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INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER . THURSDAY JANUARY 18, 1973 . No. 974 . 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

# THE SHADOW OF DICTATORSHIP LIVING WAGE IS NOW A CRIME

BY JACK GALE AND IAN YEATS

THE TORY government yesterday published legislation which brings in state control over wages for the next three years. And provision exists for extending the legislation for a further 12 months.

Under the new corporatist legislation, strikes are illegal. Unions or sections of workers who take 'any industrial action' in support of higher wages will be subjected to unlimited fines and imprisonment.

The White Paper provides for complete legal control over wages while there are dozens of loopholes to allow prices to continue to skyrocket. It amounts to an enormous attack on the basic democratic rights of the working class and to its standard of living.

At a stroke Heath has outlawed the right to negotiate and he has slashed the standard of living of millions of working class families. He also announced that Phase One of his wages powers will be extended by another 60 days.

A spokesman for the National Union of Public Employees said: 'It looks as though Heath has flipped a historical cog and gone back to the times of Queen Elizabeth I. The clocks have been turned back 410 years to the time when justices could impose penalties against those who broke wage levels which had been fixed.'

The White Paper establishes two new agencies: a Pay Board and a Price Commission. These will operate under a code to be issued by the government and their decisions will be binding under law. Ostensibly the government and its new agencies have the power to regulate prices, pay, dividends and rents for three years, with a possible extension for a further 12 months.

But in reality, while the Pay Board has clearly defined tasks, backed up by punitive legislation, the Prices Commission is affected by so many exemptions that it can clearly be seen to be a fraud. Price increases excluded from control include:

#### What White Paper means

- New powers to control wages will operate for three years with provision for extension of another 12 months.
- A Price Commission and a Pay Board will be established.
- Maximum flat-rate pay rise will be £1 a week plus 4 per cent of wages bill.
- No one will get more than £250 extra a year.
- The government's policies will be embodied in a new code which will be applied by the new agencies
- Offences under the new legislation include striking or threatening to strike against the order or forcing an employer to contravene an order
- Penalties are £400 on summary conviction and unlimited fines on indictment
- Manufacturers can put up prices if they can show costs have risen
- 'Fair rent' increases planned for April to go-ahead
- Prices rises because of Common Market entry exempted from control. Includes coal and steel

- (1) All imported goods ('Increases in import costs', says the Paper, 'are a charge on the living standards of all of us which, as a community, we cannot avoid'.)
  (2) All goods produced in Britain, but dependent on import costs. These include manufactured food, meat, grain, wool and metals.
- (3) Those due to Common Market entry.
- (4) Those due to the replacement of purchase tax and selective employment tax by VAT on April 1.
- (5) Goods and services whose prices are regulated as a result of international agreements or arrangements. This will apply, for example, to coal and steel through Britain's membership of the European Coal and Steel Communities.
- (6) Fresh food and other products 'subject to fluctuation from external or seasonal causes'.
- (7) All increases which manufacturers can justify on the grounds of 'unavoidable' cost increases.
- (8) Goods and services sold by auction or brought secondhand.
  (9) Increases due to wage rises granted before the existing Act came into operation on November 6. This will mean price rises, the White Paper says, 'for some time to come'.
- (10) Rents will continue to rise. ('The government's policy on rents during the next stage will rely on the Housing Act's provisions for phasing increases towards fair rents' says the White

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Heath electioneering in the stately surroundings of Lancaster House yesterday

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BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

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The secretary of the Civil and Public Services' Association, William Kendall, described the package as 'diabolical.'

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But some union leaders are still talking about co-operation with the Tories.

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He then hopes to return to power to press ahead with his Phase Two and more openly repressive legislation.

Answering questions he said that the code under which the Prices Board would operate 'must allow for necessary investment'—in other words increased profits must be guaranteed. He also declared that pay arrangements had been 'observed' by the unions.

The new boards would be manned by both 'insiders and outsiders' and the Tory premier expressed the hope that trade unionists would help to man them.

Further legal attacks on the working class were fore-shadowed when Heath said that there would still be 'anomalies' in Phase Two and it was the government's intention to seek powers to sort them out in the third stage.

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#### WHAT WE THINK

#### **CENSORSHIP**

THE APPEAL Court's ban on the documentary film about pop-artist Andy Warhol is a step towards right-wing censorship over television and all news media. Ross McWhirter, who brought the action, is a former Conservative parliamentary candidate who contested Edmonton in 1964.

In 1967 he won a court action against the governors of Enfield grammar school in an effort to halt a plan for comprehensive education. In 1970 he called on the Director of Public Prosecutions to find out if subliminal advertising had been used in a Labour Party political broadcast.

The same year he took legal action against Labour Minister James Callaghan over the Boundary Commission Report. Last year he sought a court action to consider whether Mr Heath had committed an illegal act by signing the Treaty of Accession to the Common Market.

McWhirter's opposition to Common Market entry starts, of course, from a very right-wing standpoint.

Neither McWhirter, nor the judges who banned the film, had actually seen it.

But the right wing is now in full cry. Dr David Sturdy, chairman of Mrs Mary Whitehouse's National Viewers' and Listeners' Association called the decision 'a triumph for sense and good taste' and said: 'We hope the IBA will not allow the film to be shown at a later date nor in a modified version, nor allow similar films to be seen.'

Lord Longford of the Festival of Light—who also has not seen the film—declared: 'I'm delighted. If what I've heard about it is true, I can only hope it will never be shown.'

What is at stake here is more than a film about the work of Andy Warhol. What is significant is that the 'way-out', bohemian wing of the middle class in practice opens the door for the extreme right to impose censorship in the name of 'decency and good taste'.

This has been one of the clarion calls behind which the extreme right has sought to mobilize the frightened middle class from the days of Hitler through to the Greek colonels.

McWhirter and his associates are politically very much to the right. They hope that this success will create a precedent for a spate of private prosecutions of this type. These could be directed first against artists and writers, but their real purpose is to create the atmosphere for total censorship and dictatorship.

The working class must fight all such censorship. And those sections of the middle class who oppose the McWhirters and Whitehouses cannot effectively do so from the standpoint of 'individualism'.

They must place themselves firmly with the working class in the construction of a revolutionary party to end capitalism and the threat of dictatorship from the right.

#### Spain: Strike fund-raisers jailed

workers in Eibar, a small Basque town, have been on strike since December 7 for higher wages. They have shut down all activity at the 'Aguirre and Aranzabal' munitions factory and the textiles factory. 'El Casco'.

tiles factory, 'El Casco'.

The fascist police have arrested 11 people who are accused of raising money for the strikers' families.

The collections were

The collections were organized through the local churches by the so-called

'red' priests who have close contacts with the Basque nationalists and the Spanish Communist Party.

Father Felix Vergara has been freed after he received a personal visit from the Bishop of San Sebastian, Aragaya.

Vergara was involved in a strike earlier this year in a small engineering factory in Eibar which led to the development of a scheme for the workers to own the factory.

While he is free, the

other ten strike fundraisers remain in jail.

The town of Eibar is under the control of armed police who are patrolling the streets to prevent demonstrations or meetings.

REPORTS have come out of the Alcala de Henares prison, near Madrid, that women political prisoners have been beaten with clubs by police and put in solitary confinement.

The women are being punished for their refusal

to obey an order segregating political and common prisoners.

◆ A SPANISH government delegation, headed by Eduardo Pena, deputy director-general at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, arrived in Sofia, capital of Bulgaria on Monday.

The delegation will discuss trade protocol and continue the negotiations begun by Bulgarian Stalinists in Madrid last week for a rapid increase in trade.

#### French middle class assured

## Stalinists will restrain workers

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

LEADERS OF THE French Communist Party are busily assuring the country's middle class that they will restrain the workers if they win power in a Popular Front at the March elections.

Writing in the party's newspaper 'L'Humanité', Georges Seguy, leader of the CGT, the country's largest trade union federation, took issue yesterday with Gaullist claims that a left victory would lead to a tidal wave of nationalization.

The Gaullists who made this accusation either took the Communists for 'vulgar irresponsibles' or were raising the spectre of 'economic disorder' in order to frighten those electors who are moving to the left, Seguy claimed.

A left government—composed of Stalinists, social-democrats and Liberals—would have enough on its plate with the nationalizations envisaged under the Common Programme drawn up by the participating parties, he added. (This programme envisages nationalizing 1 per cent of French firms!)

Seguy went on to state categorically that to nationalize wholesale, for reasons of principle and without discrimination, would be 'economically absurd and could only endanger the

success of the minimal reforms which are indispensable to regulating the major social problems within the economic equilibrium.'

Seguy also took issue with the idea that a left government would face an avalanche of wage demands. Some people, who at the moment were happy to accept little or nothing would no doubt try and outbid other sections, he said, but they didn't amount to much.

Some union leaders had recently made 'menacing' threats about the demands they would put on a left government, Seguy said. Their remarks were grist to the mill of the Gaullists. In any case, what they were asking for was guaranteed in the first section of the Common Programme, he claimed.

These leaders were pushing against an open door and even throwing suspicion on the honesty of Seguy and his social-democratic and liberal comrades!

In other words, according to this Stalinist worthy, the task of the working class is to keep its mouth shut until the Common Front government—always assuming it is elected—gets round to handing out the reforms.

These are likely to be on a fairly modest scale. The main points of the programme are unlikely to share the foundations of French capitalism.

The main reforms in the programme are the institution of a national minimum wage (at 1,000 francs a month); retirement at 60 (55 for women); 40-hour, fiveday week; increased family allowances and extension of trade union rights.

In return for this modest programme, Seguy promised what is perhaps the most attractive aspect of such a government from the standpoint of the French employers: the inauguration of what he termed 'an era of new relations between the state and the trade union movement'.

This, he claimed, would give the idea of 'participation' a progressive social significance.

IRANIAN recognition of the German Democratic Republic has proved an embarrassment for the Stalinists of the Tudeh Party whose exile headquarters are in East Germany. On their propaganda station Radio Iran Courier they have had to deny stories in the government-controlled Iranian newspapers that recognition is conditional on closure of the radio station and an end to Tudeh activity in the GDR.

## Panagoulis' brother on trial for trying to free prisoners

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE TRIAL begins in Athens today of Stathis Panagoulis and 12 other people accused of conspiring to release political prisoners in Greece. One of the defendants is an Italian national, Lorna Caviglia.

Stathis Panagoulis (26) is the younger brother of Alexandros Panagoulis, sentenced to death after an attempt on the life of Greek Prime Minister George Papadopoulos in 1968. Alexandros is held in a special cement cell in the maximum security prison at Boyatis military camp.

Friends of Stathis Panagoulis and Signora Caviglia allege that Greek agents lured them to Athens from Italy to help in an alleged escape plan.

All 13 defendants are charged with conspiring to release political prisoners by kidnapping the American ambassador in Greece, Mr Henry J. Tasca, and hi-jacking an Olympic Airways plane.

