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INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER . TUESDAY OCTOBER 24, 1972 . No. 902 . 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

### **RECALL THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS** (5 m) (5 m) (7 m) (7 m) (8 m)

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETING

BEHIND THE SSASSINATION TROTSKY



a reply to Joseph Losey's film

TUESDAY OCTOBER 24 Conway Hall

Red Lion Square, WC2 (nearest tube Holborn)

8.00 p.m.

Speaker: G. Healy (SLL National Secretary)

admission 10p

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

OPPOSITION to talks between the Tories and the TUC over state control of wages—which reach their climax on Thursday — has spread to Britain's biggest union. Leaders of the Transport and General Workers' power and engineering section, which organizes men in the power stations, have demanded the union press ahead with industrial action regardless of the talks.

They are also demanding an adjournment in all negotiations on their £5.50 claim until the Electricity Council is freed from the government's instruction to hold down wages in the public sector.

The resolution, which arrived at the T&GWU headquarters yesterday, puts Jack Jones on the hot spot. On Thursday he joins other top union leaders in talks with the Tories over the proposed plan to control wages. This powerful section of the union is virtually asking him to ignore the Tory pleas of inflation and sanction industrial action regardless of any pay deal.

Tom Crispin, the transport workers' chief negotiator in the powermen's claim commented yesterday: 'The national committee were rather incensed by the attitude of the electricity council and their freeze on negotiations. They decided to ask for action until the just claim was settled.'

The power and engineering executive now joins the growing chorus of opposition to any deal with the Tories over state control of wages. They re-flect in particular workers in the power industry who already have had their claim stamped on be-cause of the talks.

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Jones, however, has still not come clean and asked for a special congress of the TUC. He is still talking in terms of a meet-ing of all union executives to

discuss any Tory deal. Other union chiefs, led by Victor Feather, are still desperately seeking a deal with the Tories. Feather's subservience to the idea of state control of wages and joint control of the capitalist economy with the government has even shocked right-wing MPs in the Labour

But hostile reaction from rankand-file workers, especially those with claims blocked by the Tory

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TURN TO BACK PAGE

PA workers vote to stay out

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The majority of the members of the chapel withdrew their labour unofficially last Tuesday demanding that the management met a house pay claim in full.

They rejected an instruction from NATSOPA officials to return to work immediately. Mr Lawrence was dismissed on

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Some Reuters workers joined the picket line yesterday and some National Graphical Association members-along with dustmen, postmen and other delivery workers-are refusing to cross the picket line.

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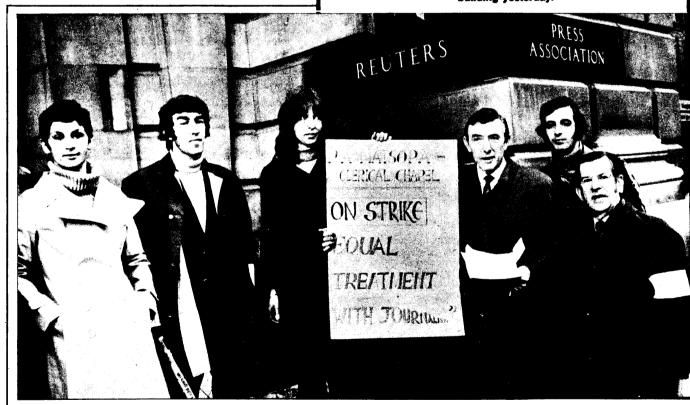
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Three of the main participants in last weekend's strange alliance: (top to bottom) Ernest Mandel, Monty Johnstone and Jiri Pelikan.

### What we think

THE DEFENCE of victims of Stalinist repression in Eastern Europe is a class question which involves a principled struggle against Stalinism within the workers' movement.

Only on this basis can the working class in the capitalist countries aid its brothers in the deformed workers' states to prepare the political revolution which will overthrow the bureaucracy's rule.

This is not, however, the basis of an organization called Radical Scholars of Soviet and East European Studies which held its second conference in London at the weekend.

This body is animated largely by academic supporters of the revisionist International Marxist Group (IMG), New Left and International Socialists. Its organizers describe it as 'a nonsectarian arena on the nature of socialism' and hope to publish a magazine called 'Critique' for this purpose.

Among the speakers at the weekend conference were Ernest Mandel, the leading Belgian revisionist, and Jiri Pelikan, former director of Czechoslovak television, now living in exile in Rome.

Pelikan is a supporter of the Alexander Dubcek wing of the Czechoslovak Stalinist bureaucracy which wanted to introduce 'socialism with a

### A Strange gathering

human face' in the Prague Spring of 1968. He advocates working within the communist parties of Eastern Europe to 'push' their leaders to 'overcome and avoid certain deformations'. He told the conference: 'Some people criticize Dubcek for not having a clear programme, but how could such a programme exist?' Iandel and his supporters naturally

Mandel and his supporters naturally accepted this explicit attack on Trotskyism because they share Pelikan's hostility to the building of independent revolutionary parties both in the capitalist countries and in the degenerated workers' states.

Mandel considers the political revolution against Stalinism will be the 'spontaneous' act of the working class: 'From the moment the masses become autonomously and spontaneously active, the power of the bureaucracy seems to disappear like lightning,' he said.

The outcome of the 'spontaneous' action of the masses in Czechoslovakia, however, was the Dubcek regime, which even Pelikan admits 'accepted the logic of "normaliza-

tion" under the Warsaw Pact occupation.

The third element in this highly dubious amalgam of anti-Trotskyists is provided by the Communist Party of Great Britain. Monty Johnstone, the party's anti-Trotskyist specialist was greeted at the conference in the friendliest manner by Pelikan and Mandel's supporters Tariq Ali and Robin Blackburn.

Johnstone is a long-standing political hack and Stalin-worshipper whose political credit is sustained entirely by anti-Marxists like Blackburn and Ali. Twenty years ago he was an enthusiastic supporter of the infamous Czechowska Slansky show-trial.

The revisionists acclaim this man as a 'radical scholar' of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, though he has not attempted to explain his slavish support for Stalin's crimes, even retrospectively.

Following the show trials of Dubcek supporters in July and August this year Pelikan wrote to the American Stalinist Angela Davis appealing for her to intervene with the Gustav Husak leadership on their behalf.

Davis adamantly refused and was rewarded with a VIP tour of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Davis is still being built up by the British Communist Party as a heroine of the struggle against oppression. Yet the party is silent about her betrayal of the Stalinist victims in Czechoslovakia. Pelikan tactfully refrained from mentioning this instructive episode at the 'scholars' conference.

The IMG men naturally did not mention it either—it might have upset their friend Johnstone. These people cannot fight Stalinism and their 'defence' of the victims of Stalinist repression in Eastern Europe is a liberal-humanitarian political fraud.

Pabloite revisionism led by Mandel's old friend Michel Pablo long ago distinguished itself as the running-dog of Stalinism.

# Heath's 'regional development'— reservoir of labour

THE TORY government is claiming a considerable victory at the Paris Common Market summit for its so-called regional development policy. This is the scheme for providing a Regional Development Fund out of the EEC's revenue to 'permit . . . the correction of the main regional imbalances in the enlarged Community and particularly those resulting from the preponderance of agriculture and from industrial change and structural unemployment'.

This is presented in some sections of the press as a Tory manoeuvre to recoup some of the money they will have to lay out on the Common Agricultural Policy which mainly benefits France.

mainly benefits France.

But in reality this is not the main reason for Tory jubilation.

The scheme goes right to the heart of the British employers' strategy of entry into the Common Market

They want to use the areas of the Common Market where there are low wages and high unemployment and where trade unions are badly organized, if they exist at all. These parts of western Europe are to play the part of reservoirs of cheap labour under the regional scheme.

It is no accident that the April budget introduced by Tory Chancellor Anthony Barber opened the floodgates for the export of capital from Britain to the Common Market countries and other parts of the world.

This measure is already being implemented by firms like the British - Leyland Corporation, Lucas group and Thorn Electrical, all of which have recently closed down plants in Britain to move production to the continent.

Involved here are not only areas like southern Italy inside the Common Market, but also the fascist and military dictatorships on the fringes of the Common Market like Spain, Portugal and Greece.

and Greece.

Pompidou has already expressed his desire for Spanish' entry into the Common Market and Portugal, Britain's 'oldest ally', has negotiated a close relation-ship with the EEC.

The ground is rapidly being prepared for a mass exodus of basic production industry from Britain, leading to a speedy growth of unemployment in key sections of industry.

The Tories hope to use the Regional Development to play workers in one country against another and lay the basis for smashing the unions throughout Europe.

Mass unemployment in Britain is the necessary precondition for the full operation of the Industrial Relations Act to completely subordinate the trade unions to the state.

No worker should be taken in by the deliberately vague sentiments of the summit communiqué. They conceal unprecedented attacks on basic rights.

## Fascists blow up workers' demo train

PREPARATIONS for a European Security Conference are expected to be at the centre of the discussions between the Kremlin bureaucracy and Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, who arrives in Moscow today on a five-day official visit.

Andreotti's government rests on the support it gets from the fascist Italian Social Movement which was in action over the weekend against the Italian working class.

In Reggio Calabria, fascists attacked a demonstration of 50,000 trade unionists protesting against the poverty and unemployment in southern Italy.

