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From Stephen Johns in Belfast

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The 2,500 steelworkers got their notice last Friday after operating a four week overtime ban in defiance of the Tory government's pay laws.

The men have been demanding payment of bonuses agreed in 1971, but they have been told this is impossible under Phase Two.

They have been subject to attacks by the Belfast Social Security which has denied them unemployment benefit, despite the fact that in the past men taking similar industrial action have received dole payments.

The meeting yesterday was scheduled for 3 p.m. and shop stewards were hoping to rally their members in this bitter struggle, which affects the highest paid and primarily Protestant workers in Belfast.

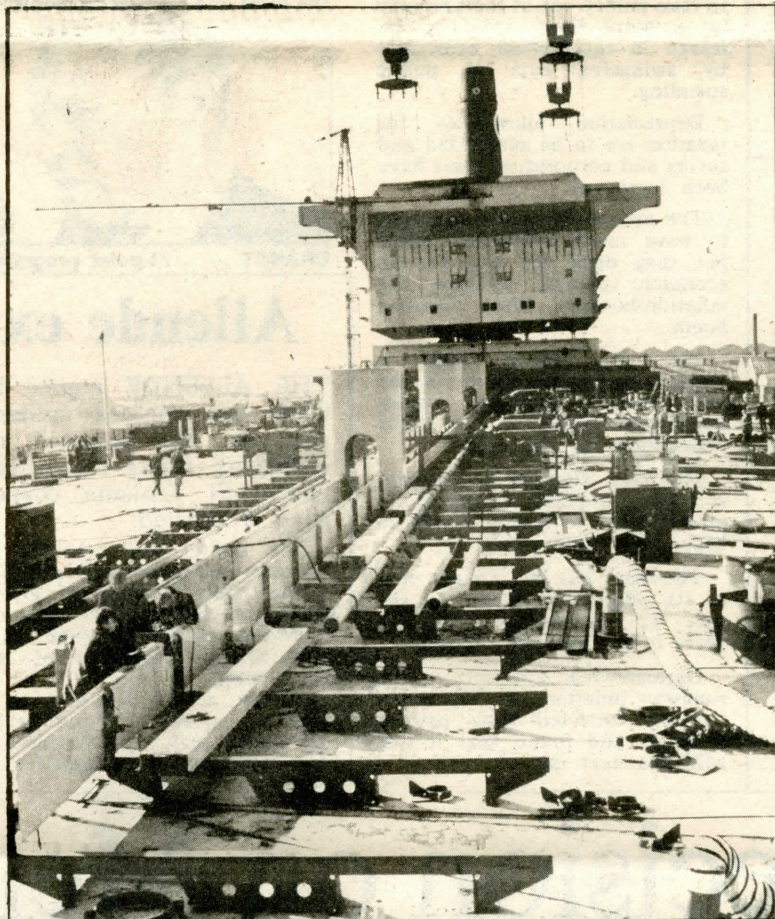
YARD CLOSED TO WORKERS

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'The management I expect have contacted the local constabulary to stop the normal collection of wages.'

Despite this there is no sign that the unity of the boilermakers is cracking. The dispute began when the steelworkers banned overtime on April 13 and imposed wage sanctions in protest against the blocking of bonus



Ship under construction at Harland and Wolff.

payments under Phase Two of the Tory pay laws.

Earnings in the Belfast shipyards are already between £6 and £8 lower than those in British yards and the steelworkers are understandably angry since the agreement on the bonus deal dates from 1971.

The unrest has further been increased by a decision not to allow the men to draw dole payments. Social Security officials say that this is because they are involved in industrial misconduct. But men see this as a deliberate provocation.

This dispute has caused great turmoil within the Protestant working class in the city.

The Loyalist Association of Workers, which backs union with Britain and has alliances with leading Ulster Unionist politi-

cians, has so far refused to comment on the dispute.

This follows its call on May Day to workers not to take part in the one-day strike against the Tory pay laws.

The shipyard has always been the centre of the whole Protestant working-class ethos in Belfast. This was based on regular employment and relatively good wages — by Northern Ireland standards.

But now the Tory government is directly challenging these gains and shattering the illusion that capitalism will treat Protestant workers better than their Catholic counterparts.

The attack on the boilermakers has been joined by their leader Danny McGarvey, who yesterday called stewards to Newcastle next Wednesday in a new bid to end the strike.

BIG DAY BIG SUM

£100,000 PARTY BUILDING FUND

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Socialist Labour League branches sent in: Lewisham £12.23; Slough £5; Merthyr £10.

The total is now £21,784.95. We are on our way to £30,000. Post all donations to:

Party Building Fund
186a Clapham High Street
London SW4 7UG

Spate of Phase Two deals

BY ROYSTON BULL

THE ACCEPTANCE by Vauxhall car unions of a Phase Two pay agreement is yet another consequence of the policy of surrender to the Tory pay laws which has been consistently pursued by the TUC since last autumn.

The 7-per-cent deal of £2.40 more a week across the board means that wages for the 26,000 workers will rise by less than the current rate of increase in the cost of living of 8 per cent and more.

In other words, the Vauxhall workers at Luton, Dunstable and Ellesmere Port are, like most other workers, receiving a wage cut in actual fact.

Union leaders have been able to sign such a deal without a fight after getting endorsement at mass meetings.

But the background to this string of decisions by workers of all industries not to go on strike at the present time against the state control of wages is the cowardly retreat by the TUC leaders.

Every worker now knows that to fight the £1 plus 4 per cent norm means a political fight against the government involving the likelihood of criminal court prosecutions, fines, and imprisonment.

To meet this challenge, a strike movement developed which eventually forced the TUC leaders against their will to call a special Congress, belatedly on March 5.

TURN TO BACK PAGE

Since May-June 1968, the Soviet Stalinists have been haunted by the spectre of revolution in western Europe and the growth of Trotskyism in the advanced countries of the west. Fearful of losing their parasitic privileges at home and their control of the labour movement abroad, the Soviet bureaucracy has begun an extensive campaign to once again discredit and distort the principles and history of Trotsky's struggle for the regeneration of the USSR and the worldwide revolution of the working class.

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1972 issued a compendium of documents, articles, extracts, speeches and resolutions aimed at discrediting Trotskyism and distorting completely the truth about the relations between Lenin and Trotsky. The book is called 'On Trotskyism'.

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workers press

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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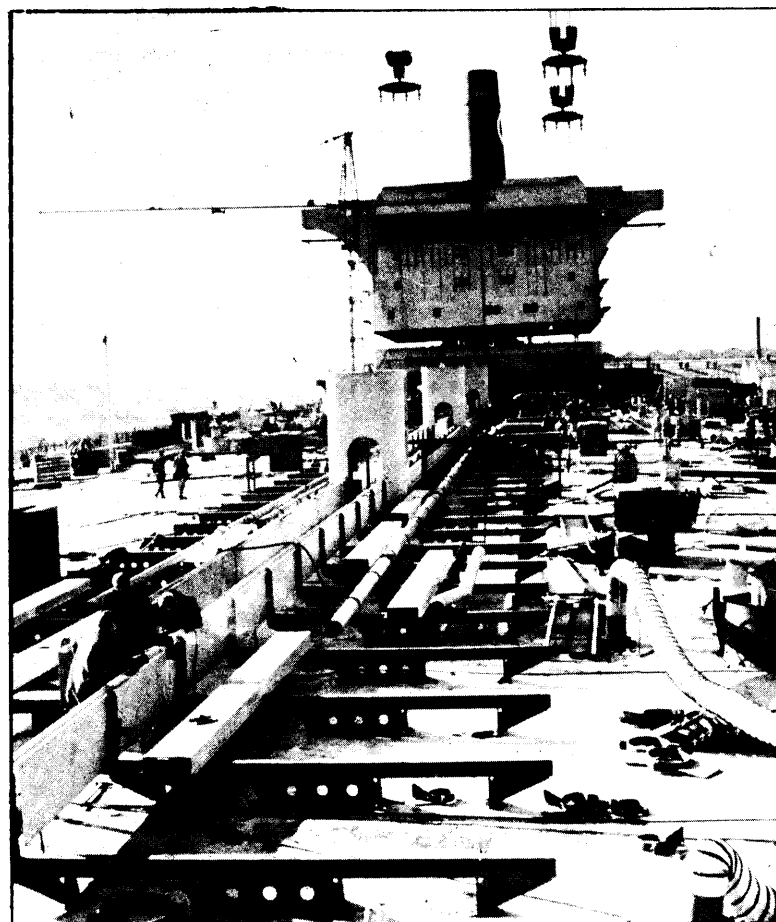
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A question of leadership

LABOUR captured four of the 'big six' metropolitan and district councils in England and Wales—Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle and Cardiff—in Thursday's local elections.

But the Liberals will be the strongest party in Liverpool and will hold the balance of power in Leeds.

Results in 62 areas gave the Tories control in only five—Bolton, Bradford, Monmouth, Sefton and Solihull. Altogether Labour won 1,784 seats, Conservatives 728, 'Independents' 557 and Liberals 193.

Despite the unpopularity of the Tory government, however, Labour did not make any spectacular advances.

WHAT WE THINK

Failure to win control at Liverpool, a centre of workers' struggles, where Labour leader Alderman William Sefton lost his seat, is an indictment of the Labour Party leadership nationally.

Despite the rents Act, the Industrial Relations Act, state control of wages, soaring prices and EEC entry, Wilson and company have totally failed to rally mass support behind themselves as a viable alternative to Heath.

This can only encourage the

Tories in their election plans, since they can reasonably expect Liberal support to melt away in a General Election.

So the Heath government, having launched an artificial pre-election fake-'boom', draws strength both from the Stalinist-backed capitulation of the TUC and the total inability of the Labour leaders to put up any real opposition to them.

The price of Wilson's collaboration on state control of wages, his sabotage of the rents fight and his

refusal to deal with the pro-Tory Jenkins right wing has been inertia at the polls.

The reformist leaders of the Labour Party and trade unions—and the Stalinists have shown over and over again that they cannot and will not fight the Tories.

Once again the urgency of transforming the Socialist Labour League into the revolutionary party has been revealed.

The first task of this party will be to mobilize the working class around socialist policies and to expose the Wilson-Feather leadership in the fight around these policies to bring the Tory government down.

Uneasy truce in Lebanon

PALESTINE commandos in Lebanon remained behind sandbagged positions in an uneasy truce with the army after a week of bloody fighting.

Shots were exchanged with the Army at a customs post in the north of the country and air force jets went into action.

A four-man joint Army-commando truce team has been touring the refugee camps to reduce the tension and an indefinite curfew remains in force.

An Egyptian official said that a seven-point plan had been agreed to avoid friction.

It would be a mistake to think that the Lebanese army and the Arab bourgeoisie have abandoned their objective of smashing the Palestine guerrilla movement by the same means as those employed in Jordan in 1971.

SWAPO arrests

SOUTH African police have arrested a number of members of the South-West Africa People's Organization in Namibia for holding political meetings.

Two were imprisoned for 90 days, others have been released or have still to appear in court.

Those arrested are opposed to South Africa's policy of incorporating South-West Africa into the apartheid system and support the demand that it should become an independent state.

South Africa does not intend to give up an area rich in minerals and cheap labour which it holds illegally under a now defunct League of Nations mandate.

Harsh anti-inflation move by Germany

THE WEST German government has announced a tough 21-point programme in an effort to beat back the rocketing inflation which is undermining the economy.

Higher taxes and cuts in government spending are aimed at reducing investment and consumption. Economics Minister Hans Friderichs told Germans: 'All will have to tighten their belts.'

He appealed to trade unions and employers to show restraint in wage demands and price increases but the measures stop short of a freeze.

The Brandt government hopes to take money out of the economy by a state bond issue to be frozen in the central bank and by swingeing cuts in public spending.

Depreciation allowances for taxation are to be suspended and surtax and corporation taxes have been increased.

The measures are not expected to have much immediate effect but they open the way for an economic plunge, pricking the inflation-boosted West German boom.

The vital export trade is threatened by the effects of the international monetary chaos which has resulted in two major revaluations of the mark.

The West German government is putting pressure on the Common Market to reduce tariffs to keep down food prices.

The mark has lost 7.5 per cent of its purchasing power in the past 12 months and in five years it has lost one quarter.

Germans fear a return to the runaway inflation of 1923 when workers collected their pay in suitcases and found that it was valueless next day.

A court has just ruled that pensions paid by private firms must be increased to take account of the fall in the value of money.

This is the first time that a fall in the value of money has been used to justify a change in the basis of a commercial contract.



