

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY JUNE 23, 1972 ● No. 799 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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BY JOHN SPENCER

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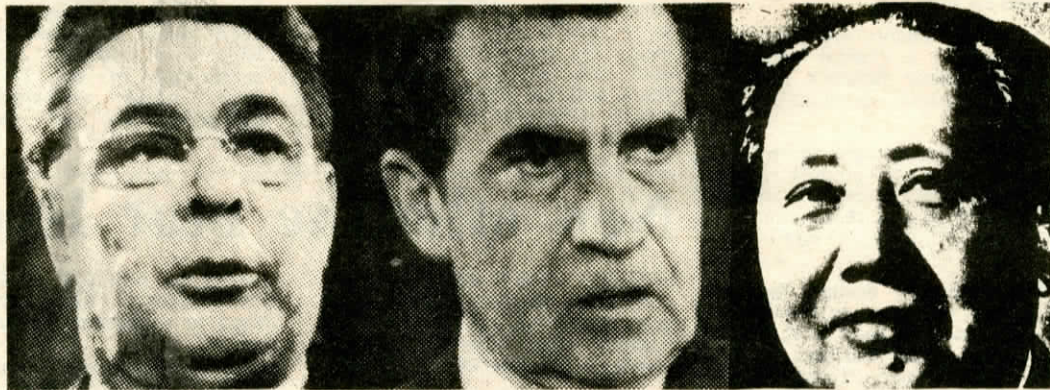
And the reason for this counter-revolutionary development is the economic crisis of world capitalism and the emergence of the revolutionary forces of the working-class threatening its very existence.

The swing to the right by the bureaucracy therefore involves the active preparation of betrayal in Indo-China — in which Henry Kissinger and the Peking Stalinists are also playing a role.

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See page 12

Printers working-in
see page 12



YOUNG SOCIALISTS SCOTTISH REGIONAL CAMPAIGN

WE DEMAND THE RIGHT TO WORK

Dundee to Glasgow—Sat 24 June—Sat 1 July

MARCH

AT JULY 1 GLASGOW

SAT JUNE 24 DUNDEE

ENGINEERING apprentices at Babcock and Wilcox in Renfrew are the latest group of workers to support the Young Socialists' regional Right-to-Work march which starts at Riverside Drive, Dundee, at 2.30 tomorrow.

The apprentices' works committee which has backed the campaign will ask to take a collection in the factory and send six delegates.

They join trade unionists all along the route who have given finance and will give accommodation to the youth.

These include Dundee Transport and General Workers' branch £5; Dundee students £10; Kirkcaldie AUEW, Glasgow, TSSA and miners in Cowdenbeath and Dunfermline.

Dunfermline town council has also supported the campaign and is opening up the town hall to the marchers.

At Airdrie and Coatbridge, the last stop before Glasgow, the trades council has given the march enthusiastic support and is circulating all trade union branches in the area.

March leader John Barrie said yesterday more support is still needed. He appealed for donations to be sent to 46 West Princes Street, Glasgow C4.

FUND STARTS TO GROW

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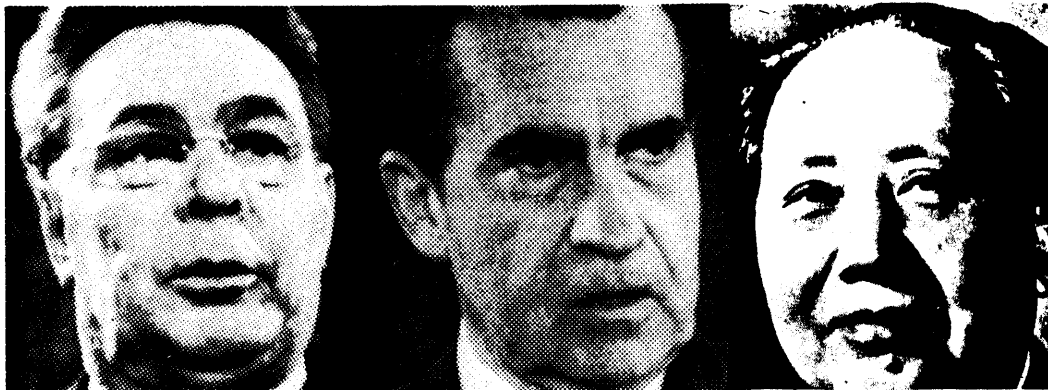
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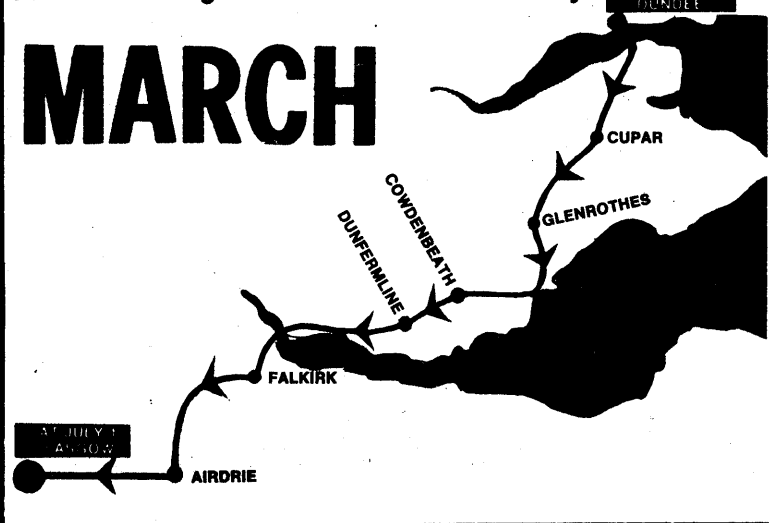


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AROUND THE WORLD

EEC banks rescue the pound again

HECTIC trading against sterling again forced Belgian and German central banks into the foreign currency markets to support the pound yesterday. The 1 per cent increase in the bank rate announced yesterday and clearly designed to stem outflows of 'hot money' from London had little effect in moderating the run on the pound.

Reformists join Italy's right-wing coalition

THE DECISION of Italy's Social Democrats to join a new centre coalition, which for the first time in a decade excludes the Socialists, ends five months of inter-party squabbling.

Since the centre-left coalition collapsed in January, the problems posed by recession, mounting unemployment and inflation have frustrated attempts to form any government including both right-wing Christian Democrats and the Socialists.

Christian Democrat leader Signor Giulio Andreotti now looks set to form a government with a slender overall majority comprised of his own party, the Social Democrats and the right of centre Liberals with outside support from the small Republican Party.

The new line up reflects the growing polarization of class forces in Italy towards policies more rigorously in line with the present needs of the bourgeoisie.

Neither the Socialists nor the Communist Party will be represented, although in last month's general elections, over 40 per cent of the electorate voted for these two parties.

1,400 commercial airline pilots will stage a 24-hour strike today in support of a new 'work contract' which they claim the employers have refused even to discuss.

The Common Market central banks are pledged to support the pound when it falls below its parity floor in relation to their own currencies. Yesterday was the third day of which German and Belgian banks were forced to buy.

American dealers are reported to be taking a cynical view of Tory chancellor Barber's denials that a sterling devaluation is imminent.

On Wednesday night there was heavy selling of pounds from New York and the price of sterling for delivery in three months' time the 'forward rate'—fell heavily.

This indicates dealers believe the pound will be more worthless in three months than it is now. An article in the business magazine 'Management Today' said yesterday that there were sound reasons for this belief.

It pointed out that most of the advantages of the 1967 devaluation have gone—only German export prices have risen more than Britain's since the end of 1967.

Additionally, against a 13 per cent rise in imports to the UK this year, export receipts will rise by only 8 per cent.

The balance of payments on current account—including earnings from goods and 'invisible earnings' from shipping, insurance, tourism and finance—will as a result fall by half this year, the magazine estimates. It adds that at the present rate there will be a balance of payments deficit from the fourth quarter of 1972.

Staggering drop in Krupp profit

DESPITE a rise in Krupp's group sales of 34 per cent last year, profits dropped by a staggering 85.3 per cent—to £1.9m.

Hard on the heels of the Volkswagen losses the figures from the giant Krupp combine are a sure barometer of the downward turn in the West German economy.

Krupp was reorganized in 1967 following a liquidity crisis and the past five years have been spent in a ruthless drive to modernize plant and prune manpower.

Krupp blames the losses on the world decline in steel demand, sharp rises in overhead costs, subsidies to the Ruhr coal industry and the revaluation of the Deutsche mark, which weakened the competitiveness of German steel.

New offensive near Hue

NORTH VIETNAMESE troops and tanks yesterday launched a new attack against South Vietnamese units defending a line north of the imperial city of Hué.

And unconfirmed reports said South Vietnamese airborne units stationed between Hué and My Chanh had been hit by North Vietnamese artillery.

North Vietnamese troops also counter attacked Saigon marines trying to regain a foothold in

Quang Tri province which President Nguyen Thieu has promised to recapture 'within three months'.

US command said seven flights of B52 bombers raided North Vietnamese positions on Wednesday night northwest of Kontum city.

And North Vietnamese forces holding the strategic Chu Pap mountain south of Kontum held their ground after an assault by South Vietnamese Rangers.

Israeli attacks trying to split Arab unity—Lebanon

LEBANON has accused Israel of mounting ground and air attacks against her territory 'with the purpose of creating hostility between the Lebanese and their Palestinian brothers'.

Israeli forces striking at alleged Arab guerrilla bases in Southern Lebanon on Wednesday killed 40 and captured a Syrian

brigadier, four colonels and a Lebanese captain—all intelligence officers.

In Hasbaya 30 Arab commandos and 14 civilians were killed in the Israeli raids and 30 commandos and 25 civilians wounded.

Teams of surgeons, nurses and ambulances were sent to the area with fire-fighting units needed to tackle blazing houses, shops and cars.

Official Israeli sources claimed yesterday that the raids were in reply to a bazooka attack on a tourist bus and a mine explosion in the occupied Golan Heights in which four people were wounded.

But the Lebanese government say the attacks were a deliberate act of Israeli revenge for the Lydda airport shooting of May 30, carried out by Japanese gunmen.

Japanese seamen's ten-week strike now indefinite

THE JAPAN Seamen's Union decided yesterday to continue its ten-week-old strike indefinitely. The decision follows the collapse of negotiations between the employers and the 160,000-strong union earlier this week.

No further talks are likely in the immediate future, despite a growing wave of complaints from Japanese firms about the strike's effect on deliveries of exports as well as stockpiles of raw material for Japan, including Australian iron ore.

Perishable cargoes such as vegetables and beef are rotting and the Transport Ministry has estimated 1,612,000 tons of goods are being held up, including 67,000 tons of steel, 5,000 containers and 19,000 cars.

The stoppage is the longest-ever seamen's strike in Japanese history. It has tied up 1,200 vessels including 860 ocean-going ships at 50 ports around Japan.

Its extreme bitterness is an index of the growing class tensions resulting from the country's economic recession.

The seamen were originally demanding monthly pay rises ranging from 16,000 to 20,000 yen (£20 to £27.5).

Their leaders have now trimmed their demand to 14,160 yen (£17.70) a month, but the employers have stuck rigidly to their 12,000 yen (£15) final offer.