The fascists set bomb traps on the railway lines and one bomb serving members of the Italian army, had earlier attended a exploded on the main Rome-Naples route near Latina. It damaged three carriages of a charter train with 1,000 workers on board. Five workers were injured

Ten thousand police and caribinieri in full riot kit patrolled Reggio itself. The police chief refused to make any statement on who was behind the terrorist attacks.

The Italian police and armed forces are riddled with young and old supporters of fascism. This was apparent in Rome on Sunday when 500 fascist youth and paratroopers tried to march on the headquarters of the Italian Communist Party.

The paratroopers, many of whom were in uniform and are rally to mark the battle of El

The fascists will draw strength from the Italian premier's visit to Moscow as

they draw strength from the counter-revolutionary policies of the Italian CP.
Stalinists on the Reggio

demonstration were calling for the government to give help to under-developed areas like southern Italy. In the same way, the Italian Stalinists support the programme for regional development outlined in the Paris EEC talks.

Fascist activity over the weekend shows that this 'development' will be based on the destruction of the working class, including the Communist Party itself, if the Stalinists continue their policies of collaboration.



Andreotii: Now in Moscow

### Military link-up for counter-revolution

GENERAL François Maurin, head of the general staff of the French armed forces, arrived in Madrid yesterday on a five-day visit to review the progress in military cooperation between France and Spain.

Since the two countries signed a five-year military agreement on June 22, 1970, there have been two main developments.

Spain has bought large

amounts of French war material, including Mirage aeroplanes and armoured cars; these initial purchases were made with a view to setting up joint production of weaponry at a later stage.

There have also been extensive joint manoeuvres between the French and Spanish armed forces in the north of Spain and the south of France.

These manoeuvres have taken the form of antisubversion and anti-guerrilla exercises and a lot of activity has been concentrated in the Basque

provinces.

General Maurin's visit following the collaboration between French and Spanish police in rounding up Basque nationalists.

Basque nationalists.

President Pompidou's statement that Spain must enter the EEC can only mean an intensification of these preparations for the European counter-revolution, the reality behind last week's European summit in

Paris.

Maurin was invited by General Diaz-Alegria, who is praised by the Spanish Stalinists for his 'liberal

European' stance and his efforts to modernize the the Spanish army.

The initiatives receive full backing from East European bureaucrats who are daily strengthening their ties with Franco's

fascist regime.

This week in Madrid,
Spanish businessmen will
be able to visit an exhibition — the 1st Economic
and Technical Week put on
by the Hungarian Ministry
of Foreign Trade.

At the opening ceremony, Fernandez-Cuesta, Spanish under-Secretary of Commerce, stated:

'Both countries have reached the conclusion that we must live in a more open world and enter into more extensive international relationships.'

In reply, Peter Veress, vice-Minister of the Hungarian Foreign Trade Office, dwelt on the historical 'affinities' which linked Hungary and Spain.

The Stalinists are clearly in favour of an 'open' community in Europe where the working class is controlled by the troops of Messrs Maurin and Diaz-Alegria.

#### Biggest-ever ATUA conference held in Birmingham



### Cold store sackings must

THE SACKING of 27 men by Midland Cold Storage is an attack that must be resisted by every depot worker, transport driver and docker.

Unity in the face of the employer is a vital principle in every arena of class struggle; the reasons why it must be insisted upon at Midland can be stated very simply and

graphically.
Midland Cold Storage, Hackney, east London, is owned by

ney, east London, is owned by the powerful Vestey family. It was the Vesteys who started the legal action which led to the jailing of five London dock-ers in July. The family holds a powerful position in the New Zealand Meat Producers' Board, which is threatening to shift its which is threatening to shift its trade out of London and destroy the livelihoods of hundreds of dockers

And at Nelson's Wharf, Southwark, 87 Vestey cold store work-ers—all of them registered dock-ers—have been forced to take a wage-cut for fighting a

closure threat.

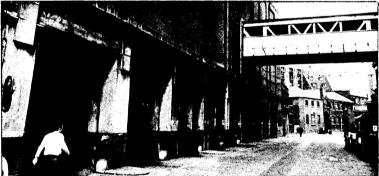
Lord Samuel Vestey and his brood, therefore, are no more friends of the docker than any other employer.

Vesteys shifted large chunks of their capital away from the docks in order to give themselves hire-and-fire over their workers which they could not obtain under the National Dock Labour Scheme.

They had five dockers jailed for their picketing of Midland in a bid to win back some of the last jobs. And when the

### be resisted

BY DAVID MAUDE OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT



Nelson's Wharf, Southwark, where dockers have been fighting a closure

dockers refused to be intimidated, they used their sack powers ruthlessly against the cold-store workers rather than give a single concession to the pickets.

Some serious thinking, there-fore, is required of those shop stewards in the Royal group of docks who were talking some weeks ago about the possibility of a negotiated compromise with the Vesteys through the agency of the Transport and General Workers' Union and its secretary Tack Jones.

But equally serious thought is needed from those transport drivers' leaders who were talking recently about breaking the dockers' picket line at Midland.

There is no more compromise or special relationship with the Vesteys and the port transport employers generally than there is with the Tory government of

the TUC, which has Like accepted the principle of the Tories' state pay plan and is proceeding to implement it, Jones and the T&GWU leadership have in the Jones-Aldington report accepted and proceeded to implement the principle of unemployment on the docks.

Nationally, the Jones-Aldington report has opened the way for a further big cut in the num-ber of registered dockers and a wide-ranging attack on the Dock

Labour Scheme.
Wages and conditions in the entire port transport industry are to a considerable extent under-pinned by the Scheme. That is why last week the Road Haulage Association, whose express carriers' group meets today to plan its strategy for entry into the Common Market, came out openly as the Scheme's most viru-

openly as the Scheme's most viru-lent opponent.

Together with the technolo-gical developments which are already hitting jobs in the indus-try, Market entry will mean a huge onslaught on transport drivers' jobs. And the union leaders who have failed their members so spectacularly on the members so spectacularly on the docks will not lift a finger.

What is needed is a policy for united struggle.

- No redundancies among either dockers, depot workers or trans-port drivers. All workers must be maintained on full pay until the port, warehousing and trans-port industry can be nationalized, placed under workers' control and planned on socialist lines.
- A shorter working week. Work-sharing with no loss of earnings where there is insufficient work.
- Maintain and extend the statutory job guarantee in the Dock Labour Scheme to cover all ports and depots.

With its docks and transport sections once again under attack, the T&GWU must be recalled to scrap the Jones-Aldington report, demand the breaking off of the TUC-Tory talks and mobilize its members to force the Tory government to resign.

In this way the political conditions can be created for the return of a Labour government which would nationalize the port, warehousing and transport industry without compensation and under workers' control.

WELL OVER 2,000 workers from every major industry in Britain poured into Birmingham on Sunday. There were two special trains from London and coaches from other parts to make the fifth conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance the largest and most representative ever held. Our picture shows the conference in its afternoon session at the town hall where a full discussion took place on the resolution charging the ATUA and the Socialist Labour League with the task of building a revolutionary party in Britain. There was a unanimous vote to take up this fight immediately throughout the entire labour movement. A collection at the conference totalled £537.47.

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BOOKS PERIODICALS NEWSPAPERS

Hospital manual workers on a basic wage of £13.95 a week recently backed their national claim with strike action. In this two part article BERNARD FRANKS examines the plight of the hospital worker used as cheap labour in the ill-equipped conditions of Britain's hospitals.

# LIFE IN THE FORGOTTEN SECTOR

#### **PART TWO**

The vital behind-thescenes operations to keep the National Health Service going has been considered second-class work from second-class citizens by both Tory and Labour governments.

In 1952 the then Tory government told hospital authorities to 'review staff and make reductions wherever possible'. From 1963 to 1966 the manual workers' pay was tied up in a three-year agreement. When, at the end of this, workers put in for an increase of £1.10 a week, the then Labour government promptly held up any payment and referred the claim to the Prices and Incomes Board (PIB).

The Board's Report—No. 29—found that hospital workers were indeed some of the lowest paid in the country. It said: 'In only six industries in the Ministry of Labour list are the average earnings of men lower than in the National Health Service.' Total earnings of full-time men in 1966 were found to average £16 9s 6d for a 44-hour week in the National Health Service compared with an average £20 6s 2d for 46 hours in all industry.

The Board's Report also stated: 'Moreover, workers in the National Health Service have been losing ground during the past five years.' In spite of this the Board barred any real increase in pay, proposing instead a rise of 11s 8d a week tied to acceptance of all manner of job-evaluation, workstudy and Measured-Day Work schemes to be introduced through productivity deals.

Those who believed the tale at the time, that these were simply sign-posts on the road to better pay, now know better.

No one objects to efficiency in terms of supplying a decent hospital service. A step towards this can be achieved by building new hospitals, closing down the private sector, placing no limits on cash for equipment and working conditions, building associated community services, paying proper wages, cutting out the need for long hours by employing sufficient staff and giving adequate training, and by running the service under the control of committees of NHS workers and of patients.

However, all the PIB meant by efficiency was doubling up the work to get everything done by existing staffs or even a reduced number of workers.

The number of NHS employees was to be cut by 'natural turnover' meaning that workers who left would not be replaced, their work being spread among those remaining.

Work-study, and especially one form of it called Organization and Methods (O&M), was introduced to cut out 'poor methods' and 'slack working'.