BRANDT . . . 21-point programme.

Allende extends military rule

THE ALLENDE regime in Chile has clamped military rule on the province of O'Higgins, where the strike-bound El Teniente copper mine is situated.

The capital and province of Santiago has been under military control since a state of emergency was declared last weekend following clashes between supporters and opponents of the government.

Miners at El Teniente have been on strike for three weeks for higher pay. On Wednesday over 9,000 marchers clashed with

THE WEST German Bundestag yesterday ratified the good neighbour treaty with the German Democratic Republic signed last December.

The treaty, one of the fruits of chancellor Willy Brandt's 'ostpolitik', consecrates the division of Germany into two states and opens the way for trade and economic links on a larger scale with eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

The Christian Democratic opposition opposed the ratification as well as a Bill providing for West Germany to apply to join the United Nations. They did this because it was linked with the admission of the GDR.

police and 20 workers were injured in the nearby town of Rancagua.

SOUTH KOREAN army court martial has sentenced a number of high-ranking officers to long prison terms and heavy fines for bribery and corruption. Former Commander of the Seoul garrison Maj-Gen Pil-yong and his Chief of Staff, Brig-Gen Soh Yong-kil both get 15 years and were fined heavily. Five other generals and colonels were involved in the case.

Set-back for Nixon's bomb money

PRESIDENT Nixon suffered a major foreign policy defeat on Thursday when the House of Representatives voted that no funds in the Appropriations Bill it was considering should be used for the bombing of Cambodia.

It is the first time that the House has rejected White House Indo-China policy. The vote on the major amendment to the Bill was 224 to 172, many Republicans and conservative Democrats voting with the majority.

Opponents of the bombing argued that it was unconstitutional since the Vietnam ceasefire. The vote also reflected the effect which the Nixon scandal is having in reducing the administration's credibility.

A second adverse vote is expected when the Bill goes to the Senate next week.

Although the amendment said that funds should not be transferred from other heads to finance bombing operations in Cambodia, they are likely to go on.

American bombing of Cambodia has been taking place on a large scale in support of the corrupt and discredited Lon Nol regime. The end of air support could mean its early military defeat.

SWISS police admitted to bugging the national congress of the Revolutionary Marxist League held in Lausanne last weekend. Members of the organization found a transmitter in the ceiling after a systematic search of the hall.

The Minister of Justice defended the bugging by saying that while it was contrary to Swiss law (!) it was permissible to protect the state against crimes and subversive acts. The police had been given government permission to plant the transmitter.

Key decision on Merseyside casuals

LIVERPOOL dockers face a key decision tomorrow, which could affect the future of jobs and conditions not only in the port itself but in the area as a whole.

On the face of it the issue they will vote on is a simple one: they will accept recruitment of 500 'casual', supplementary dockers to meet the port's crippling labour shortage.

But in the background lurks a major threat to security of employment and trade union organization on the docks. If supplementaries are accepted, under whatever conditions, both could be seriously undermined.

Members of the port shop stewards' committee, which by a majority vote is recommending

acceptance, say they have been caught between two fires.

On the one hand the loss of almost 3,000 men from the labour force under the Jones-Aldington special severance terms has caused big delays in handling cargo and led to ships being transferred to other ports. Port employers threatened that trade could be lost permanently.

On the other hand the Tory government is firmly committed to allowing no new recruitment to the permanent register of dockers, where men are protected by the 1947 Dock Labour Scheme from dismissal.

Both Maurice Macmillan, the Employment Secretary, and Transport Minister John Peyton have made clear they welcome the growth of the supplementary register nationally. One Merseyside firm which wanted to

BY DAVID MAUDE

OUR LABOUR CORRESPONDENT

recruit permanent, Liverpool Maritime Terminals, has actually been prevented by the government from doing so.

Unlike permanent registered men, supplementaries can be fired at a week's notice either by their immediate employer or the local Dock Labour Board.

To most dockers this smacks of the old casual labour system, under which employers enforced ruthless speed-up under threat of the sack. A groundswell of opposition recently forced the docks and waterways committee of the Transport and General Workers' Union to declare it would fight the growth of the supplementary register.

But, with Tory patronage, the register keeps growing.

If the Liverpool recruitment goes ahead supplementaries will comprise almost 8 per cent of the docks labour force nationally. In the important container port of Southampton, supplementaries already outnumber the permanent registered men.

This is a powerful weapon in the hands of the employers for pushing through speed-up, breaking down dockers' traditional solidarity and ultimately attacking the Dock Labour Scheme itself, which the employers hate fiercely.

The Liverpool stewards say they will make sure whatever supplementaries are recruited are quickly made permanent.

But there are powerful forces ranged against such a possibility. If this could not be achieved at

LMT, where even the employer wanted permanent, what chance is there of achieving it after recruitment in the port as a whole?

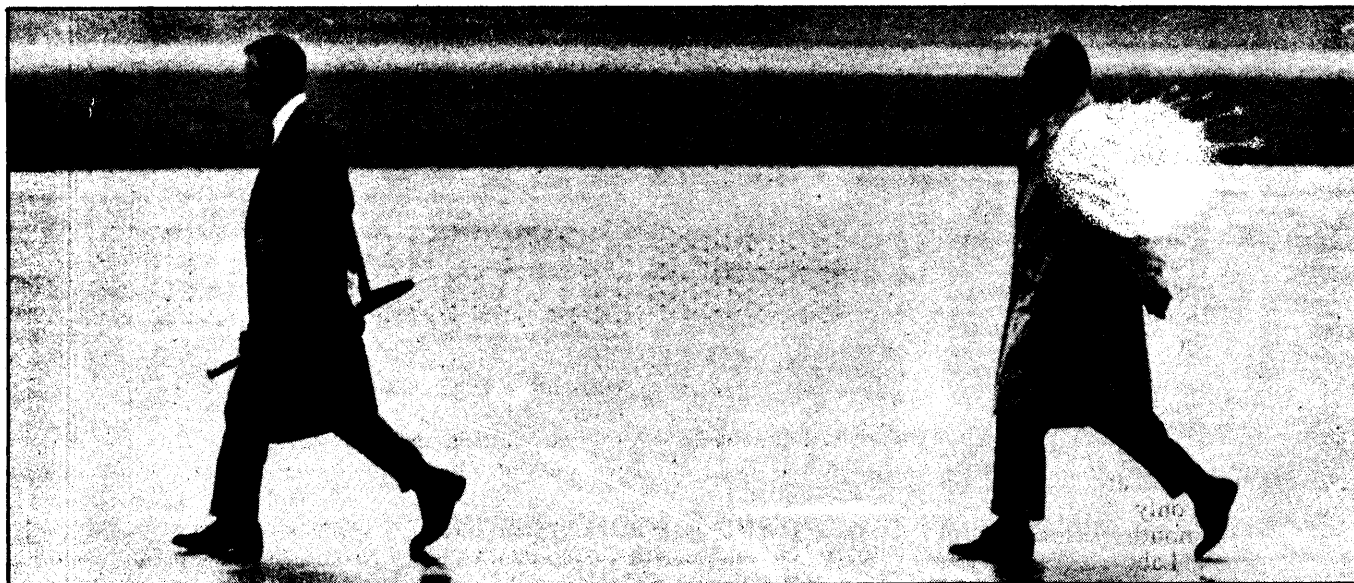
In any case, since the real issue whenever a fight takes place is a confrontation with government policy why not have the confrontation on grounds of principle now?

The time for 'left' talk is over on Liverpool docks.

Jones-Aldington was a bitter lesson, and the rot it started must be stopped now. Dockers must throw out the supplementary register, defend the Dock Labour Scheme and demand their leaders fight to force the Tory government to resign.

The Tories must be replaced by a Labour government pledged to complete nationalization of the entire port transport industry without compensation and under workers' control.

Who's who in the Watergate scandal



JOHN N. MITCHELL: The President's closest political adviser and former law partner. Indicted on charges of conspiring to obtain a secret \$200,000 contribution to the Nixon re-election fund. Mitchell was director of the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) from March to July last year.

The prosecution allege he took what amounts to a bribe from Robert Vesco, a shady financier who was at the time facing a civil suit for taking more than \$200m from the offshore fund International Overseas Services.



JOHN WESLEY DEAN III (34), left, sacked last week as White House counsel. He has evidence which he claims implicates the President in the Watergate plot. Dean conducted the internal White House inquest which absolved the presidential aides from complicity in the plot.

Has said he will not be made a scapegoat for Watergate and now expresses fears for his life. Dean attended meetings in March and April 1972 when the plot to bug the Democratic headquarters was first discussed. Supervised payment of \$175,000 to keep the wire-tappers quiet after their conviction.



JEB STUART MAGRUDER (38), White House aide to Haldeman who was later Mitchell's deputy at the CREEP. Was the first administration official to resign specifically over Watergate. Denied involvement last autumn, but then began to incriminate Mitchell, Dean and Liddy, among others.

He admits having given \$235,000 in campaign cash to Liddy. He also admits having lied to the Grand Jury about his advance knowledge of the Watergate burglary. He told investigators that Mitchell advised him to commit perjury.

JAMES McCORD (54), security co-ordinator for the CREEP, arrested with four other CREEP employees in the Democratic headquarters on the night of June 17. Tried and convicted of conspiracy, burglary and wire-tapping on January 30. Later wrote to the judge alleging the involvement of 'higher-ups'.

McCord's subsequent secret testimony to the Senate select committee and grand jury led to the present crisis.

HERBERT W. KALMBACH (51), Nixon's personal lawyer in Los Angeles until last week. Was chief campaign fund raiser in 1968 and 1972 until Stans took over. He also had a 'slush fund'—of some \$500,000—which was apparently used mainly to finance operations by Donald Segretti (see col. 2). Claims these payments were authorized by the President's appointments secretary.

L. PATRICK GRAY III (56), lawyer friend of Nixon who was nominated to follow J. Edgar Hoover as head of the FBI. Gray's nomination was withdrawn as the Watergate affair began to hit the headlines. He was forced to resign when it was revealed that he had personally destroyed evidence in the Watergate case which incriminated White House chiefs.

RICHARD KLEINDIENST (49), resigned as Attorney-General at the same time as Haldeman and Ehrlichman. He was formally charged with the first phoney investigation into the affair. Last week Kleindienst casually revealed that he had been approached by Liddy and others on the golf course the morning after the Watergate break-in. They asked for help, but he claims to have refused.

DONALD H. SEGRETTI (31), the alleged head of a network of Republican spies and provocateurs who set out to disrupt the Democrats' campaign. Allegedly received \$35,000 in payments from Kalmbach. Segretti was indicted last week by a Federal Grand Jury charged with illegally distributing phoney election campaign literature alleging sexual misconduct by Democratic candidates.

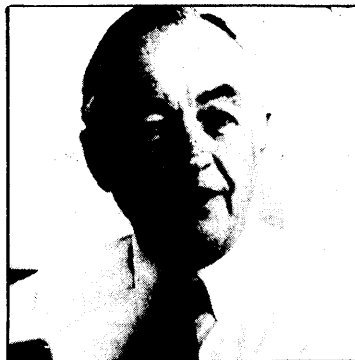
ROBERT E. CUSHMAN (58), General in command of the Marine Corps. A member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. When deputy director of the CIA in mid-1971 allegedly agreed to a request from Ehrlichman for CIA assistance to investigate Ellsberg over the Pentagon Papers leak. The CIA is legally barred from conducting investigations and covert operations inside the United States.

ROBERT VESCO, purchased Investors Overseas Services in 1971 from Bernard Cornfeld. Charged last November with milking IOS of some \$224m. His money was accepted by Mitchell who took an open donation of \$50,000 with another \$200,000 'under the counter'.

Belatedly the money has now been returned amid protests from Mitchell that he is 'an innocent by-stander who got shot in the leg'. Vesco's money found its way into the safe at Stans' office.

MAURICE HUBERT STANS, former secretary of commerce. Charged with conspiracy, perjury, obstruction of justice and obstruction of a criminal investigation. Stans headed the Nixon fund-raising operation. Kept a million dollars in cash in his safe and approved payment from this fund to Liddy.

Stans' committee has been fined by the Federal courts for failing to disclose contributions as required by law. Further charges are still pending. Stans is now accused with Mitchell of accepting Vesco's \$200,000 on the understanding that in exchange they would try to influence an investigation by the Securities and Exchange Commission into the IOS affair.



Above: Stans. Below: Vesco.



