

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY FEBRUARY 18, 1972 ● No. 692 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## Division on tactics

# MINERS SPLIT TORIES

BY ALEX MITCHELL

THE TORY government of Edward Heath is in absolute crisis. It has lost its mandate to govern.

Wherever it turns, the government is faced with disaster and disappointment—from Rhodesia, to Ulster, to the coalfields, to the dole queues.

Now these 'errors' and 'miscalculations' in Tory policy are creating divisions between the big bourgeoisie—the powerful banking groups, the industrialists like ICI, British-Leyland and Rio Tinto Zinc—and the smaller fry in the Conservative camp, the shopkeepers and the Surrey solicitors.

These differences were first ominously raised last autumn when the Tory leadership mounted its drive to get into the Common Market. This was undertaken at the behest of the big monopolies—but it sparked off shrill cries of discontent among the petty-bourgeois elements in the party who saw the greater concentrations of capital as a huge threat to their economic future.

But as we stated in yesterday's Workers Press, the entry ticket into Europe, the real price Britain has to pay, is the defeat of the working class.

The miners' strike, therefore, becomes a pivotal point in the life of Heath's government. The Tories are duty-bound to smash the miners as part of the overall strategy of lowering the standard of living of millions of working-class families.

The entry of Lord Wilberforce's inquiry into the scene must be seen simply as a time-gathering device.

Even if Wilberforce does grant increases today which are acceptable to the majority of miners, it will not be the end of the Tories' battle against the miners. It will be only a postponement of the inevitable showdown with the working class.

'City Press', the authoritative weekly newspaper of the City of London, yesterday carried a front-page lead story saying: 'Tory wages policy smashed.' The article went on: 'The miners have defeated the government. The Wilberforce tribunal will award the miners increases vastly in excess of the 7.8 per cent final offer by the NCB.'

'If allowances are made for the five days' extra holiday and productivity agreements, the Wilberforce award is likely to be in the region of 20 per cent.'

Of course, the 'City Press' are appalled by their own speculations about the outcome of the strike. The paper's editor warns:

'This is a deadly blow to the government's wage norm of 8 per cent and will be the danger signal for rapidly increasing inflation. The size of the award will be a signal to all other trade unions with wage claims in the pipeline that the government's 8 per cent norm belongs to the past. Hopes of containing inflation are gone.'

'If it stopped with the miners, who are just over 1 per cent of the work force, that would not matter. But queuing up behind them are the engineers who number 2,500,000, or 10 per cent of the working population. The government are now bankrupt of any instrument to fight inflation.'

The article goes on to recommend shareholders in GEC, British-Leyland, Dunlop's, Woolworth's, Joseph Lucas, Tube Investments, Rank Hovis, Coats Paton's, Plessey, Hawker Siddeley and Metal Box to sell immediately!

The newspaper reveals great bitterness towards Heath's 'lack of firmness' with the miners.

And this is the nub of the crisis in the Tory Party: it's between those who want Heath to accelerate his confrontation with the working class and those more cautious elements who see the rising militancy in the working class and who argue for a 'softly, softly' line.

This indecision in the leadership of the Tory Party provides a vital opportunity for the labour movement to press the advantage. Now is the time to mount a mass campaign to get this hated government out.

There are millions of people in Britain and Ulster today who are just waiting for such a signal.

## REMEMBER THIS?

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Workers Press for July 1, 1970

# IRA BURN SCAB COAL LORRIES

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

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The Official wing of the IRA has hit back at the strike-breakers by hi-jacking lorries with 'scab' coal and burning them.

A statement from the Official

## EXCLUSIVE

IRA command for Armagh and S Down said yesterday: 'A unit of our command has hi-jacked five lorries belonging to Fishers of Newry in support of striking coalminers in England.'

'These lorries were engaged in taking coal from Dundalk to Newry and on being stopped at the border two of them were burned and the contents of the

others emptied onto the roadway for the use of the local people.

'We warn all other strike-breakers that similar treatment will be meted out to them unless they cease these activities immediately.'

More details of the daring hi-jacking came from one of the lorry drivers. He told local pressmen that he was stopped at gunpoint on the road between Carrickarnon and Killeen customs post by about a dozen men.

They forced him to empty his 20-ton load of coal on the road and then set fire to his vehicle. Other motorists who appeared on the scene were ordered back at gunpoint.

An importer at Dundalk told the local press he had despatched 'thousands of tons' of Polish coal to Ulster. He said it was more profitable to sell in the N because of the present shortage caused by the miners' strike.

The 'Irish Times' said yesterday that between 30 and 50 lorries each carrying 50 tons of Polish coal are crossing the border into Ulster each day.

## Imported

Sources in Londonderry told Workers Press yesterday that the imported coal had been in circulation for about two or three weeks. This is not the first time that Polish imports have been used in Ireland for strike-breaking.

It last occurred in June 1970 during the prolonged strike of 750 workers at Cement Limited in Drogheda and Limerick.

During this dispute, Workers Press obtained unchallengeable proof—we published the cargo manifestos on our front page—that Polish cement was being brought in.

At the time we demanded: 'When are the leaders of the British Communist Party going to break their despicable silence and denounce the international strike-breaking activities of the Polish Stalinist government?'

We never received an answer. The British CP and the 'Morning Star' kept their silence.

Today, we ask the same question and the miners throughout Britain join us:

When will Gollan and company denounce this latest strike-breaking by the Polish Stalinists?



Two miners from Coventry with something to remember. Behind them is Earley power station, Reading, which was forced to shut down on Saturday because no transport driver would pass their picket. In front of them—a fire, some wood and a picket's shack given to them by local students and trade unionists. Both Pat Purdy (l.) and John McGonigle, from Newdigate and Coventry colliery insist that the Wilberforce Inquiry will have to come up with something good or the miners won't go back.

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## AROUND THE WORLD

# CONNALLY SPEAKS MARKETS FLUTTER

THE W GERMAN Bundesbank intervened in the foreign exchange market to support the dollar yesterday after it had fallen to its lowest-ever level against the mark. In Britain, the Bank of England declined to say whether it was buying dollars to support the rate.

Initial trading was reported to be extremely nervous with the market unsure of possible developments following the American announcement that dollar convertibility will not be restored this year.

John Connally, US Treasury Secretary, threw the markets into turmoil on Wednesday when he refused to set a time when convertibility of any kind will be considered by the US.

He made clear, in a speech to a Congress Economic Committee that the US government has no plans to deal with what one Congressman described as 'a \$50,000m overhang in foreign hands'.

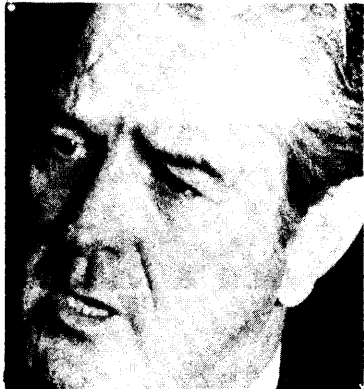
This refers to the paper dollars held by overseas central banks which can no longer be used to buy gold from the American Treasury. US gold reserves are below the \$10,000m mark.

On dollar convertibility, Connally said he had told other governments at the time of the December 18 Washington realignment conference that 'we're not going to make the dollar convertible and if they were asking for convertibility we would have to ask for three times the realignment that we got.'

'It would be sheer folly,' he said. 'We'd be back in the same trap.' Connally also went out of his way to indicate that the Nixon administration wants US interest rates pushed still lower, though existing low interest rates are preventing a return of dollars from Europe.

'The thing we need in this country is continued pressure to bring down interest rates, not particularly the short-term rates, but intermediate rates and long-term rates, which are still too high.'

European financiers have for months been pleading with the



CONNALLY

Americans to raise their interest rates.

Connally's statement is one of the harshest-ever public declarations of American economic policy. It must shatter the last illusions among European employers about the December 18 deal.

It spells a future of unprecedented class struggles as the world monetary system sinks deeper into chaos.

## Seamen's strike?

W GERMANY'S 1,200 merchant ships will be tied up by strike action unless the seamen's unions agree to renewed mediation on a pay demand.

Both the officers' and the ratings' union have rejected a mediator's proposals for rises ranging from 2.3 to 6.4 per cent. Both unions demanded 10 per cent. The officers' union is to decide today whether it will accept further mediation. After four years' service an able seaman averages about 1,500 marks (£170) a month and a first engineer about 2,800 marks (£336).

## Generals control Ecuador

THE ARMY has seized power in the S American state of Ecuador, exiled the 79-year-old President Velasco Ibarra and annulled next June's elections.

The new President, Gen Guillermo Rodriguez Lara, says that the country faced 'monstrous anarchy'. All members of the former administration and resident foreigners have been forbidden to leave the country.

Gen Lara, who received part of his training in US military colleges, declared that his regime would be 'nationalist, military and revolutionary'. He identified himself as a member of the middle class.

The army chiefs had tried to persuade Velasco to scrap the elections and rule by decree for another two years. They feared an electoral victory by opposition leader, Assad Bucaram, who is said to be under arrest. Velasco was thrown out when he refused.

Ecuador which has a population of about 5½m, most of whom are desperately poor, is heavily in debt and has been seeking a big loan from US banks to finance the budget deficit.

## Todds to face a tribunal

IAN SMITH is to bring Garfield Todd and his daughter Judy and two detained African leaders before a special tribunal 'as soon as possible'.

He claimed, on Wednesday that only four people had been detained since the Pearce Commission had begun its work, but 1,505 had been arrested on specific charges. Of the latter, 415 had been convicted and another 278 were awaiting trial; the rest had been released.

In New York, African National Council chairman, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, called on the United Nations Security Council to take action against Rhodesian chrome exports. He said that 99 per cent of Africans opposed the Home-Smith deal, which was racist in substance and consequence.

He claimed that sanctions were biting deep and that 'the economy was gradually grinding to a halt for lack of foreign currency'. The Bishop held private meetings with African members to win support for tougher sanctions against the Smith regime.

## TAFT AT IT AGAIN

RIGHT-WING Senator Taft from Ohio wants legislation in the United States to prevent a calamity like the miners' strike occurring. He wants measures to curb strikes which might create national emergencies.

His Bill would provide for partial operation of essential industries during a labour dispute and add an additional 30-day cooling off period to the present 90-days under the existing Taft-Hartley Law introduced by his father.

Senate hearings next month will consider Taft's Bill and proposals for compulsory arbitration for strikes by dockers and other transport workers.

## WHAT WE THINK

### 'GREAT TERROR AND ALARM'

THIRTEEN men were led into court in handcuffs, bail was refused and the public excluded from all parts of the court building when miners' pickets appeared before Sheriff John Mowat at Dunfermline this week.

It was alleged that they 'formed part of a riotous mob of evil disposed persons which, acting with a common purpose, did conduct itself in a violent, riotous and tumultuous manner to the great terror and alarm of the lieges, and in breach of the peace did curse, swear, and utter threats of violence'.

This archaic legal verbiage, combined with the harshness used against the men, is an indication of things to come. The charge against them is not only medieval, but vague. It is obvious that literally thousands of workers could have been arrested under it in the course of the miners' strike.

Similar charges were used during the General Strike of 1926 when 2,500 workers were arrested under the Emergency Powers Act. A favourite charge was 'having in their possession documents which were likely to cause grave disaffection among His Majesty's Forces'. Any letter or leaflet supporting the strike came under this heading—and it was enough to have it in your possession.

Another common charge was 'seditious speech'. This could include any speech in favour of the strike. Pickets were charged with 'acts of intimidation', and people were jailed for chalking slogans on walls. Selling political papers became a crime—'likely to cause disaffection among the civil population'.