For example, work-study officers carried out 200 surveys in hospital laundries to find ways of speeding-up the work and reducing the number of employees. Incentive schemes tied to a speed-up were introduced as a substitute for real pay increases.



Above: hospital manual workers in a London hospital. Vital work that keeps hospitals running is considered second class by the authorities.

Nor is it only machine operations that come under the 'efficiency' axe.

Systems for cutting back the number of beds, on the basis that modern drugs are a substitute for mental hospital care, have been introduced.

A recent report by the Office of Health Economics advises the dropping of inefficient services and excuses the massive use of tranquillizers and anti-depressants as: 'more logical than physical treatment'. ('Medicine and Society' OHE October 11, 1972.)

Small local hospitals and casualty departments have been closed on the claim that ambulances now carry adequate resuscitation equipment and so can take longer to get to a central hospital.

One writer on health affairs commented:

'The hospital which can discharge the most patients is often spoken of as the most efficient—without reference to the number of patients fit to be discharged or the condi-

tions to which they return.'

Naturally, any action by hospital workers will incur a vicious campaign of vilification whipped up by Fleet Street and by radio and television.

Previously, the mass media have treated the ancillary workers, and in fact all lowpaid workers, not just as a 'forgotten' but as a nonexistent sector.

Now, people who have kept quiet about the conditions in many hospitals and about the Tory plans to decimate the Health Service suddenly dig up all sorts of examples of alleged suffering by patients to be laid at the door of the strikers.

The truth is, however, if a substantial increase is not paid soon, more and more workers will find it physically impossible to stay in these jobs. Trying to live at current rates of pay will make all Health Service workers themselves suitable cases for treatment.

The fight for higher pay is

a fight to keep the services going. This is why patients, nursing and medical staffs must solidly back the claim.

All workers must unite against the outpouring of vitriolic abuse which is today guaranteed with every strike.

Many trade unionists are asking members in the print and allied trades to allow the publication of Workers Press and other workers' papers and journals during times when the capitalist press is closed down by strike action.

In the hospital workers' struggle, closer links are needed with the 770,000 local council workers who have similar pay and problems and who are also demanding a rise at the present time.

The Tory's state control over wages, including use of the TUC's fraudulent threshold agreements—which guarantee employers a set period free from wage claims even though the cost of living has risen—

must be defeated before it begins.

The so-called price freeze is a complete fraud. Decisions to increase the cost of food and other goods in line with Common Market entry were made long ago and have not been changed.

The efforts to divide and weaken the labour movement, using the Industrial Relations Act and racialism must be opposed and defeated.

The Tcry government must be forced to resign NOW and replaced by a Labour government pledged to socialist policies, including the continuous building and expansion of a free Health Service.

But for any action to be effective today a new, Marxist revolutionary leadership must be built in the trade unions; one which will be prepared to take up the political struggle against the state supression of workers rights and conditions; one which will fight continuously to expose and overthrow capitalist oppression.

### DEALS OF THE FRENCH **LEADERS**

### WILLY BRANDT FRENCH COURTS THE BOSSES

At the end of the recent Paris Motor Show, the French employers announced record production figures for the first eight months of 1972 of 2,051,000 units, an increase of 235,000 on the 1971 figures.

Last Wednesday, Aimé Halbeher, Communist Party secretary of the cars section of the CGT held a Press conference to explain how the employers managed to increase production without increasing pay.

Halbeher is well placed to answer such a problem since he has been at the centre of negotiations which have constantly blunted the struggle of French workers against Citröen, Renault and Peugeot, the main car manufacturers in France.

Company unions, constant propaganda, control of bonuses all are weapons in the employers' arsenal, he revealed. But with their struggle, the workers had reached a wage of between 1,400 and 1,600 francs, including all bonuses for a  $43\frac{1}{2}$ -hour week.

Far from 'going slow' on the wages front, the CGT has brought out a series of demands: a minimum wage of 1,500 francs, a 40-hour week, retirement at 60 and a single wage-scale for all categories of workers.

Halbeher said they were worried about conditions in the factories. The employers talked about 'job-enrichment' and in the Renault plant in Le Mans where the workers have to carry out a series of operations instead of just one, life for a carworker was indeed better.

'The position of the CGT is straightforward; whenever such a modification improves the lot of the workers involved it will be considered as a gain.'

Not content with this, the CGT will call for 5 per cent to 10 per cent of industrial investment to be devoted to the improvement of factory conditions, for the workload to be diminished and the installation of rest rooms.

The climax of the Press conference was Halbeher's revelation that he had just signed an agreement with Citröen on behalf of CGT members.

This was the continuation of the agreement signed in 1968 which was the first of its kind. That initial agreement was part of the CGT's efforts to break the May-June general

The management guarantee a wage increase of 'at least 6 per cent' for the present year, an increase in holiday pay and a little juggling with the wage grades.

Halbeher came very close to admitting what a betrayal the deal represents when he concluded that the CGT signed the agreement because if they hadn't, the company would have given increases anyway and they would have been used by the company union 'to develop the ideology of class-collaboration'.

This 6-per-cent wage increase, which represents a wage-cut for Citröen workers' shows that the French CP is well lined-up with the French bourgeoisie in the battle for the international car market.

Faced with the most crucial West German election since the war, the Social - Democratic Party led by Chancellor Willy Brandt is doing its best to prove to the leadors of big business that it can run capitalism better than its Christian Democrat rivals

The party, which is heir to the pre-Hitler social-demo-crats of the Weimar Republic, long ago dropped any reference to socialism from its banners. Since it came to office by a narrow majority in 1969 it has concentrated on building up the monopolies and cultivating good relations on their behalf with Stalinist bureaucracies of Eastern Europe.

This policy of 'opening to the east' was ferociously attacked in the Christian Democratic Press at the time, but the CDU, led by Rainer Barzel, is now singularly silent about it. Barzel has made it clear that his party will not dismantle the treaties Brandt's regime has signed.

The policy is already paying dividends for the big West German combines, some of which are opening factories and raising loans for the Soviet Union, Poland and other Stalinist countries. It has provided an urgently needed outlet for German industry which is in recession as a result of the trade war and monetary

Many of these companies are still in the hands of the men who backed the Nazi warmachine and provided the machinery of death for the eagerness to placate these men, Brandt has launched a virulently chauvinist witch-hunt against foreign workers.

Following the Munich airport shoot-out the Palestinian workers and students have been robbed of the right to organize in unions and more than 200 have been deported without trial. Others are held in prison. At the same time, Brandt has declared in favour of restrictions on all foreign workers — who already lack many of the rights enjoyed by native-born workers.

Brandt is wooing reactionary elements in Germany, who naturally support the Zionist Israeli state against the Arabs. But the CDU is not in the least impressed. Barzel is stomping the country denouncing the social-democrats for being over-indulgent towards left-wing radical forces.

These forces, he charges, are openly working to transform the free-enterprise system which he claims is the foundation of German industrial strength and prosperity into one of state-directed socialism. The charge could hardly be directed at Brandt himself: his government has poured millions of marks into privatelyowned industry.

A typical example is the Ruhrkohle concern employing more than half West Germany's miners. This was formed in 1969 by merging coal interests belonging to some 20 combines and has been losing money steadily ever since. The Brandt govern-



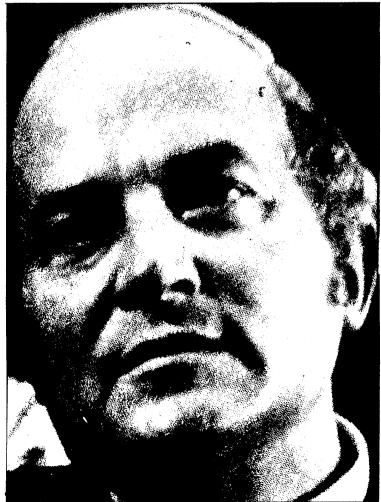
Top: SPD Chancellor, Brandt. Right: Barzel of the Christian Democrats.

ment has three times intervened to keep the company solvent and prevent the private owners going bankrupt.
The CDU also charges

Brandt with having been too lax in combating 'terrorism' and preserving law and order Yet it was Brandt who ordered the massive nationwide manhunt against Baader-Meinhof group of 'urban guerrillas' during which police became so carried away they shot a completely innocent Scotsman in an excess of zeal.

Brandt's efforts to reassure big business have succeeded only in making its representatives more arrogant and demanding. They want a showdown with the powerful West German working class, which has recently taken part in a number of tenacious strikes for wages.

Brandt is truly a worthy successor of the socialdemocrats who murdered Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Lieb-knecht and later opened the door for Hitler. His witchhunting policy and chauvinist attacks on foreign workers prepare the way for extreme right-wing dictatorship, which is the only means German big business can settle accounts with the working class.



### **TENANTS** STRUGGLE: WHERE WE STAND

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

The tenants' movement in Manchester has split the Labour Party and the Labour movement down the middle. The bulk of the Labour group on the city corporation voted to implement the increase despite a mandate demanding resistance from the city Labour Party.

Similar schisms have occurred in the surrounding towns. When the old guard in Stockport Labour Party voted with the Tories and let in the rents increases they were denounced as 'traitors' and rats' by councillors who stuck to the original policy of non-imple-

It must be said, however, that even this group on the left still peddle the illusion that the Tories can be forced to retreat over the Housing Finance Act—a position supported from within the tenants groups by many spokesmen from the Communist Party and the anti-communist revisionists of the International Socialists.

