

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● TUESDAY MARCH 28, 1972 ● No. 725 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

ULSTER: DECISIVE TEST

BY MICHAEL BANDA

SUNDAY'S demonstration by the Anti-Internment League has shown that the Tory declaration of 'direct rule' has not only confounded the confusion of the Irish protest movement, but also blown its credibility sky high.

The 6,000 turn-out (the organizers expected 25,000) and the political disorientation of the speakers was a clear expression of the fact that this could well be the swan song of the petty-bourgeois nationalist movement.

Like the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and the Revolutionary Socialists Students' Federation of 1968, its death agony might be somewhat protracted. But there is little doubt that its prospect of survival or revival is as remote as the proverbial Dodo bird.

This is because the Anti-Internment League, its leaders and sponsors—from the International Marxist Group, the International Socialists and the Republican movement—have consciously opposed the basic Marxist principle that the liberation of Ireland is impossible without the overthrow of Toryism in Britain. This demands the unity of British and Irish workers in a joint struggle to overthrow British imperialism.

This is the most important lesson of the history of the last 100 years of Anglo-Irish relations.

Instead, the revisionist protestors have ignored the decisive role of the working class and put aside political clarity and principled struggle in the interests of building a non-exclusive, single-issue movement which embraced the most contradictory and irreconcilably opposed class interests.

So when the Tories proclaimed direct rule the protest movement began to collapse under the weight of its own contradictions. Today it finds itself a victim of its own political inconsistency and radical opportunism.

If anyone expressed this crisis of radical protest it must surely have been Miss Bernadette Devlin—the MP for Mid-Ulster.

When she spoke and acted with courage and firmness against the brutal occupation regime in Ulster and its representatives in Westminster, Workers Press published her statements because we believed, and still do, that her actions were a positive contribution to the struggle for the liberation of Ireland and the joint struggle of Irish and British workers.

It also helped to expose the cowardly opportunism of the Labour lefts who have remained silent and inactive on Ireland.

It is for the same reason then that we now criticize the extremely confused utterances of Miss Devlin.

For over six months she has correctly stated that the main issue in Ulster is neither internment, nor Stormont, but the Tory government and capitalism. In a meeting in Bolton on January 30 she said: 'British and Irish workers in Britain ask what they can do to help the working class of N Ireland. The simplest answer is, "Bring the Tories down".'

In her speech to the House of Commons in December 1971, Miss Devlin had this to say about her Tory enemies:

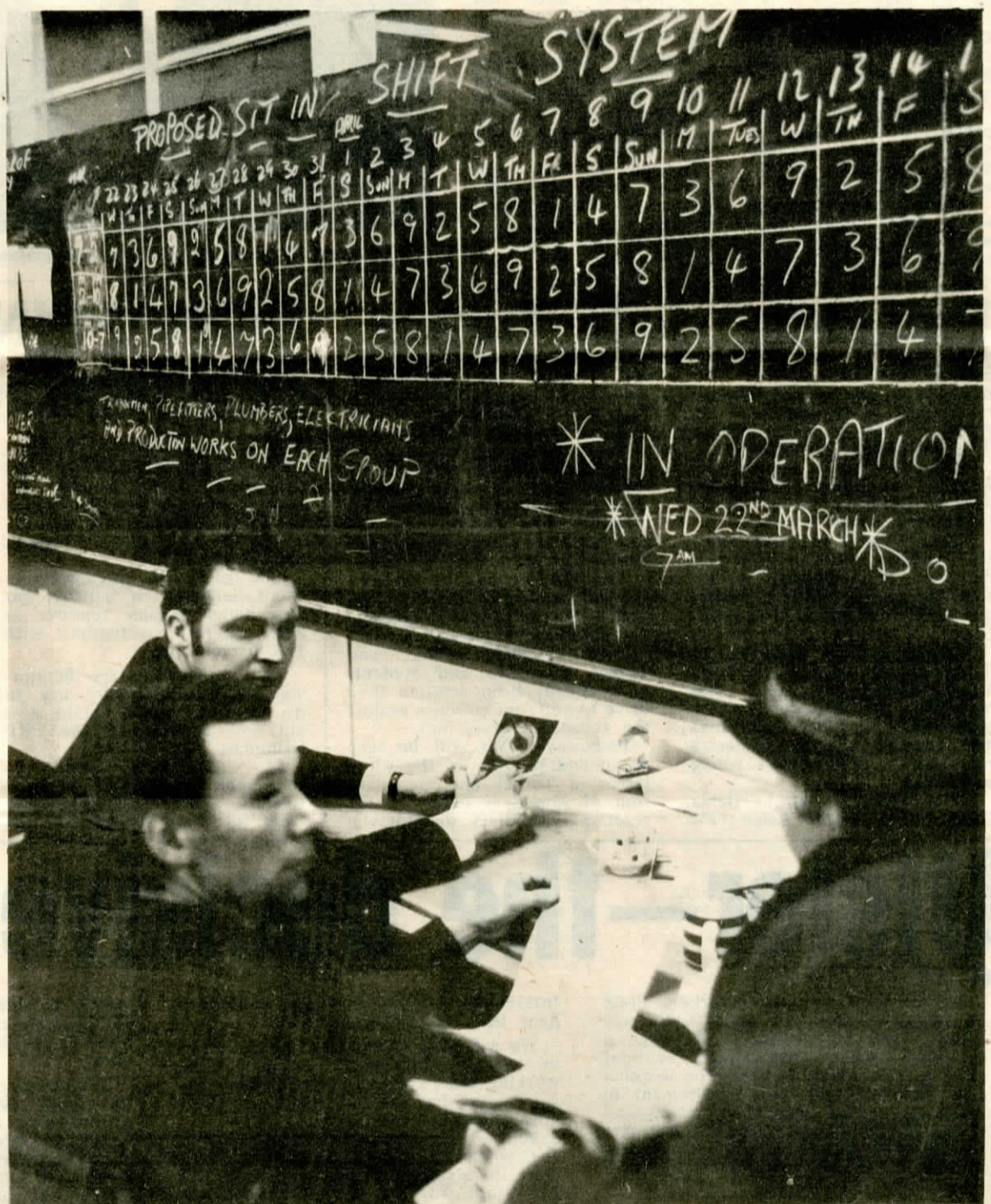
'It is of course, almost ludicrous to suggest that the shower on the front bench opposite who represent British economic imperialism in N Ireland should do anything . . . All I can do is appeal . . . to those who believe in the rights of the working class, British or Irish, to bring down the Tory government and put in their place a socialist government who will implement the kind of radical economic changes we need.'

● SEE PAGE 2 COL. 1

MARCH FUND NEEDS £455.04 IN 4 DAYS

WITH OUR total now at £794.25, every effort must be made for our Fund this month. We know that you will do everything you can. There is absolutely no time to lose. This is our toughest month yet. Our many thanks to our supporters who raised £23.19 at the meeting after last Sunday's demonstration on Ulster. Keep

this fight going and we are sure you will complete our target of £1,250. Help us in every way. Go all out immediately and collect as much as you can. If possible add something extra yourself. Rush every donation immediately to: Workers Press March Appeal Fund, 186a Clapham High St, London, SW4 7UG.



**Manchester
engineers
in a
militant
mood—
Fourth
sit-in
held**

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS
UNION LEADERS yesterday reported an 'overwhelming' response to their call for a ban on piecework and overtime in the greater Manchester area.

As approximately 200,000 engineering workers began the bans, men at the fourth occupied factory faced court action.

They are 21 workers at Sharston Engineering, who occupied their small factory in Cheadle on Friday night after they were told it would have to close because of the work-to-rule.

Two of their leaders appeared in a Manchester court yesterday in a civil

action brought by the management.

Elsewhere there were no immediate signs of retaliation from employers, though at several large plants workers are under threat of lock-out if they continue their work-to-rule.

Bernard Regan, Stockport district secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, said that 75 per cent of workers in the town have responded to the call.

'We are well satisfied with the action our members have taken. We are ready to face a prolonged struggle with the employers and we will deal with retaliatory action as and

when it comes.'

Bernard Panter, Manchester AUEW district secretary, said as far as he could estimate there had been a 95 per cent response to the work-to-rule. He said there were one or two factories that were out of line, but these were only small.

Already at two Stockport factories — Bredbury steel works and Davies and Metcalfe—workers have occupied after management attempted to lock them out.

At Sharston Engineering, the workers have literally barricaded themselves in and locked management out of the main workshop.

Trouble began when management refused to give an answer to a claim for a £7 wage increase, a 35-hour week and longer holidays. The men walked out and were told after two days that their action had caused the closure of the factory.

'It was this that made us decide to occupy', said one of their spokesmen yesterday.

Management are seeking a court order to have them removed. But John Tocher, Manchester's divisional organizer of the AUEW, has threatened a mass picket around the factory if police try to move in.

The 24-hour shift sit-in is written on a blackboard at Bredbury steelworks, the first NW plant occupied last week.

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • TUESDAY MARCH 28, 1972 • No. 725 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

MARCH FUND NEEDS £455.04 IN 4 DAYS

WITH OUR total now at £794.25, every effort must be made for our Fund this month. We know that you will do everything you can. There is absolutely no time to lose. This is our toughest month yet. Our many thanks to our supporters who raised £23.19 at the meeting after last Sunday's demonstration on Ulster. Keep

this fight going and we are sure you will complete our target of £1,250. Help us in every way. Go all out immediately and collect as much as you can. If possible add something extra yourself. Rush every donation immediately to: Workers Press March Appeal Fund, 186a Clapham High St, London, SW4 7UG.

ULSTER: DECISIVE TEST

BY MICHAEL BANDA

SUNDAY'S demonstration by the Anti-Internment League has shown that the Tory declaration of 'direct rule' has not only confounded the confusion of the Irish protest movement, but also blown its credibility sky high.

The 6,000 turn-out (the organizers expected 25,000) and the political disorientation of the speakers was a clear expression of the fact that this could well be the swan song of the petty-bourgeois nationalist movement.

Like the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and the Revolutionary Socialists Students' Federation of 1968, its death agony might be somewhat protracted. But there is little doubt that its prospect of survival or revival is as remote as the proverbial Dodo bird.

This is because the Anti-Internment League, its leaders and sponsors—from the International Marxist Group, the International Socialists and the Republican movement—have consciously opposed the basic Marxist principle that the liberation of Ireland is impossible without the overthrow of Toryism in Britain. This demands the unity of British and Irish workers in a joint struggle to overthrow British imperialism.

This is the most important lesson of the history of the last 100 years of Anglo-Irish relations.

Instead, the revisionist protestors have ignored the decisive role of the working class and put aside political clarity and principled struggle in the interests of building a non-exclusive, single-issue movement which embraced the most contradictory and irreconcilably opposed class interests.

So when the Tories proclaimed direct rule the protest movement began to collapse under the weight of its own contradictions. Today it finds itself a victim of its own political inconsistency and radical opportunism.

If anyone expressed this crisis of radical protest it must surely have been Miss Bernadette Devlin—the MP for Mid-Ulster.

When she spoke and acted with courage and firmness against the brutal occupation regime in Ulster and its representatives in Westminster, Workers Press published her statements because we believed, and still do, that her actions were a positive contribution to the struggle for the liberation of Ireland and the joint struggle of Irish and British workers.

It also helped to expose the cowardly opportunism of the Labour lefts who have remained silent and inactive on Ireland.

