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INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • TUESDAY OCTOBER 17, 1972 • No 896 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

BUILD THE MASS MOVEMENT TO

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a state-regulated wages-plan. The talks at Chequers also received a big no from more trade union leaders who spoke out against any agreement with the Tories involving state control of the pay packet (see page 3).

Both developments highlighted the growing mass movement in the working class which threatens to upset the TUC bid to form what virtually amounts to a coalition with the government to deal with the economic crisis facing British capitalism.

First resistance came from South Wales where oil refinery workers at Llandarcy went on strike after management refused wage negotiations because of the Chequers discussions. They were joined by steel workers at Pontypool who have been told to postpone their £7 wage demand pending the outcome of the TUC-Tory initiative.

Today Rolls-Royce workers at Coventry will hold a one day protest strike against a decision by the Tory appointed board to delay pay talks as a result of Heath's wage plan.

The pressure to break off talks and pursue a militant pay policy was also felt at the top of the trade union movement.

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These hostile reactions to the horse-trading at Chequers is castiron proof that the working class will not be held back on wages.

The TUC General Council might be in a mood of total sur-render, but the strength of the rank and file remains unbroken.

This strength has dogged the Tories for two years in con-frontation after confrontation and it will go on battering this government of speculators and friends of the monopolies.

The first big test will come after Wednesday when leaders of the electricity power workers meet management over their £5.50 pay claim. Militants in the industry say they will impose a work-to-rule if no satisfactory offer is made.

Such action can only encourage other workers like the miners and the Ford car workers with big claims in the pipeline.

These wage battles will hit the Tories while they are extremely weak. The British economy is rapidly slipping out of control. Inflation is unchecked and many more huge price increases are on

Pound slips

Meanwhile the balance of payrecord trade ments show deficits and the pound yesterday slipped to the lowest point since it was floated in June.

The Tories' main aim is to get into the Common Market and gang up with the most reactionary monopolies to attack the working class—until then they are desperate men.

That is why the militant resistance of workers to state wage control should not be a basis for complacency. The real role of the TUC is to help the Tories over the next few perilous months and into Europe where they can gang up with the monopolies. Then they will not need Victor Feather or talks at Chequers.

The greatest danger is that the union leadership will hold back workers and postpone pay battles. This has already happened with the miners and it could happen in the power industry.

While these fatal delays occur, the government will be pre-paring for a regime of economic dictatorship where the law courts, the prisons as well as mass unemployment will be used against workers who fight for wages and basic rights.

Watershed

The threat of such a corporate state structure is now discussed quite openly in the Tory Press as the alternative to the so-called voluntary restraint on wage rises and strikes.

In short this period is a watershed for the trade union movement.

The reformist leaders are striving for a pact with the Tory government and will continue their collaboration. A new leadership therefore must be constructed in the course of the big pay battles ahead.

The training of such a leadership will be the central issue at the All Trades Unions Alliance conference in Birmingham this Sunday.

Already the response to the conference has been very great an indication that workers want to build an alternative to the men who control the TUC General Council. All militant workers should come to this conference and join in this life-anddeath struggle.

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'This incident is being used an an excuse to exert further control over the organization of student unions.'

The wau iorwaru for all trade unionists

SUNDAY OCTOBER 22 10-30 a.m. **TOWN HALL, BIRMINGHAM**

Send for delegates' and observers' credentials from: Conference Secretary, R. Goldstein, 103 Lewis Flats, Dalston Lane, London E8

SPECIAL TRAIN FROM EUSTON, LONDON, £1.50. COACHES FROM OTHER AREAS

Union

Branch

Names, addresses and No of delegates/observers

l enclose £

as delegates fees Signature of secretary

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Arabs in London on hunger strike against



Nixon's spy ring

PRESIDENT Nixon's closest aides are implicated in the latest revelations of spying and sabotage against the Democratic presidential campaign. They organized more than 50 undercover agents who spied on the Democrats, bugged their offices and harassed their candidates with false telephone calls.

Seven agents, among them former Central Intelligence Agency men, are currently awaiting trial after being caught red-handed placing listening devices in the Democratic Party headquarters, near the White House in Washington.

Now President Nixon's appointments secretary, Dwight L. Chapin, has been named as the man who gave orders to Donald Segretti, a lawyer who received \$35,000 for his part in the undercover campaign.

Chapin is one of a handful of White House staff members who have access to the President every day. He admits having known Segretti since they were at college together.

Top aides harassed Democrats' campaign

Segretti has admitted to Federal investigators that on one occasion he went to California to harass candidates with telephone calls and feed them false information. He also arranged to have embarrassing questions put to Democrats at their public meetings.

He also received political sabotage and spying assignments from Howard Hunt, an ex-CIA agent and White House functionary who is currently facing charges in the Washington bugging case.

When Segretti was interviewed by the Federal Bureau of Information, transcripts of his statements were in the hands of White House officials within 24 hours and they briefed him on what he should tell the FBI at further interviews.

The money to pay Segretti was channelled through Herbert Klambach, Nixon's personal lawyer. The money is said to have come from the safe of Maurice Stans, the Republican's chief

fund-raiser. Stans was Secretary of State for Commerce until the presidential election campaign began earlier this year. He has raised more than \$10m from big businessmen and corporations to finance the Nixon campaign.

The sources of these funds are a closely guarded secret, despite a recent law which is intended to enforce disclosure of the names of people donating to campaign funds.

Even FBI officials describe the activities of Nixon's private army of secret agents as 'despicable' and 'vicious'. But they admit that any crimes committed by the Republicans would be almost impossible to prove in court.

The revelations about the Nixon campaign puncture the threadbare myth of American 'democracy' and show a regime which is moving rapidly towards police dictatorship. The techniques which the Republicans are now using against the Democrats were developed in the struggle against the American working class, where provocations, political sabotage and frame-up have been brought to a fine art.

The Republican election campaign is a major step towards the institution of a Bonapartist police regime in the United States

treatment in West Germany

BACKED by students and workers from other Middle East countries, Palestinians in London are holding an indefinite hunger strike against the mass expulsions of their countrymen from West Germany.

According to the Paris news agency Agence France Presse, West Germany has so far deported 1,500 Arabs and the German authorities are collaborating closely with Israeli Intelligence.

The hunger strike, at the Africa-Europe project centre in Gower Street, London, is organized by the General Union of Palestinian Students, which has been banned in Germany together with the General Union of Palestinian Workers.

Support has come from the Confederation of Iranian Students National Union and from Iraqi, Turkish, Kurdish and Arab students in Britain. The strikers are demanding four points from the Willy Brandt government:

- Immediate lifting of the ban on their unions.
- The release of imprisoned Palestinians held since the Munich airport shoot-out.
- The more than 200 Palestinians expelled from Germany be allowed to return if they wish.
- A public apology to the Palestinian people.

Similar actions are being staged by Palestinlans in France and Holland and in Austria the Iranian student organizations have held a 48-hour protest hunger strike against the West German action.

The hunger strikers are wearing masks because they fear reprisals both from Zionist extremists and from the Iranian secret service.

They stressed that what they were demanding was a basic human right.

'Our people have been driven out of our land. Our national identity has been attacked. Now in Germany they attack us and take away the right of our students to continue their studies.

'We are even deprived of the basic right to form a union in Germany,' said a spokesman.

Vietnam talks at 'sensitive' stage—Rogers

WILLIAM ROGERS, the US Secretary of State, told television viewers yesterday that negotiations for a Vietnam settlement are at a very serious and sensitive stage.

But he declined to repeat his two-month-old prediction of a settlement before or just after November 7, the date of the presidential election.

'We do not want to add or subtract from anything that has been said,' he explained. 'We think now is the time for quiet diplomacy to take place.'

NORTH Vietnamese leader Le Duc Tho, who has been negotiating with Nixon's envoy Dr Henry Kissinger, flew back to Hanoi from Peking yesterday to report on the four days of private talks he held with the US negotiator last week.

South Vietnamese infantry clashed with liberation units north of Saigon and along the Cambodian border yesterday, according to Saigon military sources.

American B-52 bombers were in action on Sunday night and dropped 1,000 tons of explosive in the general area of the fighting north of Saigon.

In the north, nine miles from the ancient imperial capital Hué, liberation forces have reappeared close to former firebase Bastogne, part of the city's defence line.

The South Vietnamese command has been claiming for a month that the liberation offensive around the city has been beaten back.

General Motors' workers fighting for the right to work

NEARLY 15,000 workers at three General Motors factories in the United States are on strike against sackings and speed-ups throughout the huge automobile combine.

Three more factories are due to strike this week and if the strikes continue the combine will be faced with total shutdown. Friday's strikes began when 2,350 men walked out of the main Fisher body-stamping plant at Mansfield, Ohio.

A few hours later 3,700 workers walked out at the assembly plant in Doraville, Florida, and 8,500 at the St Louis General Motors Assembly Division. All the strikers are members of the United Auto Workers' Union.

They have accused the company of forcing an inhuman workload on its workers following mass sackings under its cost-cutting programme. Further strikes are expected this week at General Motors' plants in Kansas, Texas and Wisconsin.

