

TORIES READY FOR GENERAL STRIKE

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BY ALEX MITCHELL

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Revamp

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The new organization is trained along military lines

TURN TO PAGE 2



Lt Col Heath, ex-commander of the Honourable Artillery Company, in uniform.

Heath's 'phantom elite' see p.2

TOMORROW is polling day in France see TODAY'S CENTRE PAGES for The French elections A statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International STARTING ON MONDAY Tom Kemp writes on The French Popular Front, 1936-1938

INTELLIGENCE & SECURITY GROUP (VOLUNTEERS)

YOUNG MEN OF GOOD EDUCATION, aged at least 18, are invited to enquire how they may spend their spare time profitably and in the service of their country. We have vacancies for men to be trained as NCOs in the Territorial and Army Volunteer Reserve, for specialised Intelligence duties.

If you live within about 30 miles of any of the following cities, write or telephone NOW:

LONDON
No. 1, Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, London, NW3 5LA (01-435 9660)

BIRMINGHAM
T & AVR Centre, Mossfield Road, King's Heath, Birmingham: 14 (021-444 2730)

EDINBURGH
T & AVR Centre, MacDonald Road, Edinburgh, 7 (031-556 4129)

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TUC must call a General Strike to make the Tory government resign

LOBBY THE TUC MONDAY MARCH 5

9 a.m. Central Halls, Westminster (opposite Houses of Parliament)

Report back meeting: 2 p.m. Friars Halls, Sheetmetal Workers Union, Blackfriars Bridge (nearest tube Blackfriars).

WORKERS PRESS


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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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WHAT WE THINK

The Lincoln by-election

THE 13,191 MAJORITY for Labour renegade Dick Taverne in the Lincoln by-election indicates a move to the right by the middle class. It follows the pattern set in the Sutton and Cheam and Rochdale by-elections where thousands of Tory voters swung over to the Liberal candidates.

In a situation in which millions of organized workers are fighting the government in defence of wages and democratic rights, a section of the petty bourgeoisie is turning extremely hostile to the working class.

In essence the vote for Taverne was a Tory vote against Labour and the unions. The former right-wing Labour MP presented himself as the 'independent, small man' fighting the giant Party machines. This appeals to the middle class which, seeing its savings eaten away by inflation and hit by rising costs and mortgages, etc., feels hemmed in by the power of the organized working class on the one hand and the gigantic monopolies on the other.

However the drop in the Tory vote will not worry Heath's party unduly. They know that a full-scale attack on the unions and on workers' rights will bring these voters flocking back. For them Taverne's election is a green light to proceed at full speed on the road to corporatism.

Above all, the Lincoln by-election reveals the bankruptcy of reformism. Taverne was a prominent right-wing Labourite. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, he supported Hugh Gaitskell's attempts to drop nationalization from the Labour Party constitution.

In 1961 he was a leading member of the Campaign for Democratic Socialism, which operated as a Fifth Column in the Labour Party to overturn the unilateral nuclear disarmament resolution passed at the 1960 Labour Party conference.

He will undoubtedly emerge in parliament as a supporter of the Tories' state control of wages legislation. He was one of 69 Labour MPs who, led by Roy Jenkins, voted with the Tories on the Common Market in 1971 and saved Heath from certain defeat.

This means, of course, that there are 68 other Dick Tavernes nestling inside the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Those Labour supporters who jeered Taverne and denounced him as a Tory when the by-election result was announced, were absolutely right. But it is the policies of the Labour leaders which are responsible for such defeats.

The right-winger Hugh Gaitskell contributed largely to Labour's election defeat of 1951 with his 'arms budget' of that year and then led the party to further defeats in 1955 and 1959.

His successor, Harold Wilson, turned a Labour majority of 97 seats in 1966 into a Tory victory four years later. His attacks on the working class and his refusal to introduce socialist measures opened the door for Heath and paved the way for the Industrial Relations Act and state control of wages.

Today the right-wing Labourites are virtually an adjunct of the Tory government, while Wilson publicly collaborates with Heath and advises him on the best way to use the force of the state against the unions.

This can only strengthen the forces of the extreme right, inside and outside the Tory Party. As the working class moves to the left and fights to defend its gains of the last 200 years, the Labour Party leaders are incapable of challenging the government. That is the major lesson from Lincoln.

Markets close en bloc

Nixon men talk of 'another 1929'

COMMON MARKET Finance Ministers will meet in Brussels on Sunday afternoon for crisis talks on the monetary situation. Top of the agenda will be the question of a joint float of all EEC currencies against the dollar.

Yesterday foreign exchange markets in most main capitalist countries, including Britain, France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Japan and Austria, were closed for the second time in less than three weeks.

These closures reflected the most serious crisis to hit the international monetary system—reflected in the record \$2,500m sold in Frankfurt on Thursday.

All semblance of international control over the monetary system has been destroyed and Treasury officials in Washington are openly talking about 'another 1929'.

Last month's upward re-alignment of currencies against the dollar has collapsed; where the Smithsonian agreement of December 1971 lasted eight months, the latest agreement has stood up for about eight days.

The objective contradictions of the capitalist system now predominate over all the past attempts to regulate the inflationary crisis by international agreement.

Edward Heath, summoned to Bonn by chancellor Willy Brandt, is under great pressure to link the pound to other European currencies in a concerted EEC float against the dollar.

BY FOREIGN EDITOR JOHN SPENCER

In the Commons yesterday Chancellor of the Exchequer Anthony Barber refused to give any guarantee that such a float would not be undertaken.

Asked by shadow Chancellor Denis Healey whether it was still his policy not to sacrifice growth to 'an unrealistic exchange rate', Barber said he had nothing to add to previous statements.

Healey said that if the pound were to be pegged against the French franc and the German mark, this would 'simply divert the overwhelming mass of European currency speculation against sterling'.

He asked Barber: 'Will you bear in mind that business is already disturbed in investment intentions, and if the pound was pegged this would be the last straw to break the back of business confidence?'

Healey added that it



Heath: Bonn reprimand

would be 'disastrous' to many of Barber's intentions in the forthcoming budget if a decision were taken in Bonn this weekend to peg the pound against other European currencies 'when the balance-of-payments outlook remains so gloomy'.

Only the 'advantage' of having the pound floating downwards against the other European currencies has enabled the British capitalist class to win a brief respite from the full effects of the world currency breakdown and trade war.

A joint float of sterling with the other EEC currencies would immediately throw the full weight of the international economic crisis onto British capitalism—and thus onto the backs of the British working class.

Phases One and Two of the Tory statutory wage controls would become entirely inadequate to meet the requirements of British imperialism in such a situation.

As Healey points out, business confidence would evaporate overnight.

The Tory government was unable to sustain the previous attempt at EEC currency alignment of April last year. It was forced to drop out of the running and float sterling only six weeks after the scheme was established.

This time, however, the two big powers of the Common Market, Germany and France, are prepared to tolerate no nonsense from the Tory government.

Brandt will insist with Heath that the British working class must be bled white in the interests of the Common Market.

To give such a float the least semblance of credibility, the Tory government will have to seek an undertaking from the other eight Common Market members that they will guarantee the £3,000m in sterling held overseas.

In practice, this means the British government will put itself deeply in debt to the other EEC countries, who are certain to demand that Britain carry the brunt of the economic crisis.

British capitalism will thus put itself deeply into debt with its rivals inside the Common Market, who are certain in their turn to demand attacks of unparalleled viciousness on the British working class.

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FROM PAGE 1

and is fully equipped with modern small arms.

This 'phantom army' has mainly an infantry role. But one regiment is equipped with Saracen and Ferret vehicles as used in Northern Ireland.

Today's preparations are more dangerous than Churchill's similar preparations before the 1926 General Strike, because the crisis facing the ruling class is profoundly deeper.

The Tories have used Northern Ireland as their testing ground for a whole range of repressive para-

phernalia—water cannon, CS gas, rubber bullets, 'stun' guns, internment camps, assassination squads, special courts.

Brigadier Frank Kitson, new head of the Infantry Training School at Warminster, has been persistently proposing a co-ordinated

military/police attack on the working class.

His book 'Low-Density Operations' was enthusiastically applauded in a foreword by General Sir Michael Carver.

Two weeks ago the Cabinet promoted Carver to Field Marshal and named

him as the new chief of the defence council—all three services—to take over in October.

The lessons are clear: if the trade union movement has to fight a General Strike, it must fight to win.

There must be no repeat of 1926!

Heath's 'phantom elite'

AT THE Tory Party conference in October 1969 Mr Geoffrey Rippon, then Shadow Defence Minister, made a pledge to the Tory faithful.

'A Conservative government intends to see that the host of young men and women desperately anxious to serve their country are given official encouragement and opportunity to do so.

'For the tens of thousands who have been so cynically told they are not wanted, we want the message to go from this conference—we value you, the country still needs you and we will want you to come back.'

The conference unanimously voted to restore the Territorial Army when the Tories were elected—which turned out to be eight months later.

Apart from Rippon of the Monday Club, there were other strong Tory voices in support of a strong 'home defence'.

In 1969 the Conservative Political Centre published a book 'Twice a Citizen' by Sir Tufton Beamish and Mr Philip Goodhart which called for the resurrection of the part-time army.

They said: 'Such a force would be excellent value for money. There are also many

visible assets, such as providing an outlet for the energies and loyalties of those ready to serve in a national emergency.'

Recruitment for the TAVR became as important almost as recruitment for the regular army itself. A highly-polished series of advertising campaigns were launched, particularly in areas of high unemployment.

The Tories also made Lord Clydesmuir, one of their leading Scottish supporters, the chairman of the Territorial Council.

Clydesmuir, an industrialist and governor of the Bank of Scotland, with big influence in the North Sea oil bonanza, has taken a keen interest in the development of the battalions in this 'phantom army'.

Last month in his annual report Clydesmuir stated:

'Those who serve in the TAVR are the elite of the country. They are men and women who have volunteered to spend their leisure time training to that state of military efficiency which will enable them to take

their place alongside the regular army in the face of a National Emergency. I congratulate you all.'

Heath, himself a former colonel, has gone out of his way to attend Territorial functions and praise the young troops.

Each recruit is trained with modern automatic weapons and operations are frequently integrated with the regular army's.

We were told that recruits at one TAVR camp were shown a map of south London during a 'true-to-life' exercise and told:

'This is Brixton. Now our job is to put down a race riot here.'

The TAVR strength is currently at 60,000 men equipped and trained to regular army standards.

The Tories' target figure is 100,000. The record defence budget just announced includes the TAVR.

The Tories hope that by raising the £150 a year for raw recruits they might be able to attract more support from out of work and impoverished youngsters.

Wouldn't the increase be a breach of the Phase Two pay laws? Yes, but the Tories won't have any bother getting their way around that one.

BRIEFLY

BLACK WORKERS in South Africa will not be permitted to form trade unions says Labour Minister Marais Viljoen. He called on employers to treat black workers fairly and pay a living wage and suggested that 'works committees' would help prevent industrial disputes. His speech comes after the big Durban strike movement.