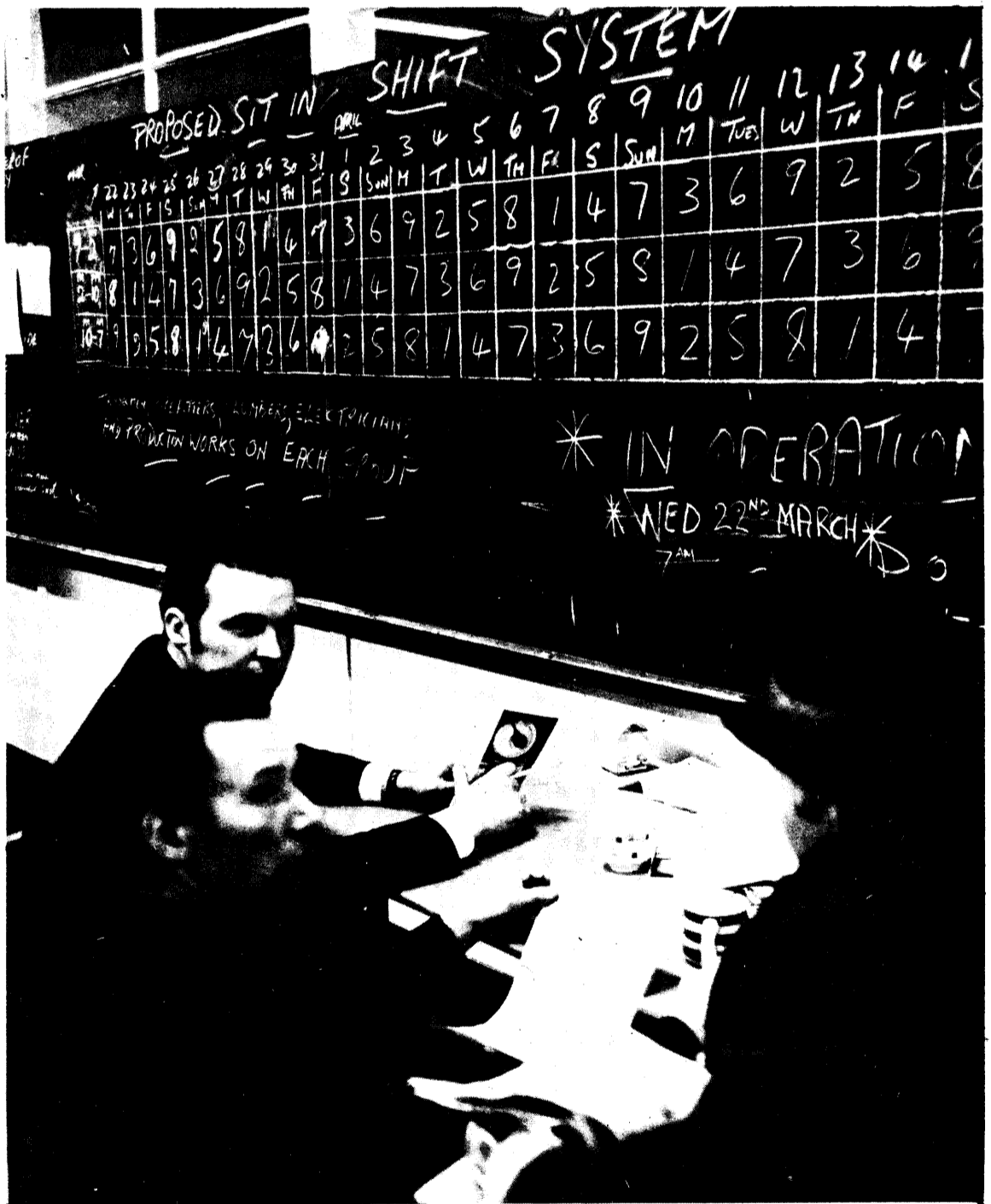
It is for the same reason then that we now criticize the extremely confused utterances of Miss Devlin.

For over six months she has correctly stated that the main issue in Ulster is neither internment, nor Stormont, but the Tory government and capitalism. In a meeting in Bolton on January 30 she said: 'British and Irish workers in Britain ask what they can do to help the working class of N Ireland. The simplest answer is, "Bring the Tories down".'

In her speech to the House of Commons in December 1971, Miss Devlin had this to say about her Tory enemies:

'It is of course, almost ludicrous to suggest that the shower on the front bench opposite who represent British economic imperialism in N Ireland should do anything . . . All I can do is appeal . . . to those who believe in the rights of the working class, British or Irish, to bring down the Tory government and put in their place a socialist government who will implement the kind of radical economic changes we need.'

• SEE PAGE 2 COL. 1



The 24-hour shift sit-in is written on a blackboard at Bredbury steelworks, the first NW plant occupied last week.

Manchester engineers in a militant mood—Fourth sit-in held

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS
UNION LEADERS yesterday reported an 'overwhelming' response to their call for a ban on piecework and overtime in the greater Manchester area.

As approximately 200,000 engineering workers began the bans, men at the fourth occupied factory faced court action.

They are 21 workers at Sharston Engineering, who occupied their small factory in Cheadle on Friday night after they were told it would have to close because of the work-to-rule.

Two of their leaders appeared in a Manchester court yesterday in a civil

action brought by the management.

Elsewhere there were no immediate signs of retaliation from employers, though at several large plants workers are under threat of lock-out if they continue their work-to-rule.

Bernard Regan, Stockport district secretary of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, said that 75 per cent of workers in the town have responded to the call.

'We are well satisfied with the action our members have taken. We are ready to face a prolonged struggle with the employers and we will deal with retaliatory action as and

when it comes.'

Bernard Panter, Manchester AUEW district secretary, said as far as he could estimate there had been a 95 per cent response to the work-to-rule. He said there were one or two factories that were out of line, but these were only small.

Already at two Stockport factories — Bredbury steel works and Davies and Metcalfe—workers have occupied after management attempted to lock them out.

At Sharston Engineering, the workers have literally barricaded themselves in and locked management out of the main workshop.

Trouble began when management refused to give an answer to a claim for a £7 wage increase, a 35-hour week and longer holidays. The men walked out and were told after two days that their action had caused the closure of the factory.

'It was this that made us decide to occupy', said one of their spokesmen yesterday.

Management are seeking a court order to have them removed. But John Tocher, Manchester's divisional organizer of the AUEW, has threatened a mass picket around the factory if police try to move in.

Connally—Nobody stands in our way

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

A STERN warning that the United States would 'look after its own interests' if other countries stand in the way of its economic plans, came at the weekend from John Connally, President Nixon's Treasury Secretary.

He told Republicans in an exclusive Boston club that other countries must 'change the rules of the game' to allow the US to run a balance of payments surplus in future.

This was the first requirement of any negotiated adjustment of the international economic system, he said.

Connally warned of the rising economic power of the European Common Market, Japan, the USSR and China.

His speech reflects growing US dissatisfaction with the terms of the currency realignment agreed in Washington on December 18 last year.

It foreshadows further US demands for trade and currency sacrifices from its chief trading opponents in Europe and Japan.

As usual Connally dispensed with diplomatic niceties to voice his demands in terms of unashamed self-interest.

'We've been rich and we've been poor, and we're poor now and rich is better,' he said.

'One thing that the rest of the world has to decide is if they are now willing for us to run surpluses.

'That's the first question they've got to answer: they've got to change the rules of the game.

'If not we've got to be prepared to look after our own interests.'

The trade war message could scarcely be more crudely put: Knuckle under or we'll smash you!

Connally also told a press conference at the weekend that he regretted the recent spate of increases in prime lending rate by banks in New York and elsewhere.

'I frankly have not analysed it but I question they are justified,' he said.

European bankers have been demanding for some months that the US raise its interest rates to attract surplus dollars back across the Atlantic.

Connally has no intention of encouraging the return of these dollars: 'At this time interest rates should be kept low,' he said.



US Treasury's Connally delivers his crude message.

EVIDENCE IN DAVIS CASE

THE State of California opened its case against Angela Davis, the black Communist Party member charged with conspiracy, murder and kidnapping, at San José yesterday.

She faces a jury of eight men and four women—all middle-class whites—after one of the most intensive witch-hunts in US history.

The prosecution will try to prove that Angela Davis plotted with other black militants to kidnap Judge Harold Haley from a courthouse in San Rafael in August 1970.

Despite the scanty evidence at their disposal, Angela Davis could be jailed for life if found guilty. And if California governor Ronald Reagan succeeds in his efforts to restore the death penalty, she could go to the chair.

The strictest security in California's legal history has been laid on for the trial with extra guards, alarm systems and searches of spectators.

The trial is expected to last four to six months and will cost several million dollars.

Harsh money measures in New Zealand

RECESSION tightened its grip on New Zealand yesterday as Prime Minister John Marshall announced stringent anti-inflation measures.

But alongside a ban on all wage and salary increases, Marshall has eased HP restrictions on household and consumer goods, deferred company tax and lifted restrictions on bank lending.

The aim seems to be to try to keep down prices and incomes and at the same time stimulate demand and investment.

Increases in income, such as dividends and interest on some forms of borrowing, will be limited under the new economic restraints.

The amount which savings banks must invest in government stock has been reduced, releasing about £13.6m for investment in housing, farms, industry and local authorities.

The interest rate on reserve bank loans to trading banks has been reduced from 7 to 6 per cent to stimulate bank lending for farming, commerce and industry.

Company tax this month, which amounts to £11.3m, has been deferred and individual companies concerned will be able to use the money for expansion and development.

The long-term measures replace a six-week wage and price freeze announced on February 14.

Podgorny visits Turkey

SOVIET president Nikolai Podgorny is to pay an official visit to Turkey from April 11 to April 17, Soviet news agency Tass reported at the weekend.

Podgorny was invited to Turkey in 1969, when the Turkish president Cevdet Sunay visited the Soviet Union.

His visit comes at a time when the Turkish military regime is carrying out a relentless repression against the left-wing parties and other working-class organizations.

Martial law, in force in 11 Turkish provinces since the army seized power last April, has now been extended for another two months and the authorities are carrying out an extensive round-up of the regime's young opponents.

Three young men — Deniz Gezmiş (24), Yusuf Aslan (25)

and Huseyin Inan (22)—members of the underground Turkish People's Liberation Army, are awaiting death by hanging after sentence by a military court.

President Sunay has already signed their death warrants, despite widespread appeals for clemency from intellectuals and members of the Republican People's Party.

The RPP has applied for revision of the case by the Constitutional Court. Istanbul martial law authorities have issued a list of 139 wanted people, and dozens of youth and students have already been arrested in a drive to stifle the protests against the scheduled executions.

Podgorny's visit will be seen as an endorsement of the white terror in Turkey and an extension of Moscow's ties with the reactionary military dictatorship.

KIDNAPPING CONTRADICTION

THE ARGENTINE People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) has demanded \$1m ransom for schoolbooks, pencils and shoes for poor children for the life of Fiat executive Oberdan Sallustro.

The ERP had threatened to shoot Sallustro on Sunday, but gave him a 36-hour 'reprieve' to allow secret negotiations with Fiat to continue.

The Lanusse military dictatorship has ordered Fiat not to do anything which could give aid and comfort to the ERP 'criminals'.

In accordance with its thoroughly middle-class perspective, the ERP has turned away from the mass struggles of the

workers—adopting 'Robin Hood' tactics against the employers.

It is led by supporters of the Pabloite revisionist Unified Secretariat and has been enthusiastically supported in its adventurist 'urban guerrilla' tactics by the British International Marxist Group and its paper 'Red Mole'.

Alain Krivine, leader of the French revisionist organization Ligue Communiste is another enthusiast for 'urban guerrilla' tactics—provided they are carried out a long way from France.

Though he supports the ERP in Argentina, he condemned on grounds of 'principle' the recent kidnapping of a Renault executive by Paris Maoists.

Ulster—the decisive test

FROM PAGE ONE

In her interview with Workers Press on January 4 this year Miss Devlin was asked: 'How is it possible to wage a campaign against internment without making the struggle to unite the working class and force the Tory government to resign the central issue of this campaign? If this is not done, is there not a danger that the fight against internment is transformed into a reformist protest like civil rights?'

She replied: 'I think there is a grave danger of this happening... We on the left say the ending of internment is not the releasing of the 300-odd people who are interned... To end internment means ending the machinery of legislation which allows internment...'

'The one demand cannot be removed from the other. And in this country, I believe that to end internment it is necessary to bring down the Tories...'

Yet this was hardly the theme of Devlin or any other speaker on Sunday.

While she made demagogic attacks against the Tory government, at no stage did she call explicitly for a joint campaign to force the Tories to resign.

'All that has happened,' said Miss Devlin, 'is that they have discovered a new means of ruling Ireland by British capitalism.'

And she concluded: 'The only people we can rely on is ourselves, the working class, and all those groups like the Anti-

Internment League who are willing to fight the Tory government.'

We ask Miss Devlin and her followers in the Anti-Internment League: What working class are you referring to? And since when has the AIL fought the Tory government?

Only hours after Miss Devlin spoke, the whole of Belfast and other areas were paralysed by the actions of the Protestant working class, mobilized and led by the reactionaries Craig and Paisley.

Is this not an indictment of the policy and history of the protest movement as well as the terrorist movement?

Is it not clear from Sunday's meeting that not a single spokesman—including Miss Devlin—has a credible socialist alternative to present to the Protestant working class and that their appeal is exclusively to the Catholic middle class?

