

# MINERS' PAY TALKS COLLAPSE

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BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

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Jim Haddon, E Birmingham

**V FOR VICTORY:** Birmingham trade unionists showed their solidarity by turning up in their thousands to close the Saltley coal depot. Another picture p. 4.

BY ALEX MITCHELL

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same in London. Thousands out to lobby MPs.'

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Late yesterday pay talks in London between the miners and the Coal Board broke down 'irrevocably' and the government ordered a court of inquiry.

Coal Board chairman Derek Ezra said the minimum terms sought by the miners represented a 25 per cent increase and were 'totally beyond the reach of the Board'.

To end the strike the NUM is demanding £7 a week for underground workers, £6 for surface workers and corresponding increases for face workers.

But it would be wrong to think that the Tories are not using every available trick and device to play on the weaknesses in the NUM leadership. The first stage of this wheeling and dealing could be seen in the so-called 'new offers' which came into prominence in the past 48 hours.

Then there was yesterday's unanimous decision by the NUM's executive to reject the new offer. On the face of it, the decision was militant—a slap in the face to Ezra and company.

But only three hours after taking this decision miners' leaders Joe Gormley and Syd Schofield went to Carr's Department of Employment to start further talks.

Why? Because the government and the NCB are planning a 'package' deal covering wages for miners during the next 18 months or two years. This is the reason for the inquiry.

This 'package' can be expected to contain the usual productivity strings which right-wing trade union leaders are so willing to sign these days. Thus the dangers are clear—on the eve of the greatest shows of solidarity and militancy for the miners, the conspiracy is being hatched to snatch away wage justice.

Miners must insist that there should be no settlement except on the basis of the original demand.

The mass class action in Birmingham yesterday must be the signpost for today and every successive day of this Tory attack on the miners.

## WONDERFUL SOLIDARITY

'IT WAS wonderful' said Roy Brownsford, lodge secretary at Norton Colliery, Staffordshire after it was all over.

'This solidarity shows that the working class can beat anybody if it sticks together. If they don't settle quickly now there'll be a General Strike. That's what we really need now, a General Strike to oust this Tory government.'

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their ears, Gordon Vaughan, AUEW convenor, told our reporter:

'We came first of all as trade unionists to give physical support to our brothers here who have been hard pressed the last few days. 'We couldn't allow the police to knock trade unionists about like this.'

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settled by now if it wasn't for the strict guidelines imposed by the government.'

'A victory for the miners is crucial for the whole trade union movement. The eyes of all workers have been focused on this gasworks over the last few days. What we have done today has been a complete victory for the organized trade union movement.'

## INSIDE

Foreign News	2
Unemployment in the 1930s	4
Discussion on ATUA Manifesto	5
What happened to James Larkin	8
TV programmes	11

# WORKERS PRESS

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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AROUND THE WORLD

# SEAL ON \$ DEVALUATION

**THE NIXON administration has formally requested Congress to approve the devaluation of the dollar by 7.89 per cent and promised further trade talks with Japan and the Common Market.**

The Gold Bill, introduced to Congress by Treasury Secretary John Connally, raises the official gold price from \$35 to \$38 an ounce.

The Administration agreed almost two months ago to put the Bill before Congress, but made it conditional on trade concessions from the other major capitalist countries.

Connally said an agreement had been reached with Japan to

lower certain trade barriers to US exports, particularly those affecting agricultural trade. 'Substantive agreements have also been reached with the European Community, subject to final approval by its council,' he said.

But no trade agreements had been reached with Canada, though there were plans for talks to continue. In fact the US government is still deeply dissatisfied with the results of its talks with the Common Market, and Connally himself is believed to be planning another ruthless assault on the European employers' entrenched trade positions.

The agreements with the Common Market and Japan amount to little more than a commitment to negotiate seriously next year.

An influential section of US big business wants to attach protectionist measures to the Bill on its way through Congress.

Connally tried to dissuade

them in his speech, pointing out that the Bill was essential to 'better balanced international economic relationships and to international monetary stability'.

Wright Patman, chairman of the House Banking Committee, made a similar statement. He said: 'This legislation is needed to deal with the trade problems which have developed under the Nixon administration and I would anticipate that Congress would give expeditious treatment to this request.'

Though the US is raising the gold price, there are no plans to resume the sale of gold on the official market.

This means the dollar will continue to be inconvertible and the main source of international monetary crisis will remain. There is no way out of this crisis by negotiation or legislation and it is clear from reports of Connally's trade war plans that he knows this.



## SMITH BLAMES RIOTS ON ANC

**FACED with a rising tide of African revolt, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith yesterday launched a strong attack on the African National Council which, he said, was behind the violence which broke out last month.**

He was speaking at a press conference called to answer the charge that the arrest of ANC leaders was blocking free debate on the Anglo-Rhodesian settlement proposals during the Pearce Commission's visit.

He claimed that it was receiving funds from banned organizations abroad. His government had built up a dossier which, he said, 'consists of a formidable array of evidence that there is a tremendous amount of intimidation'.

Smith said that the dossier would be submitted to the Pearce Commission.

With typical disregard for the evidence, he claimed that Africans would accept the settlement terms but for the violence which he accused the ANC of fomenting.

# WHAT WE THINK

## TORIES MANHANDLE PICKETS

**IN PARLIAMENT** this week Home Secretary Reginald Maudling has repeatedly denied any responsibility for the police attacks on miners' pickets.

He told the Commons on Wednesday: 'It is not for me, as Home Secretary, to interfere with the police in carrying out the law. It is not for the government to order chief constables.'

Maudling is attempting to do a Pontius Pilate. He's trying to tell us that the large-scale arrests, the roughing up of pickets by 'heavy mobs' is all an accident.

To give the lie to Maudling's statement, we would like to quote from the 'City Press', the ultra-respectable newspaper of the bankers and brokers in the City of London.

In a front-page lead story yesterday, the paper said: 'How desperate the government are, is clear from their declaring a State of Emergency. In addition, very strong instructions have been sent by the Home Office to chief constables of local police forces that lorries must be allowed to enter coal dumps and power stations, even if it means a violent confrontation between the police and the miners' pickets.'

The brutality of police towards pickets makes clear that such a policy is in operation.

Is Maudling saying that he, as Home Secretary, doesn't know that his own Home Office has sent such a directive?

Come off it, Maudling!

## EEC CASH UNITY VITAL— EXPERT

**UNLESS a start is made towards economic and monetary union the Common Market will disintegrate,** warned top monetary expert Raymond Barre on the eve of vital Franco-German talks.

Barre, vice-President of the Executive Commission in charge of economic and financial affairs, was speaking to the European parliament at Strasbourg.

Commission proposals to reduce the margin of fluctuation between Common Market currencies have been blocked since last May by the international monetary crisis.

The French are known to favour a reduction of the margin from the present 4½ to 2½ per cent. Barre claims that 2 per cent is the maximum compatible with the EEC's agricultural price policy.

Earlier this month Barre declared that member countries should not use fluctuations in exchange rates as a substitute for customs barriers.

Like other experts, he is seriously worried at the threat to European monetary stability represented by the huge volume of Eurodollars and other floating capital.

In addition to a smaller margin for currency fluctuations, the French want control over speculative capital movements and co-ordinated action by the central banks.

These measures are clearly aimed at the United States but are unlikely to become effective—even if the Common Market members are able to come to an agreement—before speculation against the dollar brings another monetary crisis.

## PAN AM PARITY FIGHT

**THE SEVEN-day-old work-to-rule and overtime ban by Pan Am staff at Heathrow airport continued yesterday.** On Wednesday workers rejected the management's latest pay offer for an extra 10 per cent to industrial staff and up to 85 to clerical staff.

Pan Am staff claim that management do not have parity with BOAC workers over living pay awards in the year.



POMPIDOU



BRANDT

## EARLY POLL CERTAIN IN ITALY

**ITALY faces a General Election following an abortive last-ditch attempt to patch up the centre-left coalition.** Separate meetings of the coalition parties are being held to decide on the next step following the inability of Christian Democrat Giulio Andreotti to form a government.

In the absence of a last-minute compromise, a provisional government is likely to be set up to organize elections a year ahead of time.

Even a provisional government will be difficult to form, owing to the deep differences between the coalition partners over economic policy to deal with Italy's deep depression and the proposed divorce law reform.

● Fascists in Milan made bomb attacks on the offices of the Communist Party daily paper 'L'Unita' and two monuments to partisan dead on Wednesday night. A man was injured in the print shop.

## Arrangements for visit OK

**PREPARATIONS for President Nixon's visit to Peking are going ahead 'just fine,'** said spokesman for the 70-strong American advance party. He declined to comment when asked whether there would be a mass turnout when the President arrived at the airport.

When told that the American party could not be telephoned from Peking and that the guards on their hotel refused entry to all except the official group, he expressed surprise. His group is driven about the capital in Chinese limousines with armed escorts.

# VICIOUS BOMBING BY PEKING-BOUND PRESIDENT

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

**AMERICAN air power in Indo-China has been sharply increased as President Nixon prepares for his Peking visit.** The biggest aerial offensive for more than a year has been launched against the National Liberation Front and the N Vietnamese.

Three aircraft carriers are now operating in the Gulf of Tonkin, which is usually patrolled by a single carrier. Another aircraft carrier is standing by in Californian waters awaiting orders to leave for Vietnam. At the same time, 30 more giant B-52 bombers are on their way to Indo-China.

Yesterday the US air force mounted its heaviest bombing raid on a single target for more than a year. B-52s flew six missions round the clock against a concentration of NLF and N Vietnamese troops 26 miles from the coastal city of Da Nang.

Fighter bombers yesterday flew more than 80 strikes against targets in the Central Highlands and the provinces S of Saigon. These were the biggest fighter-bomber raids since August last year.

The Americans claim the liberation forces are preparing a major offensive on the eve of Nixon's Peking trip. They hope to bomb the NLF into accepting whatever deal is cooked up between Nixon and the Chinese Stalinists in Peking.



## 150,000 STUDENTS LOCKED OUT

**STUDENT demonstrations and boycott of lectures in support of 4,000 Madrid university medical students who have been suspended from their studies have led to the closure of faculties in six Spanish universities affecting more than 150,000 undergraduates.**

The medical students refused to end their boycott of lectures against a new educational law forcing them to do an additional year of unpaid internship at a government-designated clinic. The students also want more representation in university affairs.

Education Minister Villar Palasi and university rectors have launched a campaign against 'the subversive forces who are using academic problems for their own destructive ends'.

## CZECHS EVICT ITALIAN WRITER

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA has just thrown out a communist journalist, former victim of Mussolini and concentration camp prisoner Ferdi Zidar of the Italian CP organ 'L'Unita'.**

While the paper has vigorously denounced the measure, it has been less than honest in its reporting of the cases of other Italian journalists who have fallen foul of the Czech government.

It has not reported the denials of Dubcek-supporter Jiri Pelikan—now living in exile in Rome—that Catholic newsman Vittorio Ochetto was his go-between with the Czech opposition.