PAKISTAN students set fire to the British Council library in Islamabad in protest against the shooting by London police of two young Pakistanis during a raid on India House. The two youths have been given a martyr's funeral in their home state of Azad Kashmir. Mahmud Ali, Minister for Overseas Pakistanis, is in London to take stock of the situation of Pakistani nationals in Britain.

PAGEANT DIARY

The Road to Workers Power

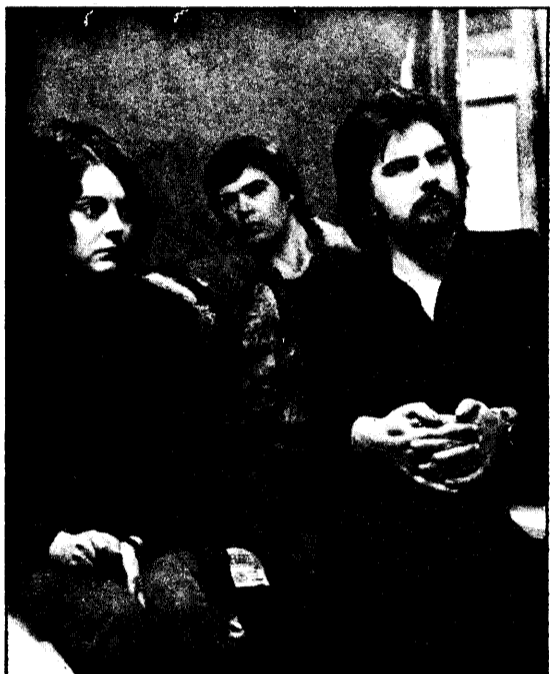


London

London group rehearses

Marx and the Pageant

THE MEETING is brought to order. Brother Odger bangs the gavel. The First International opens its inaugural meeting.



The scene is Covent Garden and the London Pageant group is rehearsing its contribution to 'The Road to Workers' Power'.

The London episode reveals the historic contribution which Karl Marx made to the development of the British working class.

Marx was co-opted onto the General Council of the First International at its inaugural meeting in St Martin's Hall in September 1864.

● Next week Workers Press will be publishing a special feature article on the London rehearsals.

● For full details of the Pageant, along with the anti-Tory rally and concert at the Empire Pool, Wembley, next Sunday (March 11), see over the page.



London Pageant director Tom Kempinski, below a rehearsal-room noticeboard full of information on Karl Marx.

Ancillary workers want all-out action

'We must win or we'll be the patients'

Hospital workers can't keep up with prices

BILL STRINGER is the hospital porters' shop steward at Coventry's Walsgrove Hospital where over 500 ancillary workers are on a one-week selective strike in support of their national wage claim.

He told Workers Press: 'I think this selective action is a waste of time, but it is the decision taken and we are supporting it.'

'As a minor part of the trade union movement we do not have much strength. We are getting support from other Transport and General Workers Union members—lorry drivers are not crossing the picket line.'

'Obviously we hope the patients won't be inconvenienced and that public sympathy will be with us. But we are in conflict with the government because they are holding down wages but not prices.'

'I think we should call every hospital out.'

'The TUC is not pushing hard enough. It's about time they had everybody out and forced the Tories out. Then we must get a Labour government back.'

From the nearby Whitley Hospital, Mrs. Loughrane, a T&GWU shop steward for the cleaners, said:

'I don't believe in strikes because we have to consider the patients, but if all-out strike is the only way,

then we must have it.

'I think all my members are in favour of all-out strike action. Otherwise we will be the patients. We can't keep up with the rise in food prices and rents.'

'I'm a widow and to get a decent wage it means working 50 or 60 hours a week. I don't think one-day strikes will win our claim.'

'We are government workers and they seem determined to make our conditions even worse. I've worked in hospitals for 13 years and it's not very good.'

Mrs. Loughrane's son Sandy is a porter in the same hospital.

He says: 'The unions are not fighting hard enough. I'd like to see an all-out strike. Present wages are very bad.'

'If you are a married man you can get more on Social Security.'

'Other T&GWU members are supporting us, but all sections must be brought into action. Gasmen, civil servants and hospital workers must fight together, otherwise we can't win.'



DAI HUGHES . . . Offer is an insult.



MRS. KELLY . . . Worst gov't for workers.

ANCILLARY workers at the Singleton Hospital Swansea, South Wales, spent their second day on the picket line yesterday in their three-day action for more pay.

The laundrymen and transport workers say they have stopped indefinitely, though a number of workers have been left to cover emergency services. The workers have threatened to pull them out if the hospital authorities bring in any 'volunteers'—strike-breakers.

There are at least 1,500 ancillary staff on strike at Swansea's three main hospitals and the National Union of Public Employees has reported 100 per cent support in hospitals in Pembrokeshire, Carmarthenshire, Neath and Morriston.

Commented Mr Dai Hughes, NUPE secretary at Singleton: 'If this strike is not effective, we will intensify our action.'

Said domestic workers' steward Mrs Kelly: 'Under the wage freeze, how can a porter now taking home just £15 be brought up to a decent standard of living?'

A POLICY TO MEET THE CRISIS

THE TORY government is relentlessly pursuing its plan for a confrontation with the working class. Each day new sections of workers are forced to become criminals — under Tory law — to defend their standard of living against government-inspired soaring cost of living.

Large sections of these workers openly acknowledge that the only answer to their fight to maintain a decent standard of living is a General Strike. That is, the creation of the industrial and political conditions which will force the government to resign.

In its place must be elected a Labour government which is pledged by the mass action of the working class to implement socialist policies.

We say 'pledged to socialist policies' knowing that the present leaders of the Labour movement have no intention of introducing such policies. Indeed, in the last analysis some of them will be prepared to join a coalition government with the Tories to head off the working class.

But if the working class is strong enough to force the Tories out, it is strong enough to deal with the traitors in its own midst. This can only be achieved by exposing them in the fight for an alternative socialist policy.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League calls upon the working class to support the following policies to unite the working class against the Tories and the present Wilson-Feather leadership of the labour movement:

Here is the policy which the next Labour government must be forced to carry out.

1) A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act, Housing Finance Act, Immigration Acts, Fair Trading Act and all wage control. After the repeal of all Tory anti-working class measures, there must be legislation to implement the Charter of Basic Rights, along the following lines.

2) The right to work! Capitalism demands mass unemployment. The right to a job must

be guaranteed. This can only be done by breaking the grip of capitalist ownership on the economy. Employed and unemployed must unite to insist on a Labour government nationalizing the main industries and banks, under workers' control and without compensation.

The struggle must begin now. No closures, no sackings, must be the policy of the trade unions. Occupation of factories threatened with closure, as part of the fight to bring down the Tories.

3) The democratic right to strike and to organize in trade unions. Only the organized working class can lead mankind out of the historical crisis. Every right and every gain won by the working class, every democratic right in Britain, has been won because of the organized strength of the unions and the strike weapon.

A Labour government must immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act. This fight must begin now by forcing the TUC to break off all relations with the government and mobilize the working class to destroy state control of wages.

4) The right to defend rights won in the past and change the system. All the changes in legal procedures made by the Tory government must be repealed. All secret police and MI5 organizations must be dis-

banded and fully exposed. The secrets of the Tory administration in this sphere must be published. All rights to assembly, free speech and the Press must be guaranteed.

5) The right to a higher standard of living. It is not the living standards of trade unionists, but the profit system, which causes the crisis. The first step must be to expropriate all the great fortunes of the rich, close down the Stock Exchange, place a state control over all movements of capital in and out of the country.

Nationalization of the basic industries and of all large companies, banks, building and insurance societies will provide the resources for a unified plan to improve the living standards of the whole people. Workers' control of these, as well as the present nationalized industries, will run them in the interests of the workers and consumers.

Again, the fight must begin now. State control of wages must be answered by the most widespread fight for wage increases to meet price rises and improve standards. This means a fight to remove the Tory government and change the union leadership.

6) The right to health and welfare benefits. Every Tory government cut in welfare benefits, in the health service and in all public spending must

be revoked. On the basis of nationalization, a crash programme of expansion of services to the unemployed, the low-paid, the sick and the aged must be undertaken as an absolute priority. The working class and the Labour government must take immediate and absolute responsibility for these victims of the capitalist system.

7) The right to decent housing. Decent housing is not a luxury; it is a necessity. People have the basic right to decent accommodation at rents they can afford. Nationalization of the handful of building monopolies and building societies will provide the basis for a massive programme of new house building. The disgraceful problem of the homeless in the cities must be immediately solved by census and taking-over of all unoccupied property.

8) The international responsibilities of the working class. The working class is international. We fight for the unrestricted right of any worker of any nationality to move freely through the world.

Withdraw the troops from Ireland. Unite the Irish and British working class to throw out the Lynch and Heath governments.

Unite in the struggle for the Socialist United States of Europe, the only alternative to

the Common Market plans for dictatorship.

Withdraw all British troops from abroad and disband the present standing army.

Sign treaties with all colonial countries for programmes of equal trade and mutual assistance.

Break from NATO and all imperialist alliances.

For the carrying out of such policies the SLL fights for the setting up of Councils of Action to lead the struggle against the Tory government in every area. These Councils unite trade unionists, tenants, unemployed, all political parties and tendencies of the working class (Labour Party, Communist Party, SLL, IS, IMG, etc.) to fight against the main enemy, the Tory government.

The SLL calls upon every socialist and class-conscious worker to consider this programme and manifesto very carefully, and to decide now to take up their inescapable responsibilities. The building of the revolutionary party is the burning question now, not in some remote future. The SLL is determined to carry through its transformation into a revolutionary party.

We appeal to all readers of the Workers Press and our supporters to join the SLL and help transform it into a revolutionary party.



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THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Fill in the form below and send to NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186a CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON SW4 7UG.