Support from the wellorganized trade unions in the city has been poor. The district committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has gone on record threatening strikes if people are victimized. But there have been no stoppages in factories so farunlike Liverpool where the dockers and the building workers came out in strength the day the rent increase came

One of the main reasons for this apathy is that there is a political conspiracy within the tenants' movement to see the rents struggle as a protest campaign over one issue only. This divorces the rents fight from the battles within the unions over pay, jobs and the right to strike. Again this perspective flows from the reformist views of the Stalinists in the Communist Party and the IS.

Here are three views on the rents struggle, one from a leading Manchester trade union official, one from a Labour councillor and one from a tenant who has organized her estate to refuse to pay the rent

#### THE TRADE UNION **VIEW**

Colin Davies is secretary of Manchester Trades Council. In the early stages of the campaign the trades council made contact with the tenants' associations. But support from the trade union side was not great. On October 29 another meeting is planned to consider further help.

'I think it is a perfectly valid criticism of the trade union movement to say that we have tended to leave the tenants

alone in this fight. 'Unions like NALGO have said they will support any

member who refuses to implement the increase and is punished for this. You had some support in Liverpool. But as yet in Manchester there has been no real appeal to the factories. Whether this will come I don't know.

'What we are doing at the present time is trying to fix up meetings with Labour groups who are resisting. We are determined that they will not be the Aunt Sallys of the Tory government. But we would also like to know what happens when people get so far in arrears. Will this mean eviction? We are being as conciliatory as we can because we need maximum help from the Labour groups should a situation like this ever come to

'The Manchester council would go along with our view -that is not to carry out any evictions against the workingclass population of this city. Salford we know will not consider eviction [this was before Salford decided to surrender and implement the Act].

'The engineers district committee, of course, has gone on record for a strike if any victimization occurs. I think if there were any evictions—or if people landed up in court for defying this Act there would be a situation similar to the confrontation that developed over the jailing of the five dockers. It is perhaps not a situation that is pleasant but it may be inevitable.'

I asked Mr Davies what he thought of the performance of the Labour Party-nationally and in Manchester.

'I think the Tories must be very pleased that the many councillors who were once breathing fire have collapsed so miserably. I am really amazed there has not been greater resistance.

'We met the Manchester Labour group of councillors. We wanted the tenants there as well but the council refused. We offered them full support of the trade union movement if they stood up to the government. We said we would back them but they didn't seem to believe us.

'They said by co-operating with the legislation the blow could be softened Well the Manchester increase turns out to be 92p instead of £1 hardly a victory.

'The thing that disappointed my trades council about this was that the collapse seemed to indicate an abandonment of the principle that housing is a social service for the people.

'Here was a Labour council getting enmeshed in Tory plans to make a profit out of council housing. The councillors say it was expedient—but how can you be expedient about such principles? All you can do is fight for them.

'Even now the Labour Party policy is ambiguous. They say they will establish a non-profit rent. But even with the 92p rents are still too low to cover expenditure on the housing revenue. Seven eighths of this is in interest for loans of course and this is the nub So long as the building societies. the finance houses, remain in

private hands-and the City of

London exists we will have this

'housing problem". 'Truly I don't think these councillors realize how out of step they have become with the wider labour movement. They just don't realize the bitterness their back-tracking on this issue has caused. It is an historic collapse. They don't show much faith in the people who have consistently supported them.

I asked Mr Davies about the policy of the tenants' movement. There were those who argued that militant action would have to be forced out and that the tenants' struggle was part of this.

'I think the second analysis is perfectly correct,' he said.

'We have, after all, the example of the Industrial Relations Act. Heath is clinging to this legislation like a drowning man. He is not going to give up this Act and they will not retreat over housing either. These are fundamental positions of the Tory government. If they give them up they will no longer be a government.

'The answer is to force them out of office. I can only see one way to make these fundamental things inoperable force a General Election.'

### **COUNCILLOR'S**

Manchester is slowly replacing the vast slums that once disfigured every area of the city. The council controls the

biggest direct works department in the country to tackle this enormous task.

But already costs are pro-

hibitive. Over 65 per cent of all revenue goes straight into the pockets of the big money lenders (around £20m a year at a 9-per-cent interest rate). When the Housing Finance Act begins to bite, the building programme will be run down. Tenants will pay more while other workers are left to suffer had housing.

Joe Dean, as the Labour chairman of the housing committee, presided over the historic surrender the council made on August 26 when they agreed to implement the Act.

He talks here of the Tory policy and the tenants' struggle

'As far as we can estimate about 3 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of tenants are refusing to pay the increase [the interview was given one week after the rent increase]. I think it is the fact that resistance will bring them into conflict with the law that accounts for most tenants paying.

at the top.

'I have deep sympathy with the tenants. I can see why they want to resist this Act, but I have always said that this government is so bloodyminded that they would force their legislation on people. I have been all over the north west speaking on this issue. I always said it would come down to the tenants in the end. The resistance would have greater strength? to start at the bottom and not

'I followed this issue very

closely. I went to meetings of Labour authorities all over the country. There was plenty of militant talk but the implication was always there that they would draw back.

FIGHT THE RENT INCREASES

ORSANISE N. W!

DEFEAT "IE RENTS F ?!

'I think it's no use fooling people with militant policy if you are not going to carry it through.

'If we had all stuck together maybe there could have been a chance of real resistance. But I was not confident about this. Consider this, the TUC did not think itself strong enough to take on the government on the question of the Industrial Relations Act. Does anyone believe that individual Labour councils could have displayed

I asked Mr Dean about the backing promised-by the trades unions in the city.

'Quite frankly I don't think it was there. When we met the trades council a certain councillor asked them about this support. Would it cover full financial indemnity he said They said no. Now I don't want anyone cheering me to the jail. I might lose this house, I don't want to. I want to know who would make up

that loss.'

If the rent strikes go on, at some stage there will be an attempt to evict tenants. I asked what would be the council's attitude to this.

'I would have thought that as far as possible the Labour council would not activate proceedings. But it ought to be remembered that in certain circumstances the officials can take action without council

'At a certain stage the public auditor must report the financial situation of certain tenants to the borough treasurer and he can take steps to evict.

There is one small mercy. Normal eviction orders are made in a magistrates court under the Small Tenancies Act. Under this the tenant has no right of representation, he does not get a hearing. On Manchester we decided not to have eviction under this Act. So any action would be in a county court where the tenant would gain a hearing.'

What will the effect of the Housing Finance Act be on Manchester's building programme?

'On rents we originally applied for a 25p dispensation on post-war houses and a 70p dispensation on pre-war. In the end the increase was 85p which, spread over the 48 paying weeks, gives a 92p increase. We are hoping that the minister now considers this the fair rent of the area so the rises that are supposed to take place to take rents up to socalled fair standards will not take place in Manchester.

'My main worry is over the cost of building council houses. Land prices are rocketing and of course the debt burden gets ever more crippling. The government already has a 10 per cent margin above which costs must not rise if schemes are to attract the essential government grants. In the near future Manchester schemes are going to be 20 per cent above the margin.

'It's the same for most authorities and if this government is not stopped some council will find itself unable to build at all. It is a very serious situation

'All this: Faises in one's mind is what kind of programme Labour should introduce. My great fear is that even if the Housing Finance Act is repealed, there will not be the financial arrangements to solve this crisis.

'It is simply the case that the massive interest payments are unsupportable if we are to provide working-class people with decent houses. We cannot go on borrowing money and paying out crippling sums of interest over 60 years.

'Have Labour an answer to this? Their policy is not clear. They will have to take a stand. We either nationalize these resources people so desperately need or we suffer. Only socialist policies can solve this

#### THE **TENANTS VIEW**

Altrincham did not resist the Act. It went through when the Liberals joined with the Tories and voted for im-

The voice of the tenants is Mrs Kath Warrington, born in the slums of Altrincham, now in a pleasant council house. The rent, with rates, is £3.47, with Altrincham's £1.10 increase £4.57, but Mrs Warrington says she will not pay.

'We are getting a very good response from this estate. At least 75 per cent are not paying. We don't even have to follow the rent man around. Look down my street. There's only one woman paying the increase and I hope to win her

over soon. 'I have even had old-aged pensioners come up to me saying they wished they could join in the campaign and a few on Social Security are refusing the increase.

'Everyone is against it, even people who have applied for rebates. Their experience exposed the rebate procedure what it is—a thing that humiliates and demoralizes people.

'I asked one woman to go on the rent strike and she said: "Not me, I'm going for the

rebate." Well she went and found that the rebate story was out of Alice in Wonderland. She got no rebate, nothing.

'They found she had sons working and so they said she would have to get the money off them—she came right over to us then.

'The other aspect of this rebate is the means-test. At first you just get a simple form. But then they send you a seven or eight-page document. It goes into every aspect of your private life-income, savings, dependants, depen-dants' incomes, where you work. You have to agree to them going behind your back and seeing the manager at your work.

'You sign away all your rights with this document. To me it's not just the rent increase with this Act—they are taking you back to the meanstest time of 30 or 40 years ago. You can imagine people filling in the wrong things and then getting penalized for it. You can imagine others who are too proud - it's the big ones again knocking around the working man.