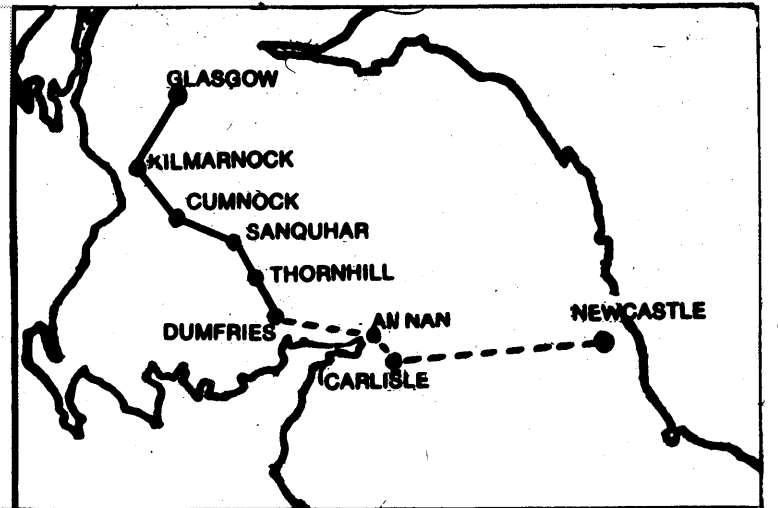
Ochetto has been held in a Prague jail for over a month.

Nor has it reported upon or protested against the recent arrests of intellectuals and workers opposed to the present Czech government. These include the sons of frame-up victims Rudolph Slansky and Jan Slings.

Right-to-Work

## DIARY

By Stephen Johns

WE DEMAND  
THE  
RIGHT  
TO  
WORK

DAY FIVE—Thornhill.

WE MARCHED into Tory territory today along the Nith valley, but the reception at the end of the day was equal to that of Kilmarnock.

The hospitality this time came from the Transport and General Workers' Union branch at Dumfries.

They put us up in the Kirkpatrick sausage factory. We have an excellent warm hall and the use of the works canteen—so we've just sat down to the best meal of the march. Tomorrow—wait for it—we get a whole roasted sheep.

As usual the generosity came

## TREMENDOUS T&amp;GWU HOSPITALITY

open-handed from the working class—surrounded as they are by acres of reactionary Dumfrireshire.

'There're no thanks necessary,' said the local T&GWU official Mr Tremble. 'You'll need that sheep to get you past all the Tories between here and Carlisle.'

Even in this area, far away from the main jobless blackspots in Scotland, unemployment is at record levels.

In the town of Dumfries 3,000 out of a total population of 30,000, are unemployed—that's a rate of about 10 per cent.

Farther up the road at Sanquhar (a Royal Borough and

another Tory stronghold) the dole queues are even longer.

John Flannigan, an ex-mine-workers' union official, and an independent socialist councillor, told some of the marchers that the jobless totals had rocketed.

'Four years ago they closed the Fallhead pit. That was 1,200 down the road and in 1964 the Gateshead mine was shut down—another 300.' The victims of these purges stood around on the 'quaint' streets of the town and watched the march pass through.

The jobless rate is 18 per cent, which even beats most towns in that province ravaged by unemployment—N Ireland.

This figure is despite efforts to

get jobs. Six new factories have come into the area. We passed two of them on the way in.

One was penned off with barbed wire—Brock's fireworks plant. But the workers came out to greet us all the same—all women and young girls (so much for new jobs).

After that it was open country—and some of the best I have ever seen—all the way to Thornhill.

We followed the river Nith. The two young miners we recruited at Cumnock told me it was a good stream for fishing (salmon and trout) but not, of course, for the working-class man—the 'keep-off' notices were

spaced at regular intervals along the way—the land, the river and valley belong to the Duke of Hamilton.

The selling team has just come into the canteen where I am writing. It seems many of the inhabitants of Tory Thornhill are not keen on the Workers Press. That doesn't bother the marchers, there're ten socialists in Scotland to every Tory now. The results from New Cumnock, where we were welcomed into the working men's club, prove it. The miners there have ordered 50 copies of the paper each day. Tomorrow we are in Dumfries—three days away from our 12 hours' rest at Carlisle.

## THE RENTON BOYS ON THE MARCH

AT RENTON in the Vale of Leven the Labour Exchange has given up trying to place young people in jobs.

Instead the 'buroo' is festooned with adverts for the army and navy. The clerk behind the desk signs the form and passes it over to the assistant who pays out the money.

If the young worker inquires about a job, the bureaucratic finger points to the Technicolor posters inviting teenagers to join Her Majesty's forces.

Fortunately most of the Renton youth want nothing to do with the services. Most think like Jim Lundy (17) one of the squad of Renton boys on the march.

'I told them I wasn't going to go over to Ulster to get a bullet in my back for the Tories.'

Archie Thomson (17) tells another story. He went to sign up in the 'glamour' regiment, 'the Argyles'.

'A year and a half ago I went along. They tested me out and said I was fit, then they found I had a record for assault. They said, "We train killers not recruit them". That was enough. I want no part of the army now and the N Ireland situation proves it.'

Archie, Jim and their mates John Young (16) and Pat Callaghan (17) are part of the team responsible for selling the papers and collecting money on the march. They scatter before and after the column as it passes through the towns and villages and appeal to workers to help the fight against the Tory government.

I talked to them about the place where they live.

Renton is an estate that masquerades as a community. For the young, life means hanging around a street corner and dodging the police, who have launched an unremitting campaign of harassment.

Andy told me of one incident which he says is typical.

'One night I was coming home from the youth club. I forgot something and decided to go back. Two cops came and said "Which way are you going?" I told them I was going to the



Always out pacing the column between towns are the Renton boys who sell Workers Press as they reach each town

youth club and they said they would "lift" me if I did.

'I came out of the club and went for some chips. Then they moved in. One pulled my hair and made me pick up a chip and then they took me in for breach of the peace.'

Archie tells another story of apparent injustice.

He was up on a similar charge as Andy. The JP asked if he would plead 'not guilty'. Archie said he would.

'He said I was just wasting the court's time and sent me down to Barlinnie jail for four days to await trial. Then they charged me and found me guilty.'

Almost all the lads have been out of work for six months. When they had jobs it was slave labour.

Archie and John worked on local farms.

'Farm worker they call it. Farm slave I call it. I got £8 for six days a week. The work was rotten. Scrambling around the field shifting the rocks in the snow to make the ploughing easier.'

Two of the other lads worked in a local wool factory.

They tried to get a union going, but the management stamped on the idea. The firm pays good money by the low

standards of the Vale, but the work is relentless and back-breaking.

'It's profit, profit, profit from morning to night. What they do is to recruit young workers for a short time then throw them out. If a 19-year-old is working and a 16-year-old comes in who is stronger, the older boy gets kicked out,' said Pat.

All these things make these lads march. They all want a better life free from the continual pressure of the law and especially the 'Rookies'—new plain clothes police who are purging the area because of the outcry over 'vandalism'.

You'd call them a rough and ready bunch, but they are always out there pacing the column between the towns.

Already their experiences have made a big impression.

John spoke for them all, when he paid tribute to the workers who have helped us along the way.

'The reception at Kilmarnock and the welcome we got there in Thornhill was really tremendous. It makes us keep going despite the problems and the difficulties. I think if these kind of workers could only get together in a movement we could get the Tories out.'

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Make the Tory government resign!

Return a Labour government pledged to restore full employment and repeal all laws against the unions!

WILLESDEN: Monday February 14, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Rd, NW10. Unemployment and the capitalist crisis.

SOUTHALL: Tuesday February 15, 8 p.m. Indian Workers Association, 18 Featherstone Rd 'Victory to the miners'.

W LONDON: Tuesday February 15, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Rd, off York Way, Kings Cross. 'Support miners and Ulster workers.'

SW LONDON: Tuesday February 15, 8 p.m. Small Hall, Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4. 'Support miners and Ulster workers.'

ACTON: Wednesday February 16, 8 p.m. 'Mechanics Arms', Churchfield Rd, W3. 'Support miners and Ulster workers.'

LUTON: Thursday February 17, 8 p.m. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Rd. World economic crisis.

SE LONDON: Thursday February 17, 8 p.m. Room 2, Deptford Engineers' Club (opp New Cross Stn). 'Support miners and Ulster workers.'

N LONDON: Thursday February 17, 8 p.m. Town Hall, Edmonton. Reformism and trade unions.

Socialist Labour League  
Special lecture  
Common Hall, Hackley's Hay  
(off Dale St)

LIVERPOOL, 8 p.m.

Tuesday February 15

given by  
C. Slaughter (SLL Central Committee)

## THE FIGHT AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

# 1931

BY JACK GALE

### PART 3

What did happen in 1931?

In 1929 the Labour Party was returned as a minority government, allowed to survive only by the courtesy of the Tories and Liberals, in time to meet the full effects of the collapse of the boom in the United States.

In June 1930, unemployment in Britain stood at 1,122,000. By January 1931 it was over 1½ million, by April it was 1,700,000, by mid-summer over 2 million, and by the end of the year it had soared to well over 2½ million.

Feeble efforts were made to set up a Ministerial board to co-ordinate employment schemes under J. H. Thomas (one of the members was Oswald Mosley), but MacDonald was already appealing for support from the other parties.

In June 1930 he proposed a conference of leaders of the three parties. The Conservatives refused, but the Liberals agreed, and regular discussions between Labour and Liberal leaders took place from then on.

Such manoeuvres, however, were powerless to prevent the rapidly deepening crisis of world capitalism and the growing lack of confidence in British capitalism. There was an increasing withdrawal of funds from London, accompanied by louder and louder demands, both in Britain and abroad, for reductions in national expenditure—especially in the cost of payments to the unemployed.

Winston Churchill, for instance, condemned 'paying for the longest time, in the loosest fashion, the largest doles to the largest number' ('Times', February 19, 1931).

This was accompanied by strong pressure for economies from the permanent Civil Servants at the Treasury, and found an echo inside the Labour government.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip Snowden, told parliament that 'no budget in the world could stand the strain that has been placed upon it by the increase in unemployment in the last 12 months'. Snowden also declared that the task was too big for any one party and the demand began to be raised that the House of Commons should function as a Council of State.



During the depression. Unemployed workers staging a hunger march.

In February, the government established the May Committee to report on 'practical and legitimate deductions in the national expenditure'. This consisted of two members from each Party and was chaired by Sir George May, who until shortly before then had been secretary of the Prudential Assurance Company.

Meanwhile, the capitalist crisis worsened. On May 11 the main bank in Austria—the Credit Anstalt—collapsed. There was a widespread collapse of banks in Germany, leading to an intensified run on sterling which, in turn, led to even less confidence in the British economy.

By July 14 the German banking system had collapsed completely, and by July 22, the Bank of England had lost £22m of gold (see L. Robbins 'The Great Depression').

On August 4 the Bank of England announced that temporary credits of £50m each had

been obtained from the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and the Bank of France.