Workers at the Norwood, Ohio, plant recently returned to work after 174 days on strike—the longest stoppage in the combine's history. The company has laid off nearly 800 workers without any reduction in line-speed.

Another 800 were laid off before the strike for disciplinary reasons—they found it impossible to work the line with a depleted labour force.

General Motors is spearheading the American car industry's drive to compete with imported foreign cars—particularly from

Japan. To carry out this drive they must implement sackings and force their workers to work even harder.

The General Motors' strike is likely to be the toughest battle within the combine since 1970, when a strike over wages closed car plants for more than two months.

The issue today, however, is not wages but jobs. Over 5 million workers in the United States are unemployed and backed by the Nixon administration the employers are now using this reserve army of jobless to try to intimidate the working class

Neither presidential candidate has any plans to cut unemployment which has stayed around the present level for more than two years.

The struggle for the right to work now poses workers throughout the United States with political questions: above all the building of a labour party with a socialist programme based on the trade unions.

Solidarity bans to be banned?

NEW ZEALAND'S Tory government is planning legislation containing special penalties for those who incite and lead industrial disputes for reasons other than 'legitimate industrial causes'.

Deputy premier Robert Muldoon promised the legislation at a rugby dinner in Aukland—opponents of apartheid have threatened strike action if next year's South African rugby tour

goes ahead.

Earlier this year the Federation of Labour imposed a cargo-handling ban on all ships and lines servicing French terrotories in protest against nuclear testing by France in the Pacific Ocean.

Federation secretary James Knox said his organization would not accept penalties in industrial relations legislation that attacks the freedom and rights of society.

Big'No'to Tory-TUC talks

Union chiefs forced to join dissent

BY ALEX MITCHELL

WHILE THE TUC was negotiating behind closed doors with Heath at Chequers for state control over wages yesterday, important trade union leaders denounced the talks.

Clive Jenkins, the general secretary of ASTMS, the country's largest white-collar union, said his union would not feel bound by any agreement reached with the Tories.

And in an interview with Workers Press, Ray Buckton, general secretary of the train drivers' union, ASLEF, said the TUC should break off talks with the government.

As reported in yesterday's Workers Press, the ASTMS executive decided national unanimously at a weekend meeting it would oppose any deal reached with Heath.

Mr Buckton told Workers

'We shall oppose any form of wage-fixing. You just can't trust these people. Whatever the figure they decide on, it won't be honoured by the Tories. You can't fix prices under capitalism except in the public sector. Our executive has written to Vic Feather asking him to break off the talks immediately.

There have been other notes of discord with the Heath plan from several other middle-sized

- The Post Office Engineering Union succeeded in passing an emergency resolution at the Labour Party conference condemning Heath's discrimination against workers in the public
- Alan Sapper of the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians has condemned the talks. When has condemned the talks. When he voted against the Heath plan at last week's meeting of the TUC General Council he was backed by George Doughty, secretary of the technical and supervisery section of the AUEW.
- The Civil and Public Services Association leader, Bill Kendall, has publicly attacked the Tory plan which has enraged his members currently in wage negoti-
- A question mark hangs over the attitude of one major union-Frank Chapple's electrician union. The union's leaders will meet the Electricity Council which the employers tomorrow at which the employers are almost certain to reject the new claim.

Chapple is on record as opposing the £2-a-week limit. but his members rightly regard his 'opposition' to the Heath plan as being skin deep.

Speaking on a lunchtime telev.sion news programme yesterday Chapple said the TUC had no right to negotiate wage increases for individual unions.

'The TUC has neither the power nor has it ever wanted the power to negotiate wage increases for individual unions.

'I think the TUC do have influence with what unions do, but they have been notoriously un-successful so far as increased wage agreements have been con-

'I don't agree with the idea that you can strike an amount



Jenkins: Unanimous

of money and say that is what you are going to get.'

He said his union's call for an increase of £5.50 a week was justified on a costs basis and because of reductions in manpower in the electricity industry.

The caginess of many trac union leaders with the TUC collaboration with the Tories is a sign of the strength of the working class.

In the past nine months workers in many industries have won rises well in excess of the Tory limit. They will certainly fight any attempt to impose state control over wages, especially in this period of roaring inflation and huge price increases.



Buckton: No trust

Lucas sparks stayout

MAINTENANCE electricians at Lucas factories in Birmingham voted yesterday to continue their strike. The 230 strikers want an increase in a management offer of an extra £4.25 a week, already accepted by 1,750 maintenance electricians in the 12 Lucas plants in the area.

The electricians, who are on a five-grade system, want an extra £1 a week for the top

The strike, in its second week, is causing a progressive shut-down because electrical plant is not being maintained or repaired when faults develop. The electricians yesterday

were angry that the officials went over the heads of stewards, calling the meeting via an advertisement in the Birm-ingham 'Sunday Mercury'.

Oil refinery workers to strike over pay hold-up

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

SOUTH WALES trade union leaders say employers have used the Tory-TUC wage plan discussions to fight pay rises, sparking off one major strike and hardening the men's attitude in another as a result.

Talks were proceeding in the normal manner until Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath announced his £2 state pay plan and the TUC joined the Chequers meetings. At that point negotiations either came to an abrupt halt or proved

Over 1,000 workers at BP's Llandarcy oil refinery will strike today following the breakdown of their pay talks. Tom Jones, Transport and General Workers' Union regional secretary, told Workers Press yesterday that the company had told them they

were waiting to see the out-come of today's meeting at Chequers.

'They are not a strike-prone people at BP,' he added. 'But on people at BP, he added. 'But on this occasion there appears to have been a directive from the Confederation of British In-dustry and probably the Treasury.

'At the moment prices are having a field-day. In the last month they've gone up unchecked. These workers are all involved with rent increases, rising rates and soaring house prices. So they feel that £2 is not fair as far as they're concerned,' said Mr Jones.

BP workers claim they have already earned the increase due through increased productivity over the past year. That fact has only served to embitter them further further.

They are likely to receive support throughout Wales. Stewards have already been in contact with oil workers at Milford

AT PONTYPOOL, over 180 craftsmen at the British Steel Corporation's Panteg Works are still out for parity with the Llanwern Works.

In effect this would mean a rise in weekly wages of about £7. Management have only offered between £3 and £3.89.

Graham Williams, joint craft convenor at Panteg said there had been a hardening of attitude, possibly after a government directive to management.

Here's where to buy books **Leon Trotsky**

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Fri 9 a.m.—7.30 p.m.
Sat 9 a.m.—5 p.m.

Break off talks say **Coventry R-R stewards**

TEN THOUSAND Rolls-Royce workers at Coventry are giving their answer to the trade union leaders who accept the principle of state control of wages. The government - appointed

board at Rolls-Royce is already carrying out the Tory plan. Local Coventry management has told the unions it would be unrealistic to enter meaningful wage negotiations until the outcome of the national talks between the government, CBI and TUC are known'.

But today, 250 foremen are out on a one-day token strike in protest against the management's refusal to progress negotiations on their annual wage review, due to be completed by the end

of the month.

Managerial staff have backed the stand of the foremen by refusing to carry out their work.
At the Parkside factory 30

blade-shop workers are entering their seventh week of strike action in support of a claim for a revision of piecework

Indirect workers have given a fortnight's notice of strike action and have banned over-time in support of a wage claim. Technicians, service engineers

and toolmakers are also in dispute with the company over

As a result of all this activity the shop stewards' committee is sending a letter to TUC secretary Victor Feather demanding the breaking off of talks with the government.

They say they have found that worthless, and they are sure that any promises from the governequally so.

Response pleases sit-in stewards

KRAFT workers on Merseyside have donated £100 to support the occupation by 1,100 workers at the CAV Lucas factory at Fazakerley, Liverpool Liverpool.

Shop stewards leading the occupation, which went into its second week yesterday, are well pleased with the initial response to their appeal for solidarity.

They have had several offers from stewards in other factories to black Lucas products until the redundancy threat is lifted from workers in the Fazakerley plant. But these are still being discussed by the co-ordinating commit-

tee.
There has been no contact with the management of the factory, who pulled out last Monday when the workers took over the plant, sche-duled for closure next April as part of the combine's ComOn Thursday Liverpool MP Eric Heffer will lead a dele-gation of Merseyside MPs in a meeting with Tory Trade chief Christopher Chataway where they will ask the government to reprieve the workers from the threat of the sack.

Any donations should be sent to: The Treasurer, CAV Sit-in Committee, AUEW headquarters, Liverpool. Mount Pleasant, local management's words are ment to control prices would be PAGE 4 Workers Press, Tuesday October 17, 1972

THE JAY LOVESTONE STORY

From Stalinism . . . to the CIA. By Charles Parkins. Part Ten

THE GUINEA OPERATION

'We did not ask where the money came from, because I think we all knew.' Paul Tofahrn, secretary of the Public Services International, quoted in 'Sunday Times', Insight April 16, 1967.

We don't know whether the American Central Intelligence Agency ever awarded medals. But if it ever did, then we can be pretty sure that those who planned and carried out the operation in British Guiana between 1962 and 1964 would have been in line for something for a really successful effort.

The overthrow of the Jagan government by corruption, intrigue and racial strife was a triumph for the CIA. It was also probably the clearest case of the use of the network of international union connections built around the AFL-CIO (American TUC) International Affairs department, as a cover for imperialist intrigue.