There is no doubt that the Tories have once again been thrown into a state of 'great terror and alarm' by the miners' strike, particularly by the support given to the miners by other workers and by the effectiveness of the picketing.

This demonstration of class strength has sent the Tories scurrying through the law books. Above all, they are determined to stop effective picketing of the kind displayed at the power stations and the Saltley depot in Birmingham. The miners' strike has been the biggest scare the ruling class has had since 1926. The forces of the state will be marshalled against the working class as never before in this century.

Throughout its history, the British working class has faced the handcuffs and jails of the capitalist state, a system of oppression for maintaining class rule. This was the case when the working class won the right to form unions, when it won the right to strike, when it won the vote.

Lenin defined the state as a product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. In his classic work 'The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State', Engels wrote: 'The state is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction within itself, that it has split into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel.'

'But... it became necessary to have a power, seemingly standing above society, that would alleviate the conflict and keep it within the bounds of "order"; and this power, arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it, is the state.'

As the struggle against the Tories intensifies, the courts and the police will be used more and more in a desperate attempt to keep it 'within the bounds of order'. The chains have not disappeared from the British legal system, but they won't be enough to preserve capitalism.

## FRENCH CP SEEKING RESPECTABILITY

Le **PCF** **contre**  
le **PARTI COMMUNISTE FRANÇAIS** **les violences**

De tous les partis d'opposition  
au pouvoir gaulliste qu'il  
combat depuis 10 ans

**LE PARTI COMMUNISTE FRANÇAIS**

a été le seul, **DÈS LE DÉBUT**, à dénoncer  
publiquement les agissements, les  
provocations et les violences des  
groupes ultra-gauchistes, anarchistes,  
maoïstes, ou trotskystes, qui font le  
jeu de la réaction.

**VOTEZ COMMUNISTE**

IN PREPARATION for the 1973 elections the French Communist Party is hard at work building itself a respectable image. In June, 1968 it put out the accompanying poster after the great General Strike which, but for its betrayals, could have toppled the Gaullist regime. It reads: 'The French Communist Party against violence. Of all

the parties opposed to the Gaullist power, the French Communist Party, which has fought it for ten years, was the only one, FROM THE BEGINNING, to denounce publicly, the agitations, the provocations and the violence of the ultra-left, anarchist, Maoist and Trotskyist groups which served the interests of reaction **VOTE COMMUNIST.'**

## 'EUROPE OF STRUGGLE'—DEBRE

FRENCH War Minister Michel Debré said in Paris yesterday that with the entry of Britain and three other countries to the Common Market, Europe's future would be one of struggle.

Replying to questions in an interview with the French weekly 'Les Informations', Debré said it would be necessary for Europe 'to struggle for everything. It would have to be a Europe of struggle.'

'The arrival of new members to the European community is going to introduce new factors which are not strictly speaking European,' he said. 'France will have to be very firm despite all the economic and political duties undeniably implied by western solidarity.'

The minister said it remained to be seen whether Britain's

entry to the Common Market would further the late General de Gaulle's conception of a Europe independent of both the United States and the Soviet Union.

Britain had earlier hesitated to enter the Common Market because of its fear of supranationalism and the importance it gave to relations with the US.

But it had learned that American policies were increasingly becoming 'frankly for the Americans'.

Defence co-operation was a delicate matter in which things had to be done by degrees.

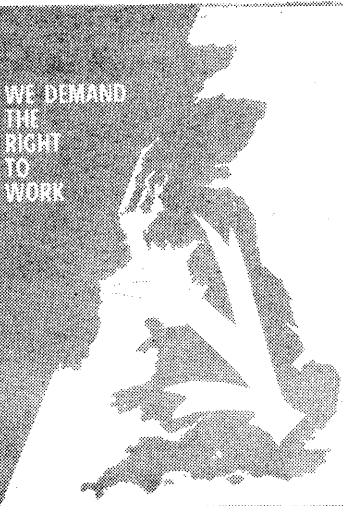
While France retained its independent defence policies, Britain and France were 'two countries which, despite their differences, feel near to each other every time there is a major security problem'.

Right-to-Work

# DIARY

By Stephen Johns

WE DEMAND  
THE  
RIGHT  
TO  
WORK



## A CLASP OF HANDS AND A TYNESIDE TRADES UNION WELCOME

DAY TEN—Newcastle

WE'VE MADE it to Newcastle. Before us lie two days of short treks through the industrial towns of Tyneside, including the community which came to symbolize the hungry 1930s—Jarrow.

We are in Jarrow tomorrow night for our tea, then we will walk on to South Shields for the night.

### DRAMATIC ARRIVAL

The march into Newcastle today gave us a big boost. Five miles outside the town the lads who are joining us at Tyneside met the column.

Danny Holland from Renon, Dunbartonshire, and Keith Radford, an unemployed bus conductor from Tyneside, clasped hands and then we moved off into the city.

Our arrival was quite dramatic—we marched through the narrow streets of the old working-class quarter near the centre. The district was even blacker than usual. The whole area was hit by a power cut—the combination seemed to typify today's situation, the slums and the people cheering, the marchers

shouting for the right to work and the unseen miners exercising their own power of solidarity against the Tory government.

Earlier in the day on the way from Hexham (22 miles) we had a chance to return some of the hospitality that the miners have unstintingly shown to us on our journey. We passed a picket line and decided to have our dinner there. We handed the food round so the men from Havanah colliery also got a good feed.

They were guarding Horsey open-cast site and they have succeeded in stopping movement in and out.

At Newcastle we got good support from the working class. The Trades Council paid for a warm church hall near the city centre and two brewery branches of the Transport and General Workers' Union donated £50 for food and sat the whole march down to a three-course meal in a Chinese restaurant.

One of the men on the delegation who met us outside the city was Gordon Steel, the secretary of the Trades Council. I had a chat with him as we marched into the city. He is a member of the Labour Party, but said this did not prevent him from giving us wholehearted support.

'We decided to back you simply because you are fighting for the right-to-work', he said. 'I think it is a fantastic achievement for you to have marched so far. A lot of organizations and splinter groups have mounted their own campaign about this vicious Tory policy, but yours is by far the most impressive and ambitious so far.'



MARCHERS SHARE THEIR FOOD WITH MINERS' PICKETS AT HORSLEY OPEN-CAST MINE

Mr Steel told me that unemployment in the region has now topped the 100,000 level and the male jobless rate on Tyneside alone stands at over 10 per cent—that's as bad as Glasgow.

I asked him about the determined opposition the Labour Party leadership has mounted against our campaign.

'Whatever the politics of this march, the fact remains that you and only you are travelling throughout the country and campaigning. I back it and I am

speaking as a member of the Labour Party.'

We had a lively meeting in Newcastle. Leader of the Glasgow march John Barrie said that the key issue of the campaign was the very issue of leadership that Mr Steel referred to.

'We in the Young Socialists are determined to build a leadership that will be strong enough and will have sufficient understanding of the class struggle to deal with Toryism and the right wing in the Labour Party. The fact that youth have marched all the way to Newcastle with such determination shows that this great challenge will win a response from sections of the working class.'

Unfortunately today we had one casualty. Freddie Meechan, a miner and one of the most political marchers, has had to drop out. He went to Newcastle infirmary and they diagnosed a badly torn muscle. He won't be able to walk, but he says he will be rejoining us as soon as he is fit. See you later Fred.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS  
NATIONAL RIGHT-TO-  
WORK CAMPAIGN

RALLIES  
to launch  
SWANSEA and  
LIVERPOOL  
marches

THIS SATURDAY FEB 19  
St Georges Hall  
opp. Lime St Stn  
Liverpool 3 p.m.

Speakers:

Gerry Caughey (Pilkington rank-and-file committee)  
Bill Measures (Pilkington rank-and-file committee)  
Larry Cavanagh (T&GWU dock steward)  
Bernard Bradley (Ford's convenor)  
Jack Spriggs (Convenor Fisher Bendix)  
Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central Committee)  
Christine Smith (YS leader of Liverpool march)

YMCA

SWANSEA 3 p.m.  
SLL, YS and trade union speakers

Liverpool march arrives in  
St HELENS

for a rally on  
SUNDAY FEBRUARY 20  
Town Hall, 7 p.m.

see our documentary play  
'THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION'

Directed by Corin Redgrave  
Written by Tom Kempinski  
followed by a meeting

Speakers:

Gerry Caughey, Christine Smith  
and Gerry Healy, (National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League)

## FACTORY SUPPORT FOR SWANSEA MARCH 'GREAT'

THE Young Socialists have organized nationwide Right-to-Work marches to show the Tories the working class are not prepared to put up with a million on the dole, campaign national secretary Clive Norris told a Swansea press conference on Wednesday.

More than 30 unemployed youth, including five girls, would set out from Swansea on Saturday on a 300-mile trek to London for a mass rally at the Empire Pool, Wembley, a demonstration in Trafalgar Square and a lobby of Labour MPs at Westminster, he told reporters.

Said Clive Norris: 'The support we've got from factories and unions for our three marches throughout the country is tremendous and we think support will flow in because of the correctness of our policy to mobilize the working class and remove the Tories.'

'The marchers will also be saying to Victor Feather and the Labour leaders either they've got to get off their knees and fight the Tories, or there are other people who will take over.'

'The marchers will be taking two vans with food, camp beds

and sleeping bags, but we'll be getting most of our food along the route. The whole march is being financed by the working class and they'll feed us along the way.'

Swansea-born Gary Jenner (19), sacked eight months ago from BP's Baglan Bay chemical plant, and secretary of the Swansea Right-to-Work committee, said:

'I am marching because I'm sick of the Tory government's policies and I think this is the only way we can fight.'

'One hundred and fifty of us were sacked by BP because we were fighting for basic rights, more pay and better conditions. Because we went on strike they sacked the lot of us.'

The Swansea march leaves the city on Sunday morning after a demonstration and rally against unemployment and the Tories on Saturday.

Said Clive Norris: 'We hope to have trade union delegations from Port Talbot steelworks and Baglan Bay to see the march off and there is the possibility of a band.'

'All the major factories have been contacted for support and some of them are giving donations or collecting in their fac-

ories or sending delegations to the start of the march.'

The marchers set out from University college, Swansea on Sunday at 10 a.m. on the first leg of their journey as far as Neath. Saturday's 2.30 p.m. rally at Page St YMCA will follow a march through the town from Calvert Terrace beginning at 12.30 p.m.



CLIVE NORRIS

YOUNG SOCIALISTS'  
LONDON

Right-to-Work  
Meetings

Tuesday February 22, 8 p.m.  
T&GWU Offices,  
173, Clapham Road, SW9

Wednesday February 23, 8 p.m.  
Woolwich Town Hall  
(public hall)  
Market St, SE 18

Thursday February 24, 8 p.m.  
Ruskin House,  
Coombe Rd,  
S Croydon

Thursday February 24 8 p.m.  
Recreation Centre,  
Old Bedford Rd,  
Luton.

# WORKERS RIGHTS

BY BERNARD FRANKS

## THE WAGE-STOP

The Social Security office is allowed to cut anyone's payment down to what a claimant's wage would be in his or her normal occupation if this is lower than the scale rates.

By this vicious system, called the 'wage-stop', the government ensures that the most exploited workers in the lowest-paid occupations are kept down to that level when unemployed. At present, 30,000 households are wage-stopped into a poverty-ridden existence.

Workers faced with this iniquitous ruling should challenge it in every case and seek trade union support to obtain a reversal.