This dependence of the Labour government on international financiers naturally led to the domination of the policies of the government by those financiers and their direct political representatives, the Tories. This is well illustrated by the negotiations between Snowden and Neville Chamberlain before the report of the May Committee was presented to parliament.

In his book, 'An Autobiography', Snowden recounts how he was visited by Chamberlain:

'He was well aware of the financial position and would avoid putting me in an embarrassing position. He was anxious to be helpful, and he thought it might be well if I could make a reply to him which would impress the country with the gravity of the situation. I gave him a full account of the information in my possession. We agreed upon the general line that he would take in his speech, and I promised to follow with a speech which would raise the discussion above party controversy.'

A similar line was being taken by other members of the Labour Cabinet, who later claimed to have opposed MacDonald all along. J. R. Clynes, for example, also spoke of the country expecting co-operation from the three parties.

The position of the Tories and Liberals was accurately described by R. Bassett in his book 'Nineteen Thirty-One':

'The Conservatives and Liberals greatly preferred that the situation should be dealt with by the Labour government than that they should undertake the political risks involved.'

What these risks were became clear when the May Committee reported. It recommended reductions in the pay of Civil Servants, teachers and servicemen, but its main recommendation was a

reduction of £66,500,000 in unemployment expenditure, including a 20 per cent cut in the standard rate of unemployment benefit.

Clearly there was no hope of an open Tory government getting away with such measures. A Labour 'Front' was needed to force such things down the throats of the working class.

No wonder 'The Times' reported on August 4:

'The Conservatives recognize that the government are in an extremely difficult position, largely owing to the campaign which is already being waged in some Labour quarters against the May report.'

But withdrawals of foreign balances from London were increasing daily, the temporary credits were being used up rapidly and pressure from America and Europe for cuts in unemployment expenditure was being stepped up.

'The Times', of August 12, reported that constant discussions were going on between MacDonald and Snowden and Baldwin (the Tory leader), Samuel (the Liberal leader) and the Deputy Governor of the Bank of England. (The Governor of the Bank of England had collapsed due to 'exceptional strain' and had to leave the country to recuperate!)

One of the myths of Labour Party history is that MacDonald, Snowden, Thomas and Sankey were the only traitors, while Henderson, Morrison, etc., were loyal to socialism, standing out bravely in defence of the unemployed and breaking resolutely from MacDonald, whom they had never realized was going to the Tories.

The truth is that none of the leaders of the Labour Party saw any alternative to some sort of attack on working-class standards. They clung to MacDonald, striving to reach some compromise, until he broke from them.

One of the proposals put for-

ward as an 'alternative' to dole cuts by the 'lefts' was a revenue tariff of 10 per cent to 20 per cent. This would have raised the cost of living and been a disguised cut in wages and doles.

The whole Cabinet agreed to economies totalling £78,500,000. These included increased insurance contributions and limited the period of benefit to 26 weeks; cuts in the salaries of government and public employees (such as teachers); and reduced expenditure on the roads. (This last meant, in effect, smashing one of the few attempts by the government to provide employment.)

These proposals, however, met with tremendous opposition from the trade unions, and a deputation from the TUC General Council met the Cabinet and demanded that they be withdrawn and replaced by a graduated tax on profits and a levy on unearned income.

It was this pressure from the unions which produced a split in the Cabinet, pushing some of those members most closely connected with the unions into opposition to the proposed cuts. This produced a state of furious despair amongst the right-wing, illustrated most clearly by an entry in Beatrice Webb's Diary (August 22):

'The General Council are pigs,' S.W. [Sydney Webb] said. 'They won't agree to any cuts of unemployment benefits or salaries or wages.'

The opposition from the unions forced the Cabinet to modify its proposals, but the lack of a real socialist alternative to MacDonald was revealed by the fact that even then the whole Cabinet agreed to cuts totalling £56,000,000 (see R. Bassett 'Nineteen Thirty-One').

These proposals included a 15 per cent cut in teachers' salaries, a saving of £5,000,000 on Transitional Unemployment benefit by the use of a Means Test, and a levy on all employed workers.

MacDonald was now in a crisis. On the one hand, the reaction of the working class through the unions created a split in the



Stanley Baldwin.

Cabinet; on the other hand, the Tories and Liberals, backed up by the bankers, refused to co-operate unless the total economies came to £78,500,000 and there were cuts in the dole.

Samuel, for instance, described the Cabinet's proposals as 'bold' and 'courageous', but went on: 'We [i.e., both Liberals and Conservatives] doubted whether such a large sum of savings could be effected . . . without a diminution in the scale of unemployment allowances.'

It was because of this impasse that a conference of the leaders of the three parties, on August 21, had to be adjourned and an emergency Cabinet meeting called, at which there was unanimity on the need to seek the support of the Liberals and Tories.

Meanwhile, the Bank of England had exhausted its own credit in America and France and any further loans had to be negotiated on behalf of the government. The chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York told the government's representatives that they could probably raise a further loan of £50m in New York and Paris, provided an adequate economic programme was approved by parliament. In other words, a programme acceptable to the Tories.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



Unemployed man and his family living in a shack.

# BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

## DISCUSSION ON THE ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE DRAFT MANIFESTO

On November 6 last year a national conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance decided to adopt a draft manifesto to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party. Since the conference a country-wide discussion has been initiated in League branches, in the ATUA, in the Young Socialists and among Workers Press supporters. Until the Right-to-Work rally at Empire Pool, Wembley on March 12, we intend to carry a full page each day devoted to your comments on the Draft Manifesto. We have received more than 100 contributions to this vital discussion. Now we want at least another 100.

Workers and their families, youth, students and the unemployed are all invited to join in this discussion. If you haven't got a copy of the Draft Manifesto write to Workers Press or contact your local ATUA branch.

**JOHN BROWN**  
Shop steward, Municipal and General Workers Union. Employed as miller at Small & Parke's, Collyhurst

The recession in the car industry is reducing my wages rapidly, as all overtime has finished.

The idea of the Draft Charter is to get it to as many people as possible in industry who don't know anything about it. This is the whole idea—make the Tories resign and elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, real policies. Let us have a real Labour government.

The right wing were lying when they said entry would benefit workers and create employment.

I'm all for throwing out those 69 traitors, in fact anyone who is against the working man.

I am critical of the Labour Party leadership on entry into the Common Market. They wanted to go in but only on different terms. Unemployment will go up when we go in. And prices will go up even faster than they are now.

I insist that the real fight is centred around the struggle to force the Tories to resign.

The Tory government is governing illegally. It has been like that for years—the Labour Party isn't much better. The Tories are an illegal government and it is the right idea to make them resign. In fact all trade unionists and the TUC should support this.

Throw out Ted Heath. Let him go back to his yacht. He is sailing us into a real storm. The solution is to get them out. I think the working man is getting fed up with the lower standards of living which are brought about by Tory policies, by unemployment and by rising prices to meet the Common Market prices.

The TUC and the unions must put them out and someone must take us out of the storm before we hit the rocks altogether.

**STEPHEN JACKSON**  
43-year-old miner at Coventry Colliery

My idea of entry into the Common Market is that it is a move to smash the trade union movement.

Cheap labour could be imported from Europe and defeat workers' chances of defending their living standards. It is a move by the big businessmen.

Those Labour MPs who voted with the Tories are nothing else but side-kicks. They should be thrown out of the Labour movement.

The Tory government had no mandate to make all the attacks on the working class. I think there should be a national stoppage to force them out.

The working masses should have everything they are entitled to. The Labour government should nationalize all major industries and, since nationalization should be for the people, it should be run by the people—that is by the workers who work in those industries.

There shouldn't be compensation to these owners. It should never have been paid in the first place. They've had their whack out of these industries already.

I believe in everything the Workers Press says. The more workers who read it the better. It will open their minds, to the extent that it points out happenings that are not published in the other national papers and it will change their outlook on life altogether. The party has to be built. It is the main opposition to the capitalist system.

**JAN UNCZUR**  
Warehouseman at Boots Ltd., Nottingham and USDAW member

The Manifesto aims to change the whole system of unfair distribution of wealth.

Obviously it will act as a guide to the labour movement towards a really more socialist labour movement.

There are right-wing factions in the labour movement with their insistence on 'getting the economy straight' at the expense of workers and pensioners.

We should use the Manifesto as a foundation, a reference on which to base all our ideas and ideals.

In Workers Press you get certain instances, but in the Manifesto you get the whole issue down in the pamphlet.

It is a good thing to point out the dangers of Stalinism. There is an ever-present danger—we could go off the rails in the same way.

When you get countries like Russia that seem to have gone completely off the rails, this is an important lesson.

All the criticisms of the Manifesto and the Workers Press should be aired and discussed so that we do not become complacent. You must put a lot of pressure on the trade unions to censure people like Roy Jenkins and the MPs who voted for the Common Market.

The Labour Party seems to be letting the matter rest. It is issuing vague warnings but doing nothing about it.

While Labour were in they were criticized by the press, but this criticism has died down now the Tories are in.

There are a million unemployed and the cost of living is going up but there is very little criticism from the press.