HARRY R. HALDEMAN (46), above left, former White House chief of staff. Under investigation by a federal grand jury for leading a conspiracy to cover up White House involvement in the Watergate burglary. Haldeman controlled a \$350,000 fund used to keep the convicted burglars quiet.

Haldeman headed a broad campaign of sabotage aimed at the Democrats. Many of the other men implicated in the case reported to Haldeman, who was considered the most powerful man in the White House next to Nixon himself. Haldeman resigned ten days ago under pressure from Nixon.

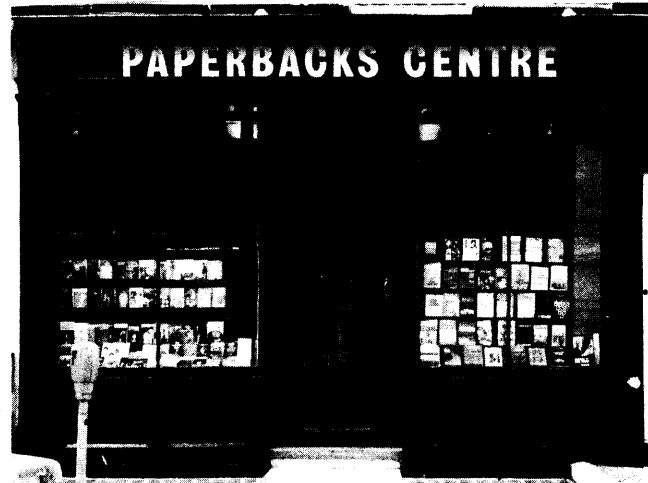
JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN (48), right, former chief domestic affairs adviser to the president. Under criminal investigation for his role in the White House cover-up. Admits he was present when files from the safe of wiretapper Hunt were turned over to L. Patrick Grey, the then FBI chief.

Ehrlichman admits that he assigned Everett Howard Hunt and George Gordon Liddy to investigate Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatric record. He knew the two spies had broken into Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office, but kept this information secret. Ehrlichman reportedly offered the directorship of the FBI to the Pentagon Papers judge at the height of the trial.

GEORGE GORDON LIDDY (42), former White House aide and FBI man convicted as ringleader of the break-in at Watergate. When he was caught in the burglary he was counsel to CREEP's finance committee. Sentenced tentatively to six to 20 years' jail and fined \$40,000 plus an indeterminate sentence for contempt.

EVERETTE HOWARD HUNT (54), former deputy chief, western hemisphere division of the CIA. Author of 42 thrillers. First conspirator to plead guilty at the trial. With Liddy, he organized the raid on Ellsberg's files in 1971. At the time Hunt was a White House consultant. He has also admitted forging diplomatic cables to smear President Kennedy. With Hunt, Liddy took part in the break-in at Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office in 1971.

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TRANSFORMING THE SOC INTO A REVOLUTIONARY

Extract from the policy resolution adopted unanimously by 2,200 delegates and visitors at the All Trades Unions Alliance conference, Birmingham, on October 22, 1972.

Fellow trade unionists, comrades and friends we address you with this urgent call to action:

In its place must be elected a Labour government which is pledged by the mass action of the working class to implement socialist policies.

We say 'pledged' to socialist policies knowing that the present leaders of the Labour movement have no intention of introducing such policies. Indeed, in the last analysis some of them will be prepared to join a coalition government with the Tories to head off the working class.

But if the working class is strong enough to force the Tories out, it is strong enough to deal with the traitors in its own midst. This can only be achieved by exposing them in the fight for an alternative socialist policy.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League calls upon the working class to support the following policies to unite the working class against the Tories and the present Wilson-Feather leadership of the labour movement:

Here is the policy which the next Labour government must be forced to carry out.

1) A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act, Housing Finance Act, Immigration Acts, Fair Trading Act and all wage control. After the repeal of all Tory anti-working class measures, there must be legislation to implement the Charter of Basic Rights, along the following lines.

2) The right to work! Capitalism demands mass unemployment. The right to a job must be guaranteed. This can only be done by breaking the grip of capitalist ownership on the economy. Employed and unemployed must unite to insist on a Labour government nationalizing the main industries and banks, under workers' control and without compensation.

THE TORY government is relentlessly pursuing its plan for a confrontation with the working class. Each day new sections of workers are forced to become criminals — under Tory law — to defend their standard of living against government-inspired soaring cost of living.

Large sections of these workers openly acknowledge that the only answer to their fight to maintain a decent standard of living is a General Strike. That is, the creation of the industrial and political conditions which will force the government to resign.

3) The democratic right to strike and to organize in trade unions. Only the organized working class can lead mankind out of the historical crisis. Every right and every gain won by the working class, every democratic right in Britain, has been won because of the organized strength of the unions and the strike weapon.

A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act. This fight must begin now by forcing the TUC to break off all relations with the government and mobilize the working class to destroy state control of wages.

4) The right to defend rights won in the past and change the system. All the changes in legal procedures made by the Tory government must be repealed. All secret police and MI5 organizations must be disbanded and fully exposed. The secrets of the Tory administration in this sphere must be published. All rights to assembly, free speech and the Press must be guaranteed.

The struggle must begin now. No closures, no sackings, must be the policy of the trade unions. Occupation of factories threatened with closure,

as part of the fight to bring down the Tories.

5) The right to a higher standard of living. It is not the living standards of trade unionists, but the profit system, which causes the crisis. The first step must be to expropriate all the great fortunes of the rich, close down the Stock Exchange, place a state control over all movements of capital in and out of the country.

Nationalization of the basic industries and of all large companies, banks, building and insurance societies will provide the resources for a unified plan to improve the living standards of the whole people. Workers' control of these, as well as the present nationalized industries, will run them in the interests of the workers and consumers.

Again, the fight must begin now. State control of wages must be answered by the most widespread fight for wage increases to meet price rises and improve standards. This means a fight to remove the Tory government and change the union leadership.

6) The right to health and welfare benefits. Every Tory gov-

ernment cut in welfare benefits, in the health service and in all public spending must be revoked. On the basis of nationalization, a crash programme of expansion of services to the unemployed, the low-paid, the sick and the aged must be undertaken as an absolute priority. The working class and the Labour government must take immediate and absolute responsibility for these victims of the capitalist system.

7) The right to decent housing. Decent housing is not a luxury; it is a necessity. People have the basic right to decent accommodation at rents they can afford. Nationalization of the handful of building monopolies and building societies will provide the basis for a massive programme of new house building. The disgraceful problem of the homeless in the cities must be immediately solved by census and taking-over of all unoccupied property.

8) The international responsibilities of the working class. The working class is international. We fight for the unrestricted right of any worker of any nationality to move freely through the world.

Withdraw the troops from Ireland. Unite the Irish and British working class to throw out the Lynch and Heath governments.

Unite in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, the only alternative to the Common Market plans for dictatorship.

Withdraw all British troops from abroad and disband the present standing army.

Sign treaties with all ex-colonial countries for programmes of equal trade and mutual assistance.

Break from NATO and all imperialist alliances.

For the carrying out of such policies the SLL fights for the setting up of Councils of Action to lead the struggle against the Tory government in every area. These Councils unite trade unionists, tenants, unemployed, all political parties and tendencies of the working class (Labour Party, Communist Party, SLL, IS, IMG, etc.) to fight against the main enemy, the Tory government.

The SLL calls upon every socialist and class-conscious worker to consider this programme and manifesto very carefully, and to decide now to take up their inescapable responsibilities. The building of the revolutionary party is the burning question now, not in some remote future. The SLL is determined to carry through its transformation into a revolutionary party.

JOIN the Socialist Labour League and help transform it into a revolutionary party.
Central Committee
Socialist Labour League

THE DISCUSSION GOES ON

'Tories fear the power of working class'

Terry O'Connor, a London brewery worker, agrees that a new leadership must be built to take the working class to power.

'I have always been suspicious of all left-wing parties. Up till now, they have been isolated from the working class.'

Terry (23), works for Watney Mann and is a member of Jack Jones' Transport and General Workers' Union.

He went on: 'When working people think of communism, most of them still think of the Communist Party.'

'They look at papers like the Workers Press or the "Socialist Worker" and they see them as student papers put out from universities and colleges.'

'Workers see left-wing parties as petty bourgeois and they are suspicious of petty-bourgeois parties.'

'There has been so much preaching over the last 20 years and after all this talk, there is not a country in the world that has a communist government.'

Despite his doubts, Terry believes a new leadership must be built in the trade union and labour movement.

'This Tory government is taking a much tougher line against the working class. They fear the power of the working class and the unions more than ever.'

'If we do reach a stage where the standard of living really drops, there will be revolution. A lot of young people don't know anything but boom, but if they start having things taken away from them, they will fight.'

'The cost of living has gone up in the last three years since the Tories got in, but I'm a single man and it has not really affected me personally.'

'I've always been against the Industrial Relations Act. Once they attack the trade unions, that's it.'

Why won't the leaders of



Terry O'Connor—'A lot of young people don't know anything but boom, but if they start having things taken away from them, they will fight.'

the labour and trade union movement fight back?

Terry replied: 'It's because they are reformists. In a period of boom, they will create one

or two reforms. But in a period of crisis, they can only go one way—to the ruling class. They've got no more reforms to give.'

'A new leadership is necessary. The main thing for the party is to distinguish itself to the working class so that they look to it for leadership.'

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE TORY PARTY



'Without the support of these leaders the Tories could not last'

Mick O'Shea (24), is a young boilermaker at Scott-Lithgow shipyard on the lower Clyde:

Like most young workers I suppose I didn't take much interest in politics apart from the fact I was against the Tories.

But then I began to realize that politics affected me in everything I did. I started taking the Workers Press and I found this very interesting. The articles that were most revealing were Marx's analysis of the economic crisis. I found that what they said were true in practice.

The real need now is to build up a leadership in the trade unions. Particularly where I come from, the leadership is really bankrupt.

They are letting all our rights and conditions go. The lower Clyde, you know, is an area of high unemployment. In the yards we used to have a ratio of five journeymen to every apprentice. This was a good ratio, since it kept standards high.

But the district delegate and the district committee of the

Society scrapped the ratio. They fell for the idea of training about 300 to 400 apprentices. These lads now are half-way through their training and are a permanent pool of unemployment.

These lads are coming forward for jobs. In some cases they do men's jobs. All this is used to threaten the existing labour force in a subtle way.

Already the lower Clyde has a bad reputation. They call the upper Clyde 'red', while they call the lower reaches the 'yellow river', but it's only because men are feared of unemployment. Most of the unions want peaceful co-existence — the management put on joint dances that shop stewards go to. It's like that.

When I read the Workers Press it made me see that what was happening all round me in the yard was part of a pattern and a plan by the employers and the Tories. I think if we don't bring the Tory government down we will move quickly towards a dictatorship.

The only way we can stop this is by building a revolutionary party to give the necessary leadership.

I think a lot of people are aware of what they face from this government, but they shy away from it. It's too unpleasant to think about.

This is what I had all the time. I could see things going on and at the back of my mind I knew I was shirking my responsibility.

But then again it's amazing

how many people don't realize the implications of this government. I go to them and say 'Don't you realize that it's illegal to go on strike for more money?' 'That's rubbish,' they say. But it's the truth.

The Tories prey on this kind of ignorance. I think they are waiting for the Labour and trade union leaders to demoralize the working class some more and then they will really attack.

The revolutionary party should tackle all these problems of backwardness in the working class. The existing leadership is really tied to the capitalist system. Without the support of these leaders, the Tories could not last.