The length and tenacity of the Japanese seamen's strike is a clear indication of the growing combativity of the Japanese working class in the face of the economic crisis and the employers' attacks.

WORKERS at Euratom centres in West Germany, Italy, Holland and Belgium struck yesterday in protest against dismissals and alleged discrimination in pay scales.

An Italian trade union statement said that the one day strike was against the plan to close the research centre at Ispra and sack about 500 people.

Will students' solidarity conference attack Kremlin trade with Franco?

THE NATIONAL Union of Students is organizing a conference of solidarity today with Spanish students who are fighting against fascist repression in Spain. The expressed aim is to create 'greater public awareness' about these problems.

It is quite clear that by holding such a conference, Digby Jacks and the Communist Party leadership of the NUS hope to give themselves a radical cover after miserably betraying the struggle of their own members against the Tory government crack-down policy.

At the same time they hope to give a boost to the wilting Spanish Stalinists who are still clinging to the leadership of the Spanish student movement.

Franco's government has shown complete ruthlessness in silencing Spanish student protest. Over the last year, more than 2,000 students have been arrested, and more than 300 of these have been imprisoned or have suffered interrogation and torture at the hands of the social-political brigade.

At the beginning of June, Faculties and Colleges in Madrid, Seville, Saragosa, Valencia, Bilbao

BY OUR OWN
CORRESPONDENT

and Barcelona were closed or shut down. A hundred student leaders were arrested. In the Faculty of Science in Madrid university armed police opened fire on a meeting and wounded several students. The condition of Juan Manuel Mediavilla is serious.

Sixteen of the students expelled during this latest round of conflict have written an 'open letter' complaining that they were expelled without any explanation at the instigation of the Falangist vice-Chancellor of the University of Madrid.

The students write that they are not 'subversives', but are fighting for justice, for the reform of university structure and for a university education 'available to all young Spaniards and especially to those from the working class'.

They also claim that 'the omission of the Ministry to seek the legally compulsory participation of the academic authorities in the disciplinary proceedings is an expression of absolute distrust in the university as a collective body'.

By writing such a letter, and signing it, these students open themselves up for arrest and more treatment from the fascist police.

The idea that the struggle in Spain is for democracy and that the Spanish state and university can be peacefully transformed is the direct fruit of the Stalinist policies of CP secretary Santiago Carrillo.

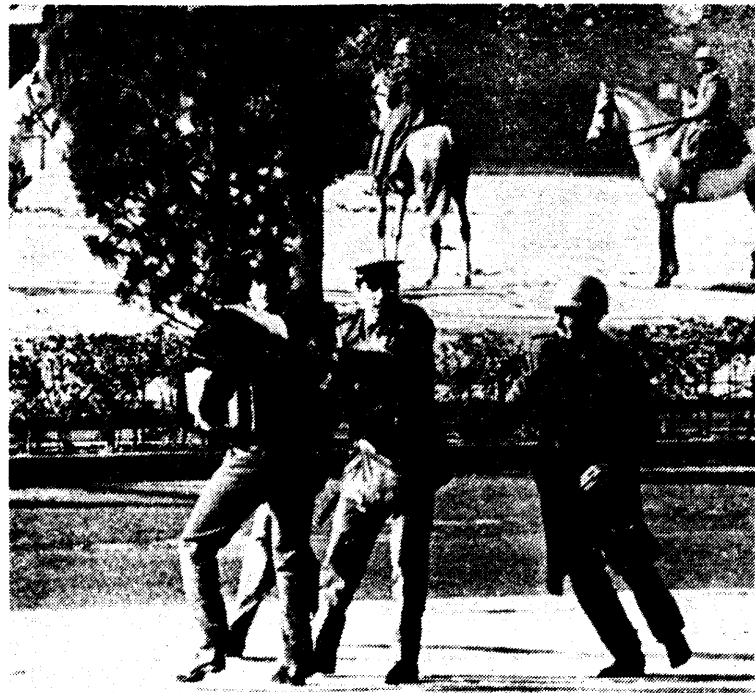
The aim of this policy is to disarm Spanish students and workers before the strengthening of the forces of fascism in Spain, which is preparation for the new 'European' role of the Spanish dictatorship.

This new role also receives powerful backing from the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow and in Eastern Europe, whose representatives are constantly coming to agreement with the fascists who repress Spanish students.

Recently, a Moscow academic was made doctor honoris causa at the university of Granada.

Lopez Bravo, Franco's Foreign Minister, was recently interviewed by the magazine 'Momento'. He said:

'To protect and foment our interests, we have contacts with representatives of the Soviet



Franco's police at work on the campus

Union, which you will know about because they are in the press. I myself saw their Foreign Minister, Gromyko, in New York; there is a Soviet maritime office in Madrid and we are carrying out preliminary negotiations to what we hope will be successful commercial agreements.'

Of course, the Spanish Communist Party will not make an outright denunciation of this diplomacy.

Nor for that matter will the 'Morning Star', the daily newspaper of the CP which Digby Jacks belongs to.

If the NUS solidarity conference is going to be anything other than a whitewash for Stalinists, then it should begin with a denunciation of Moscow-Madrid diplomacy!

Perhaps it could then go onto discuss stopping the masses of cheap tourist holidays to fascist Spain organized by the NUS travel department.

What is needed is a fight for socialist policies in both the British and Spanish student movements as part of the struggle for revolutionary parties based on the working class.

It's easy to go to jail—by mistake

JUSTICE, the British section of the International Commission of Jurists, attacks the Home Office in its annual report for failing to remedy 'the four major causes of wrong convictions in the criminal court'.

The report, out today, says: 'We regret to record that letters from prisoners and cases brought to our notice by solicitors and counsel still show these to be the major causes of the miscarriages of justice which undoubtedly occur.'

The causes are:

- Lack of any real safeguards against mistaken or assisted identifications.
- Concealment by the prosecution of statements and evidence favourable to the defence.
- Lack of safeguards against distortion and fabrication of verbal admissions; and
- Failure of the court to use its power to call witnesses whose evidence is clearly needed to arrive at the truth.

The executive of Justice is undergoing a deep-going shift at present. The chairman, Lord Shawcross, a dedicated and powerful right winger, is resigning.

He arrived at Justice during its early days when its financing was believed to have come from influential governments abroad.

In recent years, however, individual cases have been taken up by Justice and exposed in a way which is causing offence in government and judicial circles. Noting this trend in Justice's operation, a number of people are quitting.

Nationalists and Liberals get together

THE SCOTTISH Liberal Party and the Scottish Nationalists are to discuss the formation of a 'Scottish Movement,' it was announced yesterday.

The talks are as a result of an invitation from the Liberals' chairman, Mr Russell Johnston, MP, to the SNP chairman, Mr William Wolfe. Overtures between the 'Scot Nats' and the Liberals have been on for a number of years; they were first started by former Liberal leader, Jo Grimond, who holds the Orkney's seat.

In his reply to the Liberals, Wolfe said his party supports a move concerning the enlargement of the already broad movement towards self-government for Scotland.

This attempted collaboration by these right-wing parties has dangerous implications for the working classes. They both want to set up nationalist diversions to the political struggle against the Tory government.

Johnson is a former intelligence officer in the British army.

Councils of Action demands grow throughout country

THE MARGAM, Port Talbot, South Wales, branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has overwhelmingly passed a resolution calling for the setting up of Councils of Action.

The branch's members work mainly at the Port Talbot British Steel Corporation plant. Their motion said they realized the

dangers of the Tory government's offensive against workers' basic rights and called on the AUEW district committee executive and the Port Talbot Trades Council to set up a Council of Action.

'... Due to the non-leadership of the TUC and Labour Party in defending these basic rights, the Councils of Action, as have already been agreed by Liverpool and Lambeth Trades Councils, be set up on the basis of those

formed in 1925 before the General Strike.'

The Councils should be made up of 'all trade unions, all political tendencies, without proscription, unemployed, tenants' associations, and all those who are prepared to fight the Tories on all these issues and prepare for a General Strike to make the Tories resign and elect a Labour government pledged to true socialist principles and restore all these rights.'

The Margam branch also unanimously passed a resolution calling for the recall of the TUC congress to reaffirm opposition to the Industrial Relations Act.

CROYDON Trades Council has decided to call a meeting within a month to set up a Council of Action in the area.

The debate centred on a resolution from the Waddon No. 2 AUEW branch. The trades council executive was instructed to meet again before the weekend to organize a meeting and send a letter to all organizations in the labour movement by Sunday.

The Croydon Ford's shop stewards' committee has already decided to sponsor the setting up of a Council of Action.

Stalinists voted against the motion, appealing to the 'mature' delegates to reject its 'infantile leftism'. They considered the call for nationalization under workers' control without compensation to be 'the politics of people who have no understanding of the serious situation facing the movement', and said 'we'll be lucky if we can set up some sort of co-ordination with the tenants' committees by the end of the year, and this is as much as we can take on'.

The Waddon resolution read: 'The working class is facing the worst dangers of its long history. The NIRC and the Tory government prepare to destroy the basic rights of the working class.'

We call on the Croydon Trades Council to follow the lead of other trades councils and set up a Council of Action as part of a national campaign to force the Tories out. The Council of Action must unite all sections in the labour movement against the Tories for:

- The recall of the TUC to reaffirm the decisions of the special congress last September for non-co-operation with the NIRC, and prepare for a General Strike to make the Tories resign.

- The expulsion of all those right-wing traitors who collaborate with the NIRC and those in the Labour Party who vote with the Tories on the Common Market, and who implement the Housing Finance Bill.

- The return of a Labour government, pledged to restore all the democratic rights lost under the Tories, and implement a policy of nationalization of the basic industries and finance under workers' control and without compensation to the ex-owners.

We think that the Council of Action should represent all organizations in the working class—trade union branches, shop committees, political parties, tenants' organizations, trades councils, district committees, students and old age pensioners to bring together all struggles into one decisive campaign to remove the Tories.

GEC Coventry workers first into engineers' pay fight



Pickets on the gate at GEC's Spon Street factory

THE ENGINEERS' pay battle has come to Coventry with a strike by 7,000 manual workers at eight factories in the General Electric group (GEC-AEI).

The strike has forced management to lay off another 7,000 employees. The company, the biggest employer in Coventry, makes telephone exchanges, and transmission and telephone equipment.

This is the first strike in Coventry over the engineers' claim. Strikes at British-Leyland plants were averted when shop stewards accepted company offers which merely gave £3 on the basic rate, one day's extra holiday and an increase in holiday pay of £4 a week.

These offers come nowhere near the

engineers' national claim.

GEC workers walked out after last-minute talks with GEC's higher management broke down.

Jack Cherrington, chairman of the central strike committee and T&GWU convenor at the main Stoke plant, told Workers Press:

'The talks on Monday never really got off the ground because of the nature of the company offer.'

'All our check workers in GEC Coventry are now out on strike for the six points of our claim.'

'A centralized strike committee has been formed.'

'This is not a strike that can be treated lightly. If necessary we are prepared for a long strike', he said.

The workers are claiming six of the original 13 points of the

national engineering claim.

The six points are a substantial wage increase and an increase on minimum time rates, four weeks' holiday at average earnings, extra statutory holidays, night-shift holiday pay to be at ten hours' pay instead of eight hours, overtime premiums to be increased, and equal pay for equal work for women. They are also demanding that any agreement be non-legally binding.