There is no automatic obligation to explain to sick or unemployed persons that the supplementary benefit scale rates exist and that supplementary benefit and rent allowance and the other payments are available. It is left to the claimant to fathom out what he is entitled to and put in a claim. Combined with the inadequate supply of information by the offices concerned, this alone 'saves' thousands of pounds which rightfully should go to those in need.

### HOSTILE

Some interviewing officers in both Social Security office and home interviews take a hostile and discouraging attitude. They consider it their duty to cut the amounts paid in any way possible. Deliberately aggressive tactics are aimed at badgering claimants into 'admissions' that they don't really need the payments—certainly not difficult against someone unused to claiming and feeling bad about applying anyway.

Many unemployed workers, not yet understanding some of the political and economic mechanisms of capitalism in crisis are encouraged to see unemployment and even 'sickness in personal terms as some kind of personal failing. Many officials are only too ready to batten on this feeling of guilt and use it to discourage claimants.

In general also the poorest claimants are in the worst housing and in the worst slum areas. Often physically ill and mentally depressed, they are not able to adequately represent their own interests, so they get worse treatment than others not quite so badly-off.

It is true that there are some sympathetic officials behind the counters and employed on the home visiting, but these are so hedged in by red tape, 'legal maximums' and day-to-day rulings that they end up doing very little more than the most officious bureaucrat.

A worker who has refused a firm offer of work, who leaves a job of his own accord, or who is sacked for so-called industrial misconduct, is barred from drawing unemployment benefit for up to six weeks.

He can draw supplementary benefit, but previously this was cut to 75p below the normal rate, also for six weeks. The Tories have now cut this to a 40 per cent deduction. In other words, they take 40 per cent off what is already considered a minimum rate for existence. For example, a single man or woman can have £2.30 removed, leaving £3.50 to live on.

This cut in payments is a blatant attempt to strengthen



In general the poorest claimants are in the worst housing and slum areas

the hand of management. It is a direct victimization of workers who fight bad wages and conditions or refuse to join a firm of strike-breakers, or one which pays below union rates.

A reduction in benefit is the least that can happen to anyone alleged to be not looking for work. According to the Supplementary Benefits Handbook, benefit to anyone accused of so-called 'voluntary unemployment' may be 'refused or summarily stopped' and the claimant prosecuted for failing to support himself or his family. According to the 'A' CODE such a claimant may be secretly designated as 'workshy' in official documents, and have benefit restricted or stopped on this basis.

The unskilled worker, when out of work, gets worse treatment than others. If the authorities decide there are labouring jobs available in the area, the claimant is paid allowances for

only four weeks and is instructed to get work in that time or lose all payments. Skilled workers are given longer to find work that suits them, but they too can be threatened with loss of benefits after a time.

### BATTLE

Workers on the four-weeks rule are entitled to renew their claim at the Social Security office if they have not found a job during that period. This is likely to be a time when a battle over the right to payment occurs if the officials have decided that there is work available.

Any worker refused a renewal of a claim should immediately inform the local branch of his or her trade union and ask for action. Usually, union officers are in a better position to give evi-

dence of the actual employment situation in an area than Social Security officials totting up registrations and alleged vacancies.

The Tory government has backed down on a plan to stop the first six days of unemployment pay for short-time workers from January 1. Social Services Minister Sir Keith Joseph said that this was 'without prejudice to the merits of imposing the restrictions at some future date'. The rule, which would mean for example that someone laid off for a week every other week would never qualify for benefit, was provided for in the Labour government's 1966 Act but never used. Engineering workers, in particular, have fought to stop this law being applied. Currently, 80,000 workers are on short time.

Examples are known of benefits being refused to unmarried mothers until they disclosed the name of the father of their child. In general, unmarried

mothers and women whose marriages have ended in separation, annulment or divorce are discriminated against by the rules.

The Social Security department denies that it takes a moralizing attitude to women. This is belied by the system of secret 'special investigators' who spy on women living alone on benefit and who stop benefit for so-called 'undisclosed cohabitation', even if no support whatsoever is received from the man concerned.

In some cases repayment of hundreds of pounds of previously paid benefit has been demanded on the grounds that cohabitation exists and therefore all rights to benefit have been lost.

In 1970, 4,388 women on supplementary benefits had allowances reduced or cut by means of the cohabiting rule. Many charity and reforming organizations are now asking that the activities of these officials should be made public and their instructions published. This squad of public snoopers should be disbanded and their malevolent instructions destroyed.

Great play is being made at the moment of the new Family Income Supplement (FIS), a payment to those in full-time work which goes a long way towards subsidizing employers who pay low wages. It is only a question of time, however, before a great Fleet St furor is whipped up against alleged FIS 'spongers' who are too lazy to 'stand on their own feet'—already a periodic theme in regard to those on supplementary benefit.

The fact is, even so-called frauds is in most cases, not at all cool, calculated deception, but a result of confusion, panic and desperation at receiving a totally inadequate income. On the few past occasions when capitalism has provided enough jobs of every kind, the Labour Exchanges have stood empty through lack of business—either in jobs or money—and proposals for closing some of them have been made. This constitutes a complete refutation of the claims that unemployment is a product of workers' preference for the dole.

Workers have to fight to win rights and allowances due to them and their families. Such action is enormously strengthened when backed by local trade union organizations and the unemployed trade unionist has every right to demand this support. A number of trade unions have officials whose main job is to represent workers at Appeals Tribunals, etc.

### UNITED

But only the combined action of the employed and unemployed working class can defend and extend the right previously won. Only such a united body can force out a totally reactionary Tory government now and elect a Labour government entirely committed to socialist policies.

In the field of social security such a government would be required to sweep away the means test, the 'discretionary powers', the form-filling, the spying and the concept of minimum subsistence support. Instead, it would make all benefits adequate according to standards set by workers' organizations and paid as of right to those who need them.

It would proclaim that as the working class is in no way responsible for creating unemployment, it cannot be expected to pay for it. If capitalism cannot supply jobs and wages at a time when so much needs to be built and produced, then this is additional proof of its total bankruptcy. The need therefore to nationalize the industries concerned—without compensation to the owners—and put them under workers' control, is completely confirmed.

The deliberate attempts by the employers, acting through the Tory government, to use unemployment to intimidate and pauperize workers must be stopped by concerted action of the entire working class. This is why every worker in a job or unemployed must support the Right-to-Work marches to London, organized by the Young Socialists, culminating in a mass rally at the Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 12.

BERNARD FRANKS' next article on Monday will deal with the rights of workers involved in a trade dispute.

CONTINUED

# BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

## DISCUSSION ON THE ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE DRAFT MANIFESTO

On November 6 last year a national conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance decided to adopt a draft manifesto to transform the Socialist Labour League into a revolutionary party. Since the conference a country-wide discussion has been initiated in League branches, in the ATUA, in the Young Socialists and among Workers Press supporters. Until the Right-to-Work rally at Empire Pool, Wembley on March 12, we intend to carry a full page each day devoted to your comments on the Draft Manifesto. We have received more than 100 contributions to this vital discussion. Now we want at least another 100.

Workers and their families, youth, students and the unemployed are all invited to join in this discussion. If you haven't got a copy of the Draft Manifesto write to Workers Press or contact your local ATUA branch.

### SAYZAD ALI

43-year-old machine operator, T. G. Brooks, Leicester. He has lived in Britain for 40 years, but has a family in Beano Bayar, Shlher, Bangla Desh

I find the Workers Press interesting and I think it has always correctly supported Bangla Desh.

More than that, it fights not only for workers in Bengal, but internationally. It correctly points out that the Tories must be forced to resign—they who cause unemployment and redundancies.

I am very glad and think it correct that India is now helping the Bangla Desh people, but workers of India and Bengal must be for socialism. This is clearly stated in the ATUA Manifesto.

As the Manifesto points out, we must fight against those who should be fighting—like the trade union leaders and those Communist Party leaders who refuse to take up a principled stand against the Tories.

### BOB THURSTANS

A 29-year-old BSc, MSc Grad. Cert.Ed., Lecturer in Physics, City of Leicester Polytechnic

I think that the Draft Manifesto adopted by the ATUA conference in November last year is a very clear and correct appraisal of the situation, both in its understanding of the way the Tories are moving and the very real treachery of the Labour leaders.

But more than that, of course, it puts forward a guide to action that must be taken if humanity is to survive. The crisis is taking its toll now of those trained in science who have been



taught to believe they were 'God's gift to industry' and some sort of élite.

It was at one time very easy to get a good job with a degree in physics. Ten years ago, for instance, there were only two men applying for three jobs, whereas 18 months ago there were 40 applicants for one job at this Poly.

One needs a PhD or MSc nowadays. As graduates are being driven out of industry, wage rates are comparatively lower in institutions such as Polytechnics (information from 'Institute of Physics' bulletin November, 1971).

What we have taking place is the disintegration of the middle-class career structure and, of course, changes are now taking place in consciousness. The building of the revolutionary party is the urgent task; these middle-class forces must be won as their disillusionment can force them to the right in this situation.

We must struggle for revolutionary Marxist theory for the successful conclusion of the struggle for working-class power.

### ADRIAN HELIWELL

Steelworker, G&MWU Firth Brown, Sheffield

The Draft Manifesto is a forceful reminder that we are being led by a corrupt and stagnant government, a government that came into office by means of putting into practice the theory that the bigger the lies, the more chance you have of getting away with it.

This crew who call themselves a government purposely set out to deny nourishment to children by means of robbing them of school milk, also put a curb on the welfare of old folk and generally kick the working class in the



Top: Bengalis demonstrate for the liberation of Bangla Desh in April last year. Above: At a rally just prior to the victory of the Indian army in December.

teeth. They've got to be ousted, and the sooner the better, before they do any further damage to the country and the working class.

### CHRIS ANDREWS

Steelworker (AUEW) Firth Brown, Sheffield

The beginning of the Draft Manifesto brings to mind the biggest lie of the many that the Tories fed to the electorate in their pre-election speeches. Heath said that no decision would be made to enter the Common Market without first consulting the people.

He did not adhere to this pledge as he knows that the majority of the people would have rejected it.

I don't understand a few of the finer points concerning this set up, but there's one thing I am sure of—if the Tories are behind it, it's definitely not for the benefit of the working class.

There're no 'ifs' and 'buts' about it as far as I am concerned. This Tory government is hell-bent on recreating conditions that prevailed during the 1920s and 1930s, when a gang of men were waiting outside the gate to step into your job the moment you stepped out of line, which meant making a stand for your basic rights.

As if the vicious attacks by the Tories weren't enough to contend with, you've got the treachery of your own leadership in the Labour Party and the union leaders as well, leading you up the creek.

I certainly think that unless the next Labour government is not pledged to five years of socialism, people will have no choice but to look for an alternative.

# THE POINT OF NO RETURN

BY IAN YEATS

'I've been unemployed three months and I've been up a number of times for a job, but there's always 30 or 40 blokes at the exchange and they say "Nothing for you". What are you expected to do?'

Twenty-two-year-old Garry Jenner thought of something. He decided to join the S Wales Young Socialists on their 200-mile Right-to-Work march to London and he is now secretary of the regional Right-to-Work committee.

He told me at a cafe near Swansea station: 'At first I thought three weeks' march to London would be great, but when I heard the lads talking I looked upon it as something worth fighting for.'

'The people in the YS in Swansea are true blokes and I think people will rally round, especially when they see the march.'

'I know a lot of people say they don't like us because we're a Trotskyist movement, but they agree with our policies. There is no other party in Britain today that's putting our policies to the working class.'

'We've got about 30 going on the march at the moment and it's growing all the time. And people are getting more politically aware as they work with us.'