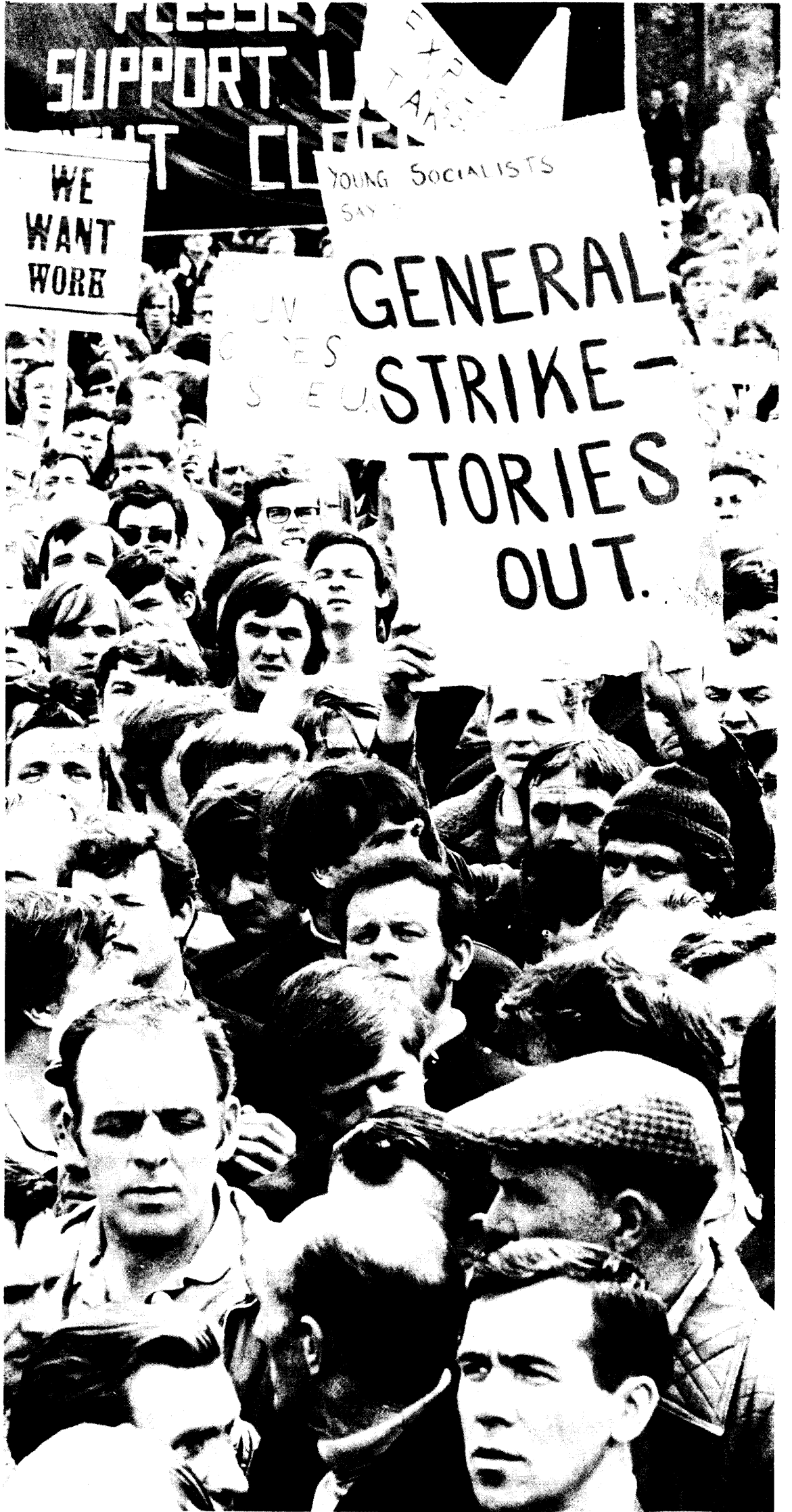
I agree with the call for a United Ireland. The Manifesto says we should take the RUC and the troops out. It should also call for a united Ireland.

On the Common Market, the Labour Party should be forced at the next election to stick to its policy of opposition.

Students live under terrible conditions and more should be done for them. Their grants should go up and they should have a lot more say in the running of their colleges and universities.

As soon as the Labour government gets in there should be an immediate pensions rise.

Prices should be frozen. All



'The real fight is centred around the struggle to force the Tories to resign.' Yet Stalinist leaders attempted to pull down this Young Socialist placard during the demonstration against closure of UCS in June last year.

the wage claims stopped by the Tories should be put through, to allow an immediate increase in the standard of living.

**K. M. WETTON**  
Member of Winsford USDAW branch and works for a local textile firm.

Firstly I would like to say that I completely agree with the Manifesto. Surely one does not need to be a politician to realize that what it says is the truth.

For example in paragraph one, concerning the notorious 69 Labour MPs, we now see that only this week six Labour front-benchers have been axed. Could this mean that even Wilson is getting the picture?

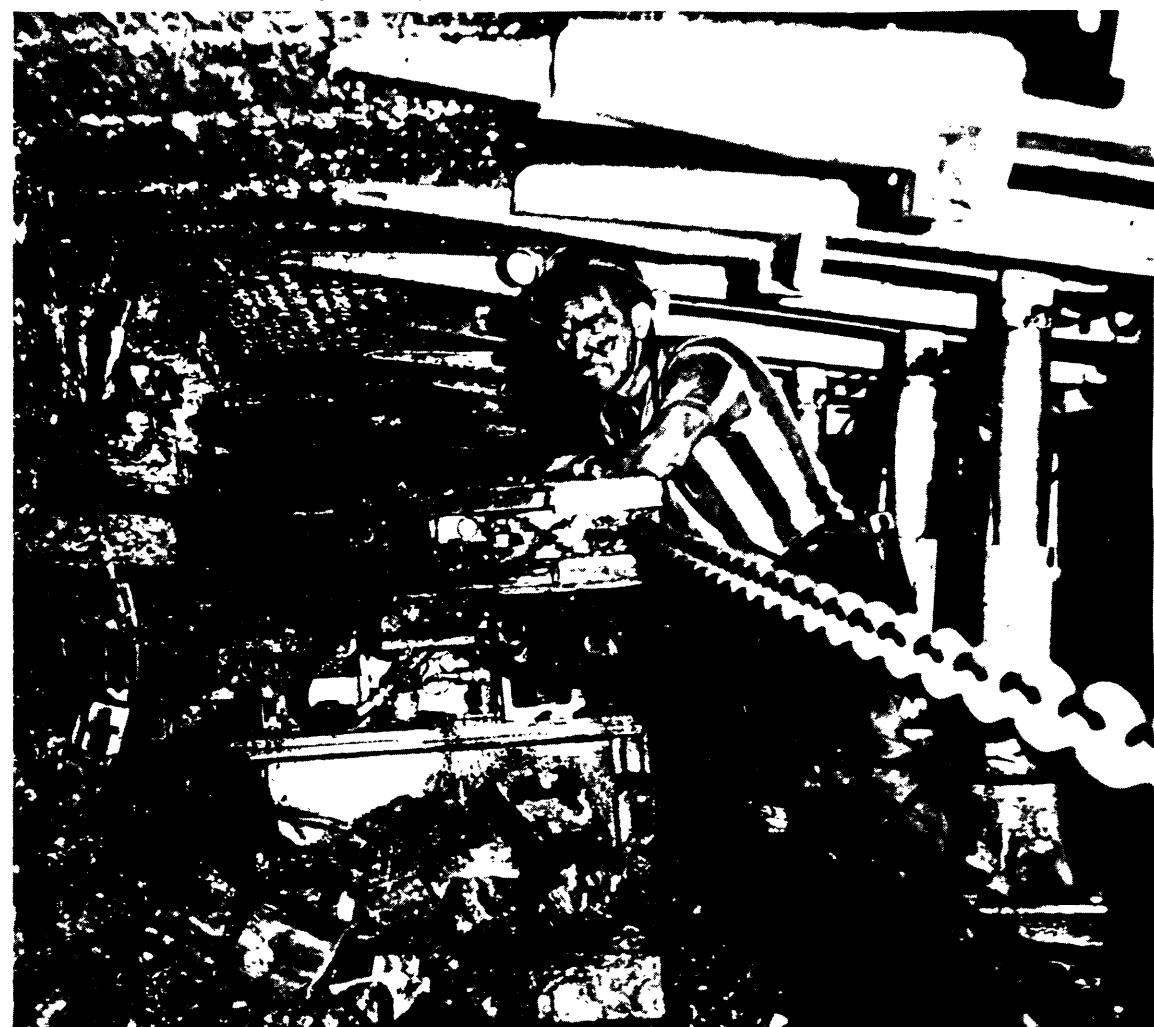
The point that the Manifesto puts over about entry into the Common Market I found really enlightening.

We are able to see the differences between the Tory promises of better things to come and the hard facts that

face us on entry at a time when the world monetary system is so near to total collapse.

As I have said, this is a very good paragraph and should surely make everyone who reads it aware of the struggle and hardships that must follow a decision such as the Tories have made (off their own bat).

All in all, I found that the Draft Manifesto said what it had to say in terms that were down-to-earth and easy for anyone to understand.



# MINES AND MECHANIZATION

Up to the end of World War II mining was still a pick-and-shovel operation. But in the period following nationalization in 1947, the drive was to cheapen coal with heavy investment in labour-saving machinery.

This productivity policy in the pits revealed itself in several ways:

- Mechanization and automation were introduced.
- Piece-work was eliminated.
- Method study was introduced.
- Pits unable to match up to fast and continuous production were closed.
- The labour force was cut by half.

Figures show that the amount of coal cut by mechanized methods increased from 20 per cent in 1955 to over 85 per cent in 1969.

The intensification of coal-cutting is not only a feature of the British industry. In Belgium, automation beginning in the late 1950s led to the end of 20,000 jobs in one area alone in the year 1959-1960. The total number of miners in the country dropped from 105,000 in 1958 to 64,500 in 1963. Production rose in the same period from 1,262 to 1,820 kilos per manshift.

But possibly the most drama-

tic effects of modernization have been seen in the United States, where a \$200 million investment in mechanization put hundreds of thousands of workers out of work. In West Virginia alone, more than 200,000 subsisted on 'molly-grub'—a special handout of starvation rations — and 408,000 needed surplus foods to stay alive in the years 1960-1961.

Queues of 7,000 men, women and children were lining up waiting for their monthly portion.

A key factor in the employers' ability to bring about unemployment on such a giant scale has been the willing collaboration of the union leaders in all the schemes.

It was John L. Lewis, head of the United Mineworkers in the USA, who, more than any other man, made it possible for the mines to be mechanized in so short a time. His policy was not to oppose mechanization so long as those left at work benefited with higher pay. He stated the loss of jobs would not be as great as the 'theorists' claimed. A further argument was that failure to modernize would mean that pits would be uneconomical and have to close, causing unemployment. Members of the US government and employers have paid

tribute many times to Lewis's role in smoothing the way for a run-down of jobs.

A Prices and Incomes Board report on the coal industry issued in 1969 pays tribute to the leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers in much the same way.

It says: 'The closure of uneconomic collieries has made a significant positive contribution to productivity growth over the last decade. In addition, mineworkers have co-operated extensively with management's efforts to increase efficiency, in line with the NUM's official policy of keeping costs down to preserve the competitive position of coal.'

'That the run-down has involved no major strikes is a tribute to the redundancy and transfer arrangements and the care with which the NCB has carried out the closure programme, as well as to the leadership shown by the NUM.'

This is a glowing tribute to the grim policies of Arthur Horner in the post-war period and Will Paynter and Daly more recently. (Both Horner and Paynter were members of the Communist Party.) Although it has now been disbanded, it is the PIB's policy in the coal industry which is guiding the bureaucrats at the National Coal Board. Since the

Men covered by power-loading deals earn more. Yet for these miners, top and lower left, operating heavy duty coal cutters, work is tough, dirty, dangerous and the health risks are much greater than before. Canderrig colliery, above, is now closed. But many miners still spend their working day crouched in narrow, wet seams for gross earnings of £25 a week or less.

1969 report the NCB has been engaged in a speeded up programme of jobs decimation; exploitation of the remaining work force has also increased.

The report was undertaken specifically to study 'efficiency in the coal industry'.

The PIB's chief complaint was that there was an apparent 'decline in the rate of increase in productivity'. Output was not falling, notice, just 'the rate of increase in output.'

The PIB's concern, in other words, was not simply to maintain a higher level of output than, say, seven years ago, but to continuously raise output... and at an accelerating pace.

To increase output by less this month than last means failure. The answer so far as the report was concerned was a strengthened management 'better able to exert its authority in certain areas of operation'.



Not all these exhausted men are miners. Whole communities joined the desperate battle in October 1966 to save the 118 children and 28 adults 'buried alive by the NCB' at Aberfan. Now they are backing the pit strike with equal determination.

systems including the use of closed-circuit television.