The company had offered only £1.50 on the basic rate and one day's extra holiday when the original strike notice was handed in.

At the talks on Monday management hinted at the possibility of another day's holiday and a marginal increase on the £1.50.

Obviously the Weinstock empire, as one of

the largest employers in the Employers' Federation, is determined to hit hard at its Coventry employees.

But the workers are equally determined.

Another member of the strike committee and an AUEW convenor, A. Beardmore, told us:

'Our officials told the company, that they are not prepared to see our members treated as second-class citizens.'

'It was even brought to our notice that other GEC companies had agreed to pay night shift ten hours' pay for their statutory holidays, but in Coventry they have flatly refused to make pay concessions on this.'

Strike leaders are seeking support from other firms in the GEC combine as well as from the firm's transport drivers in the city.

BOOKS



Moscow Trials Anthology
Paperback, 62½p
MAX SHACHTMAN:
Behind The Moscow Trial
Paperback 75p
ROBERT BLACK:
Stalinism In Britain
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £2
LEON TROTSKY:
Death Agony of Capitalism
(The Transitional Programme)
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BOOKS ● PERIODICALS ● NEWSPAPERS

In this four part series Peter Jeffries traces the history of the British labour movement from the formation of the First International in 1860 to the Taff Vale judgement of 1901. He examines how the British working class built the unions as powerhouses of struggle—and then built the Labour Party after coming under challenge in the courts.

THE BACKGROUND TO TAFF VALE

PART FOUR

In England, questions of law have always been decisive in the development of trade unionism and of the working class generally. The legal attack which the Tories have launched against the unions is in this sense not a new experience for the British working class.

The union movement was founded in conditions of brutal repression and illegality in the quarter century following the introduction of the Combination Laws, 1799.

As we saw in the last article, the Labour Party, on which the revisionists now wish to turn their back completely, was born largely in response to the employers' attacks launched against the trade union movement in the 1890s.

It is to this attack which we now wish to turn. For at its centre were a series of judgements in the High Court and the House of Lords which culminated in the infamous Taff Vale judgement of 1901.

Just as the establishment of the Tory Industrial Relations Court cannot be understood as an isolated act of policy, but only as part of a determined strategy to destroy free trade unionism, so the Taff Vale case was the outcome of a similar and equally determined campaign.

And just as the working class of the 1890s was forced to throw out its old leaders, the majority of whom were hand in glove with the Liberal Party, as part of the struggle to preserve their unions, so today the struggle has to be waged against all those in the working class who refuse to break with the reformists and lead a campaign for the defeat of this government and its replacement by a Labour government pledged to a socialist programme.

Both the employers and the old trade union leaders recognized the decisive new element in the New Unionism. Not only had this movement brought into the ranks of trade unionism tens of thousands of previously unorganized semi-skilled and unskilled workers; it was also increasingly committed to socialism and a break with liberalism and the Liberal Party.

In a series of essays, significantly entitled 'A Plea for Liberty', one writer noted this change:

'The older unions presided over by men having some knowledge of political economy and of the conditions of trade, have a defined policy. They desire, when it is possible, to improve the position of the working man . . . Admission to such unions is a privilege not lightly to be obtained. This policy is stigmatized by the secretary of the new union . . . it claims for labour the whole of the profits made by labour and capital combined; it aims to be

the absolute dictator of the conditions of toil; to say who shall work and how much he shall receive.'

This was typical of the hysterical campaign which was launched with increasing severity throughout the 1890s. It went along with the deployment of large police and military forces to deal with strikes and to break up picket lines. But the spearhead of the campaign, both then as now, was the systematic attempt to undermine the legal rights which the unions had secured for themselves in the period of the mid-Victorian boom.

Initially the campaign centred on the rights to picketing. This was a vital question for the new unions. The old, highly-skilled, craft unions have only rarely resorted to this weapon during a dispute. Their skills had been scarce and they realized that once a dispute was over, the employer would normally be forced to take them back. Now things had changed.

Imported labour

Not only had mechanization tended, as we saw in the last article, to undermine partially the position of the skilled worker; the unions catering for dockers, gasworkers and other general labourers were continually subject to the threat of imported 'blackleg' labour during a dispute.

It was for this reason that 'The Times' and other organs of capitalist opinion took up the cry of the rights of 'free labour'.

'The general labour controversy is going to turn upon the respective rights and duties of free labourers and unionists', it wrote in February, 1891. The cries of 'tyranny' against the unions reached a crescendo after the successful 1889 dockers' strike.

The employers were bitter and determined to prevent the spread of trade union organization to the many areas and industries which still remained almost completely unorganized. The only way in which the new layers of workers joining the unions could defend themselves was by imposing the closed shop. Hence the bitter battles to import scab labour, which met with limited success as far as the employers were concerned after the initial victory of 1889.

It was in the aftermath of the 1889 strike that the Shipping Federation was created to organize the supply of scab labour and unite the employers in the various ports against the new union. Its official historian later wrote: 'From the first, the Federation was founded as a fighting machine to counter the strike weapon, and it made no secret of the fact.'

A similar trend within the ruling class was reflected in the National Free Labour



Ben Tillet, dockers' leader: courts are 'class creatures and instruments for the maladministration of the law'

Association, created by William Collison. This aimed specifically to provide a register of scab labour in each town to which members of the Association could have access. A series of exchanges were created where potential scabs could apply to be placed on such a register. They were usually manned by ex-police inspectors.

But even these measures proved inadequate for the capitalist class. Facing increasing foreign competition, they were driven towards campaigns for changes in the law governing union activities.

The unions had won their rights as a result of two Acts. The Trade Union Act (1871) and the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act (1875) had made it impossible for the employers to sue the unions as corporate bodies and had also granted the right to peaceful picketing.

Both these Acts came under increasing challenge in the courts after 1893. In 1896 Ben Tillet, the dockers' leader, could correctly say that the courts were 'centres of corruption' and 'class creatures and instruments for the maladministration of the law'.

Most of these adverse judgements turned on what constituted 'intimidation'. In a case decided in 1891 (Curran v Trevelyan) a lower court had decided that any strike or threat of a strike which did not aim to benefit the men concerned, but rather to damage the employer, constituted intimidation within the meaning of the 1875 Act. Despite the jubilation of 'The Times', which was now speaking of the leaders of the New Unionism as 'our national Mafia', the decision on this occasion was overturned in the High Court.

The right to picket

Interpretation of the law made it clear that different criteria were to be applied to combinations of employers as distinct from combinations of workers.

Mr Justice Kay summed up the openly political stance which the judiciary were increasingly taking when he pronounced in 1896:

'I hold that it is illegal to picket the work or place of work of a man by persons who are distributed and placed there for the purpose of trying by persuasion to induce people who want to work for him to

abstain from entering into an agreement with him to do so. That seems to me illegal.'

Space does not allow us to go through all such pronouncements or to deal with all the legal cases concerned.

But with the Taff Vale judgement a decade of struggle had closed in which it was clear that (1) the right to picket had been seriously undermined (2) heavy damages could be awarded against union officials or members if 'intimidation' could be established and (3) Taff Vale established that unions could be sued for their funds as corporate bodies.

It was the change in judge-made, trade union law, which more than anything forced the working class to abandon its old politics—support for Gladstonian Liberalism—and turn seriously to the creation of an independent Labour Party, a cause for which Engels had worked so tirelessly in the last 15 years of his life.

Like Engels, Lenin recognized the great significance of these developments.

At the Stuttgart Congress of the Second International, 1908, it was Lenin who led the campaign for the admission of the Labour Party into the International. He did so, not because he was ignorant of its severe limitations and the corruption of its opportunist leadership. Nor did he fail to see the fact that it retained many of its ties with the old Liberalism—a subject on which he clashed with Kautsky at the Congress.

But he also saw that the Labour Party was a necessary stage through which the British working class would have to pass in its struggle to establish a Marxist, revolutionary party.

It was on this issue that he was to clash with the leader of the Social Democratic Federation, the self-styled 'Marxist', H. M. Hyndman. It was Hyndman who wished to write off the Labour Party as 'bourgeois' in the same abstract and idealist manner in which the revisionists today also wish to characterize a Labour government. And we should note, and perhaps point out to the sectarians of today, that within a short space of time Hyndman and many of his supporters were to swing violently to the right, adopting an openly chauvinist position in 1914. Hyndman himself actually became a recruiting sergeant in the war.

But like all political developments, the break from

Liberalism could not be an even one.

The Labour Representation Committee (the forerunner of the Labour Party) at first drew only modest support from the unions and those were mainly the ones covering the less skilled trades plus those deeply affected by technical change, such as the boot and shoe operatives.

Taff Vale made a considerable difference and many unions affiliated to the LRC in the 12 months following 1901.

But even then, many important sections still remained aloof and even hostile to the establishment of a Labour Party. Here the miners were the most important. They held the distinction of being the first trade union to send an MP to Westminster (in 1874). But they were the last big group to come over to the Labour Party after its establishment in 1906.

The vital lessons

As in all periods—and today is certainly no exception—the working class attempts to find solutions to its problems within the old forms of organization and struggle. The miners, living often in isolated communities where their voting strength was highly concentrated, still felt they could get along through their traditional alliance with the Liberals. Only a combination of a series of crucial objective changes in the class struggle, combined with a sharp conflict within the leadership of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain ensured that the miners eventually came over to support the Labour Party.

And once the break was made, the miners were to be the backbone of the Labour Party from 1908 onwards.

Here are vital lessons for the revolutionary party today. The demand for the election of a Labour government on a socialist programme is inseparable from the struggle to break the working class from reformism of all types.

This break will not be automatic, nor will it be spontaneous. But once the working class does reject social democracy in favour of revolutionary politics it will be a final and decisive break.

This is the real lesson of the events surrounding Taff Vale and the creation of the Labour Party.

CONCLUDED

ALLENDE MOVES FURTHER TO RIGHT

Chilean president Salvador Allende has dropped his deputy Economics Minister Pedro Vuskovic in a cabinet reshuffle which takes the Popular Unity government far to the right.

Vuskovic, a member of Allende's own Socialist Party, was a determined advocate of further nationalization measures. He was dropped after secret talks between Allende and the Christian Democrat opposition.

The cabinet reshuffle implements a deal between the government and the Christian Democrats, who have been demanding a halt to plans for extension of nationalization. Allende's move had the backing of the Communist Party, which is on the extreme right of the Popular Unity coalition.

The Stalinists and the Christian Democrats had accused Vuskovic of destroying business confidence and causing food shortages with his nationalization measures. Allende has now announced that leaders of the Christian Democrat Party are joining Popular Unity in a joint commission to define the three sectors of the economy: private, state and mixed.

In addition, the president appears to have accepted the opposition's phoney programme of so-called 'worker participation'—designed as a substitute for nationalization. In a broadcast announcing the reshuffle, Allende said the government hoped to 'open the way for worker-self-managing companies defined by mutual agreement'.

MONOPOLES

The latest moves represent a sharp swing to the right along the so-called 'peaceful road to socialism'. They are an open betrayal by Allende and the Stalinists of their electoral promises to the Chilean workers and peasants.