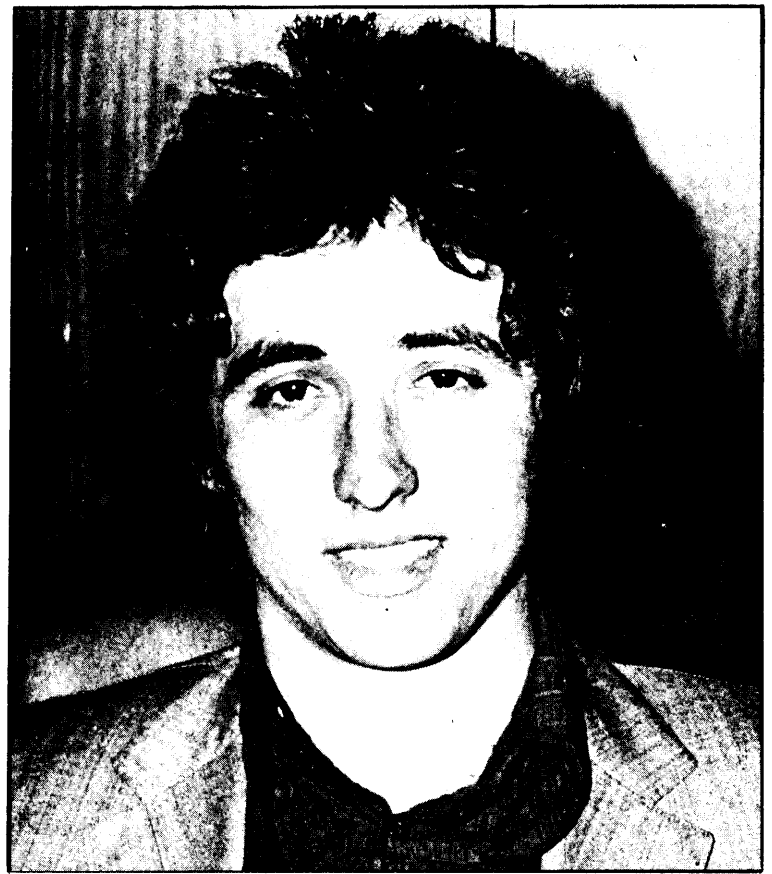
The Communist Party are the other group workers consider. The UCS example put paid to them for me.

Their leaders said there would be no men down the river, but 2,500 went down the river and there is another 300 down in June.

It was the same over the rents issue. In Clydebank even the Communist Party councillors voted for the Act when they could have condemned Labour for giving in, like any honest political group would.

I think the most important thing immediately is what is said in the Draft Programme for the Party—to bring all the sections of the working class together in a struggle for basic rights.

This must be against the Tories, to bring the Tories



Mick O'Shea.—'Particularly where I come from, the leadership is really bankrupt.' Above: TUC chiefs, Feather, McGarvey, Scanlon with UCS leader, Airlie, Labour 'left', Wedgwood Benn, and Reid on a march against UCS closure. 'Without these leaders the Tories could not last.'

down. This is the only way forward.

Take the unemployed—they might say to you: 'Don't bother me, what can I do I am un-

employed?' There is only one answer to that one—to stop being unemployed join the fight to get rid of the Tories.



MR ROBERTS AND THE REVOLUTION



BY ROYSTON BULL
Ernie Roberts, well-known trade union 'left' and assistant secretary of the engineering union, has taken up, in a book published this week called 'Workers' Control', the question of how socialism is to be achieved in Britain.

Roberts describes how the working class can achieve political power without revolution by adding more and more to their degree of control over industry until the capitalists are completely undermined.

'At the present time, capitalist control and workers' control are out of balance, with the scales heavily weighted in favour of capitalism.

'But previous struggle has ensured that some measure of control exists even at this stage, and every gain made by the workers, every battle won, encroaches upon the power of the employers, and will eventually increase the workers' power to the stage

where they can make an open challenge to the capitalists.

'At this crisis point, one more victory for the working class would "tip the scales".'

'Of course, the nearer the working class get to the achievement of complete power, the fiercer will the capitalist class fight, but still every gain by the workers contributes towards the eroding of what Bert Ramelson calls "the framework of capitalism".'

Roberts does not say what is to happen to the state machine, built up and perfected over centuries by the capitalist class to keep state power in their hands.

He does not say what the various branches of the police

and the secret service will be doing at this moment of 'tipping the scales', organizations which devote the whole of their time and vast amounts of manpower and resources to nothing but surveillance and harassment of the working-class movement.

Roberts offers not a word of explanation of what the working class should do about the standing army, navy and air force at the decisive moment.

The armed forces are not only commanded by representatives of the ruling class and trained to defend the *status quo* and act in the interests of protecting property in this country or abroad, but they are also receiving special training in dealing with strikes, riots and insurrections by workers.

All he has to say on the subject is: 'The General Strike . . . is not a way to Socialism in One Easy Step, though it can be useful in raising the political awareness of the working class.'

'Its limitations are clear, however. Any moderately successful strike of employees in the public sector—notably the miners and the dustmen—brings in its wake the threat of "using troops" in order to "avoid a break-down in essential services".'

'How much more useful the armed forces would be,' Roberts continues, 'during a General Strike when they could be used not only as strike-breakers but also as a disciplinary measure against the strikers.'

And that is it. Roberts runs away so fast that he leaves the question just dangling in mid-air.

He adds some comments about how the Chinese workers in the 1925-1927 revolution were beaten by the army because they 'had allowed control of the army to remain in the hands of a bourgeois élite'; quotes Mark Twain on a soldier being a blind killing machine; and ventures an opinion that 'it seems that "winning over the army" in reality means winning over the officers'.

HOSTILITY TO THEORY

Behind this naive misunderstanding lies something a bit more worthy of debate. For at the heart of Roberts' muddle-headedness lies hostility to theory, and the most narrow petty-bourgeois philistinism.

Roberts accuses Lenin of élitism. 'Lenin implies, in "What is to be Done?," that

the bourgeois intelligentsia are a unifying factor in a revolutionary party since they provide the necessary breadth of outlook and the ability to recognize and respond to "all cases of tyranny—no matter what class is affected".'

'The trade union movement is so self-absorbed that it is not equipped to teach the workers to observe "every other social class in all the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical and political life", whereas the bourgeoisie with the political party, with their educational and cultural advantages, are well able to do so.'

Lenin was saying no such thing, neither in these quotations nor elsewhere. The point he was making was an entirely different one: that the political work of the revolutionary party could not advance if it was restricted to purely economic questions affecting workers and did not take up a many-sided exposure of all the crimes of the Tsarist autocracy.

Just giving the quotation in full explains the point adequately enough:

'The German party is especially strengthening its position and spreading its influence thanks precisely to the untiring energy with which it is conducting a campaign of political exposure.

'Working-class consciousness cannot be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases, without exception, of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected. Moreover, to respond from a Social-Democratic [i.e. Marxist], and not from any other point of view.

'The consciousness of the masses of the workers cannot be genuine class consciousness unless the workers learn to observe from concrete, and above all from topical (current), political facts and events, every other social class and all the manifestations of the intellectual, ethical and political life of these classes; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects of the life and activity of all classes, strata and groups of the population.

'Those who concentrate the attention, observation and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social-Democrats [Marxists].'

The working class must make the revolution. But it must make it on behalf of all the oppressed people. This is vastly different from Roberts saying that Lenin believed only the intellectuals under-

stood the all-round political struggle.

He goes even further: 'The theory of "the élite of expertise" is a dangerous one for the working class. The workers must not believe that they need an élite to think on their behalf, otherwise they get saddled with petty-bourgeois intellectual "experts", who are a dead-weight for the working class to carry.'

'Marxism has been expounded by Marx himself, by Engels, Lenin, Mao and others; the proliferation of an élite breed of intellectuals to interpret their theories is reminiscent of the establishment of clergymen to interpret the bible—the greater the number of interpreters, the more plentiful the points of disagreement, and so the more schisms and sects and irreconcilable factions.'

In order to think like a revolutionary, you have first to act like one,' Roberts continues, 'and that does not mean dividing the working class against itself, but working for its unity.'

This is a gross worship of spontaneity. Roberts' hostility to analysing theoretical ques-

tions springs not out of a desire to 'think and act like a revolutionary' but the opposite, out of a desire not to have to budget from the trade-unionist reformist swamp he has spent his life in.

The 'unity' he proposes, as against, presumably, the splits caused by the same 'unity' the Stalinists of the Communist Party put forward which settled all theoretical differences with a bullet and 'united' the working class with the middle class to open the way to fascism in the 1930s. Today, 'unity' means covering up for 'left' union leaders like Scanlon and Jones while they go to Downing Street for talks on how to hold down wages.

The only other quote Roberts offers to back up his slander about Marx and Lenin's élitism is the following from 'What is to be Done?':

'The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e. the conviction that it is necessary to combine in unions, fight the employers and strive to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc.

'The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, by intellectuals. According to their social status, the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, themselves belonged to the bourgeois intelligentsia.'

These are historical facts. Roberts does not say that he disagrees with any of them. What he says is:

'While agreeing with Lenin's proposition, that members of other classes—the intellectuals and the bourgeoisie—must be a part of the workers' struggle, I cannot however subscribe to his reasons for including them.'

Once again, the confusion is entirely of Roberts' own making.

THE CROWD ADVANCES

The point about socialist theory being brought into the workers' movement has nothing whatsoever to do with an intellectual élite. Elsewhere in 'What is to be Done?', Lenin wrote:

'Class political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is, only from outside of the economic struggle, from outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers.'

'The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relationships between all the classes and strata and the state and the government, the sphere of the inter-relationships between all the classes.'

Elsewhere, talking about the need to concentrate all secret functions in the hands of as small a number of professional revolutionaries as possible, Lenin says: 'This does not mean that the latter will "do the thinking for all" and that the crowd will not take an active part in the movement.'

'On the contrary, the crowd will advance from its ranks increasing numbers of professional revolutionaries.'

Exactly the opposite of what Roberts is putting forward as the Leninist view.

But this kind of attack is not new. Lenin himself had some particularly uncomplimentary things to say about similar attacks in his own day:

'The Germans only smile with contempt at these demagogic attempts to set the "crowd" against the "leaders", to arouse bad and ambitious instincts in the former, and to

rob the movement of its solidity and stability by undermining the confidence of the masses in their "dozen wise men".'

'Political thinking is already sufficiently developed among the Germans, and they have accumulated sufficient political experience to understand that without the "dozen" tried and talented leaders (and talented men are not born by the hundred), professionally trained, schooled by long experience and working in perfect harmony, no class in modern society can wage a determined struggle.'

'The Germans too have had demagogues in their ranks who have flattered the "hundred fools", exalted them above the "dozen" wise men; extolled the "mighty fists" of the masses, and have spurred them on to reckless "revolutionary" action and sown distrust towards the firm and steadfast leaders . . .'

'Our wisecracks, at a time when Russian Social-Democracy [Marxism] is passing through a crisis entirely due to the lack of sufficient numbers of trained, developed and experienced leaders to guide the spontaneously awakening masses, cry out with the profanity of fools: "it is a bad thing when the movement does not proceed from the rank and file".'

Continuing the criticism of those who were opposed to the building of a disciplined revolutionary party, Lenin went on:

'"A committee of students is no good, it is not stable." Quite true. But the conclusion to be drawn from this is that we must have a committee of professional revolutionaries and it does not matter whether a student or a worker is capable of becoming a professional revolutionary.'

'The conclusion you draw, however, is that the working-class movement must not be pushed on from outside.'

He went on: 'There has never been too much of such "pushing on from outside"; on the contrary, so far there has been too little, all too little of it in our movement, for we have been stewing too assiduously in our own juice; we have bowed far too slavishly to the elementary "economic struggle of the workers against the employers and the government".'

'We professional revolutionaries must and will make it our business to engage in this kind of "pushing" a hundred times more forcibly than we have done hitherto.'

'But the very fact that you select so despicable a phrase as "pushing on from outside"—a phrase which cannot but rouse in the workers (at least in the workers who are as unenlightened as you yourself) a sense of distrust towards all who bring them political knowledge and revolutionary experience from outside, and rouse in them an instinctive desire to resist all such people—proves that you are demagogues, and demagogues are the worst enemies of the working class.'

Lenin states categorically that within the revolutionary party, 'all distinctions as between workers and intellectuals must be utterly obliterated.'

Contrast this with the patronizing way Roberts blames the working class for the failures of the labour and trade union leadership, of which Roberts is part.

'The political education of the working class has never been of such a high standard as to enable a General Strike to be successful. The apparent strength of "them"—the employers, the government—has always seemed too great for a working class not yet conscious of its own strength.'

There is nothing quite like the sight of a trade union leader blaming the working class for his own backwardness and cowardice.

SHOPWORKERS TAKE ACTION

A series by Bernard Franks
Part eleven

In May 1920 the John Lewis strike broke out. John Lewis, who was 84, would deduct from the wages of van boys the farthing left off customers' cheques.

P. C. Hoffman in his book on shopworkers' conditions quotes one ex-employee: 'He [Lewis] would take a dislike to a salesman or woman for no reason at all and would go up to him or her and ask one or two questions about their length of service with the firm, and then would say: "You have been here too long. Go to the counting-house and get your money."

Lewis had signed a wage agreement and then went back on it, sacking staff and taking on new assistants who had to sign an agreement not to join a union. Four hundred and fifty workers came out (370 were union members).