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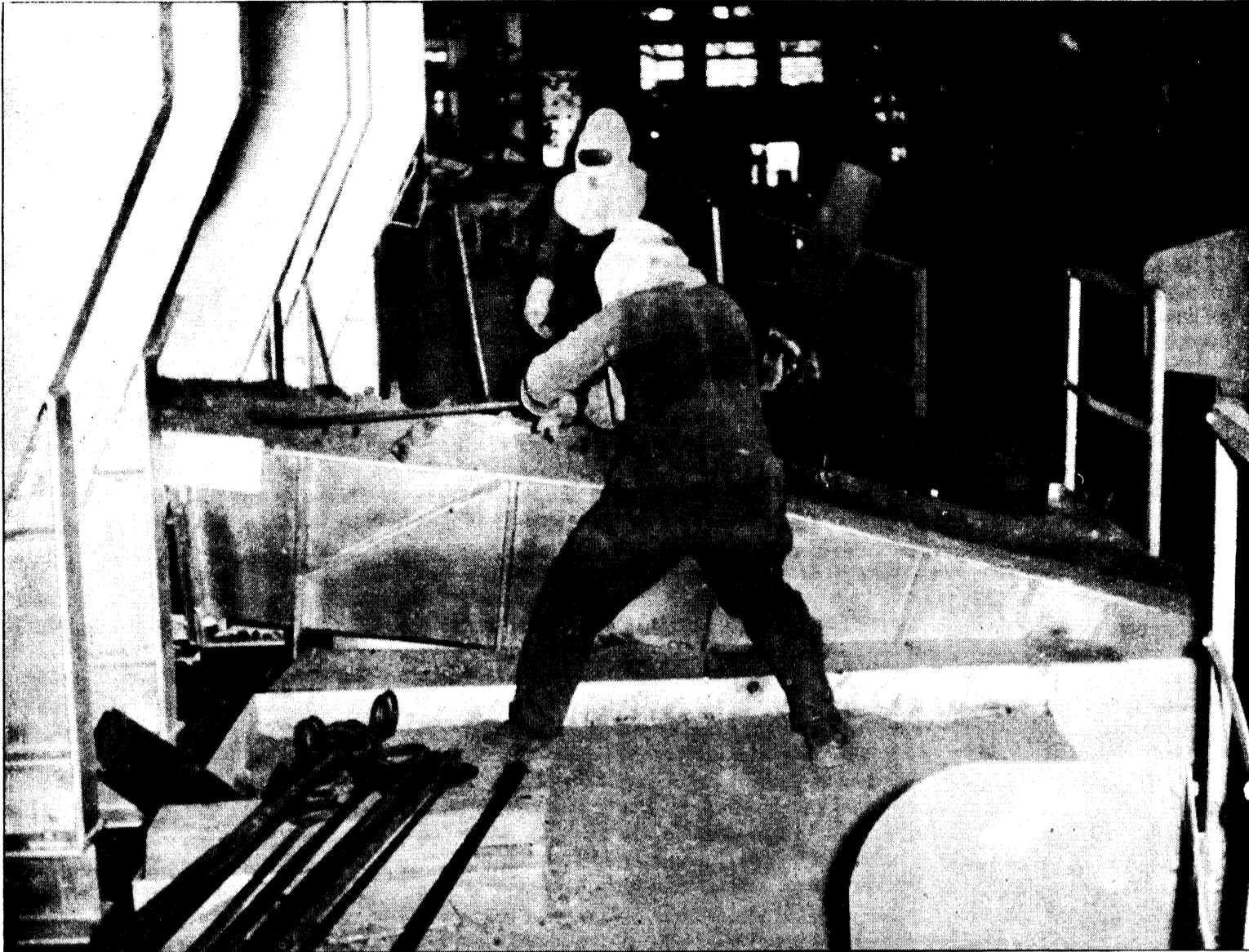
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COACHES AND TRAINS LEAVING FROM ALL AREAS



Left: Old methods of steel production in the long outmoded Barrouin factory. Many plants in the Lorraine region face closure if Fos gets underway.

FUTURE FOR FRANCE'S GIANT STEEL PLANTS?

BY OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

After many months of trauma and crisis the French government and the country's bankers have finally succeeded in scraping together enough money for the first stage of the giant Fos steel-works.

Not by accident this success is being trumpeted on the eve of the election, as if to confirm the wildly optimistic prophecies being advanced by the Gaullists about France's economic future.

The Fos scheme, personally endorsed by the ex-banker President and backed by a consortium of banks, is a prestige industrial development on the Mediterranean coast about 25 miles from Marseilles.

In an area of high unemployment away from the mainstream of French industry a complex of modern factories is already springing up, among them an ICI chemical works, a big compressed-air plant and a large oil port.

But pride of place at Fos goes to the huge steelworks to be built there by the Wendel-Sidelor combine. In accordance with modern principles, this is to be a seaside factory, importing foreign ore and exporting steel direct.

It is planned as the French steel industry's answer to the Japanese threat—bigger, more productive and more modern than the existing plant at Dunkirk belonging to Wendel-Sidelor's rival company Usinor.

To make way for the Fos plant, whole areas of traditional steel-making in the Lorraine and in northern France are literally being decimated alongside pit and factory

closures. This policy spells ruin for entire communities of workers.

But despite its grandiose conception, the Fos plant is proving extremely difficult to get off the ground in a period of economic recession and more and more obvious crisis for the steel industry in the EEC.

To enable Wendel-Sidelor to begin building the first stage of the plant huge quantities of government money provided by the taxpayers have had to be poured into the Fos scheme.

Wildly optimistic

In fact, Wendel-Sidelor narrowly escaped complete bankruptcy in the four years since the Fos scheme was first approved by a special meeting of Pompidou's cabinet in December 1969.

At that time all the experts in the service of the Gaullist regime estimated that by 1975 or 1976 France would be unable to satisfy its demand for flat steel products, even taking the production at Dunkirk into account.

This forecast was wildly optimistic. It took no account of the downturn in demand from steel-using industry all over the capitalist world nor did it envisage the savage development of trade war sending a tidal wave of cheap steel into Europe from Japan.

The partial closure of the US market, begun in 1971 with the imposition of tight quotas on steel imports by the Nixon administration, has forced the Japanese manufacturers to turn to Europe.

Exports to Europe are up several 100 per cent and it is now certain that the Common Market will have to impose stringent restrictions. Worse still are the general effects of trade war on this basic industry.

These must produce a downturn in steel use by most of the major industries, from cars to shipbuilding and engineering, and the steel industry is already facing what the capitalists call a problem of 'excess capacity'.

The worsening of the international outlook for steel production was not the only problem facing the Fos scheme. The cost of building the works, originally calculated at some 6,000 million francs (about £600) was rapidly inflated beyond this figure.

Worse still, the Wendel-Sidelor group, scheduled to carry the bulk of the Fos investment, soon became unable to produce the vast sums required. Not only was it financing Fos, it was also attempting to rationalize its Lorraine plants.

By the spring of 1972 there were serious doubts about whether Fos would ever get the money it needed. At that time the Wendel interests were supplying one-third of the money, the state was supplying another third through the so-called Economic and Social Development Fund and the banks were supplying another third of the investment capital.

The search for a partner in the scheme led both government and Wendel-Sidelor to Usinor, the other major French steel manufacturer, which finally agreed (no doubt after considerable behind-the-scene pressure) to take an equal share of the burden with Wendel-Sidelor.

Usinor stipulated one condition for taking part in the Fos scheme: its own 5,000 million franc investment scheme must not be sacrificed to the requirements of the Mediterranean factory.

Most of Usinor's investment programme is being sunk at Dunkirk, where it has its own ultra-modern steel mill. In the words of one French newspaper, Usinor agreed to take part in Fos 'on tip-toe... and without spending too much money'.

This arrangement was inadequate to make up the cash required to give the scheme the go-ahead, which is why the latest arrangement envisages the banks providing an extra 500 million francs and the state funds supplying another 800 million to fill the 1,300 million franc gap.

Profits are unlikely

As it now stands, Usinor and Wendel-Sidelor are getting control of a vast new works at minimum cost to themselves and maximum cost to the taxpayer. The two steel companies are putting up a mere 500 million francs apiece, 2,650 million francs are coming out state funds and the total is being made up to 7,700 million by bank loans.

In other words, Usinor and Wendel-Sidelor are actually paying only 15 per cent of the total price and, given the world steel situation, it is hard to see when (if ever) the factory, heavily burdened with interest payments, will make a profit.

The two big French companies have been trying to interest the giant Thyssen group of West Germany in a share of Fos. But the present scheme makes no mention of German participation, indicating either that the canny Thyssen management fears it will burn its fingers, or that it plans to come in only on the next stage of the deal.

The state intervention to support the Fos project demonstrates the bankruptcy of the privately-owned steel companies in France. It also shows how the huge monopolies can defy with impunity the 'fair practice' regulations of the Common Market.

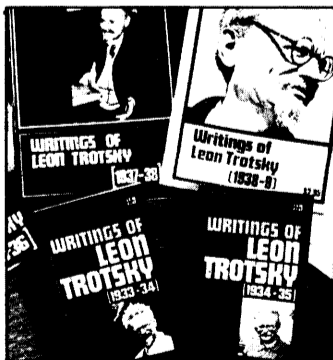
The vast investment on the Mediterranean coast will have catastrophic consequences for the workers of Lorraine and northern France, who have already suffered heavily from closures and rationalization.

Thousands of steel jobs in these traditional centres have disappeared over the past few years, and the employers' answer to criticisms is always that it is not their responsibility to create work but the government's.

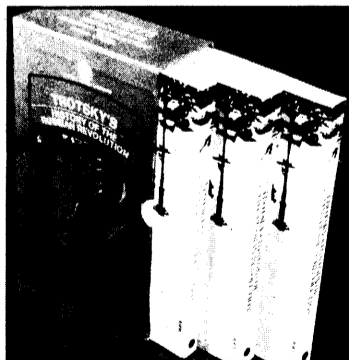
Meanwhile the government is lavishing public money on grandiose schemes which the steel barons themselves are too impoverished to pay for out of their own pockets. The issue is certain to loom large at the ballot box, particularly in the stricken areas, when polling takes place tomorrow.

But far from ensuring the future of the steelworkers, the Common Programme of the Communist Party Stalinists and socialists envisages only a state majority shareholding in Usinor and Wendel-Sidelor, which falls considerably short of wholesale nationalization and gives no guarantees to the steelworkers, whose jobs are in danger.

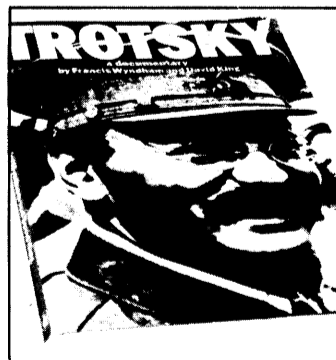
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ON THE ELECTIONS IN FRANCE: FRENCH WORKERS MUST REJECT POPULAR FRONT

Statement by the International Committee of the Fourth International:

The workers of France are being called upon to vote into office a coalition of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and a wing of the Radical Party.

Through this alliance, the Stalinists and social democrats are once again working to tie the French working class to the capitalist order, at the very moment when this order requires wholesale suppression of the working class, and when the working class, through a struggle for its own political independence, has a great opportunity to go forward to the conquest of power.

International Stalinism depends upon preserving its relations with imperialism. As it showed in 1968 (both in France in May-June and in Czechoslovakia in August) it acts as the main obstacle to proletarian revolution in order to preserve these relations, which it calls 'peaceful co-existence'.

Now, when the world capitalist economy reaches the most acute crisis, and when the imperialists confront each other in hostile trading blocs, the Kremlin and Peking bureaucracies, and the communist parties which follow them, are pursuing policies which are designed to guarantee a free hand to each national ruling class.

In this framework, the French Stalinists, through their 'common programme' with the Socialists and Radicals, come forward as the 'reformers' of the European Common Market, not as a working-class leadership fighting to make a breach in capitalist power and move forward to the Socialist United States of Europe.