The Stalinists have been trumpeting about 'socialist advance' in Chile ever since Allende came to office 19 months ago. But despite the measures already taken to implement the so-called 'Chilean Road to Socialism' (a Latin American version of the British Communist Party's pacifist-reformist programme), the big monopolies still have the decisive say.

When the Popular Unity government took office in 1970, a group of 144 corporations, of a total of 35,000 industries of all types, controlled 50 per cent of the capital invested in Chile's manufacturing sector.

Economic studies (included

those of the present under-secretary of economy, Oscar Garretton; the CESO organization of the University of Chile; and CEREM of the Catholic University) have revealed the existence of a monopoly in all industrial sectors. A study done by the Economics School of the University of Chile, for example, showed that in 1971, from a group of 833 units, only 227 or 25 per cent controlled 82 per cent of the capital, 80 per cent of total assets and more than 76 per cent of gross income.

This picture is not complete, however. These 227 companies, or the 144 mentioned above, absorb almost all the capital and income derived from manufacturing activities. According to their own list of shareholders, a closed group of ten clans, closely interconnected among themselves, controlled not only manufacturing but almost all productive activity in Chile.

These ten groups control the boards of directors of all the big manufacturing corporations (with the exception of the completely foreign companies).

Some of the groups own only 15 or 16 per cent of the shares, but even this low figure is sufficient for them to monopolize the boards of directors.

An example of this is the textile sector where two dominant groups (the Yarur clan and the Said-Hirmas group) controlled (today this sector is under state control) more than 20 large companies with shares that at times were lower than 20 per cent of the total.

The Alessandri-Matte group, which has connections with the Bank of South America, controls 82 corporations, big and small, from lumber and pulp industries to metals, chemicals, cement, etc. In each important industry where it has almost absolute control, it has a minimum amount of shares but large enough to ensure its representatives a place on the board of directors.

With each nucleus using such manoeuvres, the final picture is a monopolistic group with close interrelations, a big family which one economist defined as a 'super group'.

Each time a clan has begun to increase its scope of action, it uses this interlocking system. Yarur, for example, operating through a relatively new bank, the Credit and Investment Bank (now nationalized), had healthy growth and prosperity rates. In 1962 it had financial relations with only two other clans—the Alessandri-Matte (through the Bank of South America) and the multi-group related to the powerful Bank of Chile.

In 1970 Yarur, in addition to having increased its volume of operations in the banking sector, had extended its influ-



ence to 11 companies, in textiles, chemicals, plastics and fishing. In total, the clan in 1970 owned 3.4 per cent of the global investments in industry.

BRAIN TRUST

Another, still newer group is the clan of the 'pirañas', which until 1971 had connections with the Mortgage Bank, founded during the Frei government, and is now nationalized. Consisting of a group of impresarios with high technical skills, this nucleus, unlike almost all others, does not have family interrelations nor a single leader, with the exception of financier Carlos Vial Espantoso.

In a few years this brain trust developed their field of action to the point where they were competing for hegemony with more powerful groups in strategic industries. In less than eight years, for example, they obtained control of the board of directors of the powerful South American Steamship Company (one of the 23 companies with more than 200 million escudos of capital, still not nationalized), the main industries of the durable consumer goods sector, the most important sugar sector (CRAV), a petroleum company (COPEC), in addition to executive posts in the Bank of Chile, the most powerful credit organization in the country.

Naturally, there is a great deal of interlocking with foreign capital; during the last six years US industrial investments increased by more than 110 per cent.

US penetration in industry is most blatant in the powerful industrial-financial empire

of the Edwards. Its leader, Agustin Edwards, former director of the newspaper 'El Mercurio', president of the Inter-American Press Association until two years ago, lives in the US today and is vice president of Pepsi Cola International.

The Edwards clan owns 11 corporations but influences a total of 60. Their investments in manufacturing alone account for 6.32 per cent of global investments; they control the press world, the beverage industry, and exert strong influence on insurance companies; the food industry, fishing industry, etc.

The Chilean IBEC Financial Company operates in almost all these sectors. More than 66 per cent of its shares belong to the International Basic Economy Corporation which in turn belongs to the Rockefeller group.

In 1969 IBEC was active in all sectors of the Chilean economy: foods, metals, chemicals, etc. In the decade of the 1960s the most powerful groups had achieved such an interlocking of directorates that they controlled the entire power structure in industry.

PROGRAMME

In the food sector, 12 companies have more than 50 per cent foreign capital, and five companies have from 20 to 49 per cent. PURINA, for example, has 80 per cent foreign capital. In the beverage sector eight corporations have more than 50 per cent foreign capital; in footwear two companies (CATECU and SOINCA) are 100 per cent foreign capitalized; in metallurgy 17 big companies are foreign; in chemicals, 44.2 per cent of

all investments belong to foreign financiers.

Popular Unity's original programme envisaged establishing state control over at least 144 of the main corporations mentioned above. The government would intervene because of irregular financial practices; confiscate products and purchase shares through the Ministry of Economics.

At the latest count, these tactics have been used against 79 of the biggest companies and these have been brought particularly—or in a few cases totally—under state control. Only about a quarter of the enterprises ear-marked for take-over have in fact been nationalized to date.

Among them are the banks and some of the biggest privately-owned monopolies. However, a great part of their power is still intact and they have proved highly successful in using their parliamentary support to knock back the government's efforts to take them over.

Allende's agreement with the Christian Democrat opposition on dropping plans for further wholesale nationalization results from a lengthy parliamentary deadlock over the opposition's Constitutional Reform Bill, which attempted to write protection of big business interests into the constitution.

Allende's clamp-down now means that the right-wing opposition will press forward with even greater force than before. They want to take away the gains the workers have made through the Popular Unity government. By their capitulation before big business, Allende and the Stalinists are opening the way for big business to deal crushing blows against the workers' movements.



BRITAIN'S BIGGEST LANDLORD

BY PHILIP WADE, HOUSING CORRESPONDENT

The biggest landlords in London have driven a coach-and-horses through a loophole in existing Rent Act legislation and are now eagerly awaiting the passing of the new Housing Finance Bill.

For a number of years now hundreds of tenants have been paying more rents than legally necessary; only now are some of them getting refunds.

A 'Guardian' inquiry has just pinpointed Mr William Stern and the Freshwater group for taking advantage of badly-framed law.

Rented accommodation in London is scarce. Official figures show the total has been

falling by about 6 per cent a year.

And with the increasing tendency for landlords to sell off flats as leases ran out, the proportionate fall has been even larger recently.

With the fall in rented accommodation, these landlords have been asking rents of between 50 and 100 per cent higher than outgoing tenants had been paying. The tenancies were supposed to be rent fixed by law.

In three cases, the landlord asked for £1,250 for flats that had a regulated rent limit of £580. Although the landlords have been charging more rent than they are entitled to recover, it was not possible to bring a prosecution against them because of the wording

of the legislation.

Tenants, however, do have the right to claim back excess rents and can resort to civil proceedings if all else fails.

INFLUENTIAL

Stern is one of London's biggest and most influential landlords. In evidence to a committee inquiring into the working of the Rent Act, he proposed the adoption of a national rebate scheme for those who couldn't afford to pay high rents.

This proposal was subsequently taken up by the Tories on their return to office in

June 1970 and later incorporated into the so-called 'fair rents' Bill.

Until the end of last year Stern was the managing director of the Freshwater group. He then broke away from the group — taking substantial property holdings with him. He was the brains behind Freshwater's expansion. It ironically came at a time when other landlords moved out of rented accommodation, complaining bitterly of Labour's 1965 Rent Act. (now the 1968 Rent Act).

When Stern left he took with him £35m of property, most of it residential, and formed his own company, Metropolitan Properties. He has pledged himself to carry on renting out flats along Freshwater lines.

Buckingham Mansions is a 70-year-old block of flats in Swiss Cottage, a highly-desirable residential area in central London.

Earlier this year three flats became vacant. Stern's company put them on the market at an annual exclusive rent of £1,250 a year. The tenants who had moved out had paid a regulated rent of £580.

The new tenants were paying Stern twice what he was legally allowed to recover until

they found out what the regulated rent was. They are now paying the old rent.

Other Stern tenants in West London have found themselves paying virtually double what the previous tenants paid in rents. In other blocks, Stern has given notice he intends to increase rents 50 per cent when leases fall due.

The amazing situation has developed now where the landlord is now paying the tenant. Freshwater has already paid back over £6,000 to tenants in one London block. In Camden alone, tenants have got back £15,000.

How were landlords able to charge three times the legally-recoverable rents, and how did tenants get some of their money back?

The answer lies in the workings of the 1965 Rent Act, piloted through the House of Commons by Richard Crossman early in the Wilson administration.

In effect, Freshwater and Stern discovered a loophole in the Act which was aimed at restricting rents of properties with a rateable value of less than £400 in London and £200 elsewhere.

Under the Act all rents were frozen at the amount

paid by tenants when it came into force in December 1965. This rent level is known as the rent limit and applies until a new rent is decided by the rent officer.

INCREASES

The only sums that can be added to these limits are increases in rates, increases in the costs of providing services to the flat, or 12½ per cent a year of the landlord's expenditure on improvements.

But the Act does not say a landlord cannot ask for more than the rent limit. The wording only says it cannot 'recover' more than the limit.

In other words, Stern was quite in order to ask tenants for 50 per cent more rent than had been fixed by the rent officer. There is nothing to stop a landlord asking for more providing the tenant is willing to pay and does not know about the registered rent.

The same Act, however, enables tenants, through clause 33, to recover rent paid above the rent during the previous two years.

The two-year limit on re-

covery has meant, however, that tenants who have been paying excess rent for longer than that period will never get their money back.

Although tenants in this position could recover rent and maintain security of tenure through their leases, the Tories will sweep this limited protection away with the Housing Finance Bill.

Its intention is to make lawful joint agreements 'freely' entered into by a landlord and tenant for a rent which under the present Act would not be recoverable by the landlord because it was above the regulated or registered level.

At present when a tenant applies for a vacant flat, he first has to agree to the landlord's terms. Once he has taken occupation, he has the right irrespective of what terms were agreed, to recover any rent beyond the permitted amount if he finds out about it. And the tenant maintains his security of tenure.

The Housing Finance Bill will remove these safeguards, flimsy as they must have seemed at the best of times.

In a situation of scarce supply of flats in areas like London, it is not too difficult to imagine what 'freely-negotiated agreements will be like.

It is not surprising that in anticipation of such a Tory windfall, landlords have been willing to pay back excess rent.

There is, however, more to the tale.

One tenant in East London recently got a letter from Freshwater asking for the 'accrued amount'. Following the registration of a new rent, Freshwater sought to have the new figure paid retrospectively from the date of application for registration.

TENANCY

The point is that under the 1965 Act, for tenants whose leases have expired, rent increases can only be paid after due notice following registration. For those with current leases no more rent is usually payable until the contractual tenancy or lease expires.

This particular tenant checked up and refused to pay an 'accrued', retrospective amount.

Freshwater also have tended to make interesting variations in their leases in other directions. Leases for their

properties state that an outgoing tenant must 'in the last three months of the tenancy, completely redecorate the interior of the flat'.

One former tenant last year was sued by the company for £220 in respect of dilapidations on the flat.

The tenant refused to pay and the tenants' association was told outside the court that Freshwater would accept half the claim. The action was dropped and the claim settled.