The enormous cost of new equipment — £100,000, for instance, to mechanize one coal-face and £250,000 to install remote control — meant that it was inevitable that the main aim of the employers would be to cut manning.

Such new systems were not directed towards assisting the miner in his dangerous and difficult job but towards eliminating him from the work-process altogether. It was in this continuing situation that the PIB called for increased strengthening of management.

Also advised was increased use of method-study. The report stated:

'Method-study techniques have an important role to play in such a labour-intensive industry as coal-mining. We found that ample scope existed for extending their use on face-work and other parts of the mine.'

On the one hand they expect total rights of hire and fire, of wage freeze and work control.

means. 'We therefore suggest that the Coal Board's method-study branch be strengthened.'

Method-study, as is well known, is merely a first step towards putting all work on a continuous basis in preparation for advanced time-study techniques to be introduced.

The PIB saw the elimination of piece-work, at a time when productivity was continually rising, as an essential basis for holding down wages. Thus:

'The introduction of new techniques is made easier if the possibility of associated disputes over piece-rates is removed. The removal of wage drift resulting from local bargaining means that the Board has now a more effective means of controlling wage costs.'

The report went on to suggest an extension of 'workers' participation'. Employers, of course, always want the best of both worlds.

On the one hand they expect total rights of hire and fire, of wage freeze and work control.

On the other 'face conferences', participation committees, and various chummy get-togethers are arranged in which the employers can pick the brains of a section of workers on how to increase production and on how to fix redundancies with the least opposition.

While the PIB recommended a continuous run-down of jobs, it wanted this to be done entirely at the employers' convenience. The NUM, under Communist Party and 'left' leadership, has co-operated with this process ever since vesting day. This reward has been low wages and loss of jobs. Every wage demand was met by the threat of pit closures—and then the pits were closed anyway.

'Restraint' was never rewarded. The Durham coalfield, for example, has had the lowest record of strikes since nationalization. It has also had the highest number of closures, the highest rate of dust disease and the lowest rates of pay. Now, at last, the miners' patience is exhausted.

COALMINING OUTPUT PER MAN AND NUMBERS EMPLOYED					
Year	Output per manshift Amount	Percentage increase on previous year	Output per man year	Average number of wage-earners employed	Number of collieries in production at end of year
	cwt	%	tons	000s	
1963-64	33.4	5.4	362	517	576
1964-65	34.8	4.2	373	491	543
1965-66	36.1	3.8	381	456	483
1966-67	36.6	1.4	390	419	438
1967-68	39.0	6.7	414	392	376
1968-69	42.5	9.0	454	336	317
1969-70	43.4	2.1	457	305	299
1970-71	44.2	1.7	—	286	292

\* No longer calculated Source: NCB

The 1923 strike by the Transport Workers Union ended in retreat and a 1s wage cut for the workers. Larkin was bitterly opposed to the sell-out by the union executive which went against a ballot of the striking men. The employers then went on to use their victory to impose wage cuts throughout Irish industry.

Meanwhile Larkin was invited by the Communist International to represent Ireland at its 5th Congress which took place in 1924.

# LARKIN THE DECLINE

BY JACK GALE

At the Congress, Larkin supported the thesis put forward by Lenin before his death concerning the British Communist Party. At the end of the Congress, he was elected to the executive committee of the Communist International.

But in Ireland, the right wing was gaining ground in the transport union executive. In March 1924, Larkin was expelled from the union after a legal action by him against changes in the union rules had failed.

## WEAKENED

While Larkin was in Russia, his followers attempted to form a new union — the Workers' Union — and won over 16,000 Dublin workers (about two-thirds of the Dublin membership), but only 20 of the 300 branches of the union outside Dublin.

Then the Workers' Union was greatly weakened by the Coal Merchants' Association lock-out in 1925 — with the employers being assisted by the transport union leadership.



Trotsky

The whole Irish trade union movement was being weakened by such employers' attacks. By 1926 there were only 95,000 trade union members in Ireland compared with 130,000 in 1923.

In February 1928, Larkin made his last visit to the Soviet Union to attend an executive meeting of the Communist International.

This was a decisive meeting. The witch-hunt against Trotsky was under way and during a full Comintern discussion, Larkin was invited to speak on the question. According to Emmet Larkin, he refused saying:

'The issue was one concerning the men and women of Russia' and that 'it would be an impertinence on my part to take sides.'

He did address a meeting of the Moscow Soviet, however, on the Irish question and he wound up by asking the audience to 'hold up the hands of Stalin'.<sup>10</sup>

During this visit Larkin had several discussions with Bukharin on the question of Catholicism. Larkin insisted that he had faith in God and he could not be shaken from this.

Then Larkin, despite his earlier support for Lenin's line (mentioned above), went along with Stalin's Third Period theory ushered in after 1928. This policy was disastrous for the Irish working class. Reduced in numbers, divided and short of



Top: James Larkin addressing a labour meeting in Upper O'Connell Street, Dublin after his return from America in 1923. Bottom: Stalin (left) at Kirov's lying-in-state in 1934. Larkin remained silent while the purges, murders and trials were going on.

funds, the Irish labour movement was unable to resist further wage-cuts imposed by employers, backed up by coercive legislation in the form of Public Safety Acts.

In 1934 — with the Kirov Assassination — Stalin's murder machine moved into top gear. At no time did Larkin ever issue a single statement on this. His own fortunes in Ireland were declining. His paper 'Irish Worker' collapsed. Two years earlier he had received a derisory vote as parliamentary candidate for N Dublin (1,200 compared with over 8,000 in 1928).

The Communist Party of Ireland was launched in 1933, with its own paper 'Irish Workers' Voice'. Although Larkin was treated as its elder statesman, he took no part in its activities and never wrote for its paper.

While never making a public recantation, Larkin in practice had dissociated himself from the international communist movement by 1934. A word from him against the murders, purges and trials would have carried great weight in the working-class movement throughout the world—but it was never forthcoming.

He kept his silence, and in the years of defeat, reaction and the growth of Stalinism, silence meant decline.

At the end of 1941, Larkin joined the Irish Labour Party and was later selected as its candidate for N Dublin. The Irish Transport Union executive — now indistinguishable from any British right-wing union bureaucracy — objected to his candidature.

The once-great Larkin did his utmost to placate these bureaucrats—the sort of men he had spent his life fighting:

## REGRET

'I assure you most sincerely that I am willing to work loyally with any member of the Party regardless of previous differences and antagonisms,' he promised, 'and I shall at all times accept the judgement of the Administrative Council.'

To the Transport Union bureaucrats, he wrote:

'If in the heat of past conflicts statements were made by me, I regret having made those statements, if today they appear as obstacles to a united effort by all members of the Party.'<sup>11</sup>

Larkin died on January 30, 1947. A lion of the labour movement, he was a monument to its suffering, its determination and its courage.

Writing about another workers' leader who was subsequently destroyed by Stalinism — Willie Gallacher — Lenin declared:

'People who can give expression to this temper of the masses, who can arouse such temper, must be prized and every assistance must be given to them. At the same time we must openly and frankly tell them that temper alone is not sufficient to lead the masses in the great revolutionary struggle... The writer of the letter [Gallacher's letter against parliamentary activity] is imbued with noble proletarian hatred for the bourgeois "class politicians". [This] is the beginning of all wisdom, the very basis of every socialist and communist movement and of its success.'

'But the author fails to take into account the fact that politics is a science and an art that does not drop from the skies, is not acquired for nothing, and that if it wants to conquer the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must train its own proletarian "class politicians" who will be as skilled as the bourgeois politicians.'<sup>12</sup>

This was Lenin's method. To welcome and assist workers who wanted to fight as communists, but to fight for their political development against the conceptions that they brought with them from outside the communist movement.

Larkin possessed the same 'proletarian hatred' for bourgeois politicians, the same — indeed, greater — ability to arouse and express the temper of the masses.

But Stalinism was more than the physical liquidation of Bolsheviks.

It was an attempt also to liquidate the theory and method of Bolshevism. The struggle to train proletarian fighters as revolutionaries in theory and practice was the exact opposite to Stalinism. Willie Gallacher's fate was one of the fruits of Stalinism.

<sup>10</sup> So was Larkin's.  
<sup>11</sup> Emmet Larkin, *op. cit.*, p. 290.  
<sup>12</sup> Emmet Larkin, *op. cit.*, p. 300.  
<sup>13</sup> Lenin 'Left Wing Communism'.





## TO JUSTIFY THE PEACEFUL ROAD

**COMMUNISTS: ALL REVISIONISTS NOW?** By S. F. Kissin. Fabian Research Series 299. Price 40p.

The Fabian Society, in the person of Fred Kissin, author of this pamphlet, has discovered that the Communist Parties have revised Marxism, abandoned revolutionary politics and adopted a version of Fabian gradualism.

He reaches this conclusion from an examination of the theory of state monopoly capitalism, used to explain the latest developments in capitalism and to justify the 'peaceful road to socialism'.

As he says, this theory smacks of Bernstein's revisionism developed at the end of the last century and the theories of right-wing Labourites like Strachey, Crosland and Jay, worked out in the 1950s.

Although the theory of state monopoly capitalism has only been current in its present form since the mid-1960s it represented no big change for the Stalinist movement.

While the explicitness of this revision, or rather rejection, of Marxism may do something to bring theory closer to practice, all the evidence of history shows that since the early 1930s, at least, the Stalinist parties have opposed revolution.

Kissin cites the case of France in 1936 as though it was something of an exception. It was not. Nor did the Communist Parties want the overthrow of capitalism in Western Europe after the Second World War. On the contrary, they co-operated with the bourgeoisie in enabling it to survive, by holding back the working class and exhausting its revolutionary energies.

An understanding of Stalinism's role, like that of reformism (and especially Fabianism), in opposing revolution, is the key to understanding the reasons for capitalism's survival after 1945. Of course, the Communist Parties seek to conceal that role by covering up their abandonment of revolutionary politics in Marxist formulas.

## POWER

It does not require much theoretical penetration to see through the theory of state monopoly capitalism. It provides the justification needed for the policy of seeking an electoral alliance with the 'left', 'progressive' or 'peace-loving' bourgeoisie in order to bring to power governments willing to do a deal with the Kremlin on the basis of 'peaceful co-existence'.

There is not much point in debating with the advocates of this theory unless it is done from this standpoint. Kissin uses their class revisions to strengthen the case for Fabianism—which came into being consciously to prevent Marxism winning influence in the British labour movement.

Unwittingly, the pamphlet shows how much present-day Stalinism and Fabianism have in common and how bitterly opposed both are to Marxism.

Kissin passes in review Mandel's new industrial revolution theory and Kidron's 'permanent arms economy' theory, both of which, like state monopoly capitalism, have failed to explain the development of post-war capitalism and offer an excuse for reformist policies dressed up in 'left' phrases.