How then can Miss Devlin talk of fighting the Tory government when the most decisive section of the Ulster working class remains alienated from the reformist, middle-class demands of the protest movement?

The AIL does not fight Toryism, as Miss Devlin suggests. It only protests at the excuses of imperialism and this is in keeping with its middle-class, radical-liberal composition.

The AIL's opposition to uniting and organizing the working class for a revolutionary struggle against Toryism is based on the reformist belief that the capitalist

system is able to accommodate reforms and that the ruling class is susceptible to pressure by the working class and middle class.

The corollary of this argument is that the ruling class is not really a counter-revolutionary class. So that, when it is forced to retreat—as after the miners' strike—the retreat is not seen as a tactical manoeuvre in preparation for a counter-attack, but rather as a part of an irreversible trend. The false optimism of revisionism breeds complacency—and complacency breeds panic.

While it is true that Miss Devlin did not articulate such views, and from time to time departed radically from this standpoint, nevertheless it is true to say that on Sunday she became part of the reformist bandwagon.

This grouping is not opposed, but complementary to the terrorist organization and methods of the IRA. They both serve the same end: the political confusion of the working class and the subordination of the working class to the reactionary interests of the middle class.

The AIL, like its predecessor, the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign is opposed to the creation of a revolutionary party to mobilize the working class against the Tories because it hates and fears the working class more than it does imperialism.

For the same reason it opposes the

creation of a revolutionary party in Ireland to unite Protestant and Catholic workers and instead calls for 'victory to the IRA'.

We say that 'victory to the IRA' is victory to the Irish middle class and a negotiated political compromise between Westminster and the IRA Provisionals at the expense of Catholic and Protestant workers alike.

That is why direct rule has been proclaimed.

While we defend the IRA from its imperialist persecutors, we will never surrender our programme or our right to criticize their policies to anybody.

Those who say 'victory to the IRA' cannot fight direct rule—and, worse than that, they will harden and perpetuate the sectarian divisions in the working class. And it is this division in the working class which is today the most vital condition for the continued exploitation of Irish labour and resources by imperialism.

To Miss Devlin and her supporters we say: your policy of protest and your refusal to fight for the unity of the working class to force the Tories out is leading you to a more sinister trap than the one you stepped into when you supported the presence of British troops in Ulster in 1969.

To those who wish to listen, we say now is the time to break from left-reformism and establish the independence of the working class, building the revolutionary party in Britain and in Ireland.

Birmingham fight for full claim

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

STRIKERS from the Birmingham Battery and Metal Company at Selly Oak expressed their determination at a mass meeting yesterday to stick out for every point of the original national engineering claim.

When senior shop steward Alf Fellows asked: 'Do I take it we are not crawling back through those gates?', the meeting responded with a resounding shout of 'No!'.

They voted not to meet for another fortnight unless management came through with an offer in the meantime.

AUEW district secretary Ted Young reported that management's attitude was 'no money at the moment'.

Young said he was sure that district committee — meeting tomorrow — would endorse the strike, but 'because of Easter holidays' it might be a further fortnight before the executive council could authorize dispute benefit.

The men's major demands are for £6 per week for 35 hours and improved overtime payments.

Young said the Birmingham W district committee has no plans to raise the claim on a district level, 'as in Manchester and in Sheffield'.

It was still circulating individual shop stewards for reports of progress in factory-by-factory negotiation. So far the only major settlement has been at Wilmot Breedon, where rises of up to £5 for skilled men have been agreed.

The Battery strike is the only current dispute over the claim in the district.

'We came out for the national claim because we can't achieve anything any other way—we have been trying it for years and years,' Alf Fellows, president and founder member of the Chapel Lane, Birmingham, AUEW branch told me.

Ninety-nine per cent of the branch's membership is employed at the Battery and Metal Company works.

Alf and his fellow workers see the strike as the culmination of a long, hard battle to unionize the factory and improve wages and conditions.

'When I started 16 years ago there were just one or two trade unionists. I went in there with a card and we gradually built up the AEU. When we got to 26 members, I was the senior steward and I used to do the negotiations.'

It took 12 years to reach that stage. Operating against the militants was the 1950s boom; the factory with its low wages and minimal facilities, was seen by many workers as a 'stepping stone' to highly-paid jobs in the car factories.

'There was a sort of conveyor belt between the factory and the local labour exchange. Every week 20 or 30 workers would leave and the exchange would send up 20 or 30 to replace them.'

Then, about three years ago the position changed dramatically. Unemployment began to soar and the labour situation was tighter.

'There was a big push and in 12 months we were 100 per cent unionized,' said Alf. 'We were then able to start a completely new AUEW branch.'

'Even if we get the £6 we are claiming, we will be another £6 below the district average,' claims Alf. 'This firm can sell to America cheaper than the Americans can make for themselves, because of the wages they pay,' he alleged.

'The galling point about it is

we are working for a Quaker family. They were early philanthropists.'

The factory makes brass, copper and alloy tubing for ship-building and general industry.

The strike at 'the Battery'—the first serious dispute in memory—is a sign that the impact of the economic crisis is smashing up the liberal illusions which have dominated many sections of Birmingham workers since the Chamberlain era.

Workers inside the gates of the Laurence Scott factory at Openshaw, Manchester — the third plant to be occupied in the NW during the engineers' pay claim.



McGahey: Didn't attend

ALEX FERGUSON, the Scottish miner expelled from the union for taking a full-time job during the miners' strike, has been reinstated.

For five weeks Ferguson, of Whitrigg colliery, W Lothian, has been working in the pits without a union card.

When the miners' strike ended, Whitrigg men refused to return

McGahey slammed at Scots pit

to work with a non-union member.

But the Scottish National Union of Mineworkers' executive, in particular president Michael McGahey, persuaded the men to resume work with Ferguson.

Both McGahey, a leading Communist Party member, and NUM Scottish secretary William McLean, were invited to attend last Sunday's meeting of the Whitrigg branch to discuss Ferguson's expulsion.

But neither attended.

Branch delegate Joseph Graham explained to the press: 'They were unable to come owing to prior commitments.'

He went on: 'It has been decided to reinstate Ferguson. We were left with no alternative, though there was no pressure exerted on us from any quarter.'

'We are still unhappy about contradictory statements made by these two officials on the case. McLean had advised expulsion and McGahey advised reinstatement.'

'We will be writing to McGahey to tell him that we deplore statements attributed to him about unconstitutional action by the branch.'

'The members are still adamant that the committee acted constitutionally, despite criticism that the expulsion was a panic measure.'



Power site sticks out for fall-back

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

CONSTRUCTION workers on the Grain power station site, Kent, decided at a mass meeting yesterday to continue their three-week-old strike.

The 500 men are demanding 50p-an-hour fall-back bonus rate from the chief contractors on the site, Laing's.

The situation is complicated because one small contractor on the site has paid up the bonus, creating tension between the other contracting firms.

At yesterday's mass meeting union officials tried to persuade the men to return to work. Frank Byrne, Transport and General Workers' Union official, said management had threatened to invoke the Industrial Relations Act if the union used action against the men on 'the lump'.

Byrne said a meeting of the national conciliation board — made up of top union and man-

agement representatives — had recommended a return to work because a national pay claim was being negotiated.

Under these circumstances a claim for fall-back bonus rate on the site could not be dealt with. If they returned to work, negotiations could proceed, he said.

There will be a further meeting next Tuesday.

Hostages

THREE British radar technicians, Charles Turner, John Law and Gordon Banner have been kidnapped from NATO's Unye airbase on Turkey's Black Sea coast.

Officials say the five men who carried out the raid could belong to the group which claimed responsibility for the kidnap and murder last May of the Israeli Consul-General in Istanbul, Ephraim Elrom.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

LEEDS: Tuesday March 28, 7.30 p.m. Quarry Hill Flats Community Centre. 'The engineers' play claim'.

W LONDON: Tuesday, March 28, 8 p.m. Prince Albert, Wharfedale Road, off York Way, Kings Cross, N1. 'Report back from Wembley Pool'.

SOUTHALL: Wednesday, March 29, 8 p.m. Southall Community Centre, Bridge Road. 'Report back from Wembley Pool'.

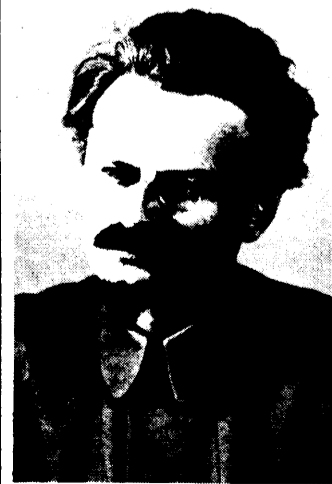
N LONDON: Thursday March 30, 8 p.m. Bricklayers Arms, Tottenham High Rd., N17 (off White Hart Lane). 'Report back meeting from Wembley. The Scarborough conference'.

S EAST: Thursday, March 30, 8 p.m. Deptford Engineers' Club, nr. New Cross Station. 'Report back from Wembley Pool'.

ACTON: Tuesday April 4, 8 p.m. Mechanics Arms, Churchfield Road. 'Empire Pool and building the revolutionary party'.

EAST LONDON: Tuesday April 4, 8 p.m. Aberfeldy Pub, Aberfeldy Street, nr. Blackwall Tunnel. 'Building the revolutionary party and the fight for docks jobs'.

BOOKS



Moscow Trials Anthology
Paperback, 62½p
MAX SHACHTMAN:
Behind The Moscow Trial
Paperback 75p
ROBERT BLACK:
Stalinism In Britain
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £2
LEON TROTSKY:
Death Agony of Capitalism
(The Transitional Programme)
Pamphlet 5p
Class Nature of the Soviet State
Pamphlet 20p
In Defence of the October Revolution Pamphlet 15p
The Theory and Practice of Revisionism Pamphlet 15p
Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from:
NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS
186a Clapham High Street,
London SW4 7UG.

BEHIND THE ENGINEERS' PAY CLAIM

A series of three articles by DAVID MAUDE, Workers Press Industrial Correspondent

PART 1

A rain-soaked but militant group of engineers stood outside the Peckham, London, headquarters of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

They had travelled overnight from the outskirts of Liverpool to seek official backing for their bitter reinstatement strike at Kraft Foods.

Sleek-suited Jim Conway, AUEW general secretary, parked his big green Vauxhall in the building's underground car park and made for his office. He was intercepted by the lobbyists.

The union chief listened uneasily to his members' arguments.

After a few minutes he declared their case was 'hopeless', then stalked off to take part in the most shameful industrial retreat of 1972: the abandonment of the engineers' national pay claim.

The date was Tuesday, January 4. The occasion a routine weekly meeting of the AUEW executive. But there was nothing routine about the agenda.

Just a few hours after Conway spoke to the Kraft strikers, the seven-man executive voted to call off the national claim and go for plant bargaining.

This decision has provoked a storm of criticism inside and outside the AUEW. Pay prospects for 2.8 million workers in the industry still hang confusedly in the balance, three-and-a-half months after it was made.

By contrast, the Kraft men won their 'hopeless' battle three weeks after Conway had pronounced on it.

Monday January 3 was the start of a crucial week in the struggle for a new leadership in the working class.

That morning — with the threatened miners' strike just five days away—the 120 men at the



Conway: Kraft workers won the battle that he said was hopeless.

Allis-Chalmers farm machinery factory in Mold, N Wales, staged a sit-in strike against closure.

Two days later 800 workers at Fisher-Bendix, Kirkby, about a quarter of a mile from where the Kraft engineers were fighting out their reinstatement battle, followed suit. After turning out the management, they began round-the-clock occupation shifts.

Also on Wednesday, the executive of the National Union of Mineworkers rejected claimed improvements in the Coal Board's last pay offer with three days to go before their strike deadline.

Coming up the following week were talks on the power workers' pay claim. Like the Engineering Employers' Federation, the Electricity Council was sticking firmly to the government pay norm of no more than 7 per cent.

Here was a magnificent opportunity to make common cause between three powerful groups of workers together well over 3 million strong — against the government all the union chiefs professed to hate.

Coldly, deliberately and after due debate, however, the leaders of the AUEW engineers' section decided to throw it away.

The move had been prepared in advance.

Secret consultations between Hugh Scanlon, AUEW president, and his fellow-'left' Jack Jones, in the general secretaryship of the Transport and General Workers' Union, had already taken place.

