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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

AS THE FIVE DOCKERS LANGUISH IN JAIL

Pictures—Centre pages



Only one answer — GENERAL STRIKE!

STATEMENT BY
THE POLITICAL
COMMITTEE OF
THE SOCIALIST
LABOUR LEAGUE

FIVE TRADE unionists are behind bars in Pentonville jail. There is only one answer to this act of war by the ruling class—a General Strike to bring this hated Tory government down.

The TUC inner cabinet, which meets today, has the responsibility of mobilizing the whole 10 million members of the trade union movement in all-out action against the government.

If they do not call a General Strike to force out this government of speculators, tax evaders and exploiters, they will be exposed as nothing more than jailer's assistants.

Those locked up in Pentonville—Bernie Steer, Vic Turner, Tony Merrick, Derek Watkins and Cornelius Clancy—face an indefinite sentence in prison, unlimited fines and the confiscation of all their 'wordly goods'.

What is their 'crime'? They have fought for the most basic right that any working man or woman possesses—the right to work. To do this they have used the only means that the working class has in its battle against the ruling class—picketing and blacking.

But the Tory government has decided that these historically-enshrined weapons of struggle are outlawed. To use them today means imprisonment without trial. 'At a stroke' the Tories are attempting to expunge from the record 200 years of working-class history.

But the trade unions were built in Britain, the first capitalist country, under conditions of total illegality. The ancestors of the 'Pentonville Five' are the cotton makers of the north-west who constructed the first mass unions at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution.

When the Combination Laws of 1799 made any organization



of workers illegal, the ruling class then—like the Tories today—used industrial spies, provocateurs and their prisons to stop workers fighting to better their living standards.

But the first generations of trade unionists refused to be slaves. They built their organizations in spite of bloody repression and legal terror.

Today the dockers, lorry drivers and printworkers are taking the same road of defiance as the Tolpuddle Martyrs who were jailed and deported in 1834 in their fight for the basic democratic rights of free trade unions.

We ask today's TUC special meeting: Will you turn your back on this history of struggle and defiance and let Heath achieve what the cottonmasters and Royal Hussars of the 19th century couldn't do—smash the trade union movement?

The hour is so historic, the task so momentous that any cowardly traitor who seeks to compromise with this Tory government must be driven out of the workers' movement.

They have no mandate whatsoever to remain in office. Since

the General Election just over two years ago, they have broken every election pledge they made.

● They have deliberately created massive unemployment. Youngsters leaving school are condemned to a life on the dole queue.

● They promised to cut prices 'at a stroke' but the cost of living has risen on a meteoric scale.

● They promised better housing but instead have encouraged a property bonanza and introduced legislation to double council rents.

● They have railroaded Britain into the Common Market, a monopolists' conspiracy aimed at strengthening international capital in its fight against the European working class.

● In Ulster they have deployed more than 18,000 troops, built concentration camps and used hideous torture techniques against innocent civilians.

Accompanying these vicious attacks on the working class has been a torrent of Tory press

propaganda about 'law and order'. The Minister behind this hypocritical rubbish is Reginald Maudling, who was forced to resign last week as deputy prime minister and Home Secretary in the wake of a Fraud Squad investigation into a company he was connected with.

The Socialist Labour League, the All Trades Unions Alliance and the Young Socialists have been the unchallengeable leaders in the campaign to get the Tories out. (See 'Our record on Toryism' p. 2.)

We have consistently warned that the Tories would be driven by the economic crisis of their own parasitic system to attack the working class and its trade unions.

This blow has been delivered. It is now up to the entire working class to follow the lead already given by the dockers and withdraw their labour to make this government resign.

If miners, railway workers, powermen, engineers, TV technicians, printworkers joined in solidarity with the dockers this crisis-ridden government wouldn't last a week. The General Strike must not be lifted until the

Fleet Street printworkers stopped Sunday's papers when they walked out and marched to Pentonville jail

General Election and the return of a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

The immediate task is the building of Councils of Action all over the country comprising all groups and tendencies in the labour and trade union movement.

These Councils of Action will form the fighting base of the working class in preparing and maintaining the General Strike. The TUC must:

● Break off all talks with Heath.

● Call a General Strike.

● Build Councils of Action!

● Force the Tories out!

● Return a Labour government pledged to policies of nationalization of the docks, transport, property, banks and basic industry and the immediate repeal of the Industrial Relations Act!