'Now I would like to know what Mr Barber earns, what his wife earns, what they have in the bank, how much they have in shares, how much his children get, how much they spend on them, and how much they have in their savings banks. That would be very interesting.

'This Act is simple to explain. The Tories have got the workers subsidizing poorer workers-and all of them are exploited. You can see what is happening. They are urging people to buy houses at inflated prices-in other words only the rich can afford them. So the working man is left to struggle paying a higher and

'The Labour Party have done nothing to stop this. The whole top of the Party are traitors and every Labour councillor who voted for this Act is a traitor. But now for the first time in history I believe the voice of the people is being heard. It's being heard in the unions over the jailing of the dockers and now it's being heard on the estates and it is the housewives who are

shouting. 'You had housewives in the past who did not want to fight. They used to attack their husbands for going on strike and now they are in the struggle as well. It's the first

time I have seen it.' I asked Mrs Warrington if she expected backing from the

'We have had a promise from the engineers in Manchester that they will strike it anyone comes under threat of eviction and in Liverpool the dockers have already come out. But what we must get home to the trade unionists is that this is not just the rent increase, but £1 out of his wage packet. That's what it

means to my husband. 'I think in the finish this fight will mean a General Election. We have to get this or the workers will have to bow down and scrape, accept the means-test, be pushed into

the dirt—it's up to them. 'We will keep on going. I don't care if they take me to prison because there will be a big movement to get me out. We've seen it once before.'

If the Tories do get forced out by a General Election, what next?

'If Labour come back into power and do exactly what they did last time they will get the same treatment off me as I'm giving the Tories.

'The idea is, if Labour get back, to keep up this kind of pressure so they do what the ordinary people want like thev always should have done. My fight is for my child. It's her

'I won't let them put her down like they did to us when we were young.

future.

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

# HOW THE WORKERS WON THE VOTE

#### **PART ELEVEN**

In 1903 the British working class had made an important political advance by founding an independent working-class party, based on the strength of the trade unions, yet with many socialists in its leadership.

The 'ideological backwardness' of the working class had not been removed at a stroke. But objective conditions were extremely favourable for developing the political consciousness of large numbers of workers from a trade union level to a socialist (i.e. Marxist) level.

The working class was locked in battle with the employers, who had been driven, by falling profits and Britain's declining share in world trade, into attacking their basic rights. The legal position of the trade unions had been undermined by the Taff Vale judgement. The real wages of workers were actually declining in the first decade of the century.

There was no solution to the imperialist economic crisis which, after the gigantic strike wave of 1910-1914, plunged Britain into World War I. Capitalism, after centuries of expanding the productive forces, had become 'historically obsolete', a destructive barrier to human progress.

In 1902 Lenin wrote the book 'What is to be Done?' On the first page he explained that it was far more than a mere criticism of the policies of a Russian newspaper:

"... the strife of the various trends within the socialist movement has, from national, become international. In this first really international battle with socialist opportunism, international revolutionary social democracy will perhaps become sufficiently strengthened to put an end to the political reaction that has long reigned in Europe."

#### COMBAT INDIFFERENCE

The opportunists in the Second International were led by Bernstein. But his position— 'Social Democracy must change from a party of social revolution into a domestic party of social reforms'—was essentially the position of the Fabians and the Independent Labour Party in Britain.

Lenin characterizes the British working class by their 'indifference towards all theory, which is one of the main reasons why the English working-class movement crawls along so slowly in spite of the splendid organization of the individual unions'. The most urgent task for British socialists, and for Marxists in every country, was to combat such 'indifference'.

'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.'

Revolutionary socialist theory would not arise spontaneously, for 'the history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own efforts, is able to develop only trade union consciousness'. Obviously (as we have seen) the fight to build trade unions would involve workers in politics—but not as Marxists. The theory of socialism, elaborated theoretically by middle-class intellectuals, 'would have to be brought to them from without'.

Lenin issued a vital warning,

in the clearest possible terms: . . . all worship of the spontaneity of the working-class movement, all belittling of "the conscious element", of the role of Social Democracy [Marxism], means, quite independently of whether he who belittles that role desires it or not, a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the workers . . . Hence our task, the task of Social Democracy, is to combat spontaneity, to divert the workingclass movement from their spontaneous, trade unionist striving to come under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of revolutionary Social Demo-

How did British socialists live up to this responsibility? As we know from the experience of two World Wars, from the continuing existence of capitalism in Britain today, from the abject prostration of Wilson's Labour Party before the Fories, they did not take up the tasks posed by Lenin in 1902, and carried to initial fulfilment in the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

Instead, they succumbed to the existing level of consciousness in the working class. Indeed, so thoroughly were the British 'socialists' imbued with traditional British 'gradualism', before many years had passed, advanced sections of the working class were beginning to by-pass the Labour Party, to recognize it as a bourgeois restraint upon their conflicts with the employers. From the blind-alley of pre-war syndicalism, some of these workers developed, under guidance from the USSR, to found the Communist Party in the 1920s.

In the last article we examined briefly the diverse elements which made up the Labour Representation Committee of 1900. The very strength of the 'parliamentary reform' and trade union traditions in Britain were a barrier to the development of that organization into a fighting socialist party, dedicated to taking state power from the bourgeoisie and to ending private property ownership.

It was inevitable that Britain's wealth in the 19th century should have produced a degree of political complacency, as well as confidence in the powers of trade union bargaining and 'protests' against specific laws to bring about changes benefiting workers. Social and economic conditions had been improved by these methods.

these methods.

Not since the day of

Bette Willed.

Top: Ramsay MacDonald as secretary of the Labour Representation Committee. Above: H. M. Hyndman leader of the Social Democratic Federation.

Chartism had political questions been seen as a direct reflection of the class struggle between the exploiters and the exploited.

The TUC had supported the Liberal Party for many decades, and naturally brought all its prejudices (reformism, individualism, pacifism, religiosity, and nationalism) into the newly-founded Labour Party.

and nationalism) into the newly-founded Labour Party.
Indeed, the TUC was so alarmed by the 1903 LRC resolution to dissociate with the Liberal Party that it ruled at the next TUC Congress that resolutions on LRC policy were 'out of order', since the Congress 'had no control over what must be regarded as an outside body'!

But trade union affiliations to the Labour Representation Committee continued to pour in.

The circumstances of trade union history cannot be produced as a justification for the political complacency of the socialists in the LRC. As Lenin points out, reformists always lay the blame for their own lack of principle on 'the effect of material environment that determines the road from which no ideologist will be able to divert the movement.

None of the socialist groups, including Hyndman's 'Marxist' Social Democratic Federation, proved capable of making a scientific analysis of the breakup of imperialism, as Lenin

did, and of drawing the necessary political conclusions from that point of view of the working class.

Indeed, they took a leading part in continuing the subordination of the Labour Party to the Liberals. No other conclusion can be drawn from Ramsay MacDonald's secret 'election pact' with Herbert Gladstone in 1903, in which the two parties 'shared out' a number of seats between them so as to avoid conflict between Labour and Liberal candidates in places where it might help Tory candidates to succeed.

It must be assumed that MacDonald (a member of the socialist ILP) also played a large part in framing Labour's manifesto for the 1906 election. This urged 'solidarity', not socialism.

Members were advised to 'Forget all the political differences which have kept you apart in the past—and vote Labour!'

Policy proposals were deliberately mild. Labour agreed with the Liberals on all such matters as tariff reform, opposition to the 1902 Education Act (which offended Non-Conformists), the 'Chinese labour question', etc.

#### 'TAIL ENDING'

Issues which vitally affected the working class, such as the need for new trade union legislation, were merely included along with the rest. There was no mention of the need to establish socialist property relations, or of what this entailed. The separate SDF manifesto was scarcely bolder (within a few years Hyndman was to end up as an advocate of British rearmament).

A Liberal government was returned with a large majority over all the other parties combined. The election of 29 LRC candidates was also an achievement. The Parliamentary Labour Party had a further

success in persuading the Liberals to amend their proposed Trades Disputes Act in a manner which favoured the trade unions, restoring a large measure of legal protection to their funds and peaceful picketing.

But during the rest of the pre-war Liberal government, the Labour MPs did very little to assert their independence in parliament. The Liberals encouraged this 'tail-ending' by frequently consulting the Labour leaders.

Yet all the reforms of this period—the establishment of Labour Exchanges, health and unemployment insurance, old age pensions, etc., were initiated by the Liberal Party. Such reforms were a last desperate bid by the Liberals to hold the working class behind them: as far as the Labour Party leaders were concerned, they succeeded.

This was demonstrated when the trade unions once more came under legal attack in the Osborne judgement of 1909. This restrained unions from contributing to Labour Party funds by means levy of members. The trade unions resented such interference with their use of their funds far more than the Labour Party did. They recognized the class nature of the attack on their financial independence and began an immediate campaign for legislation to reverse the judgement.

The Labour Party supported the campaign, of course. But they were becoming dominated by pragmatic considerations within parliament and especially by the overriding importance of backing the Liberals, who had lost many seats at the election which followed the House of Lords' rejection of the 1909 Budget.

Dependence on Irish votes forced the Liberals to give an Irish Home Rule Bill priority, together with a Bill to end the Lords' power to veto legislation.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

#### REGISTRAR

You've heard the story about the rowdy students of Stirling University who drank bottles of wine and made rude remarks when the Queen paid a visit to the campus.