'It's a point of no return as far as I'm concerned. We've either got to get the Tories out or they'll hammer us.'

Garry looked over toward the docks: 'There's not much chance of getting a job in Swansea', he said. 'I went to the Prince of Wales dry dock for a job and there were 25 other men in the office for it.'

Only five years ago—and less—Swansea and neighbouring Port Talbot were widely regarded as boom areas, part of the Utopian Severnside development which was to rise, phoenix like, along the banks of the Severn out of the ashes of the dying coalfield valleys.

As the pits have closed, slashing the labour force from over 100,000 to 38,000, with more than 121 mines axed since the war, the valleys have died—but Severnside remains a hopeless dream.

Above Swansea the Avon valley has been emptied of the mines which threw up the mountainside villages and only one or two small factories replaced them.

The valleys of Neath and Swansea became an industrial graveyard of abandoned works.

Meanwhile at Port Talbot the giant steelworks expanded on the complacency of a generation. Baglan Bay spawned BP's huge chemical works and Ford's and other car component firms moved into Swansea. Down at Milford Haven the oil companies set up their tank farms.

The recession has taken its toll. Severnside has not materialized. The tank farms are a forest of pipes and drums, but few men.

No more factories went to Swansea when yesterday's hopes straggle pathetically at the beginning of a motorway built on expectations. And at Port Talbot new machines and rationalization have formed a grim pattern repeated throughout the area.

Unemployment in W. Wales, where all new plastics were to form a science-age base for new growth industries, has leapt to 6 per cent. In Swansea—Wales' second city—it is 5.8 per cent and in Port Talbot 5.3 per cent. Only one month ago comparable

figures were 5.2 per cent and 4.7 per cent respectively.

'There's not much chance of getting a job here,' Garry told me. 'Thousands are unemployed and they say by April another 1,200 will be sacked from Smith's Industries, Alcoa, Neath Brewers and British Aluminium.'

'I've been to a government training centre,' said Garry, 'but I'm a general labourer really. I've been a fitter's mate, welder's mate and labourer. Anything I can lay my hands on, anything the dole dishes out to me.'

The highest number of Welsh unemployed are in construction—8.5 per cent followed by 3.6 per cent of general labourers and 3.4 per cent of those in distribution.

'The Tories are going to build unemployment up and up,' said Garry. 'That's all they ever do. They're just money-grabbers. They're not concerned with the working class, so long as they can do a hard day's work.'

'They want people in work to work harder and if they don't there'll be people outside the door ready to walk in.'

In S Wales 56,334 people are unemployed—by far the majority in unskilled categories. 2.9 per cent of the jobless are miners, 2.1 per cent in transport and communications and 1 per cent in engineering. For all these thousands of jobless there are only 7,009 unfilled vacancies.

'Even if I was working I'd only get £18 and that's rubbish. I might live on it, but not a married man with two kids. He'd never live on it.'

Garry is among the 30 per cent of Wales' jobless who are under 24. With applications for new factories falling sharply and others closing daily he is completely justified in his pessimism about finding work.

He told me: 'The capitalist system can't work in this country any more. All that our fathers have fought for we've got to fight for again.'

'The Tories have taken away the kid's milk and they're having a go at the right to strike. I should imagine in time they'll be taking away free speech as well.'

Commenting on Ireland Garry said: 'The troops are only there to oppress the working class and protect the businessman. The Tories will definitely try it here if they can. We want the Right-to-Work march to unite the youth in this country—to say to the Tory government that the youth are willing to fight, not just the older generation.'

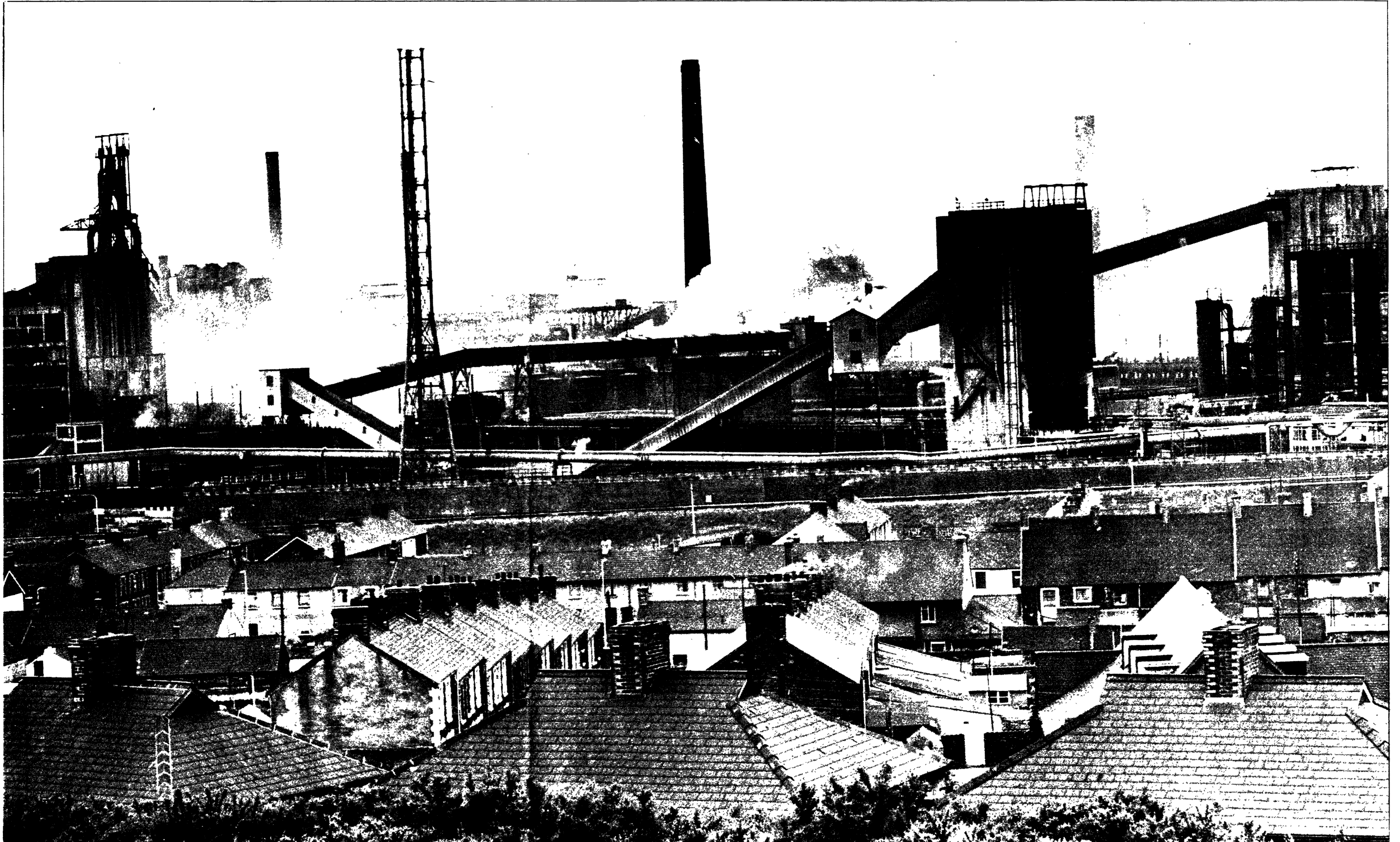
'I think the march will have a great effect. There are millions on the dole today and the march will show people who are on the dole and what they are prepared to do about it.'

Garry has lost both parents and is living with his uncle on the £4.80 he gets from the dole.

He said: 'I pay £1.50 rent and living on £3 is just pathetic. I've just got enough for grub. The cost of living is really terrible. The change of currency was just a farce to put up prices. I can't save or get a car. I can't go out or enjoy myself. The Tories have taken all this away from the working man.'

'If we can build a good leadership in the working class we can run this country. We can't need those people on £20,000 a year—they don't do the work in the country anyway, it's us, the working class. All they do is give productivity deals.'

'If we don't fight now, we'll never fight. Now is the time to make a stand. It's a known



fact in this country that if you want to get anywhere you've got to fight for it.

'You've got to have a Labour government put back to show people who are staunch Labour how they are slaves to the Tories. Give them enough rope to hang themselves. They won't carry out socialist policies and if they won't we'll have to put somebody else in who will.'

## HEATH'S DESTROYING THE WORKING CLASS

**Porth is in the Rhondda Valley. A town sandwiched between the mountains, it was born and will die with coal. Unemployment is at its highest in the coalfield valleys of S Wales—5.3 per cent overall, but over 10 per cent in specific towns—those totally dependent on black gold.**

Seventeen-year-old Sharon Wiltshire, who has been out of work practically since she left school, was quite clear about what needed to be done:

'I'd make a better Prime Minister than Heath,' she told me. 'We want a socialist government that will fight for us. We

don't want Wilson, Heath or anyone else.'

Naturally the miners' strike dominates her thinking. 'The miners are not fighting for money any more. They're fighting to get Heath out. When their leaders stop crawling and start fighting, the miners will be a lot better off.'

'We've got 1926 here again today and the only way to change it is to get Heath out. That's why I'm going on the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work march. Heath's destroying the working class and someone's got to stop him. If we don't get him out we're finished.'

'The Tories have done nothing for us. Last year's budget only benefited the rich. There was no benefit for the poor at all. Labour did nothing for us either.'

'I think the march will have some effect. It will show Heath the working class are doing something. If the Tories could have a war they would. It's the quickest way to get rid of a million.'

Sharon left her last job because it was non-union and the pay and conditions were bad. She pointed to an ash tray: 'If you make ash trays for a week, what you make in a day pays your wages. Who gets the rest? It's about time we had a share in it.'

Sharon's 19-year-old sister Sandra will be marching with her to London. 'I believe what we are doing is right. It's about

time we had a working-class government instead of the Tories. They're a middle-class government just looking after the rich. I've been unemployed for eight months. I was having great money in the last job I had (£11) and I don't see why anyone should work for less.'

'If you don't want to work for what they pay you, they say get out there's plenty of others around. If the working class were all together, I think we could get the Tories out.'

## WE SHOULD GET A PARTY THAT WILL FIGHT FOR US

**At 20, Alan Saint has heavy responsibilities. He is married with a child and he's been unemployed for a year.**

'We should get a party that will fight for us,' he told me at his home town of Porth. 'There are no jobs around here at all and if we don't get the Tories out, they'll knock us back to 1926.'

'I'm going on the Right-to-Work march, but I don't know if it will have any effect. I read the newspapers now, but I didn't use to. I want to see about the miners and I want to see about politics.'

'Heath has refused to do anything about unemployment. He says it's not an emergency, but it is. It should be a General Strike all over the country.'

'If the Tories stay in, it's going to be very rough on the workers. When they came into office, they said they were going to do this and that, but they've done nothing.'

'Everything has gone up twice as much as what it was; rent has gone up, food has gone up and they've joined the Common Market when they never should have gone in. Everything's got to go up.'

'All we can do is chuck them out and fight for someone who will give us what we want. The Tories are not interested in unemployment, yet Heath can go out in his yacht and he's got a few thousand in the bank.'

'And I don't think the Queen deserves all that money one bit. Any person could live on £6,000 or so a year, but she's got millions.'

'If the miners don't go back I think the Tories will stick troops in. Pickets and troops will clash and there will be another Ireland.'

'They've put troops in before and I think they'll do it again, but the miners are strong. They'll fight them, and they'll get more support from the working class than they did in 1926.'

'I think the troops should get out of N Ireland and leave them alone.'