One old lady got a bill for almost £150. Her solicitor argued for months and the bill was then upped by almost another £200!

Freshwater solicitors gave the following breakdown of costs: £221 for redecorating, including 'reviving doors'; polishing floors, £20; 'rewashing and general cleaning' came to £5 and lubrication of the doors another £5.

The former tenant's solicitors sent £50 and threatened to go to court if it wasn't accepted. It was.

The landlords are prepared to go to extraordinary lengths in order to obtain increases—even relatively small ones. Freshwater has taken cases as far as the Court of Appeal.

The logic of forcing through

Increased rents has very important financial implications for such firms. It is not the income that is the main question, but an increase in the value of the property itself that is at stake.

The mechanics of financial leverage are devastatingly simple. Blocks of flats are bought on a mortgage and increased rents will put up their value.

With the increased value you remortgage the block and use this money to pay back the original mortgage. You then have a substantial amount of money left over to reinvest in other blocks, recommencing the process.

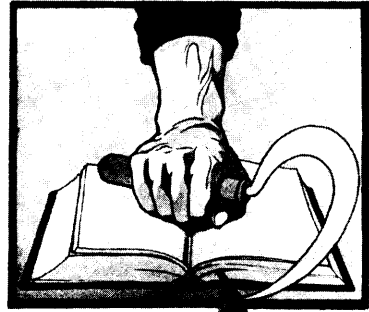
Labour's attempts to 'reform' the private landlords came to nothing. Besides establishing the notion of the 'fair rent', it opened the door to the more far-sighted landlords.

Stern and the Freshwater group now look to the horizon and see even more bountiful days ahead. If the Housing Finance Bill becomes law it will herald the paradise of 'freely-negotiated joint agreements.

Above left: Ex-Freshwater executive, William Stern. Above: the Freshwater headquarters in Shaftesbury Avenue.

'THIS LAND OF IRELAND... ANNEXED FOREVER'

BOOK REVIEW



'The Green Flag. By Robert Kee, Weidenfeld and Nicolson. £5.95 877 pages.

A six part review by Jack Gale

PART 4

Some years before the 1845-1848 famine, the Irish movement had taken a new form, under the leadership of a wealthy Catholic lawyer, Daniel O'Connell. This rejected both republicanism and revolutionary methods of struggle, questioning neither the British connection nor the authority of the Crown.

Indeed, on one occasion O'Connell presented George IV with a loyal address 'supposedly uniting '6 millions of a grateful people in a band of brotherly love to one another' and expressing their 'affectionate attachment to your Majesty's person and throne'.

O'Connell led the campaign for Catholic emancipation. He formed the Catholic Association, which organized the 40s freeholders (ie those with the voting qualification) to vote against their Tory landlords and elect emancipation candidates. Catholics could legally be elected to parliament, but in practice were never able to take their seats because the members' oath denounced the Virgin Mary as an idol.

The Catholic poor, meanwhile, continued to fight in their secret societies. O'Connell never mobilized them—but he was ready to use them. He repeatedly warned the British government that he and his class were the alternative to the threat of revolution from the starving masses. And this—rather than O'Connell's rhetoric—was the decisive weapon.

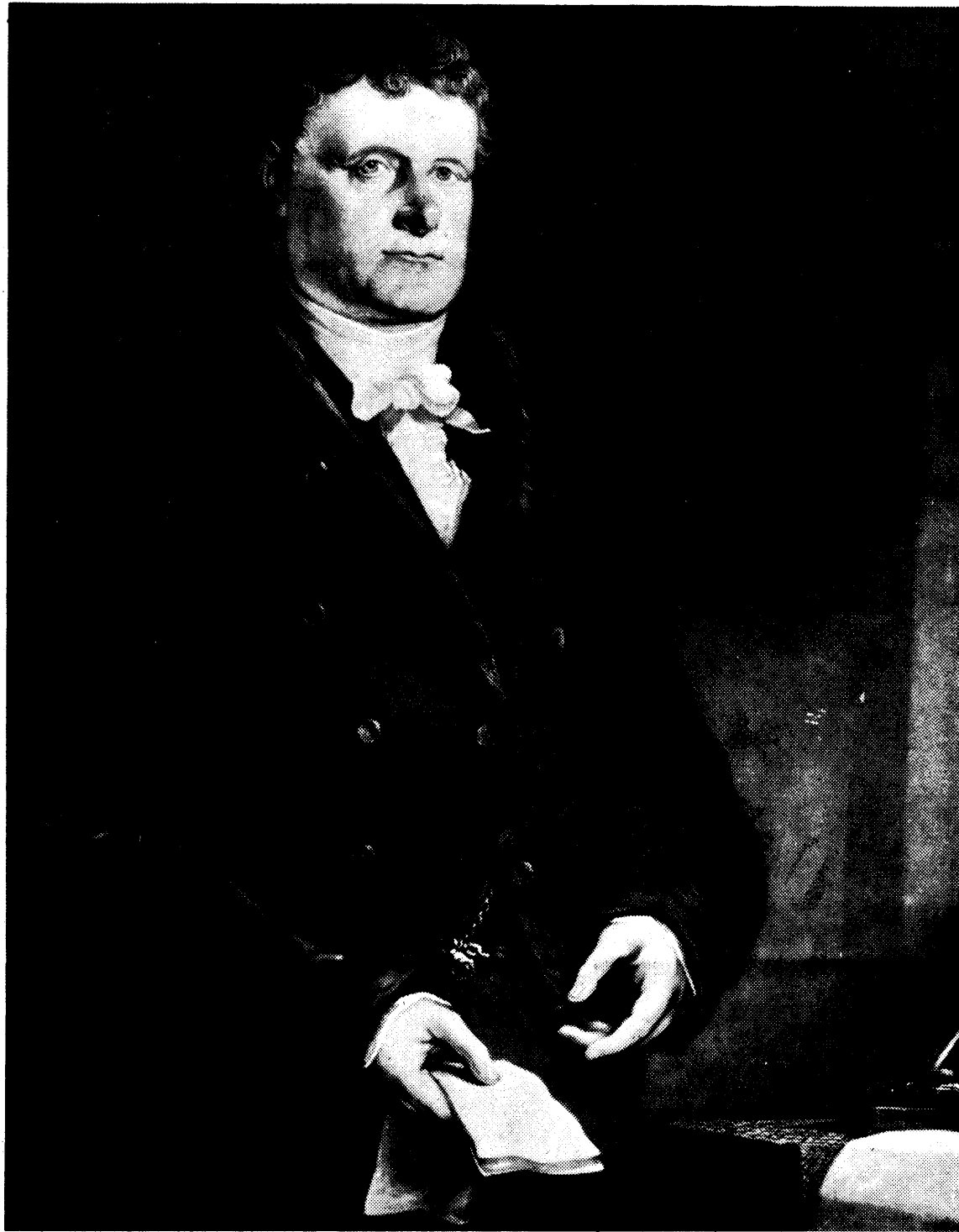
When O'Connell won the Clare seat in 1828, the Act of Catholic Emancipation followed one year later.

(The government also raised the Irish voting qualification from a 40s freehold to a £10 freehold, thus, in fact, disfranchising many Catholics. But O'Connell was not unduly bothered about that.)

With emancipation secured, O'Connell proceeded to organize an 'Irish Party in the British Commons to campaign for repeal of the Act of Union'. After the 1832 Reform Bill, which gave more political power to the middle classes and the new capitalists, there were 39 Irish 'Repealers' in parliament—though it must be remembered that the vast majority of Irish members, who numbered 105 at that time, never supported repeal.

O'Connell himself was always bitterly hostile to the working class. He was one of the strongest opponents of the workers' struggle for the Ten Hour Bill, for example.

And he always preferred the form to the substance. For example, he welcomed the law of 1838 which made the landlord responsible for paying



Daniel O'Connell—always bitterly hostile to the working class, he warned the British government that he and his class were the alternative to the threat of revolution from the starving masses

tithes (a tax of one-tenth of the peasants' income to finance the Protestant church in Ireland), rather than the tenant. But he said nothing about a Bill passed at the same time which empowered the landlord to raise the tenants' rents by exactly the same amount.

In 1840, O'Connell formed his Repeal Association, the first two principles of which were:

'Most dutiful and ever inviolate loyalty to our most gracious and ever-beloved Sovereign Queen Victoria and her heirs and successors for ever.

'The total disclaimer of, and the total absence from all physical force, violence or breach of the law.'

At this time O'Connell gained the support of a group of middle-class young men, half of them Protestant, who became known as Young Ireland. Leading figures in this group included Thomas Davis, John Blake Dillon and Charles Gavan Duffy.

Their paper, 'The Nation', devoted much space to what could loosely be described as poetry, the following being a fair example:

'We want no swords, no
savage swords,
Our fetters vile to shatter
With conquering mind alone
we fight—
'Tis all we need for
freedom!'

But even a leadership such as this could command a huge following in Ireland. They held huge rallies all over the country. One meeting—at Cork in May, 1843—attracted 500,000 people.

Despite the moderation of O'Connell and his Young Ireland supporters, the government was alarmed at the sight of repeated meetings of hundreds of thousands of people and finally banned them. O'Connell and his allies tamely accepted the ban. They were nevertheless, convicted of conspiracy and in May, 1844, O'Connell was sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

His treatment was in marked contrast to the barbaric onslaught on the Irish poor.

In fact, he was provided with the Governor's house in Dublin, allowed to hold sumptuous banquets, and after a short while his sentence was quashed by the House of Lords.

All the same, the experience cooled his ardour for repeal, and for a short time after his release, he began to favour a federal structure for Ireland, within the British state.

This led to strains between O'Connell and Young Ireland which were intensified during the years of famine when calls for violent struggle were heard once again. O'Connell sought an alliance with the Whigs in the British parliament in the hope of getting food sent to

Ireland, although there was, as explained above, plenty of food already in Ireland, much of it being exported to England for profit.

This conflict finally split the Repeal Association.

In 1847, the Young Irelanders founded a new organization known as the Irish Confederation—but this organization had no policy for the Irish poor. It simply provided more of the old rhetoric about 'freedom' the unity of 'all Irishmen' and the importance of developing Irish manufacture (most of its leaders came from the manufacturing class).

Meanwhile, the Irish poor continued to die in their hundreds of thousands.

Then, one revolutionary voice was heard—the voice of Fintan Lalor.

Repeal, said Lalor, was an empty abstraction to the Irish peasant. What he needed was land. Labour on the land constituted a right to the land. Lalor declared, and he called on the peasant to withhold his rent.

Only one leader of the Confederation—John Mitchel—was moved by Lalor's fervour to conclude that constitutional methods were now useless. He broke from the Confederation and launched a new paper 'The United Irishman'.

Then, once again, events in France affected the course of Irish history. In 1848, the overthrow of Louis Philippe

stimulated even the Confederation to talk of revolutionary struggle.

But a rising planned by the Confederation was abortive. Under the recently passed Crimes and Outrages Act, many of its leaders—plus Mitchel—were hunted down and deported.

However, as was often the case with these middle-class leaders, exile could be followed by a highly-successful new career. One of the deportees became a prominent New York judge and another ended up as postmaster-general of Canada.

The Confederation, though, was finished, and it was to be ten years before another attempt was made to launch a national Irish organization to fight the British government.