Well the follow-up came last week in the House of Com-mons. Mr William van Straubenzee, the Tory under Secretary for Education, said what had occurred was 'disgraceful' and ought never to have happened.

This was taken a further by the Tory MP for Chelmsford, Mr Norman St John Stevas, who called for a registrar of student unions.

Mr St John Stevas' views on the need for disciplining the 'militant minority' of students are no news to anyone who knows the history of the campaign by the Tories for putting students' union funds into the hands of college authorities.

Last year he was unsuccessful in piloting a private members Bill through parliament on the need for a student union registrar.

The man who tabled that particular Bill, Sir Gilbert Longdon (Con Hertfordshire), also spoke up in the House last week. He said-wait for it -that the government should introduce legislation for just such a registrar.

#### BANK

Despite their anguished cries about the state of the economy, Barclays Bank is doing very well, thank you. The bank has just acquired Radbroke Hall in Knutsford, Cheshire, from the

Nuclear Power Group.
The magnificent stately home is three storeys tall and set in beautiful garden sur-roundings. There are 25 acres of parkland attached, including a croquet lawn, tennis courts and a bowling green. Barclays is to move sections of its head office in London to these new surroundings.

At a recent Press conference deputy chairman Mr W. G. Bryan explained the move to faraway Knutsford which, incidentally, is the constitu-ency of the Trade and Industry Secretary John Davies.

He said the rentals were cheaper, cost of living is lower, access to railways and motorways is easy, staff housing is available and the local education and entertainment facilities are excellent.

Bryan did not disclose the monumental sum which the bank must have paid for the building. Next time Barclays increases its bank charges, you know where your money is being spent . . .

#### BARBICAN

controversial Barbican The scheme in the City of London continues not to make head-lines. The project, which is providing hugely-expensive housing for the wealthy toffs from the banks and stock-brokers' offices, is moving into the final phase of construction. Meanwhile the City Corporation has reached a 'full and final' settlement with Laing's over payment for Phase 3.

Laing's have just accepted £11.5m. This is more than £6m above the original contract price.

With a colossal flourish the new London Weekend Tele-vision current affairs pro-gramme, 'Weekend World', has got underway.

The rag-bags in sections of

the media immediately christened it the 'Trot slot', apparently because Mary Holland and other so-called 'lefts' were in command there.

Surprise, surprise for all those eager media subversives to discover that the major chunk of the inaugural programme was devoted to Dick Taverne and a similar chunk was spent in the second on Enoch Powell.

'Weekend World' -per-Below:





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### RUSSIA'S BITTER HARVEST

#### STALINIST CRISIS BY TOM KEMP

The Soviet Union has had to make huge purchases of grain in the United States and Canada to avert famine this winter.

The grain harvest has been below expectations, both in the traditional cereal-growing areas of European Russia and in the new areas in Siberia, Kazakhstan and the southern Urals which have been opened up for production in the past two decades.

Abnormal weather conditions have meant a poor harvest in most areas. Last year frost came too early; the summer was too dry in some regions and too wet in others. The collective farm manage-ments and the local agricultural administrations were thrown into chaos and panic.

Confronted with the un-expected, the deficiencies of bureaucratic mismanagement were in evidence everywhere. Every year tractors break down and cannot be repaired for lack of spare parts, transport is inadequate and an

element of chaos prevails. When the harvest is short all these defects are magnified. At the best of times agriculture barely suffices to meet the food requirements of the country. Even then yields are very low by European standards. Despite the use of tractors and farm machinery, an enormous amount of manual labour is still used . . . and used wastefully.

Too many people in the Soviet Union are engaged in food production and they still do not produce enough to provide abundance. A Soviet farmworker only produces one-eighth that of his American counterpart.

The fact that so many resources are pinned down in agriculture holds back economic growth. But one of the reasons for the backwardness of agriculture is that it does not receive a sufficient supply of mechanical aids, fertilizers and pesticides from industry. The agrarian crisis reflects a problem of the entire economy.

The real roots of the crisis

are to be found in the policy of 'socialism in one country'.
Stalin's drive to collectivize

agriculture at the end of the 1920s, after years of compromising with the richer peasants, left an indelible mark on the Soviet countryside. Forced collectivization was gigantic operation which cost the lives of hundreds of

thousands of people. Soviet accounts admit that 4 million so-called 'kulaks' were deported from the Russian Republic and another million from the Ukraine.

Conditions of civil war prevailed in the countryside. The peasants slaughtered their cattle and other animals, creating a shortage of live-stock from which Soviet agriculture has never recovered.

Not only did the reduction in the head of stock mean a drastic reduction in the food supply, but it also meant a scarcity of draught animals which the output of tractors was too small to make good.

So Stalin's collectivization was quite different from that envisaged by Marxists. Instead of being carried out with the consent and willing co-operation of the peasants, it was based on naked force, wholesale deportation and a callous disregard for human life. peasantry was not won over in its mass. The collective farms were not on a sufficiently high technical leveltoo many people were employed in them and the surplus which they made available for the city consumer was too small.

Instead of winning the support of the peasants, these methods made them sullen and resentful. Their hostility to the bureaucracy remains to this day. Their conditions of life are inferior to those of the urban workers while the col-lective farm bosses are a privileged and arrogant caste.

The fault lay not in collectivization but in the way in which it was carried out. Moreover it was linked to the ultra-left turn in the policy of the Communist International which, by making a united front impossible, led to the catastrophic defeat of the German working class in 1933 Forced collectivization brought the countryside to virtual civil war which Stalin tried to cover up with propaganda pictures of peas-ant re-education (see above)

and to the invasion of the Soviet Union eight years later.

German industry, which might have turned out the tractors and chemicals for which there was a crying need produced instead the tanks and equipment for Hitler's invasion attempt.
The disastrous policy of

'socialism in one country' had enormous consequences for the working class of the whole world—not just the Soviet workers and peasants.

During the 1950s, in an

effort to improve the food supply and make good the ravages of forced collectivization, considerable resources were poured into the development of the 'virgin lands' in distant parts of the Soviet Union. However, there was lack of preparation, particularly in irrigation.

Instead of solving the agrarian problem, the 'virgin lands' merely created new ones. It has remained a veritable nightmare for the bureaucracy and a constant reminder of its own crimes and failings.

Over the years, and especially since Stalin's death, it has tried one 'reform' after another in order to improve the situation. All to no avail. In 1972 it has to make its biggest grain purchase ever simply in order to ward off famine.

This is an admission that the policy of 'socialism in one country' is a disastrous failure. It has to move still closer to the capitalist countries, offer them specially favourable trade terms and an opportunity to invest capital in the exploitation of Soviet natural resources.

The time when the Stalinist bureaucracy could impose immense sufferings on the Soviet people and survive is past. Now it has made so many promises about improving living standards, and it faces so much criticism and resistance, that it has to resort to massive grain imports. But this in no way implies that the Soviet workers and peasants will be 'bought off'.

#### ALL **TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE** MEETINGS

Report back from ATUA conference

**SOUTH EAST LONDON: Thursday** October 26, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, opposite New Cross Station.

HOLLOWAY: Thursday October 26, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road.

WANDSWORTH: Thursday October 26, 8 p.m. Selkirk Hotel, Tooting Broadway.

WILLESDEN: Thursday October 26, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Road, NW10.

ACTON: Monday October 30, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road.

CROYDON: Monday October 30, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road, nr South Croydon Station.

**WOOLWICH: Tuesday October 31,** 8 p.m. 'Queen's Arms', Burrage

**DAGENHAM: Tuesday October 31,** 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe

CLAPHAM: Tuesday October 31, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4.

**EAST LONDON: Tuesday October** 31, 8 p.m. 'Festival Inn', Chrisp Street Market, E14.

**WEST LONDON: Tuesday October** 31, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross.

NORTH LONDON: Thursday November 2, 8 p.m. St Anne's Hall, Cissbury Road, off St Anne's Road, Tottenham.

BRACKNELL: Monday November 6, 8 p.m. Priestwood Community Centre. 'Councils of Action'.

Socialist Labour League

#### Leeds

**LECTURES** THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee member)

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The Headrow, 8 p.m.

#### BBC 1

9.38 Schools. 12.30 Ar y trywydd. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Camberwick green. 1.45 Canvas. 2.00 Schools. 2.50 The countryman. 3.15 State visit. 3.45 Rosla and after. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Magic roundabout. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Animal magic. 5.20 John Craven's newsround. 5.45 News and weather.

#### 6.00 NATIONWIDE.

- 6.50 TOM AND JERRY. Pecos
- 6.55 FILM: 'TAMAHINE'. Nancy Kwan, John Fraser, Dennis Price. A beautiful Polynesian girl comes to stay with the headmaster of a boys' school.
- 8.30 MY WIFE NEXT DOOR. The Absolute End.
- 9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.
- 9.25 DOCUMENTARY: OWN CORRESPONDENT What is it like to be a BBC Foreign Correspondent?
- 10.45 MIDWEEK.
- 11.30 LATE NIGHT NEWS.
- 11.35 THE OPEN PERSUADERS. Joan Bakewell talks to Adolf Holl, controversial Austrian priest.
- 11.55 Weather.

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 ''arriet'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 Magpie. 5.20 I dream of Jeannie. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.30 CROSSROADS.