July 23, 1972

LOBBY TUC TODAY—CONGRESS HOUSE 1p.m.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE LOBBY OF
TUC: GREAT RUSSELL STREET WC1

Our record on Toryism

THE SOCIALIST Labour League is the ONLY tendency in the workers' movement which has fought consistently for the mobilization of the working class to force the Tories out.

Our record speaks for itself.

On Tuesday, June 23, 1970—FIVE days after Heath came to office, the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League published this statement in Workers Press:

'The working class is now saddled with the most reactionary post-war government. The Tories cannot overcome their economic crisis except by consistently attacking the standard of living of the working class. They will aggravate it by increasing the number of unemployed, possibly

devaluing the pound, and by putting the clock of trade union history back 70 years as they proclaimed at Selsdon in January. As the trading position of Britain worsens and the International competition increases, the Tories will either float the pound or devalue it while viciously attacking wages and adding to the unemployed.

'We state unequivocally that far from rejecting the help of the TUC, the Tories will gladly use their "help" to break strikes, penalize militants and force productivity deals down the throats of reluctant workers. Baldwin did it—so will Heath. Trade unionists and shop stewards—you have been warned!

'● Out with the Tory government of bankers and monopolists.

'● Build the Socialist Labour League and the Workers Press.'

Then, in July, 1970, Central Committee member Cliff Slaughter wrote a series of two articles entitled 'The Tories can be defeated'. He called on trade unionists to 'prepare politically to defeat the Tories'. He went on:

'It is a question of mobilizing the strength of the working class to such effect that the Tories are forced to resign, and not a question of insisting that the government collaborate with the unions, as the union leaders say. The economic crisis will quickly worsen and the strike struggles of the working class will continue to build up their confidence. But in these struggles, wages are inevitably being joined, more and more, by questions of jobs, security, the future of whole industries, nationalization (docks, civil aviation, shipbuilding, road transport and even the press).

'These problems unavoidably raise the question of ownership and of the class power which alone can settle such questions. Immediately the question is to insist throughout the labour movement that the union leaders break off all connection with the Tory government. The plans of this government acting on behalf of the unions' enemies, are known to everybody.

'● No collaboration.
'● Fight the government.
'● Force it to resign.'

When five months later the Tories first mooted their anti-union Bill we were again the ONLY tendency to come forward with a concrete policy. We said

there was only one way to defeat the Industrial Relations Bill, and that was to get the Tories out.

One-day stoppages, slogans like 'Kill the Bill', were meaningless slogans which simply channelled off the anger and militancy of the working class into more 'protests'. The record speaks again:

On December 7, 1970, the Central Committee issued this statement on the eve of the one-day token strike:

'Millions of workers sense that a fight of historic proportions lies immediately ahead. When the British working class goes into action to defend the rights it has won in centuries of struggle, it occupies the front line on behalf of workers internationally who—because of capitalism's global crisis—face the attacks of their own ruling classes. The Tory government has set course to destroy the trade unions. Every class-conscious worker knows that there can be no compromise on this fundamental question. The Tories must go!

The demand to force the Tories out was the central demand of our Alexandra Palace rally in February 1971, at the national conference of the All Trades Unions Alliance in Birmingham on November 6, 1971, on the Young Socialists' Right-to-Work marches and at the monster rally held at the Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 12 this year.

But even as the working class lines up for this, its biggest confrontation with the ruling class since the General Strike, the

Communist Party and the revisionist groups deliberately avoid the call for a General Strike to force the government out.

Just listen to the front-page editorial in Saturday's 'Morning Star'. It concludes with this statement: 'The government must be forced to retreat from its onslaught against British democratic liberties.'

This is the most treacherous rubbish. The Stalinists are here pleading with the Tories to let the five dockers free, but then allowing Heath and his gang to stay in office.

The illusion that the Tories can be 'pressured' is the same line that the 'Star' peddled during its notorious 'Kill the Bill' campaign. And we all know where that ended up.

Then there are the revisionists of the International Socialism group. They have produced a four-page 'docks special' news sheet which makes this call:

'Demand that the TUC organize general industrial action to set the dockers free.'

Again we have the studious avoidance of the demand for a General Strike and also their demand leaves the Tories intact and in office.

The Socialist Labour League and the Workers Press have an unequivocal position:

- Call a General Strike!
- Build Councils of Action!
- Force the Tories out!
- Return a Labour government pledged to nationalization policies on the docks, road transport, the banks, basic industry and the immediate repeal of the Industrial Relations Act!