Dr Cheddi Jagan and his People's Progressive Party first took office in Guiana in 1953. They attempted a number of reforms, such as repeal of the Undesirable Publications Ordinance, which the colonial authorities had used to ban left-wing literature, and a Security of Tenure Act to protect tenant farmers.

They then introduced a Bill to compel employers to negotiate with whichever trade union had majority support of their workers. On the day that this Bill—a Bill which was opposed by the sugar interests—was due to be passed, Thursday, October 8, 1963, British warships and troops were rushed to British Guiana. The following day, after 133 days in office, the Jagan government was deposed.

'Her Majesty's government is not willing,' declared the Tory Colonial Secretary Oliver Lyttleton, 'to allow a communist state to be organized within the British Commonwealth'.

The capitalist Press in Britain excelled itself in providing the propaganda to accompany the military intervention. For example, the 'News Chronicle' of October 7: 'GUIANA PLOT EXPOSED, ARMED FORCES SENT TO AVERT REDSTYLE COUP'. Or the 'Daily Mirror', two days previously, on Dr Jagan's wife, Janet: 'JANET BRITAIN HATER—HATRED OF BRITAIN IS MAIN SPRING THAT MAKES MRS JAGAN TICK'. And on October 21st, the 'Daily Express': 'JAGANS APED MAU TERROR'.

The Labour Party leaders made one or two mild criticisms of the Tories' handling of the situation, along with far stronger criticisms and condemnations of Jagan's 'methods', and called on the government to provide more evidence about the 'red plot'.

In actual fact, Cheddi Jagan had little in common with Marxist revolution. He was a

colonial leader whose efforts to change Guiana have been bounded by the perspectives of peaceful reform. To the extent that he had

To the extent that he had Stalinist connections and was influenced by them, this only confirmed his adherence to the 'peaceful road'! It has been precisely this which has opened the workers and peasants of Guiana to violence and military repression.

Jagan was prepared to go far enough to antagonize the British and American business interests which dominated the country, but not to prepare seriously for a real struggle against them.

Under the period of direct oppression, Jagan was placed under a restriction order between 1954 and 1957 confining him to Georgetown. When he broke it he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour. His wife also received a similar sentence.

In 1955, there was a split in the People's Progressive Party, with Forbes Burnham coming out to form his own party, which was able to get a great deal of the old PPP's former urban support among the mainly-Negro working class of Georgetown.

As Jagan's own base of support was mainly among Indian workers and peasants in the rural areas, and as there were certain historical antagonisms between the two sections, the ingredients were there for a dangerous racial split to be exploited by reactionary interests.

In 1957, the People's Progressive Party again took office, with Jagan as Minister of Trade and Industry, going on to become Prime Minister when the country was given 'internal self-government' in 1961. Faced with difficult problems of poverty, underdevelopment and unemployment, and unable to get sufficient aid from Britain or the United States, Jagan tried to get agreements with other countries to assist with loans for industrial development.

He negotiated a scheme with Che Guevara under which Cuba would take wood-pulp from Guiana for paper-making, while providing Guiana with equipment for a hydro-electric project. Since this counted as 'foreign affairs', the British Colonial Office was able to intervene and stop the agreement

Following the elections of 1961, Jagan went to Washington for talks with Kennedy. In January 1962, following discussion — and a row over whether Jagan should have speaking rights at the UN—the British government announced that a conference would be called in May to discuss Guiana's independence.

Then the riots came. They were sparked off as a result of Jagan's economic policy. Through the UN, Jagan had received the services of an economic adviser—none other than Mr Nicholas Kaldor, Cambridge economist and tax expert, later to become an adviser to the Wilson government in Britain, and now an enthusiastic supporter of the policies of Edward Heath.

The Kaldor package, as adopted by Jagan's government, proposed a capital gains tax, a property tax, a compulsory savings scheme and taxes on various imported goods. The merchants, businessmen

proposed to remove the schools from Church control and to introduce secular education as was the practice in most civilised countries. The main opposition to this came from the Catholics and the Anglicans. Under the present educational system, the non-Christian communities received very inadequate education. Illiter-

ing at the Holborn Haldon, last week, Dr. Jagan said: "Everyone rebers that I went to the national Youth Festiv 1951. No one seems to reber that I also spoke election platform of the last Santo Jeger and helped St. Pancras for Labour."

Dr. Jagan and Mr. Burnham arriving at London Airport from Guiana.



Above: cutting from 'Socialist Outlook' two years before the People's Progressive Party split in 1955.

and shopkeepers, of course, did their best to pass the burden on to the working class—through prices and the resultant increases were often far in excess of the tax burden.

nin excess of the tax burden.

Naturally the Budget was unpopular among workers.

Businessmen played on this to create confusion in an already divided working class and undermine Jagan's government.

CONFUSION

The Guiana TUC, already under the influence of Jagan's opponents, called a General Strike. There were demonstrations against Jagan. And, while 'The Times' and other capitalist newspapers in Britain and the USA were praising the Budget, business newspapers in Guiana itself were denouncing it as 'Marxist'! They called on Burnham and the bourgeois politician D'Aguiar to form an alliance to bring down Jagan's government.

On February 16, 1962, rioting broke out in Georgetown in which 56 premises were destroyed by fire, five people were killed, and 41 people injured.

(Jagan's real political position may be judged by the fact that in his political autobiography, 'The West on Trial', he comments that the violence and injury could have been avoided if the Governor, Sir Ralph Gray, had 'acted firmly and promptly'. It does not apparently, occur to him that the situation might not

have arisen at all had it not been for the confusion which his reformist policies created in the masses.

On that same Friday, British troops were once more brought into Guiana — this time at the request of Jagan.

'I told the Governor that in the absence of a Guiana national army, it was the duty of the British government to come to the aid of a dulyelected government if it was threatened with subversion and insurrection.'

The Constitutional Conference was now postponed from May to July 16. When the conference took place and talks between the parties broke down Duncan Sandys announced that if the political parties could not come to an agreement, and if the economic and social condition deteriorated, Her Majesty's government might have to consider 'imposing a settlement'.

Jagan claims that the British government in effect was giving the green light to the opposition parties to sabotage independence by obstruction and violence. Again, it does not occur to him that by relying on British troops to maintain order, he was himself laying Guìana wide open to the use of combined tactics of internal intrigue and colonial intervention.

In the following year, 1963, the Jagan government introduced its 'Labour Relations Bill — based on America's Wagner Act, Jagan says. This Bill provided for a secret ballot of workers to decide

which union would be recognized in an industry. It also opened the way to legislative interference in union affairs.

It was opposed by the Trades Union Council and by the opposition parties. There was a General Strike on April 18, 1963, which lasted for 80 days. During this strike there were mass demonstrations against Jagan's government led by Burnham. Racialist notes distinctly entered the Opposition leader's speeches.

The strike paralysed Guiana and cut off imports and communications. There was evidence that big employers, including the shipping companies were actually colluding in the strike. Thus the peculiar situation arose where employers and reactionary politicians appeared to be supporting union independence and a General Strike!

The capitalist Press in Guiana played on racialist divisions among the people. It was to become a major factor in splitting and confusing the working class, ousting Jagan and ensuring that when Guiana did obtain 'independence'with a changed electoral system which benefited the PNC and other opposition parties and with the PNC able to form a minority government with United Force support, although the PPP was bigger—the country would remain under imperialist domination.

Tomorrow's article will reveal

Tomorrow's article will reveal that part played by the Lovestone network in all this.

COMMON MARKET **DIVISIONS**

The first summit meeting of the enlarged Common Market to be held in Paris on October 19 and 20 is not expected to a chieve spectacular results.

It will give an opportunity to judge how deep the divisions are between the membercountries on such vital questions as economic and mone-

tary union.

After President Georges
Pompidou's shock announcement in June that the summit would only be worthwhile if it could yield concrete results there were doubts about whether it would take place at

When he gave his final agreement last month he made it clear that 'it will not be a turning point in history, not even in European history'. The French gambit is to force concessions to their point of view by threatening to delay proceedings.

In fact there has been little give-and-take in the pre-sum-mit negotiations. France is opposed to the setting up of new institutions and would like to see the secretariat situated in Paris.

Divisions between France, Britain and Germany on monetary questions remain wide. Chancellor Willy Brandt, who faces an election in West Germany has stressed that a common policy to fight inflation must be discussed at the summit. It is on the way to conduct such a fight that differences appear.

While the French are pressing for a decision on monetary union, the British government will be reluctant to enter into any agreement which ties the pound to a fixed exchange rate. To go into a monetary union with the pound at the rate now resulting from the float might make it impossible to carry out a big devaluation in the future.

The very idea of such a summit was launched by Pompidou after Nixon ended dollar convertibility on August 15, 1971. It was intended to work out common policies against dollar domination of Europe. The divergence of interests between the Common Market members makes it difficult to reach agreement about such a policy.

Each of the other governments goes to the summit with its own aims, some fearful of French influence becoming too strong, others of the Market becoming a tool of the Germans or even the British.