They give assurances every day that their future coalition government would not step outside the constitution of the Fifth Republic and the bourgeois order which it defends.

While in 1968 large sections of the middle class in the towns were prepared to support the workers who showed their great strength in the General Strike and the factory occupations, today the Stalinists and social democrats deliberately handcuff the working class to the limits imposed by the most decadent representative of this worst side of this middle class, the capitalist Radical Party.

Every independent demand and action by the working class will be sabotaged and attacked on the grounds that it upsets the Radical 'allies' in the government and opens up the danger of a right-wing reaction. This is the meaning of the repeated guarantee by the (Stalinist) CGT trade federation that it will not embarrass a left coalition government and its attacks on any other unions who intend such action.

As envisaged by the Stalin-

ists and the opportunists, therefore, the left alliance is an instrument for preventing the independent mobilization of the working class on the road to power. Yet it is precisely such a mobilization that is demanded by the capitalist economic crisis and the bankruptcy of Gaullism.

It is only because the Stalinists are recognized as willing tools of the state that the social democrats temporarily drop their vicious anti-communism. To reassure their traditional supporters and their capitalist masters, they continually press their Stalinist allies for 'assurances' that they would not use their position in a coalition government to take power for themselves along the lines of the Czechoslovak 'coup' in 1948. This is the purest cynicism. Stalinism's role in 1968, in France and in Czechoslovakia, is the real 'assurance' of the role of the Stalinists in 1973.

REVIVAL OF POPULAR FRONT

The keynote of all the election propaganda of the left alliance is to play down any independent demands by workers and guarantee the sanctity of private property, national independence and parliamentary democracy. Already the French ruling class, through Pompidou himself as well as others, has demonstrated that every one of these things will be turned against the working class and socialism.

Fundamental questions are involved in the Stalinists' attempt to revive the treacherous politics of the 'Popular Front'. At a time when bourgeois democracy is thoroughly corroded, its economic foundations totally undermined, where the ruling class is faced with effecting a transition from the Bonapartism of de Gaulle to a much more effective right-wing dictatorship in which 1968 could never recur, the Stalinists tie the working class to the remnants of bourgeois democracy!

At the point where the middle class faces ruin at the hands of inflation and the power of the monopolies, and reaches the bursting point of anger against the fraudulent 'democracy' which it thought guaranteed it against such ruin, the Stalinists seek its support to preserve parliamentary democracy!

In this way the 'Common Programme' prepares the disillusionment and disintegration in the middle class which is the breeding ground for fascist movements. It is upon this that Pompidou and Prime Minister Pierre Messmer are banking when they openly threaten to continue to rule despite the election of the left alliance with a majority in the March elections.



Messmer declares: 'It is inconceivable that the President of the Republic, faced with a completely hostile Assembly, should appoint a government which would pursue a policy opposed to his. He has said himself that it would be a betrayal of his mandate, as well as a surrender of his prerogative as President.'

From such statements it is perfectly clear how the working class must prepare. Pompidou, with the Radicals as the instruments of his pressure, will receive guarantees of open capitalist policies from the left coalition, or he will appoint a government of top civil servants, businessmen, police and generals.

The so-called 'parliamentary road to socialism', even with the Radicals in tow, is a deception and a lie, full of the most acute dangers for the working class, which is led up to the point of a confrontation over power without any revolutionary preparation and bound hand and foot to the radical bourgeoisie.

All the Stalinist-Socialist talk about reforms to limit the powers of the President is part of this treachery and deception. The ruling class intends to preserve and extend the inroads into democracy made in 1958 and after.

The struggle for alternative

revolutionary leadership in France cannot take place in a vacuum, isolated from these political experiences. At this stage, an electoral victory for the traditional workers' parties (Socialist and Communist Parties) could be a great gain. It would give an impetus to the independent workers' struggle and bring the class face to face with the need to remove the reformists and Stalinists, who will demonstrate in practice their subservience to capital.

Workers should vote Communist in the first ballot in every constituency, and then for either Communist or Socialist candidates, whichever appears on the second ballot against the ruling Gaullists.

On no account should workers vote for the bourgeois Radicals. Balloting in this way would be a first big step, a rejection by the workers of the bourgeois alliance made by their leaders. Everywhere workers must demand that the CP and SP form a government of their own, with no Radicals included. A coalition with this capitalist party would be the grossest betrayal.

Meanwhile, the election campaign, it must be recognized, is only one of the preparations of the class enemy. The trade unions and the

workers in the factories, as well as the workers' political parties, must build joint organizations, before the election, to fight in every town and industry for the independent demands of the working class, with rights for all the working-class political tendencies to fight for the leadership.

The thoroughly reformist and bourgeois programme of the electoral coalition will not solve a single problem of the French workers and will pave the way for the extreme right in the Gaullist movement to deal blows of an unexampled viciousness and suddenness against the working class.

GAULLISTS PREPARE CIVIL WAR

Faced with the monetary and trade onslaught of the American monopolists and the stubborn resistance of the working class, the French bourgeoisie will not hesitate to prepare civil war and organize a new version of the Generals' Revolt of 1958.

In this sense the Algerian events of 1958-1961 can be considered only as a dress rehearsal by finance capital and the armed forces for the com-





same groups against the working class during and after the elections.

This is the meaning of the anti-communist onslaught launched by Pompidou. What he fears is not the Stalinists, but the working-class struggle that would be unleashed by a left victory in the elections.

Not one of the revisionist tendencies in France can elaborate a correct policy for the working class in the election campaign.

The Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) remains incapable of really posing the question of breaking the French working class from the Stalinists, who command the majority support. Thus they will not give the clear line of voting communist whenever possible.

Behind this is their total underestimation of the crisis of international and French capitalism. While condemning the Stalinists and social democrats' concessions to the Gaullist constitution, the OCI is now posing the question of some 'progress along the road of democracy' which requires repeal of the constitution: '... in order to resolve the social problems of today, it is necessary to repeal the constitution'.



Messmer, the French Prime Minister, under a blow-up picture of President Pompidou. They both openly threaten to continue to rule even if the SP-CP alliance is elected with a majority.

All the dangers of the OCI's adaptation to the social-democratic bureaucracy, and their refusal to take on the question of Stalinism, here come to fruition. Instead of the revolutionary preparations and warnings, the spelling out of the true nature of the class forces and their objective requirements, we get from the OCI what amounts to pressure on the Socialists to go one step beyond what they propose.

Moreover OCI support for a CP-SP government and its opposition to the Radicals is not based on a revolutionary struggle for leadership in the French working class. This is confirmed by the fact that the same OCI leadership categorically refused to demand in May-June 1968 that the CGT and Force Ouvrière leaders continue the strike until the de Gaulle government fell and was replaced by a CP-SP government based on councils of action.

This demand was condemned by OCI leader Pierre Lambert as 'criminal' and instead OCI members were instructed to call for a 'central strike committee'. This was a syndicalist evasion of the question of government power. Today the OCI leaders call for a CP-SP government only because such a government—with or without radicals—would be a reformist substitute for Pompidou.

Only the ruthless criticism of the CP-SP programme and a consistent struggle to build a revolutionary party on Marxist theory in the French labour movement can give a revolutionary content to the demand for a CP-SP government. This is completely lacking in the OCI campaign.

Having defended bourgeois democracy in Bolivia against genuine Soviet power, it is logical that the OCI revisionists should become the greatest

defenders of bourgeois democracy in France as well as Stalinist-SP reformism.

The positions of the Pabloite 'Ligue Communiste' and its electoral ally 'Lutte Ouvrière' are even worse. To unbridled opportunism—support for the left front despite its bourgeois components—these two organizations add 'leftist' adventurism with the nomination of 300 candidates.

Not only does this intervention obstruct the main immediate task of defeating the Gaullists with a massive vote for the workers' parties; it confuses and totally misleads the most-advanced workers about this and every other principled question, and prepares an atmosphere of disillusion and impotence.

'Lutte Ouvrière' and 'Ligue Communiste' differ politically on the most basic questions, above all on the question of whether the Soviet Union, China and eastern Europe remain workers' states, deformed and degenerated, but still to be defended against imperialism. Further Lutte Ouvrière accuses the 'Ligue Communiste' of subordinating itself to the bureaucracy of the Catholic trade union federation (CFDT).

'Ligue Communiste' has characterized the CFDT as 'a new centrism with a labour base and a revolutionary syndicalist ideology'. But 'Lutte Ouvrière' occupies a similar position in relation to the CGT. What is worse is that 'Lutte Ouvrière' accepts a joint electoral front with the 'Ligue Communiste' on the grounds that the differences between them are 'incomprehensible in the eyes of workers'.

It was precisely because of the 'Lutte Ouvrière's' rejection of the continuous independent struggle for Trotskyism against spontaneity and all varieties of opportunism and revisionism that the International Committee expelled 'Lutte Ouvrière', then known as Voix Ouvrière, from the proceedings of our Third Conference in 1966.

THE MAIN IMMEDIATE TASK

The working class of France faces an immediate future of even greater struggles than those fought so heroically in the past. Just as the betrayals of the Stalinists and social democrats in 1958 and 1968 could not break the strength of this class, despite exposing it to enormous dangers and delays, so today the French working class can strike a blow on March 4 and 11 which can bring nearer the day when the Stalinist and social democratic time-servers can be removed and a genuine revolutionary leadership replace them.

The first prerequisite, and the main immediate task, is to make the CP and SP form a government totally independent of the Radicals and to mobilize the whole strength of the working class, its unions and parties to stifle the counter-attack being mobilized by the French ruling class.

● No acceptance of the Fifth Republic, the Presidency, and the Constitution!

● Reject NATO and the Common Market!

● No coalition with the Radicals! A CP-SP government, with the workers' organizations mobilized to enforce a socialist programme!

● Vote Communist Party in the first ballot, and then CP or SP against the Gaullists in the second.

● Preparation in every country for solidarity with the French workers in their struggles!

● For the Socialist United States of Europe!

International Committee of the Fourth International, February 21, 1973.

ing French revolution.

Before unleashing civil war, however, the ruling class will exploit to the utmost the weakness, corruption and reformist passivity of the Communist Party-Socialist Party leaders and their Radical bedfellows.

They will seek first of all to demoralize and disorientate the working class through the mechanism of the Popular Front government.

At the same time they will seek to turn the frustrations and anger of the impoverished farmers and urban middle class, whose savings are caught in the vortex of the inflationary spiral unleashed by the monopolies and the government, against the trade unions and left parties.

These reactionary plans cannot be frustrated by the policies of reformism and Stalinism. While a government of the CP-SP—shorn of the Radicals—can be considered an important tactical gain of the working class, it can in no sense be considered a guarantee of victory over the capitalist class.

Support for a CP-SP government must be qualified and accompanied by a determined struggle to build a revolutionary party and to demand of the reformist government leaders that:

1) They abrogate the Bonapartist constitution of the Fifth Republic in favour of a constitution based on a system of Workers' Councils.