## THE MARCH IS NOT A PROTEST ITS A DEMAND

**'I was prepared to hang about on the dole for ever,' 19-year-old Terry Wilden from Swansea told me.**

'But since I met the lads in the Young Socialists I've realized what the situation is. With unemployment and Ireland, I realize that the Tories are out to cripple the working class.'

'I thought Ireland was just a religious battle, but now I know it's political. With the emergency powers, they could bring in troops against the miners.'

Terry left secondary school only four years ago, yet he's been out of work for more than a quarter of that period. He said: 'There are just no jobs around and employers can be choosy about who they take.'

'If you've got long hair and someone comes behind you with short hair, you don't stand a chance. They're even choosy about who they have on the ash carts.'

'The dole has sent me for about three jobs in the 14 months I've been unemployed and the chances of getting work

are very grim indeed.

'I've got two 'O' levels and I was doing shop work before. Labouring is no good to me because I'm not built for it.'

'I left my last job because at 18 I was getting £8 a week and that was no good.'

Terry went to a government training centre on a storekeepers' course, but he still couldn't get a job.

He said: 'They're trying to use the people they take in the training centres to use against the tradesmen so they can pay less.'

'I get £5.50 on the dole and I give £3 to my mother then I've got £2.50 to live on. After Sunday I've just got to scrounge what I can.'

'Being on the dole is just impossible. You can't buy anything. I'd like to have a motor bike, but as it is now on £2.50 I'd be saving up for years. If I want clothes I've got to save for months to get anything.'

'The Right-to-Work march is a big step. It's not a protest it's a demand. We're demanding the right to work, which is one of the basic rights the Tories are trying to take away from us.'

'I realize we've got to do something. It's no use sitting back. I'm not worried about walking to London. If it's worthwhile and it's going to change things I'd walk to China.'

'The working class will hear about this march and they'll think the youth are doing some-

thing. They'll think "Let's not leave it to them. Let's get out and help them get rid of this Tory government."

'If we don't get the Tories out now, in about a year or so we're going to have nothing.'

Everything the Young Socialists have said is truth. It's fact. Everything they've said they will do they will do, but they can't do it on their own. They've got to have the working class behind them.'

## THE SITUATION IN THIS COUNTRY IS ALL WRONG

**'If we don't fight now the Tories will step on us', Swansea born Peter Pejick (18) told me. 'A Right-to-Work march like this is very urgent. Unemployment gets higher and higher every day. The Young Socialists are fighting for the right of every youth to a future.'**

'It's very grim round here trying to get a job. I've been unemployed 13 weeks. I was a fork-lift driver until the firm I worked for put 25 off.'

'The exchange offered me a job as a roadsweeper and as a

bolt moulder, but they were so far away that most of my wages would have gone on fares.

'There's no prospect at all now and I think the Right-to-Work march will rally people. It's the youth of this country you've got to look to for the future.'

'My father thinks what I'm doing for the YS is a waste of time and shoe leather and he says I'm not getting paid for it.'

'But the march is for a good cause, demanding the right to work which everyone is entitled to. It'll show the rest of the working class we're prepared to fight.'

'My parents say get into the army and I was thinking of it just before I left school, but I wouldn't now. I don't believe in it. After so many years in the army, when you come out, the situation could be worse so you wouldn't get a job anyway.'

'The situation in this country is all wrong. Look at the capitalist system today. They want unemployment as a threat. They want us to work harder so they can get more money.'

'It's the workers who run this country anyway. They give money to businesses, so why can't we have a working-class government?'

'All the youth around should go on the Right-to-Work march and even men and women because it's not just for the youth, it's for everybody. Everybody is concerned with what the Tories are doing.'

# THE GREAT RAILROAD STRIKE

When American railway workers embarked on a national strike in 1877, pulling many other workers—especially miners—in behind them, and even occupying a big city like St Louis for some days, the American employers felt themselves under the shadow of the Paris Commune.

The slum population of all the great US cities sank to new depths of misery in the course of the depression which followed the business panic of 1873. On September 18 that year, the Wall St firm of Jay Cooke and Co was suspended. This was followed by a train of similar disasters.

From 1873-1877 the bankruptcy rate doubled and unemployment mounted rapidly. In January 1874, with unemployment at 5 million (with, of course, a much smaller population than now) an immense workers' demonstration, led by socialists, was attacked by police in New York City.

It was the nationwide railroad strike of July 1877 that brought things to a head.

The railroads had fallen on evil days. Only one of 15 lines tributary to St Louis, for example, was paying dividends. As the private empires of the railroad tycoons battled it out, the chief beneficiary was John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company, the first of the great trusts.

By this time, the Civil War over, the conservative white leaders in the S were taking their stand with the northern industrialists against labour militancy. There was no national workers' federation in existence. The American Federation of Labour was not formed until 1881. The closest to such an organization was the Order of the Knights of Labour, having about 5,000 members. Thus there was no central direction of the great railroad strike. It was probably the largest spontaneous outbreak of working-class unrest in US history.

Working on the railways was then a most hazardous occupation. Railmen were frequently flung to their deaths trying to work the clumsy handbrakes or maimed working the link and pin coupling. The employers seldom, if ever, paid any compensation. And the railroad corporations made up their losses in the rate wars by shoddy operating practices and ruthless wage cuts.

Earnings were pared down and unpaid labour demanded—firemen were required to clean the engine (a two-hour job) after each trip for no extra money. Passenger brakemen on the Baltimore and Ohio line suffered three wage-cuts between 1875 and 1877. These conditions led to several strikes between 1876 and 1877, all of which were crushed by the use of the Pinkerton and other 'detective' agencies.

The immediate cause of the 1877 strike was a new 10-per-cent wage cut, which the established unions—such as they were—made no attempt to resist. The strike began on the Baltimore and Ohio line at Martinsburg, W Virginia, on July 17. Then a newly formed, secret union—the Trainmen's Union—stopped all traffic on the Pennsylvania railroad.

By July 20, strikers were throwing up barricades in Baltimore. The same day, the Maryland militia killed 12 strikers and injured 18. Within a few days the strike spread as far West as Chicago, St Louis and Kansas City and 100,000 men were out. Local, autonomous committees of railroad workers sprang up in every rail centre.

Frequently the strike spread beyond the railroads—in St Louis, Toledo, Kansas City and

Chicago it reached the proportions of a General Strike.

The employers were terrified—it was only six years after the Paris Commune. When the W Virginia militia refused to shoot down strikers, John W. Garret, president of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, immediately demanded federal troops who would shoot to kill. One of the famous God-men of the time, the Rev Henry Beecher, told his wealthy Brooklyn congregation:

'God has intended the great to be great and the little to be little . . . the trade unions, organized under the European system, destroy liberty . . . I do not say that a dollar a day is enough to support a working man . . . Not enough to support a man and five children if he insists on smoking and drinking beer. . . . But the man who cannot live on bread and water is not fit to live!'

This fear was expressed even more vividly by the two most important St Louis newspapers:

'Reign of the Canaille!' screamed the 'Republican'. 'Glutted with Gore!' shrieked the 'Globe-Democrat'. What terrified these mouthpieces of respectable opinion, was that in St Louis the strike came under the leadership of a socialist organization, formed by German immigrants, called the Workingmen's Party. This organization included former members of the International Workingmen's Association (First International).

In Pittsburgh, the military had been overwhelmed by the strikers. Railroad chiefs all over the country urged that the strikers should be considered to be waging war against the United States. President Hayes declared that 'domestic insurrections' had occurred in W Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and S Illinois. Within two days all the main railways in the US and some in Canada were affected.

As well as the General Strikes mentioned earlier, large-scale strikes were reported in Indianapolis, Terre Haute, Columbus, Cincinnati, Louisville, Pittsburg and Baltimore.

Pennsylvania's Governor said a 'general insurrection' was in progress and the Governor of California urged President Hayes to send naval vessels into San Francisco harbour. The Mayor of Chicago called for troops with Gatling guns.

In New York 14,000 police and soldiers, plus the seventh regiment of the National Guard, were called in to a socialist meeting in Tomkins Square, scene of the bloodily-suppressed unemployment demonstration of the winter of 1872-1873.

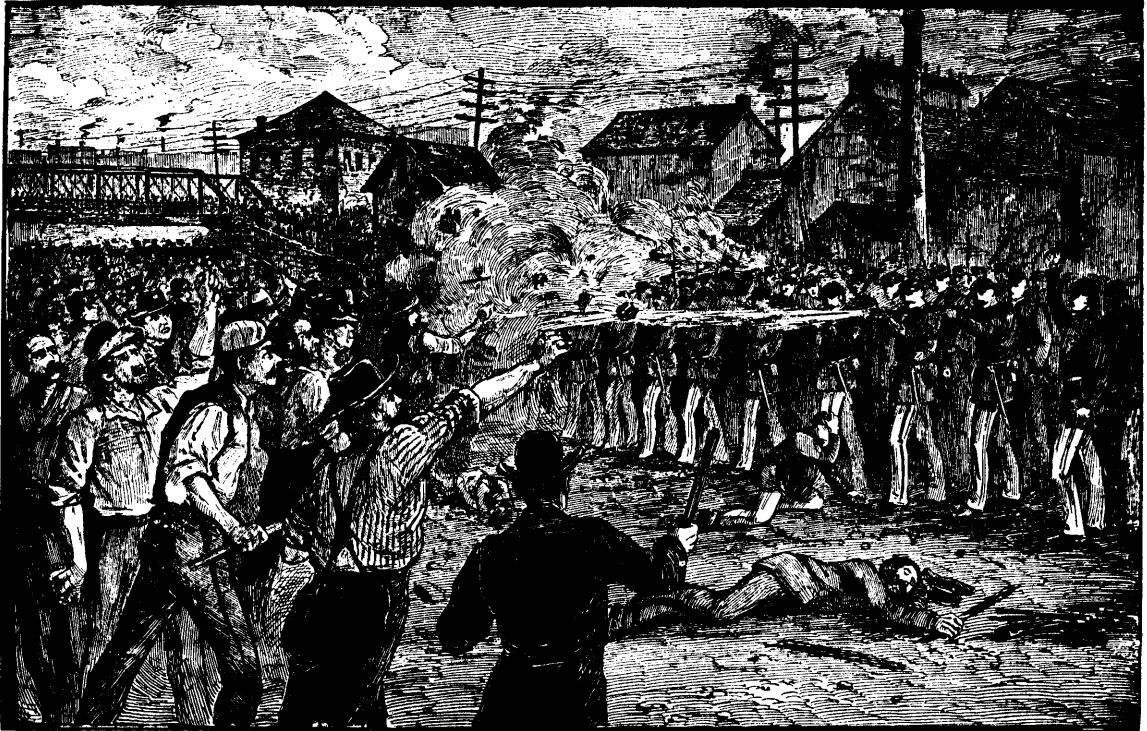
Some employers began to retreat. The Missouri Pacific granted a wage increase of 25 cents a day. The Iron Mountain line rescinded a 10-per-cent wage cut imposed six months earlier. The Union Railway and Transit Company withdrew a scheduled wage reduction.

The Union Pacific and the Central Pacific also came to terms. The Hannibal and St Joseph line cancelled wage-cuts and made them up for the previous three months. But the employers were too frightened, especially when the miners joined the strike—as 100,000 did in the northern coalfields of Pennsylvania. The thing had to be crushed.

As the New York 'Independent'—one of the leading religious journals of the time—declared:

'If the club of the policeman, knocking out the brains of the rioters, does not suffice, then the remedy is bullets and bayonets, canister and grape—with no sham or pretence, but with fearful and destructive reality!'

So troops were called in—the ruling class soon forgot the enmity of Union and Confederates; both were united against the workers.