Alexandros Panagoulis' cell at Boyatis is really a cement tomb built specially for him. It measures 3 metres by 1.5 metres and has one small window near the ceiling.

There is a hole for his physical needs, but no running water. Water for flushing it out is brought at the whim of the guards and he has been known to be without water for this purpose for several days.

Tortures inflicted on Panagoulis include beatings with barbed wire, breaking severals ribs and his right heel with a metal bar, cutting a tendon in his hands, burning his genitals with cigarettes and the insertion of a heated wire into his urethra.

For eight months his hands were continually handcuffed behind his back.

Despite these repeated tortures, Panagoulis refused to betray his friends.

In 1970 he managed to smuggle a letter out of his prison denouncing as his chief torturers Major Teofyloyannakos and police officers Mailios and Babalis.

TOMORROW: Workers Press will publish in full a statement by Alexandros Panagoulis smuggled out of Greece.

### US-Market monetary SIONS between the ed States and the Com SPECIAL STATES STATES TO SPECIAL STATES

DIVISIONS between the United States and the Common Market are widening as the International Monetary Fund's Committee of 20 begins detailed deliberations on international monetary reform.

The Americans have already made it clear they want a new international monetary system with rules and regulations that force an automatic change in currency parity when a country gets into balance-of-payments difficulties.

The main purpose of this proposal is to ensure that America's competitors are forced to bear the cost of putting the US balance of payments back into the black.

The EEC countries have yet to finalize their own negotiation position, but when the Finance Ministers of the European Community met in Luxembourg this week, they agreed to oppose any scheme involving automatic parity adjustments.

When the Group of 20 gets together in Paris for its next meeting in a week's time mem-

bers will be presented with a US draft of a letter to be sent to the Geneva headquarters of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The letter is a formal request for the GATT to work out the extent to which national trade policies—meaning in particular, the EEC's common agricultural policy—interfere with monetary adjustments.

In the forthcoming round of trade talks with Europe and Japan, the United States will be demanding the abolition of what it considers to be restrictive and protectionist tariffs and other barriers to imports.

The Nixon administration is not likely to await passively the outcome of such negotiations, however, and the President is reported to be planning his own protectionist measures to favour US industry.

According to the 'Washington

According to the 'Washington Post', proposed trade legislation now being studied by the White House was designed on a short-term basis of perhaps five years to protect domestic industries facing disaster.

The paper said: 'The plan would enable the President to raise the tariff on imported goods to a point that would enable the higher cost domestic product to compete, and leave it at that for one year.

'In the second, third, fourth and fifth years, the tariff would be gradually reduced to its original level. That would give the threatened industry five years to experiment with diversification, new technology and other cost-saving devices, in an effort to make its operations economically competitive or phase out.'

This development towards protectionism in the United States is the inevitable outcome of the breakdown of negotiations in the monetary field since August 1971.

Protectionism in America means ruin for European capitalism, which must drive all out to rob the workers of their basic rights. In the United States it means a ruthless intensification of exploitation as the government forces employers to make their operations 'economically competitive'.

#### Defend democratic rights: Rally at Empire Pool, Wembley Sunday March 11

## Pageant of workers presenting history

BY ALEX MITCHELL

PLANS ARE now well advanced for the production of four episodes of working-class history at a massive anti-Tory rally at the Empire Pool, Wembley, on Sunday, March 11.

They will be staged in the huge auditorium which seats more than 10,000 people. This is the second time the Socialist Labour League has mounted a rally at the Empire Pool—on March 12 last year the five national Right-to-Work marches culminated at a pop concert and rally there, attended by 8,500 people.

The pageant of working-class history is being presented as part of the SLL's nation-wide campaign in defence of basic democratic rights.

The rights of the working class were won in struggle—and they can only be defended in struggle.

Yet the Tory government has conspired at every turn to fleece the working class of its rights.

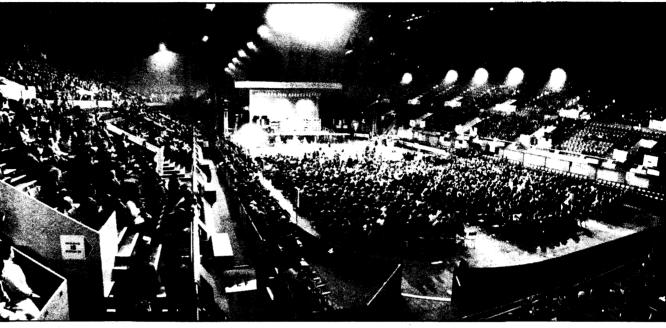
Legislation like the Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Act, the amendments to the Criminal Justice Act and now the Phase Two legislation which ends the right to negotiate—all these measures are a direct attack on the basic democratic rights which our forefathers won in struggle.

THE FORMAT of a pageant was decided for several reasons. Roger Smith, one of the principal organizers, explains why:

'The League has considerable experience staging plays based on the history of the working class. At Alexandra Palace in 1970 we presented "200 Years of Labour History".

'Last year we presented "The English Revolution of 1640". It was performed along the route of the Right-to-Work marches during February and March.

'Our experience taught us that working-class audiences respond to live drama.



The March 12, 1972 Empire Pool rally—the culmination of the five Right-to-Work marches. The SLL and Young Socialists return to the giant auditorium for an ambitious pageant of working-class history.

## Four historical episodes being presented at anti-Tory rally

"The pageant is a further development in this work. We want to further break down all the old distinctions between players and spectators.

'Workers and their families will be taking the leading part in the presentation and production of the pageant. The professional actors and directors will be involved not as "professionals", but as members and leaders of a revolutionary movement.

'The pageant therefore becomes not a theatrical exercise, but a weapon for education and struggle in the class war.'

FROM NEXT week production teams will be located in the four areas where the episodes were originally enacted.

They will work in the labour and trade union movement in the campaign to defend rights won in two centuries of struggle.

Everyone interested in assisting the recreation of the historical episodes is free to participate. And there'll be lots to do.

Workers and their families will be asked to play parts, sets have to be built, costumes made and banners prepared.

The rehearsals will be open, public affairs. Discussion will be

launched on the widest basis about the revolutionary history of the British working class and the immediate fight which lies in

Four outstanding episodes of working class history have been chosen to be presented.

IN THE north-east, based on Tyneside and Wearside, the history of the struggle to build the unions will be activated. The execution of Will Jobling, the miners' leader, will be re-enacted.

Jobling was hanged, tarred and gibetted on Jarrow Slate. Workers later removed his body and secretly buried it.

AT Middleton, in Lancashire, the fight for the vote will be recreated. It will show the Chartist Movement's campaign — from petitioning parliament, to a General Strike and finally to armed insurrection.

AT Merthyr Tydfil in Wales the local labour movement will be re-examining the ten years of legal attacks on the unions from

1890 to 1900 which culminated in the Taff Vale judgement on the rail unions.

When the unions found they could no longer defend themselves in a purely industrial way, they took the political road and formed the Labour Party.

IN London the work of Karl Marx will be re-asserted. Marx, a founder member of the First International, also led the fight for the legal eight hour day and his daughter, Eleanor, played a prominent role in the building of the gasworkers' union.

ROGER SMITH says: 'We'll be lifting the curtain of history. We are going to cities and towns where working-class history was made and we are going to activate that history.

'This tradition of struggle is kept from the working class. The bourgeois Press, the schools and the reformists in the labour movement want to hide this past from workers.

'We want to lift the lid and say: "You did it then, you can do it now".'

## Engineering union taken to court by Glasgow haulier

By Workers Press Reporters

THE AMALGAMATED Union of Engineering Workers is faced tomorrow with another case which could lead to a further sequestration of its funds. A Glasgow haulier claims he is being 'blacked' by union members.

Sitting in Glasgow for the first time, the National Industrial Relations Court will hear an application for a temporary order against the union demanding an end to the alleged blacking.

Court officials travelled down to the union's Peckham head-quarters in south London on Tuesday and handed a letter to AUEW President Hugh Scanlon informing him of the case.

Sponsoring the case is Glasgow haulier Mr John Stewart. The NIRC has joined two companies—Scott and Sons and its parent company Scott Lithgow—to the action to assist the court.

The action is said to follow the outcome of the seven-week strike by engineers at the Scott Lithgow shipyards last year.

Stewart—the owner of a oneman business—crossed picket lines and delivered goods to the factory. For this action, he claims, the engineers who took part in the strike are 'blacking' his services.

In line with National Committee policy, the AUEW executive council will not send any union representative to tomorrow's hearing, which will be heard by the NIRC's newest judge, Sir Hugh Griffiths.

In the Goad case the union has already been fined £55,000 with £6,000 costs for disobedience of the NIRC's orders.

### National Front bid for Blackburn

THE NATIONAL Front intends staging a march and rally through Blackburn on Saturday. A similar march in October ended in a violent flare-up with counter-demonstrators.

Blackburn council has refused to let the NF use its main hall for the rally. This has drawn angry comment from local Tories, who have received the widest support in the capitalist Press.

Half a page of letters was published in the 'Lancashire Evening Telegraph' supporting the NF.

One correspondent accused the Labour councillors of being 'dictators'.

Martin Webster, the Front's national organizer, said this week his organization would be fielding a parliamentary candidate in Blackburn at the next General Election.

'We are going to have three candidates in the local elections and it now seems certain we shall have a parliamentary candidate too. We intend to run against Barbara Castle, and we are bound to have a big influence on the election.'

Socialist Labour League Yorkshire Rally

### FORCE THE TORY GOVERNMENT TO RESIGN! BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY!

SUNDAY JANUARY 28, 7.30 p.m. Great Northern Hotel, Wellington Street (near Leeds station), LEEDS

> FILM: THREE YEARS OF WORKERS PRESS

#### Speakers :

G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary)
PAUL WHETSTONE (Young Socialists)
In personal capacity:

GEORGE LUBY (U.P.W.)
ROBBIE ROBERTS (N.U.M.)



## GAITSKELL

#### By Jack Gale. Part one: The Man the Tories loved

Ten years ago today—on January 18, 1963—Hugh Todd - Naylor Gaitskell died in a Middlesex hospital in a room previously occupied by Winston Churchill.

All over Britain, flags were flown at half-mast—a privilege usually reserved for heads of state or royalty.

In parliament, after fulsome tributes from Tory premier Harold Macmillan, George Brown declared from the Labour benches that Gaitskell, had been responsible for 'a new approach, a new method' on the part of the Labour Party.

Who was Hugh Gaitskell and what were his 'achievements'?

The son of a British civil servant in Burma, Gaitskell attended the Dragon School at Oxford—one of the most exclusive and expensive pre-

paratory schools in the land. From there he went on to Winchester, one of the top public schools, where two of his contemporaries were Richard Crossman and Douglas Lav

He graduated at New College, Oxford, and in 1934 he went to Vienna under a Rockefeller grant for economic study. One of his close companions there was Kim Philby—who, in 1963, turned out to have been a Russian agent along with Burgess and Maclean.