2) They dissolve immediately the military, air, naval and police forces; they sack the reactionary officer caste and create an armed workers' militia.

3) They withdraw all troops from Germany and overseas territories like Chad; withdraw from NATO and the Common Market.

4) They expropriate monopoly capital in industry and banks under workers' control. Nationalize, without compensation, the land and provide cheap credit, fertilizers etc. to the small farmers.

As the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International (1938) states:

'It is impossible to take a single serious step in the struggle against monopolistic despotism and capitalistic anarchy—which supplement one another in their work of destruction—if the commanding posts of banks are left in the hands of predatory capitalists. In order to create a unified system of investments and credits, along a national plan corresponding to the interests of the entire people, it is necessary to merge all the banks into a single national

French workers march behind the banner of the CGT, the Stalinist dominated trade union confederation.

institution . . . the single state bank will be able to create much more favourable conditions for the small depositors than could the private banks.

'In the same way only the state bank can establish for farmers, tradesmen and small merchants conditions of favourable, that is, cheap, credit. Even more important, however, is the circumstance that the entire economy—first and foremost large-scale industry and transport—directed by a single financial staff, will serve the vital interests of the workers and all other toilers.'

The failure of the 1871 Paris Commune to expropriate the Bank of Paris and the catastrophic consequences of this mistake must serve as a sombre warning to the French working class.

Today, however, such an omission would not be a mistake, but a conscious perfidy of Stalinism, for which the working class will pay a much heavier price than even the Communards.

Just as de Gaulle pulled the reactionary sections of the middle class on to the streets in June 1968, so Pompidou will attempt to mobilize the



THE WORKING CLASS MUST DEFEAT CORPORATISM

Part three. By our industrial correspondent, Royston Bull

The second level at which co-determination operates in Germany is on the supervisory boards of companies where employees must be given one third of the directors' seats (one half in the iron and steel industries).

This is the worker-director proposal that the Common Market is introducing for companies with more than 500 employees and on which the TUC has commented favourably.

With the EEC, the collaborationist gimmick is dressed up as being slightly more 'equitable' in that employers also get only one-third of the seats on the board.

Minority

The remaining third, however, are to go to people representing 'the public interest' and it is no secret what that means.

In Germany, the con-trick remains undisguised. The German TUC says of their system: 'In practice, the workers are scarcely able to exercise any effective influence. The workers' representatives are permanently in the minority and are consequently always dependent on the goodwill of the other side.'

'This weakness in legal status has in practice led either to a spirit of resignation, or to conformity.'

But the reformist German

TUC leaders have channelled the cynical contempt German workers have for this 'co-partnership' into a campaign to have the law changed to give one-half of the board seats to employees.

It is the essential conflict of interests between capitalist and worker which makes co-partnership unworkable, not the amount or the lack of collaboration on the board.

Despite the betrayals of reformist leaders and despite the corporatist framework of industry, the German working class has retained its fighting capacity intact.

Although illegal, unofficial strikes do take place, and Germany's biggest union, the metalworkers, with 2 million members and roughly equivalent to Britain's AUEW, used such tactics in the famous pay struggle three years ago which so frightened the German ruling class.

Without waiting for the breakdown of negotiations and the necessary 75 per cent majority in a strike ballot, the metalworkers put early pressure on employers with 'spontaneous' lightning strikes throughout the industry, and won a record 11-per-cent settlement three months early.

The employers could have sued the union, but decided to make a deal instead.

But although militant and successful, the metalworkers—and all other unions—still have to settle accounts with the reformist corporatist thinking within their own ranks before

they can take on and defeat the German ruling class, as they are shortly going to have to do.

Britain already has some experience with worker-directors. All of it is disastrous. The most famous experiment started in the nationalized British Steel Corporation, introduced by ex-union bureaucrat turned Labour Director Ron Smith, formerly with the Union of Post Office Workers.

So inept was this attempt that BSC itself had to call for changes.

A report showed that a worker-director on one of BSC's many boards 'lost touch with the men he was supposed to represent and became increasingly embedded in the management structure'.

The proposed solution was to allow such worker-directors to retain any union offices held, which previously had been banned.

This dramatic change will have no effect whatsoever.

And the reason is that collaborationism rules out any possibility of a 'worker-director' being able to represent the real interests of the working class. Just listen to John Slater, a current 'worker-director' on BSC's general steels division.

While Slater has been serving, 30,000 jobs have been wiped out in the steel industry.

The worker-director comments: 'There have, of course, been very bad times when we have been involved in decisions to close steelworks that we know personally. But we have

managed to establish much closer liaison with union officials.'

This is the workers' control that transport union secretary Jack Jones and Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP, have in mind as a solution to capitalism's ills.

This kind of workers' control in reality means control of workers. It means a style of corporatism in which labour bureaucrats carry out the functions of capitalist managers and foremen—particularly the most unpleasant ones like mass sackings.

Warning

Even when the most obvious representatives of big business like the Tory Employment Minister Maurice Macmillan, who has piloted the iniquitous pay laws, speaks out for worker-directors, Jack Jones still does not get the message.

The government, Macmillan said recently, will 'need to look again' at worker-participation in management now that Britain has joined the Common Market.

And he saw no reason, he went on, 'why management should take a negative, defensive view of this development'.

He told his Tory audience that he could not 'prophesy what the future may bring by way of further developments in worker-participation.'

'But I do most urgently ask you to consider the implications for the future in a positive way.'

Despite such an obvious warning to the working class that the Tories are introducing the worker-director treachery as a step on the road to corporatism under the sheltering umbrella of the EEC, Jones ploughs blindly on.

Like many on the left of the labour bureaucracy, he sees that Britain is heading inexorably either for the corporate state or revolution and he has made his choice.

'If the worker-director approach is seen as a substitute for grass roots participation, then it will be resented and will fail,' he said recently.

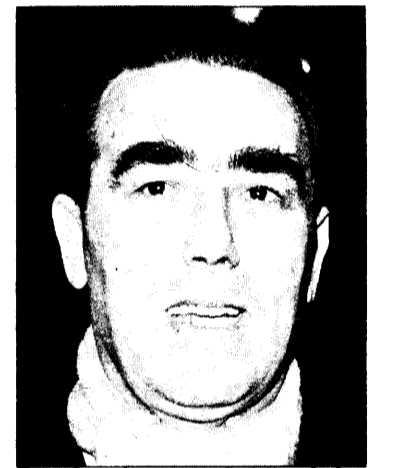
'But if it is seen as an extension of it, then it will flourish here better than anywhere else.'

'In Britain,' Jones went on, 'the atmosphere is much more encouraging for the worker-director idea because the system of local trade union democracy is now much more firmly based.'

'The opportunity is there for the worker-director to be elected, and genuinely voice the fears, hopes, and needs of the workers at boardroom level, because he is still very much part of the trade union movement.'

Sell out

In other words, as long as there remains the opportunity for a whinge from below, then it is safe to risk being sold out at the top.



Ex-union bureaucrat turned Labour Director, Ron Smith. Left: Jack Jones protected from members of his union by police when the dock strike was sold out.

But why take this risk at all? So that workers can have a whinge at boardroom level too.

For all that he carefully hedges round and qualifies his acceptance of the corporatist idea, Jones on no occasion attacks it in principle.

Why should he? With a philosophy that a workers' leader's job is merely to complain on his members' behalf, corporatism would make Jones' life easier by automatically ironing out many of the clashes and conflicts that he now has to deal with.

Few workers are really fooled by this worker-director nonsense. Even the TUC's own investigation in support of the government's proposals states clearly:

'On the management board level, there should be trade-union nominated members, the only proviso being that they should not be engaged in negotiations with the company.'

In other words, there is an obvious conflict of interest in being on the board and representing the working class.

This corporatist smokescreen is being prepared because if the approaching storm finally results in a revolutionary crisis, the left-labour leaders have made up their minds in advance that they will do their utmost to head the working class off from seizing state power.

These 'lefts' are riddled with bourgeois thinking. They hate the idea of a successful outcome of the class struggle which will establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. They will provide the ruling class with a last-ditch defence from the working-class revolution.

CONCLUDED

SATURDAY TV

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10.00 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.30 Avventura. 11.00-11.25 Croesi'r bont. 11.40 Weather. 11.45 Herbs. 12.00 Motor mouse. 12.20 Outa-space! 12.45 Grandstand. 12.50 Football preview. 1.20, 2.00, 2.35 Racing from Newbury. 1.45, 2.20, 2.55 Racing from Haydock Park. 3.05 1973 World figure skating championships. 3.30 Rugby League cup. Castleford v Oldham. 4.35 Final score. 5.05 We want to sing. 5.35 News. Weather. 5.50 Dr. Who.

6.15 **WONDERFUL WORLD OF DISNEY.** Inky the Crow.

7.05 **FILM: 'VILLA'.** Brian Keith, Cesar Romero. Early years of Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa.

8.15 **CILLA.** Cilla Black with Cliff Richard singing the 1973 Song for Europe.

9.00 **A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE.** Dear Fran . . .

9.50 **NEWS.** Weather. 10.05 **MATCH OF THE DAY.**

11.05 **PARKINSON.** Michael Parkinson.

12.05 **1973 WORLD FIGURE SKATING CHAMPIONSHIPS.** Men's championship. 12.35 **Weather.**

ITV

9.00 Time off. 9.55 Return to Peyton Place. 10.20 Sesame street. 11.20 Cartoon. 11.35 Osmonds. 12.00 Partridge family. 12.30 News. 12.35 World of sport. 12.40 On the ball. 1.05 International sports special. American indoor athletics championship. 1.20 ITV seven. 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Racing from Hereford. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Racing from Market Rasen. 3.10 International sports special. Penalty prize final, world cyclo-cross championships. 3.50 Results, scores, news. 4.00 Wrestling. 4.50 Results service. 5.10 News. 5.15 Black Beauty. 5.45 Doctor at large.

6.15 **SALE OF THE CENTURY.**

6.45 **FILM: 'DEMETRIUS AND THE GLADIATORS'.** Victor Mature, Susan Hayward, Michael Rennie, Anne Bancroft. Bible story.

8.30 **THE VAL DOONICAN SHOW.** Guests Lena Martell, Stephane Grappelli, Dickie Henderson.

9.30 **NEWS.** 9.40 **MADIGAN.** The London Beat. Richard Widmark.

11.00 **RUSSELL HARTY PLUS.**

11.50 **NO MAN'S LAND.** Women Alone. Juliet Mitchell.

12.40 **IT'S WORTH READING.** Mary Craig talks to Cleo Laine.

BBC 2

8.55-1.30 Open University. 3.00 Film: 'Bitter Sweet'. Jeanette MacDonald, Nelson Eddy. Noel Coward's romance about a Victorian belle. 4.30 Play away. 4.55 Pets and vets. 5.15 Lord Elgin and the Parthenon.

6.00 **MAN ALIVE.** If Only We Could Afford It. Thamesmead tenants.

7.00 **WESTMINSTER.** 7.25 **NEWS AND SPORT.** Weather.