The British government hopes for the support of Italy after Heath's visit to Rome, as that of Denma Holland. It will try to get favourable treatment for Commonwealth trade after entry.

The question of the relations with the Warsaw Pact countries may also be raised with a European Security Conference in prospect. Account will also have to be taken of the improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and the Sino-Japanese rapprochement.



RFT DEEP ENS BETWEEN CAI EEN CAIRC DKHARTOU

A simmering row between Egypt and the Sudan has developed into a serious breakaway by the Sudanese government which seems to be moving daily further away from the Arab camp.

Sudan's dictator General Jaafar Numeiry claims it is the trend towards democracy and free speech in Sudan which has led to opposition from Cairo.

The statement is, on the face of it, absurd, as the Sudanese regime tolerates no opposition -certainly not from the left. But it may indicate that Numeiry is tired of paying lip-service to the struggle against Israel and wants to secure better relations with the United States.

The Egyptians feel that President Numeiry's preoccupation with the non-Arab southern Sudan and his newlyrestored relations with the United States underlie recent developments.

Sudan has also taken a tough line with Libya-Egypt's partner in the Federation of Arab Republics (FAR) and in a proposed tight merger be-tween Cairo and Tripoli. Soured relations between

Khartoum and its Arab neighbours to the north followed Numeiry's reluctance to join in an Arab link-up like FAR, which also includes Syria.

Disaffection deepened January this year when Libya's President Maummar Gaddafi paid a flying visit to Khartoum and told a public rally that there was an imperialist con-spiracy against Sudan and that it should immediately join the Federation.

Numeiry was not amused. The Sudanese leader is busy trying to bolster his country economically and has looked to the United States rather than to his Arab colleagues for the necessary hard cash.

Cairo was critical of Sudan's resumption of diplomatic relations with Washington in July, but Numeiry went ahead anyway. Even before relations were resumed. Washington sent £5.7m through the UN Commission for Refugees for use in southern tion projects. There has been further aid since then.

The readjustment with Washington followed the brutal massacre of Sudanese communists in July 1971. Later the Sudanese government ordered its Soviet advisers to leave.

These were reported to have amounted to only a few hundred compared with the 20,000 Russians that President Anwar Sadat ordered out of Egypt this summer.

Relations with the Arab north slumped still lower in September when Numeiry ordered a force of five Libyan planes flying men and arms to Uganda to land at Khartoum and return home the next day.

The action brought strong protests from Cairo and Tripoli. A terse message from Gaddafi to Numeiry said: 'May God forgive you.'

The same day, Numeiry closed down the branches of two Egyptian companies in Khartoum. He subsequently



Above: Sudan's dictator, General Jaafar Numeiry. Right: Libya's president Maummar Gaddafi.

orders that a number of Egyptian university professors should return to Cairo, that the number of Egyptian students in Khartoum should be reduced and that some of the Sudanese troops stationed in Egypt should be withdrawn.

The Sudanese soldiers, a token force that never amounted to more than a few thousand, had been in Egypt for five years as part of Sudan's support in the confrontation with Israel.

Cairo reacted with surprise and regret to the Sudanese actions and in the latest move said that Sudan might as well recall the remainder of its troops on Egyptian territory.

Relations between Cairo and Khartoum could grow still worse, and observers are wondering whether the Sudanese will next call for the closedown of Egypt's military academy in Sudan.

The academy was moved to Khartoum in the aftermath of continued Israeli air raids after the 1967 six-day war. It could well fall the next victim in the row between the two neigh-



IMMIGRANTS LANGUISH IN BRITAIN'S JAILS

BY IAN YEATS

While Tory ministers adopt high moral postures over Ugandan President Idi Amin's 'inhumane' treatment and expulsion of Asians, a shameful skeleton is rattling its bones in their own cupboard.

It is a skeleton with which anyone who happened to be at Bow Street magistrates'

come face to face.

In a matter of seconds Mr Cheng Tzu-tai, the man the US government is seeking to extradite to face a 32-year prison sentence for his alleged part in a murder bid on Chiang Kai-shek's son, was hustled into the court, told to reappear on October 17, and hustled out again.

For nearly a month Mr Cheng has been confined to a cell at Pentonville Prison ever since police took him, unwell, from a New York bound air-

Cheng will be brought before a magistrate every seven days until his case comes up at Lambeth on November 21, when American officials will give reasons why he should be

handed over to them. He is one of up to 200 men and women in Britain's prisons who have committed no crimes but who are imprisoned

awaiting deportation. The majority are coloured Commonwealth citizens whose visitors' permits have run out and which, under the new

stringent immigration controls, have next to no chance of

being renewed. They are normally issued for anything from a month to six months and renewed to take into consideration, for example, college courses.

But they are not work permits and since 1967 when immigration controls were generally drastically tightened the number of these issued has been minimal.

According to Mrs Mary Dines, general secretary of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, where permits are issued it is to skilled people and, she claims, almost exclusively white.

While it imprisons innocent people for periods of sometimes up to a year until all appeals procedures are exhausted, the Tory government has publicly fallen over itself to be as charitable to the displaced Ugandan Asians as possible.

We are, of course, not opposed to that. Anyone should have the right to enter and work in any country they choose, but these two blatant opposites of Tory policy at

least question their motives. On August 7 Workers Press said in a front page article: 'The Tories are deliberately stirring up an anti-immigration campaign to inflame sections of the middle class and working class with racialism.'

We branded it as a diversion from the real issues facing the working class in its

struggle against the masters of Evidence continues

mount that we were right. In two speeches in the space of a week Tory Home Secretary Robert Carr has stressed both the desirability of aiding the underdeveloped world and the moral necessity of extending a compassionate hand to Asians expelled from

Uganda. The same man is responsible for imprisonment of Britain's illegal visitors.

NO BAIL

Apparently the hand of compassion does not extend to the 200 held at Pentonville, Holloway, Brixton and a handful of provincial prisons including Canterbury—reception centre for illegal immigrants entering Britain via Dover.

'Visitors' to Britain are now running at twice the rate they

response to savage immigration policies.

More seriously, unlike the bureaucratic laxity which is said to have prevailed in the 1960s, today Home Office officials pounce almost immediately permits expire.

For any who are caught illegally overstaying their visit bail is rarely given and although all possible avenues of appeal are permitted to be explored, the majority end up being deported.

The prime complaint suffered by these detainees not surprisingly is depression. None has any means of knowing when his appeals and imprisonment will end. Some crack and send out letters begging to be deported rather than remain in prison.

Since they are not criminals, prison dress is optional, visitors are allowed once a day, except Sunday, and prisoners are permitted to work.

These conditions apparently vary because, according to a spokesman for the Defence Committee, he is not allowed to work and as a result stays in his cell for up to $22\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day.

INNOCENT

A large number of illegal 'visitors' are returned to Ireland and America but the bulk of them come from the Indian sub-continent, Sri Lanka (Ceylon), the West Indies and

In cases where 'visitors' have reasons for not wanting to return to their countries of origin, a man or a woman can be kept in prison, innocent of any criminal offence, for a year or as long as it takes to find a country that will accept them.

This stark and inhumane treatment contrasts sharply with Tory remarks about Ugandan Asians. Although it government's basically whitesonly immigration policy, they are being allowed into Britain in large numbers.

Not only are they being allowed in but service houses are being made available to them, top-line hotels have offered accommodation, and a property developer at Stockton, Teesside, has slashed the price of luxury flats by up to £2,000 for any Asian who can afford them.

All this is commendable. There is absolutely no reason why Asians should not come

to Britain and be found homes. But luxury hotels are certainly not being offered to homeless and poor people already here, nor are luxury flats being knocked down to the working-class families of

Teesside. This glaring inequality of treatment is whipping up precisely the kind of racialist

postures over the arrival o expelled Ugandan Asians (above) while over 200 immigrants remain confined in Britain's prisons for breaking immigration controls.

backlash the Tories might have expected and perhaps even hoped it would.

Tenants in overcrowded and slum-infested North Kensington-where Associated Hotels have offered rooms-are complaining. So are families in Stockton. And so are people who have waited for years on municipal housing lists and who now see councils offering to buy houses to give to Asians.

These incidents are often individually minor. But each is seized on eagerly by the Press and blown up inevitably with racialist overtones.

A cynical observer might say that this is precisely what the Tories intended.

'Parliamentary reform' and the working class, by Jane Brown

HOW THE WORKERS WON THE VOTE

PART FIVE

The Great Reform Act of 1832, passed out of fear of attacks on 'property', exhausted the reforming potential of the Whig government. Though the next General Election brought some Radical manufacturers into the House of Commons, it produced no impetus for the kind of social reforms which the workers had hoped to gain from parliamentary reform.

When slavery was abolished in 1833, £20m compensation was paid to the slave-owners. When a Factory Act was passed in 1833, it went nowhere near meeting the demands of the Ten-Hour movement. Its most generous concessions were the establishment of a 48-hour week for children aged 9-13 years, a 69-hour week for 13 to 18 year olds, and the appointment of four full-time factory inspectors to enforce the regulations!

But the Act which most clearly revealed the class interests of the reformed House of Comons was the new Poor Law. For the purpose of cutting rates paid by property owners, all financial aid to able-bodied poor people—mainly the unemployed—was abruptly ended.