What we think REVISIONISTS AND WORKING CLASS

THE WEEKLY paper of the International Socialist group, 'Socialist Worker', has decided that the unions are not capable of fighting the employers and the Tory government.

In an article published, ironically, the day a political strike against the Tory government swept through Britain's ports, 'Socialist Worker' reporter Glyn Carver wrote:

... the traditional workers' organizations are not yet up to the task of giving the bosses a real fight.' ('Socialist Worker', July 22, p.5.)

This, said Carver, was the 'inescapable' conclusion of the Manchester engineering pay battle which led to 30 sit-ins throughout the city.

This kind of contempt for the working class and its traditional organizations, like the trade unions and even the Labour Party, will cause justified anger among dockers, rail workers and miners. All these workers have proved conclusively that they are capable, and more than willing, to fight on to bring this government down.

It is not the 'traditional' organizations that are lacking in fighting spirit, but the leadership.

They continue the base and cowardly coalitions policies with the Tory government and employers while trade unionists suffer the ultimate sanction of the capitalist state—jail.

But of course it is the task of the thoroughly middle-class campaigners in the International Socialist group to divert workers' attention from this leadership and the political challenge it poses to the rank and file.

That is why Carver also claims on the engineering battle:

'Union leaders put in the claim without understanding what they were up against or what they would need to win.'

Carver may recall the detailed

review of strategy made by the engineers' leader Hugh Scanlon (who does not incidentally rate a single mention in the article).

When Scanlon called his national committee together in January to discuss action on the claim he made it quite clear that a national strike would mean a showdown with the government and that this was not desirable—so much for Scanlon's confusion.

Carver's solution for workers in this period of class conflict is as follows:

'The Manchester engineers could have won unity and strength if the factory had been translated onto a district level through shop stewards' control of the dispute.'

For future reference he suggests a 'shake out' of the 'union machine'.

Here once again we see the deadly role of the IS. They work with the determination of the disturbed liberals to prevent at all costs a political development in the working class.

The issue facing the trade union movement is not machinery or an abstract discussion of tactics, but politics. The trade unions are led by reformists. The reformists desperately seek to avoid a clash with the Tories, even though this cowardice means defeat for their membership.

Within the rank and file this leadership is protected faithfully by the Communist Party. Particularly on these questions in the policies of their Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, the CP has full IS backing.

The task facing workers, therefore, is to develop a political consciousness which will enable them to challenge these traitors and throw them out of the movement and force the Tories to resign. This is what the Socialist Labour League and the All Trades Unions Alliance pledges to do.

STAND UP AND

LABOUR LEADERS refused this weekend to stand up for the jailed dockers by mobilizing the whole Party to bring the Tories down.

No Labour spokesman called for industrial action to back the dockers.

DENIS HEALEY, an ex-Communist Party member, now shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that the law must be upheld.

This contrasts sharply with feeling among the Party rank and file. It is further proof that many in the Party leadership would do nothing, or support the Tories, if they attempted to smash a General Strike.

Reactions also varied from a vicious attack on the 'Pentonville Five' made by shadow Employment Minister REGINALD PRENTICE, to useless moral outrage from the so-called left of the parliamentary party.

Prentice worked on the full-time staff of the T&GWU from 1950 to 1957 and was in charge of the union's advice and service bureau. He now holds the dockland seat of East Ham North.

He gave clearest expression to this mood. In a comment which must earn him immediate expulsion from the Party he said:

'I have no sympathy at all with Bernie Steer and others. They were wrong to organize picketing and blacking against the policy of their union. They were even more wrong to defy the court. Trade unionists should not rally round these men as though they are latter day Tolpuddle Martyrs. They are just not worth it.'

BARBARA CASTLE, architect of the Labour government's own anti-union legislation, scrupulously avoided calling on her Party or workers to act.

The jailing should 'arouse the united anger of the labour movement', she said.

'Of course we want an orderly society—but we cannot build order on the blatant injustices of the Industrial Relations Act.'

Then she launched a latter-day defence of her own proposals under which trade unionists could ultimately have gone to jail:

'Don't let anyone fool you that the Labour government ever proposed anything so nonsensical or iniquitous,' she said.

From the parliamentary 'left' TOM DRIBERG who represents the docker constituency of Barking called for sympathy for his jailed constituent Bernie Steer:

'I am going to visit my constituent to reassure him that the overwhelming majority of the labour movement will be very strongly in sympathy with him and his comrades,' he said.