7.35 **RUGBY SPECIAL.** North Midlands v Lancashire.

8.15 **WEIR OF HERMISTON.** Part 3.

9.00 **FACE THE MUSIC.**

9.30 **FULL HOUSE.** From Glasgow. Including extracts from 'Jock', Glasgow's own JSD Band, 'The Man Who Knew About Electricity', Artifactory, Song for Glasgow competition.

11.10 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

11.15 **FILM: 'BLIND DATE'.** Hardy Kruger, Stanley Baker, Micheline Presle. A young artist is suspected of murdering a beautiful woman.

SUNDAY TV

BBC 1

9.00 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 9.00 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.00 Avventura. 10.30 Sung Eucharist. 11.35 Making a canoe. 12.00 Handling materials. 12.25 Seventy plus. 12.50 Farming. 1.15 Made in Britain. 1.30 Parents and children. 1.55 News. 2.00 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 2.15 Animal game. 2.45 Bird's eye view. 3.45 Tom and Jerry. 3.50 Film: 'All This and Money Too'. Glenn Ford, Hope Lange, Charles Boyer. 5.40 Little princess.

6.05 **NEWS.** Weather.

6.15 **SUNDAY DEBATE.** Immigration and Race Relations. Jack Peel, general secretary of the National Union of Dyers, Bleachers and Textile Workers and Patrick Corbett, Professor of Philosophy.

6.50 **NEW BEGINNING.** 7.00 **CHOICE IS YOURS.**

7.25 **THE BROTHERS.** Errors of Judgement.

8.15 **FILM: 'A PLACE IN THE SUN'.** Montgomery Clift, Elizabeth Taylor, Shelley Winters. A handsome and ambitious man runs away from his poverty stricken mother.

10.15 **NEWS.** Weather.

10.25 **OMNIBUS FILE.** The Critics.

11.15 **FIRING LINE.** William Buckley, Jr., right wing American commentator and Mrs. Shirley Williams, MP, discuss the Welfare State. 11.55. **Weather.**

ITV

9.30 Sung mass. 10.35 UFO. 11.30 Weekend world. 1.00 Thunderbirds. 1.50 Skilful rugby. 2.15 1973 League Cup final. Norwich City v Tottenham Hotspur. 3.15 Persuaders. 4.15 Junior Police five. 4.25 Golden shot. 5.15 Aquarius.

6.05 **NEWS.** 6.15 **ADAM SMITH.**

6.40 **THE SUNDAY QUIZ.** 7.00 **APPEAL.**

7.05 **SONGS THAT MATTER.** 7.25 **WHO DO YOU DO?**

7.55 **FILM: 'CAT BALLOU'.** Jane Fonda, Lee Marvin. Comedy western.

9.30 **THE UPPER CRUSTS.** By Endeavour Alone.

10.00 **NEWS.** 10.15 **COUNTRY MATTERS.** The Ring of Truth.

11.10 **THE FROST PROGRAMME.** David Frost.

12.10 **IT'S WORTH READING.** Mary Craig talks to Donald Swann about Tolkien and C. S. Lewis.

12.15 **SCALES OF JUSTICE.** Personal and Confidential.

BBC 2

8.55-1.30 Open University. 4.00 Man at work. 4.25 Money at work. 5.25 Horizon.

6.15 **NEWS REVIEW.** 6.50 **NEWS SUMMARY.** Weather.

6.55 **THE STORY OF CARL GUSTAV JUNG.**

7.25 **THE WORLD ABOUT US.** The Tea and Sugar.

8.15 **THE GOODIES.** 8.45 **THE SONG OF MARAMURES.** Songs and dances of north-west Romania.

9.35 **THE PEARCROSS GIRLS.** Four plays about four sisters. Sweet Julia. With Penelope Wilton.

10.25 **THEY SOLD A MILLION.** The Young Generation and Vince Hill with Sandie Shaw and The Rockin' Berries.

11.10 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

REGIONAL TV

SOUTHERN: 9.00 VAT. 9.30 London. 10.30 Farm progress. 10.55 Weather. 11.00 World War I. 11.30 London. 1.00 Superman. 1.20 Lucy. 1.50 Jimmy Stewart. 2.15 London. 3.16 Fenn street gang. 3.45 Cartoon. 3.50 Golden shot. 4.40 Aquarius. 5.30 News. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Last Safari'. 10.10 London. 12.15 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 10.35 Farming. 11.00 Gardening. 11.30 London. 1.00 University Challenge. 1.30 Drive in. 2.00 Bugs Bunny. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Thunderhead—Son of Flicka'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Sands of the Kalahari'. 10.00 London. 12.15 Weather.

ANGLIA: 9.00 VAT. 9.30 London. 10.30 Circus. 10.55 Doris Day. 11.20 Cartoons. 11.30 London. 1.00 Champions. 1.50 Weather. 1.55 Farming. 2.30 Film: 'The Lions Are Free'. 3.30 Football. 4.00 Cartoons. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.25 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Who Was that Lady?'. 10.00 London. 12.10 Bible.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.00 VAT. 9.30 London. 10.30 All our yesterdays. 11.00 Citizens' rights. 11.30 London. 1.00 Champions. 2.00 Soccer. 3.00 Film: 'The First Men in the Moon'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Paris When It Sizzles'. 10.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 9.00 VAT. 9.30 London. 10.30 Untamed world. 11.00 Hogan's heroes. 11.30 London. 1.00 Farming. 1.25 Calendar. 1.55 1973 League Cup final. 2.40 Film: 'Up the Down Staircase'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Fathom'. 9.50 Popeye. 10.00 London. 12.10 Shirley's world. 12.40 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 10.35 Untamed world. 11.00 Time to remember. 11.30 London. 12.55 Saint. 1.50 On the line. 2.25 Football League Cup final. 3.25 Film: 'The Name of the Game'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Naked Runner'. 9.50 Cartoon. 10.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 9.00 VAT. 9.30 London. 10.30 Jobs around the house. 11.00 Jimmy Stewart show. 11.30 London. 1.00 Farming outlook. 1.25 World War I. 1.50 Where the jobs are. 1.55 League Cup final. 2.55 Film: 'The Pigeon That Took Rome'. 4.45 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Fathom'. 10.00 London. 12.05 Skating. 12.35 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 10.00 World War I. 10.30 Women. 11.00 A place in the country. 11.30 London. 1.00 Champions. 2.00 Sport. 3.25 Theatre. 4.25 Golden shot. 5.15 Aquarius. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Riot in Cell Block 11'. 9.30 Comedians. 10.00 London. 12.15 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00 Farming. 11.30 London. 1.00 Foreign flavour. 1.30 Jobs around the house. 2.30 Sport. 3.25 Film: 'When Worlds Collide'. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Hill'. 10.00 London.

REGIONAL TV

SOUTHERN: 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Foreign flavour. 10.10 All our yesterdays. 10.35 Stingray. 11.05 Merrie melodies. 11.35 Cowboy in Africa. 12.25 Weather. 12.30 London. 5.15 Tarzan. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Persuaders. 7.45 Film: 'Cat Ballou'. 9.30 London. 9.45 Val Doonican. 10.40 News. 10.45 Skating. 11.30 No man's land. 12.20 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.00 London. 9.55 VAT. 10.20 Bugs Bunny. 10.30 Once upon a time. 10.45 Grasshopper island. 11.00 Sesame street. 12.00 Osmonds. 12.30 London. 5.20 Bonanza. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Film: 'One of Our Spies is Missing'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Persuaders. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Skating. 12.15 Weather.

ITV Cymru/Wales as above except: 5.20-5.45 Upper crusts. 5.45-6.15 Tra bo dau.

ANGLIA: 9.00 London. 10.00 Hammy hamster. 10.15 Rovers. 10.40 Film: 'A Date With Judy'. 12.30 London. 5.20 Riptide. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Film: 'Lord Jim'. 9.30 London. 9.45 Val Doonican. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Skating. 12.15 Epilogue.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Foreign flavour. 10.10 Place in the country. 10.40 Thunderbirds. 11.35 Jackson five. 12.00 Skippy. 12.30 London. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.15 Film: 'The Long Ships'. 8.30 Longstreet. 9.30 London. 9.40 Val Doonican. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Skating. 12.15 Gordon Bailey. 12.20 Shirley's world, weather.

ULSTER: 10.30 Sesame street. 11.30 Thunderbirds. 12.30 London. 5.15 Sport. 5.45 Beverly hillbillies. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 On the buses. 7.15 Film: 'The 49th Man'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Skating.

YORKSHIRE: 9.15 Is't stand. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 Osmonds. 10.35 Elephant boy. 11.05 Abbott and Costello. 12.30 London. 5.15 Riptide. 6.15 Persuaders. 7.15 Film: 'Nevada Smith'. 9.30 London. 9.40 Val Doonican. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Skating. 12.15 Boris Karloff presents.

TYNE TEES: 9.15 Wild life theatre. 9.40 Getting your money's worth. 10.10 Osmonds. 10.35 Joe 90. 11.05 Abbott and Costello. 12.30 London. 5.15 Riptide. 6.10 Persuaders. 7.15 Film: 'Nevada Smith'. 9.30 London. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Challenge. 12.20 Lectern.

SCOTTISH: 9.15 Jobs around the house. 9.40 Foreign flavour. 10.10 Funky phantom. 10.35 Black beauty. 11.05 Joe 90. 11.30 Osmonds. 12.00 Cavalcade. 12.30 London. 5.15 Bonanza. 6.10 Protectors. 6.40 Film: 'Taras Bulba'. 9.40 Hogan's heroes. 9.03 London. 9.40 Val Doonican. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Late call. 11.35 Skating.

GRAMPIAN: 11.15 Jackson five. 11.45 Ron and friends. 12.30 London. 5.20 UFO. 6.15 Who do you do? 6.45 Film: 'The Truth About Spring'. 8.30 London. 9.40 Longstreet. 10.40 No man's land. 11.30 Skating.

Reformists' plan can't solve workers' basic demands

LIKE THE common programme of the French Communist Party-Socialist Party-Radical alliance the new policy of the TUC and Labour Party, 'Economic Policy and the Cost of Living', cannot solve the economic crisis or satisfy any of the basic demands of the working class.

Even a cursory look at this pedestrian document will show that the Labour leaders have learnt nothing from history or economics and are quite determined to carry on where they left off in 1970.

The 'policy' amazingly contains no reference—not once—to the monetary and economic crisis which is sweeping the capitalist nations and is the source of the unprecedented inflation in Europe.

Hopeless

Ironically on the very day that this policy was proclaimed the United States Tariff Commission published a 930-page report which showed conclusively—if implicitly—the utter hopelessness of the measures proposed by Harold Wilson and Victor Feather.

This report discovered that the US-based multi-national corporations have such a vast amount of inflationary currency or short-term liquid assets at their disposal that they could 'trigger off monetary crises galore simply by juggling just a little of their money between countries. Governments have absolutely no

SLL CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER MICHAEL BANDA ANALYSES A LABOUR-TUC DOCUMENT

control.' ('Daily Telegraph', February 27, 1973.)