Elected Labour MP for south-east Leeds in 1945, Gaitskell became parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Fuel and Power in 1946, became Minister himself in 1947, was placed in charge of the Treasury in 1949, appointed Minister of State for Economic Affairs in 1950, and Chancellor of the Exchequer the same year.

ear. He became leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party in December 1955, receiving 157 votes against 70 for Aneurin Bevan and 40 for Herbert Morrison.

A successful personal career. But what were his achievements for the labour movement?

His one and only budget, in April 1951, was based on what he called 'the clash between Soviet imperialism and the parliamentary democracies'.

The previous year he had fully supported the American war of aggression in Korea and advocated 50-per-cent increase in military expenditure.

In his budget he insisted on a ceiling rise of £50m in the National Health Service—which, with rising costs, amounted to a fundamental attack on the service. In addition, he imposed charges amounting to £13m on spectacles and dental treatment in order to finance an arms budget of £4,700m brought

about mainly by the Korean war, as well as by continued colonial aggression in Malaya, which Gaitskell fully supported.

Within three months the trade gap had widened to £500m, gold and dollar reserves were dwindling rapidly—and Gaitskell's proposal for dealing with this was to call for a 'postponement' of wage claims.

This right-wing stance split the Labour Party. Bevan, Harold Wilson and John Freeman resigned over the health service cuts.

service cuts.

In 1949, when in charge of the Treasury, Gaitskell had visited the United States to appeal for more steel from America to assist the British economy. American newspapers at the time reported that Gaitskell had been told that the American government would help out, but that they were concerned at the 'Welshman' in the Labour Cabinet.

Left: Hugh Galtskell in 1947 shortly after he became the new Minister for Fuel and Power in the post-wan government of Clement Attlee.

There is some ground for supposing, therefore, that Gait-skell—who throughout his career consistently followed the line laid down by the Americans over Marshall Aid, the Berlin airlift, the formation of NATO, Korea, Suez and nuclear weapons—deliberately cut into the health service to provoke Bevan's resignation.

Certainly, a £13m cut was bound to bring about a major split.

The Bevanite centrists gained substantial support in the ranks of the Labour Party being regarded as the tendency that fought for socialist policies against the right-wing 'mixed-economy' trend of Attlee, Morrison and Gaitskell.

This was reflected in the votes for the constituency parties section of the NEC in 1952. The Bevanites gained a total victory while right-wingers Morrison and Dalton were ousted. Gaitskell, though soon to be party leader, could never win election to the NEC through the constituencies section

It was after the 1952 conference that Gaitskell said that Labour Party conferences were 'mob rule', that most of the resolutions and speeches were 'communist-inspired' and that one in six constituency delegates were 'communists or fellow-trayellers.

'Tribune', he declared, was 'an invitation to disloyalty and disunity'.

This was the beginning of a witch-hunt that went as far as removing the Labour whip from 'Tribune'-ite MPs on one occasion and an attempt to expel Bevan himself.

It was this which endeared Gaitskell to the right-wing leaders of the trade unions—in particular Will Lawther and Sam Watson of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Arthur Deakin of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

These leaders had come to the top in the trade union movement after the defeats of 1926 and 1931. They were imbued with a deep respect for capitalism and contempt for their own members. Gaitskell was their man. Overwhelmingly, they supported him against Bevan for party treasurer in 1954.

The following year the Labour Party again lost a General Election—the Tory majority going up from 17 to 58. At the ensuing party conference, Gaitskell launched his open attack on Clause 4—the clause in the party's constitution that calls for nationalization of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

The constitution, he declared, needed 'bringing up to date'. One month after being elected party leader he attacked the 'stale slogans' of nationalization.

At the 1957 conference he again attacked nationalization, declaring 'we are evolutionists, not revolutionists'.

On the eve of the 1959 conference—after he had led the Labour Party to its third successive disastrous defeat, giving the Tories a majority of 107—he continued his course to the right.

This time he declared publicly: 'We do not intend, any of us, to implement Clause 4 fully, and I regard it as my duty to say so to the party and the country.'

At the conference he said: 'Clause 4 cannot possibly be regarded as adequate and it lays us open to continual misrepresentation.'

Gaitskell was not able, however, to push through the dropping of Clause 4. Opposition throughout the party ranks was enormous, with a 'Defend Clause 4' campaign being launched.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

### WHY ITALIAN CP SUPPORTS THE COMMON MARKET

Italian Communist Party support for the Common Market was made clear in a recent discussion on Hungarian TV in which Giorgio Amendola, a leading member of the party, took part.

Present with Amendola, who sits in the Italian delegation to the Council of Europe, was the Secretary-General of that body, Lujo Toncic-Sorinj. This body was founded in 1947 'to achieve greater unity between its members and to safeguard their European heritage and to facilitate their economic and social progress'.

One of its members is Turkey which is carrying out a barbarous repression of all opposition elements under conditions of martial law.

The Hungarian link-man in the programme said that 'Italian Communists were the first to seat truly leftist delegates in the European Parliament'.

Following Toncic - Sorinj's statement that in present circumstances a European parliament with representatives from East and West was not possible but that conferences on particular questions were, Amendola said:

'I am a firm believer in European unity. I believe that the European Security Conference will create an atmosphere in which co-operation becomes possible between that part of Europe which is affiliated to the Economic Community and the rest'.

He went on: 'We must strive for the democratic transformation of Europe so that Western Europe should turn from a tool of big monopoly capital into a basis for co-operation with that part of Europe which has socialist foundations. That is the goal we are fighting for. We can count on our side on

forces, like the working class of Britain and Denmark which opposed the entry of those countries into the Common Market, to co-operate with us on the transformation of Europe from within so that the way should become free for contacts with the whole of Europe and progress towards a future Europe, a united Europe based on socialist principles.'

What this means is that the Italian CP is looking to other Communist Parties to adopt its policy of accepting the Common Market as a 'reality' and entering its institutions in order to 'transform' it.

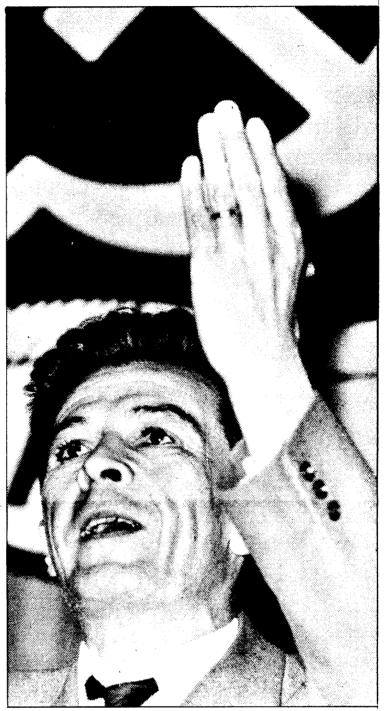
Not for nothing did the 'Workers Press' describe Amendola after his interview with 'The Times' last year as 'an Italian Roy Jenkins'. At that time he described participation in the European Parliament at Strasburg as 'useful'; 'We have learned a lot from it'.

He then said that he would rejoice if Britain joined the Common Market, or as he put it; if 'the British working class will come in and bring its contribution to the democratic transformation of the community'

It is significant that he is now being invited to express his views on East European TV stations along with confirmed supporters of the Common Market and a capitalist Europe such as Tonic-Sorinj.

Amendola acts as a spokesman for the Kremlin bureaucracy. Not only does his party betray the Italian working class, but he takes part in preparing the working class of Hungary and other workers' states for a deal between COMECON and the Common Market

This means acceptance of the existing division of Europe and opening up Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to West European finance capital.



Berlinguer, head of the Italian CP which accepts the Common Market as a 'reality' and enters its institutions to 'transform' it.

#### GERMAN STEELBOSSES DEMAND CHEAPER COAL

Ruhr steelmakers want access to cheaper coal from other Common Market countries instead of having to use local supplies.

This was made clear by Dr Hans-Gunther Sohl, head of the Thyssen concern who was also one of the founders of the Ruhr-Kohle A.G. set up in 1968 to rationalize production in Germany's main coalfield.

Coking coal is supplied by this combine at prices below cost of production with the help of a government subsidy. Thyssens, biggest coal consumer in West Germany with more than 7 million tons annually, still has to pay more than its European competitors. Growing costs of production

Growing costs of production mean that the government subsidy will have to rise if prices are to be kept down, which is not likely.

Thyssen and other German steel producers want to be able to buy cheaper coal on the world market. They also want to be able to acquire their own mines in foreign countries. Thyssens have also proposed that they should take back the mines ceded to the Ruhr-Kohle S.A. so that they can carry through a ruthless rationalization programme.

This would mean wholesale sackings and intensified exploitation of Ruhr miners. If it does not get its way Thyssens are threatening to move part of their investments to foreign

countries.

The Ruhr coal industry is suffering from overproduction because its prices are not competitive. The Social Democratic government of Willy Brandt is considering a plan to slash coal production still further in the interests of the big monopolies both in the steel industry and in the oil and natural gas industry.

#### CHINA BIDS FOR JAPAN'S OIL CONTRACT

China is trying to outbid the Soviet Union in offering crude oil to Japan.

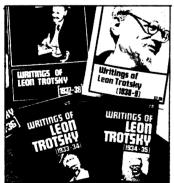
A four-man mission representing Japanese business interests is visiting Peking to consider purchasing Chinese oil. The oil will come from China's Taiching oilfield in Heilungkiang province.

The Japanese are quite familiar with the area, which lies in what was once their puppet state of Manchukuo recovered by China in 1945.

If the negotiations are successful a joint company will be set up to handle the trade. The offer is bound to have a bearing on the current move by Japanese capitalists to participate in the development of the Siberian oil industry.

China's oil resources are believed to be considerable but are largely untapped. Machinery and equipment embodying advanced technology will be required to expand production. Peking may be hoping to obtain this from Japan in exchange for oil.

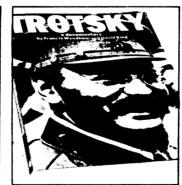
#### ANNOUNCING...



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#### MORE BRITISH SHIPS TO BE BUILT IN SPAIN

Spanish shipyards are continuing to attract British contracts. The British and Commonwealth Shipping Company has placed an order for a further 80,000-ton bulk carrier.

The carrier is to be built with Astilleros Españoles SA of Madrid in its Sestao Yard. The ship, to be named 'King George', will be delivered in October 1974.

A sister ship, 'King William', is now under construction in the same yard and is expected to be launched later this year.

The 'King George' will be the fifth bulk carrier in the British and Commonwealth fleet, bringing the total tonnage for that type of ship to nearly 350,000 tons.

#### RIGHT WING OFFICIAL LEADS ANTI-TROTSKYIST WITCH-HUNT

#### BY IAN YEATS

Since December 21, 350 electricians employed by a Newcastle contractor at the Anchor Site steel plant have been locked in a bitter fight.