'I regard their protest as a moral protest against a vicious and intolerable law.'

ERIC HEFFER, who now rivals Michael Foot for the leadership of the parliamentary 'left', said the government were in some 'difficulty'.

'These men who are in Pentonville jail today are there only because the Act is in existence. The government, because of the Act, are in difficulty.'

He went on to repeat the now defunct and discredited slogan of the TUC. The government, he said, 'cannot override the court—the monster they themselves created. Therefore the immediate repeal of the Act is an absolute necessity'.

The Labour MPs have acted true to form—by attacking the dockers, like Prentice, or with cringing moral platitudes.

Trotsky's verdict on the Labour leaders during the 1926 General Strike is most apt; he wrote:

'We must look facts in the face; the chief efforts of the official leaders of the Labour Party and of considerable numbers of the trade union leaders will not be directed towards paralysing the bourgeois state by means of the strike, but towards paralysing the General Strike with the aid of the bourgeois state.' ('Where is Britain Going', New Park Publications.)

SUPPORT for the jailed dockers has flooded in, despite the ominous silence from the TUC leadership.

The first group of workers to strike were the transport drivers and container workers who up to the time of the jailing, were counter-picketing.



EDDIE LOYDEN, president of the Liverpool Trades Council and a member of the T&GWU docks and waterways committee, said:

The government has shown its intentions quite clearly with the jailing of the dockers—it's obvious there can be no further talks with it whatsoever. What the trade union leaders should be doing now is alerting the movement for a fight to destroy the Industrial Relations Act and get rid of the Tories. They should be calling for a national stoppage.

MIKE BLACK, Liverpool Labour Councillor and electrician at the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board:

My opinion is what is going on is the age-old struggle between capital and labour. Capital seeks to increase its profits by investing in new techniques that have the affect of cutting down drastically on labour. I have absolutely no doubt that the call will go out from the working class and labour movement of Liverpool for a General Strike. I, for one, will back this move and take part in it.

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



Some of the many delegations backing the Briant men

Briant work-in wins support

Right-to-work printers back dockers

BY IAN YEATS AND DAVID MAUDE

A MARCH by printworkers on Saturday in support of the five-week occupation at London's Briant Colour Printing quickly turned into a demonstration of support for the dockers.

The band-led, 1,000-strong column set off from Victoria Embankment chanting: 'We demand the right to work' and 'We will win.'

About 250 men and women at Briant's Old Kent Road factory have been working in for over a month in a bid to save the doomed plant from shut-down.

Saturday's demonstration was backed by printers from chapels all over London, as well as delegations from the upper Clyde shipyards and Fine Tubes, Plymouth.

By the time they reached Fleet Street, the marchers' slogans had been transformed from the narrow perspective of saving Briant's into a wholesale defence of every workers' right to work.

Print workers and editorial staff lining the pavements and hanging from office windows heard march leaders say:

'We are fighting for every workers' right to work, including printers and dockers. Stop the presses. Not one paper must be printed while the dockers are in jail.'

The 'Express-Sunday Express' machine chapel carried a special banner linking the jailing of the dockers in 1972 with the deportation of the Tolpuddle Martyrs in 1834.

At a mass meeting at Clerkenwell Green, Briant convenor Bill Freeman pledged full support for the dockers and promised free printing of any publicity material they wanted.

He told the rally: 'While we are fighting for the right to work at Briant we recognize there are much bigger struggles going on. It is the dockers in prison today, but tomorrow it could be us at Briant Colour.'

SOGAT general secretary Vincent Flynn handed over a £1,000 cheque for the work-in's fighting fund and told the cheering audience that his union would pay the wages of their members involved.

But there was heavy applause when NATSOPA London joint branches spokesman Ted O'Brien called on the whole of the print industry to shut down in support of the dockers.

And in a speech read to the meeting London docks leader Bernie Steer accused the National Industrial Relations Court of 'taking away the right to work'. Pledging solidarity with the printers, he called on them to stand firm with the dockers.

There were immediate shouts of 'Pentonville' and instead of dispersing the demonstrators reformed and marched to the jail chanting 'Dockers in—all out'.

WHEN THE march reached Pentonville, dockers' pickets lined the road under the banner of the Royal docks stewards' committee, cheering and applauding.

The marchers themselves responded warmly, waving and shouting encouragement both to the pickets and to the grilled windows of the prison.