Private investment in the world money markets is estimated to total \$268,000m which is double the total holdings of the central bank and official monetary institutions. The US report makes this sombre observation:

'It is clear that only a small fraction . . . needs to be moved for a general crisis to develop.'

These huge speculative movements of capital, combined with Nixon's August 15, 1971, measures in abolishing convertibility of the dollar, mean that capitalist anarchy has been intensified to the point where nothing short of the complete expropriation of monopoly capital can prevent the inevitable plunge to depression and war.

Pygmies

But this is precisely what the reformists evade. As Trotsky once remarked, these reformist pygmies propose to bail out the ocean of capitalist anarchy with the teaspoon of reformism. Or, as the document pompously states:

'The key to any alternate strategy to fight inflation is direct statutory action on prices . . .'

Direct statutory action on prices has never worked—and never will until the banks and industrial monopolies have been nationalized under workers' control and without compensation. The reformist Labour-TUC policy, however, ignores the parasitic and international nature of imperialist finance capital.

If capital is restricted by price control at home it will flow abroad and create a balance-of-payments crisis at home which will lead to devaluations—and an increased cost of living!

It is obvious from this document that the Labour Party and TUC have neither the capacity nor even the understanding to control and eliminate inflation. Their attitude to the stagnation of British capitalism is no more profound and no less reformist.

'Fundamental to the British economic problem, therefore, is the problem of investment and, more generally, the problem of the control and the disposition of capital—the extension of investment and the control of capital will thus be one of the central tasks of the next Labour government.

'And this will mean the development of new public enterprise and effective public supervision of the investment policy of large private corporations.'

Nationalize

There can be no real expansion of the economy and a guarantee of full employment so long as investment decisions remain in the hands of the big banks and monopolies—whose sole criterion for investment is profit.

It is no accident that investment—as the document points out—has fallen 10 per cent between 1971 and 1972 at the same time as profit rates—which the document does not point out—have fallen steeply.

Investment in manufacturing industry is not profitable—hence

the tremendous surge of parasitic and speculative activities by the asset-strippers. This is a situation which will not be changed or improved by the 'development of new public enterprise'.

The task before the Labour Party is to nationalize under workers' control.

Any other policy will spell disaster for the working class. The Labourites, however, are preparing to unfurl the Morrison banner of 'mixed economy' and strengthen the monopolies and speculators.

The most damning feature of the policy statement, however, is the explicit acquiescence to the Common Market. While criticizing the poor terms of entry and the Tories' regional policy the statement continues:

Platitudes

'The next Labour government will, therefore, work closely with the trade union movement on an agreed programme to promote regional development . . .'

Since there is nothing to the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that EEC membership will continue and the British workers will have to bear the burdens of the crisis of British and European capitalism.

The regional policy will be geared to EEC requirements.

The rest of the document is adorned with the usual reformist platitudes about 'increased pensions', 'redistribution of wealth', 'municipalization of rented houses', etc.

The only thing this document proves is the absolute and unpostponable necessity to expose and defeat Labourite-TUC traitors and transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party.

Some lessons from the BRS strike

ONE section of workers looking to next Monday's special TUC for a lead are the 1,300 British Road Services drivers in the Midlands. As Harry Shorter, union branch secretary at Birmingham's Cheapside BRS depot, says, their four-week struggle for a £2.50 bonus, which ended earlier this week, is proof that without a decisive struggle against the Tory government workers are left open in this period to isolation and defeat. A number of drivers are expected to participate in the mass lobby of the TUC. Our Labour correspondent, DAVID MAUDE, assesses the lessons of their struggle for other workers who will also be lobbying.



BRS men in Birmingham.

ACCORDING to Alan Law, commercial trade group secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union in Birmingham, 'honour and unity have been preserved' in the settlement of the BRS drivers' dispute.

This is a verdict which explains nothing. In particular it fails to explain why, after four weeks' determined struggle, the 1,300 drivers have been forced to return to work without the £2.50 bonus payment they came out for.

Some explanation of this failure is certainly needed, since at the outset of the struggle the drivers appeared powerfully placed to tear a hole in the Tory pay laws and force BRS to shell out.

The drivers returned to work, early on Wednesday morning, with £45 'hardship' money in lieu of the earnings they had lost plus a promise of bonus reviews at depot level... payable when the Tory laws allow.

An obvious threat in the settlement, accepted by a show-of-hands vote by 600 drivers last Tuesday, is that it will open the way for speed-up and an attack on conditions amongst this already hard-pressed group of workers.

It is no secret that the prototype bonus agreement on which the promised reviews are likely to be based, aims at faster journey time and quicker turn-rounds in the depots.

This may mean more profits for BRS, but it also spells more fatigue and danger for the drivers.

What this has to do with either 'honour' or 'unity' the most silver-tongued T&GWU paid official would be hard put to explain.

The story of the BRS dispute starts in earnest with a meeting of shop stewards and branch officers at the T&GWU headquarters in Broad Street, Birmingham, last October.

For some time past trade group secretary Law had been waging a campaign to force hauliers to pay a £2.50 bonus for possession of the heavy-goods vehicle (HGV) licence, which was to become compulsory the following February for drivers of

vehicles over three tons unladen weight.

By the time the dispute started, the list of firms paying had reached 177, including Cartransport, a BRS subsidiary.

(Another firm, White's Transport and Removals, of Birmingham, agreed to pay up during the dispute, but the settlement was blocked by a government order on February 20.)

The October meeting decided to set up a co-ordinating committee between the 18 depots in the newly-reorganized BRS (Midlands) region and to submit the £2.50 claim.

Law presented the claim on November 16, pointing out that BRS' top rate was £24 compared with the union minimum of £28.60 in private firms belonging to the Road Haulage Association in the area. The company agreed to look at the case. A further meeting was arranged for December 19.

But between the stewards' meeting and Law's presentation of the claim, Heath had made his fateful November 6 'pay freeze' statement.

State regulation of wages was made law by Tory decree. Every wage claim, however wrapped up, had to be fought out against the government.

The BRS bonus was thrown willy-nilly into the melting pot.

Law and the T&GWU leadership, however, simply refused to recognize this fact.

The December 19 meeting was taken up with a discussion of 14 so-called 'restrictive practices' which BRS wanted removed. Law firmly refused to accept this transparent ploy to shift the onus for concessions onto his members.

But following a further meeting with the company on January 25, 12 weeks after Heath's announcement, he registered all the symptoms of surprise at BRS's refusal to settle because of the state pay laws.

Although BRS's parent, the National Freight Corporation, had made crystal-clear that it was sticking fast to Phase Two of the laws, there was no attempt to prepare the union's membership for a struggle against the government.

Despite this, the dispute began with the drivers supremely confident that

they could win through. And their confidence was to a large extent justified.

Had the dispute been fought for what it was—a confrontation with the Tories—there is no reason why it should not have been won.

The drivers' strength was demonstrated within 24 hours of the January 29 mass meeting at which they handed in their HGV licences to the union.

Because the drivers, without their licences, were unable legally to take the big lorries and transporters serving the car plants on the road, car production all over the Midlands began to grind to a halt.

From Ross-on-Wye to Wellington in the north, and from Tamworth to Swindon in the east, thousands of carworkers were laid off.

By the end of the dispute, British - Leyland alone had clocked up production losses of over £60m at showroom values.

Transport drivers are a bunch of hardy individualists. A frequent comment during the first and second weeks of the dispute was that it wasn't necessarily a fight with the government, but if the government chose to intervene the drivers would take it in their stride.

This mood was reinforced when, after abortive talks with BRS management at a Solihull hotel, Law and T&GWU regional secretary Brian Mathers sent out a most confusing letter to members of the drivers' co-ordinating committee.

Dated February 7, the letter reported that the two officials had tried to convince BRS it would not be illegal to pay an increase while the 'freeze' was on.

Two Department of Employment officials had been invited in to clarify the point.

Their advice had been that 'increased bonus payments could be made within the existing bonus schemes', and that it 'would not be illegal to pay an increase.'

The union, said the letter, 'therefore made a formal application to the management to agree to make a payment starting from the day our members resume normal working'.

But BRS continued to refuse to pay on the grounds that to do so would be

'against the spirit and intention' of government policy.

This letter was disastrous. On the one hand, it gave the impression that it was sheer BRS bloody-mindedness, and not government policy, that was preventing the drivers getting their increase.

On the other, it at a stroke abandoned the HGV licence claim for a straight bonus demand—a crucial concession.

Read carefully, the D of E officials' cryptic advice to the Solihull talks was a splitting tactic which the T&GWU men should have recognized.

BRS did. The company immediately rushed off and started revamping a pilot bonus deal at the Bromford Lane, Birmingham, depot, where in return for a few pennies per hour, the men had been tied to a 28 mph average on journey times and a three-and-a-half hour maximum for unloading and loading.

On February 15, Law, Mathers and three other union officials held all-day talks with BRS at Stratford-upon-Avon, despite receiving a letter four days earlier from Robin Chichester-Clark, a junior minister at the Department of Employment, stating that the government would intervene with an order if any payment was made.

Law's reaction to this was to ask Kenneth Cook, the director of BRS (Midlands), to agree the payment to 'get BRS off the hook', even though he knew it would be frozen.

At the end of the day, the co-ordinating committee threw out Cook's productivity proposals and demanded a straight £2.50 across the board.

But the 11-page document committee members had been handed did its work.

Some of the car-delivery depots began arguing that the proposed deal could mean quite substantial amounts of money for their members 'at the end of the freeze'.

Since their leaders had by this time clearly dropped the idea of getting any money immediately there seemed little point in turning down the chance of a later settlement.

On February 19 Cook, who had stopped payment to the drivers a fortnight earlier, decided to force the pace with threats that some of the less-profitable depots might close if the dispute did not end soon.

This led to a return the following week at vulnerable depots such as Hereford, and, by the end of the week, the Castle Bromwich and Oxford car-delivery depots, which reckoned there might be up to £4.85 for them in a 'post-freeze' bonus settlement, were negotiating for a separate peace.

Law attacked these negotiations as 'treachery', but at a Sunday morning meeting recommended a united return to work.

Long-haul drivers, who only stood to gain about 72p from the proposed deal, predominated at the meeting and Law's recommendation was rejected.

But on Tuesday, February 27, an immediate return to work was agreed after further unity appeal from Law.

'The union considers that because of government intervention, we can get nothing more at this stage from BRS', he said.

'A return to work is the only way to restore unity.'

The BRS drivers failed, not because they did not have the strength to win, but because their leaders refused to recognize the character of the dispute and lead it on that basis.

It is, therefore, Harry Shorter's verdict, rather than the vastly more experienced Law's, which is the right one.

First test for French left

FRENCH electors go to the polls tomorrow in the first ballot of the most important election since the Gaullists came to power in 1958. Only candidates with over 50 per cent of the votes cast will be elected on the first ballot. The final result will only be known after the ballot on March 11, when the candidate with the highest number of votes will be elected.