The employers, they argued, were not at national level going to improve their £1.50 reply to the unions' £6-plus claim. To avoid a direct confrontation with the government, a period of pressure at plant level would be needed with perhaps a return to the EEF at a later date.

In voting for this approach unanimously on January 4, the AUEW executive was moving in precisely the opposite direction from the Kraft workers who had lobbied them that morning.

The Merseysiders were standing firm on a principle: reinstatement rather than compensation



Mike Cooley: did not raise any protest against the retreat

of a sacked member. With the Industrial Relations Act in full force, of course, compensation would be the norm in such cases. The AUEW leaders were backing down to the Tories and their Act.

Wrapped up in their own bureaucratic cocoon, they shut out what the Kraft lobbyists had said and tried to ignore the miners' militancy and what the Mold occupation represented.

Nobody took seriously the possibility that the miners would strike. Conditioned by thoughts of what they would do in a similar situation, their eyes were fixed on the manoeuvres of NUM president Joe Gormley.

Apologists for the abandonment of the national claim say the same mood pervaded at a three-day executive meeting of all four sections of the AUEW which started on January 5.

The engineers' section decision was presented to that meeting as a *fait accompli*.

As Scanlon spoke the 14 coun-



Kraft workers lobby sleek suited Jim Conway before the AUEW Executive meeting of January 4

cilmen sank back further in the heavy furnishings of the Selsdon Park Hotel, scene in the spring of 1970 of the Tory conclave which planned that summer's election victory.

Under the panelled oak ceilings of that historic pile, the freezing picket line at Kraft's, the sit-in at Allis-Chalmers and the occupation of Fisher-Bendix, which was just starting, seemed far away.

Scanlon told the meeting that the situation was clear; the employers were not going to move on their minimum-rates offer or anything else, so the fight had to be taken into the areas where union members themselves would know best where to use their strength.

This was nothing new. At the April 1971 meeting of the engineers' section national committee, which had drawn up the claim, Scanlon had argued that all they should hope to do at national level was establish minimum standards which could be improved on in the plants.

But the political line-up at the Selsdon meeting was such that it could have defeated this policy.

Besides the AUEW president, there were four other 'left' Labourites, two Communist Party members and even two Maoists—Reg Birch, of the engineers' section, and the draughtsmen's Mike Cooley. Yet not one voice was raised in protest at the retreat.

The miners were only mentioned in the context of a meeting of TUC leaders the following week to discuss support for them.

And no one raised the one decisive answer to the employers' arrogance which was open to them: a national strike call. To explain this omission we must look briefly at the history of the claim.

After a two-day debate at their April 1971 meeting in Eastbourne, the engineers' section national committee had voted 48 to four to lodge a claim for a 'substantial' all-round increase plus improved minimum time rates.

The successful resolution specified no figure for either claim, but included calls for an extra week's holiday at time-and-a-third of average earnings, abolition of penalty clauses covering

holidays and daily lay-off pay at time-and-a-half. A five-hour cut in the working week was demanded.

Also included in the claim was a demand for equal pay for women workers, but the committee voted 36-16 against demanding that this aspect should be settled before anything else.

In his presidential address, Scanlon had laid heavy stress on the financial penalties the union would suffer if it continued its policy of remaining deregistered under the Industrial Relations Act. When he spoke against going for an all-round increase, he pointed out that the ACT would be in force when the fight started in earnest.

Having already accepted the TUC's March 18 decision to outlaw industrial action against the Act, Scanlon was by that time convinced the legislation would go through and trimming his sails to it.

By June, when the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions met in Torquay to endorse the claim, Scanlon and other union leaders were piling up further grounds for pessimism. A study they had commissioned revealed a 140,000 shrinkage of jobs in engineering since the Tories had come to power. At that time, they found, 4.35 unemployed members were chasing each vacant job in the industry.

Predictably, when the claim was finally submitted to the EEF in August they and the Stock Exchange registered shock, horror, indignation . . . and threats of more unemployment.

Scanlon argued strongly in submitting the claim to the employers on August 26 that the industry could easily afford the £700m package.

'There has, of course, been the very recent development of the so-called "dollar crisis" [August 15] which conceivably might affect this forecast', he admitted.

'However . . . it is our contention that, given at least some recognition by management of the vital importance of new capital investment to increase productivity and sales, the 1971-1972 outlook for the industry, as a whole, is good and it is well able to meet our claim in full.'

A month later the EEF hit back with a 47-page report—completed after Nixon's August 15 measures—insisting that engineering was in deep crisis. The unions' demands would push up costs by 35-40 per cent, it claimed.

On December 15, pay talks deadlocked after two-and-a-half hours following the employers' adamant refusal to increase their offer of £1.50 on basic rates.

There had been no discussion on a 35-hour week of the unions' claim for a substantial, all-round increase. It was breakdown.

A few days later came the official end of the engineering industry's 50-year-old disputes procedure, the York Memorandum.

Scanlon had been incensed by the employers' refusal to grant union demands in discussions on a new procedure for the principle of *status quo*—no changes in pay or working practices without prior union agreement—and had threatened to let his members tear the EEF apart.

But as always his rage had a reformist, bureaucratic tinge.

'After a bit of stick from the factories', he once told a group of officials, 'they'd be glad to come back to us at national level.'

On Friday, January 7, Scanlon called a press conference to announce the recall of the engineers' section national committee for the following Monday.

He would not confirm rumours of what had been decided about the national claim, although these proved to be entirely accurate. But he did say that whatever the national committee decided would have the full backing of all four AUEW sections.

As the press corps arrived, they bumped into Les Dixon, a taciturn Yorkshireman from the engineers' section and a long-standing Communist Party member.

Dixon would not confirm the rumours either.

And it wasn't just the press he didn't tell. From the Tuesday when the decision was made to the following Sunday night he told no one—not even his own party's faction on the national committee.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



BHUTTO: MAN ON A TIGHTROPE

BY IAN YEATS

Pakistan is in deep trouble. Along with all the other equally-serious problems, including readjusting to the loss of revenue from industries now in Bangla Desh, making up the heavy losses incurred by the war itself and generally rebuilding the shattered state, another major difficulty has emerged—refugees.

Pakistan President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is hanging on by his political teeth. And so far only the promises inherent in his populist appeal have saved him.

But that appeal rests on action. It rests on restoring the good life to Pakistan's millions and on doing something on the diplomatic front to refurbish the country's tarnished military reputation.

Frantic talks with Bangla Desh Prime Minister Sheikh Mujibur Rahman have not pulled anything out of the bag yet.

Nor has Bhutto managed to persuade Indian Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi to release the near 100,000 prisoners she has been holding, largely as a bargaining counter between the two former enemies, since the war ended.

It is doubly unfortunate that many of the people complaining about his failure to bring home their sons, fathers and husbands are also those straining under the intolerable burden of about 800,000 refugees from Indian-occupied areas of the Pakistan border in central Punjab.

The Pakistan economy continues to stagnate, with the grimmest prospects ahead. Meanwhile people who can just about afford to keep themselves are being asked to care for thousands of homeless.

According to Pakistani figures, the Indian army occupied about 540 villages in a belt up to eight miles wide W of Sialkot, including the Phaulkian salient.

Most of the territory was occupied to prevent then president Yahya Khan countering Indian support for Bangla Desh in the E by attacking Kashmir.

The future of the Phaulkian salient and the five-mile belt at the tip of what is known as the Shakargarh salient is likely to prove as difficult a question as Sinai or Berlin.

Its strategic value to the Indians is that it puts them in a strong position to head off any future Pakistani offensive in the direction of Kashmir.

The Pakistani government is therefore likely to be stuck with the refugees for a considerable time.

Bhutto's administration claims that it won't build refugee camps because there is not enough cash, and in any case they don't want to be saddled with the permanent social sore of shanty towns and the danger that they will be used for anti-government activity.

So far, about 875,000 refugees, 600,000 of them made homeless by the laying of mines in new defensive positions, have been billeted with families in the area. Another 16,000 have been quartered in two schools.

The refugees have lost all their possessions, including livestock and household equipment and are therefore a dead weight on the local populace.

But it is not only a question of the withdrawal of the Indian forces to allow the refugees to go home.

It is a predominantly Punjabi area and most people have relatives imprisoned in India.

Bhutto's problem is that such people will not let him recognize Bangla Desh and, until he does, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman has made it clear there will be no talks about making it possible for the refugees to return, or, indeed, anything else.

In the cities there is what is called 'greater realism' about what has to be done. But unfortunately Bhutto's populist base is in the very areas where there is maximum hostility to any concessions to Bangla Desh likely to lead to a settlement of the refugee problem.

Only about 250,000 of the people in the division, which is one of the most heavily populated in Pakistan, have been declared eligible for government rations.

Every fortnight they go to one of 85 centres to collect their meagre ration of 1 lb of wheat flour and 2 oz of lentils a day per person, plus 2 lb of vegetable oil a month and a similar quantity of sugar.

No meat and vegetables are included in the diet.

Pakistani officials are complaining that the refugees are imposing a growing strain on the limited resources of the already over-stretched economy.

Coupled with Bhutto's failure to solve the problem of Pakistani prisoners in India, the refugee issue could boil up into a major political crisis any day now.



Zulfikar Bhutto (top left) rules what is left of Pakistan after the secession of Bangla Desh. He ousted defeated President Yahya Khan (below). Above is Bangla Desh leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who spent nine months in Yahya's jails before Bhutto set him free.



THE RACE RELATIONS INDUSTRY COLLAPSES

When the director of the Institute of Race Relations, Professor Hugh Tinker, was sacked on March 20, it signified that big business and the 'race relations industry' just couldn't carry on working with mild-mannered liberal reformists.

The 13 members of the Institute's council who voted not only for their director's dismissal, but also the closing of the journal 'Race Today', had lost their patience.

'The council of the Institute of Race Relations has for some time felt that there was a tendency among the Institute staff to move away from the purposes for which it was founded. The difference is one of emphasis and method and the council does not question the sincerity of those who have adopted a new approach. But they feel that it is not for such an approach that funds have been subscribed.' (Our emphasis.)

What did they mean by this new approach? The staff and the six council members who support them felt they had been objective, particularly in relation to articles in 'Race Today'.

But what undoubtedly annoyed the council majority, composed of big business representatives, a Labour MP and members of 'industry', was the fact that the article had come down, although in a liberal way, actually on the side of black people.

For example, the February issue's front cover depicted Lord Goodman with a quote from a speech in the House of Lords saying: '... this settlement is the best we were able to achieve... Right or wrong, we should seize the opportunity.'

But facing Lord Goodman, one of the architects of the Smith-Home racist deal was the bold caption: 'Five million Africans say No.'

This proved too much for the IRR. It hindered fundraising projects, said the council, claiming that one issue had cost the Institute £20,000 in lost contributions.

The Institute of Race Relations was founded in 1958 'to encourage and facilitate the study of relations between races everywhere'.

Registered as an educational charity, its headquarters are situated in Piccadilly, not far from the House of Commons, Whitehall and the Travellers' Club in Pall Mall.

The fact that the chosen abode is not exactly in the heartland of the immigrant communities gives a clue to IRR's real nature.

Because, from its inception, the organization has been nothing more than a vehicle for the activities of big business deeply involved in the regimes in southern Africa.

The IRR was one of the beginnings of the so-called race relations industry in the literal meaning of the phrase. Beneath the apparent quest for information on race relations in Britain lay a more sinister intention.

The lid began to be lifted a little with the resignation last June of researcher Robin Jenkins. The council had been after his blood since January 1971 when he wrote a paper called 'The Production of Knowledge in the IRR'. It was a severe indictment

of the Institute's policies and practical work and named the big business interests dominating the Institute.

'Given the supposed scientific status of the Institute,' he wrote then, 'it might seem a little odd that only seven members of the Council are social scientists. The others include 13 representatives and owners of international monopoly capital and its various interests.'

'What is clear... is that the areas in race relations that are deemed worthy of attention within the IRR are precisely those areas that are identified by international monopoly capital and its interests. "Problems" tend to be identified in terms of the interests of those at the top.'

Council members at the time included Michael Caine of Booker McConnell, the giant sugar firm, Sir Frederick Seebohm of Barclays DCO, who have huge investments in S Africa; and Harry Oppenheimer, the S African magnate who heads the Anglo-American Corporation, de Beers and more than 60 other smaller corporations.

On and on the list went, reading like Who's Who in the City of London:

Sir Edward (now Lord) Boyle, former Tory Education Minister, chairman of Five-Fold Investments, director of Penguin Books and vice-Chancellor of Leeds University.