The only way they could get 'poor relief' in the future was to enter parish workhouses, where living standards were specially designed to be 'ineligible' (i.e. unbearable) for all except the totally destitute.

Men had to work for no wages, were separated from their families and prohibited from smoking, drinking or receiving any visitors. When the 'Bastilles', as they were appropriately called, began to appear in the north of England, they were attacked and sometimes burnt to the ground. For periods of unemployment during trade recessions were an unavoidable part of the lives of factory workers in industrial areas.

The support given to the 1834 Poor Law by Radical MPs taught a basic political lesson to the working class.

A big movement for the development of trade unions, to directly represent workers, was soon under way. It culminated in the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, founded by the Utopian socialist Robert Owen, which succeeded in recruiting nearly 500,000 members and aimed at ultimately supplanting capitalist competition with workerowned co-operative industries.

At every step the trade unions were harried by magistrates and the police force (established in 1829). In 1834 the most famous case of intimidation occurred, when six Dorset farmworkers from Tolpuddle were sentenced to

seven years transportation for having taken 'illegal oaths'.

Massive protests forced the government to reduce this sentence in 1836. But by this time hesitation and lack of funds had caused the GNCTU to split up in a series of local strikes, easily defeated by the employers.

It was clear that the economic struggle could not be won by workers turning their backs on the parliament which had refused them the vote. In the late 1830s and 1840s, the parliamentary reform movement re-emerged in a new, powerful form—Chartism.

Trotsky summed up the importance of studying the Chartist movement for revolutionaries today

lutionaries today.

'The Chartist epoch is immortal by reason of the fact that for the space of ten years it gave us in a compressed and diagrammatic form apparently the whole gamut of proletarian struggle, from petitions in parliament to armed insurrection . . the British proletariat may and must see in Chartism not only its past, but also its future.

'As the Chartists threw overboard the sentimental preachers of "moral action", rallying the masses under the standard of revolution, so the British people will be faced with the task of thrusting out from its midst the reformists, democrats and pacifists and of mobilizing under the standard of revolutionary change. Chartism was unsuccessful not because its methods were incorrect, but because it came too early....'

too early . . . '
The Charter set down six political aims: the vote for all adult males; election by secret ballot; equal electoral districts; abolition of the property qualification for MPs; payment for MPs; annual parliaments, to be re-elected every June.

It was drawn up in 1838 by the London Working Men's Association, an artisan group led by cabinet maker William Lovett

EQUAL RIGHTS

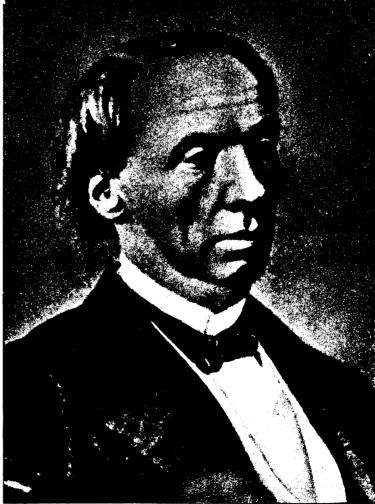
It was soon endorsed by the Birmingham Political Union which, like the LWMA, aimed 'to seek by every legal means to place all classes of society in possession of equal social and political rights'.

A severe economic depression affected the industrial areas of the north between 1838 and 1842. Probably to Lovett's surprise, the six points of the Charter suddenly began to spread through these areas like wildfire, their true content being transformed in the process.

The staid proceedings of London craftsmen could hardly be compared to the address delivered by J. Stephens to an estimated 200,000 workers on Kersall Moor, above Manchester, on September 24, 1838:

'This question of universal suffrage was a knife-and-fork question after all . . . and if





Top: the Chartists on Kennington Common. Above: Utopian, Robert

any man asked him what he meant by universal suffrage, he would answer that every working man in the land had the right to have a good coat to his back, a comfortable abode in which to shelter himself and his family, a good dinner upon his table, and no more work than was necessary for keeping him in health, and as much wages for that work as would keep him in plenty, and afford him all the blessings of life which a reasonable man could desire.'

(Tremendous cheers.)

This mass hunger movement crystallized around Fergus O'Connor's newspaper the 'Northern Star'. It was largest in the north-west, the northeast and South Wales. In these areas it recruited not only exploited factory hands and miners, but also the unemployed and those whose employment was being steadily whittled away by the introduction of machinery, such as the hand-loom weavers.

It was a triumph for such a

diverse movement to be able, in 1839, not only to present a petition (signed by 1.25 million people) to the House of Commons, but also to summon a National Convention in London at which workers from all the industrial areas of England, Scotland and Wales were represented.

GREATER UNITY

Not much credit is due to the historians who have 'discovered' that the delegates agreed on little else beyond the political points on the Charter. By the every act of assembling, they presaged greater unity for the working class in the future and a higher level of class consciousness than any previous 'reform' movement. Indeed, the tactics proposed by some members foreshadowed a virtual situation of 'dual power', should the Charter be rejected by parliament.

Predictably, it was rejected by parliament, by 235 votes to 46. Equally predictably, the Convention was unable to agree on what to do next.

Lovett's craftsmen argued for a peaceful campaign which would enlist the support of Radical MPs. O'Connor's supporters, rejecting all middle-class alliances, called for a General Strike (a 'Sacred Month') to bring parliament to its senses, coupled with the military training of working

The Convention had little direct control over its supporters in any case. Sporadic strikes broke out in the north, notably the 'Plug Plot'. A scheme was hatched for simultaneous military uprisings in Yorkshire and Wales, but the Welsh Chartists were shot down by troops in Newport and their leader, John Frost deported.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



AUTOMATED SAWDUST HORRORS

A guest reviewer

'The Heist' is a typical Hollywood film, a few money-seeking gimmicks cobbled together and starring an array of sawdust characters who offer little more than those automated horrors in Thunderbirds.

Warren Beatty plays the part of a US security expert who has designed and manages a burglar-proof bank. The main business of this bank, situated in Hamburg, lies in its private deposit boxes which, unlike their US equivalents, are immune from governmental investigation. (You see what Nixon is up against? all these crooked Europeans.)

Beatty hits on the idea of robbing just them, as their owners wouldn't be able to go to the police, and uses his girlfriend — played by Goldie Hawn — to get the necessary information.

LIBERAL FLUX IN THE CARIBBEAN

'The Harder They Come' attempts to transpose the gangster - on - the - run Hollywood image to a Jamaican setting.

In attempting to exploit the usual adventurist and individualistic tendencies in the black nationalist stirrings that have swept the Caribbean, the filmmakers have clearly come up against the inherent restrictions of the Hollywood mythology which has resulted in some transitional solutions which leave the film in a flux.

The plot is simple enough. Ivan (Jimmy Cliff—the reggae recording star) a country boy, comes to town, with dreams about becoming a recording artist. He can't get a job, and joins a religious household, and eventually gets his chance to make a hit-record, only to be defrauded out of the proceeds. He turns to crime, trafficking in marijuana, falls out with the big-men and is hunted down by the police.

She is a call-girl who cultivates her criminal contacts.

The first half hour of the film is an incomprehensibly tangled pastiche of murders, trailings, sinister journeys and meetings out of which painfully emerges Beatty's scheming. The plot separates out into its component parts as various criminal business deals, involving drugs and currency fiddles, reach a climax all at the same time, and all depending on the withdrawal of deposits on the same day—the one after the planned robbery.

The intriguing possibilities of a multiple climax in which the different groups of defrauded criminals chase each other and likely suspects is quickly passed over and the plot resolves into a long drawn out chase sequence which seems as exhausting to watch as it must have been to film.

The off-beat leading characters triumphing over the professional gangsters, and the general US expertise over the 'stupid' Europeans are two

The first half of the film shows Ivan's progressive awareness of the corruption in society. Skilled workers only are wanted in the construction industry. The 'preacher' of the religous household uses the young girls in the choir for his personal pleasures (hilariously portrayed in side looks and insinuating glances during a religious service). The ruthless domination of the record industry by big business and the heartless conditions in which the reggae records are produced and the police control over the marijuana trade are indirect means for keeping the people under control.

However Ivan doesn't learn from this but follows his own intoxicating dreams. We see him at a cinema

We see him at a cinema watching a 'spaghetti-western' ('Fistful of Dollars', etc) admiring the amoral hero who kills anyone who gets in his way.

(These films were in fact very popular in Jamaica, inspiring a string of reggae hits which eclipsed the usual themes.)

As his ambitions are frustrated he starts to enact his dreams, and the film manages to contrast him living out his fantasies (and the action becomes increasingly improbable) while the authorities, both official and unofficial, clash and combine in their attempts to eliminate this part of their 'means of control' which has got out of hand.

At one point the police have banned Ivan's record (as he has become a folk hero) from the radio and disco's, and have Above: Goldie Hawn and Warren Beatty in 'The Helst'.

familiar Hollywood themes. The police don't figure in the story at all, and the Hamburg bank manager is a gullible, lovable old pervert. The leading figures only rob the baddies, they don't beat anyone up or cause anyone's death (nor do we see Goldie Hawn in her alleged professional role)—that's all left to the others, who, presumably, deserve what they get.