Lewis addressed a communication to 'our young men and maidens' which included the comment 'What is it then that has caused this unhealthy atmosphere? It is the vapourings of the accursed trade unionists. Their vocation is to make mischief or otherwise lead idle lives at your expense by drawing from you money that might be saved for better purposes...'

Massive support came in, including £300 from Harrods' workers, £150 from dress-makers and £300 from workers at the Army & Navy Stores. All handling of goods was blacked by railway and vehicle workers.

The strike was called off by the Staff Disputes Committee after six weeks and all the staff found jobs elsewhere when Lewis still refused to receive a deputation. It was Lewis's son Spedan who began the so-called John Lewis Partnership in 1928.

Another important strike was at Wolverhampton in July 1920 where 100 shop assistants at Messrs Beatties, Victoria Street, struck against the firm's ultimatum to leave the union. Beatties published a notice in the local Press which stated:

'About the lock-out at Beatties. We wish to inform the public that union members of our staff were dismissed because we decline to recognize the union.'

Meetings and demonstrations were held, including one of 15,000 people. Police tried, but failed, to stop picketing. After 16 weeks the strike was called off, the workers taking other jobs rather than go back.

Apart from living-in actions, there were 58 other strikes from 1914 to the end of 1920.

Very shortly the gains were to be savagely taken back. Mass unemployment, wage-cutting and sweated labour were brought back by employers with the economic crisis of 1920.

The Tory government launched a ruthless attack on the standard of living of the working class. The union leaders who had lagged behind the workers in the struggles for economic demands and political action were not the people to

question capitalism's right to rule.

Now they systematically betrayed their members to the employers new onslaught. The newly-formed communist movement was nowhere strong enough to give a lead.

Workers continued to fight and strike, but now it was in defence of jobs and against massive wage-cuts. In grocery retail alone, pay fell from 60s 6d in 1926 to 45s 6d in 1936.

The 1930s saw the arrival of the cut-price shops, selling cheaply concocted food and goods to the poor and employing young people as cheap labour to keep down the costs. A similar system of 'cheapies' had already developed in the US.

Hoffman gives an instance of an 18-year-old girl receiving 12s for a 71½-hour week.

But where had the great potential of the post-war period gone? The 1920 and later the 1926 General Strike situation showed that without a truly tried and tested revolutionary working-class leadership, ready at a time when a leap forward in revolutionary consciousness and action is required to change the system, then even the mighty, militant power of a mass industrial labour movement can be overcome by capitalism and pitched into decades of chronic unemployment and impoverished existence.

TRADE WAR AND THE GIANT RETAILERS

For all their profits, the great distributive groups and companies do not exist separately from the crisis of capitalism. Already they are concerned about 'over capacity'—the danger of more and more selling space with fewer and fewer sales per square foot.

Though capitalists demand the utmost regimentation and regulation of workers and products within each shop and factory, the operation of industry is sheer anarchy.

The biggest groups vie with each other in constructing larger stores and piling up products on the shelves.

The supermarkets and the huge superstores backed with their massive mechanized warehousing systems cost millions of pounds to construct and require millions a week turnover in order to pay their way.

On the face of it the leading companies are in a strong position with profits rising every year. But this is not the whole story. Relative to what is spent, the return tends to get smaller and smaller. In this situation the destruction of all local competition becomes a dire necessity.

Independent shops and entire chains are bought up to be closed down and the sites sold off only to traders who will not be competing with the products of the parent firm.

Much of the ruthless pruning and takeover strategy by major groups in recent months was in preparation for Common Market entry.

Confronted by open trade war with Japan and the US this nervous alliance of European capitalists survives only in its desire to defend and extend its regime of exploitation.

To this end its single uniting objective is the smashing of the European working class.

In Britain, the retailing groups are in favour of the Tory measures to restrict wages of workers. This holds down their own wage costs.

Any loss of spending power by urban workers in general is to be made up from the new stores catering for the well-to-do, and from higher prices.

The powerful association of the retail giants, The Retail Consortium, held discussions with Heath over the setting up of Phase Two of the state pay laws and will play a major part in raising prices in line with VAT and Common Market entry.

It is certainly no exaggeration to say that the Tories' proposed measures for controlling pay, banning strikes and setting up bodies to regulate wages—coming as they do after the Industrial Relations Act, including the establishment of labour courts—are a definite step towards the corporate state.

In 1926 the Italian fascist law of syndicates banned the right to strike, with imprisonment for strike leaders. Wages could be negotiated collectively only within strict limits, the final decisions resting with the labour courts.

In 1927 the fascist labour code was issued which designated private enterprise as 'the most effective instrument of production'. Workers and employers were to work jointly for the intensification of production and the good of each business—the direction and management of which is, however, vested solely and unequivocally in the employer.

The German fascist labour code of May 1934 made independent unions illegal and wiped out collective bargaining completely. Wages were to be determined by employers on the profitability of the individual enterprise, the last



For the big stores, the destruction of all local competition becomes a dire necessity as the economic crisis continues to worsen.

word resting with individuals appointed by the Nazi Party.

All workers and employers had to enrol in a 'Labour Front' and work together for the advancement of each business.

In both countries massive reductions in wages were introduced and it was not long before Dr Ley, head of the Labour Front, could announce that the German worker 'to some extent is being paid starvation wages in the interests of the reconstruction of the Nation'.

Terrible defeats

In 1939 all limits on working hours, higher pay for overtime and night work were dropped.

By the end of 1945, the end of the war, there were more than 7 million foreign workers held as slave labourers in Germany. The steel company of Krupp housed 70,000 in 57 prison camps within the Essen area, the firm paying for the search lights, watch towers and barbed wire.

These measures came after major terrible defeats and repression of the Italian and German working classes. But there is no hard and fast rule on what comes first.

The Tory measures attempt to take back hard-won rights and drive down the standard

of living in preparation for a direct confrontation with what they hope will be a weakened and leaderless working class.

Evidence of this already exists with the enormous inroads made into union funds by fines.

Violence against pickets is encouraged, intimidation and searching of unions and left-wing organizations by police has been stepped up.

One Tory view was given in December last year by John Biggs Davison, MP for Chigwell.

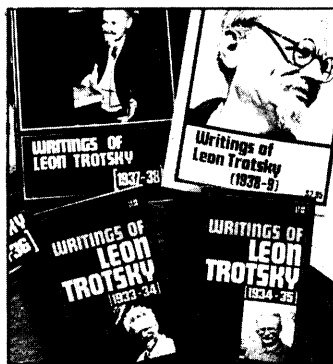
Justifying his call for a professional strike-smashing squad by painting a lurid picture of workers' activities to defend their jobs he told a meeting of Tory women:

'We must be prepared for outbreaks of industrial intimidation, urban terrorism and political violence. I have called for special anti-terrorist forces and a mobile squad to counter the motorized troops of red fascism which have turned picket lines into storm troops and terrorized our building sites.'

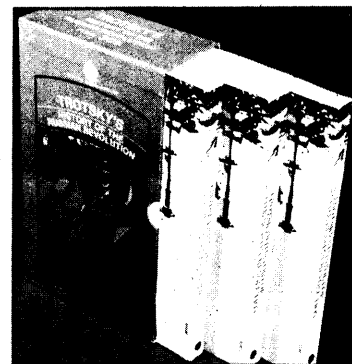
He added: 'The police force is being sadly depleted of needed men who are being suspended from duty pending investigations of malicious complaints which multiplied with every blow struck at the underworld.' ('Redbridge Recorder' December 28, 1972.)

CONCLUDED ON MONDAY

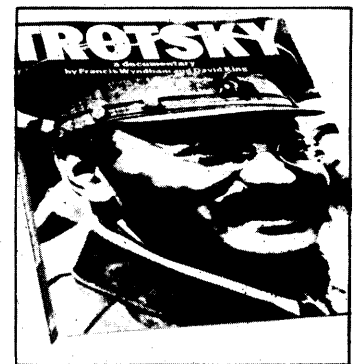
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The Free Communications Group of Press and television workers will shortly communicate no more. Its next pronouncement is likely to be its swan song.

But just as throughout its four-year existence it could never make up its mind what it was or what it wanted to do, so in its demise the FCG cannot quite decide how it should die, or for what reason.

A special general meeting was held on January 28 to debate a Council proposal that the Group be wound up. Enthusiasm had been dropping, the money from the Rowntree Trust had run out, and the FCG still had not decided exactly what it was supposed to be doing to radicalize the media.

But the special meeting voted against the Council's proposal. Instead, it elected itself a new Emergency Council of six to act as temporary caretaker, including 'Observer' man Neal Ascherson who started it all, TV producer and Labour MP Phillip Whitehead, and Bill Webb of the Manchester 'Guardian'.

A notice was put out. 'This is no time for the FCG to "lie down and die". We go on, then, but you have to decide the basis of future operations.'

Two alternatives were proposed for the future form of the FCG. They were:

- That the files and remaining money should be held by a small body to be elected at the next meeting, for supporting projects put forward by the present members; that subscriptions should cease; and that the two limited companies should be wound up.
- That the present situation with an Emergency Council should continue, on the basis of regular general meetings.

These were to be debated at a further SGM on Saturday March 31, when the Emergency Council would also report on current and proposed FCG projects.

DISMAY

The notice also reported that the SGM had decided to 'lodge formally with the IBA [Independent Broadcasting Authority] an expression of the group's dismay at the IBA's conduct in banning programmes it has not seen and giving an inadequate account of its decisions'.

This was typical reformist, protest-politics. The FCG also publishes the odd pamphlet, a magazine called 'Open Secret' with exposure stories about the evils of the establishment control of the media, and shorter bulletins of small-scale difficulties and scandals in the

television and Press industries.

One of the Group agreed to make known to the IBA the substance of this protest, which was about the banning of the World in Action programme on John Poulson the bankrupt Pontefract architect.

The Saturday March 31 special meeting was in fact held on Sunday March 30 (!) according to a notice later circulated about it. The traumatic events of that meeting possibly contributed to the confusion about what day it was held on.

The meeting was first of all told that the offices in Craven Street, London, had now been vacated, the contents stored away, and the Ansaphone contract and machines were being handed over to 'Spare Rib' magazine.



Above: 'Observer' man Ascherson

The notice reported: 'The future of the FCG was discussed, [which is exactly where the organization began four years earlier and never left off], and information on current projects given, such as news on the situation with Granada's Poulson programme and the offer of an edition of the magazine "Twentieth Century" for the FCG's use.'

It went on: 'A vote on the two alternative motions, as printed in the last handout, was taken and resulted in a 6/6 draw with a few abstentions (it was a poorly attended meeting).'

The FCG is dead, but it still can't lie down.

After more discussion, the few present passed an amended version of the first motion, adding the words 'if necessary' to the proposal to wind up the companies, and deciding to inform the membership of the decision. In place of the six-man Emergency Council, six 'Trustees' [in inverted commas] were elected, which included four new old faces.

The new projects considered were, in fact, all extremely old projects. They were 'a handbook on how to use the media for activists, strikers, etc...'; 'some kind of edition of "Open Secret", summarizing the position of the communications industry at the present time, including an

Tory Press howled for blood. The mayor and town clerk made a special trip to London to urge the Russians to stay away — again because of 'possible incidents'.

But the Russians insisted on attending. And the dire warnings of 'incidents' had an unexpected outcome.

Meetings of trade unionists in nearby Birmingham decided that they would travel in force to Stratford on the day to protect the Soviet flag and delegation. And so they did.

When the large red flag with the hammer and sickle emblem was unfurled, the workers applauded while the burghers of Stratford trembled. Then, as the procession moved off to Shakespeare's grave, the workers formed a guard around the Soviet banner and delegation.

There were no 'incidents'. But that was 47 years ago. Today no respectable bourgeois function is complete without its sleek, well-fed 'Soviet' representative — who would be the first to complain if worker-guards showed up.

END OF THE ROAD FOR MEDIA LIBERALS

Journal of The Free Communications Group No.8

15p

THE OPEN SECRET

Special Censorship Issue

WEATHER: More cloudy. Lighting-up time: Details: 45.926

Evening Star

CLOSING PRICES

London: 3p

After Lord [redacted] talks of [redacted] convention...

IRA GRILLINGS WILL BE [redacted]



By [redacted] THE GOVERNMENT has banned the use of [redacted] of [redacted] and [redacted] in [redacted] of [redacted] in Ulster.

Mr [redacted] made the [redacted] to the [redacted] this afternoon after telling [redacted] of the [redacted] of the [redacted] Committee.