## BOOM

To deal in detail here with all Kissin's own distortions of Marxism and of Lenin's theory of imperialism would be impossible, just as it would to expound the Marxist analysis of present-day capitalism. This must begin with the crisis of revolutionary leadership which enabled capitalism to survive the deep and prolonged crisis of the 1930s and the second imperialist war.

Kissin himself offers no alternative, except the stale platitudes of Strachey and company which the ending of the boom has exposed in practice. He notes that there has been a change since 1968—he mentions the world monetary crisis, the rise in unemployment and the events in France in that year.

This has, he says, raised some doubts about the state monopoly capitalist theory; and that is as near as he gets to admitting that the contradictions of capitalism are now revealing themselves to the confusion of all revisionists.

Note: The author of this pamphlet, Fred Kissin, is said to have joined 'a dissident communist group' in his native Danzig after 1933. The main group of this kind, called the Spartacus League or the German International Communists, supported Trotsky. In fact, a Dr Kissin, to whom the author may be related, visited Trotsky in Norway in July, 1936. While he was out of the country, the Nazi regime in the 'Free City' arrested most of its members and put them on trial. They were sentenced to terms of imprisonment. Ironically, this trial of Trotskyists took place at the very time, when in Moscow, at the first show trial, Trotsky was accused of being in league with the Nazis and the Gestapo. Trotsky wrote an article pointing this out and supporting the stand taken in court by the Danzig Trotskyists.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## PROTOCOL

The Peking Stalinists are getting into a bit of a tangle over protocol for Nixon's forthcoming visit.

Usual procedure when a top-ranking visitor arrives is for him to be met at the airport by senior government officials. OK so far.

Unfortunately, it's also procedure to invite representatives of close allies to join the welcoming party.

More unfortunately still, China's closest allies are N Korea, N Vietnam and the S Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Nixon is likely to be less than delighted at being greeted by the beaming faces of the people he's been helping wage war on for the last 25 years.



NIXON

And they can't be left out simply because the US has no established diplomatic relations with them. There are none with China, either.

Top diplomats based in China are tipping that invitations will go out to N Korea and Co, but that their representatives will discreetly keep out of the way.

There's also the matter of the welcoming crowds usually turned out on these occasions. It might be a bit difficult to get the Chinese masses reasonably enthusiastic about cheering the leader of the world's largest imperialist power.

Last week the hitherto obligatory welcome was dropped for Ali Bhutto of Pakistan.

It's possible the crowds won't be there for Nixon, either.

## JOBLESS

Male unemployment in parts of Scotland is reaching astronomical proportions. In Stornoway it is 33.2 per cent—one man in three without a job.

In Lemsmahagow, male unemployment is 29.3 per cent; in Lerwick it is 26.5 per cent; in Banff 14.6 per cent; in Dumbarton 12.4 per cent; and in Dundee 12.3 per cent.

Meanwhile, since the Tories came to office, there have been more than 12,000 grocery price increases—an average of more than 20 a day.

## SIR TAM

Mr Tam Dalyell, Labour MP for W Lothian, has inherited a dormant baronetcy and is now entitled to be called 'Sir Tam Dalyell of the Binns'.

Sir Tam is the son of Major Gordon Loch of the Indian army, who adopted the name Dalyell after the death of his father-in-law Sir James Bruce Wilkie Dalyell Bart, of the Binns.

The baronetcy was created in 1685 by James II, who only just managed it before getting the push in 1688.

The new Sir Tam (Eton, Royal Scots Greys) became a parliamentary representative of the proletariat in 1962 when he was considered one of the bright young Gaitskellites.

## DOG

Clause (Moosehead) Tramer, a dog, is among the 17,000 Americans listed in the current issue of the American National Social Directory. The Directory is the US equivalent of Debrett and the Almanach de Gotha. Moosehead figures alongside such stars of the American social firmament as President and Mrs Nixon.

He has an impressive pedigree—for a Great Dane. His master, Bernard Rosen of Little Silver, New Jersey, received an unsolicited application for the Directory back in 1970; filled it out and sent it back, but was not listed in the 1971 edition.

When he received another form last year he listed Moosehead under the name of Claudius Tramer Van Dermot.



## RUSSIAN DOSSIER

**LENINE ET LA REVOLUTION RUSSE. Dossier 'Sciences Humaines' No. 35** By Serge Bernstein. Armand Colln. Paris.

This useful little book proclaims that its intention is to offer a series of documents enabling the Russian Revolution to be placed in the context of the revolutionary movement, while showing its concretely human character.

It consists of accounts, mostly by eyewitnesses and participants, of the situation which led up to the overthrow of Tsarism, the events of 1917, the October Revolution and its immediate consequences.

There are familiar passages from Trotsky's 'History' and from Lenin's writings as well as from the more usual witnesses like John Reed and Sukhanov. There is also testimony from the defeated—Kerensky, Kornilov and the anarchist Voline.

What stands out, of course, is the role and personality of Lenin as the driving force of the revolution. We are reminded that 'Pravda' at first dismissed his 'April Theses' as 'inadmissible' and that Lenin turned for support to the worker-Bolsheviks.

After Lenin's return to Russia in April 1917, there took place the first serious clash between the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet, just when jubilant May Day demonstrations (above) were taking place in Petrograd.

We read how a French diplomat in St Petersburg wrote in his diary of Kerensky: 'Despite everything he is the only man on whom we can count...'

The last item is Lenin's 'Testament', in which he calls for the removal of Stalin.

For those who wish to follow the course of the insurrection, the back cover has a map of central Petrograd. The book, within its modest limits, is a good introduction to the Revolution.

## BOOKS



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Comments on the article 'Miners and the Tory government' continue to flow into our offices. Today two pit workers from the NE tell our reporter PHILIP WADE what they think. The article, written by Wheldale, Yorkshire, miner and Socialist Labour League member Brian Lavery, originally appeared in Workers Press on Monday, January 24.

# IT'S RIGHT TO STRIKE TO DEFEND MINERS

MALCOLM BARRAS works at Westoe colliery, near South Shields and is a committee member of the Durham mechanics' section of the NUM.

'The national executive of the NUM has not been strong enough on a number of issues. For example, I would like to see them ask the transport workers' union for total support in stopping all coal movement under any circumstances. I had hoped something like this would happen when they met Vic Feather, but nothing did.

'At the moment we're getting the same treatment as the postmen got last year. The same happened with the power workers. They used the threat of old people dying because of their work-to-rule. But the press forgot to mention the thousands of people who die from the cold each year because of their low pensions.

'I think if the strike carries on this way, it's going to be like the UPW. South Shields liaison committee was right to call for a one-day stoppage, but I think it has to be made a national General Strike.

'But even our own leaders are backtracking. Without consulting the membership they have told us to stop picketing the NACODS [overmen, deputies and shotfirers]. But we feel we should carry on. When you're on strike, you have to use every means at your disposal to win.

'The article is probably right about the other union leaders. We are in the middle of a process of a mini-revolution and they feel they might get slung out in this situation. So they prefer to take the middle-of-the-road stand.

'You see, we had the chance to get the Tories out over the Industrial Relations Bill. But the union leaders said we had to use other means than a general strike—and now the Act is moving ahead.

'This present Tory government wants to go back to the 1930s, when the rich got richer and the poor poorer. They are worried and fearful about the upsurge in the working class and trade union movement and want to put us back in what they consider our rightful places.

'I can see a link between the unemployment figures, holding down wages and entry into the Common Market. They want to say to us they are in a depression and if they give us wage increases we'll all lose our jobs.

'I watched that TV programme the "Guardians", and although they didn't say which party was in power, to me it was obviously the Tories. We've already got security firms doing what they like and they might try and set up centres where they put trade unionists in jail and try and purge their minds. That's what the Industrial Relations Act is all about.

'This strike is all a question of politics now and it has moved on from just being about wages. I think the article is right when it says it's about the whole future of the working class. For the Tories to climb down would be a major defeat for them and would probably mean a General Election.

'But what worries me about forcing the Tories to resign is who is going to replace them. I know the Labour government



MALCOLM BARRAS (TOP) AND TOMMY GRAHAM

will automatically come back in. But last time they carried out Tory policies dressed up in Labour clothing.

'I'm completely in favour of workers' control and ending the compensation payments. But it is right to say you can't have control within capitalism. Nevertheless, we have more knowledge about mines than anyone on the NCB and I don't see why a miner couldn't take over from Ezra.

'Many men who used to work for the old coal-owners are still managers today and the owners themselves are laughing because of the compensation they're getting. Committees of miners could make the decisions after getting the information from the technicians.

'Then we wouldn't have the situation where the managers tell the miners what to do. The miners would be responsible to other miners.

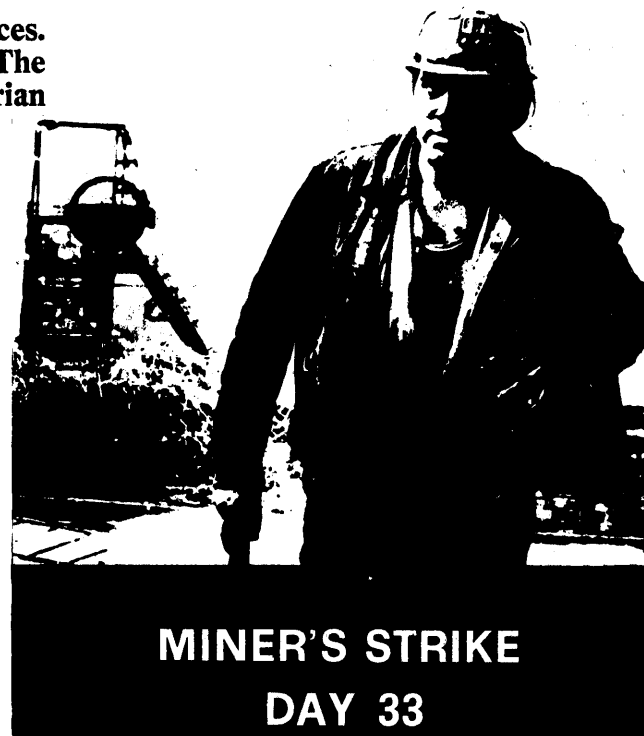
'I suppose the first step in this direction would be to get the Tories out and replace them with a Labour government committed to policies like nationalizing the big industries. We'll

have to mobilize all the workers to achieve that.

'But I still feel that the Labour leaders would not carry out these policies. In six months after getting the Tories out, we could be back in a similar position. We could mandate them, but enough Labour MPs broke their pledges when they voted with the Tories on the Common Market. I thought those MPs should have been turfed out of the party.

'When I talked about a mini-revolution, I meant the situation where all workers come together and use every means to get rid of the Tories and all the middle-of-the-road characters and put men in power who won't be frightened of carrying out policies of common ownership.

'We're going to look at the whole question of leadership. Anyone who's not up to scratch will have to go and be replaced by someone committed to socialist ideas. If we could build such a party with people sticking to their principles, I would probably support it. But at the moment there are no leaders around willing to fight for us.'