In 1858, a new secret organization appeared in the South West of Ireland. One of its leaders was O'Donovan Rossa and its oath undertook 'to renounce all allegiance to the Queen of England, to take arms and fight at a moment's warning and to make Ireland an independent, democratic republic.'

This new organization, to be known as the Fenian Movement, started from the premise that it was impossible to win the Irish upper classes to its cause. It turned deliberately to the labourers, peasants and small tradesmen, largely under the influence of some of its leaders who had worked with revolutionary groups in France and fought against the coup d'etat of Louis Napoleon.

One of these men, James Stephens, brought a refreshing change from the experiences of a few years ago—empty rhetoric was replaced by efficient organization!

The Fenians built up close connections with the Irish-American Fenian Brotherhood—800 of whom actually invaded Canada in May, 1866. The following year, the Irish Fenians launched their offensive, which was to involve not only Ireland but England. (A plan to capture all the arms and ammunition in Chester Castle was foiled only because of an informer.)

The rising was crushed, however, and was followed by nationwide hunts for leading Fenians. Two of them, named Kelly and Deasy, were arrested in Manchester. A week after their arrest, as they were being taken to jail in a prison van, it was stopped by 30 Fenians. A shot was fired to break the lock and a police sergeant was killed.

Irishmen were rounded up throughout the city and five of them—Maguire, Condon, Allen, Larkin and O'Brien were tried for murder. All five were sentenced to death. (Maguire had nothing at all to do with Fenianism, and the other four proudly proclaimed their beliefs.)

Maguire's innocence was so obvious that he had to be given a free pardon. Condon, an American citizen, was reprieved.

Despite the fact that it was clearly established that the shot had been fired by a man called Rice (who had escaped) and though it was never proved that the policeman's death was other than accidental, Allen, Larkin and O'Brien—the 'Manchester Martyrs'—were hanged.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



THE DEATH OF 'DR STRANGELove'

John Paul Vann (47) died indulging in his favourite recreation. High over the outskirts of Kontum, South Vietnam, he was 'spotting' communist positions from a helicopter and calling in air strikes against them.

It was the high point of his regular daily routine. Every day the helicopter crew took him up even under typhoon conditions and heavy ground fire to inspect the battle area.

By drawing 'enemy fire' he could pinpoint the places where the B52 bombers should strike. Afterwards he could smell the charred flesh of the liberation troops.

It gave him more pleasure than anything else in life.

'Any time the wind is blowing from the north the B52 strikes are turning the terrain into a moon landscape,' he told the 'New Statesman's' William Shawcross before he died.

'You can tell from the stench that the strikes have been effective. The bodies are everywhere.'

On Friday, June 9, the fun stopped for Mr Vann. An NLF gunner brought his helicopter crashing down to earth and killed him stone dead.

Vann was not only a psychopath. He was also the third most senior US representative in Vietnam, next to ambassador Ellsworth Bunker and General Creighton Abrams.

President Nixon was most upset to learn of his death. From his Camp David presidential retreat he issued a statement describing Vann as an outstanding citizen who had given 'unmatched service' to the US.

Not unnaturally, the Vietnamese liberation fighters took another view. Hanoi Radio spoke of his 'countless crimes against our people'.

It added that the news of his death had caused elation even among the puppet forces. 'It is also probable that the puppet generals who were dismissed because of Vann's power to take ultimate decisions... may now be giving parties to rejoice over his death,' it said.

In his 11 years as a US adviser in South Vietnam,

US
ROUND-
UP



'Dr Strangelove' — John Paul Vann.

Vann had made himself one of the most hated of them all. He started out as a military adviser, resigned his commission and became a civilian adviser with special responsibility for the Mekong Delta area. About this time he lost the last vestiges of a liberal attitude towards the war and became a total 'hawk'. He also began to get an inflated idea of his own powers, claiming to have completely 'pacified' the Delta.

He used to ride around at night on a motor-bike in peasant costume to demonstrate the success of this 'pacification', but the NLF have brutally smashed his claims along with those of so many others.

The Delta is now the scene of the most bitter guerrilla war and Vann's successors there ridicule his bombastic boasts.

After his exploits in the Delta, Vann moved on to take charge of the South Vietnamese war effort in the Central Highlands, where liberation forces delivered devastating blows to the demoralized puppet forces in the first weeks of their present offensive.

He became particularly noted for his solicitude for the lives of other US advisers, lifting them out of tight spots by helicopter and leaving their South Vietnamese charges to their fate.

His justification: 'Americans put more value on life than do the Vietnamese.' Similar considerations presumably lay behind his decision to evacuate as many Vietnamese as possible from besieged Kontum while leaving the Montagnard tribesmen with their families in the encircled town.

Even the CIA was unable to stomach this callous scheme, though Vann tried to justify it on the grounds it would force the Montagnards to fight the communists. He abandoned the plan reluctantly when the CIA threatened to break him if he continued.

Shawcross describes Vann as 'a very strange American'.

He can say that again. Even his family had grown to hate him. Last year, Vann's son wrote to him and said: 'Between you and [Daniel] Ellsberg, I'd choose Ellsberg. Thank God I don't have to take your money any more. It's earned with blood.'

Ellsberg, once a 'hawk' and a friend of Vann's, is now on trial for revealing the 'Pentagon Papers' to the press.

Nixon, after all, prefers the 'unmatched' services of psychopaths to the revelation of the truth about the Vietnam war. In case there was any doubt about this, the Associated Press reported from Washington on June 16 that:

'John Paul Vann, the best-known US adviser in the Vietnam war, was given a hero's burial today and President Nixon bestowed upon him the Medal of Freedom—the nation's highest civilian award.'

'Mr Vann, who was killed in a helicopter crash in Vietnam, was buried at Arlington National Cemetery. Secretary of State William P. Rogers was present as Nixon's representative.'

'Shortly after the graveside ceremony, Mr Vann's family went to the White House, where his 24-year-old son John accepted the medal and a citation that extolled Mr Vann as 'a truly noble American, a superb leader'.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

JAK AND HIS CHELSEA SET

JAK the 'Evening Standard' cartoonist drinks at a pub in Fulham Road, Chelsea, called the 'Queen's Elm'.

It's an average sort of pub on the edge of 'hippie' Fulham and in spitting distance of modest little homes costing about £50,000 a throw.

Whether the saloon bar is always filled by blimpish sorts with cropped heads, moustaches and fruity accents it's hard to say.

It certainly was recently when JAK—real name Raymond Jackson—dropped in for a special drink.

Around the walls hung a selection of his cartoons drawn for the pub and including a couple with the race themes ex-India colonels and the like seem to enjoy chuckling over.

Unfortunately he left before I arrived. I was naturally eager to hear the latest of his well-known views on the working class from his own lips.

Not that there was any real need to ask. It was pretty clear from his cartoon showing a railwayman about to be lynched by angry bowler-hatted commuters.

When I dropped in only a handful of the 150 guests who had assembled for the opening of an exhibition of his cartoons were left swilling fairly liberally at the bubbly.

At least one of them, police commander Roy Yorke, was available for comment. 'Terrific,' he said. 'He hits it on the head every time.'

What he hits on the head nine times out of ten is the working class. Perhaps that's why the commander of police found him so much to his taste?

The most famous of JAK's recent cartoons which I understand some workers preserve

on their notice boards 'lest they forget' was undoubtedly his power worker cartoon.

It was so vicious that the 'Standard' printers refused to handle it and the presses were temporarily halted.

The cartoon showed a mindless, heartless, brutal, greedy worker with his hand thrust out aggressively demanding more.

The 'Queen's Elm' exhibition of about 70 cartoons priced at around £25 each is a representative cross section of his work.

Pub proprietor Sean Tracy would not allow any of JAK's anti-IRA cartoons because he is Irish himself, but many of the other old favourites are there hammering strikers, demonstrators and immigrants.

Earlier a high-powered team from the right-wing 'Standard', from editor Charles Wintour downwards, had given their blessing to the exhibition and given away armfuls of free copies of the paper.

I couldn't discover what workers playing darts in the bar thought of JAK's cartoons, but one of them gestured fairly pointedly with his dart.



The 'Jak' cartoon during the Rail Ballot period.

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Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

Stalinists curb fight, but

Leicester tenants look for leaders who'll fight

THE LABOUR group which recently won control of Leicester city council has decided to implement the Tories' 'fair rents' Bill if it becomes law, a meeting of the New Parks Tenants' Association was told on Monday night.

The three Labour councillors who represent the estate attended the meeting to explain the decision. It soon emerged that they were relying on a change of heart by the Tories so that they would not have to take up a fight against the Bill.

All three councillors stressed that it was quite possible that the Bill would be thoroughly amended before it became law. But if it did become law in its present form, tenants were told, then the Labour council would have no alternative but to abide by the law.

One councillor went so far as to suggest that the consequences of not paying the rent increases were so horrible that it would be far better to pay up. The only advice he could offer the tenants' association was that they made sure that everyone entitled to a rent rebate received it.

The councillors argued that if they implemented the Act then at least control of housing would remain in the hands of the council and not pass to a government commissioner.

There were shouts of: 'You will be doing the Tories' dirty work for them,' and one tenant pointed out angrily that the Tories would not stop at the 'fair rents' Act.

Labour councillors would soon find themselves implementing a whole range of anti-working class legislation passed by the Tory government.

A speaker from the National Federation of Tenants' Associations attacked the Labour group over their decision to implement the Act. But although she pointed out correctly that the fight against the Act should not be seen as a single issue, she could offer little in the way of a fight against the Tories except to lobby Labour councils for reforms.

The tenants' association

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

itself has recently been set up with the Stalinists of the Communist Party and the International Socialists prominent in the organization.

The political bankruptcy of these two groups emerged clearly at the tenants' meeting when the Stalinist chairman let the councillors off the hook by allowing only 20 minutes for questions, ruling out of order all statements of opinion and any questions that did not deal specifically with the rents issue.

A member of the Young Socialists was interrupted while trying to explain the necessity for building Councils of Action and forcing the Tories to resign.

The tenants themselves had come to the meeting looking for a leadership that was prepared to wage a fight against the Tories.

Many workers tried to express the view that the fight could not be limited to a single issue, but involved all the government's attacks on the living standards and the organizations of the working class.

The strength of feeling on this matter had already emerged when our reporter spoke to some tenants on a previous visit to the estate.

Barry Laywood, his wife and their ten children live in a four-room council house for which they pay £5.99 a week. Their oldest child is 14.

Asked how they were able to manage, Barry—a Hosiery Workers' Union member—said: 'According to my earnings we get a rent rebate. Family allowance helps too. But when I was sick for two weeks once, we could not get social security and they threatened to take our family allowance away.'

Barry's wife added: 'We wouldn't manage if we couldn't organize ourselves. You want to keep the children clean and tidy don't you?'

'But it seems to me that you need to let them walk around in rags in order to get social assistance. The "fair rents" Bill is not fair at all, because when the rents go up that does not mean that the properties will get improved.'

'The Tory government makes it hard for the workers. Prices go up and the workers are made redundant. But even if you have a job it is hard to get by. Every week is a struggle. Thanks to the family allowance and my own earnings we always just manage until Barry gets paid.'

Mr and Mrs F . . . have lived in a council house for four years.