Nevertheless the suggestive European setting gives it a certain freshness. The different interests fighting over such accumulation immense dollars in this setting is significant in itself, although never explained at all. One gangster exclaims in bewilderment at his empty deposit box: 'If you can't trust the banks who can you trust?' Despite the sick, slick Hollywood formula, the endless twists and technical contrivances manage to keep your attention through the two hours of the film.

stopped the drug trade (because the retailers are aiding Ivan in their opposition to the big-men in the business).

Hilton—the boss of the record company—points out to the police chief: if you deprive the people of 'tunes' and 'ganja' you had better catch him quick, or they will all turn on us and you won't stand a chance.

Here, of course, the idealist liberal notions behind the film are clearly exposed.

These means of control' are purely secondary to the real control of the Jamaican economy by big US/UK companies which control the tourist trade, plantations and bauxite industry, and use phoney black nationalists to front them.

Significantly Ivan does not encounter 'black power' ideology and the only 'Rasta' man portrayed is kindly and helpful.

Even so the 'romanticization' is deliberately checked towards the end. In the final scene the usual Hollywood finish is

turned inside out.

Ivan, badly wounded, calls on the advancing sub-machine gun armed police to send out one 'bad man' for him to confront and the determined attitude of the police alternates with Ivan's delusions shown by clips from a 'spaghetti western'.

The death of this clearly deluded hero has a disturbing effect which runs so contrary to the expected climax that it seems Hollywood endings, like US dollars, have lost their value

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

TRANSFER

If the management of an east of Scotland engineering firm are to be taken at their word, they must be followers of the old saw about the mountain going to Mohammed.

Next spring they are to close their factory at Kirkcaldy, in Fife, and shift production to Falkirk, Stirlingshire. So far, so simple. All too many enterprises are doing the same sort of thing these days.

The story starts to get a little bizarre, however, when they start trying to explain the rationale behind the move.

'This is an expansion programme,' declares Dennis Hepburn, managing director of Carron Hydraulics Ltd at Kirkcaldy. 'We are convinced that this decision is the right one on the factors available to us. We look at this company as being a potential big growth company.'

Which is a bit strange when you're talking about a factory about to close.

'We would hope to transfer all our Kirkcaldy people to Falkirk,' Hepburn goes on, nothing daunted.

'We are a group of companies mainly situated in Falkirk. The logical thing is to move there where the top management are.'

In other words, the company is 'expanding', though one of its factories is closing down. And just so the management, who can't number more than a half dozen or so, won't have to put themselves out, 80 Kirkcaldy workers are expected to 'transfer' (nice, polite word) themselves, their homes and their families across two counties, 25 miles and a good stretch of the Firth of Forth to Falkirk.

You wouldn't believe it if you read it in a book. And there's every indication the Carron Hydraulies men don't either. As Harry Gibson, engineers' union district officer, says: 'We're going to resist this.'

JESUS

The Jesus movement has certainly produced big dividends for those who have managed to cash in on the man's claim to fame.

In the last two years, the writers of 'Jesus Christ Superstar', Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice, admit they've each earned £400,000 from the show.

SAFE-GUARD

The man who took the engineers' union to court because its Sudbury branch refused to let him into its meetings is a former full-time evangelist, does not believe in strikes . . . and he's a Tory to boot.

Says James Goad, who works at the CAV vehicle components factory at Sudbury, Suffolk: 'I do not agree with strikes, official or unofficial.'
In 1967 he refused to join an

In 1967 he refused to join an unofficial strike. He refused a shop stewards' request to pay the money he earned during the strike to a charity. Then he allowed his membership of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers to lapse by withholding his contributions.

Last year, though, he decided he wanted to rejoin to safe-guard his job and smooth the way for possible promotion. And if the Sudbury branch refuses to let him into its meeting on Friday he intends to take the AUEW back to the National Industrial Relations Court for contempt.

Recently Goad obtained an

Recently Goad obtained an interim order from the NIRC telling the union to admit

Goad (53) was in the bakery trade for 25 years. He gave it up for full-time Baptist evangelism when he found baking clashed with his Sunday preaching. But the rates for preachers are even lower than those in less spiritual callings and he joined CAV in 1961 when he found it impossible to keep his wife and children on £8 a week.

BOOKS



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ALL TRADES **UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS**

EAST LONDON: Tuesday October 17, 8 p.m. Festival Inn, Grundy St, Chrisp St Market, E14. 'ATUA

DAGENHAM: Tuesday October 17, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue, Barking. 'Force the Tories to resign

PRESTON: Wednesday October 18, 7.30 p.m. Oddfellows Arms, Mount Street. 'ATUA conference'.

KENT: Thursday October 19, 8 p.m. 'The Legion', Burgess Road. Aylesham. 'Reinstate William Griffiths fitters. Prepare the ATUA conference.' Speakers: A Griffiths' striker and leading Kent miner (both in a personal capacity).

Socialist Labour League

Leeds

LECTURES

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

Given by Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee member)

Historical materialism today Monday October 23

Building the revolutionary party Monday October 30

PEEL HOTEL Boar Lane, 8 p.m.

Socialist Labour League **PUBLIC MEETING**

Behind the Assassination of Trotsky

A reply to Joseph Losey's film

Tuesday October 24, 8 p.m.

CONWAY HALL RED LION SQUARE LONDON WC2

(Nearest tube Holborn)

Speaker: G. Healy (SLL national secretary) Admission 10p

BBC 1

9.38 Schools. 12.30 Ar y trywydd. 12.55 News. 1.00 Penble Mill at one. 1.30 Camberwick green. 1.45 Yugoslavia welcomes The Queen. 2.00 Schools. 2.50 The country-3.15 Escape to fulfilment. 3.45 Rosla and after. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Magic roundabout. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Animal magic. 5.20 John Carven's newsround. 5.25 Josie and the pussycats. 5.45 News and weather.

- 6.00 NATIONWIDE.
- 6.50 TOM AND JERRY. Love that Pup.
- 6.55 FILM: 'THE SANDWICH Michael Bentine, MAN'. Dora Bryan. Comedy about a sandwich man who is also a pigeon fancier.
- 8.30 MY WIFE NEXT DOOR. Dream Girl.
- 9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.
- 9.25 DOCUMENTARY: SKIP-PER PITTS GOES TO WAR'. What happened during the first days of the Cod War.
- 10.15 FILM 72.
- 10.45 MIDWEEK.
- 11.30 LATE NIGHT NEWS.
- 11.35 THE OPEN PERSUADERS. Joan Bakewell talks to The Rt Rev Colin Winter, Bishop in exile from SW
- 11.55 Weather.
- 11.57 MEDICINE TODAY. Geriatrics in General Practice.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Magic ball. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Lunchtime with Wogan. 1.30 Emmerdale farm. 2.00 Harriet's back in town. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 About Britain—tour. 3.25 A family at war. 4.25 Sooty show. 4.50 Mag-pie. 5.20 I dream of Jeannie. 5.50

- 6.00 TODAY.
- 6.30 CROSSROADS.
- FILM: 'FATHOM'. Raquel 6.55 Welch, Tony Franciosa.
- 8.30 MY GOOD WOMAN.
- THEATRE: 'THE BREAK-ING OF COLONEL KEY-SER'. Colin Blakely.
- 10.00 NEWS AT TEN.
- 10.30 OPTIONS. Two films reflecting different ways of life—a grocery business in London and a simple camp in Surrey.
- PROFESSIONAL WREST-LING.
- 12.15 THE NEW MISSION-



Tonight's BBC-2 Stage 2 presentation is 'Rasputin' with Robert Stephens in the title role



Tuesday's documentary on BBC 1 deals with the 'Cod War' in 'Skipper Pitts Goes to War'. Above: a trawl wire severed by an Icelandic

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Workers who wait for beds are paying for

PRIVATE patients in Britain's hospitals pay about £80 a week for their privileges of privacy, visits from friends and better food or medical attention.

And, according to Mrs Renee Short, Labour MP for Wolver-hampton north-east, this figure by no means reflects the high capital costs of providing the facilities of a modern hospital.

If patients do want private treatment they have to pay the extremely high costs of surgeons' and anaesthetists' fees when they are surgical patients.

A surgeon, for example, can charge anything from £50 to £1,000 for his services, depending on his status in the medical hierarchy of his hospital.

Meanwhile National Health Service patients suffer and are kept waiting for weeks while a bed is offered at once to a patient who can be persuaded to 'go private'—even though the case is not strictly urgent.

As well as high earnings, pri-

private patients

vate work means that many consultants have less time to spend on NHS patients.

It also means that junior hospital doctors, who have to work 100 hours a week before they can claim overtime, must take over more work and greater responsibility.

All taxpayers in effect actually subsidize the consultants treating private patients because hospital resources-including sophisticated equipment and machinery, technicians, blood banks, etccould never be paid for by the fees of the private patients.

In order to pay for increasing costs, private insurance schemes are expanding. Firms put their top and middle management in these schemes as an extra 'perk' and get tax relief from it-again at the taxpayer's expense.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 11.50-12.15 Yugoslavia welcomes The Queen. 5.35-6.00 Open University.