MINER'S STRIKE DAY 33

## No compromise this time because we mean it

TOMMY GRAHAM is a roadworker at Lynemouth colliery in Northumberland where miners work three or four miles out under the North Sea. The branch was unanimous in rejecting the NCB's final offer. Tommy, a member of the branch committee, talks in a personal capacity about Brian Lavery's article.

'If we don't fight the Tories' pay claim norm, it will be down to 4 per cent soon. Everyone knows this is a test case and if we lose, then every man jack will lose his wages. We just have to throw the Tories out—it's now or never.

'In Rhodesia and S Africa they murder miners and force them to work for virtually no wages at all. I think the Tories want to try and do this to the miners in this country. It is coming to a showdown—not just for the miners, but for the whole working class.

'Now they're talking about bringing troops in and if they do it will be another do like Ireland.

'All the men's grievances are coming to the fore now, right back to 1926 when Churchill called the troops in on us. I was 14 at the time and I remember the two Cramlington men who derailed the "Flying Scotsman" and the time we used to sing outside the prison where they were kept.

'There can be no compromise in this strike because we mean it this time, especially the young miners. Miners won't stand for the troops coming in. If we stay out the country will come to a standstill. Then the Tories will have to come out if they can't rule the country.

'It is true what the article says about the TUC leaders. There is no doubt they have done badly and could have pushed it a lot sharper. All the leaders are frightened of their jobs and they have been for a long time.

'It is not the workers themselves who are frightened but the leaders. They don't want to speak bluntly.

'All workers should be fetched out in a General Strike and then say to the government: It's your move. They would have to call another election because it would be proved that the whole country is against them.

'Gormley and Daly are not sticking to the guidelines of the strike and not pushing for the

full claim. They seem content to sit back and see what the Tories want to do.

'I think each branch should pass a motion demanding the Tories come out and say to the union leaders: Either fight or pack your jobs in. We want real socialists in the leadership, real Labour men, men who have not forgotten where they came from.

'Pits coming under workers' control is a very good idea. Although we have lots of committees and so on down the mines, in the end the management always have their way. They could be run by miners who would also be in charge of disciplining men who damage machinery and so on.

'Nationalization should mean you're working for yourself. But it's not like that and I put it down to the leadership that we are not further forward than we are. I also agree that there has to be a national fuel policy.

'A nationalized economy would be good too, but we must make sure that the men at the top are not paid the fantastic wages they get now.

'You see, we never really got a fair deal under the last Labour government. Our wages dropped during this period and I don't think we should have had to suffer for our own party.

'It is right that the aim of the working class has to be socialism. It will have to come to that in this country and it is already here.

'This is the worst ever Tory government and we have to be blunt and speak the truth like the Workers Press. In my honest opinion it will have to come to a revolution and I mean that. It will be something like Lenin's and we will need a socialist party to back it up.

'It's good to see something like the Right-to-Work marches. We are not going back to the 1930s, whatever the Tories think. I shall try and get down to Wembley.'

**MINERS**  
Your thoughts on the strike and its relationship with the Tory government are welcome. Any letters should be sent to: The Editor, 186a Clapham High St, London, SW4 7UG.

ALLEGATIONS AT MENTAL HOSPITAL

# 'Everyone at the hospital is in the racket . . . see which staff change cars every year...'

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

**PATIENTS' money totalling £49,000 disappeared in one year at the Whittingham mental hospital, Preston, according to the doctors' paper 'Pulse'. An article said to be a report of the recently completed Payne Committee of Inquiry at the hospital, to be published by the government next Tuesday, alleges:**

● A consultant treated 625 long-stay patients in one half-day session.

● A psychologist with responsibility for the 24-patient deaf unit plus the overall hospital psychological service administration was expected to ignore the treatment of the other 2,000 patients and was asked for her resignation when she refused.

The article says the General Nursing Council has not inspected Whittingham since 1961, although the Payne Committee was told there had been 'a constant flow' of complaints by student nurses since 1965.

An earlier, internal, inquiry had 'run into the sands'.

Financial irregularities were discovered and two nurses were convicted of theft. Soon afterwards, a male nurse assaulted two patients, one of whom died. After the nurse was convicted of manslaughter, the Payne Committee began its inquiries.

The Committee accepts as 'bearing the stamp of truth' although not applying in every case a claim by a senior nurse, since convicted of theft:

'Everyone at the hospital is in the racket... look around, see which of the staff change their cars every year, go abroad for holidays every year and have built bungalows recently.'

Allegations accepted by the committee include, in addition to the matter of £49,000, the following complaints relating to four long-stay wards before or around 1967:

● There was 'little rehabilitation of long-stay patients, many of whom showed every sign of an absence of medical treatment'.

● Long-term patients tended to sink into 'long-stay dumps', although with proper facilities at least 160 of them could be capable of living in the community.

● Some patients, assessed by the Hospital Management Committee chairman as the type 'who just sit around all day

doing nothing but becoming cabbages' were frequently locked out with inadequate clothing, regardless of the weather.

● Incontinent, institutionalized patients were restricted in food and fluids and sometimes locked in a room under the stairs.

● Violent patients were sometimes restrained by having wet towels twisted round their necks until they lost consciousness.

● Two male nurses poured methylated spirits on the slippers of one patient and in the dressing-gown pocket of another and set it alight.

## SERIOUS CHARGES

In July 1967, serious allegations of ill-treatment and fraud were made at a meeting of the Student Nurses Association. Minutes of the meeting were suppressed by the chief male nurse, the matron and the principal tutor, and the students threatened with actions for libel and slander.

In July 1969, an assistant psychiatrist, Dr A. B. Masters, supported by a principal psychiatrist and their staff, sent the Secretary of State allegations of ill-treatment of patients, fraud and maladministration.

## TOOL PLANT TALK ON JOBS

THE FUTURE of the Churchill Machine Tool Company will be discussed at a special conference in Coventry next Monday between union representatives and members of the company's group management.

Shop stewards from the company's Altrincham, Cheshire, plant travelled to London earlier this week and warned Tory Ministers they will fight the proposed closure of the factory which is threatening 1,100 jobs.

They were joined by other stewards from the Alfred Herbert group.

The proposed Churchill closure is the latest move in the Alfred Herbert group's plans for cutting the work force. A total of over 4,000 people, 40 per cent of the group's labour force, have lost their jobs in the past year.

Chancellor of the Exchequer and MP for Altrincham, Anthony Barber, told the stewards that in his view no decision had yet been taken on the future of the Churchill factory.

Barber announced that he had arranged for a further meeting between the local council, Trade and Industry Secretary John Davies and union representatives.

## Navy officers put in claim

THE NATIONAL Maritime Board has received its second pay claim in two days.

A demand for increased pay and improvements in leave arrangements has been submitted on behalf of 54,000 Merchant Navy Officers.

This followed a new pay claim on Tuesday from 54,000 merchant seamen. A meeting has been arranged for April 6.

The officers want substantial pay increases, leave arrangements entitling them to 126 days minimum in a calendar year and compensation for excessive hours.

At present most officers average 104 days' leave a year. Last year they secured a 6 per cent pay increase and in 1970 accepted a pay offer which gave average increases of almost 20 per cent.

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# TV

## BBC 1

9.38-11.55 Schools. 12.55-1.25 Canu'r bobol. 1.30 Mr Benn. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 2.05 Schools. 2.25 Racing from Newbury. 3.45 Cruft's dog show. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Deputy Dawg. 5.05 Crackerjack 72. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News and weather.  
6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.  
6.20 TOM AND JERRY.  
6.25 TODAY AT THE WINTER OLYMPICS.  
7.40 THE LIVER BIRDS.  
8.10 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE. 'Eden is the Place we Leave'.  
9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS and weather.  
9.20 THE SCOBIE MAN. Maurice Rooves.  
10.05 COME DANCING.  
10.40 24 HOURS.  
11.10 FILM: 'THE DARK CORNER'. Mark Stevens, William Bendix. A private detective is charged with murder.  
12.45 Weather.

## BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school.  
6.05-6.30 OPEN UNIVERSITY.  
6.35-7.00 WHICH WAY? Public and Private'.  
7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.  
7.30 NEWSROOM and weather.  
8.00 MONEY PROGRAMME.  
9.00 SOLO. Eileen Atkins as Mary Kingsley.  
9.20 REVIEW. 'Three Voices on Their Own'.  
10.10 JOYCE GRENFELL. 30 minutes of monologues and songs.  
10.40 NEWS ON 2 and weather.  
10.45 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

## ITV

10.20 Schools. 2.30 Matinee. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.00 Tea break. 3.40 British Museum. 4:10 Drive-in. 4.40 Pinky and Perky. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 Bright's boffins. 5.50 News.  
6.00 TODAY. Eamonn Andrews.  
6.30 F TROOP. 'Carpetbagging, Anyone?'  
7.00 THE SKY'S THE LIMIT. Hughie Green.  
7.30 THE PERSUADERS! 'The Ozerov Inheritance'.  
8.30 THE FENN STREET GANG. 'The Great Frock Robbers'.  
9.00 SPYDER'S WEB. 'The Hafiz Affair'.  
10.00 NEWS AT TEN.  
10.30 SHIRLEY'S WORLD. 'The Lovers'. Shirley Maclaine.  
11.05 THE FBI. 'The Cave-In'. Efreim Zimbalist Jr.  
12.00 COLLECTING ON A SHOESTRING.  
12.25 THE MEDIUM AND THE MESSAGE.



BBC-1's new four-part thriller serial 'The Scobie Man' starts tonight at 9.20. Maurice Rooves plays Scobie and Claire Neilson his wife Judy.