'We're fed up! You are not allowed to help yourself. You have to ask permission for everything. We would like to modernize the kitchen. It is too small. But it takes too long to wait for permission.'

'The government's decision to enter the Common Market shows that the MPs don't ask us what we want. All the food prices will go up, but will the wages?'

Mr F . . . is a Transport and General Workers' Union member. He commented on the working conditions in his place:

'This country is backward. In my place, if a man does not do what the gaffer wants he gets the sack. But not just like that, because the gaffer does not want to pay redundancy sums. So he gives a man a job he does not like and lets him leave on his own. You really get exploited as a working man.'

Mr and Mrs Moore's rent has gone up twice in the past year.

'It is hard to face the future,' Mr Moore told me. 'We should have had a vote about the Common Market. The Tories do what they want. They don't ask us. Everything will go up.'

'Meat prices show that they are getting ready for the Common Market. We won't be able to live any more.'

'Scrub the Industrial Relations Act! The Tories want to show us that Big Brother is with us. They want to get rid of the unions and smash the working class.'

'The trade union leaders let the government get away with too much. They want to put their foot down and get rid of the Tories! But there is too much bouncing among them.'

'All our problems, whether rents, food prices or wages, boil down to the point—we've got the wrong leaders.'



Barry Laywood with his wife and four of their children

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Six sites at a time: Stalinist builders' 'solution'

COMMUNIST PARTY leaders in the building unions have given 100 per cent backing for the policy of selective strikes on the £35, 35-hour-week claim.

At a meeting of over 150 shop stewards in London on Wednesday night they gave support to the union executives' announcement that six sites in the capital would strike from next Monday.

Len Eaton, regional secretary of the Union of Construction and Allied Trades and Technicians, said six more would come out

the week after and six more the following week.

One site has only 28 men on it and the six sites together cannot involve more than 1,000 workers.

CP speakers said this didn't matter too much because they would mount a mass picket if anything happened.

Leading Stalinist Jack Henry, executive member of UCATT, supported the proposal.

A call for an all-out strike and a demand that the TUC mobilize the trade union movement to force the Tories to resign was opposed by Stalinists from the floor of the meeting.

The union leadership—backed by the CP and its 'Charter' group—is absolutely hostile to mobilizing the full membership of the union for the claim.

Their feeble excuse that the unions are not well organized enough is echoed by CPers like Pete Cavanagh, who recently spent a week up a crane in protest against sackings.

But one steward pointed out that the question of 100 per cent trade unionism and the lump could only be resolved in all-out struggle—backed by other workers—to defeat building employers and bring down the Tories.

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9.20 Andy Pandy. 9.38, 2.05 Schools. 11.55 Cricket. 1.30 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 1.45 News, weather. 2.25 Cricket and Racing. 4.40 Magic Roundabout. 4.45 Jackanory. 4.55 The Monkeys. 5.20 Right Charlie. 5.44 Parsley. 5.50 News, weather.
6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.
6.20 ROYAL ASCOT.
6.30 THE VIRGINIAN. The Barren Ground.
7.45 IT'S A KNOCK-OUT! Luton v Watford.
8.30 LOOK—MIKE YARWOOD! With Adrienne Posta and Peter Noone.
9.00 NEWS, Weather.
9.20 THE MAN OUTSIDE. Intruders.
10.10 24 HOURS.
10.40 STOKOWSKI CONDUCTS. Wagner, Debussy, Glazunov.
11.30 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 4.30 Cricket. 6.35 Open University.
7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.
8.00 MONEY PROGRAMME. Budgeting for Britain's defence.
9.00 GARDENERS' WORLD. With Percy Thrower.
9.20 REVIEW. Leni Riefenstahl.
10.15 SPORT TWO. Colin Welland and Ian Wooldridge report on Stan Smith and Carwyn James.
11.30 NEWS, weather.
11.35 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

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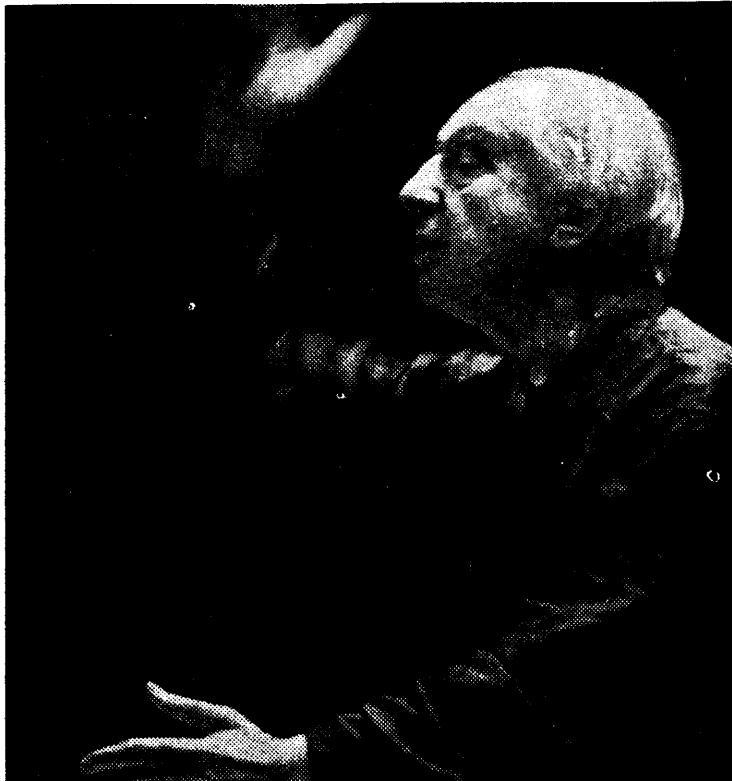
CHANNEL: 1.45 Racing. 4.05 Zingalong. 4.18 Puffin. 4.22 Jimmy Stewart. 4.50 Flintstones. 5.20 Primus. 5.50 News. 6.00 News, weather. What's on where? 6.15 Just routine. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.30 His and hers. 9.00 London. 10.30 Report. 12.00 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.18 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports desk. 10.32 News. 10.36 Film: 'Payroll'. 12.25 Epilogue.

TV

ITV

12.30 Freud on Food. 1.00 Remember. 1.30 This Week. 2.00 Bush Boy. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 2.55 Racing. 3.45 Scotland Yard Mysteries. 4.15 Clapperboard. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Land of the Giants. 5.50 News.
6.00 TODAY.
6.30 THE NEW DICK VAN DYKE SHOW.
7.00 THE SKY'S THE LIMIT.
7.30 THE FBI. Wind It Up and It Betrays You.
8.30 ON THE BUSES.
9.00 BUDGIE. The Outside Man.
10.00 NEWS.
10.30 POLICE 5.
10.40 FILM: 'THE SLEEPING TIGER'. Dirk Bogarde, Alexis Smith. Psychiatrist takes young criminal into his home to act as mental guinea-pig but his experiments misfire.
12.10 SCALES OF JUSTICE.
12.40 IDEAS IN PRINT.



Leopold Stokowski conducts the London Symphony Orchestra at 10.40 on BBC 1 tonight—60 years after conducting his first London concert with the same orchestra

Saint. 8.30 Shirley's world. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Reach for Glory'.

ULSTER: 1.45 Racing. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.00 News. 6.10 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Jason King. 8.30 His and hers. 9.00 London. 10.30 Name of the game.

YORKSHIRE: 1.45, 3.00 Racing. 2.15 Under these roofs. 3.40 Jimmy Stewart. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Flaxton boys. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 Partners. 7.00 London. 8.30 His and hers. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: '80,000 Suspects'. 12.30 Douglas Fairbanks presents. 1.00 Weather.

GRANADA: 2.20 Racing. 4.05 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.30 Riptide. 7.30 His and hers. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Fiends'.

TYNE TEES: 12.25 Forest rangers. 12.50 Edgar Wallace. 1.45 Racing. 2.30 Yoga. 3.00 Racing. 3.40 Jimmy Stewart. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 Flaxton boys. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Partners. 7.00 London. 8.30 His and hers. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Dark at the Top of the Stairs'. 12.45 News Extra. 1.00 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 1.50 Racing. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.50 News. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Cartoon. 6.30 Shirley's world. 7.00 London. 7.30 Saint. 8.30 His and hers. 9.00 London. 10.30 In camera. 11.00 Epilogue. 11.05 Film: 'Lady in a Cage'.

GRAMPIAN: 1.45 Racing. 3.38 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Smith Family. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Rainbow country. 5.20 Ivanhoe. 5.50 News. 6.00 News, weather. 6.05 Mr and Mrs. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.35 UFO. 8.25 Shirley's world. 9.00 London. 10.30 Challenge. 11.00 Film: 'House of Dracula'. Road report. 12.15 Epilogue.

SOUTHERN: 2.30 Good afternoon. 2.55 Racing. 3.45 Cartoon. 3.55 Weekend. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Paulus. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Voyage. 5.50 News. 6.00 Day by day. 6.40 Out of town. 7.00 His and hers. 7.30 Weekend. 7.35 Sale of century. 8.05 FBI. 9.00 London. 10.30 Name of the game. 11.55 News. 12.05 Weather.

HTV: 1.30 Out of town. 1.50 Remember. 2.15 Racing. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Woobinda. 5.20

Flaxton boys. 5.50 News. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Bonanza. 7.30 Film: 'Uneasy Terms'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Cinema. 11.00 His and hers. 11.30 Jason King. 12.30 Weather. **HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except:** 4.15 Cantamil. 6.01 Y Dydd. 10.30 Outlook.

HTV West as above except: 6.18 Report West.

ANGLIA: 1.45 Racing. 2.15 Houseparty. 2.30 Good afternoon. 2.55

Racing. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper room. 4.50 Bottom of sea. 5.50 News. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 His and hers. 8.00 Combat. 9.00 London. 10.30 Probe. 11.05 Film: 'Appointment with Crime'.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Julia. 4.40 Zingalong. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 His and hers. 7.30

INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT DAVID MAUDE AT THE CSEU CONFERENCE

Dangerous confusion over Tory Act

FEELINGS are mixed at Llandudno about the effect of Wednesday's decisions on the Industrial Relations Act.

By over 1.3 million votes to 500,000, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions reaffirmed its total opposition to the Act and its agencies.

It went on to express 'dismay' at TUC General Council's advice that unions should feel free to attend the National Industrial Relations Court and at the Council's refusal to recall Congress.

What happens now is unclear. The vote united all four sections of the powerful Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, the Transport and General Workers' Union, including its vehicle section, with smaller unions such as the Heating and Domestic Engineers, the Sheet Metal Workers and the Metal Mechanics.

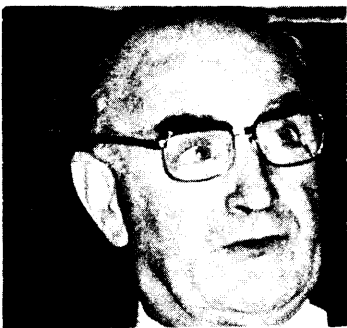
Against them were ranged the Electrical and Plumbing Trades Union, the General and Municipal Workers and the white collar unions ASTMS and APEX.

Presumably Hugh Scanlon, the AUEW President, who led the move, can now be expected to mount further pressure for a recall of Congress.

Certainly Ken Gill, deputy general secretary of the AUEW's technical and supervisory section, thought so.