- 6.35 WORKERS AT Design or Accident.
- 7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.
- 7.30 NEWSROOM. Weather.
- 8.00 FLOODLIGHT RUGBY LEAGUE. Huddersfield v Castleford
- 8.50 WHEELBASE.
- 9.25 PLAY: 'RASPUTIN'. Stage 2 presentation by Ronald Eyre. With Robert Stephens as Rasputin.
- 11.20 NEWS ON 2. Weather.
- THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. Plainsong, Mickey Newbury.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.10 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women today. 3.00 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The River's Edge'. 8.30 London. 12.15 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.25 Gus Honey-bun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 12.12 News. 12.15 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.40 Jimmy Stewart. 7.05 McCloud. 8.30 London. 12.15 News. 12.25 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH:9.30London.2.30Houseparty.3.00London.5.20Gustavus.5.25Crossroads.5.50 London. 6.01 Report Wales. 6.35 Bless this house. 7.05 Film: 'Guns of Diablo'. 8.30 London. 12.15 Drive-in. 12.45 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as above except: 4.25-4.35 Miri mawr. 4.35-4.50 Cantamil. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 10.30 Blewyn glas. 11.15-11.30 O'r wasg.

HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Report West.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 5.20 Chimp. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: "Halliday Brand'. 8.30 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.40 News. 1.00 London. 5.20 Jackson five. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroaus. Film: 'Hondo and the Apaches'. 8.30 London. 12.15 Stories worth telling. 12.20 Jason King. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.32 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 4.22 News. 4.25 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 7.00 Film: Crossroads. 'Return to Paradise'. 8.30 Lon-

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.05 Film: 'The Death Of Me Yet'. 8.30 London. 12.15 Scotland Yard mysteries. 12.50 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 2.30 Looking at . . . 2.55 London. 5.15 Peyton Place. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Put it in writing. 6.25 Sky's the limit. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.05 Film: 'Escape'. 8.30 London.

TYNE TEES: 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 Kreskin. 3.00 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.05 Film:

'The Death Of Me Yet'. 8.30 London. 12.15 News. 12.30 Epiloque.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Scotland today. 6.35 Adam Smith. 7.05 McCloud. 8.30 London. 12.15 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.45 Cartoon. 2.50 News. 3.00 London. 5.20 News. Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Country wise. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cartoon time. 7.05 Film: 'The Death Of Me Yet'. 8.30 London.

Tape-recordings reveal deliberate non-intervention REPORTS of collusion between the

British army and the para-military Ulster Defence Association have now been backed up by details of tape recordings of military transmissions during fighting in Belfast last week.

Paddy Devlin, Social Democrat and Labour Party MP for Falls, has announced he is sending a report on the alleged collusion to Opposition leader Harold Wilson to see if existing Labour-Tory relations underwrites this activity.

Devlin alleged that in the last week east Belfast 'Tartan gangs' had terrorized Catholic families by open intimidation and outright

And he claimed that where these gangs operated, only token army patrols were observed and 'bigots' had complete freedom to shoot and petrol-bomb Catholic families.

'This is not an oversight on the military part to let this happen every night. It is a deliberate and calculated policy not to intervene to prevent Catholics being attacked, he remarked.

Devlin said he had heard a tape of military transmissions for last Thursday morning dur-ing mob violence in Belfast's East End.

In one extract the army officer commanding east Belfast speaking to patrol commanders, told

'I have spoken to a senior UDA man. He is now going to put the UDA out on the streets to stop the trouble.'

In another extract the officer said: 'The senior UDA man insaid: 'The senior UDA man informs me that the UDA now will take action against the Tartans. They are to be allowed to do so.

An Army patrol later asked the commander if a UDA patrol in a Land Rover at the junction of Holywood Road were to be allowed down the Newtownards Road. He replied:

'Oh yes: UDA has full movement.

Said Devlin: 'These extracts indicate sinister collaboration between an illegal para-military army and security forces. They indicate constant dealing and horse-trading between the UDA and military locally all of it with high-level approval . . .

'It is essential that these facts relating to this military conduct, including the tape I have heard, be sent to Mr Wilson to see if the bipartisan policy which exists between the Labour Party and the Conservative government in Britain underwrites this activity.

'Harold Wilson must be made to understand the real conse-quences of this joint activity. The abominable behaviour of the military by their refusal to protect unfortunate Catholic families and their property in families and their property in east Belfast—while intensively persecuting the innocent people of west Belfast-is the equal of any crime ever perpetrated by British troops in the struggle to cling to colonial holdings.'

Earlier this week, UDA leaders admitted that American Vietnam veterans were giving weapons training to their members in Northern Ireland.

'Army collaborates with **UDA** in Ulster'



The UDA is given free range by army in east Belfast, claims Devlin. Above: a 'stop and frisk' checkpoint

ASLEF opposes 'Blue Book' butchery of jobs

RAY BUCKTON, the leader of the train drivers' union, ASLEF, yesterday declared that his union would 'oppose most bitterly' the Tory plan to butcher the rail service.

The government's strategy for the railways in the 1970s is revealed in a 61-page 'Blue Book' produced by forward planners in the Department of the Environ-

The study suggests that Britain's rail network should be cut from 11,000 miles to about 7,000 miles and 60 million tons of freight transferred to the privately-owned road hauliers.

Mr Buckton told Workers Press he had not seen the Blue

'It is scandalous what they are contemplating,' he said.

He said it was interesting that the report had been 'leaked' to the capitalist Press. 'I find that whenever this government leaks anything to the Press it usually turns out to be right.'

He said the union was further angered by the fact that the British Rail Board had now decided to carry out a similar survey.

'You'd think that they'd at least see us, you'd think there would be some consultation with

But Mr Buckton has not seen BR chairman Richard Marsh since March this year during the wages dispute.

He said that the union's counter-proposal was for an integrated rail and road system.

Rents: 28 day Tory deadline

BY PHILIP WADE Our Housing Correspondent

THE TORY government has sent letters to nearly all the Labour councils in Britain still defying the 'fair rent' Act, giving them 28 days to fall in line.
Only Conisborough, Yorkshire, and Camden,

London, councils have yet to receive the Tory message. If the decisions not to implement remain, the Tories can then move in a Housing Commissioner.

These governmentappointed overlords will take over all the housing affairs of the council concerned.

Another threat is, of course, that of surcharges. Individual councillors who voted against the rent increases could find themselves landed with the bill for the money which should have been collected from tenants.

Prime Minister Edward Heath made it clear in his closing speech to the Tory Party conference at

Blackpool on Saturday that the government would not hesitate in moving against those defying 'law and those order'.

Among the tenants fighting increases passed on by Labour councils—and there are over 340 of them—one of the strongest areas of resistance still appears to be in Manchester.

Said Mrs Connie Fahey, secretary of the Manchester and Salford Tenants Action Group, yesterday:

'All over the weekend



Joe Potts: Solid

the phone hasn't stopped wanting details as to how to organize the fight against



Connie Fahey: Political

She said a struggle was ringing. Newly formed tenants' associations have been getting in touch, the fight was a political struggle and could only be

nation of the Tories and those who did not want politics brought in to the movement.

'The moment you want to take real political action,' added Mrs Fahey, 'it disturbs those little sections of the community which have a nice little niche for themselves.'

Ardwick tenants' leader Joe Potts said the resistance to the rent increases was as solid as ever.

'We estimate that between 50 and 60 per cent of tenants all the way round Manchester are not paying the increases, he told me yesterday.

All this week the wellorganized 'commando' squads will be in action on the estates, preventing the harassment of tenants by rent collectors.

And the new council rent offices will also be

Scottish beer and bread in short supply

BREAD was in short supply in Glasgow yesterday because of the bakers' strike which began on Monday last week.

Secretary of the Scottish Mas-ter Bakers James Dandie said all the big bakeries in the capital were closed. Three in Edinburgh were also affected, but Mr Dandie claimed that management and supervisory staff there were continuing to produce bread.

About 3,000 workers are on

unofficial strike at the bakeries, protesting over a wage deal con-cluded by the Scottish Union of Bakers, which would give them an increase of about £2.50 a week on basic rates.

THE POSITION was unchanged yesterday in the strike by bar staff employed by Tennent Caledonian Breweries.

About 70 pubs in the managedhouses division, mostly in Glasgow, were closed as a result of the strike, and supplies of beer from the brewery in Glasgow and Edinburgh have been halted.

The bar staff are demanding negotiating rights for the Transport and General Workers' Union and a £6-a-week rise.

JAMES CALLAGHAN, Labour Party treasurer and former Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Wilson government, today becomes a fully-fledged merchant

Callaghan is a director of the newly-formed Commercial Bank of Wales which today launches a public float of two million £1 shares. Three million ordinary £1 shares have already been issued, so when the bank opens its doors in Cardiff on October 30 it will have a capital of £5m.

Chairman of the bank is millionaire insurance and property magnate, Sir Julian Hodge, and other directors are former Labour Secretary for Wales, George Thomas, Lord Harlech, and two executives from the First National Bank of First National Bank of Chicago.

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18-month ban on Lithgow pay claim

BY OUR OWN
CORRESPONDENT

MARINE ENGINEEERS at the Scott-Lithgow shipyard and John G. Kincaid's engine works, Greenock, returned to work yesterday after a 17-week strike to bring their wages into line with workers on the upper reaches of the Clyde.

