public sign of concern from the union over the circumstances surrounding the disaster.

Up until now they have said little or nothing, leaving explanations to NCB officials. But as the shock of the disaster wears off miners at Lofthouse are beginning to ask why the NCB was 'stealing' coal so dangerously near to old workings.

Because it is now clear that

the board decision to mine in an area of inadequately mapped old workings was the main cause of the disaster.

Experts now say privately that the flooding seems to have occurred when the 'pillar' of coal round a disused shaft collapsed into flooded 19th century workings. Water was displaced and the massive increase in pressure burst open the S9B face on the Flockton seam where miners were working on Wednesday morning.

The NCB say they were mining well below the old workings. But this has proved incorrect.

One of the five shafts which have now appeared on the surface near Lofthouse goes well below the Flockton seam, which is 750 feet below ground. Normally test drillings are made when a face approaches old workings but this did not occur on S9B.

One miner who would not be named summed up the feeling yesterday.

'They tried to hide the truth from the men about low earnings by getting wages boosted by high productivity and overtime.

'You drive out the face—one one really cares where it is going so long as the coal is fetched up. Then something like this happens.

'But it's too late to get the facts now. The horse has already bolted.'

● Miners and families at the pithead silently watched yesterday as premier Heath, flanked by police and security men, visited the colliery. He spoke to officials and relatives before leaving in an RAF jet.



Lofthouse Colliery miners wait at the pithead for news of the rescue operation.

Provisionals reject White Paper

IN A tersely-worded statement—and after two days of talks—the Provisional Sinn Fein yesterday categorically rejected the terms of White-law's Ulster White Paper.

They repeated their call for an Ulster parliament based on the historic nine counties of Northern Ireland, and said the Republican movement would continue to work towards that goal 'by means of political action'.

'If the British government were serious in securing a political solution then it would remove all restrictions forthwith on the Sinn Fein political organization,' the Provisionals said in a statement issued by their publicity organization, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau.

'British soldiers continue to shoot innocent people, homes are raided night and day and the jails and internment camps continue to fill.

'In the face of such oppression, the Irish Republican Army has no option but to continue the campaign of armed resistance in the North.

'The British White Paper leaves us with no other choice. We regret the British government did not avail itself of the many opportunities presented to it to bring the conflict between our two countries to an honourable end.'

Two main arguments emerged in the discussions between members of the leadership in Dublin and Belfast.

One side wanted to continue the campaign and said any ceasefire had been used against the movement in the past. The opposing wing of the movement considered it was time to transfer the battle from the streets to the political ring in a bid to gain Catholic power through the proposed new assembly for Northern Ireland.

The statement says: 'This generation has endured too much to settle for a solution which would repeat the disaster of 1921.

'We owe it to those who have died to complete the task they nobly served. Previous generations have failed—we must not.'

It went on: 'The White Paper demonstrates once more the total inability of British politicians to understand the aspirations of

the Irish people as a whole, and the deeply-felt desire for self-determination manifested by the major communities which constitute our nation. Acceptance of Britain's proposals will ensure a continuation of strife in our country and a strengthening of British rule.'

The Provisionals said that 18 months ago they asked Britain to publicly acknowledge the right of the Irish people to self-determination. But Britain had refused and the White Paper proposal giving the Westminster parliament legislative powers in Northern Ireland 'alone nullifies the whole British initiative'.

The Provisionals said the White Paper came nowhere near the 'realistic criteria for a lasting peace laid down by us and consistently adhered to', and as such 'must be rejected'.

Proposals for a new Stormont highlighted the 'artificiality' of Ulster, and the mechanism designed to secure power-sharing required the acceptance of an English politician as virtual dictator of the six counties.

The Provisionals said a united nine-county Ulster of the type they sought was feasible and meaningful for both Loyalists and Republicans.

It could establish a new society ensuring a way of life where people could live without the threat of violence and sectarianism.

Just as predictably the Provos opportunistically welcomed the new loyalist front led by Paisley and Craig. What they hoped to gain from such an improbable alliance—except a common dislike of Whitelaw—they did not state.

The Sinn Fein statement combined with the truculence of the loyalists could well render Whitelaw's plans abortive.

At present Whitelaw has to rely on the collaborators of the Social Democratic and Labour Party and a Unionist remnant led by Faulkner.

By relying on this motley assortment Whitelaw can be certain that the next executive will be unrepresentative and powerless and completely obedient to the will of Whitelaw and Her Majesty's army.

The utterly Bonapartist nature of the new constitutional proposals was, paradoxically, revealed by Capt John Brook, Unionist Chief Whip, who explained that no provisions had been made for the dissolution of the legislature if it failed to sustain the executive.

The British Labour Party's attitude to the White Paper—announced by Merlyn Rees in Cardiff yesterday—is an exercise in hypocrisy.

Mr Rees announced they would support the White Paper all the way while scrutinizing 'carefully' the Diplock Commission's recommendations which will replace the Special Powers Act as well as other aspects of the legislature.

The British Labour Party leadership is determined to use the resistance of the Republican opposition even if this means strengthening the Bonapartist noose around their own necks.

Rees' statement reveals the urgent necessity to step up the fight against the right-wing Labour traitors and to fight for the election of a Labour government which must be forced to withdraw troops from Ulster unconditionally.

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Only our paper fights for such a policy every day. We appeal therefore to you, dear readers, do not let the campaign for our Fund slacken for one moment. We still have eight days to collect our target. So — raise extra amounts, take special collections at work—fight in every way for your paper. Rush every donation immediately to:

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'There's been a disaster'

FOR Gordon Brady, Lofthouse pit disaster was a personal blow. One of the missing men, Colin Barnaby, was his close friend.

'He was a nice lad—not a lad really, a man. We were drinking mates.'

Gordon, who has worked underground at Lofthouse since 1968, was at home when he heard the news of the disaster. 'I ran out to the wife in the garden, "There's been a disaster at our pit", I said and we went in the house to listen to the news.

'I didn't know what to say. I was upset and tears coming into my eyes when I knew.'

'I thought, "What must the relatives be feeling".'

Gordon told me about the

conditions at Lofthouse. 'Some of the faces are awful. There's one face over by the old Ardsley pit—that pit's waterlogged to. And they're working the other side of the Flockton seam near to it.

'The worst face I've been on is the Beeston. It's very rough. They've hit a fault and the roads to the face are steep and the ceiling is low in some places.

'Lofthouse is a dry pit. This means there's a lot of dust. On the Beeston it's very hot and so dusty you can hardly breathe. You sweat buckets at the tailgate.

'I don't think we get enough money at all. We should get what we do now just as danger money. You can understand why the miners went on strike last year when you see things like this.'

Ford men walk out

DAY and night shifts on the engine assembly plant at Ford's Dagenham walked out yesterday over their claim for doubled rest periods. At present they get a ten-minute break in the morning and another ten minutes in the afternoon.

The workers were incensed when stewards told them that the management was treating their claim 'with contempt' because the engine assembly men had refused to take action in the past.

Between 1,500 and 2,000 men are involved and they will remain on strike until

Tuesday morning when they will begin an overtime ban.

Meanwhile Ford unions met management again over their £10 claim.

● Vauxhall Motors kept strictly in line with the state wage control guidelines when offering 27,000 workers a £2.40 a week increase and no cut in hours or extra holidays. The unions have demanded a 'substantial' wage rise, a 35-hour week, and four weeks' annual holiday paid at time and a half.

Current rates at Vauxhall according to management are £29.60 a week for labourers, £34.00 for production workers, and £38.60 for skilled men.

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