On that day Watson Norie Ltd sacked 38 men working to maximum safety as part of a campaign to improve conditions which had claimed the lives of seven men and injured 300 others throughout the site.

If this issue alone was not cause enough for anger and resentment, there have been plenty of others in the last 12 months.

The men claim Watson Norie has applied 'iron-fist' tactics against them at every available opportunity.

They say that last August, rather than fork out Bank Holiday pay, Norie's sacked the entire work force, rehiring them at staggered intervals.

In September, 200 men were dismissed for demanding the extra payments outlawed by the JIB and within 36 hours of the electricians calling their work-to-rule before Christmas, all overtime was cancelled and a three-day holiday agreement scrapped.

In the last two years men working for all but one of the other contractors have at some time been involved in strikes and works-to-rule.

In the first six months of last year alone there had been nine strikes and three worksto-rule involving over 1,200 men on issues ranging from frozen lavatories to bonus payments.

This explains why today there are 2,700 electricians and construction men on strike in support of the demand for reinstatement of the 38 men sacked by Watson Norie on December 21.

The British Steel Corporation has always insisted that each contractor must be responsible for its own industrial relations, but last year the men formed an unofficial joint shop stewards' co-ordinating and negotiating committee which

is still pressing for recognition.
Since the Anchor project began in 1970, the electricians have made persistent calls to the EPTU to intervene at the site, but each time they were told that nothing could be done

unless the employers were in breach of the JIB agreement.

About six months ago the electricians took matters into their own hands and set up their own joint shop stewards' committee.

The EPTU refused to recognize the stewards or to give them credentials on the grounds that their actions were aimed at undermining the JIB agreement.

The effect of the JIB is notorious throughout the industry.

Unrest against the JIB has been simmering a m o n g electricians for some time, but at Scunthorpe it has reached boiling point.

After last year's strikes against the site's contractors the JIB issued an aggressive, uncompromising statement that it would not condone unconstitutional and unauthorized stoppages.

The EPTU says the present stoppage fits into these categories but has pledged to fight for the reinstatement of the sacked men once everyone else is back at work.

Area secretary of the EPTU, Mr L. H. Hancock, has done everything possible to get the men back to work.

He even went so far as to administer a secret company ballot calculated to prove that the shop stewards were acting on their own.

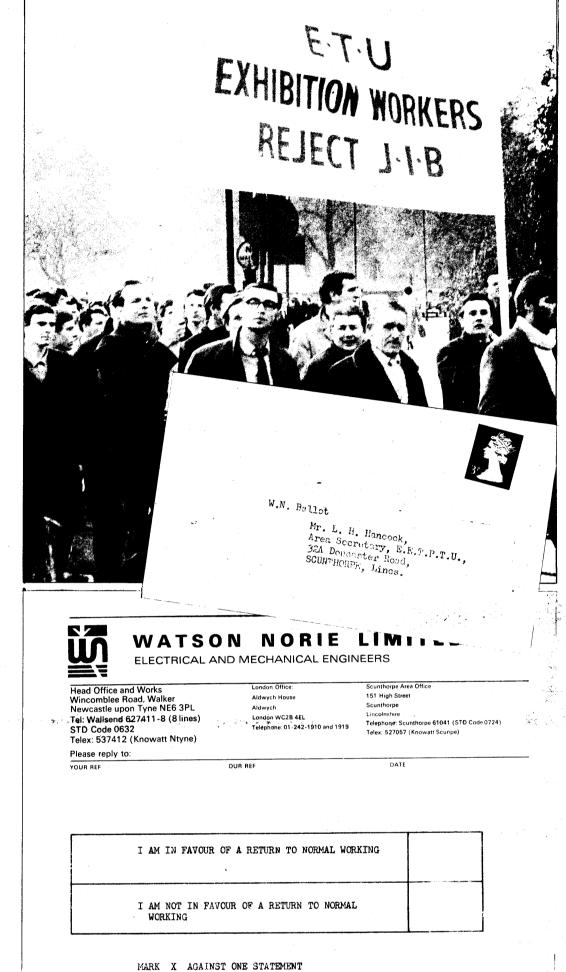
Papers were sent to each striker together with a stamped envelope marked 'Watson Norie Ballot' and addressed to L. H. Hancock.

Hancock refused to reveal how many votes were received. All he would say was that they were four to one in favour of a return to work.

On January 6 the company placed an advert on the back page of the Scunthorpe 'Evening Telegraph' inviting all its men to go to work normally on Monday January 8—the day the stewards planned to strike in support of the sacked 38.

On the front page, in the lead story, Hancock was quoted as saying his union was even prepared to lead onto the site any men who wished.

But he went further than that. In the same article he began, what electricians' strike leader Stewart Stevenson



## Trotskyists are behind the Anchor troubles

TALKS began in London on Tuesday over
the Steel Industry Management Association — SIMA —
the issue which put 6.500
had not been represented.

sisue which had to be settled
once and for all. As far as no
was concerned, he said, this
was not an argument between

-E.T.U. OFFICIAL

Hancock said the opposition were going much furthe than that He alleged that had received threatening

Right: Electricians strike has paralysed BSC's Anchor works. Top to bottom: Electricians in 1967 on a march to 'Reject the JIB'. Watson Norie's secret ballot form with envelope addressed to the union. Local Press headline seized on EPTU area secretary L. H. Hancock's red-scare allegations.

called, a 'MacCarthyist-style witch-hunt' blaming the Anchor strike on International Socialists and Trotskyists.

He told the 'Telegraph':
'There's no doubt in my mind
that the International Socialists
are the instigators of a lot of
the political type of trouble
on that site and will seize on
any problem to make capital
out of it.'

The 'Telegraph' said: 'He also named the Trotskyites as being behind the formulation of labour unrest.' Said Hancock: 'I have no doubt about it. We also know of the contact that people on the site have got with the people up and down the country.

and down the country.

'Support has been given financially from the Anchor

site to other sites in the country. This is linked with the Trotskyites.'

The day before, Watson Norie sent letters to all its employees, beginning: 'The company is aware that many of its employees have recently been forced against their will to join in unofficial strike action by intimidation and threats of violence from a minority group.'

minority group.'

Hancock used the opportunity given him by the 'Telegraph' to expand the point. Coupling his remarks to 'Trotskyite influence', he said: 'Men allege there's been quite a lot of intimidation by people to get them to conform.'

A week later, on January 12, he was able to tell the

astonished world that the embattled and allegedly Trotskyist-led strikers had threatened him over the telephone.

Under banner headlines the paper emphasized his remarks in heavy black type:

"The threats have been made against myself, family and wife in particular. One or two have mentioned battery acid."

Significantly Hancock's red smear was made before the strike in support of the 3/8 men began at noon on January 8.

Throughout the week he followed up his remarks both in the Press and on Humberside radio with allegations that an anarchic, anti-trade union minority was out to destroy the union.

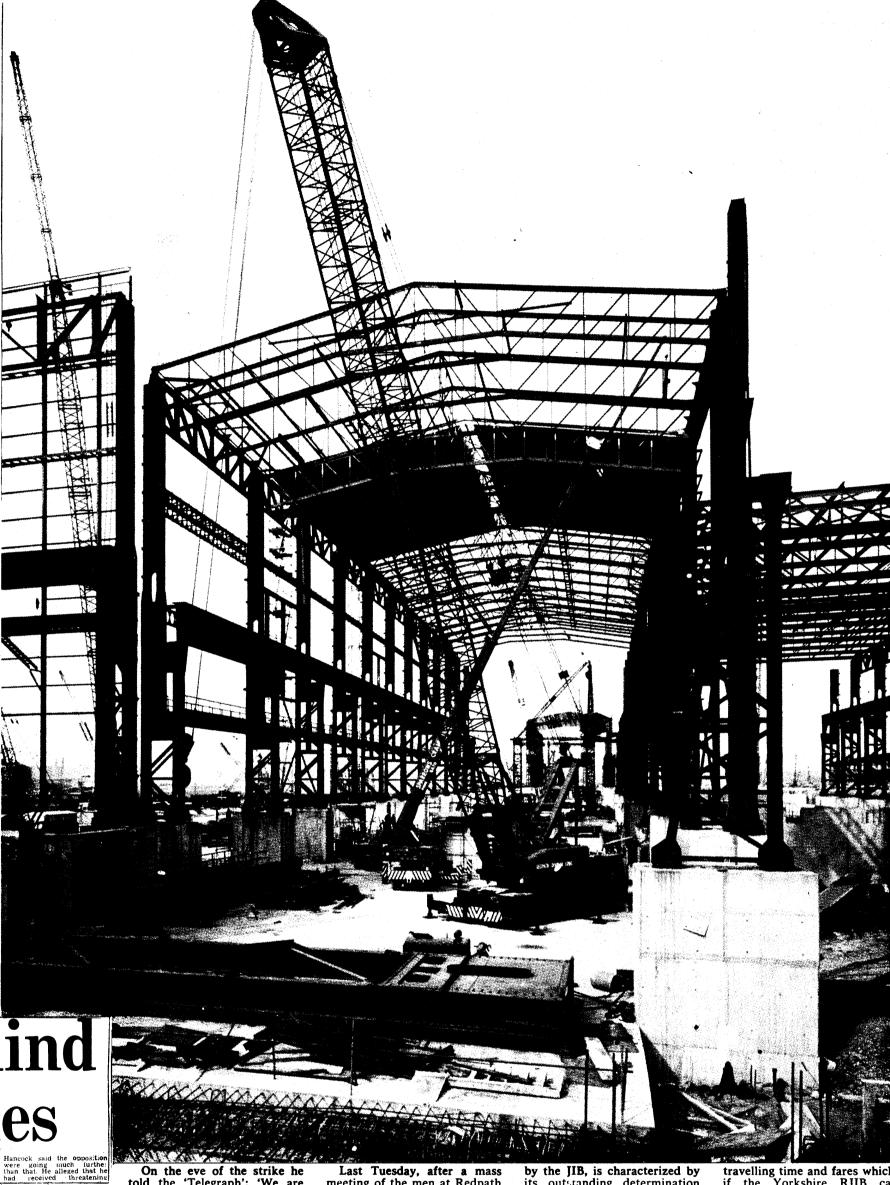
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On the eve of the strike he told the 'Telegraph': 'We are still hoping, in the end, that the moderates and the responsible men will assert themselves and stop themselves being dragged around in this

fashion.'

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All to no avail . . . at 12 noon precisely all the Watson Norie men downed tools in response to the call from the unofficial joint shop stewards' committee.

On Wedne day, January 10, Hancock told me over the telephone that 'the lads at the site were doing their best' to get other sections out, but they were having 'a thin time'.

As the week ended with his allegations of acid threats against himself and his family and his repeated assertion that the strikers were isolated, 2,750 other men had joined the strike

Last Tuesday, after a mass meeting of the men at Redpath Dorman Long, nearly 3,000 of the 4,000-strong site, including every single electrician, were out on strike.