Top: President R. B. Hayes. Above: riots in Chicago in 1877

Volunteers were recruited, militias formed and government arms provided. The greatest force was gathered in St Louis and E St Louis, which had been entirely in the control of the strikers for five days. The employers were given the most up-to-date weapons from the state arsenal at Jefferson City and 3,000 militia were armed. Two army generals were placed at their disposal—an ex-general in the Unionist Army, General Smith, and an ex-general in the Confederate army, General Marmaduke.

In addition, police cavalry was brought in and foot police armed with bayoneted muskets. One thousand federal troops were sent to the area with a further eight companies along the lines of the different railroads to St

Louis and one more company at the central relay depot.

The strikers' force consisted of 500 men, mostly unarmed.

In this way the railroad blockade was broken.

Although the 1877 strike was defeated, it did have important consequences for the American labour movement. One of these was negative. When the American Federation of Labour was formed shortly afterwards, it was rigidly anti-socialist and barred its doors to the unskilled workers, especially the Negroes, who had been the most determined in the strike.

But the strike also showed workers what they could do, and so made a break in the steady drift to demoralization that growing unemployment and wage-cutting had created.

In 1878 the Workingmen's Party became the Socialist Labour Party. After a split, because the right wing was drifting into collaboration with the employers (mainly a collaboration of workers of German origin with employers of German origin), the left wing formed the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

After World War I, many of the best workers in this tradition became founder members of the American Communist Party, itself later to be destroyed by Stalinism.

**SOURCES:**  
'History of the Labour Movement in the US', P. Foner.  
'Reign of the Rabble', D. T. Burbank.  
'1877: Year of Violence', R. V. Bruce.





## BOOK REVIEW

# MEN AND LEADERS IN THE DURHAM PITS

Plt Life in County Durham.  
By Dave Douglass.  
History Workshop Pamphlet No. 6. Price 60p, 92 pages.  
Reviewed by Jack Gale.

Histories of miners usually centre around the doings of the area executives and the full-time officials whose activities are presented as those of the miners as a whole.

In fact, a three-sided struggle is constantly in progress in the pits between men, management and the full-time officials who frequently negotiate agreements which are unsatisfactory to the men and then spend the bulk of their time trying to ram them down the miners' throats.

In this history of the Durham miners from the formation of the Durham Miners' Association in 1869 to the 1910 strike against the eight-hour day agreement, Dave Douglass attempts to redress the balance. He presents some useful material, though much of it is taken from Welbourne's 'The Miners of Northumberland and Durham'.

From its inception, the DMA adopted a policy of conciliation and was more in conflict with the men than with the owners and their agents. At the first Durham Gala in 1872, for instance, the DMA banner carried a picture of an arbitration board with the caption: 'In the past we have been enemies, in the future let us be friends.'

(Individual lodge banners carried a different emphasis. After

the Russian Revolution, some of them bore pictures of Lenin.)

The early DMA leaders were among the most prominent of the 'Lib-Labs'. The first leader of the Association, Crawford, was a prominent Methodist who bitterly opposed strikes and became a Liberal MP in 1885. One of his successors, John Wilson, was president of the Northern Liberal Federation.

These leaders accepted that wages should be subordinated to the market, setting up one of the earliest arbitration boards—the Joint Committee of the DMA and the coal owners, whose decisions were supposed to be binding on the men. They also signed the Sliding Scale agreement under which wages were tied to the market price of coal. During the depression of the late 1870s, the DMA leaders accepted wage cut after wage cut for their members.

When the men struck against this, the DMA sent out a special circular condemning them, which Douglass reproduces in full (p50). It declares, in part:

'Those who lay down pits [i.e. strike] illegally and unconstitutionally . . . [are] laying themselves open to the law. We know of no law which is more equitable than the English law of master and servant, but it treats with the utmost severity those who lay down works in contravention to its provisions.'

Again and again, the DMA attempted to hold back the miners. In 1879, 35,000 Durham miners struck against the owners' attempts to impose a 20 per cent reduction in underground wages and 12 per cent in surface wages. After nearly six weeks, the DMA accepted reductions of 8.75 per cent underground and 6.75 per cent on the surface, amid a storm of hostility from its members.

In 1890, when 40,000 out of 53,000 voted for a strike against a 10-per-cent wage reduction, the leadership sold it out after ten weeks.

In 1910, the Durham strike against the eight-hour day settlement was particularly violent. (In Durham, this involved the introduction of night-shift and three-shift working. Also, by producing more coal, it would lower prices and, with them, wages.)

During this struggle, 10,000

miners invaded Gateshead to demonstrate against John Johnson, a DMA official who was standing in a parliamentary election. Pits which were still working were invaded and smashed up.

Despite the right-wing leadership, which after World War II became—in the persons of Will Lawther and Sam Watson—the strongest support for the Attlee-Gaitskell leadership in the Labour Party, there is a powerful history of class struggle in the Durham coalfield.

Some places were known as 'red' villages—including Thornley, Chopwell, Seaton Delaval and Wardley. The latter was known as 'little Moscow' in the 1920s, while old miners still claim that down Seaton Delaval colliery you could see for many years the heads of scabs who were decapitated by cables stretched across the roadways!

Real hatred for the owners existed in these villages. One of the causes of this was the bosses' haste to seal off a face if a fire broke out. They did this to save property, regardless of whether any men were still trapped alive. In 1881, riots broke out at Seaham when this was done with 30 miners still missing.

Douglass' book provides a valuable picture of this period. But the author—a former miner from Tyneside and Yorkshire, now a second year student at Ruskin College, Oxford—really must stop giving himself airs.

For instance, a few years ago he founded a paper called 'The Mineworker'. This paper, somewhat grandiosely, claims to be the 'Political Organ of the Mineworkers' Internationale' and, we are told, it 'co-operates fully with such revolutionary organizations as the Goole Constituency Labour Party Young Socialists' ('The Mineworker' January-February, 1972.)

Douglass is a supporter of Posadas and claims that his paper is read by miners in Argentina, Mexico, Bolivia and other places, 'but chiefly in Doncaster'.

As to its reception in Argentina, Mexico, Bolivia et al, we can say little. But we can say, without fear of contradiction, that it is practically unknown in Doncaster.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## WITHDRAWN

The W German government has withdrawn its financial support for uranium prospecting in Namibia (SW Africa).

The federal government bore 75 per cent of the German share of prospecting costs which the Urangesellschaft MBH concern in Frankfurt was conducting in collaboration with the British firm Rio Tinto Zinc.

A spokesman for Urangesellschaft said uranium reserves near Roessing in the South African-administered territory could total over 100,000 tons, or about 10 per cent of estimated world reserves.

Exploration has already shown that the reserves could be among the cheapest to mine in the world, costing well under 10 dollars (about four Sterling) per pound (0.45 kilo grammes) of uranium oxide.

West German government support for the exploration drew strong criticism on political grounds, both in Germany and from several black African countries.



A. Wedgwood Benn

While the Germans are getting out of the prospecting project, not an ounce of pressure is being exerted on the major company involved, Rio Tinto Zinc, whose headquarters are in London.

It was the Labour government, and in particular Anthony Wedgwood Benn, who gave permission for RTZ to work in SW Africa.

And chairman of the company, Sir Val Duncan, was brought in by Wilson's government to examine the Foreign Office administration.

When Heath was elected he appointed a senior RTZ executive to his Whitehall staff. The RTZ company is described as being 'well connected'.

## INDIGESTION

In the Peoples' Republic of China, preparations are going ahead swingingly for the arrival on February 21, of the head of the American Republic, Richard Nixon.

Part of the ceremonies will be the All-China State Banquet—a 20-course eating bonanza which Chairman Mao will go through with Nixon.

As Nixon and Mao chat matily through the courses, American planes will continue to bomb, kill and maim Vietnamese peasants but . . . no hard feelings . . . perhaps just a little twinge of indigestion?

First of all they will tuck into a little something called Ten Variety Tapestry Hors d'Oeuvres. It will be followed by sweet melon from Sinkiang, sweet and sour crispy Yellow River Carp, Peking duck, braised sharks fin, bird's nest with pigeon eggs Cantonese, Y u n n a n steam-distilled chicken, braised frogs legs and finally the Yangtse Lion—a giant meatball garnished with noodles and spinach.

According to Kenneth H. C. Lo, a former diplomat and author of Chinese cookery books, the present banquet is not up to the style of the old dynastic banquets which apparently had up to 100 courses.

He added: 'The present regime has been trying not to overdo these affairs'. (!)

## ADVICE

Faces were seen to pale throughout London's expense-account belt last week even in the candlelight gloom of a power cut.

The cause of this sudden draining away of expensive, 70-per-cent proof blood? Kati-na's astrological advice for the day in the Beaverbrook-owned 'Evening Standard'.

Some hasty checking of bosses' birthdates was undertaken when a few superstitious idlers found the following advice for Leos (July 24-August 23):

'If you are an employer, check up on your expenses on staff, plant and machinery. It seems that money is being wasted.'

The 'Standard' journalists themselves drew sighs of relief when they discovered that neither editor Charles Wintour, nor managing director Jocelyn Stevens was a Leo.

The closest, they discovered, was Beaverbrook boss Sir Max Aitken (February 15).

The following day, however, it was Stevens who announced 200 redundancies on the paper. Astrology is believed to be a not-very-popular conversation topic down Fleet St just at present. . . .

# BOOKS



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While the miners have been on strike, leaders of water and gas supply workers have settled for increases of 7 and 7½ per cent—less than the Coal Board's offer to the miners. The unions involved are the G&MWU, led by Lord Cooper (right), and the 'notably unmilitant' T&GWU, led by Jack Jones.



## Union chiefs undermine docks jobs fight

DOCKS UNION leaders have started talks with the employers which could seriously undermine the fight against redundancy in the industry.

On the eve of a national meeting of port stewards in Manchester tomorrow, the officials have agreed to the setting-up of a joint working party to discuss new proposals for voluntary severance.

Meanwhile, in London today, the employers' campaign to cut the dock labour force continues; 39 men employed at the Royal docks by Southern Stevedores Ltd could face return to the port's unattached labour pool.

The port employers, who desperately want to cut the 44,000-strong national register of dockers, have now proposed a two-tier voluntary severance scheme which would improve payments to older or sick men.

At present, the maximum severance payment is £1,800. The unions are pressing for a new general rate of £3,000, but the employers want £2,800 to be offered only to some men.

If the union leaders agree to this, it would give the employers an agreement in principle to cut the register—an agreement they would make full use of in their campaign for compulsory severance.

So far the national port stewards' committee has shown itself unprepared to deal with this kind of manoeuvre.

There is to be no repetition today of the token strike which stopped London last Friday during appeals against return to the unattached pool by 46 dockers employed by T. Wallis Smith Coggins Ltd.

But there will be a lobby of the appeal by the Southern Stevedores men to a four-man joint committee.

If, as expected, the committee is deadlocked, a meeting of the London Dock Labour Board on Monday will appoint five-man tribunals with a barrister as 'independent' chairman to make final decisions.

A decision against the men could lead to a national unofficial strike.

In Hull on Monday, 244 men from the now-defunct Cargo Operation Ltd were returned to the pool. On Tuesday the docks stopped for a meeting, but there was no strike.

The Hull stewards, however, have added to the general confusion with the proposal that they themselves go into business as port employers.

Unless such ideas are firmly combated on Saturday, dockers will have their hands tied in the fight against the port employers—and their own union leaders.

Union leaders are proved to have been in secret talks with port employers since soon after the Tories came to power about possible abolition of the present statutory guarantee of dock jobs.