Tory MP Richard Hornby, director of Unilever and J. Walter Thompson.

Sir Ronald Prain, chairman of Rand Selection Corporation S. Africa, director of Barclays DCO.

And there was David Sieff, director of Marks and Spencer.

All these men are still on the Council. Other representatives of big business were removed in the Council's first election held last September. They were replaced by the minority which opposed Tinker's sacking and the closure of 'Race Today'.

But even some of the academics on the Council were deeply involved in business. Prof Roland Oliver from the School of Oriental and African Studies was also a member of the Africa Private Enterprise Group, according to Jenkins.

The sociologist W. G. Runciman was also a director of W. G. Runciman Ltd, John Tann Security Ltd, Anchor Shipping Line, G. & P. Turner Ltd, Maritime Bulk Carrying and Shipping, MB Packaging, Runciman Investments Ltd, and Walter Runciman (S Africa) Pty.

An interesting figure was Peter Mason, former director of the IRR.

His other occupations include being the organizer of Africa Private Enterprise Group. Several other council members are connected with this group, which is made up of the representatives of British big business with financial interests in S Africa. It has never been possible to find out what exactly this group discusses, because it has never published any papers from its meetings.

From other sections of the 'race relations industry' there was Mark Bonham-Carter, chairman of the Community Relations Commission and Dipak Nandy, director of the Runnymede Trust. In his foreword to last year's CRC report, the Liberal Bonham-



Left: Professor Hugh Tinker, former director of the Institute of Race Relations. Above: Lord Goodman

Carter recorded proudly: 'The Commission has maintained close contacts with the Police Department of the Home Office.'

'Nearly all community relations councils have made arrangements for effective co-operation with the police in their ideas, and in some places excellent relationships have been established,' he said.

Dipak Nandy revealed where he stood in an interview with the journal 'Personnel Management' last September. He told the journal that the Runnymede Trust had diversified somewhat and in February 1970 had set up an Industrial Unit specializing in the 'problems' of race relations in industry. It was felt there was no other body fulfilling this kind of need and its existence had been justified by the level of demand for information and advice from all sectors of industry. (Our emphasis.)

His main point was that big

business management were ignorant of 'how to cope with such a workforce'.

'Experience shows that for successful race relations in a company you must have clearly stated a policy; the board must be interested; and it is at this point that the personnel manager becomes a key link in the chain. But without a statement of intent, it is the hardest thing in the world for a personnel manager to initiate company policy,' he said.

Jenkins commenting on the IRR's research, said: 'At worst, the knowledge produced by IRR is objective, scientific information on the activities and thoughts of the immigrant communities. The IRR acts as a watchdog for the ruling elite, ensures that they receive ample information on the sub-proletariat and ample warning of impending revolts. In this respect, the IRR complements the work of the police.'

Tinker and his supporters, as they will all readily admit, are nothing more than liberal reformers. But in the developing

tensions between the classes in Britain, even they proved too much for the council to stomach.

'Race Today' had been straying from the line, although not in any sense in a dangerous way. In the past period articles have appeared condemning the Tory Immigration Act and the Rhodesia sell-out. Interviews appeared with George Jackson's sister Penny and a letter from a black prisoner in a British jail had been published which attacked the prison system and the treatment of immigrants within it.

But as the Council majority's statement after Tinker's sacking put it:

'A new director will be appointed in due course and with his help the council are determined to return to a style more in accordance with the Institute's declared aims of objective presentation of facts and the promotion of research and discussion. The council

believes that the need for work of this kind in this style is greater than ever.'

All the business representatives voted for the proposals. They were joined by Runciman, Prof Oliver and the Labour MP Joan Lester.

Corporate Subscribers to IRR at March 31, 1971
The Administrative Staff College
Allied Breweries Ltd
Anglo American Corporation of South Africa Ltd
Associated British Picture Corporation Ltd
Baker Perkins Holdings Ltd
Bank of England
Barclays Bank Ltd
Barclays Bank DCO
The Birmingham Post and Mail Ltd
The Birmingham Small Arms Co Ltd
Booker McConnell Ltd
C. T. Bowring and Co Ltd
British American Tobacco Co Ltd

British Petroleum Co Ltd
British Sugar Corporation Ltd
The Burmah Oil Co Ltd
The Noel Buxton Trust
Sir Felix Brunner Charitable Trust
Cadbury Schweppes Ltd
Trustees of W. A. Cadbury Charitable Trust
Edwards Cadbury Charitable Trust
Charter Consolidated Ltd
Commercial Union Assurance Co Ltd
Courtaulds Ltd
Deloitte, Plender, Griffiths & Co
The Dunlop Co Ltd
English Calico Ltd
Fishmongers' Company
Louis Freedman Discretionary Trust
Friends' Provident and Century Group
General Refractories Group Ltd
Ghana High Commission
Anthony Gibbs and Sons (Insurance) Ltd
Gillette Industries Ltd
Glaxo Charity Trust
Goldsmiths' Company

Grattan Warehouses Ltd
Arthur Guinness Son & Co (Park Royal) Ltd
Hambros Bank Ltd
H. J. Heinz Co Ltd
John Holt and Co (Liverpool) Ltd
The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation
IBM United Kingdom Ltd
Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd
Imperial Metal Industries Ltd
The Incheape Charitable Trust
Fund
International Distillers and Vintners Ltd
The Ernest Kleinwort Charitable Trust
Kodak Ltd
Lazard Brothers & Co Ltd
Legal and General Assurance Society Ltd
Lloyds Bank Ltd
The London Press Exchange Ltd
Marks and Spencer Ltd
Martins Bank Ltd
Mercantile Credit Co Ltd
Midland Bank Ltd
Mitchell Cotts Group Ltd

Montague Burton Ltd
Moss Bros Ltd
National and Grindlays Bank Ltd
National Westminster Bank Ltd
The Ocean Steam Ship Co Ltd
Pilkington Brothers Ltd
Proctor and Gamble Ltd
Redland Ltd
The Rhodes Trust
Roan Selection Trust
Rootes Motors Ltd
N. M. Rothschild and Sons
R. T. Z. Services Ltd
Rowe and Pitman
Royal Insurance Group
Walter Runciman and Co Ltd
Sandbach Tinne and Co Ltd
Shell International Petroleum Co Ltd
J. Henry Schroder Wagg and Co Ltd
Tate and Lyle Ltd
Tube Investments Ltd
Turner and Newall Ltd
Unilever Ltd
The Weir Group Ltd
Westminster Press Ltd
Whitbread and Co Ltd

ON THE BRINK OF REVOLUTION IN GERMANY

Part one of a series by Jack Gale

At the end of World War I, capitalism was on its knees throughout Europe. The four great empires which had shaped the continent's destiny for centuries—the Ottoman, Austrian, German and Russian empires—could not survive.

Capitalism was saved by social democracy.

Now, in F. L. Carsten's book,* we are given a detailed and invaluable account of exactly how this treachery was carried out in the decisive year of 1918-1919. Carsten's exposure is, if anything, even more revealing since he believes that the Social Democrats were right to behave as they did, since what was at stake was not proletarian revolution but a 'democratization' of state and society.

World War I continued for 20 months after the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, bringing with it conditions of misery, starvation, mounting casualties and on a scale hitherto unknown.

From 1916 on there were repeated risings of the European working class against the war and the conditions it imposed.

When Karl Liebknecht, the Reichstag Socialist deputy who opposed the war, was tried for treason (in June, 1916) 55,000 workers came out on strike in solidarity with him.

In April, 1917, strikes broke out all over Germany against a government order cutting the bread ration by a quarter. In Leipzig the strikers raised political demands: the introduction of direct, general and equal franchise, the release of all political prisoners, the lifting of the 'state of siege' (i.e. military conditions of rule) and the censorship, the right to strike and hold political meetings and a declaration by the government in favour of immediate peace without any annexations.

The leaders of these actions were a group of workers calling themselves the Revolutionary

Shop-Stewards. This group developed because the Social Democrats and the official trade union leaders wholeheartedly supported the war and the imperial government.

In January, 1918, there were great strikes of armament workers which spread like wildfire from lower Austria and Vienna to Budapest and then to Berlin and most German industrial towns. The strikes began as a reaction to further cuts in the meagre flour ration.

The strikers elected local workers' councils, and again political demands were raised. In Vienna the workers' council demanded not only better food rations, but the abolition of the censorship, the reintroduction of normal civil law procedures, the eight-hour day and the release of Friedrich Adler who had been imprisoned for assassinating the prime minister.

These strikes ended on January 21, but a week later 200,000 Berlin workers were out on strike against the war.

The strikers ejected an action committee of 11 Revolutionary Shop Stewards and three representatives each of the pro-war Social Democrats and the anti-war Independent Social Democratic parties. Their first demand was:

'Speedy conclusion of a peace without annexations and indemnities, on the basis of the nations' right to self-determination, according to the provisions formulated by the Russian People's Commissars at Brest-Litovsk.'

(The peace terms being put forward by the Bolshevik delegation led by Leon Trotsky.)

Within a few days the strike had spread to Cologne, Mannheim, Brunswick, Bremen, Hamburg, Kiel, Danzig, Leipzig, Nuremberg, Munich and many other towns. In Berlin the strike was ended only when the Military Command put the armament factories under martial law.

In Austria the Ministry of the Interior reported that 'agitators, mainly of youthful age' had been spreading revolutionary propaganda 'identical with the views held by the Bolshevik Party'.

With the military collapse of the German and Austrian forces, the Social Democrats rushed to



Top: Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg (centre) with members of the anti-war Independent Social Democratic Party. Above: Revolutionary soldiers and workers in the streets of Budapest in October 1918

*'REVOLUTION IN CENTRAL EUROPE, 1918-1919' By F. L. Carsten. Published by Temple Smith, London. Provisional price £4.50. pp. 345.



Otto Bauer: Trotsky described him as a 'political eunuch'

preserve the old order. In the German districts of Austria, for example, they joined a coalition with the Christian Social Party and the German Nationalists. Viennese factories sent deputations demanding that the Social Democrats proclaim a republic and demanding the release of Friedrich Adler, son of Social Democrat leader Victor Adler.

Crowds of workers and soldiers tore down the Imperial Eagle from official buildings and forced officers to pull off the imperial emblems from their uniforms.

The Austrian emperor was replaced by a National Assembly headed by Social Democrat Karl Renner. But the Social Democrats accepted a minor position in the Assembly, handing over real power to the two bourgeois parties, the Christian Socials and the German Nationalists. Then they issued a statement urging the people not to 'threaten' the authorities of the former Austrian state.

In Linz, the capital of upper Austria, the workers demonstrated on October 31, 1918, calling openly for a 'Russian' revolution. Next day, thousands of workers and soldiers marched and a soldiers' council was formed.

On November 3, the Social Democrats entered a coalition provisional government accepting two places for themselves against three for the German liberals and seven for the Christian Socials. They then agreed to set up a National Assembly allocating seats on the basis of the election results of 1911 and issued a statement calling on workers to cooperate with the bourgeois parties 'to save the people'.

In Salzburg, they joined another coalition allocating in advance 50 per cent of the seats in the Provisional Assembly to the German National Party.

A similar carve-up occurred in the Tyrol where the Social Demo-

crats agreed that seats on the National Council should be allocated on the basis of the 1914 election results—giving three seats to the Social Democrats and ten to the Christian Socials, the Conservatives and the German Nationalists.

In Styria, after a soldiers' council had been formed and a 'Welfare Committee' had taken control of food distribution and other economic questions, and had forced the imperial governor to resign, the Social Democrats agreed to a Provisional Government with 20 members each from the three main parties—putting themselves in a minority against the two bourgeois parties.

In Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, the Social Democrats again agreed to accept only one-third of the seats in the Provisional Assembly.

Despite concession after concession to the bourgeoisie by the Social Democrats, pressure from the masses forced the Provisional National Assembly in Vienna to proclaim the republic and announce elections to a National Assembly to be held in February 1919, on the basis of a general, equal and proportional franchise.

Workers welcomed the republic, but wanted much more. For example, their representatives in Ternitz, in lower Austria, issued 'fraternal greetings to comrades of all countries, especially to the Russian workers' republic which for 12 months has set a shining example to the whole international proletariat'.

The peasants also greeted the republic with joy because they looked forward to dividing up the large estates—expectations which, needless to say, were not fulfilled.