'This is a powerful expression of the feelings of the rank-and-file movement,' he told me.

'I'm very pleased with this decision. It seems at last that we are breaking through.'



Scanlon

But Len Edmondson, an executive council member of the AUEW engineers' section, was not so sure.

He thought that a number of unions who had supported the resolution did not feel it was a challenge to their continued co-operation with the NIRC when threatened.

And he expressed concern about the danger to shop stewards which had been opened up by unions' participation in the Court so far.

An indication of the pressure under which the CSEU leaders feel themselves was the heat generated by the debate.

There were sharp clashes, particularly between Scanlon and the leader of APEX, Roy Grantham, a pro-Common Marketeer who spoke against the resolution.

Grantham claimed that the Croydon special congress last year had given unions the right to defend themselves when they were dragged into the Court.

But the main burden of his argument was that the Tories might call an election on a law-and-order platform if the unions were too fierce in their opposition to the Act. He drew atten-

tion to the General Election which had been called in France following May-June 1968.

'We shall oppose this motion because we want to win the next General Election,' he said, speaking for the CSEU right wing.

But as Scanlon pointed out, it was precisely Marketeers such as Grantham who had assisted last October's House of Commons vote which kept the Tories in power.

These remarks applied with equal force to an executive council member of his own union, John Boyd, who must get some sort of prize for his performance in the debate.

Amid a welter of double-talk, the engineers' leader performed the unusual feat of saying the exact opposite of what he meant, while making his real purpose absolutely clear to everyone.

As a result, two unions — ASTMS and the EPTU—left the sizeable abstentionist camp and voted against the motion.

Boyd insisted that the AUEW motion could not be supported on the basis of pseudo-unity.

He insisted that unions could only really vote for it if they consistently refused to recognize the Act.

In a clear attempt to force the T&GWU to vote against his own union's motion, he referred to those unions who had 'become involved with the Act in a way against the spirit of this resolution'.

But it is precisely the fact that the resolution is so vague and could be supported by all these unions that leads to doubts about its ultimate effect.

And the fact that virtuosity of the Boyd stamp is necessary indicates the severe crisis in which the CSEU finishes its conference today.

Combine-wide claim defeated at CAV

A RESOLUTION calling for a united campaign on the engineers' pay claim involving the entire Lucas group's factories has been defeated in the CAV Acton shop stewards' committee.

At a meeting on Wednesday, right-wing AUEW convenor John Paxman attacked the resolution on the grounds 'that it showed a lack of confidence in the executive committee of the joint shop stewards'.

The Lucas offer in answer to the claim is precisely the same as that proposed to the CAV stewards at Acton. Paxman has insisted on Acton going it alone.

Other stewards say this attitude cost CAV workers approximately

£2 last year and increased long-service money gained by Birmingham workers in 1970 was only achieved as part of CAV's site deal 12 months later.

The short-order department, composed of highly-skilled workers, had put forward the resolution. It demanded that the convenors fight for the original claim of £6, a 35-hour week, increased pay and progress towards equal pay on a CAV-Lucas combine basis.

After this motion was lost in the joint shop stewards' committee, there was some doubt as to whether the site claim itself had been defeated. So it was necessary to vote again on a previously accepted resolution.

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PROVOS MAKE THEIR 'PEACE'—READY TO SIT WITH TORIES

THE PROVISIONAL IRA yesterday called a ceasefire from midnight on Monday.

The text of the statement, issued in Dublin, is: 'The IRA will suspend offensive operations as and from midnight on Monday, June 26, 1972, provided that a public reciprocal response is forthcoming from the armed forces of the British Crown.'

'The leadership of the Republican movement believes that a bilateral suspension of operations would lead to meaningful talks between the major parties to the conflict.'

'The movement has formulated a peace plan designed to secure a just and lasting solution, and holds itself in readiness to pre-

sent it at the appropriate time.'

It was scarcely surprising that within minutes of the much-rumoured statement, the Tories at Westminster and the British were rubbing their hands with delight.

Not so, however, down at the 'Socialist Worker' and the 'Red Mole', who have campaigned on the slogan 'Victory to the IRA'.

The prospect of the Provisionals and the Officials now sitting at the conference table with the

Tories is a monumental indictment of their policies. When they refused to take up a fight against the real enemy of the Ulster working class—the Tory government—it was no accident.

They now want to make peace with the master who is directly responsible for the poverty, the unemployment, the murder and the terror in the North.

A further statement on the so-called 'peace moves' will appear in Workers Press tomorrow.

Confed clash over differing wage deals

FROM DAVID MAUDE IN LLANDUDNO

LEADERS of two powerful engineering unions clashed yesterday over last month's controversial pay deal in the shipbuilding industry.

Employers were warned not to expect that the long-standing pay claim in engineering would be settled for £2.75 and an extra day's holiday as that in shipbuilding and ship-repair had been.

The clash came at the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering's Llandudno conference after Danny McGarvey chairman of the CSEU's shipbuilding negotiators, had reported on the two-year deal concluded on May 1.

Boilermakers' president McGarvey reported that the deal—£2.75 this year, £2.75 next and three days' extra holiday by 1974—gives a £20 minimum wage in the industry this year.

But Len Edmondson, speaking on behalf of the engineers' executive of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, was soon on his feet explaining why the AUEW had at every stage opposed this settlement.

It fell far short of the demands laid down by the CSEU conference 12 months ago, he claimed.

That conference had also insisted in no uncertain terms that no agreements should exceed 12 months.

And the settlement had prejudiced the pay fight in engineering at a time when shop stewards in many areas were presenting claims to individual firms at local level.

In some areas members of CSEU affiliated unions had been involved in strike action after refusing settlements such as had been accepted by the shipbuilding negotiators.

The settlement had created particular problems in areas where there was a lot of shipbuilding and ship repair going on, he said. In some cases members had been forced to take strike action by the settlement when they could have got better terms themselves without it.

The AUEW was not moving the reference back of McGarvey's report. But his settlement would

INDUSTRIAL action on the engineers' national pay claim will continue, plant by plant, union leaders decided at Llandudno yesterday.

Conference heard that the employers were not prepared to come anywhere near its demands. An industrial committee meeting of the Engineering Employers' Federation on Wednesday had seen no purpose in the kind of 'exploratory' talks which CSEU delegates had asked for the previous day.

not set the level for engineering negotiators in any talks with the Engineering Employers' Federation.

McGarvey argued that the job threats at UCS, Harland and Wolff, Cammell Laird and Yarrow shipyards had placed the negotiators in a difficult position.

'Had we taken a negative stand in these negotiations all our good work would have been up the spout', he said.

Dealing with the UCS situation, he said earlier that negotiations were proceeding well in the case of the Clydebank yard. There was not now a great deal of difference between the official trade union side and the company.

When Marathon Manufacturing took over on July 25 the complete labour force working at the yards should be absorbed 'in one way or another', he claimed.

While Marathon had said it would only need 1,200 to 1,500 workers, there was one ship still being worked and 'who knows that we may not get another one!'

Earlier the Technical and Supervisory Section (TASS) of the AUEW, succeeded in amending the General and Municipal Workers' Union resolution by deleting all reference to job-evaluation as a method of achieving equal pay for women.

Jobless— Little change

THERE WAS little change in hard-core unemployment this month according to figures for June out yesterday.

Seasonal employment gave jobs to 68,096 people, but total unemployment remained firmly pegged at 833,473.

June is always the lowest figure of the year. But with seasonal openings closed and redundancies continuing, the jobless total looks certain to top the million again this winter.

The June figure was also depressed because of the absence of any large numbers of people temporarily stopped.

The jobless total for Great Britain alone (excluding Ulster) was 793,896—3.5 per cent.

It included 758,281 wholly unemployed, 8,369 school-leavers and 27,246 temporarily stopped.

In Ulster 37,894 were wholly unemployed, 906 school-leavers and 777 temporarily stopped.

Ulster is still the worst hit area with 7.6 per cent unemployed closely followed by Scotland at 6.1 per cent.



McNaughton (r) finds it hard to explain his position to the press as workers look on from inside the plant

Printers working-in in South London

THE LIQUIDATION of Briant Colour Printing works in South London has been marked by one or two curious aspects.

Meanwhile the 150 workers—told at 1.45 p.m. on Wednesday the factory was closing in 15 minutes time—are working-in.

They are working on the orders they have in hand, but allowing nothing to leave the factory. Bedding and food has been moved in for those manning the factory at night.

The Old Kent Road factory is a brand new, custom-built plant. Briant Colour moved there five years ago.

In July 1971, after a bad year, the company was taken over by Mr Derek Syder, with financial assistance from Robert Hornes, the paper merchants.

Syder, joint managing director, also owned other printing and printing sale companies, including DGS Colourprint. Eventually most of Briant's work came from DGS.

Then two week ago the firm's

largest creditor, Hornes, appeared on the scene. Their managing director, Mr James McNaughton, quits his well-paid post to become joint managing director at Briant's.

Yesterday at a press conference outside the factory gates McNaughton said:

'What I did looks strange, but there's nothing strange about it,' he added. Asked by reporters if this was not a genuine liquidation but a chance for a quick profit, he replied: 'That will be decided by the liquidator.'

Spokesman for the work-in committee, Bill Freeman, FOC, NATSOPA, said:

'There is sufficient work coming in here to make it a viable concern and we are prepared to take on new work. But we are not trying to set up a workers' commune because in this society one cannot survive economically like that.'

'We are modelling ourselves on UCS—not in all ways but in most ways.'

Socialist Labour League

Public Meeting

DEFEND THE DOCKERS' RIGHT TO WORK
DEFEND BASIC DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS
DEFEND THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION
MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN

SUNDAY JULY 2 7 p.m.

Acton Town Hall
Acton High Street, W.3.

Speakers:

G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)
SARAH HANNIGAN (London YS secretary)
CLIFF SLAUGHTER (SLL Central Committee)
CORIN REDGRAVE

LATE NEWS WEATHER

BLACKING of giant Cobham Farm container depot, Stratford, East London, called off at shop stewards' meeting in Royal group of docks yesterday afternoon.

One shop steward said from July 10 dockers will be working at depot and the 60 lorry drivers now working there will not lose their jobs but will be found other work.

RAIN will cross most areas of Northern Ireland, Wales and England during the day followed by mostly dry but generally cloudy conditions.

In Scotland and north east England it will be mostly dry with sunny intervals.

It will remain rather cool in most places.

Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Continuing generally cloudy and cool with rain at times but also a few sunny intervals.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

ACTON: Monday June 26, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road. 'Support the dockers. Force the Tories to resign'.

LEEDS, Tuesday, June 27, 8 p.m. Peel Hotel, Boar Lane. 'Build Councils of Action'

EAST LONDON: Tuesday June

27, 8 p.m. 'Aberfeldy', Aberfeldy Street, E.14 (nr Blackwall Tunnel). 'Defend the dockers' right to work'.

PRESTON: Thursday June 29, 8 p.m. Railway and Commercial Hotel (near railway station), Butler Street.

SOUTHALL: Thursday June 29, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Bridge Rd. 'Force the Tories to resign'.

WANDSWORTH: Thursday June 29, 8 p.m. Balham Baths, Elmfield Road, Balham. 'Build Councils of Action'.