## Wages held down while prices climb

# Incomes smokescreen

THE MINERS' strike has produced more talk of a so-called 'National Incomes Policy' from both Tories and Labourites.

The Tory government, of course, already has an incomes policy. It is to hold wage increases in the public sector down to 7 per cent or 8 per cent and to encourage private employers to do the same.

All talk of an 'incomes policy' is a smokescreen behind which the government seeks to hold down wages by using the collaboration of the reformist trade union leaders, while profits, prices and production all soar. Promises that prices could also be restricted under such a policy are fraudulent.

Last year the Confederation of British Industry 'accepted' a voluntary 5 per cent ceiling on price increases. In fact, prices went up an average of 6 per cent with some commodities—like oil (17 per cent up), chemicals, steel, manufactured food and engineering products—increasing substantially more than that.

Even this does not tell the whole story. Items which loom largest in a workers' budget have gone up the most. Food prices went up by more than 10 per cent last year and have gone up by 15 per cent since the Tories came to power.

(This means, of course, that any union leadership which accepts a wage increase of 10 per cent or less has agreed to an actual decrease in its members' living standards compared with a year ago.)

But even the current flimsy price 'restraint' is unlikely to last. 'The Economist' reports that the vast majority of CBI members are against renewing the voluntary hold-back on prices when the present agreement lapses in July. Prices—particularly of clothing—are likely to rise considerably then.

## OUTPUT UP JOBLESS UP

Meanwhile, the latest CBI Industrial Trends Survey calls for 'greater moderation of wage demands'. The employers clearly want an intensification of the 1971 trend in which output was increased as unemployment grew. Jobs were wiped out at a rate of almost 1,000 a day last year, while output was up by 6 per cent.

And increased production was highest in those industries where the Tory offensive against wages was strongest—gas, water and electricity supply.

This is clear proof that wages are not related to productivity, but to the determination with which the worker fights to get a higher price for his labour power.



The Tories are already using their incomes policy—7 to 8 per cent norm—against the miners who rallied in London this week in their thousands

It has been the collaboration of the trade union officials which has enabled the Tories to hold wages down. As the 'Financial Times' said on February 1: 'Until the miners started their strike, the government had had considerable success in holding down public wage rises to its going rate. This was especially true in industries such as buses, local government and atomic energy where the Transport and General Workers' Union, which is notably unmilitant at present, and the moderate General and Municipal Workers' Union are strong.' (Our emphasis.)

Carworkers, on the other hand, have been able to smash through the government's wages policy. To quote 'The Economist' of February 5: 'When a company has its back to the wall as Chrysler has, with its share of the market falling, one of its major plants on strike and men laid off at another, the public interest is not going to figure very much in its calculations of what price is worth paying for peace.'

'Chrysler's price, after a four-week shut-down at Linwood, near Paisley, was an extra £5 a week now, with the promise of more later, which is equivalent to a 15 per cent increase in earnings.'

It was a similar climb-down by Chrysler that broke the government's wages policy last year,

when the Linwood men won a 17-per-cent increase.

In other words, wage rates are determined through the class struggle and not through some agreement worked out between the TUC and the government. It is in this situation that the role of the right wing and 'lefts' in the trade union leadership becomes clear.

While the miners have been on strike, leaders of the workers in the water and gas supply industries have settled for increases of 7 per cent and 7½ per cent respectively—less than the Coal Board's last offer to the miners. The unions involved have been the G&MWU, led by Lord Cooper, and the 'notably unmilitant' T&GWU led by the 'left' Jack Jones.

The power workers, as every miner knows, got 7½ per cent, thanks to the casting vote of right wing electricians' union leader Frank Chapple, while the 'left' Hugh Scanlon pulled out of a fight for a national increase for the engineers.

As the 'Financial Times' said on February 16: 'If a really successful (wages) policy is ever designed it will rest not on government fiat, but on the acceptance of industry and the unions.'

The reformist trade union leaders would dearly love to reach such an agreement. But—as the carworkers and the miners have shown—getting their members to accept it is another matter.

To quote the 'Financial Times' again: 'Even the most ardent proponents of a formal system under which incomes would be decided are unable to demonstrate that anything of the kind would actually work.'

The only basis on which it would 'work' would be if a victorious Tory government could impose its own conditions on a defeated working class: That is what Heath and company would dearly love to do.

## ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Make the Tory government resign!  
Return a Labour government pledged to restore full employment and repeal all laws against the unions!

**BARNSELY:** Sunday February 20, 7 p.m. 'The Victoria', Darfield. 'The miners' strike and the Tory government'. Speaker: A Yorkshire miner.

**DAGENHAM:** Wednesday February 23, 8 p.m. Room 11, East Ham Town Hall. 'Labour must force a General Election.'

**WILLESDEN:** Monday February 28, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Road, NW 10. 'Labour must force a General Election.'

**W LONDON:** Tuesday February 29, 8 p.m. Prince Albert, Wharfedale Rd, off York Way, Kings Cross. 'Crisis of capitalism.'

**SW LONDON:** Tuesday February 29, 8 p.m. Small Hall, Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4. 'Labour must force a General Election.'

AROUND THE WORLD

# Heavy bombing of N as Nixon heads for Peking

US AIR strikes are being stepped up in the demilitarized zone of N Vietnam as Nixon sets off on his China visit.

Hanoi claimed that bombs fell on populated areas and that two planes were shot down and some crewmen captured. The US airforce is using heavy B-52 bombers based in Thailand and Guam, as well as carrier-borne planes operating from the Gulf of Tonkin. The US aim is to halt

the movement of artillery and supplies for an expected N Vietnamese offensive, particularly 130mm field guns.

US sources said the raids were 'to counter a threat to security of remaining US forces posed by the introduction of these new offensive weapons'. It claimed that five of the big guns had been knocked out.

While American dead in Vietnam last week numbered only two, S Vietnam lost 360 dead

and 948 wounded, one-third up on the previous week.

There are thought to be only a few hundred American advisers and remnants of army units in the northern part of S Vietnam likely to come within range of the guns the bombers are now attacking.

Nixon was accused of using the war to further his election aims by Xuan Thuy, head of the N Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks. He insisted that the

Americans wished to seize S Vietnam by every means. He called on the US to accept the North's seven-point peace plan.

The talks are at present held up by the boycott of the US and S Vietnamese who are protesting against the holding of a large anti-war congress near Paris last weekend.

N Vietnam radio claimed that seven US planes had been shot down on Wednesday and Thursday.

## Bangla Desh cash warning

KURT WALDHEIM, United Nations secretary-general, reported yesterday that to avert 'large-scale misery and hunger' in Bangla Desh during the rest of this year will cost £226m. He said most of the 10 million refugees who sought shelter in India during the Pakistani repressions were back in Bangla Desh, but with their return 'the volume of assistance required by the UN operation in Dacca will greatly increase'.

Waldheim described the present cash position of the UN operation as 'particularly critical'. Out of an operating capital of about £4.6m, some £3.2m was already committed and the rest would be committed before the end of April.

# Soviet press 'criticism' to counteract trip

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE SOVIET press intends to accompany President Nixon's China visit with a barrage of criticism of Peking's policies. Recent articles claim the existence in China of strong pro-Soviet forces, despite 'repression' by the Maoists.

Tass, the Soviet press agency, claims that two groups of army officers seeking political asylum abroad have been arrested and cites refugees in Hong Kong and Macao for stories of arrest and imprisonment of students and intellectuals, especially those belonging to national minorities.

The Soviet bureaucracy wants to discredit the Maoist regime and counteract any pro-Chinese feeling which may accompany the Nixon visit by accusing it of the same crimes as characterized the Stalinist regime of hateful memory both at home and in foreign communist parties.

By welcoming the political head of American imperialism, the Maoists are only following the same Stalinist 'peaceful co-existence' policy upheld by the Kremlin.

As they are doing it from the point of view of defending the interests of the Chinese bureaucracy they are accused of 'chauvinism'.

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# TV

## BBC

9.38 Schools. 12.55 Canu'r Bobol. 1.30 Mr Benn. 1.45 News, weather. 2.05 Schools. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Crackjack 72. 5.35 George Best. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News, weather.

### 6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.

6.20 TOM AND JERRY.

6.25 THE VIRGINIAN. The Family Man.

7.40 THE LIVER BIRDS.

8.10 A MAN CALLED IRONSIDE. Blackout.

9.00 NEWS, weather.

9.20 THE SCOBIE MAN. Part 2 of 4-part thriller.

10.05 COME DANCING. Home Counties South v East.

10.40 24 HOURS.

11.10 FILM: 'HIS KIND OF WOMAN'. Robert Mitchum, Jane Russell. Thriller with Vincent Price providing the light relief.

## BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 6.05 Open University. 6.35 Which Way? 7.05 Open University.

7.30 NEWSROOM, weather.

8.00 MONEY PROGRAMME.

9.00 SOLO. Eric Porter as Leo Tolstoy.

9.20 REVIEW. The London Library. Clarinettist Alan Hacker.

10.05 CLOCHEMERLE. 1. The Magnificent idea of Bartholomy Piechut, the Mayor.

10.35 NEWS, weather.

10.40 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

## ITV

10.20 Schools. 2.30 Matinee. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.10 Tea Break. 3.40 British Museum. 4.10 Drive-In. 4.40 Pinky and Perky. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 Bright's Boffins. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.30 F TROOP.

7.00 THE SKY'S THE LIMIT.

7.30 THE PERSUADERS. To the Death, Baby.

8.30 THE COMEDIANS.

9.00 SPIDER'S WEB. Life at a Price.

10.00 NEWS.

10.30 SHIRLEY'S WORLD. The Islanders.

11.05 THE FBI. Ordeal.

12.00 COLLECTING ON A SHOESTRING.

12.25 PEOPLE WITH A PURPOSE.



'CLOCHEMERLE'. Gabriel Chevallier's famous comic novel has been adapted for BBC 2 by Ray Galton and Alan Simpson. This nine-part series begins tonight at 10.05 with Georgina Moon as Rose Bivaque.

All regions as BBC 1 except:

BBC Wales: 10.25-10.45 Schools. 1.30-1.45 Ar lin mam. 6.00 Wales today. 6.20-6.50 Whacko! 6.50 Heddiw. 7.15-7.40 Dau a hanner. 8.10 Mary Tyler Moore. 8.35-9.00 Cywain. 9.20-10.05 Sports personality of the year. Scotland: 10.25-10.45 Schools. 6.00-6.20 Reporting Scotland. 9.20

Current account. 9.55-10.40 Scobie man. 1.07 News, weather.

N Ireland: 6.00-6.20 Scene around six. 10.05 behind the headlines. 10.35-10.40 Sports scene. 1.07 news, weather.

England: 6.00-6.20 Look North. Midlands today. Look East. Points West, South today, Spotlight SW, weather. 1.07 News.

## REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 10.20 Schools. 4.05 4.05 Pinky and Perky. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Dick Van Dyke. 4.55 Flintstones. 5.20 Ask Westward. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 10.30 Weather. 10.32 Name of the game. 11.50 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sports. 10.30 Report. 10.58 News. 12.20 Faith for life. 12.25 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Tea break. 4.10 Houseparty. 4.23 Cartoon. 4.55 Bottom of the sea. 5.50 News. 6.00 Day by day. Scene SE. 6.40 Out of town. 7.00 London. 8.30 Both ends meet. 9.00 London. 10.30 Weekend. 10.35 Film: 'The Black Sheep'. 12.05 News. 12.15 Weather.