Resolutions were sent to EPTU headquarters demanding Hancock's resignation and official backing for the strike against what the men claimed was clear victimization by Watson Norie of men who had stood up for their rights and participated in legitimate t.ade union activity.

Strike leader Stewart Stevenson told me outright: 'Watson Norie sacked the two shop stewards and the others were handpicked as ringleaders.'

'If they get away with it here, they'll get away with it at every site in the country.'

A top-secret report of an inquiry into labour relations at the Anchor site, drawn up

by the JIB, is characterized by its outstanding determination to stamp out basic democratic rights.

It was drawn up after a lodgings and travelling allowance campaign waged unofficially by the men last year.

The report concluded: 'There are signs that the militant group on the site, anticipating that the Regional Board [of the JIB] might resolve the travelling time and fares problem, are attempting to gain support on the pay issue.

'This can only be countered by greater education on site. Industrial relations training should be given to management and joint shop representatives [JIB-approved shop stewards] under the auspices of the Regional Board.'

Earlier, the report noted in underlined type: 'The crucial issue is that of the payment of travelling time and fares which, if the Yorkshire RJIB can resolve it, can give the EPTU and the JIB a good chance of achieving control of the site. If not the men on the site are likely to attempt to achieve their payment by strike action.'

In the summer of 1972 the JIB also suspected trouble, as we have seen, over pay. The men had been given a £2 site allowance in April and no new application could be considered until October. The report was completed in July.

It noted that 'a perfect counter to any attempt to stir up feeling' would be to begin developing the case for a pay rise right away stressing that the JIB would not receive any claim in response to 'unconstitutional action'.

The role of the JIB agreements as a blueprint for corporatism could hardly be more clear.

#### WHAT IS THE JIB?

The Joint Industry Board for the Electrical Contracting Industry established in 1967 is a virtual blueprint for trade unionism under the corporate state.

Brainchild of the most rapacious employers and the most right-wing union leaders, it operates a series of no less than 82 rules which circumscribe and hedge round workers' rights to fight for wages.

Any breach of these rules renders men liable for censure, suspension, the removal of all benefits or fines of up to £100.

The true class-collaborationist flavour of the Joint Industry Board is contained in this paragraph from the explanatory notes distributed to workers by the board itself:

'All must pull their weight, not in the selfish interest of any individual or even the electrical contracting industry, but the Nation' (the capital Noccurs in the original).

Here are just a few further sample quotations from the notes:

• 'These rules . . . will outlaw unauthorized stoppages of work and generally modernize methods of work.'

● 'There must be a new spirit of enthusiasm and efficiency in the industry in order to earn the rewards which the JIB can bring about.'

• 'Time-wasting must stop, men must start and stop on jobs at the proper time and not abuse meal breaks.'

◆ 'The JIB will introduce methods to measure and assess productivity including work-study, new methods of work and the training of management and men.'

The JIB was greeted by Ray Gunter, arguably the most right wing of Labour's Ministers, in the following terms in August 1967: 'I welcome its establishment and I am confident that it will be a valuable instrument for the improvement of relations and efficiency in the industry.

Small wonder that almost every major dispute in the industry in the five-and-ahalf years has taken place in bitter combat with the JIB and the union leaders who sit on it.

#### WITHDRAW FROM JIB— CALL

The Leeds City EPTU branch passed the following resolution at a packed meeting on Monday night.

'That this meeting believes that the JIB is an organization which functions in the interest of the employers and had succeeded in keeping down wages of sparks below those of other trades in the building industry.

'We demand that the executive council terminates all agreements and withdraws from the JIB making this organization null and void and that the EC call a national strike of all members employed in the contracting industry in order to secure the increases agreed in June 1971, plus £10 and five hours off the working week.

'We recognize that to win these demands we must take on the Tory government and unite with other workers to bring this government down.'

## GOMUNISMO

ORGANO DEL COMITE CENTRAL DE LA LIGA COMUNISTA

en solidaridad política con el Comité Internacional de la IV Internacional

AÑO 1 Nº 14

SEMANA DEL 16 AL 22 DE OCTUBRE DE 1972

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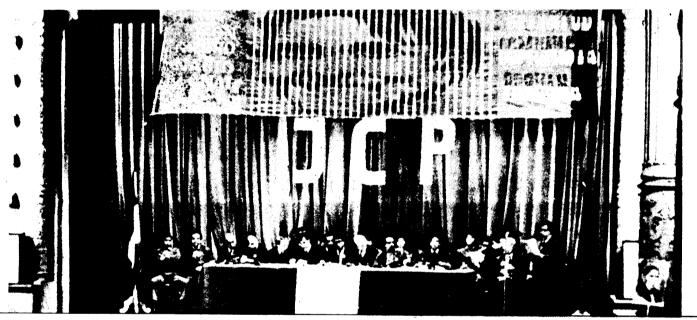
### PEPIDER AL POPINION PER PROPERTO DE PROPER

El último número del semanario del Partido Comunista Unidad, publica en primera página la parte más amenazadora del reciente discurso del dictador Velasco en Iquitos. El que Unidad publique tal amenaza en primera página es, de hecho, un apoyo a una amenaza dirigida contra el propio Partido Comunista.

Ningún editorialista de Uni-

dad es tan ingenuo como para pensar que tales amenazas del dictador van dirigidas sólo contra la llamada "ultraizquierda". Tanto el gobierno como el PCP saben cuál es la verdadera influencia de los "ultraizquierdistas" en los sindicatos. Los periodistas de Unidad saben también, por lo tanto, que el chan-

(Pasa a la pág. 2)



Special correspondent JUAN GARCIA examines Stalinism and Trotskyism in Peru following the attack by Pompeyo Mares of the Communist Party on the Liga Comunista, which works in solidarity with the International Committee of the Fourth International. Part Five

### WHY THE PERUVIAN STALINISTS SLANDER TROTSKYISM

As the Peruvian Trotskyists have tirelessly shown in the pages of 'Comunismo', Lt-General Juan Velasco's military regime is not independent from US imperialism.

It is attempting to establish a corporatist dictatorship to allow imperialism to intensify its exploitation in Peru. The first targets of this dictatorship are the Communist Party and the CP-dominated CGTP (union federation) themselves.

Pompeyo Mares devotes a section of his pamphlet to assuring Party members that this is rubbish and that Velasco is only opposed to APRA and 'ultra-left' groups.

He singles out for praise SINAMOS, the corporatist body with which the military hopes to destroy the Peruvian trade unions as a new juncture to allow the masses to participate in various aspects of social activity'.

The CP received a sharp defeat when its policy of support for SINAMOS was defeated at the Organization Conference of the CGTP, mainly as a result of the intervention of the Liga Comunista.

The Peruvian military junta has made little secret of its

hostility to the working class and its organizations.

A government forum on Industrial Communities at the end of October 1972 was a particular exercise in baiting the working class.

A selection of quotations from the Peruvian capitalist Press gives a clear idea of the one-sided participation envisaged between workers and employers.

For example General Graham: 'The rank and file of the unions cannot be formed by a flock of lambs willing to be led by four leaders . . . If the state does not limit wage increases, the whole structure will collapse. . . .'

Barandarian, Minister of Commerce: 'The increase in wage demands, without a similar increase in productivity, will lead to a decrease in reinvestment and can even eliminate our firms from the Andean Group.' (A Latin American version of the Common Market.)

Sala Orozco, Minister of Labour: 'Real revolutionaries must work more than eight hours a day. . . .'

Raymundo Duharte, president of the National Society of Industry, the main employers' organization: 'I am a



Gustavo Espinoza (right), Stalinist leader of the CGTP with Velasco.

revolutionary conscious of what I want . . The government must go forward. We cannot allow this government to fail . . . [if this were to happen] the deluge will come and we would all be ruined.'

Juan Velasco was explicit about the deluge which so terrified the junta: 'On the other side [opposed to the 'revolution'] are . . . communist organizations whose positions are incompatible with the position and perspectives of the Peruvian revolution. They are all irreconcilable enemies of the task we are accomplishing.'

ing.'
The CP weekly 'Unidad' in

an article headed, 'Firm in the process', described the antiworking-class council of war as if it were an academic seminar: 'Night after night, ministers, industrialists and leaders of the various communities have been exchanging ideas and elucidating various problems.'

Police and army are constantly in use against strikers, and strikers have been killed in at least four towns by state forces. At the end of September, General Graham threatened more: 'For four years the men who have been trained to kill have had their arms hidden preaching peace.'

Left: the front page of the October 16 issue of the weekly paper of the Liga Comunista calling for the detence of the CP against threats from the dictatorship. (photo of CP meeting)

In the years of 'peace' miners in Cobriza, students in the universities and protesting housewives and their husbands in Arequipa and Puno were shot down in bloody massacres. What are Generals Graham and Velasco planning in 1973?

The Mares pamphlet gives some suggestions—go out and search for the members and the printing press of the Liga Comunista who endanger the 'revolutionary' process.

What is more, CP members

What is more, CP members should lead the way for the police hunt against the 'Trotsko-CIA'!

Although Mares keeps a diplomatic silence on the Moscow trials and the physical elimination of Trotskyists during the 1930s, Jorge del Prado and the leadership of the Peruvian CP are fully part of the Stalinist tradition.

The Kremlin bureaucracy must at all costs prevent the establishment of the Fourth International in Peru and its extension into the rest of Latin America.

Kosygin and Brezhnev are prepared to see the sacrifice of the PCP in as much as it is an independent workers' organization. That is the logic of support for corporatism, and has led to massacres of CP members in Indonesia, Sudan and elsewhere.

Hence, the vicious slandering of the policies of the Liga Comunista. The ridicule only covers up Stalinist fear of a movement based on principle.

This is not a movement like the POR in Bolivia which, under the leadership of Guillermo Lora, co-exists with nationalists and Stalinists in a bogus anti-imperialist revolutionary front.

This is not a movement which champions the bearded heroes in Havana who were the new 'natural' Marxists of the Unified Secretariat Pablo-

The Liga Comunista has, from its inception, fought for the development of revolutionary consciousness in the Latin American masses. It has struggled against idealizing the spontaneous movement, however heroic. This creates genuine fear in the Peruvian Stalinist movement.

The Liga has established itself as a serious alternative to Stalinism because it has based itself on all the theoretical gains of the Marxist movement, in particular, their extension by the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI) in the struggle against Pabloism and the supporters of spontaneity in the French organization Communiste Internationaliste.

It has refused to compromise with the Stalinist and centrist concept of pushing the so-called 'revolutionary process' to a 'successful conclusion'.

The slanderous lies from the Mares-del Prado clique must be repudiated by the international working class which has entered the decisive year for the struggle for socialist revolution.

The Liga Comunista is showing the power of Trotsky-ism to lead this struggle in the traditions of the Bolshevik revolution.