## REGIONAL ITV

**CHANNEL:** 10.20-2.30 London. 4.05 Pinky and Perky. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Dick Van Dyke. 4.55 Flintstones. 5.20 Ask Westward. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 10.30 Weather. 10.32 Name of the game. 11.50 News, weather.  
**WESTWARD.** As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 10.30 Report. 10.58 News. 12.20 Faith for life. 12.25 Weather.  
**SOUTHERN:** 10.20-2.30 London. 3.05 Houseparty. 3.40 Tea break. 4.10 Houseparty. 4.23 Heckle and Jeckle. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Bottom of the sea. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene SE. 6.40 Out of town. 7.00 London. 8.30 Doctor at large. 9.00 London. 10.30 Weekend. 10.35 Film: 'The Fantastic Disappearing Man'. 12.05 News. 12.15 Weather. The discoverers.  
**HARLECH:** 10.20-2.30 London. 3.50 Women only. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Cowboy in Africa. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Bonanza. 7.30 London. 10.30 Second look. 11.00 Department S. 12.00 Weather.  
**HTV West as above except:** 6.01-6.35 Report West.  
**HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except:** 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 10.30-11.00 Outlook — enterprise in industry.  
**ANGLIA:** 10.20-2.33 London. 3.55 News. 4.00 Tea break. 4.25 Romper room. 4.50 Bottom of the sea. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 10.30 Bygones. 11.00 Film: 'Brain Machine'.  
**ATV MIDLANDS:** 10.20-2.30 London. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Julia. 4.40 Hatty town. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Fenn St gang. 7.30 London. 8.30 Jimmy Stewart. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Night Walker'. Weather.  
**ULSTER:** 10.20-2.30 London. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 10.30 Food of love. 11.00 Film: 'Barbados Quest'.  
**YORKSHIRE:** 10.20 London. 2.31 Out of the shadow into the sun. 3.00 Pied piper. 3.35 News. 3.45 Holidays abroad. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Pinky and Perky. 4.55 Flintstones. 5.20 Tom Grattan's war. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 Parkin's patch. 7.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Night Creatures'. 12.05 Weather.  
**GRANADA:** 10.18-2.30 London. 3.40 Yoga. 4.05 News. From a bird's eye view. 4.35 Magic ball. 4.50 Captain Scarlet. 5.15 Rainbow country. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Kick off. 6.25 Peyton Place. 7.00 London. 10.30 Open night. 11.10 See our next thrilling instalment.  
**TYNE TEES:** 10.20 London. 2.30 Out of the shadow into the sun. 3.05 Pied piper. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 News. 3.45 Holidays abroad. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Pinky and Perky. 4.55 Flintstones. 5.20 Tom Grattan. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Nanny and the professor. 7.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Two and Two Make Six'. 12.15 News. 12.30 Epilogue.  
**SCOTTISH:** 10.20-2.17 London. 3.30 Kiri. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Mr Magoo. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart. 7.00 London. 10.30 In camera. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Film: 'Phantom of the Rue Morgue'. 12.35 Paddle and portage.  
**GRAMPIAN:** 11.00-2.55 London. 3.38 News. 3.40 Dr Simon Locke. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Pinky and Perky. 4.55 Flintstones. 5.20 Tom Grattan's war. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.05 Mr and Mrs 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.30 Stuart Gilles ceilidh. 9.00 London. 10.30 Points north. 11.00 Film: 'The Secret of Convict Lake'. 12.30 Epilogue.

## Right-to-Work cash flows in

THE TRADES council at Leamington, which is on the route of the march through the Midlands, is fully supporting the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work campaign. It is sending out circulars to affiliated union branches appealing for moral and financial aid.

A £5 donation has come in from the Sheffield No. 1 painters' section branch of the Amalgamated Union of Woodworkers. The branch has sent its

resolution of support to the local trades council with a call for all union branches in the city to give similar amounts.

Strathclyde university students' representative council in Glasgow is also backing the marchers.

We have received £1 and a pledge of support from the Oxford branch of the National Society of Woodcutting Machinists.

Building workers from the Laing construction site on London's Crom-

well Road have donated £7.56, and men at McAlpine's Bloomsbury site, Russell Square will raise £25.

Two more London branches of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers are backing the marchers. Bermondsey AUEW donated £2 and is sending a delegation to the Empire Pool, Wembley, rally. Camberwell AUEW collected £1.52.

Alfred Herbert Ltd, Coventry, shop stewards have also passed a

motion of support and are promoting schemes for raising cash in the factory.

Shop stewards at the Alvis Co, Coventry, unanimously passed a resolution pledging full support to the campaign. A factory collection will be taken and the shop stewards are compiling a list of their members who could help with accommodation.

● TOMORROW: A full list of support so far.

## WELSH MINERS' THUMBS DOWN TO OFFER

FROM IAN YEATS IN S WALES

S WALES miners gave the thumbs down to the Coal Board's new offer yesterday: 'It's worse than before,' Celynen miner Desmond Simmonds told me at the picket line outside Rogerstone power station near Newport.

'They're just juggling around with the same figures. There's no backdating and it's spread over 18 months.'

'I don't think Joe Gormley will even consider it. The men won't accept it anyway. It would have to come back to a ballot and then it would definitely be thumbs down.'

Hundreds of S Wales miners are without coal themselves and many have run out of cash, especially the single men, but the Coal Board's new offer has only fanned the flames of defiance.

Said Mr Simmonds: 'We've stuck it out for five weeks and we're broke, so we might as well stick it out until they give us what we want.'

'The miners have gone back like a lot of sheep in the past, but now we're all together and we won't be going back for nothing.'

'It will take £4 or £5 to get us back now and even then it will be touch and go.'

The pickets called on the NUM to tighten their stranglehold on power stations. 'If we stop a lot more power stations, we'll do some good,' said Mr Simmonds.

Pointing across to Rogerstone power station, he told me: 'They are desperate here. They haven't had a load of coal, oil or nitrogen for five weeks and they're trying all ways to get it in. But we are not letting anything through.'

## GENERAL STRIKE

Mr Simmonds said he saw no chance of the Tories giving way. 'It's the government we're fighting,' he told me. 'Ezra said so himself. They won't make us a special case because if they allow us to go above 7 per cent, everybody will jump in. It's all very well asking them not to, but they will.'

'We've got to fight this government and beat them. If we can't beat them now we're out on strike, we'll never do it. If we go back now we may as well not have come out. We'll be a laughing stock.'

But he warned: 'We'll get nowhere on our own. The government is determined to smash us and we're not strong enough alone.'

'Now that a state of emergency has been declared the TUC should fetch the lot out on a General Strike.'



Pressed Steel Fisher workers applauded by miners as they march away from the closed Saitley coal depot yesterday. See story page 1.

## LONDON DOCKS STOP ON JOBS CUT

LONDON DOCKS will stop today in support of 50 men who are fighting an £18 pay cut and loss of their permanent jobs.

The strike, which is expected to involve most of the 16,000 dockers in the port, is the second stage of a national campaign by shop stewards against the growing threat of redundancy in the industry.

Just over two weeks ago, 40,000 dockers struck in a countrywide demonstration against the employers' rumoured plan to destroy one dock job in every six by June.

At 10 a.m. today the London stewards plan a show of strength at Tilbury where dockers employed by T. Wallis, Smith Coggins Ltd, appeal against return to the unattached pool run by the Dock Labour Board.

While in the pool the men get £20 a week as against £38.25 while working. Already in London there are 500 in the pool and 2,000 without regular work, while nationally the position is equally serious.

Although the trade slump is cited by the employers as the chief reason for the surplus, a major factor is speed-up under the Devlin Phase Two 'modernization' scheme signed in the various ports.

In London, stewards rationalize their own failure to fight Phase Two by claiming the employers are 'using the scheme wrongly'.

Dockers should spend only very short spells in the pool, they claim. Instead, some men have been there for months.

What the employers are doing, however, is seizing their chance to mount pressure on an all-too-sympathetic government for abolition of the statutory guarantee of jobs enshrined in the 1947 dock labour scheme.

And Richard Butler, acting chairman of the London employers, has threatened that today's strike may accelerate the growth of unemployment in the port.

Today's appeal, however, is unlikely to be rejected outright. Irresistible pressure is on the two union members of the four-man committee to support it, which will probably mean dead-lock and reference of the issue to a new tribunal with an 'independent' chairman.

A decision by that tribunal to return the men to the pool could lead to national strike action.

In what many dockers interpret as an attempt to head off such action, union chief Jack Jones has appealed to the stewards 'to return to the official union fold'.

Jones, secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, lost a great deal of credibility by his retreat when dockers staged the first strike against the Tories in 1970. But many stewards will nevertheless almost certainly heed his plea.

Despite its strike plans, the national port stewards' committee has never challenged Jones on the secret talks about abolition of the dock labour scheme he held with port employers.

Workers Press uncovered these talks as early as January last year.

Urgently needed on the docks now is a policy and a leadership which will prepare urgently for what is clearly to be a key battle against the Tories.

## FEBRUARY FUND UP AT £372.16

YOUR RESPONSE is great. Our fund at the moment stands at £372.16, which leaves us well on the way to the £1,250 target.

As the miners face the most serious stage of their struggle so far, all the support of the working class must be behind them.

The more the union leaders back down from the fight, the more vital Workers Press becomes in developing an alternative leadership.

We need a big effort to build up February's fund. Let's go all out now and raise as much as possible. Post all your donations immediately to:

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

## WEATHER

E AND CENTRAL England will be sunny, but with frost in places at first. Showers will develop, becoming more prolonged later in the day.

E and N Scotland will have showers, with clear or sunny intervals, but more continuous rain will spread from the south-west later.

All W districts will have frequent showers or longer periods of rain, perhaps with thunder locally. The showers will fall as snow over high ground in the N. Temperatures will be near normal in all districts.

Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Rain or showers at times. Bright periods. Becoming rather colder.

NEWS DESK  
01-720 2000

CIRCULATION  
01-622 7029

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## TUC RETREAT ON UNION LAW CONFIRMED

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

'THE TIMES' yesterday debunked the TUC's phoney war against the Industrial Relations Act. Not that it was a 'Times' scoop. Workers Press has been consistently exposing the TUC's feather-like attacks on the Act since Robert Carr first introduced it.

Yesterday's front page of 'The Times' simply confirmed all of our warnings.

The article, written by an anonymous 'labour correspondent', said: 'The TUC policy of total opposition to the Industrial Relations Act and all the agencies connected with it is expected to be reconsidered soon.'

'The outcome would be more flexibility, particularly on the key issue of registering under the Act. In defiance of the official TUC boycott of the Act, right wingers have been actively (but secretly) co-operating with the Commission on Industrial Relations...'

This co-operation was made public by Len Neal, chairman of the commission, in a speech in Manchester. Then the 'Economist' revealed that parts of the Act's Code of Practice have been drawn up by the TUC.

We've also traced these right-wingers. Four unions—the seamen, bank employees, agricultural workers and the National Graphical Association have already registered.

Later next month Lord Cooper's General and Municipal Workers' Union will hold a special conference at which the executive will recommend registration. The next to seek registration may be the electricians' union, led by Frank Chapple.

Workers Press has persistently drawn attention to the TUC's failure to reinforce its conference decision on rebel unions. Unions who register should be expelled.

But with Victor Feather remaining silent on registration, the right wingers are being offered a field day to behave just as they please.

As we said on January 26: 'Feather is frantically trying to postpone any action against the

rebel unions. He is hoping that if the Tories give the TUC an unofficial assurance that they will not use the Act (in the miners' strike), the TUC policy on registration may well be reversed later this year when the full TUC meets.'

'The Times' ended its article yesterday with this: 'Other unions have followed the present (non-registration) policy only out of a sense of loyalty to the TUC and would like nothing more than to regularize their position.'

At this year's congress there will be calls for a change.'

Young Socialists  
National Right to Work Campaign

## Right-to-Work MARCH

from Glasgow to London  
arrives in  
CARLISLE  
Saturday February 12

COME TO OUR RALLY  
SUNDAY FEBRUARY 13

City Hall  
Carlisle, 7.00 p.m.

see our documentary play  
'THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION'  
Directed by Corin Redgrave  
Written by Tom Kempinski

followed by a meeting

Speakers:  
G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary)  
VANESSA REDGRAVE

JOHN BARRIE (YS leader of march from Scotland)

Admission 25p