6.55 FILM: 'THE PLUNDERERS'. Jeff Chandler, Dolores Hart, John Saxon, Marsha Hunt. Four outlaws take over a town.

8.30 MY GOOD WOMAN.

9.00 DOCUMENTARY: 'QUEEN OF HEARTS'. Eva Peron, wife of General Peron, once President of Argen-

10.00 NEWS AT TEN.

10.30 PROFESSIONAL BOXING. Gipsy Johnny Frankham v Roy John.

11.30 PROFESSIONAL WREST-LING.

12.15 INTERNATIONAL BOOK

> paper that leads the

fight against the Tories.

Buenos Aires to become a film star and married Juan Peron in 1945. She died of cancer in 1952 at the age of 33, but after Peron became president in 1949, she became a political personality in her own right; you can judge whether radical or reactionary tonight.

Diana Rigg narrates the Thames Television documentary 'Queen of

Hearts' tonight at 9 p.m. It deals with the rise of Eva Peron. the poor girl from the slums who aspired to greater things when she moved to

#### BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 11.45-12.00 State visit of President Heinemann.

6.35 WORKERS AT RISK. The Hidden Hazards.

7.05 OPEN UNIVERSITY.

7.30 NEWSROOM. Weather.

RUGBY FLOODLIT LEAGUE. Wivan v Halifax. 8.50 WHEELBASE.

9.25 PLAY: 'THE CHERRY ORCHARD'. Stage 2 presentation of Anton Chekhov's work. With Celia Johnson.

11.30 NEWS ON 2. Weather.

THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. In the studio Birtha,

#### **REGIONAL TV**

CHANNEL: 9.30-11.45 London. 1.10 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women today. 3.00 London. 3.20 Lottery. 3.25 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.05 Cuttain reiser. 7.05 Film: (Change Curtain raiser. 7.05 Film: 'Charge of the Lancers'. 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 Stanley Baxter. 7.10 My good woman. 7.40 Columbo. 9.00 London. 12.15 News. 12.15 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Gustavus. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Wales. 6.35 Bless this house. 7.05 Film: 'The Quick Gun'. 8.30 London. 12.15 Drive in. 12.45

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

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: 'The Ride Back'. 8.30 London.

MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 2.30 Women today. 3.00 London. 5.20 Jackson Five show. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Seven Angry Men'. 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 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Canyon Crossroads'. 8.30

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Shirley's world. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.05 Film: **'Escape'.** 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. 6.30 Crown court. 7.00 My good woman. 7.30 Cartoon. 7.35 Columbo. 9.00 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: 'Escape'. 8.30 London. 12.15 News. 12.30 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Adam Smith. 7.05 McMillan and wife. 8.30 London. 12.15 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.45 Cartoon. 2.50 News. 2.00 London. 5.20 Emmerdale farm. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.05 Country News, weather. 6.05 Country wise. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.05 Film: 'Escape'. 8.30 London. 12.15 Meditation.

### **BOC** work-to-rule in fight for jobs

AN OVERTIME ban and work-to-rule have been imposed by shop stewards at British Oxygen's Edmonton, north London, welding products factory in a bid to stop redundancies.

The 750 workers at the factory were told just over a week ago of plans for a phased closure within the next two years.

Stewards immediately sought the support of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' district committee for a fight against the plans.

Now the stewards' committee has decided a five-point policy involving—besides the overtime ban and work-to-rule—no cooperation with management, strict job demarcation stopping contracts with outside firms on the factory site.

A statement from the committee says that this policy will involve everyone working on the

Angel Road site.
It says: 'This all means that

none of the workers-whether warned of redundancy or notwill do anything that the terms their employment do not legally require them to do.

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| Addres | es. |  |

### T&GWU helps sack lorry drivers

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

THE SACKING of eight lorry drivers at a Birmingham electrical firm was done with the 'complete co-operation' of the local Transport and General Workers' Union officials, the company's chief executive said yesterday.

Mr Kenneth Ratcliffe, director and general manager of H. F. Ward Limited of Highgate Road, said the agreement with the union had been reached 'amicably'.

The eight drivers were fired on September 28 when the company decided to let out all its transport work to outside con-

The firm now doing the transport work for Ward's is Summerfield's, a London-based company which has a depot at Coleshill.

'It was a rational decision on the part of the company,' said Ratcliffe, 'and advantageous to the drivers. They weren't shaken off without a bob, you know.'

Ratcliffe said the company had decided to close down its own transport section because of increasing costs in repairs and replacement of vehicles.

Legislation on lorries was also becoming tighter. He said his company had unwittingly committed a breach of regulations recently and had decided that it was better if road haulage was left 'to the experts'.

'If they do something wrong, they go to jail not us,' he said.

The dismissed drivers belong to the T&GWU 5/35 branch, which has a reputation for militancy. The secretary of the branch is Mr Alan Law.

Some branch members are puzzled as to why the officials have not taken any action to defend their members.

The Ward's drivers have a spirited history of fighting to maintain wages and conditions. In 1970 police were called when angry drivers barricaded them-selves in the factory and refused to let in the night-shift.

And in February this year they staged a sit-in in the board-room after pay talks broke down.

Among those declared redundant is Mr Ron Riley, the drivers' shop steward. He resigned after the redundancy notices were issued and declared he was 'a workers' spokesman'.

It is almost certain that the next branch meeting will include a fierce debate on the sackings, with Mr Law and his colleagues clearly on the mat.

### New bid to end **World's End** builders' pay strike

We might

bring out

all sites—

official

NEW ATTEMPTS will be made today to try and settle the five-week strike which has halted all work at Cubitts' World's End site in west London.

Union officials will meet Cubitts' management to try and get the firm to accept the result of a conciliation panel's investigation into the dispute.

The decision of the panel was a unanimous vote for the union side and against the company, which, at the end of the recent builders' national dispute, unilaterally abolished the site incentive bonus which in many cases meant an extra £1 an hour or more.

In its place it proposed a standing bonus of only 35p an hour. Despite the panel's rejection of their moves the firm their moves, the firm has so far refused to accept the decision against them.

Yesterday a delegation of World's End men lobbied Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians regional secretary Len

Fearing isolation in a long strike, they sought assurances that other Cubitts' sites in London would be called out if no agreement was reached today. Said Mr Eaton after-

'The employers are in clear breach of the working rule agreement and they know it. What's at stake here is the whole integrity of the conciliation machinery and our credibility as a trade

On the question of further action against the firm, he had this to add: 'We would, if we get agreement,



The World's End site at Cheisea

give serious considera-tion to involving other Cubitts' sites in central London.'

These would include the new Hilton Hotel at Shepherd's Bush and Mondial House in the

At present Cubitts ave only offered an have

'independent investigation' into the incentive bonus, but have refused a return to the *status* 

World's End building workers, some of the best organized and wellpaid in London, have now been out a total of ten weeks, interrupted only by a two-hour return on the first day back at the end of the national dispute.

The multi-million-pound housing project for the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea is now thought to be over 18 months

#### Plessey foundry

FOUNDRY WORKERS at Plessey's Cheney Manor works at Swindon, Wiltshire, are on strike demanding a substantial increase

workers seek rise

in their basic rate. The 30 workers involved, members of the foundry section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, complain their basic is still very low and that they have no proper bonus scheme.

They want union officials to submit a claim on their behalf which would increase their basic from £18 to £30 a week.

### **EEC** plans hit Sidcup engineers

ENGINEERS at Sidcup are the latest workers to be hit by the Tory plans to enter the Common Market next January.

Their employers, Richard Clinger, have told them to step up output by 25 per cent with no increase in pay as part of plans to enter the Common Market.

At a meeting on Friday they warned shop stewards that the products of Clinger subsidiaries in Italy could be sold in Britain at a 40 per cent profit margin.

The firm which makes gaskets, gauges and other parts for boilers, has been hiving-off production to firms it owns in Italy, Germany and Austria for three months.

'They have been taking all the cream and leaving us with the rubbishy standard items with very little bonus payment on them, said shop steward Alan Mayes.

He said these moves have meant that skilled men have been forced to do jobs like sweeping

'There have been no redundancies yet, but we are keeping a close watch on the situation,' said Mr Mayes.

100 shop Clinger's employs floor workers and 100 staff. So far the productivity increase applies to the machine shop only.

'We believe it will spread throughout the plant,' said Mr Mayes. 'The aim of this company is obvious, to make the Sidcup factory some sort of distribution warehouse for the Common Market operations.'

#### Scottish shopworkers resist state pay plan

BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

A FURTHER section of workers have now stated their determination to resist the Tory government's plan for the state control of wages.

In Scotland 10,000 grocery store workers are threatening to strike next month if their demands for a substantial wage increase—above the Tories' £2 is not met.

Last week staff in a Lipton branch shop at Buckie, Moray, staged a one-day stoppage and the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (USDAW) has been told that members in the area are to set up a local co-ordinating committee in the Banffshire and Moray area for possible unofficial strike action.

The settlement on a new 12-month agreement between USDAW and the National Grocers' Association is already a month behind the union's own negotiating timetable and discontent is widespread among shop assistants and managers throughout Scotland.

USDAW has also received demands from the Edinburgh and Fife area for across-the-board increases of £10 for shop managers and £6 for assistants.

Efforts to 'control' the growing militancy will be made at a meeting in Glasgow next Sunday and at further meetings in Dundee on Monday and one in Edinburgh some time later.