The sections of the ICFI will be inspired by the Liga's struggle to redouble efforts to destroy Stalinism.

We are confident that Stalinist lies cannot hide from the masses the fact that Stalinism is the main prop of counter-revolution in the proletariat.

The ability of the young Trotskyist movement in Peru to begin to break the proletariat from Stalinism is living proof that the sections of the Fourth International can gain the leadership of the working class and put an end to imperialism and its agents.

## WORKERS NOTEBOOK

#### **WAGE CUT**



President Bordaberry

President Juan Bordaberry of Uruguay allowed wages to increase by 40 per cent in 1972. The new year began with

a government declaration of a 35 per cent wage increase dating from January 1.

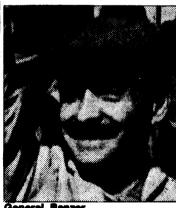
The organization secretary of the Uruguayan trade union confederation, Felix Diaz, said that the increase was 'the fruit of the struggle by workers'.

Before you get your ticket for Montevideo, it is worth remembering that the cost of living rose by 90 per cent in 1972 and is going to rise even more steeply in 1973.

Uruguayan workers in fact

had their wages cut by 50 per cent in 1972.

#### PROMOTED



ieneral Benzer

The recent discovery of a vast conspiratorial plot in Cochabamba in Bolivia by Minister of the Interior Adett Zamora is the 31st red plot discovered since the Banzer regime came to power 16 months ago.

Thirty suspects have been — the same nu released as a special Banzer amnesty gift announced at a

ceremony in which he had himself promoted from Colonel to General.

General Banzer has also handed out a gift to the Phillips Brothers and US Steel in the form of \$13.4m compensation to the former owners of the Mathilde Zinc Mines.

The final offer in the Banzer package has been a state of emergency aimed at suppressing all strike movements.

The citizens sat gripping the edge of their chairs. Their leader rose on the platform. 'Mantua looms large on the fiscal horizon as a financial fortress, surrounded by a moat of cash reserves, stubbornly resisting the missiles of deficit spending, burdensome taxation and the whims and wailing of special interests.'

The speaker was the Mayor of Mantua, Robert Thomas. He was speaking on behalf of the 1,200 residents of Mantua

The saga of the Leeds police ... continued. Roy Caisley (42), a former Leeds police chief inspector, has just been cleared of shoplifting charges. He denied stealing cigars, meat and coffee from a super-

meat and coffee from a super-market. When the jury failed to agree after a three-hour retirement, Mr D. J. Clarkson, the Leeds Crown Court recorder, registered a verdict of not guilty.
Caisley's wife Hannelore

was found guilty of stealing cigars and was jailed for a total of nine months. She had admitted stealing coffee and

#### PLANS . . .

The Labour Party's general secretary, Mr Ron Hayward, has said that plans for nationalizing the banks and insurance under a future Labour govern-

ment are going ahead.

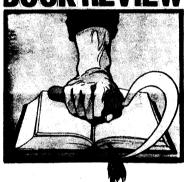
He told a Fabian school that a study group was working 'on how these two sectors should be nationalized, not whether they should be nationalized'.

This astonishing statement comes from a Labour leadercouragement to its supporters who defy the Tory rent Act.

Armed revolutionary soldiers on the streets of Berlin, November 9, 1918.

### THE REVOLUTION THAT

#### **BOOK REVIEW**



'FAILURE OF A REVOLUTION: Germany 1918-19.' By Sebastian Haffner. Translated by Georg Rapp. Andre Deutsch. £2.50. Illu-strated. Published today.

The failure of the German Revolution of 1918-1919 had fateful consequences for the working class in the whole of Europe. When the Bolsheviks took power in Russia in October 1917 they did so with the confidence that the revolution would spread to the advanced countries, and especially to Germany, from which help would come.

The isolation of the first workers' state was, in the first instance, a result of the failure of the revolution in Germany.

The negative lessons from the failed German revolution complement the study of the reasons for the success of the Bolshevik Revolution.

In fact the German events of 1918-1919 have attracted comparatively little attention, certainly much less than they deserve. The Social Democrats have done their best to conceal their treacherous role. Even the reactionaries are scarcely proud to recall their part when the Empire to which they clung was repudiated by the masses and they had to resort to naked terror against the revolution.

Only the genuine revolu-tionaries, like Rosa Luxem-burg, Karl Liebknecht and Eugen Levine—all martyrs— emerge from the story with credit. But the fact remains

that they were not prepared for the events which took place and committed serious

At the centre of events in 1918-1919 stood the Social Democratic leaders Friedrich Ebert, Gustav Noske and Philipp Scheidemann. If German capitalism survived the ordeal which followed in the wake of military defeat it was thanks, above all, to this trio. Their conscious betrayal stands out plainly from Sebastian Haffner's stark and vivid narrative of events published today by André Deutsch.

In Germany, at a time when power was within the grasp of the working class, these leaders, who had already supported their 'own' bourgeoisie in the imperialist war, became the principal defence against revolution. In the name of socialism, even in the name of revolution, they strangled it and earned little more than the contempt of the enemy class whose power and property they saved.

Haffner shows how, when uartermaster-General Erich Quartermaster-General Ludendorff, the real chief of the German army, became certain of defeat in September 1918, he determined that its obloquy should rest on a civilian government, not on the army. This meant a change of government and the emergence of the Social Democrats as a government party - one deeply fearful of revolution.

The first tremors of revo-lution came from the fleet when the sailors of Kiel mutinied against the officers' scheme to make a last-ditch attack on the British navy. Within a few days workers and soldiers had set up their organs of power in the main towns of Germany with little violence or bloodshed.

Lacking leadership, lacking a revolutionary party, the councils hung back from seizing full power; they did not take over the factories or interfere with property.

As Haffner puts it:

'The Russian example may have had an encouraging influence from afar, but there were no Russian emissaries to provide the revolution with leadership. In fact, anywhere but in Munich, this revolution had no leaders and no organization, no general staff and no plan of operation; it

was the spontaneous creation of the masses, of the workers and the common soldiers. Therein lay its weakness, all too soon to become evident, but therein also

lay its glory.'

But it was hardly glorious to be defeated—nor was it a question of 'Russian emissaries' (too reminiscent of the slander in 1917 that Lenin was 'a German agent'). The German revolution surely stands above all as a terrible lesson to all those who bow down before spontaneity—or a 'revolution of councils', without a revolutionary party.

It was the lack of such a party which prevented a situation of dual power opening the way for a successful workingclass revolution. Ebert and his colleagues were thus able to play the role which Kerensky would have played in Russia.

As the revolution gathered force, Ebert came to the fore, taking over the government 'to preserve law and order', becoming first Chancellor and then People's Commissar. As Haffner says:

'If he was still to prevent the revolution, he would have to begin by appearing to lead it. There was no other way, but this way it might still work.'

With the Kaiser in flight and the war at an end, Germany hovered for weeks between revolution and counter-revolution. The state was in the hands of 'People's Commissars' who 'hated revolution like and played a devious double game to prevent its

The revolutionaries lacked that indispensable instrument a revolutionary party. As Haffner sees it:

'Germany in 1918 was at no point threatened by a Bolshevik dictatorship; for the simple reason that the essential instrument of power, a Bolshevik party capable of dictating, did not exist. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had no organization whatever until December 30, 1918, and only a very feeble one thereafter; nothing to compare with Lenin's corps of professional revolutionaries prepared by 14 years of training.'
The leaders of the councils

were reluctant to assume the responsibilities of power. They were, for the most part, loyal Social Democrats, or anxious to reconcile all tendencies bhind some kind of parlia-

mentary democracy. CONTINUED-TOMORROW

#### BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY : Germany 1931/1932 Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87½ Where Is Britain Going? Paperback 371p Revolution Betrayed Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.05 Problems of the Chinese Revolution -cloth £1.05 Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87½
Permanent Revolution: **Results and Prospects** Paperback 75p
In Defence of Marxism
Paperback 75p
Lessons of October Paperback 60p

Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from: NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4 7UG.

#### TODAY'S TV

#### BBC 1

9.42 Schools. 12.10 Boomph with Becker. 12.25 Disc a dawn. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Trumpton. 1.45 High street. 2.06-2.29 Schools. 2.50 Workers at risk. 3.20 Children growing up. 3.45 The countryman. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Blue Peter. 5.15 John Craven's newsround. 5.20 The Brady kids. 5.40 Magic roundabout. 5.45 News. Weather. 6.00 NATIONWIDE. 6.45 TOP OF THE POPS. 7.15 Z CARS. Backwater. 8.00 COMEDY PLAYHOUSE: 'ELEMENTARY MY DEAR WATSON'.

10.15

John Cleese, William Rushton.

8.30 HOLIDAY 73. Plymouth, Denmark.

9.00 NEWS. Weather. 9.25 COLDITZ. Gone Away.

10.15 MONTY PYTHON'S FLYING CIRCUS. 10.45 MIDWEEK.

11.30 NEWS. 11.35 TAKE ANOTHER LOOK. Home Sweet Home.

11.55 Weather. 11.30

11.55

9.30 Schools. 10.30 All our yesterdays (London only). 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Inigo Pipkin. 12.25 Witches' brew. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Jokers wild. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Generation three. 3.25 Happy ever after. 4.25 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.20 Pebbles and Bamm Bamm. 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY. 6.30 CROSSROADS.

6.55 FILM: 'HOUR OF THE GUN'. James Gardner, Jason Robards Jr, Robert Ryan. After the battle of the OK Corral.
 8.45 NEAREST AND DEAREST. Get Out of That.
 9.15 DOCUMENTARY: 'AN INVENTION CALLED CHILDHOOD'.

How ideas and feelings about children have changed over the centuries.

NEWS AT TEN. 10.30 CINEMA.

11.00

COOKING WITHOUT TEARS. Young Couples. SCOTLAND YARD MYSTERIES. The Ghost Train Murder. WHAT THE PAPERS SAY. 12.15 DEAR LORD...





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Address	





Tonight's Comedy Playhouse has John Cleese (left) as Sherlock Holmes and William Rushton as Dr. Watson in N.F. Simpson's 'Elementary My Dear Watson' on BBC 1.

#### **REGIONAL TV**

CHANNEL: 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News, 1.30 London. 2.30 Women to-day. 3.00 London. 4.25 Follyfoot. 4.50 Elephant boy. 5.20 Doctor at large. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Mave-rick. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: "The Gun That Won the West'. 8.15 This is your life. 8.45 London. 10.30 Odd couple. 11.02 Cinema. 11.35 Scales of justice. 12.00 News. weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.05 London. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 10.30 Report. 10.59 News. 12.00 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 1.05 London. 2.0 Women only. 3.00 London. 4.25 Land of the giants. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Doctor in charge. 7.00 Film: 'Hec Ramsey'. 8.45 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Guideline. 11.15 Film: 'Dracula'. 12.35 Weather.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Sky's the limit. 7.00 Film: "The Tunnel of Love'. 8.45 London. 10.30 Alive aid kicking. 11.00 Spyforce 12.00 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 2.30-3.00 Hamdden. 4.25 Miri mawr. 4.35-4.50 Cantamil. 4.50-5.20 Rovers. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd. 10.30 Who beat the All Blacks? 11.15 Spyforce. 12.15

HTV West as above except: 6.15-6.30 Sport West.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 12.04 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 London. 4.25 News. 4.39 Land of the giants. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Survival. 7.30 Film: "Night Train to Paris". 8.45 London. 10.30 Bygones. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 Living and growing. 12.05 Frighteners.

#### BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school.

6.40 BEHAVIOUR AND BELIEF. Do You Believe in Rock 'n' Roll?7.30 NEWS SUMMARY. Weather.

THE WEB OF LIFE. The Living Mountains.
EUROPA. Man and Magic. Magic in Brazil.
WAR AND PEACE. Of Life and Death.
THE FANATICS. Dirty Weekend. Restoring the Peak Forest and 7.35

Ashton Canal in Cheshire.

HORIZON. The Military Necessity. In Central Europe two million combat troops have faced each other for 23 years. FACE THE MUSIC. 10.50 JOHN DENVER. In concert.

11.20 NEWS. Weather. 11.50 REAL TIME. TV's own world.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 12.00 Today, 12.05 London. 4.25 Land of of the giants. 5.20 Julia. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Please sir. 7.30 Film: "The Killer That Stalked New York". 8.45 London. 11.00 Angling. 11.30 Film: "Foreign Exchange". Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.31 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women today. 3.55 Harriet's back in town. 4.23 News. 4.25 Elephant boy. 4.50 Phoenix five. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Protectors. 7.30 Film: 'Conquest of Cochies'. 8.45 London. 11.00 What's it all about? 11.20 Champions.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 2.30 Farmhouse kitchen. 3.00 London. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 Rovers. 5.20 Partridge family. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: \*Carlton-Browne of the F.O.'. 8.45 London. 10.30 Sport. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 Mod squad. 12.30 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 12.00 Felix the cat. 12.05 London. 5.15 Smith family. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. Put it in writing. 6.30 Sky's the limit.

7.00 Film: 'Jet Over the Atlantic'. 8.45 London. 11.00 On the line. 11.35 Theatre macabre.

TYNE TEES: 9.25 Prologue. 9.30 London. 2.30 News. 2.31 A place in the country. 3.00 London. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 Stingray. 5.20 Patridge family. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Carlton-Browne of the FO'. 8.45 London. 10.30 Sport. 11.00 Police call. 11.05 Cinema. 11.35 News. 11.50 Scales of justice. 12.20 Greatest fights of the century. 12.30 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 12.05 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 4.25 Lost in space. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Scotch corner. 7.00 It's all in life. 7.30 Film: 'Breakaway'. 8.45 London. 11.00 Angling. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Journey to the unknown.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.40 Cartoon. 2.50 News. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women today. 3.55 Harriet's back in town. 4.25 Skippy. 4.55 Merrie melodies. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Try for ten. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Troubled Waters'. 8.15 Stuart Gillies show. 8.45 London. 11.00 Hogan's heroes. 11.30 Frighteners. 12.00 Meditation.

#### ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Fight Rising Prices Force the Tories to Resign Support the Engineers

HOLLOWAY: Thursday January 18, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Rd (near Finsbury Park

CROYDON: Thursday January 18, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road, South Croydon.

TOTTENHAM: Thursday, January 18, 8 p.m. 'Bricklayers' Arms', Tottenham High Road, N17 (near White Hart Lane).

CONISBOROUGH: Monday January 22, 7.30 p.m. 'The Castle Inn'. 'How can workers fight the

ACTON: Tuesday January 23, 8. p.m. Co-op Hall, High Street, W3. SOUTHALL: Tuesday January 23, 8 p.m. The Library, Osterley Park

EAST LONDON: Tuesday January 23, 8 p.m. 'Festival Inn', Market Square, Crisp Street Market, E.14.

LEICESTER: Wednesday January 24, 8 p.m. Queen's Hotel, Rutland Street.

MIDDLETON: Thursday January 25, 7.30 p.m. 'The Cardinal's Hat', Wood Street, Middleton. 'Stop Rising Prices. Force the Tories

WILLESDEN: Thursday January 25, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Road, NW10.

LEEDS: Thursday, January 25, 8 p.m. Peel Hotel, Boar Lane. 'The state pay plan'.

MIDDLESBROUGH: Sunday January 28, 7.30 p.m. Settlement Community Centre, Newport Road.

ROCHESTER: Tuesday January 30, 8 p.m. 'The Greyhound', Rochester Avenue.

BARKING: Tuesday January 30, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, corner of Fanshawe Ave./Lagbridge Road.

HARROW: Tuesday January 30, 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Harrow and Wealdstone.

CLAPHAM: Tuesday January 30, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, SW4.

WANDSWORTH: Tuesday January 30, 8 p.m. Selkirk Hotel, Tooting Broadway, SW17.

KINGSTON: Thursday February 'Liverpool Arms' 1, 8 p.m. 'Liverpool (corner of Cambridge London Road).

#### An appeal on behalf of the Fine Tubes strikers of Plymouth

THE Plymouth Fine Tubes strikers have just completed two years and seven months on strike.

These men have waged a bitter struggle for the most basic right a worker can possess—the right to belong to a trade union.

Strike committee members have travelled over 100,000 miles to sustain their fight.

These latest months have been the hardest of all for the men, their wives and 53

children. Common Market entry, with rapidly rising prices, has imposed a severe financial burden. The 37 strikers face the challenging months ahead with a depleted strike fundthis is in a period when meat has now become a luxury for all but the highest paid. January is always a difficult month to raise money to further their fight.

Yet they are determined to fight on. This is a struggle the working class cannot afford to

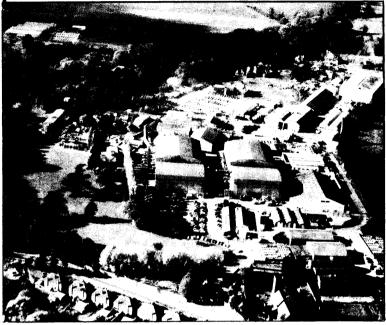
lose. That is why the Socialist Labour League and the Workers Press wishes to make a special appeal to all trade unionists to take collections in their factories and branches for the Fine Tubes men in order that their heroic and determined action can be carried forward. All money should be sent to:

> Fine Tubes Treasurer c/o 65 Bretonside Plymouth, Devon.

#### Shepperton film-workers **Bentley** hold their ground clearly shaken

WORKERS' opposition to asset-stripper John Bentley's carve up of the Shepperton film studios is mounting. On Tuesday night they heard him raise his offer of a 49-per-cent stake in the new film company, Lion

International, to 50 per cent.



#### **Southampton** students to stage area grants strike

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

SOUTHAMPTON University and about 30 colleges in the area will stage a one-day strike next week in support of supplementary grants. The decision to hold the strike on Thursday, January 25, was taken by the students' union at Southampton by 230 votes to seven.

#### SLL **LECTURES** TODMORDEN

Monday January 22 'Stalinism' Monday February 5

THE WEAVERS'
TUTE, Burnley INSTI-Road, 7.30 p.m.

#### HULL

'Trotskylsm'

Wednesday January 17 Stalinism and Trotskyism

Wednesday::January 24 Marxist theory and the revolutionary party

WHITE HART HOTEL Alfred Gelder Street (near Drypool Bridge)

#### DONCASTER

Sunday January 21 What future for the labour movement.

Sunday February 4 The crisis and the socialist answer.

Sunday February 11 The revolutionary party in Britain.

Lectures given by Cliff Slaughter.

**SPREAD EAGLE HOTEL** Westlaithgate 7.30 p.m.

The resolution called for a campaign on supplementary grants and the removal of the

Tory government.
The West Hampshire Area Students' Federation has endorsed the policy.

Digby Jacks, president of the National Union of Students and a member of the Communist Party, will speak at a rally at Fareham Technical College.



DIGBY JACKS . . . to address students' asily

Southampton Trades Council has agreed to send a delegation and a speaker while the local electricians' union branch will support the march.

The march will start at Asylum Green at 2 p.m. and will proceed to Central Halls in the

Yesterday Portsmouth Polvtechnic decided to strike and demonstrate on January 29.

The offer was first made a week ago in a bid to break down union and workers' opposition to his plans to sell all but 15 of the 60-acre site for housing develop-

Bentley was badly shaken at Tuesday's meeting by a barrage of questions demanding to know the viability of the truncated Lion International as a

major film unit.

He refused to offer the
318 employees guarantees of long-term employment and, stumbling and ner-vous, left a marked impression that he knew next to nothing about film-

The last major film made at Shepperton—'Bequest to the Nation'—occupied up to six stages and they con-clude that if Bentley's plan

goes ahead no more big films will be made there. Offices, cutting rooms and viewing theatres will all come under the Bentley

In addition the plan involves the complete re-building of the studios with no prospect of alternative

work in the meantime.
Few, if any, workers are disposed to take up Bentley's offer of a 50 per cent stake and they note in passing that it only applies to those who have worked at the studio for more than

a year.

The majority of technicians are dismissed each Christmas and rehired as

the need arises.

Bentley's obvious discomfort at Tuesday's meeting and his desperation for a rapid agreement have, if anything, stiffened their determination to hold their ground.

Their demand at the meeting that if Bentley wants to see them in future he must go to Shepperton rather than invite them to meetings in London is a clear sign of their mood. Bentley will meet the workers again in a fort-

A DETECTIVE constable

attached to West Ham police

has resigned from the force following an allegation that he

last Friday. A police spokesman said: 'An investigation has been

carried out into the allegation

and a report is going to the Director of Public Prosecutions.'

woman made a complaint

assaulted a woman.



JOHN BENTLEY . . . Offers 50 per cent

night and meanwhile talks will go on between themselves and the film unions.

Unable to overcome his well-earned reputation as an asset-stripper, a new pit opened under his feet yesopened under his feet yes-terday with the news that the chief of his new film company, Mr Jeremy Arnold, has quit. It is known that there were strong differences be-tween Arnold and Bentley

tween Arnold and Bentley over what proportion of the Shepperton site should

be saved for film making.
But throughout, Bentley has refused to budge from his plan to dispose of all

but 15 acres.

The hallmark of his previous deals has been the speed with which he has been able to recoup his

capital by asset stripping.
His nervousness on Tuesday may indicate that the Shepperton workers' stub-born refusal to give way is seriously threatening his bank balance.

#### Hyde Park speech case for the **Old Bailey**

THE CASE against three Irishmen accused of making seditious speeches at Hyde Park last year comes up at the Old Bailey again on

The prosecution on Monday dropped two charges against the three men of conspiracy to 'depose the Queen'.