This [redacted] that the [redacted] should continue to be used only [redacted] and under [redacted]. Mr [redacted] said: "Having [redacted] the whole matter with [redacted] and with [redacted] to any future [redacted] we have decided that the [redacted] which the committee [redacted] will not be [redacted] in future as an [redacted]. The Government [redacted] the minority finding of Lord [redacted] who considered these methods [redacted] in all [redacted] considered these

account of the Poulson programme'; a libel fund for a former organizer of the FCG; yet another symposium on TV4; and a request from someone for financial help with their own private magazine.

for new sources of finance for further projects.' At the bottom was a reminder to fill in the form to update the FCG's address list. 'If you don't fill this in, you may be lost from the FCG's files for ever.'

tested about in its four years' existence can only be solved by political power.

Some media liberals and armchair revolutionaries will eventually recognize this and join the revolutionary workers' movement of the Socialist Labour League. Most will not recognize it and will prefer to remain media liberals protesting vociferously at every evil in sight, unable to recognize or accept that future political power lies with the working class.

LOST

The notice ended: 'The Trustees [now without the inverted commas], will search

Some people might jump at the chance.

The FCG's problem was that of any reformist organization. Reformism cannot solve anything. All of the problems that the FCG has pro-

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

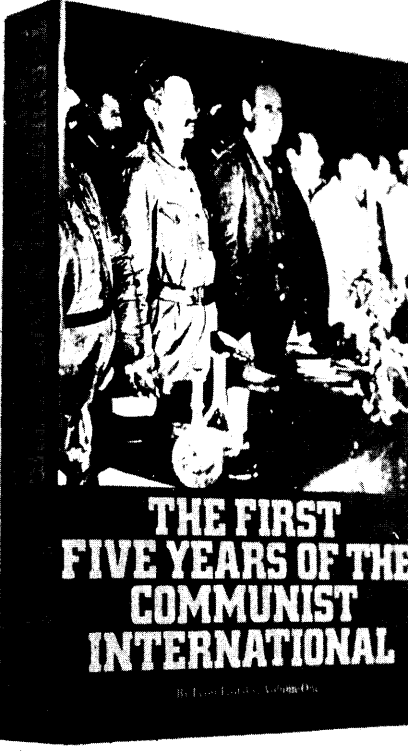
STAY AWAY

The recent celebration of William Shakespeare's birthday at Stratford upon Avon recalls the 1926 commemoration when — in error — an invitation to attend was sent to the Soviet Chargé d'Affaires in London.

The General Strike was imminent, the Russian Revolution was fresh in the memory and the Zinoviev letter forgery had terrified the middle class only two years before.

When the news leaked out that the dreaded 'reds' were going to be there, the Stratford Shakespeare Club held protest meetings, the Soviet officials were summoned to the Foreign Office and advised not to attend because of 'possible incidents' and the

A new English edition of the 'First Five Years of the Communist International' incorporating hitherto unpublished material from Volume XIII of Trotsky's 'Works'.



NEW EDITION

The First Five Years of the Communist International This first volume of Trotsky's writings and speeches for the Communist International covers the period of its first three Congresses when the post-war revolutionary upsurge reached its peak and then began to recede. It establishes, without fear of contradiction, the important role which he played in the foundation of this, the Third workers' International, and in the formation and early development of the French, German and Italian Communist Parties. At this time the theory of 'socialism in one country' had not been invented and Joseph Stalin was still a second-line Bolshevik leader who played no part in the international movement which he was later to pervert and eventually destroy.

Price: £1.50, 421 pages. Available from: New Park Publications 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG or the Paperbacks Centre 28 Charlotte Street, London, W1 (Enclose 10p for postage)

SATURDAY TV

BBC 1

9.35 Se ur beatha. 10.00-10.30 Repondez s'il vous plait. 11.25 Weather. 11.45 Motor mouse. 12.05 Barrier reef. 12.30 Grandstand. 12.40 International football preview. 1.05, 1.35 International tennis. Rothman championships of Great Britain. 1.25, 1.50, 2.20 Racing from Ayr. 2.40 Rugby League cup final. Bradford Northern v Featherstone Rovers. 4.45 Final score. 5.05 We want to sing. 5.35 News and sport. Weather. 5.50 Dr Who.

6.15 **CLUNK CLICK.** Jimmy Saville.

7.00 **FILM: 'Where the River Bends.'** James Stewart, Arthur Kennedy, Rock Hudson, Julia Adams. Western.

8.30 **DICK EMERY SHOW.**

9.00 **MAN CALLED IRONSIDE.** Gentle Oaks.

9.50 **NEWS.** Weather.

10.00 **INTERNATIONAL MATCH OF THE DAY.** Northern Ireland v England, Wales v Scotland.

11.30 **PRESENTING LENA MARTELL.**

12.00 **Weather.**

ITV

9.00 Time off. Farmhouse kitchen. 9.30 Exploring mind. 9.55 Sesame street. 10.55 Junior police five. 11.05 Tomfoolery. 11.30 Flaxton boys. 12.00 Partridge family. 12.30 News. 12.35 World of sport. 12.40 On the ball. 1.05 International sports special. 1.20 ITV seven. 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Racing from Lingfield. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Racing from Ripon. 3.10 International sports special. Ice hockey. 3.50 Results, scores, news. 4.00 Wrestling. 4.50 Results service. 5.10 News. 5.15 Doctor in charge. 5.45 Protectors.

6.15 **FILM: 'Nebraskan.'** Phil Carey. Army and Indians.

7.30 **HOME INTERNATIONAL.** Ireland v England.

9.00 **THRILLER: 'The Colour of Blood.'** With Norman Eshley, Katherine Schofield, Derek Smith.

10.15 **NEWS FROM ITN.**

10.30 **FILM: 'Murder Once Removed.'** A rich woman plays a game of death. John Forsythe.

11.45 **AQUARIUS.** Don Pablo at the UN. Pablo Casals' 1971 United Nations Day Concert.

12.30 **IDEAS IN PRINT.**

BBC 2

8.55-1.30 Open University. 3.00 Film: 'Captain From Castile'. Tyrone Power, Jean Peters, Cesar Romero. Lee 1. Cobb. 5.15 International lawn tennis. Rothmans Bournemouth championships of Great Britain. 6.40 **WESTMINSTER.**

7.05 **NEWS AND SPORT.** Weather.

7.20 **RUGBY SPECIAL.** Introduced by Cliff Morgan. Richard Burton, Spike Milligan, Gareth Edwards, Willie John McBride, Bill McLaren discuss their love for Rugby Union football.

8.15 **CHERI.** Part 4.

9.00 **THE ASCENT OF MAN.** The Harvest of the Seasons. Personal view by J. Bronowski.

9.50 **OOH LA LA!** Patrick Cargill in 'A Pig in a Poke' by Georges Feydeau.

10.45 **BLOOD, SWEAT AND TEARS.** Jazz and rock music.

11.30 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

11.35 **FILM: 'Brother Orchid.'** Edward G. Robinson, Humphrey Bogart, Ann Sothern.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 11.40 Bonanza. 12.30 London. 5.20 Persuaders. 6.15 Film: 'A Very Missing Person'. 7.30 London. 10.25 Scientists. 11.05 Spyforce. 11.55 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 9.50 Take better photographs. 10.15 Exploring mind. 10.45 Survival. 11.10 Cartoon. 11.35 Gus Honeybun. 11.55 Epilogue. 12.00 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 9.15 Exploring mind. 9.40 Take better photographs. 10.10 At your service. 10.35 Wildlife theatre. 11.05 Stingray. 11.35 Cowboy in Africa. 12.25 Weather. 12.30 London. 5.15 Elephant boy. 5.45 Film: 'Shark'. 7.30 London. 10.25 Film: 'Waltz of the Toreadors'. 12.25 News. 12.30 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.00 London. 9.55 Hammy Hamster. 10.10 Sesame Street. 11.10 Osmonds. 11.35 Tarzan. 12.30 London. 5.20 It takes a thief. 6.15 Film: 'Night Train to Paris'. 7.30 London. 10.25 Scientists. 11.10 Escape. 12.30 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 5.20 Merrie melodies. 5.45-6.15 Sion a sian.

ANGLIA: 9.00 London. 9.55 Hammy Hamster. 10.05 Skippy. 10.30 Film: 'Living it Up'. 12.00 Flintstones. 12.30 London. 5.20 Film: 'Tarzan's Fight for Life'. 7.00 Who do you do? 7.30 London. 10.25 Scientists. 11.10 Streets of San Francisco. 12.10 Epilogue.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.15 Exploring mind. 9.40 Take better photographs. 10.10 Skippy. 10.35 Jackson five. 11.00 Film: 'The Geisha Boy'. 12.30 London. 5.20 Bonanza. 6.20 Film: 'Yuma'. 7.30 London. 10.25 Scientists. 11.10 Religion. 11.15 Name of the game. Weather.



Norman Eshley and Katharine Schofield are in tonight's 'Thriller' serials on independent channels, called 'The Colour of Blood'.

ULSTER: 10.15 Yoga. 10.40 Look up. 11.00 Sesame street. 12.00 Survival. 12.30 London. 5.20 Partridge family. 5.50 Who do you do? 6.20 Film: 'The Adventures of Nick Carter'. 7.25 Summer results. 7.30 London. 10.25 Scientists. 11.10 White line. 11.35 Branded.

TYNE TEES: 9.15 Wildlife theatre. 9.40 Exploring minds. 10.10 Tomfoolery. 10.35 Joe 90. 11.05 Film: 'The Ghost Train'. 12.30 London. 5.20 Persuaders. 6.15 Film: 'The Charge of the Lancers'. 7.30 London. 10.25 Scientists. 11.10 Name of the game. 12.35 Lectern.

YORKSHIRE: 9.15 Take better photographs. 9.40 Exploring mind. 10.10 Bearcats. 11.05 Film: 'The Ghost Train'. 12.30 London. 5.20 Persuaders. 6.15 Film: 'Twenty Million Miles to Earth'. 7.30 London. 10.25 Scientists. 11.10 Name of the game. 12.35 Weather.

SCOTTISH: 9.15 Exploring mind. 9.40 Take better photographs. 10.10 Curley and coconut around the world. 10.20 Pebbles and bamm bamm. 10.35 Black Beauty. 11.05 Osmonds. 11.30 Dick Van Dyke. 12.00 Cavalcade. 12.30 London. 5.15 Partridge family. 5.50 Film: 'Danger Within'. 7.30 London. 10.25 Scientists. 11.10 Late call. 11.15 Name of the game.

GRANADA: 9.15 Exploring mind. 9.40 Take better photographs. 10.05 Play the game. 10.35 Sesame street. 11.35 Follyfoot. 12.05 Huck Finn. 12.30 London. 5.20 Film: 'Bonnie Prince Charlie'. 7.30 London. 10.25 Scientists. 11.10 Film: 'Criminal Court'. 12.20 Seaway.

GRAMPIAN: 11.15 HR Puffnstuf. 11.45 Ron and friends. 12.30 London. 5.15 Who do you do? 5.45 Sky's the limit. 6.15 Film: 'Revolt at Fort Laramie'. 7.30 London. 10.25 Scientists. 11.10 Conference report. 11.25 Untouchables.

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SUNDAY TV

BBC 1

9.00 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 9.30-10.00 Repondez s'il vous plait. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and believing. 11.35 Don't just sit there. 12.00 Training for work. 12.25 Picture making. 1.50 Farming. 1.15 Made in Britain. 1.30 Parents and children. 1.55 News. Weather. 2.00 Along the trail. 2.15 French way. 2.40 Lancer. 3.30 Film: 'The Dolly Sisters'. Betty Grable. 5.20 Wives and daughters.

6.05 **NEWS.** Weather.

6.15 **WHAT SHALL WE TELL THE CHILDREN?**

6.50 **GLORY, GLORY.**

7.25 **OWEN MD.** September Song.

8.15 **FILM: 'Kind Hearts and Coronets.'** Dennis Price, Valerie Hobson, Joan Greenwood, Alec Guinness.

10.00 **NEWS.** Weather.

10.10 **THE PASSING OF THE YEAR.** An Omnibus calendar of tribal England.

11.00 **IRELAND.** Some Episodes from her past. Part 2: The Risen People.

11.50 **Weather.**

ITV

9.30 Morning service. 10.40 Joe 90. 11.05 Funky phantom. 11.30 Weekend world. 1.00 Thunderbirds. 1.50 Training the family dog. 2.15 Sports-world 73. Show jumping and judo. 3.05 Film: 'Back Room Boy'. Arthur Askey. 4.30 Golden shot. 5.20 Scientists.

6.05 **NEWS FROM ITN.**

6.15 **ARGUMENT.** Enoch Powell.