The Social Democratic leaders, however, were determined that a revolution should not take place. While the right wing urged open collaboration with the bourgeoisie, the left wing stressed the 'desirability' of revolution

but explained how it was 'impractical'. At the Social Democratic Conference at the end of October, 1918, the 'left' Otto Bauer demonstrated how the peasants, who wanted to seize the land, were really counter-revolutionary:

'It is not the case that the German workers alone could build the German-Austrian Republic. Many people are captivated with the idea that the methods of our Russian comrades, the Bolsheviks, could without much ado be transferred to Austria, that workers', peasants' and soldiers' councils could be formed and take over the government . . . The great difference between our situation and that in Russia is above all that the Russian peasant is quite different from our peasant here.

'For Russia one could maintain that, if workers', soldiers' and peasants' councils take over power, they are the representatives of the overwhelming majority of the people. But for us in Austria the representation by workers' councils and a section of the soldiers, the section which is of working-class origin, would not be the representation of the whole German nation, but only that of a minority of the German nation. That such an order could maintain itself can be believed only by those who have never thought about it seriously. Eight days after the attempt, such a government would be bound to collapse through famine, because from the day such an attempt was made we would not receive any food from the peasants.' (pp 31-32.)

With the same argument Otto Bauer was later to refuse to assist the Hungarian Soviet Republic by the proclamation of a Soviet Republic in Vienna.

Little wonder that Trotsky described Bauer as 'a political eunuch!'

CONTINUED

THREAT TO JAIL RADIO CHIEF

The American ruling class is lashing out in all directions at the freedom of the press. Severely shaken by the Pentagon Papers affair, they have now moved in on a New York radio station.

The Manhattan district-attorney's office is threatening Edwin A. Goodman, general manager of radio station WBAI, with continuous 30-day jail sentences.

The threat has come because Goodman has refused to surrender the tapes of broadcasts made during the prisoner take-over of the Tombs Prison in October 1970.

The manager has already served two days of a 30-day contempt-of-court sentence before being released on a writ of habeas corpus.

Sticking to his rights, Goodman insists that the fundamental issue at stake is the legally acknowledged confidentiality of a reporter's work.

The '... privileged relationship between news source and newsmen is guaranteed under the First Amendment and also New York State Civil Rights Law 79-H,' he told reporters.

Goodman stated that district-attorney Frank Hogan wants the tapes because 'he has concluded that portions of the material will be helpful in the prosecution of the seven inmate defendants and the one guard defendant in the case which is coming to trial.'

He added: 'It was not the function of journalism to aid investigative bodies in identifying participants in some crime which may be related to news.'

Goodman called on all sections of the media to defend the constitutional guarantees of the freedom of the press from government interference.

The federal judge who issued the writ of habeas corpus admitted that the contempt charge may have been related to the 'unorthodox' programmes of the radio station.

As the general manager himself said: 'WBAI has a history of relationships that are characterized by friction with various institutional forces and official bodies.'

The Nixon administration's plans include the smashing of every single right established by American workers.

But, as Goodman has shown, there are men in the mass media prepared to take a principled stand with workers in defence of these rights.



A BOOM TOWN STARTS TO FOLD UP

The fundamental crisis of American capitalism is tearing the heart of town after town as unemployment soars and thousands are thrown on the dole.

One such place is Bristol in the state of Connecticut, a boom

town of the 1960s boosted by firms like General Motors moving in.

But today unemployment has hit 26 per cent, hurling Bristol's 56,000 people back to the conditions of the Great Depression.

One of the town's oldest plants is the Bristol Brass Company. In the 19th century it employed thousands of workers producing the brass used in the castings for the clocks on which production was once based. A few months ago, 200 of its remaining 400 workers were laid off.

Two years ago Associated Spring built a \$13.5m plant while the boom seemed to be maintaining its impetus. The firm has now eliminated 1,200 workers from its new rationalized plant.

It was thought at the time that New Departure Hyatt would be a guarantee of expanding employment prospects. Costing \$15m for the basic plant and a further \$6m for the railroad and other essential facilities, New Departure took 27 acres of farm land and turned it into one of the most highly-automated bearings plants.

In 1965 General Motors merged the firm with Hyatt Roller Bearings Division and began the consolidation of three

separate plants. Millions of dollars of federal money flowed into Bristol as a result of GM's moves.

As the boom collapsed the drive for productivity intensified. And another 1,200 workers joined Bristol's ever-lengthening dole queues. The town's new shopping centre is now deserted for most of the time. The only expanding point is the unemployment centre where a second wing is being added to accommodate the overflow.

In a recent anniversary issue of the town's newspaper, GM's president, Edwin N. Cole wrote: 'Society today expected more from business and industry than just doing a good job in manufacturing its products. GM's continuing objective is to ensure that its plans contribute to the solution of problems and not be part of them. GM likes Bristol and we are looking forward to many more years of doing business in such a fine community.'

It is reported that these words have been treated with little more than the contempt they deserve by the thousands queuing for their dole.

Top: Edwin Goodman, WBAI General Manager. Above: Jobless queue to collect their unemployment cheques.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

HANGMAN

In the winter of 1970 an unusual demonstration took place in Blackburn, Lancs. 10,000 mainly middle-class bible thumpers marched through town demanding an end to just about everything 'permissive' in society, from sex to strikes.

At the head of the ranks of 'clean-up Britain' marchers, which, it was alleged at the time, included hundreds of off-duty police, was Bishop Claxton of Blackburn and the then Chief Constable of Lancashire, William Palfrey.

Palfrey next appeared in the news when he demanded the death penalty for Frederick Sewell, imprisoned for life for the killing of police Supt Gerald Richardson in Blackpool.

The now former Chief Constable claims there is no contradiction between his Christian beliefs and his demand to restore the barbaric practice of hanging.

Shortly after the Blackpool shooting, he said: 'As a Christian, I believe the taking of life is wrong.'

'But I do not consider at the present time that our society is ready for the abolition of the death penalty.'

This week Palfrey said: 'As a copper I think the death penalty should have been retained, particularly for those who kill policemen.'

Law-and-order Palfrey has now found a new patron.

The Conservative Party has invited him to stand on a bring-back-hanging-for-the-police-killers platform in the Ardwick division of Manchester.

The ex-Chief Constable has not yet replied. But the chairman of the Conservative Party divisional executive Bill Swan said he had made the invitation because he thought Palfrey would be 'an ideal man'.

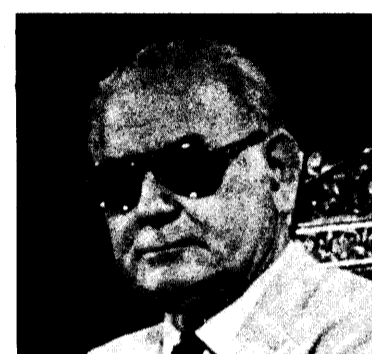
LORD

Lord Cooper, leader of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, has become something of a business tycoon.

Apart from his arduous duties at Ruxley Towers, the union's stately premises at Esher, Cooper holds down several directorships.

He is a director of Yorkshire Television, a member of the Meat and Livestock Commission, and the Thames Conservancy Board and has held several other public appointments including membership of the National Ports Council from 1967-1971.

Now he has just taken on another directorship. This time it's with the National Bus Company. It is a three-year appointment starting April 1. His salary will be £1,000 a year. With all this hectic activity going on it's a wonder Cooper finds time to manage the affairs of his 850,000 members.



Lord Cooper

LUCRATIVE

The General Medical Council's disciplinary committee last week heard the case of two Harley St doctors charged with prescribing large quantities of tablets as slimming courses.

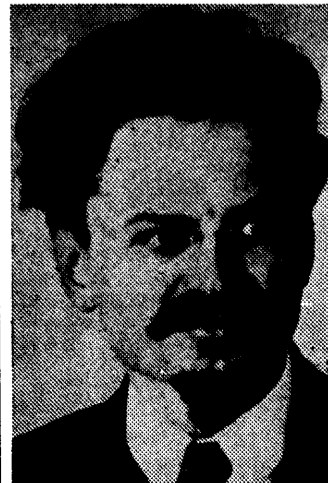
Dr Benjamin Newton and Dr Gerald Godfrey were charged with serious professional misconduct. They were accused of supplying 12 patients with potentially addictive drugs without adequate inquiries into their medical histories and proper regard for their health.

Providing tablets for girls wanting to slim is a hugely lucrative business. The surprise witness for the two doctors was Det Insp Donald Barker of the Fraud Squad.

Barker told the GMC committee he was 'impressed by the professional attitude' of the two doctors. He said he went to the clinic because he was overweight. He paid £7 for a three-week course and later enrolled for another three weeks.

The doctors were acquitted through lack of substantial evidence against them.

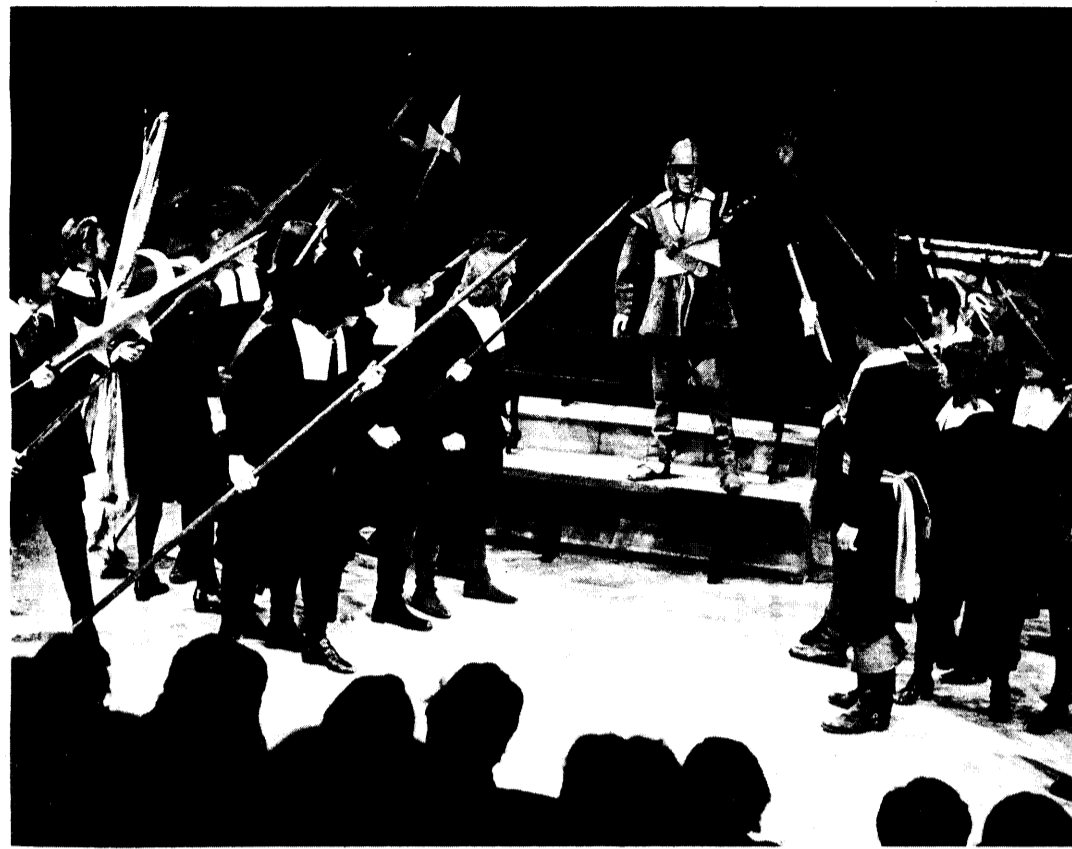
BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:
Germany 1931/1932
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87½
Where is Britain Going?
Paperback 37½p
Revolution Betrayed
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.50
Problems of the Chinese Revolution
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87½
Permanent Revolution:
Results and Prospects
Paperback 75p
In Defence of Marxism
Paperback 75p
Lessons of October
Paperback 60p

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

Play expresses 'historic forces'



A CAPACITY audience of 400 saw 'The English Revolution' at the Young Vic, London, on Sunday night. After the play, the national secretary of the Socialist Labour League, Gerry Healy, lectured on the subject of Oliver Cromwell and the necessity for revolutionaries today to examine the history of the bourgeois revolution in England. He said the production of the play was not aimed at titivating the middle class. The actors and actresses who participated in the play were expressing through their art great historic forces. This is why the play was so successful.