The left coalition of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and the rump of the Radicals who support the common programme, will only come into effect at this stage. If the electoral pact is adhered to the best placed candidate of the three parties will represent it in the second ballot.

A big slump in the vote for the ruling Gaullist party is expected though it may still be able to command a majority in parliament in association with the centre parties. A victory for the left coalition will precipitate a crisis as under the Gaullist Constitution of 1958 President Pompidou is not obliged to call upon a majority leader to form the government.

The left coalition has put forward a programme of reforms within the framework of capitalism similar to that of the Popular Front of 1936. The opportunist politicians of the Socialist Party and the small radical group led by Maurice Fabre have joined the Stalinists in this electoral fraud intended to hold back the working class and avert revolution.

Georges Marchais, leader of the Communist Party, has constantly asserted his willingness to serve as a minister under the Gaullist constitution. In his last appeals to voters he stresses support for French national interests against the American trade offensive in Europe and the flooding of the market with goods 'made in USA'.

A massive vote for the workers' parties will provide a great opportunity to expose the role of the Stalinists and break large sections of the working class from their stranglehold.

● See pages 6 and 7 for statement on France.

12 sign Viet 'peace'

A DECLARATION upholding the Vietnam peace settlement of January 27 was signed by the Foreign Ministers of 12 governments represented at the international conference on Vietnam in Paris yesterday.

The agreement commits the signatories to uphold 'the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam [and] the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination'.

In the case of a serious violation of the peace agreement the conference can be re-convened on a joint request by the United States and North Vietnam or on a proposal by six or more of the parties to the declaration.

The declaration means no more than international endorsement of the peace agreement already made. It means acceptance by the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracy of the existing division of south-east Asia and opposition to any extension of revolution in the area.

The Paris agreement, even with the complicity of the Soviet Union and China, cannot prevent the revolution in Indo-China from going forward.

US arms pilgrimage

THE visit of Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir to Washington this week was another of her annual pilgrimages to obtain arms and credits to assure the military preponderance of Israel in the Middle East.

Israel has no complaints about the scale of US military aid, which has been on a huge scale and is assured for some time to come.

Mrs Meir had a 90-minute

discussion with President Nixon on the latest developments in the Middle East and the possibility of negotiations with Arab governments. She denied reports that she had met King Hussein of Jordan while in the United States.

A White House spokesman said after Mr Meir's visit that she estimated that it would be some time before any Middle-East settlement would be possible.

Right-wing union chief resigns

WALTER Anderson's resignation as general secretary of Britain's fourth largest union will be welcomed by every trade unionist fighting the Tory pay laws.

His proposed collaboration with the Tories' corporatist Pay Board proved unacceptable even to the usually conservative leaders of the National and Local Government Officers' Association.

This demonstrates the force of the working-class movement against the Heath government and its props in the TUC.

If Anderson can be pushed out, the writing is on the wall for Feather and the rest of the right wing.

Anderson's resignation also reflects, and itself strengthens, the growing unity in struggle between workers and sections of the middle class.

It was Anderson who declared, at the recent conference of public-sector unions, that the job of the unions was not to attack the government, but to get on with them as well as possible.

This week civil servants, hospital workers and London teachers have all rejected that policy.

But Anderson's right wing and fake 'left' cronies in the TUC leadership remain, and will remain to do their treacherous work until decisively dealt with by the working class.

In Anderson's case, the bureaucracy has cracked at one of its most rigid points. The 'lefts' and Stalinists continue to protect his less outspoken co-thinkers.

Workers Press MONTHLY APPEAL FUND

MARCH FUND STARTS WITH £21.90

WE are determined to make an early start for our fund this month. Last month's fight for our fund was tremendous. This month let's see if we can make it a record!

It is vital today that Workers Press is kept right out in front. The bye-elections clearly show the urgent need for a revolutionary leadership. As the attacks by this Tory government grow, the Labour leaders show not the slightest intention of fighting back.

Our paper must be used to provide a clear political lead to thousands of workers, professional and middle-class people and all those that are feeling the brunt of this government's onslaught.

So press on with the fight. See how much you can raise this weekend. Post all donations immediately to:

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

Wigan and Manchester gas workers demand: Toughen up the gas fight

OVER 600 militant Manchester gas workers yesterday unanimously passed a resolution calling on their national executive to direct all production workers to stop supplying gas.

They also threatened to cut off supplies to hospitals, old peoples homes and domestic users if the Gas Board continued to supply North Sea gas to factories and offices.

The resolution was put by Mr Jack Wilkinson, G&MWU district organizer. He told the men: 'We want parity with the electricians.'

'Arbitration could do no worse than take account of our just parity claim.'

'We did not call an all out strike as we wanted to see the level of militancy in the different areas.'

A call from the floor of the meeting for a complete stop of all emergency services was pushed aside by Mr Wilkinson.

He said: 'A resolution to that effect would get lost at national level anyway.'

The call back was: 'We've got to hit them hard. Otherwise it will be an indefinite strike.'

This prompted Mr Wilkinson to say: 'What chance have we got if we take on the government? If we don't win then what?'



Wigan pickets keep warm in a disused warehouse.



WIGAN gasworkers said yesterday it was a case either of toughening up the fight or going back to work.

Shop steward Mr Jack Leigh told me: 'I want to see cut-offs. We either force the issue soon or go back to work. It's as simple as that.'

'Our fight is mainly against the government. I think something will develop in the next week. Someone has to force the pace.'

Wigan gas workers have been involved in industrial action for six weeks and picket Brian Summers said there was relief that their union was at last taking steps to make it bite.

Brian once worked an incredible 73-hour week—5.30 a.m.

to 7 or 8 p.m.—his take-home pay was £30.

The gas workers' determination to win is being kept high by younger workers like Bill Pulford and Eric Finch.

Bill is single and living on his strike pay. He said: 'I want people to know what we are fighting for—not the offer of £2.24 or the so-called claim of £3.50 that the papers keep talking about but £6.50—the lot.'

Bill needs the increase. His take-home pay is often less than £16—half the famous £36 we read about in the Tory Press.

His mate Eric Finch is impatient with the situation. He said: 'We have taken a lead now. It is time we were backed up. The TUC do nothing while we suffer and all the other workers' suffer.'

THE 200 hospital ancillary staff at the Hammersmith Hospital in West London were out on strike yesterday (above) as part of their country-wide fight for better wages. Management have asked for talks with the shop stewards on the strike committee in an attempt to get laundry done. 'One woman is in there defying the strike and working. They can get her to do it', was the contemptuous reply of one of the stewards. Porters' shop steward Albert Turner said: 'Our present salaries are hopeless. I am a married man with four children. How can I live on £22 to £25 a week. It's impossible. To exist I have to work Saturday and Sunday.'

● See page 3.

Merseyside Ford men feel let down

FORD workers on Merseyside continued their three-day protest strike yesterday but about a third are expected to return on Monday—one day before the industrial action is scheduled to end.

Workers from the body plant and the metal stamping section will meet tomorrow to decide their next move. But the feeling is that they will go back.

On Tuesday the paint and trim shop will meet and on Wednesday the assembly plant.

By then production is expected to be almost back to normal at the Halewood plant.

The Merseyside Ford men feel bitterly let down by the National Shop Stewards' Committee. Their total failure to give any lead against the government decision to ban their £10 wage claim has caused demoralization in the ranks.

Right-wing shop stewards have voted to allow contractors onto

the Halewood complex—always a sign that militancy is waning.

Senior steward Les Moore pointed out that since there had been no firm call from the National Shop Stewards' Committee the action at Halewood was a tribute to the men who work there.

'The lads came out despite the abandonment of leadership by the national committee. It is them who are taking the lead and not their so-called leaders.'

After the expected return to work next Wednesday other forms of industrial action like overtime bans and work-to-rules may be continued. But any kind of strike action seems to be ruled out at the moment.

● Another group of Dagenham workers have decided to come out in protest strike. The 90 workers on the Essex assembly line in the engine plant have balloted overwhelmingly to strike until next Tuesday. The men, mostly members of the Transport and General Workers' Union, work on Granada models and transit vans. The ballot was conducted after their stewards refused to allow a meeting.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Fight rising rents and prices
Defend basic democratic rights
Force the Tories to resign

WATFORD: Monday March 5, 8 p.m. Trade Union Hall, Woodford Hall, near Watford junction station.

BRIXTON: Tuesday March 6, 8 p.m. Brixton Training Centre, Control Room, Effra Road, SW2. 'Forward to the Pageant'.

DAGENHAM: Tuesday March 6, 8 p.m. Barking Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue. 'Common Market Conspiracy'.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday March 6, 8 p.m. 'Festival Inn', Chrisp Street, E14. 'Support the gasmen and hospital workers'.

TOTTENHAM: Wednesday March 7, 8 p.m. 'Prince Arthur', bottom of Broad Lane, N.17. 'Forward to the Pageant'.

SOUTHALL: Wednesday, March 7, 8 p.m. Southall Library, Osterley Park Road. 'The Road to Workers' Power'.

WOOLWICH: Wednesday March 7, 8 p.m. 'The Castle', Powis Street, SE18. 'Support the gasmen and hospital workers'.

WEMBLEY: Thursday March 7, 8 p.m. Copland Secondary School, High Road.

WEMBLEY: Wednesday March 7, 8 p.m. Copland Secondary School, High Road.

WALTHAMSTOW: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m. Royston Arms, Chingford Road, E.4.

HACKNEY: Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, opposite Town Hall, Mare Street. 'Support hospital workers'.

SLOUGH: Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Farnham Road. 'Support the gasmen and hospital workers'.

STEVENAGE: Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. 'Red Lion', Stevenage Old Town. 'Forward to the Pageant'.

LEWISHAM: Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, opp New Cross Station. 'Marxism and the trade unions'.

WILLESDEN: Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Labour and Trades Hall, High Road, NW10. 'Support gasmen and civil servants'.

HACKNEY: Thursday March 8, 8 p.m. Parlour Room, Central Hall, opp. Town Hall, Mare Street. 'Support gasmen and civil servants'.

WANDSWORTH: Monday March 12, 8 p.m. 'King's Arms', High Street, S.W.18. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'.

HARROW: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Harrow and Wealdstone. 'The fight against Stalinism'.

PADDINGTON: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. 'Prince of Wales', corner of Harrow Road and Great Western Road. 'Forward to the revolutionary party'.

TOOTING: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. Selkirk Hotel, Selkirk Road, Tooting Broadway. 'Forward to the Revolutionary Party'.

CLAPHAM: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor Street, S.W.4.

CAMDEN: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, Kings Cross.

ACTON: Tuesday March 13, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, High Road, W.3.

KINGSTON: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m. 'Liverpool Arms', corner of Cambridge Road and London Road.

HOLLOWAY: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road.

CROYDON: Thursday March 15, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road.

BASILDON: Sunday March 18, 5.30 p.m. Barnstaple Community Centre.

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