7.00 **STARS ON SUNDAY.**

7.25 **FILM: 'A New Kind of Love.'** Paul Newman, Joanne Woodward. A career woman falls for a womaniser.

9.30 **OUR KID.** Ali Baba and the Forty Begonias.

10.00 **NEWS FROM ITN.**

10.15 **PLAY: 'The Coffee Lace.'** With Joyce Carey, Leslie Dwyer.

11.15 **FOREIGN EYE.**

12.05 **IDEAS IN PRINT.**

12.10 **THE FRIGHTENERS.** The Schoolroom. With Patience Collier and Clive Swift.



Spike Milligan has his third 'special' on BBC 2 on Sunday night.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 11.30-1.00 London. 2.13 Weather. 2.15 Champions. 3.15 Film: 'The Guns of Fort Petticoat'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.55 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Crime of Passion'. 9.30 London. 11.15 Dangerman. 12.10 Epilogue. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 9.30 London. 10.30 Sesame street. 11.30 London. 1.00 Talking hands. 1.10 Chess. 1.25 At your service. 1.55 Acres for profit. 2.15 Champions. 12.10 Epilogue. 12.15 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 10.30 Farming. 10.55 Weather. 11.00 World War I. 11.30 London. 1.00 Grasshopper island. 1.20 Survival. 1.50 Jimmy Stewart. 2.15 London. 3.00 Superman. 3.20 University challenge. 3.50 Golden shot. 4.45 Scientists. 5.30 News. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 Who do you do? 7.55 Film: 'Where the Bullets Fly'. 9.30 London. 12.00 Weather. Epilogue.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 10.35 Farming. 11.00 Gardening. 11.30 London. 1.00 University challenge. 1.30 In tune. 2.00 Bugs Bunny. 2.15 London. 3.05 Film: 'Five Golden Hours'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 6.15 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Major Dundee'. 10.00 London. 12.00 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 6.15 Book of Kells. 6.40-7.00 Llusern. 11.15 Forbidden desert of the Danakil.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 10.30 Circus. 10.55 Doris Day. 11.20 Cartoons. 11.30 London. 1.00 Champions. 1.50 Weather. 1.55 Farming diary. 2.30 Film: 'Ride the High Iron'. 3.55 Show jumping. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Sullivan's Empire'. 9.30 London. 11.15 Department S. 12.10 Epilogue.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 10.30 Camping and caravanning. 11.00 Citizens' rights. 11.30 London. 1.00 Discovering Britain. 1.20 Randall and Hopkirk. 2.15 London. 3.00 Film: 'East of Sudan'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'The Seventh Dawn'. 10.00 London.

BBC 2

8.55-1.05 Open University. 1.50 Cricket. John Player League. Gloucestershire v Surrey.

6.45 **NEWS SUMMARY.** Weather.

6.50 **NEWS REVIEW.**

7.25 **THE WORLD ABOUT US.** The Price of Paradise? The West Indies.

8.15 **VISION AND REVOLUTION.** Workshop film about the French composer Olivier Messiaen.

9.10 **AWAY FROM IT ALL.** 'A Work of Genius'. By Evan Jones. With Michael Bryant.

10.00 **MILLIGAN IN SPRING.** An entertainment with words and music by Spike Milligan.

10.30 **THE JOHN DENVER SHOW.**

11.15 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

11.20 **UP SUNDAY.**

ULSTER: 11.30 London. 1.00 Exploring minds. 1.30 Take better photographs. 1.55 Houndcasts. 2.15 London. 3.05 Women. 3.35 Cartoon. 3.45 Tarzan. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Guadalcanal Diary'. 9.30 London.

YORKSHIRE: 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 Pipet and his friends. 10.35 Untamed world. 11.00 Dick Van Dyke. 11.30 London. 1.00 Farming. 1.25 Calendar. 1.55 Show jumping. 2.40 Film: 'The Running Man'. 4.30 Cartoon. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'The Long Haul'. 9.30 London. 12.05 Shirley's world.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 10.35 Farmhouse kitchen. 11.00 Addams family. 11.30 London. 12.55 Saint. 1.55 On the line. 2.25 Show jumping. 3.10 Cartoon. 3.15 Film: 'Spare a Copper'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Haunts of the Very Rich'. 9.30 London.

TYNE TEES: 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 Carpet bowls. 11.00 Sandy Duncan. 11.30 London. 1.00 Farming. 1.25 Survival. 1.50 Where the jobs are. 2.15 Horse show. 2.40 Film: 'The West Point Story'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'The Reward'. 9.30 London. 11.15 If you've got that feeling. 2.15 Dr Simon Locke. 12.40 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 10.05 World war I. 10.35 Women only. 11.05 Clapperboard. 11.30 London. 1.00 Champions. 2.00 Numbats. 3.00 Film: 'The Luck of the Irish'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 Doctor in charge. 7.55 Film: 'Marriage on the Rocks. 9.45 Conservative report. 10.00 London. 11.15 Late call. 11.20 Mannix. 11.30 London. 1.00 Exploring mind. 1.30 Take better photographs. 2.15 London. 3.05 Film: 'The Secret Partner'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Flaxton boys. 6.05 London. 7.25 On the buses. 7.55 Film: 'Danger Route'. 9.30 London.

Comment by Royston Bull

More 'left' talk by T&G's Jack Jones

JACK JONES and the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Transport and General Workers' Union have declared their 'support' for Wedgwood Benn who is in the middle of a row with Labour Shadow Cabinet colleagues for threatening to re-nationalize Rolls-Royce Motors without compensation.

But how does this square with Jones' big drive to get workers to take up positions on management and supervisory boards of companies to help the capitalists run their affairs?

Motion

Jones has a motion down at his union's biennial conference in July supporting steps to extend the participation by members in the control of their wages and conditions, and of industry in general.

The answer is that it doesn't square at all.

Co-partnership in industry is a corporatist fraud which Jones is determined to peddle throughout the trade union movement as an alternative to fighting the class struggle.

Completely consciously, Jones is trying to get workers to ignore the revolutionary implications of the all-out Tory offensive on basic democratic rights.

He knows that the Tories' use of the law courts and the police to take away the right to free collective-bargaining, to severely

limit the right to picket, and to curtail trade union rights, such as the closed shop, are part of a calculated campaign to drive back the working class and cut its standard of living.

Jones knows that this course of action cannot but end sooner or later in an all-out class confrontation between the trade unions and the Tory government.

Jones, engineers' president, Hugh Scanlon, and all the rest of the labour and trade union bureaucracy—left, right, and Stalinist—are determined to avoid this drift towards open class conflict at all costs.

Knowing that this will necessitate coming to some kind of agreement with the Tories and helping the employing class to patch things up, the reformists and 'lefts' are eager to seize on anything that will take attention away from this craven collaboration.

Stance

Hence the quickness to strike a 'left' pose on the Rolls-Royce issue and the loud trumpeting about industrial democracy.

While on the one side the trade union leaders sign Phase Two pay deals, refuse to go to the aid of the hospital workers

who wanted to fight the pay laws, and prepare for new sell-outs to Heath at the next Downing Street talks, on the other side they put out a lot more 'left' talk to try to throw up a smokescreen.

But what does the bold stance on Rolls-Royce amount to in practice? Very little.

Gesture

In the first place, the next Labour government is, they calculate, a long way away. Who is going to remember who said what about such a relatively small issue as Rolls-Royce Motors when such a momentous event is reached of the fall of the Tory government in the middle of a gigantic economic crisis.

But secondly, and far more revealingly, the statement is an empty gesture anyway as it stands. Because the important thing now is not what Benn said, which was after all only in line with Labour Party policy, but the repudiation immediately afterwards of the 'no compensation' threat by the Shadow Cabinet.

'It was not the policy of the Labour Party to dispossess shareholders in the RR automobile



sector without compensation,' Wilson made clear.

And on this more important matter Jones had nothing to say.

All talk of socialist policies from a future Labour government is meaningless chatter without a clear understanding of how the reformist leaders of the labour movement must be resolutely combated at every turn and eventually exposed in the fight and driven from the labour movement.

Not only is Jones not in favour of such a struggle for principles; he will be very hostile to it. Because Jones is as likely as anyone to be the first to be cleared out following such a campaign.

Socialism

As a motion from a transport drivers' branch to the same T&GWU conference states:

'There can be no true control in industry by the working class except under a socialist system where the means of production and the profit ensuing therefrom are owned by the people as a whole; therefore, any other concept in our ranks can only be a diversion from the main struggle.'

'Hitler' film raises circuit monopoly

THE 'HITLER' film row has again raised the question of a virtual circuit monopoly by Rank and ABC. Doncaster's Labour MP Harold Walker, shadow spokesman on unemployment, is to ask Home Secretary Mr Robert Carr to refer the matter to the Monopolies Commission.

Yesterday the Rank Organization said it is to show 'Hitler—the last Ten Days'. It was offered to the company after ABC's Mr Bernard Delfont turned it down as a 'very, very poor' film.

He had also claimed the film made Hitler a 'hero'.

Mr Walker described Mr

Delfont's action as 'censorship': 'It is not for people like Mr Delfont to impose their opinions and prejudices on cinema-goers. Parliament would not allow the Home Secretary to exercise the same kind of power that Mr Delfont is wielding.'

The MGM film, with Sir Alec Guinness in the title role, is just part of a spate of books, films, documentaries and plays in a virtual Hitler industry—an indicative interest during the deepening economic crisis.

Three assumed dead in Fife pit fall

THREE TRAPPED men at Seafeld colliery, Kirkcaldy, Fife, were assumed dead early yesterday morning some 12 hours after a roof fall 1,600 feet beneath the Firth of Forth.

A National Coal Board Press Officer announced that although two of the three men had been able to talk to rescuers early in the rescue operation, they must be assumed dead be-

cause there had been no response since then from the location where their voices had been heard.

An NCB spokesman said earlier yesterday that there appeared to be no danger from gas or water and ventilation in the blocked face was understood to be good. It was also reported that steel supports might have formed a cage for the trapped men.

The three presumed dead are James Comrie (49), Thomas Kilpatrick (38), and Angus Guthrie (20).

Two more miners were brought out dead. They were Robert Henderson (59) and James Holmes (53).

Three men rescued after other miners tore at the fall with their bare hands were David Dickson (48), Edward Downs (57) and James Todd (30).

David Dickson was freed by rescuers moving rocks as large as a yard across. He was able to give the location of the other trapped men.

A ninth man, James McCartney (26), was also hurt in the fall and taken to hospital.

The roof fall took place in the D22 Dynart main coal face at 6.50 p.m. on Thursday. The collapse was 180 feet long by four and a half feet high and 120 feet wide. Twenty-two workmen and officials were on the coal face at the time. The working height was five feet on a gradient of 1 to 1.5.

Shearing—mechanical cutting—was taking place when the fall occurred.

Exhausted miners and relatives of the trapped men waited all night in the pit canteen adjoining the first aid room.

Mr John Gibb, NCB Production Manager for the Fife area, said that 100 rescuers had taken over fallen debris under an unsupported roof. There was 'very, very much danger to life in the rescue operation', he said.

The body of James Comrie was found by a recovery team more than 17 hours after the fall.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE

MEETINGS

CRAWLEY: Monday May 14, 8 p.m. Council for Social Service Hall, Station Road. 'Stalinism and the Struggle to defend democratic rights'.

EAST LONDON: Monday May 14, 8 p.m. Bromley Public Hall, Bow Road, E3.

WANDSWORTH: Monday May 14, 8 p.m. Kings Arms, High Street, SW18.

WATFORD: Monday May 14, 8 p.m. Watford Trade Union Hall, near Watford Junction Station. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

CAMDEN: Tuesday May 15, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross. 'Force the TUC to break off talks with the Tories'.

PADDINGTON: Tuesday May 15, 8 p.m. Prince of Wales, cnr Harrow Road/Great Western Road. 'The trades unions and the Tory government'.

TOOTING: Tuesday May 15, 8 p.m. Tooting Baths, Tooting Broadway, SW17. 'Build the Revolutionary Party'.

SLOUGH: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'Forward to the Revolutionary Party'.

SOUTHALL: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

WALTHAMSTOW: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. 'The Crooked Billet', North Circular Road. 'Force the Tories to resign'.

WEMBLEY: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. Copland School, High Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

WOOLWICH: Wednesday May 16, 8 p.m. The Castle, Powis Street, SE18. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

DUNDEE: Thursday, May 17, 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Constitution Road.