HTV WALES: 10.20 Schools. 3.50 Women only. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Cowboy in Africa. 5.50 News. 6.01 Y Dydd. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Bonanza. 7.30 London. 8.30 Comedians. 9.00 London. 10.30 Outlook. 11.00 Skillful Rugby. 11.30 Department S. 12.30 Weather.

HTV Wales and the West and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 6.01 Report West. 10.30 Second Look.

HTV West as above except: 6.01 6.35 Report West. 10.30 Second Look.

ANGLIA: 3.55 Newsroom. 4.00 Tea break. 4.25 Romper room. 4.55 Bottom of the sea. 5.50 News. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.30 Both ends meet. 9.00 London. 10.30 Bygones. 11.00 Film: 'The Patient Vanishes'.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Julia. 4.40 Hatty town. 4.55 Today in space. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today in space. Crossroads. 7.00 Comedians. 7.30 Persuaders. 8.30 Jimmy Stewart. 9.00 London. 10.30

Film: 'Phantom of the Rue Morgue'.

YORKSHIRE: 10.20 Schools. 2.31 Out of the shadow into the Sun. 3.00 Pied piper. 3.05 Great painters. 3.35 News. 3.45 Holidays abroad. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Pinky and Perky. 4.55 Flintstones. 5.20 Tom Grattan. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.30 Parkin's patch. 7.00 London. 8.30 On the buses. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Shadow of the Cat'.

GRANADA: 10.18 Schools. 3.40 Yoga. 4.05 News. Bird's eye view. 4.35 Magic ball. 4.50 Captain Scarlet. 5.15 Rainbow country. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Kick-off. 6.25 Peyton place. 7.00 London. 8.30 On the buses. 9.00 London. 10.30 Open night. 11.10 See our next thrilling instalment!

TYNE TEES: 10.20 Schools. 2.30 Out of the shadow into the Sun. 3.05 Pied piper. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Newsroom. 3.45 Holidays abroad. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Pinky and Perky. 4.55 Flintstones. 5.20 Tom Grattan. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Nanny. 7.00 London. 7.30 Persuaders. 8.30 On the buses. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The System'. 12.15 News. 12.30 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 10.20 Schools. 3.30 Kiri. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 News. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Mr Magoo. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart. 7.00 London. 8.30 Both ends meet. 9.00 London. 10.30 In camera. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Film: 'Homicidal'. 12.30 Niagara Falls parkland.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00 Schools. 3.38 News. 3.40 Dr Simor Locke. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Pinky and Perky. 4.55 Flintstones. 5.20 Tom Grattan. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.05 Mr and Mrs. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.30 Stuart Gillies. 9.00 London. 10.30 Hogan's heroes. 11.00 Film: 'I Married a Monster from Outer Space'. 12.25 Epilogue.

# Clyde fear of back door yard deal

**SUSPICION** is growing on the upper Clyde that union leaders and Communist Party shipyard stewards may have done a secret deal with Industry Minister John Davies.

On Monday, CP stewards James Reid and James Airlie will hold their second meeting in six days with the board of Govan Shipbuilders Ltd.

The meeting takes place just a week after Reid, Airlie and boiler-makers' leader Dan McGarvey saw Davies in London. And despite previous assurances from the stewards, it will be concerned with working conditions.

Up to now, the official position of the UCS stewards' co-ordinating committee has been that there will be no 'meaningful discussions' with the board unless the future of all four yards and the whole labour force is firmly guaranteed.

An 'agreement in principle' on co-operation is already thought to have been reached, however.

This is despite the fact that the government has not yet announced its decision on feasibility studies on the Govan-Linthouse and Scotstoun yards, that the future of Clydebank is still uncertain and that orders are drying up.

## PRESSURE

The stewards are thought to have entered their current talks with Govan chairman Lord Strathalmond under pressure from both Davies and McGarvey.

After contacting the head of Marathon Manufacturing, the Texas oil-rig firm interested in buying Clydebank, McGarvey is thought to have held out high hopes of a firm bid.

Marathon would want only 2,000 of the yard's 2,600 workers, however. And there are rumours it will demand a legally-binding, no-strike agreement.

During last Monday's talks at the Department of Trade and Industry, Davies is believed to have told the stewards that the government will not guarantee the £25m needed to start Govan without concessions on wages and conditions.

Significantly, no report of Wednesday's meeting between Strathalmond and the UCS stewards appeared in yesterday's 'Morning Star'.

# BIGGER CUTS NEXT WEEK—DAVIES

MR JOHN DAVIES, the Secretary for Trade and Industry, yesterday announced further restrictions in electricity use from next Wednesday. Under the new Draconian

measures only essential services will be met 'with very little over for other users—domestic or industrial'. His drastic announcement on the eve of the Wilberforce findings

is a move to pressure the NUM executive into accepting the inquiry recommendations. Whether industry shuts down or not, next Wednesday depends on what the executive decides. See LATE NEWS.

# MINERS' EC STANDS BY TO HEAR WILBERFORCE

MINERS' president Joe Gormley said yesterday that pickets would be called off immediately if

the Wilberforce report due out today recommends enough money.

'If we decided to recom-

mend acceptance, there is no doubt that we would recommend also that the pickets should be lifted right away,' he said in a BBC-radio interview.

He added that the union executive would be standing by all day today to decide its attitude to the report. Balloting of the membership could be completed by Sunday week.

Union members, however, continued vigorous picketing yesterday with the support of other rank-and-file trade unionists.

And last night the Central Electricity Generating Board imposed extra 5 per cent cuts on top of the 15 per cent rota blackouts—cutting off medium-risk consumers.

Two outside Ministers were called into a Cabinet meeting yesterday. They were Chief Secretary to the Treasury Maurice Macmillan and Attorney-General Sir Peter Rawlinson.

Lay-offs were stepped up all over the country, with the total figure by last night expected to approach 2 million.

From tonight 21,500 Ford workers will be laid off at Dagenham, joining the 23,500 Austin-Morris workers sent home in the Midlands by British-Leyland.

At Thames Haven, Essex, railmen continued to refuse to move oil products from two of Britain's biggest refineries belonging to Mobil and Shell.

Six more pickets were arrested at Longannet power station, Fife. MR ALEX EADIE (Lab, Midlothian) yesterday urged the Leader of the House of Commons William Whitelaw to consult with the Scottish Secretary and the Lord Advocate over the Longannet pickets who were arrested and detained in custody, and the charges which were levelled against these men.

Mr Whitelaw agreed to have consultations, but added: 'You will appreciate that it is a long-standing position in this country that matters of law are very properly not things which governments can interfere with.'

● SEE WHAT WE THINK p 2.



# WIDGERY MEETS GROWING WALL OF OPPOSITION

OPPOSITION to the terms of reference of the Widgery inquiry into the Derry massacre is growing in N Ireland.

Lord Widgery's announcement that his inquiry would only deal with events in Derry on January 30—in which 13 people were killed over a period of about half an hour—has resulted in a widespread boycott of the inquiry—particularly by relatives of those killed and eye witnesses.

Although they consider the

nature of the inquiry to be hostile, lawyers acting for the bereaved feel they can get something out of it if the terms of reference are broadened to allow investigation of para-military and government decisions.

Some lawyers are considering a High Court challenge over Widgery's interpretation of the terms of reference on the basis of the Commons resolution passed in setting up the inquiry.

They say that since this states: 'That a tribunal be established for inquiring into . . . the events on Sunday, January 30, which led to loss of life . . .', it should include investigation into all relevant matters connected with the events.

Others have pointed out that if the terms are so narrow as to exclude the autopsy and forensic test evidence, then any possibility of Derry people regarding the inquiry as serving any useful purpose would be non-existent.

# IRISH T&GWU CAMPAIGNS AGAINST INTERNMENT

THE 150,000-strong Irish Transport and General Workers' Union has launched a campaign to mobilize all its members to fight to end internment in N Ireland.

The union has instructed all of its 140 branches in the 32 counties that peaceful marches and protest campaigns be staged to bring an end to the 'corrupt and despotic administrations which have been created and caused the terrible conditions of oppression in the Six Counties'.

# Vauxhall loses £4.2m

VAUXHALL yesterday reported a £4.2m loss in the second half of 1971 as a result of spiralling costs and a 'serious decline' in truck sales.

Over the year as a whole the motor company showed a pre-tax profit of £1,810,000, however. And tax refunds lifted the net profit to £2,613,000 compared with the £9,438,000 loss sustained in 1970.

# Miners march 1,000 strong

A MASS demonstration of workers marched through Sheffield yesterday in support of the miners. More than 1,000 miners and other local trade unionists joined together to march to the City Hall where a rally was held.

# Glass will

FORMER chairman of the huge glass manufacturers, Pilkington Brothers Limited, Geoffrey Langton Pilkington, left £820,684 in his will published yesterday. He joined the family firm in 1909 and was chairman from 1939 to 1949.

# EEC entry, no matter what

PRIME MINISTER Edward Heath has told 'Le Monde', the French newspaper, that the miners' strike and Ulster problems will not affect Britain's entry into the Common Market. Heath threatened to resign if the government lost last night's House of Commons vote on joining the community.

Questioned about opinion polls supporting the miners and showing his own unpopularity, he said: 'We do not give much consideration to opinion polls. If we had done so, we would not have won the last election.'

**WE APOLOGISE** to those readers — particularly postal subscribers — who may be experiencing delays in the delivery of Workers Press. Despite the government's power-cuts policy, we are endeavouring to get your copy to you at the usual time.

**UNITE WITH THE MINERS TO FIGHT FOR BASIC RIGHT YOUR RIGHT YOUR RIGHT**  
To a job, to organize, welfare, housing and all the gains made by the working class  
**READ THE CHARTER**  
Free from  
186a Clapham High St, London, SW4 7UG

**THE CHARTER OF BASIC RIGHTS**

THIS CHARTER of Basic Rights was supported by 4,500 people at the 'Make the Tory government resign' rally at Alexandra Palace, London, on February 14, 1971.

It was first adopted by the Joint Annual Conference of the All Trade Unions Alliance in Birmingham on December 18, 1970.

We believe that the role of the Tory government is one of attacking and taking away all the basic rights of the working class over the past 20 years. Such a government must be allowed to remain in office another four years. It must be made to resign and a Labour government returned pledged to legislate this Charter. This is the only way to prevent the working class being driven back to the conditions of the 1930s.

The rally at Alexandra Palace on February 14 took the decision to transform the 'Make the Tory government resign' rally into a revolutionary party. This party will defend the basic rights and interests of the working class by building a revolutionary leadership within the labour and trade union movement.

This Charter is our basic document. We ask you to read it and if you support it and are willing to help us build the party in any way, fill in the form on page four.

Make the Tory government resign!  
Defeat the anti-union laws!  
Fight for the Charter of Basic Rights!

## LATE NEWS WEATHER

**NEWS DESK**  
01-720 2000  
**CIRCULATION**  
01-622 7029

THE EXTREME N and NW of Scotland will have occasional rain. SE England will start cloudy, perhaps with rain in places, but some bright intervals are expected later.

All other areas will be dry with good sunny spells, especially in the W, but some fog patches with frost in places are expected at first. Temperatures will be generally near normal.

Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Generally rather cold, with mist or fog patches at times and frost at night, but also some sunny intervals. W Scotland and N Ireland will have some drizzle or rain with near normal temperatures.

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**DECISION** to shut industry from Wednesday if picketing continues is 'in no way Machiavellian', Industry Minister John Davies claimed.

If pickets withdrew, but NUM calls 'full-blooded ballot', electricity could still be at essential-services-only level in fortnight.

Of particular concern was railwaymen's refusal to cross picket lines—sometimes only 'notional' ones—with consequent shortage of lighting-up oil.