Builders condemn pay offer

BUILDING workers in London have condemned the employers' wage offer as 'useless in this day and age'.

The offer was made at private negotiations with the employers' representatives a week ago. Under the offer the standard grade A craft rate is increased from £20 to £22 a week and the standard grade A labourers' rate is up from £17 to £18.60 a week.

The offer also makes provision for the introduction of a guaranteed weekly minimum at a margin of £2 above the standard grade A rate for craftsmen giving a total of £24 a week. For labourers the minimum would go up to £20.10.

In a circular to members in the Transport and General Workers' Union, H. O. Johnson, London secretary of the building group, says:

'The unions adjourned the meeting in order to study the offer and get the feeling of branches in respect of this new step.'

Opinions on most sites is running high against a settlement based on these meagre increases.

Workers at one site told Workers Press that the union headquarters should be bombarded with resolutions demanding much higher rates in line with the soaring cost of living.

Nixon wants nuclear deal

PRESIDENT Nixon is optimistic about reaching agreement with the Soviet leadership about nuclear arms limitation and other questions during his visit to Moscow in May.

'The prospects for success at this summit are very good,' he said, in response to Leonid Brezhnev's conciliatory remarks made in a recent important foreign policy speech.

Speaking at a press conference, Nixon stated that the success of the Moscow summit depended on preparatory progress at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks in Helsinki.

The two countries still appear to be very wide apart on fundamental issues in these negotiations, he said.

The Soviet bureaucracy is extremely anxious to reach an understanding with Nixon in view of the Sino-American rapprochement and the difficulties encountered by W German Chancellor Willy Brandt in getting the accords with the Soviet Union and Poland rati-

deal

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

fied in the Bonn parliament. This may make it willing to make bigger concessions to the US.

In his press conference, Nixon strongly defended his Vietnamization of the Indo-Chinese war and warned that a big N Vietnamese offensive might come in the dry season.

No hope

His remarks suggested that he had abandoned any idea of settling the Vietnam conflict by open negotiation.

From the way the talks in Paris were going, he said, there was 'no hope whatever' that they would succeed.

The US has already suspended participation in the talks, which have dragged on for almost four years.

US negotiators are out to break a three-and-a-half year filibuster by the N Vietnamese, Nixon said. 'They refuse to negotiate seriously and they use the talks for the

purpose of propaganda while we have been trying to seek peace.'

There was a hint of more secret negotiations of the sort which his foreign policy adviser, Henry Kissinger, has carried on with the N Vietnamese and the Chinese. Nixon will obviously be taking up the question of a deal over Vietnam when he meets Brezhnev and company in Moscow.

Execution?

THE SO-CALLED left-wing leaders of an abortive coup in the central American republic of San Salvador, in which 150 people were reported killed, may face death by firing squad.

Army colonel Benjamin Mejia and Christian Democrat Napoleon Duarte—runner-up in this month's presidential elections — are to be tried by a high court on charges of high treason and sedition.

Poverty blamed on poor

THE United States should aim at a stable population and crack down on illegal immigration, reports a Presidential Panel on national policies affecting population.

It proposes to halve the population growth rate by lifting restrictions on contraceptive sales, abortion on demand and universal sex education.

The report, last in a series of three, recommended setting up an Office of Population Growth and Distribution to co-ordinate policy in the field.

The panel noted that little progress had been made to improve life in the poor city areas and ghettos, or to help the poor move in the suburbs. As America became increasingly an urban society there should be

national guidelines on population distribution and control over the use of land.

Immigration should be restricted, the panel urged, until adequate social and economic opportunities could be provided for the existing inhabitants. It pointed out that as the natural rate of population growth went down, a bigger contribution to the increases in population size was being made by immigration.

This reactionary report follows the line of many liberal ecologists —poverty and/or pollution is the fault of immigrants and people who have too many children. Capitalism, of course, is not to blame.

Japanese clamp on left

THE JAPANESE government is seeking harsher laws to clamp down on left-wing organizations following the siege of a Maoist urban guerrilla group near Tokyo.

A new law before parliament provides for a three-year maximum jail sentence for demonstrators hurling petrol bombs or caught in possession of the materials for making them.

A maximum ten-year jail term is envisaged for left-wingers found guilty of causing danger to life or property. Tighter laws against kidnapping and revision of a Supreme Court ruling which makes petrol bombs a 'non-lethal' weapon are also proposed.

Police are demanding more anti-riot equipment and tighter controls on explosives and firearms. They claim that some 13,000 petrol bombs have been thrown at them in the past three years. At least six persons have died, four of them policemen, according to the National Police Agency and almost 700 have been injured.

The police claim to have uncovered details of a planned armed uprising in Tokyo next month, when senior government

officials were to be assassinated and a 'provisional revolutionary government' established. The uprising was to have been organized by the 'United Red Army', according to the police.

These preparations on the part of the security forces go alongside the frantic drive to build up Japan's armed forces. Hit by the international economic crisis, the big business backers of premier Eisaku Sato's conservative government are openly advocating Japan's remilitarization.

Their campaign has been aided by the Maoist adventure recently organized by the 'United Red Army', whose members holed up in a mountain chalet with a housewife as hostage and fought it out with the police. The police later unearthed 14 bodies of the group's members who had been 'executed' for various deviations.

The strengthening of Japan's armed and extremely brutal anti-riot police is an integral part of the monopolists' plans for another war in Asia.

Slater goes East

MILLIONAIRE financier Jim Slater is stepping up his interests in the Far East in a three-way deal announced at the weekend.

His Slater Walker securities has put nearly £8m into the Hong Kong-based Hutchison International Company, buying 2.8 million new shares at close to current market prices.

This will give Slater Walker approximately 10 per cent of the anticipated issued share capital of Hutchison.

In a parallel deal Hutchison has bought 500,000 existing shares in Slater Walker, worth nearly £2m, and 2 million existing shares in Haw Par Brothers, the Singapore-based associate of Slater Walker, for around £1.6m.

A statement said Slater and Hutchison will co-operate in extending their international interests, with Slater, in particular, helping Hutchison expand in Britain and Australia, and Hutchison helping the Slater interests expand in Hong Kong and the Far East.

Hutchison is an investment group with extensive interests in Hong Kong and Singapore, and investments in SE Asia, Australia, Japan and Britain.

Before becoming a Cabinet minister, Peter Walker was Slater's partner in the international financing conglomerate.

Gasmen go back

STOCKPORT gas repair workers voted yesterday to return to work, pending an inquiry into the suspension of a number of men.

The chairman of the NW Gas Board will himself conduct the investigation which begins today.

Originally the men rejected this formula, but were considerably weakened when gasworkers in the Manchester area decided to return to work after a two-day sympathy strike.

At the peak of the strike 2,000 men were out.

New militarism—Australian warns

POWERFUL forces are leading Japan back to the militaristic policy of the 1930s, according to Australian opposition Foreign Affairs spokesman William Morrison.

Morrison speaking at the

Australian Labour Party's State Council meeting in Sydney at the weekend said:

'There is a growing move for remilitarization in Japan.' Morrison, who visited Japan recently, said:

'There are too many vested

interested groups in Japan who want to see Japan back on the road of the 1930s.'

But he said: 'There is a groundswell of feeling from the Japanese people, who vow they will not let this happen.'

TRUSTEE AGENCY SHOP

THE NATIONAL Union of Bank Employees has now reached an agreement with the Trustees Savings Banks' Employers Council for the introduction of an agency shop in all Trustee Sav-

ings banks in England, Scotland and Wales.

staff and be operative from July 1, 1972.

The agreement under the terms of the Industrial Relations Act will cover clerical and managerial

Total number of employees covered by the agreement is estimated at about 11,250.

AUEW sponsors YES delegate

NUNEATON central branch of the AUEW has voted to finance a young unemployed worker as its delegate to the Young Socialists' Scarborough Conference in two weeks' time.

The branch condemned the Tory ban on demonstrations over Ireland in Trafalgar Square as 'an attack on democratic rights which could easily be extended to banning workers' demonstrations against the government on issues like the Industrial Relations Act and unemployment'.

It called on district committee to ask the executive of the union to condemn the ban.

Pilots plan work-to rule

THE NEXT move in the dispute between British European Airways and its pilots now appears to rest with the Department of Employment.

The British Airline Pilots' Association has authorized its 1,400 BEA members to start a work-to-rule next Saturday because of 'lack of progress' in negotiations towards a new page and conditions agreement.

The dispute was raised as an urgent matter at a full meeting of the National Joint Council for Civil Air Transport in London yesterday.

A spokesman for the trade union side said afterwards: 'We noted the fact that the pilots had informed the Department of Employment in January about the dispute.'

'We therefore recommended that the Department had the responsibility of bringing the two sides together to try to resolve the dispute.'

The last work-to-rule by BEA pilots in June 1970, lasted a fortnight.

WESTMINSTER MPs Bernadette Devlin and Frank McManus failed to appear in court at Enniskillen, Co Armagh, N Ireland, yesterday to answer charges of taking part in an illegal march.

Outside the court, police separated Civil Rights supporters from those of Vanguard, the right-wing Protestant movement headed by William Craig, a former Stormont Home affairs Minister.

White-collar victory in Croydon

BY OUR INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

TECHNICIANS at the GEC (Medical) division of A. E. Dean, Croydon, Surrey, returned to work yesterday after a five-and-a-half week strike in support of a pay rise.

The men have won an increase of £3.30 for all grades—technicians, assistant foremen and foremen—payable from yesterday.

Technicians have won a minimum starting rate of £27 with a further £1 after three months' service.

GEC's previous offer was for a £2 a week increase.

Writing to Croydon Trades Council thanking them for their solidarity during the strike, the men's Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs' representative commented:

'In the light of the £2 offer made at Stanhope Gate [GEC headquarters] and the settlement made with DATA (Croydon) of £3.50 and the 10 per cent increase obtained by ASTMS at Wembley [another GEC subsidiary] all obtained during our five and a half weeks' strike, we feel that our dispute has been won.'

'The solidarity of our members during the five-and-a-half week strike is to be commended. Our members were under great pressure due to the shop-floor workers—totalling nearly 200—being laid-off after two days of our strike. . . .

'We would like to thank the Workers Press for their excellent coverage of our strike and the interest shown. . . .

The cases against Devlin and McManus were stood over until Wednesday.

At another court in Newcastle, Co Down, McManus was sentenced to six months imprisonment—suspended for two years—for taking part in an illegal march at Castlewellan on January 23.

McManus, Unity MP for Fermanagh and S Tyrone, who pleaded guilty, was fined £15.

GREATER LONDON BUS FARES UP 1p

SOME London country bus fares will be increased by 1p from Sunday, April 9, it was announced yesterday.

London country bus services blame 'substantially increased costs, including recent wage awards' for the new charges, approved by the Traffic Commissioners last week.

Adult fares of 5p, 7p, 9p and 10p will go up by 1p, and corresponding children's fares will be similarly increased.

In the Greater London area some 3p fares on sections not also served by London Transport will be increased to 4p.

The overall percentage increase was less than the Confederation of British Industry's 5 per cent recommended maximum, a spokesman said.

Divorce a 'mass experience'

Between one-sixth and one quarter of contemporary marriages may experience failure through termination, separation or internal collapse, a Hull sociologist says in a report out today.

Robert Chester, lecturer in sociology at Hull University, said that between 1959 and 1969 the annual number of petitions for divorce and annulment in England and Wales increased by 133 per cent. The rise in figures was from 26,000 to 61,000.

During the 1960s the divorce rate doubled. At the 1969 rate almost 4 million adults will have the experience of divorce during the remaining three decades of the century.

'Clearly divorce is now a mass experience and it is possible that these estimates understate the future magnitude,' Chester says in his Marriage Guidance Council pamphlet.

Looking into the next decade, Chester says:

'High manifest levels of marital instability should be expected to become an integral feature of individual and social experience.'

NEWS DESK
01-720 2000
CIRCULATION
01-622 7029



BBC 1

9.45 The Herbs. 10.00 White Horses. 10.25 Deputy Dawg. 10.30 Swim. 10.55 Magic Roundabout. 12.55 Fo a Fe. 1.30 Along the River. 1.45 News, weather. 3.20 Good Sailing. 3.50 The Countryman. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Vision On. 5.20 It's the Wolf. 5.44 Crystal Tipps. 5.50 News, weather.
6.00 NATIONWIDE.
6.45 TOMORROW'S WORLD.
7.05 SPY TRAP. Package Deal, episode 2.
7.30 HOLLYWOOD PREMIERE: 'ONLY ONE DAY BEFORE TOMORROW'. Pete Duel, Clinton Greyn, Claudine Longet, Sal Mineo. Adventurers paid to repossess a jet aircraft stolen by dictator.
9.00 NEWS, Weather.
9.20 THE BRITISH EMPIRE. 12: The Long Farewell, India.
10.15 PROFESSIONAL BOXING. Ker Buchanan v Al Ford.
10.55 24 HOURS.
11.30 VIEWPOINT.