SWANSEA: Thursday, May 17, 7.30 p.m. YMCA. 'Defend workers' basic rights. General Strike to Force the Tories to resign'.

BASILDON: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. Barnstaple Community Centre. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

CROYDON: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road, Croydon. 'Forward to the Revolutionary Party'.

FELTHAM: Thursday May 17, 8 p.m. 'Three Horse Shoes', Feltham High Street. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

ACTON: Monday May 21, 8 p.m. 'Six Bells', High Street, W3. 'Force the TUC to break off talks with the Tories'.

LEWISHAM: Monday May 21, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers Club, New Cross Road. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

BATTERSEA: Tuesday May 22, 8 p.m. 'Nags Head', cnr Wandsworth Road/North Street. 'The economic crisis and the rising cost of living'.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday May 22, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue. 'The inflationary crisis and the rising cost of living'.

TOTTENHAM: Tuesday May 22, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers Arms', High Road, nr White Hart Lane.

HACKNEY: Wednesday May 23, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, Mare Street. 'Build the Revolutionary Party'.

LUTON: Tuesday May 24, 8 p.m. Recreation centre, Old Bedford Road. 'Force the TUC to break off talks with the Tories'.

ABINGDON: Tuesday May 22, 8 p.m. Above New Top Taxis, Ock Street. 'Stalinism and the struggle to defend democratic rights'.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE LECTURES

Merthyr Tydfil

Given by Gerry Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League

Wednesday May 16

Dialectical Materialism—a Marxist theory of knowledge

Wednesday May 23

Theory and Practice of Marxism

Wednesday May 30

Role of the revolutionary party at

St David's Church Hall, Church Street, Merthyr 7.30 p.m.

Jarrow

Given by Cliff Slaughter SLL Central Committee member

Civic Hall, Jarrow 7.30 p.m.

Mondays May 14 and 21

The Socialist Revolution 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

TEACHERS' MEETING

The way forward after the NUT conference Thursday, May 24, 7.30 p.m.

Conway Small Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn (admission 10p)

HOSPITAL WORKERS' MEETING

Hospital workers and the fight against the Tory government Tuesday May 29, 7.30 p.m.

Norfolk Room, Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, London SW1 (admission 10p)

BUILDING WORKERS' MEETING

TUC must break off talks with Tories! Build revolutionary party!

Wednesday, May 30, 7.30 p.m.

Tudor Room, Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, London SW1 (admission 10p)

POSTAL WORKERS' MEETING

Break off secret talks with the Tories! Force the Tories to resign!

Sunday, June 3, 10.30 a.m.

Conway Small Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn (admission 10p)

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Coventry toolroom fight goes on

A MASS meeting of 200 Coventry GEC toolmakers yesterday decided to continue their six-week-old strike. They will not meet again until two weeks time.

Financial levies in support of the strikers from other toolroom workers are beginning to come in. The strike which is over the method of payment of a £2.88 a week offer by the company has

now noticeably hardened.

This is in spite of a Pay Board statement saying that payment of the offer by stepped monthly increments which the toolmakers are demanding would contravene a clause in Phase Two of the pay laws.

Some strikers deny such contradiction. Others say: 'As it is AUEW official policy not to accept the pay laws, what the Pay Board said is irrelevant.'

The strike is affecting company production. In some instances the firm is stockpiling components months in advance of schedule to avoid lay offs.

Convenors' reports from the factory show that there is now widespread waiting time, but so far there have been no lay offs.

The strikers feel that this is deliberate company policy in order to try to undermine their confidence.

Ted Smith, a toolroom shop steward, told the meeting:

'We have been advised that it was the GEC company which was the main instigator among the Coventry employers to force through the termination of the district toolroom agreement and to replace it with plant-by-plant bargaining.'

'But as this strike shows, GEC is not prepared to negotiate. Its attitude is take it or leave it.'

BRIEFLY

ELECTRICIANS at Ford's Halewood transmission factory struck yesterday over pay they claim is due to them for reporting for work on May Day. The 40 men, who say they reported in line with instructions from their union leaders, but were turned away by pickets, want a nominal two hours' payment.

ANDREW ELLSMORE (27) yesterday denied at the Old Bailey having plotted with Pauline Conroy and others to have firearms illegally last June. Mr Michael Mansfield, for Ellsmore, said reference would be made to the recent so-called 'Angry Brigade' trial and to 'certain Irish connections'. The prosecution said Ellsmore had approached a man called Tierney, who was a police informer and who posed on police instructions as an agent of people who could sell firearms.

P AND O shipping group has threatened to close Falmouth repair yard, killing 1,700 jobs, unless the unions knuckle under to stringent conditions, including the sacrifice of 300 men's livelihoods. In a fierce attack on alleged 'low productivity' and 'lack of co-operation between management and workpeople', the company has told union representatives they must negotiate seriously on its terms by next Wednesday, May 16. The alternative to such talks, says yard chairman D. E. Turnbull, is closure.

Panic measures for Soviet grain harvest

AN UNPRECEDENTED migration of workers from industry and office work into the rural areas to deal with the harvest and transport of grain and agricultural products is planned by the Soviet Communist Party. Some 14 million tons of grain were bought from capitalist countries after last year's disastrous shortfall.

While blamed onto bad climatic conditions, it was obvious that an important reason for the deficit lay in a breakdown in organization and sheer mismanagement.

The new Central Committee directive calls on the responsible organizations to make better preparations this time. Orders have been given for an increase in the production of farm vehicles, grain and rice harvesters and other mechanical equipment.

Emphasis is laid on the need to have available stocks of spare parts, tyres, oil and petrol, lack of which caused big grain losses last year. In addition orders have gone out for transport and storage facilities to be improved.

Personnel brought in to assist agriculture will be paid 75 per cent of their normal wage and will have to make up the rest

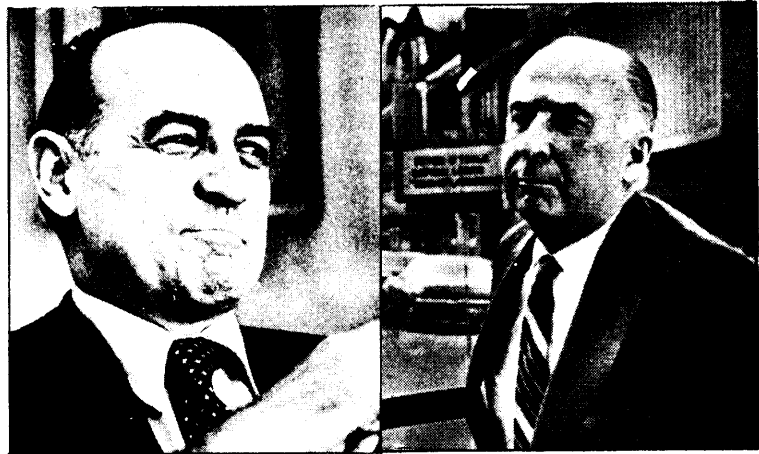
FULL 'HORROR' STILL TO BE HEARD

MITCHELL TRIED POLL BLACKMAIL

FORMER US Attorney-General John Mitchell instructed his agents to obtain 'blackmail' information on one of the leading Democratic candidates during the last election, it was revealed yesterday.

This latest revelation, coming hard on the heels of Mitchell's indictment for lying to the Watergate grand jury, is creating panic among the remaining Nixon aides in the White House.

They fear that Mitchell, who headed the campaign for President Nixon's re-election, may be forced to disgorge further guilty secrets involving White House personnel who have so far escaped involvement in the affair.



James McCord (l.) convicted Watergate burglar blows gaff on Mitchell.

An official of the Justice Department, which Mitchell himself headed until spring last year, said the former Attorney-General has 'much, much, much more to tell' about the Nixon scandal.

'The full horror stories about Watergate have yet to be told,' he said. Mitchell and former Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans have been indicted on six counts each of making false declarations.

The charges relate to the part played by the two cabinet officers in the placing of a secret \$200,000 cash donation to Republican campaign funds from Robert L. Vesco.

Vesco is an offshore financial operator currently being sued by the Securities and Exchange Commission for spiriting \$224m from the funds of Investors Overseas Services, which once belonged to Bernard Cornfeld.

The clear implication is that Mitchell and Stans accepted a vast bribe from Vesco in return for promising to protect him from the SEC inquest. The charge against them amounts to perjury, carries the same legal penalties, but is far easier to prove.

The charges against both men relate to their testimony before the Federal Grand Jury investigating the Watergate affair. Mitchell has claimed in the past

that he is merely 'an innocent by-stander who got shot in the leg'.

The latest details about Mitchell's role in the spy and sabotage campaign against the Democrats at the last election were revealed yesterday by James McCord a convicted Watergate burglar in testimony to a Washington civil court.

Mitchell, McCord said, wanted information on the (unnamed) candidate which would have linked him to racketeering. In the event the investigator is hoist with his own petard.

● Who's who in the Watergate scandal p. 3.

Spate of Phase Two deals

FROM PAGE ONE

Against the bureaucracy's wishes, that Congress threw out the official do-nothing TUC document and was only prevented from calling for a General Strike by the treacherous intervention of Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon with their one-day protest strike motion, plus co-ordinated action in support of individual unions in struggle.

But when this, too, was betrayed by the trade union leaders' refusal to come to the aid of the hospital workers, the working class began to take stock of the situation.

No single section of workers on their own can defeat this government.

Nothing short of a General Strike to create the necessary industrial and political conditions to force the government's resignation can do anything about the legal curbs on pay.

Having no confidence that the reformist leadership of the trade union and labour movement can carry this through, workers have decided to watch and wait.

There is no acceptance of the state control of wages and nothing but hostility towards the Tory government.

Everything is building up towards an almighty explosion in the autumn when the increase in the cost of living and the other pressures of the capitalist crisis reach boiling point.

A likely development then is a showdown between workers who want to fight back against the Tory attacks on their basic rights and the union leaders who wish to surrender.

● Sectors which have now settled include gasmen, hospital workers, civil servants, dockers, miners, teachers, post office workers, nurses, railwaymen, and government industrial workers.

**MAY FUND
NOW £328.48
MAKE A FIGHT
THIS WEEKEND**

THE PACE has really begun to slacken. We urge you all, dear readers, don't let our fight for this month's Fund begin to weaken. Make a special effort this weekend and pull our total up.

We certainly need it. As costs continue to rise we need extra support to keep our paper expanding into new districts. More and more our reporters are travelling far and wide to give coverage to main events affecting the working class. A roving team of reporters is now moving around the country to assist with interviews for our campaign to transform the League into a revolutionary party.

Please back us up all the way. We are sure you want your paper, Workers Press, to expand in every way. So help us this weekend. It gives us an opportunity to change the situation. Raise all you can and post immediately to:

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

WEEKEND DEMOS

THE STOKE NEWINGTON Five Solidarity Committee is holding a march in London today. Leaving Speakers Corner at 4 p.m. the demonstration will march to Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The Stoke Newington Five, all serving savage sentences for allegedly conspiring to cause explosions are:

John Barker (24), Hilary Creek (23), Anna Mendelson (24) and James Greenfield. All are serving ten-year sentences following explosions at the Barnet home of Robert Carr, the Home Secretary in January 1971.

The fifth prisoner, Jake Prescott, was gaoled for 15 years on an earlier 'conspiracy to cause an explosion' charge.

ARAB and Iranian students are marching from Speakers Corner, Hyde Park, to the Iranian embassy in Kensington at 2.30 this afternoon to protest against the Shah's military intervention in Dhofar. Iranian troops have recently joined British and Pakistan mercenaries in this Arabian Gulf principedom in order to shore up the Sultan and protect imperialist oil interests.

Young Socialists Students Society

CONFERENCE

Supplementary cash grants now!
Fight rising prices!
Defend the right to higher education!
Forward to the revolutionary party!

SATURDAY MAY 12, 2 p.m.—10 p.m.
Lecture Theatre A, ground floor
Mechanical Engineering Department
IMPERIAL COLLEGE, LONDON

All Trades Unions Alliance

DOCKERS' MEETING

LIVERPOOL

No supplementary registers.
Defend the dock labour scheme!
Force the Tories to resign!
A Labour government must nationalize the docks and transport industries under workers' control

SUNDAY MAY 13, 7.30 p.m.
Mona Hotel
James Street
(near tube station)

Young Socialists Students Society

All Trades Unions
Alliance Meeting

What next after the
miners' ballot?

The fight against the
Tory government

CASTLEFORD

Thursday May 17, 8 p.m.
Sagar Street Rooms

Speaker: G. Healy (SLL
national secretary)