The settlement, negotiated with the management by leaders of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, gives the 1,100 workers an immediate £2 increase, a further £2 in January and again in July next year.

A final £2 increase will be paid in January 1974. The deal includes a proviso that no further wage claim can be submitted before March 1974.

This clearly shows that the Confederation leaders accept Tory premier Heath's right to dictate wages.

Confederation president Joe Black said on Saturday that 'taking into account the possibility of a statutory wage freeze, the majority of workers thought this was the maximum that could be achieved at present'.

A meeting of 3,000 finishing

A meeting of 3,000 finishing trade workers accepted the deal last Saturday. The management insisted that the deal was conditional on the engineers accepting it along with the finishing trade workers—otherwise no increases would be paid to anybody and there would be no further negotiations.

Confederation leaders had earlier failed to get the engineers to call off their strike in favour of being included in an overall claim with the finishing trades.

Engineers were convinced that,

Engineers were convinced that, with the support of the finishing trades in an all-out strike, they could have won 94p an hour. The agreement concluded by the Confederation gives 88p per hour—by 1974!

Stewards who fought so tenaciously to uphold the AUEW's national wage policy are extremely bitter at the deal.

WEATHER: Most areas will be mainly dry, with some bright intervays. Mist or fog patches will occur at first in southern Scotland and possibly in parts of northern England and Northern Ireland. Temperatures will be mostly near normal.

Picketing stays say rank-and-file dockers

BY PHILIP WADE

LONDON dockers picketing Midland Cold Storage at Hackney, East London, yesterday insisted that their action would continue until a mass meeting decided otherwise.

They condemned reports that their shop stewards were willing to call off the picket once talks started between the two docks unions and the companies owning Midland and UK Cold Storage, where picketing is also in progress.

Strong contingents manned the picket line at Midland both yesterday morning and afternoon.

A number of men said that they had seen stewards at the Royal group of docks earlier who had told them they knew of no decision to lift the picket.

No formal denial had been issued up to the time we went to

press, however. One steward said that this was because it was policy not to talk to the Press.

Workers Press reported last month that one tendency among the Royals stewards thought the blacking of Midland could be called off if Jack Jones, Transport and General Workers' Union leader, could prove there was a basis for negotiation with owners the Vestey organization.

This brought angry denials from another group of stewards, but now the same tendency appears to be on the move again.

Last Friday Midland issued redundancy notices to 27 of the 51 at the store, who are T&GWU members but not registered dockers.

Before the notices were issued some T&GWU transport drivers were talking in terms of breaking the dockers' picket line.

But now they are insisting that

But now they are insisting that before they resume deliveries Midland must withdraw its sack notices and UK Cold Storage, part of the Hay's Wharf group, must take back 16 men it has laid off.

Eric Rechnitz, chairman of the T&GWU's London road haulage committee, was quoted in several newspapers yesterday morning as saying he hoped the matter could be resolved 'without further confrontation'. Some reports had him saying the pickets were definitely being withdrawn.

One docker picketing Midland yesterday told Workers Press: 'Rechnitz came down here this morning and told me he had been misquoted and that the story was untrue.

'But he also said that if we had a truce he'd run stuff in.

'Our decision to continue picketing was taken at a mass meeting the other week and that decision stands as far as we are concerned.'

Said another picket: 'I don't know what's going on here, but if someone's trying to sow confusion it's working

fusion it's working.
'Many blokes thought the picketing was off this morning

and only when they drove past on their way to work realized it was still on.'

All the pickets were adamant about maintaining their struggle. 'If we have a truce here and let stuff in that's us finished and we might as well walk away,' I was told.

Dockers have been picketing Midland for five months, claiming work should be available for registered men there.

In July, Vestey initiated legal proceedings which led to the jailing of five dockers.

Jack Jones has already confirmed to Vestey that the picketing at Midland is unofficial.

And last week dock stewards were among those T&GWU members who received new stewards' cards.

These revised cards—written with the Industrial Relations Act in mind—bear the explicit statement that only the executive council of the T&GWU can authorize industrial action.

<u>US soldiers speak on war crimes</u>



Mr Philip Morris (I), former US Air Force captain in Thailand and Mr James Walkley, a former photo intelligence expert in the US Army—two of the speakers at last night's Conway Hall meeting organized by the International Commission of Inquiry into US War Crimes in Indo-China. Between January 1969 and summer 1972—that is, before the most recent further Intensification of the bomb-

ings—more than 3.7 million tons of bombs have been dropped in Indo-China. Latest indiscriminate attacks include large-scale computerized bombings activated by sensory detection devices which are incapable of distinguishing between civilians and military objects. Picture by Christopher Davis—Report.

Short orders not strikes cause ship-

UNION LEADERS have joined a north-east shipbuilding employer in an attempt to beat strikers back to work with the threat of unemployment—although they are well aware the jobs situation has nothing to do with the strike.

THE UNION involved is the Amalgamated Society of Boiler-makers, the employer Swan Hunter.

THE STRIKERS are 3,800 Tyneside boilermakers who are into the seventh week of their fight for a £4.72 cost of living

According to ASB president Dan McGarvey shipyards will close if the men refuse to return to work. Some will not reopen, he claims.

McGarvey's statement came hard on the heels of a threat from Sir John Hunter, chairman of the strikebound company, that a continuation of the strike could ruin shipbuilding on the Type as a whole.

Tyne as a whole.

The strikers' shop stewards who met yesterday were not impressed.

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building crisis

By DAVID MAUDE Our Industrial Correspondent

They decided to stand firm on their demands. No further mass meetings have been called. It is understood the stewards will resist any attempt by the union leadership to split their resistance.

The ASB executive is expected to discuss its next move in the dispute today, but will find little mileage in further jobs threats.

The threat to jobs on the Tyne arises not from the activities of the boilermakers, who are merely fighting for what their fellow-unionists in other yards have got, but from the world crisis of shipbuilding which is hitting every yard.

Sir John Hunter admits that his company has received no new orders since October 1970, except from the Admiralty, and that work is beginning to run out at some of the Tyne yards.

'If we don't get any more orders work will begin to stop in the yards and people will become redundant', he told a local paper last week. 'It could be quite soon.'

The yard which appears to be

in the worst shape is called Walker.

There a 26,500-ton container ship has been launched and is nearing the end of fitting out. This would leave a 105,000-ton bulk carrier scheduled for launch at the end of the year.

With no hint that any new order is in the pipeline, boiler-makers at Walker would face the dole even if they returned to work immediately on finishing the steel work for the bulk carrier. Fitters would lose their jobs a few months later.

The situation is only slightly less desperate at the Readhead's yard, South Shields.

Of three 15,000-ton cargo liners, the first has been launched and is fitting out, the second is awaiting the completion of steelwork by the boilermakers and the third will follow that onto the stocks.

This programme could be completed by mid-1973.

At Hebburn a 30,000-ton products tanker has been launched and is a few months into her fitting out, while

another similar vessel is waiting for the boilermakers.

Another berth is building a 15,000-ton cargo ship. A second will be started after the first's launch.

Wallsend yard has about 15

months' work.

The immediate launch of a 15,000-ton cargo vessel from Wallsend has been postponed by the strike, as has that scheduled for early next year of a 251,000 tanker. Due to follow these is a 252,000-ton tanker which should take nine months to a year to build.

Most of the naval work is concentrated at the Neptune yard, which is the only one in the company appearing to have any prospect of guaranteeing employment for more than a year.

Sir John Hunter has called on the Tories to start a system of investment grants to shipowners buying from British yards, and McGarvey's attack on his own members is presumably intended as a gesture of good faith in support of this call.

But the boilermakers cannot be made responsible for the crisis of capitalist shipbuilding.

Nationalization of the entire industry without compensation and under workers' control is the only guarantee of jobs in the

Workers Press MONTHLY APPEAL FUND

£378.13 WITH 15 DAYS TO GO

WE ARE now into the second half of the month and still have £1,371.81 left to raise. We face a tough struggle ahead, but we know, with your determination, you will do everything possible to pull us through.

While the TUC meets with Heath and the CBI at Chequers today, opposition is growing to their talks with the Tories. Alongside ASTMS are thousands of trade unionists who are determination to fight against state control over their wages.

Our paper was the first to warn against these corporatist measures. Now we must give a lead to thousands of trade unionists taking up this fight.

Our Fund, therefore, is more than vital. We urge you all—make a very special effort today. Help us pull our total right up. Raise extra amounts where possible. Post every donation immediately to:

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186a Clapham High Street
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CAV staff join sit-in

ENGINEERING workers sitting in at the Lucas combine's CAV factory, Fazakerley, Liverpool, were joined yesterday by technical and clerical workers in their fight against closure.

'It's one of our biggest boosts yet', shop steward John Howe told Workers Press.

The sit-in force turned out to cheer as a 30-car motorcade brought the staff into the factory from a four-hour meeting at a pearly labour club

nearby labour club.

About 70 staff are involved in the decision to join the sit-in. They are members of the clerical workers' union APEX and the technical and supervisory section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

• See page 3.