USDAW Scottish divisional officer Andrew Forman, said his members were becoming 'justifiably restless'.

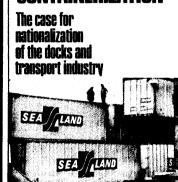
'There is a growing feeling among them that they are being left behind other occupations with wages. The present weekly wage for shop assistants ranges from £14 to £19, and the basic for the lowest category of managers is £22.

'There are talks going on about price control in the shops, but we will not tolerate price control at the expense of the shop assistant. We are not saying what increases we are looking for, but the government's £2 limit would not be sufficient.'

In the past month the union has rejected tht employers' offer of a £1.40 a week increase for assistants and £2 a week for managers.

They are meeting the employers again in London on November 14 and Mr Forman said that if no progress was made there, strike action was a possibility if there was a significant demand for it.

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> **Workers Press** October Appeal Fund, 186a Clapham High St, London, SW4 7UG.

#### Thieu



#### to meet the NLF

DIPLOMATIC moves towards a Vietnam ceasefire gathered pace yesterday when South Vietnamese president Nguyen Van Thieu agreed to meet representatives of the National Liberation Front for talks.

After talks with Dr Henry Kissinger, the US envoy who has been negotiating in secret NLF, Thieu is reported to have agreed 'in principle' to a pro-posal for a ceasefire to be announced in the next few

Details of the proposed ceasefire are not clear, but it is believed that if and when the fighting stops, the two sides would meet to discuss a political settlement.

The North Vietnamese and the NLF have been pressing for a three-segment government of national concord'. Until recently they insisted that the fighting would continue until such a government were

set up.
The Thailand dictator Thanom Kittikachorn said Kissinger had told him there was a possibility of a settle-ment soon. Groups of South Vietnamese officers are believed to be working out details in preparation for a ceasefire.

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### Association wants CIR recognition

THE Telecommunication Staff Association yesterday applied to the National Industrial Relations Court for a Commission on Industrial Relations investigation into why it should be recognized as a union by the Post Office.

The Association, which, unlike much larger Union of Post Office Workers, has registered under the Industrial Relations Act claims a membership of 10,000 amongst telephonists and other

telecommunications workers.
The UPW has 32,000 members in the grade.

BY DAVID MAUDE OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

TSA is conducting its own case before the NIRC and in opening, secretary Willie Butt complained that attempts to achieve a negotiated solution to the dispute which existed had

Recognition had been with-drawn from his organization by the Post Office in September 1970.

But he and his colleagues felt that the UPW could not pro-perly represent the grade. They

had therefore decided to apply for a CIR investigation.

Where the UPW had 'the usual political affiliations', said Mr Butt, the TSA's rules, and those of its predecessor, the National Guild of Telephonists, precluded

Butt told NIRC president Sir John Brightman, and lay judges, John Arkell and Raymond Boy-field, that the TSA had no intention of taking industrial action in support of its recognition

He said he understood the Post Office's desire to rationalize the trade union representation and that the TSA was willing to modify its own structure to meet the corporation's needs.

'Monolithic trade unionism is not a good thing for its own sake,' he said.

The UPW, which was represented in court yesterday separately from the main res-pondents, the Post Office, is expected to give evidence in court in a hearing which could last for more than a week.

### Deport threat coincides with EEC's summit

PALESTINIAN workers and students are still being held in West German prisons without trial as part of the Bonn government's witchhunt against Arab organizations.

And following the Common Market summit conference in Paris last week the Palestinian movement is also coming under attack from the French government. Arab students in Britain reported yesterday that France has already deported one Palestinian student leader and claimed a list of 70 names for deportation had been drawn up by police.

Palestinian students in Britain who recently staged a hunger strike at the Arab League offices in London were told by police that they

would be deported if there was any trouble as a result of the strike, regardless of who had caused it.

These new repressions, coinciding with the EEC summit, could indicate that a new round of anti-Arab attacks is being planned by the European govern-

This would prepare the way for stripping the millions of foreign workers in the EEC of all poli-tical and trade union rights.

The attack on Palestinians in Europe is parallel with the Zionist campaign in Israel and the occupied territories. Israeli leaders have stated in recent weeks their intention of permanently

annexing the lands they took by force in the 1967 war.

The latest move to assert Israeli control and strip the Arabs of their remaining political rights in the occupied territories in the scaling of the stores. is the sacking of the stooge mayor of Gaza, Rashed el-

Shawwa had refused to carry out an order from the Israeli military authorities and his ninemember council has now resigned in solidarity with him.

#### LATE NEWS

MINISTER PRIME Edward Heath has agreed with Norwegian Prime Minister Lars Korvald to postpone a visit to Norway he was to have made from November 16-18. The invitation originally came from the former Prime Minister of Norway, Mr Bratteli, whose government resigned after a national plebiscite rejected membership of the Common Market. Korvald renewed the invitation to Heath, but the two Prime Ministers have decided it would not answer the purpose if the visit took place so soon after the change of government. A new date will be arranged later.



Palestinians protest in Britain

#### Macmillan won't intervene at Swan Hunter

THE GOVERNMENT has refused a Labour Party request to intervene in the Tyneside boilermakers' dispute which has halted the giant Swan Hunter shipbuilding con-

**Employment Secretary Maur**ice Macmillan told Labour MP Geoffrey Rhodes yesterday that involvement of his department in the dispute, now in its third week, would be incon-sistent with its pay talks with the TUC and the employers.

Rhodes, the member for

Newcastle - upon - Tyne East, asked for the Department of Employment conciliation offi-

cer to step in on the strike.

But Macmillan said this would be 'wholly inconsistent with safeguarding the objectives agreed by the CBI and the TUC in the talks in which they are currently engaged with the government.'
The Labour demand will

anger local leaders of the 3,800 Swan Hunter boilermakers who resent any government interference in their pay battle for a cost-of-living rise.

### Poulson case against BBC

AN APPLICATION for an ininjunction to prevent the BBC showing further broadcasts of an interview with Mr John Poulson -the Pontefract architect whose public examination in bankruptcy resumes on November 20 at Wakefield—was heard by Mr Justice Ormrod, sitting in chambers in the High Court at Leeds vesterday. No statement was issued afterwards.

The writ arises from a broadcast on September 25 of a tenminute extract from a filmed interview with Poulson at his home in Carlton Green, Pontefract. It was shown in three news programmes and came in the middle of his resumed twoday public examination at Wakefield town hall.

#### No reply on bus pay claim

BY IAN YEATS

LONDON'S 23,000 busmen were yesterday told for the second time in a week that there could be no reply on their interim pay claim until the result of the Tory-TUC talks is known.

London Transport hinted at an eventual rise of £2 a week and said they accepted the 'broad principle' that a recent shift award to municipal busmen in the provinces should apply in the the provinces should apply in the capital.

Larry Smith, the Transport and General Workers' Union's national bus secretary, estimates this to be worth up to another £2.58 a week for drivers, £2.50 for conductors and £2.85 for one man operators.

The 10 per cent award on basic rates for 80,000 busmen outside London was given only a week ago by Prof Hugh Clegg as compensation for shift work.

No decision was made yester-

day on the amounts London busmen will receive or when and no offer was made on their 41-

per-cent interim pay claim.

London Transport will meet the unions again on November 2 when they hope the outcome of the Tory-TUC talks will be known.

The busmen want to close the gap between the 8 per cent rise they received last April and the increases of around 12 per cent given to London Underground workers under the rail pay settlement in May.

London Transport bus drivers

at present receive a basic rate of £25.85 on conventional of £25.85 on conventional vehicles and £29 for one-man operation. Conductors get £25.

Busmen question management claims that average earnings range from £30.96 to £35.39 a

week excluding overtime.

Larry Smith, national bus secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union said after last week's adjourned meeting:

'I am convinced that London Transport has an offer to make to us today but refrained from making it because of Chequers and the Clegg award.'

HULL was without buses for the second successive day yesterday during an unofficial strike by 200 craftsmen and labourers over a pay dispute. No buses can be refuelled. Corporation petrol pump attendants have agreed to work an hour each day to refuel ambulances and welfare service vehicles.

### END ALL TALKS WITH THE TORIES

FROM PAGE I

amendment was tabled by them to demand the trade break of all contact with the government.

Now these same people-after wasting valuable time chatting with the Tories—are beginning to make fake-left noises about

special Congresses. The unions are now at the crossroads.

The only alternative to the coalition the TUC has been trying to get with the Tory Cabinet and the employers is a fight to bring the government down.

The Tories certainly have no illusions about this. Beneath Heath's so called 'friendly' Heath's so called 'friendly' approach to the unions, the government is preparing for allout class war.

The Tories are preparing particularly to break the strength of the power workers should they decide on industrial action.

Two notable additions to the government talks on inflation at the weekend were Robert Carr of the Home Office and Lord Carrington, Secretary for Defence.

These are the key men on the Tory Home Affairs com-mittee specially designed to deal

emergencies caused by strikes.

Already union leaders have given the Tories a crucial breathing space by continuing talks and postponing important wage struggles.

If there is to be a fight now, it must be one which can unite all the workers with pay claims in action to force this government to resign. This is the only alternative to the Tory plan to control wages.

The talks should be called off immediately and a special Congress called to discuss this vital working-class offensive.