Under Section 3 of the Treason Felony Act 1848, the three — Louis Marcantonio (43), Michael Callinan (45) and Stanley Quinn (43), all of London would have food a maximum —would have faced a maximum penalty of life imprisonment if convicted.

For the past seven months they have been remanded in custody in Brixton jail under high

security.
The three have denied a charge of conspiring to bring into hatred and contempt and overthrow the government of the United Kingdom.

Callinan pleaded guilty to uttering words unlawfully and seditiously, to overthrow the government of the United Kingdom.

The Prisoners' Aid Committee has reported that altogether there are now a total of 14 Irish political prisoners in British jails serving sentences of 89½ years between them.

#### Birmingham flying picket fights lump

BIRMINGHAM building workers have formed a flying picket to step up the battle against the use of 'lump' labour.

They are also demanding the reinstatement of Peter Carter, a leading shop steward who has been sacked by Birmingham's leading contractor

> Over 350 Bryant workers, all members of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians, have formed the mobile picket to bring out workers on sites if contractors introduce self-employed building

> Bryant's say Carter was dismissed because the work on his site was coming to an end. But workers claim he was sacked for organizing a fight against the

> Carter has himself said that if his dismissal goes through without opposition, then shop stewards would be dismissed week by week.

> MORGAN CRUCIBLE, the carbon component firm, has made a successful takeover bid for Carbon Electric Holdings, the engineering and electronics group. The directors issued a joint statement saying that it was an industry which will 'inevitably face restructuring as the enlargement of the EEC begins to take

#### **Stop talks with Tories** say Chiswick engineers

Police assault allegation

goes to the DPP

BY A WORKERS PRESS REPORTER

THE CHISWICK No 5 branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has passed the following resolutions:

To the TUC leaders-calling upon them 'to stop the cowardly talks with the Tories and to lead the movement in a General Strike to bring down the government'.

To Jim Conway, AUEW general secretary — defending

'the right of the "Workers Press", "Morning Star", etc., to comment on the AUEW elections'. (This is in answer to a circular warning members not to give publicity to candi-

In Birmingham a police sergeant accused of burglary and theft told the Crown Court that

when he was found by other officers in a butcher's shop, he

was investigating the possibility

guilty to entering Dewhurst's butchers and stealing a chicken,

joints of meat, sausages and

Kenneth Adams pleaded not

of intruders there.

The case continues.

And to the North London District Committee—to 'resist attempts from any quarter to give up their hostility to the check-off system [union subs deduction by management]'.

#### **CIRCULATION**

01-622 7029

#### **NEWS DESK**

01-720 2000

#### **JANUARY** FIGURE AT £564.47

#### -14 DAYS LEFT

WE NOW have just 14 days to raise £1,185.53 to complete our target for January—this gives us approximately £85 to collect each day between now and the end of the month. We know you will do everything possible to help us reach our final total.

Everywhere sections of workers, from civil servants to gasmen and carworkers, are joining the fight for wages. More and more a head-on clash is inevitable against the government's state pay laws.

Workers Press is decisive in preparing this stage of the battle. Our paper will continue to be in the forefront of the struggle against the Tories.

Let's therefore make a great effort for our Fund this month. Try and raise over our target of  $\mathfrak{L}1,750$ . Push ahead and see if we can reach a record amount. Post your donations immediately

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

#### Spate of new gas strikes

THOUSANDS of Scottish gasworkers yesterday answered Phase II of the Tories' state pay laws with a 24-hour strike in support of their wage claim.

Gas pressure was reduced throughout central Scotland as a reported 3,000 men staged a walk-out.

Said a spokesman at the strikers' Glasgow headquarters: 'We have had reports in from all over Scotland and we believe it is an almost 100-per-cent stoppage.'

An overtime ban is expected to follow yesterday's strike which took place despite warnings from official union leaders.

More than 100 of the Scottish strikers also demonstrated outside the Glasgow headquarters of the Scottish Gas Board.

They were joined by 500 gas workers in Hull, Yorkshire, who also struck for the day, halting conversion work on North Sea Gas as a result.

In the London area, 500 gas-workers at East Greenwich and another 250 at Croydon have decided to continue their over-time ban and work-to-rule.

On Tuesday the leadership of the General and Municipal Workers' Union called off a threatened ban on overtime and co-operation on the basis of resumed pay talks yesterday with the Gas Council.

The 47,000 gasworkers' basic rates range from just £19.10 for a labourer to £22.87 for a crafts-

Many men point out that these figures compared with a guaranteed £4.31 more for an electricity labourer and £6.51 for an electricity craftsman.

The official claim is for rises of between £2.65 and £3.

THE CIVIL and Public Services Association will announce today what future industrial action it will take in support of its pay claim.

The national executive of the association began a two-day meeting in London yesterday.

Members have already demanded that the associa-tion consider action, including stoppages, to force higher wages.

On Tuesday night about 4,000 civil servants marched to Downing Street chanting anti-Tory slogans. They called for selective strike action.

At a rally at Central Halls, the association's president, Mr Ken Lever,

'We are fed up with members moonlighting at dog tracks and washing up at Lyons. We are fed up with snide remarks by newspaper editors and like of a tea-drinking bureaucracy. We have had enough now. We want a proper pay rise.

cheering meeting passed a resolution 'condemning the present gov-ernment freeze on earnings, imposed without restraint being effectively applied to prices, rents, dividends and unearned income'.

In particular it took 'the gravest view of any inter-ference with agreed principles of pay determination within the public sector implicit in the freeze legislation.'

At Downing Street a deputation was allowed through the barricades to present the resolution to one of Heath's aides.

Angry civil servants crowded the barricades calling 'Heath Out' and 'More Pay'.

Civil servants' chiefs to decide next action





Above: Some of the civil servants who demonstrated

#### Victimized glassworker reinstated

BY DAVID MAUDE

THE GENERAL and Municipal Workers' Union yesterday agreed to recommend that Gerry Caughey, victimized leader of the 1970 Pilkington strike, be admitted to its general branch in Liverpool.

Agreement was reached following a 20-minute hearing in the National Industrial Relations Court to which Caughey had complained of an unfair industrial practice by the union.

Although working elsewhere, Caughey is to apply for re-employment at Pilkington's Triplex Glass works where he was once convenor.

He described the agreement reached with the G&MWU as 'a step forward' yesterday afternoon.

'It's a gain for a number of men sacked by Pilkington's who are still without jobs,' he claimed.

The agreement reached after more than two hours' private discussion out of court is that Walter Aldritt, G&MWU Liverpool, North Wales and Irish regional secretary, will recomin G&MWU



**GERRY CAUGHEY . . . Complaint** to court

mend that his regional committee accept Caughey as a member of the No 100 branch.

It is conditional on Caughey being a member of no more than other union and on that union's acceptance of the dual membership situation.

Reference is also made in the agreement to the acceptance by both parties of rule 43 of the G&MWU which states that members shall assist their fellow unionists in obtaining suitable employment.

Caughey's complaint of unfair industrial practice by the union in excluding him has been adjourned indefinitely, but David

Turner Samuel, QC, yesterday reserved on his behalf the right to go back to the court at a later date.

In welcoming the settlement, Sir John Donaldson, NIRC President, took the opportunity to boost the court's stance as a conciliator.

It had helped to 'crystallize the parties' minds', in this case, he

It is believed that the G&MWU has dropped previous insistance that Caughey should never hold any position in the union again if readmitted as a member.

But the union is also understood to have backtracked on a tentative offer that it fight directly for Caughey's re-employment at Triplex.

Yesterday's proceedings were heard before Sir John Donaldson and lay judges H. Briggs, CBE and F. J. Fielding, a former director of the Engineering Employers' Federation.

Caughey made his complaint under Section 65 of the Industrial Relations Act. This lays down guidelines for the conduct of organizations of workers' into which category G&MWU falls as an unregistered union.

To make out his case. Caughev would have had to prove arbitrary and unreasonable discrimination' by the union.

on Tuesday night at their Central Halls meeting. Left: the union leaders on the platform.

#### Reaction

FROM PAGE 1

The Tories have made even more clear their determination to impose state control of wages -a major corporatist measure.

They have thrown down the gauntlet to the working class.

The urgent need now is for a united fight by the trade unions to destroy these Tory pay laws. That will create the conditions for forcing the Heath govern-ment to resign.

ment to resign.

The White Paper declares bluntly: There is no prospect of achieving a reduction in the rate of price inflation unless increases in pay are brought well below the levels reached immediately before the standstill.'

All wage increases negotiated since that date (November 6) are limited to £1 per week plus 4 per cent of the wage bill for the group over the previous year, excluding overtime.

No one will be permitted an increase of more than £250 per year—less than £5 a week. All settlements must run for at least 12 months.

Increases held back by the existing Act will still be held up. They can be deferred for up to 90 days after February 8 and then they will be subject to the new limits (unless they were agreed before November 6).

Payment will not be permitted if it is less than 12 months since the last settlement and no increases will be retrospective.

In addition the requirement of the

retrospective.

In addition the requirement of the Equal Pay Act of 1970 to bring women's pay up to 90 per cent of the male rate in 1973 will not be enforced. A draft Bill published simultaneously with the White Paper will be introduced in the Commons when Parliament reassembles on Monday.

This makes it an offence to strike or threaten to strike or take any industrial action to force an employer to contravene an order of the Pay Board.

Board.

The action is defined as 'calling, organizing, procuring or financing a strike or organizing, procuring or financing any irregular industrial action short of a strike or making threats to do either'.

Offenders will be liable to a fine not exceeding £400 on summary conviction or to an unspecified fine on conviction on indictment.

Specific offences under the Bill in-

on indictment.

Specific offences under the Bill include action by any organization of workers 'or any other organization or persons' exercising pressure on an employer to contravene sections of the

Act.

That the government clearly anticipates legal actions against trade unions is shown by a clause in the Bill that states that in any such proceedings it will be a defence for a union official to show that he was acting within the scope of his authority on behalf of the union.

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#### Hosiery workers hear jobs decision

#### FROM PHILIP WADE

ASIAN WORKERS at the Loughborough mills of the Mansfield Hosiery company will know today if they have been given jobs as trainee knitters.

A selection panel set up at the end of a ten-week strike by Asian workers sent its report to management yesterday.

During the strike, over 40 non-Asian workers were taken on as trainee knitters, positions which Asian workers had found impossible to obtain over a ten-year

The panel was set up to decide on applications for the jobs

which were placed in a pool. Some 85 workers asked for the vacant positions, including 47 Asians.

A Department of Employment training officer observed selection process, which lasted ten davs.

Since their return the Asian workers have had to contend handful of organized racialists in the mill-part of the giant Nottingham Manufacturing Group.

right-wing groups Extreme from the Leicester area have tried to ensure that no unity was established between Asian and English workers.

But strikers' leaders say the racialists have been reduced to a small minority and that the vast proportion of English workers are willing to unite with