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 5.35 Open University.
7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.
8.00 TREASURES OF TUTANKHAMUN.
8.50 COLLECTOR'S WORLD.
9.20 TO ENCOURAGE THE OTHERS. Dramatized reconstruction of 1952 Craig and Bentley murder case.
11.00 NEWS, Weather.
11.05 THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST. Richard Williams with Randy Newman, The John Dummer Band.

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Wales: 5.20 Teleweli. 6.00 Wales Today. 6.45 Heddiw. 12.02 Weather.
Scotland: 6.00 Reporting Scotland.

12.02 News, weather.
N Ireland: 6.00 Look North, Midlands Today, Look East, Points West, South Today, Spotlight South West. Weather. 12.02 News, weather.

ITV

1.30 The Magazine Editors. 2.35 Time to Remember. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Tea Break. 3.45 Matinee. 4.10 Dr Simon Locke. 4.40 Once Upon a Time. 4.55 Sooty. 5.20 Maggie. 5.50 News.
6.00 TODAY.
6.40 CROSSROADS.
7.05 DES. Des O'Connor, Heathmore, Johnny Vyvyan, The Mike Sammes Singers.
7.35 FILM: 'RUN, SIMON, RUN'. Burt Reynolds, Inger Stevens. Indian wrongly imprisoned vows revenge on man he believes guilty.
9.40 LOVE STORY. Night of the Tanks.
10.00 NEWS.
10.30 WHATEVER HAPPENED TO TIN PAN ALLEY.
11.30 DRIVE-IN.
12.00 IT MATTERS TO ME.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 3.05 Seaspeed. 3.35 Coastguard. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Dr Simon Locke. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Carry On Sergeant'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 Gazette. 11.35 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.55 News. 11.58 Epilogue. 12.03 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 2.00 Discoverers. 2.30 Way of helping. 2.50 Out of town. 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Tea break. 4.05 Houseparty. 4.18 Pingwinks. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Film: 'Last of the Buccaneers'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 News. 11.40 Farm progress. 12.10 Weather. Discovery.

HTV: 3.50 British museum. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Odd couple. 7.05 Film: 'Seven Ways From Sundown'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 12.00 Weather.
HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Report West.
HTV Wales as above except: 4.15 Miri Mawr. 6.01 Y Dydd.
HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus: 10.30 Dan Sylw. 11.15 O'r Wass.

ANGLIA: 3.40 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Tea break. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Carter's Army'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Dr Simon Locke. 4.40 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Five Steps to Danger'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 Epilogue.

ULSTER: 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.15 Daws explores. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Bonanza. 8.00 Deadline. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 Short story. 11.45 Epilogue.

YORKSHIRE: 3.00 Pied Piper. 3.05 Matinee. 3.35 News. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 Film: 'Hangman's Knot'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 Great painters. 12.05 Weather.

TYNE TEES: 3.10 Play with a purpose. 3.35 News. 3.45 Taste and style. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 7.00 Film: 'Ambush'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 11.30 Snooker. 12.15 News. 12.30 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 3.30 Foo Foo. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline. 4.55 London. 6.00 Dateline. 6.20 Hogan's heroes. 6.50 Film: 'Call Me Bwana'. 8.30 Des. 9.30 London. 10.30 Report. 11.30 Love. American style. 11.45 Late call. 11.50 British museum.

GRAMPIAN: 3.38 News. 3.40 Nanny. 4.10 Beloved enemy. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Royal Clansmen. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Double Bunk'. 8.30 Des. 9.00 London. 12.00 Epilogue.

Subscribe!
workers press

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

£20.28 for 12 months (312 issues)
£10.14 for 6 months (156 issues)
£5.07 for 3 months (78 issues)

If you want to take Workers Press twice a week the rates are:
£1.56 for 3 months (24 issues)
£6.24 for 12 months (96 issues)

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:

Circulation Dept., Workers Press, 186A Clapham High St., London, SW4 7UG.

I would like to take out a subscription to Workers Press.

Days required MONDAY THURSDAY
(Please tick) TUESDAY FRIDAY
WEDNESDAY SATURDAY

Or Full subscription (six days) for months.

.....
.....
.....

Amount enclosed £

I would like information about

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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

Name
Address

Hussein in secret deals

AS JORDAN'S King Hussein arrived in Washington to talk with President Nixon on his treacherous plan for a Middle-East peace, the French news magazine 'L'Express' released the text of three letters proving secret deals between Jordan and Israel.

The letters were written to the Jordan ambassadors in Washington, Rome and London four months after the June war of 1967.

One from Jordanian premier Bahgat Talhouni to his ambassador in Washington, instructs to ask the US about dissuading Israel 'from its policy tending towards the creation of a Palestinian state with which Palestinian deputies and notable on the left bank (of the Jordan) would be associated.'

CRAIG'S 250,000 STRIKE HITS ULSTER SERVICES

MORE THAN a quarter of a million workers went on strike in Ulster yesterday following the two-day General Strike call by William Craig's Ulster Vanguard Party.

Airlines, ferries, trains and buses came to a halt. There were power cuts throughout the province and two Belfast newspapers stopped publication.

Craig, the extreme Loyalist leader, told a rally outside the City Hall: 'I hope we will cause

as little hurt and damage as is humanly possible. But we have got to fight—and we will fight.'

Declaring that Ulster had been 'betrayed', Craig said that any member of the community who assisted the Heath plans would be 'sent to Coventry for the traitors that they are'.

Meanwhile retiring Stormont premier Brian Faulkner held a secret session with his outgoing Unionist colleagues 'somewhere in Belfast'. Curiously, however,

almost the entire text of his 'secret' speech found its way to the press.

In his heavily-leaked speech Faulkner told his cheering supporters: 'Northern Ireland is not a coconut colony and no coconut commission will be able to muster any vestige of credibility or standing.'

Faulkner said he would not condone violence, but if Heath was counting on their making anything work, he was miscalcu-

lating badly.

Londonderry command of the Provisional IRA announced yesterday afternoon that a statement issued earlier on their behalf saying there would be a four-week truce on civilian targets was 'false'.

'The man who issued the statement is not a member of the IRA and had no authority to issue it. Any statement in regard to policy will come from General headquarters in Dublin.'

UNION COURT JUDGE RAPS T&G

LEADERS of Britain's biggest union were yesterday warned that the official TUC policy of non-co-operation with the Industrial Relations Act will not save them from proceedings for contempt of court.

The warning came from Sir John Donaldson, President of the National Industrial Relations Court, who was giving judgement on two applications for orders against the union.

He told the Transport and General Workers' Union that the NIRC had the status and powers of the High Court and that it is 'not a conciliation board or a court of inquiry, but a court of law'.

Sir John continued until April 12 an order telling the T&GWU to stop its members on the Liverpool docks blacking container lorries from Heaton's Transport Ltd, of St Helens.

And he granted an interim order to Bishop's Wharf Ltd, of Warrington, who claimed that one of their container lorries was turned away from the docks last Tuesday.

In the Heaton's case he ruled that the company must draw up any claim for compensation and

BY DAVID MAUDE

submit it to the T&GWU before this comes up before the court. The union would have until April 10 to answer.

The interim order to Bishop's Wharf lasts until 10.30 a.m. tomorrow, when the matter comes before the court again.

Donaldson gave his judgement under Section 96 (1) of the Industrial Relations Act, which says that it is an unfair industrial practice for anyone but a registered trade union to induce a breach of contract in contemplation of an industrial dispute.

The T&GWU, which had de-registered in line with TUC policy on the Act, was not represented in court. A letter from Jack Jones, the union's general secretary, was read to the court and made clear that the union would not be participating.

The NIRC president commented that he was not sure that the union fully appreciated 'the possible consequences for itself and its members of letting their case go by default'.

He went on to remark: 'If anyone remains silent and allows an order to be made against him, it is no defence in proceeding for contempt of court that if the full facts had been known to the court the order would have not have been.'

This key paragraph of his judgement is a clear challenge to the T&GWU leadership, either to appear and argue that it is not responsible for its Liverpool members' actions or face the consequences.

The union was perfectly within its rights not to seek the assistance of the court in this matter.

But Donaldson told the court that if what the two complaint companies said was correct—and this was the only evidence the court had — union officials had been guilty of unfair industrial practice under the law as it is at present.

'The union can have no valid objection to an order being made to require it to discontinue its action.'

Referring to the TUC's own handbook on the Act, the court president doubted that the T&GWU was acting on TUC advice in not appearing.



Jones: Sent note

When the court opened yesterday morning, Mr J. S. Lawton, a solicitor for Heaton's, said: 'Two of our vehicles have been set back in the queue at the docks this morning.'

He said there had been no outright refusal to accept Heaton's lorries.

Sir John commented that he would not have expected there to be.

'It would be contrary to all the traditions of the trade union movement if there were any deliberate disobedience of a court order—and I don't anticipate any such disobedience in this or any other case.'

Comprehensives not 'factories'

THE 'POPULAR myth' that comprehensive schools were anonymous, giant-sized 'learning factories' housing 2,000-plus children was dismissed yesterday by the wife of a former Labour Minister.

Mrs Caroline Benn — wife of Anthony Wedgwood Benn—told a London press conference on her survey of comprehensives that Department of Education and Science figures showed that, in 1971, there were only six schools of 2,000-plus and the number was not growing.

About 80 schools had a pupil population of 1,500-plus—roughly 5 per cent of all comprehensives.

Keep US business in S Africa NAACP chief

AMERICAN black leader Roy Wilkins, yesterday defended US business involvement in S Africa and said African workers' conditions could worsen if the Americans pulled out.

Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, told a press conference: 'How many black jobs would be lost if General Motors went back to Detroit, if John Deere and Chase Manhattan pulled out?'

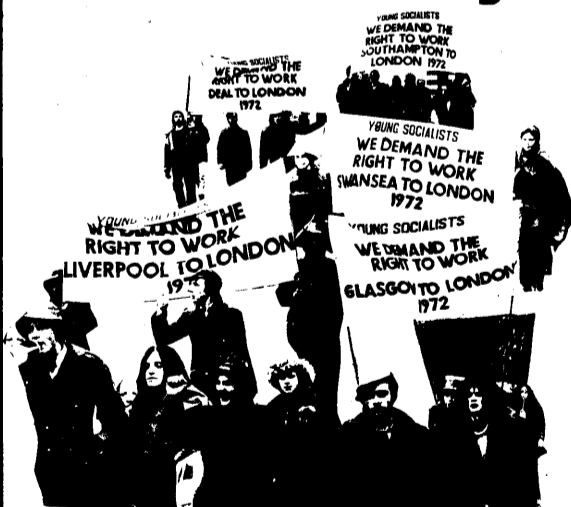
'If these American corporations were not here and S African corporations had those manufacturing units, would they not have the same or a worse pattern?'

Wilkins was speaking at the start of a week-long visit to S Africa, main purpose of which is to address a conference of the Association for Educational and Cultural Advancement of Africans of S Africa (ASSECA) in Port Elizabeth next Sunday.

Wilkins called for greater job advancement and rate-for-the-job conditions for African workers in American-owned industry.

'Changes should be made legally,' he said. 'I am not advocating the violating of laws...'

We demand the right to work! Make the Tories resign!



YOUNG SOCIALISTS 12th ANNUAL CONFERENCE SCARBOROUGH
Saturday & Sunday April 8/9 Grand Hall, The Spa

Dance to 'BRAVE NEW WORLD' Saturday night 8 pm also see a star-studded show

Cost approximately £4.50. For tickets apply to John Simmance, National Secretary, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG

Please send me details/tickets of the Scarborough Conference.

I enclose

NAME

ADDRESS

LATE NEWS WEATHER

THERE will be occasional showers and sunny intervals, the showers being most frequent in the W and N and turning to snow over northern hills.

Gale force winds will moderate a little during the day.

Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Cold with occasional showers or longer periods of rain and some snow in the N. Sunny spells.