Throughout an impromptu meeting in a side-road facing the prison hands could be seen waving and giving clenched-fist salutes through the grilles. (See picture centre pages)

To the five jailed men, Royal docks steward Mickey Finn pledged from the platform: 'We will picket here until our men are released. If they're here three weeks, we'll be here three weeks. If they're here three months, we'll be here three months.'

The dockers' fight was not against other workers, but against cheap labour, he said.

'We call on all workers all over the country to give us their support, and when I say support I mean physical support.'

Bill Freeman, a member of the printworkers' union NATSOPA from 'The Times', insisted that the fight was a political one.

'By tomorrow', he said, 'I hope every single worker will be out until we get rid of this government.'

It was the working people who owned the country and not the 5 per cent of 'ponces, speculators and crooks' who squatted on their backs.

Sammy Gilmour, a shop steward from UCS, reported that the Clydeside stewards had pledged that they would call out their members if any trade unionist was jailed under the Act.

BE COUNTED!



WALTER CUNNINGHAM, dockers' leader, Hull:

This is an historic struggle that cannot be lost. If we lose it, it will open the way for fascism in this country. We must remember that the first thing Hitler and Mussolini did was to destroy the power of the trade unions.

TED JOHNS, an ASTMS member at F. J. Robertson's storage depot and chairman of the Drivers' and Warehousemen's Action Committee, which launched the counter-picketing campaign:

I would hope that every worker sees this jailing as an attack on them, and acts as the lads at my depot did. We were out on strike alongside the dockers within half an hour of the news coming through from the NIRC. The jailing supersedes any internal argument we may have as groups of workers. What was a disagreement between worker and worker has now been changed into an issue against the Establishment. The Establishment's the common enemy. We have to unite.

VINCENT FLYNN, general secretary of the printworkers' union SOGAT:

The TUC wouldn't really fight

the Bill, now we've seen what the Act means in operation. So they'd better do what was agreed and mobilize the trade union movement to get rid of the Act as soon as possible.

ERIC RECHNITZ, chairman of the London Road Transport Commercial Shop Stewards' Committee of the T&GWU:

There can be no dubiety in the mind of any trade unionist on this issue. Everyone should be out on strike until the dockers are released, the Act is destroyed and the Tory government is overthrown—although I suppose the last may be a little too much to hope for at the moment.

DENNY HARRIMAN, T&GWU docker from Southampton (in a personal capacity):

From the work people's point of view the jailing represents a crisis point where they have to decide whether to unite and fight this government and all it stands for, or be overawed by the situation and let the Tories' bluff force them to submit. A General Strike for a start. The writing is on the wall for the trade unions. The first objective is to get rid of the government.

BILL CHAPMAN, T&GWU shop steward at London's Royal group of docks:

What we need is complete, total, 100 per cent national support from every trade unionist in our fight to destroy the Industrial Relations Act. If they beat the dockers, no one else will have a chance. It's a life-and-death issue. They can haul the jailed men into court every day of the week if they like: not one of them will say anything other than that they will continue the fight.

EVAN JONES, Ogilvie miners' lodge secretary, speaking hours before the Rhymney joint lodges were due to meet on the South Wales coalfield:

It is near certain the 38,000 miners in the two divisions will strike. I don't think we have any alternative. This is a law aimed at the working class. The pity of it is that the leadership isn't coming from the proper place.

THE TUC must rally to the support of the dockers, Bernie Steer said in a letter read out to a mass meeting of print workers in London on Saturday.

The letter said: 'The National Industrial Relations Court is taking away our right to work, but we will not be intimidated by anyone or any court.'

It called on the TUC to implement the resolution taken at the special congress at Croydon in March 1971 pledging support for trade unionists jailed under the Tory anti-union law.

Mr Steer wrote: 'The policy of union-bashing will not be tolerated one moment longer.'

CENTRE PAGES

Hundreds of trade unionists mounted a mass picket over the weekend outside Pentonville jail and waved to the five men inside (inset). This followed the arrest on Friday of Tony Merrick (left centre) and Cornelius Clancy (bottom left), seen being taken into 'Black Marias', outside the Midland Cold Storage depot. Derek Watkins was also arrested there. Vic Turner (top left) gave himself up outside the jail on Saturday. Bernie Steer was arrested at his home on Friday. Bottom right: The Pentonville Five. (Left to right) Anthony Merrick, Cornelius Clancy, Derek Watkins, Bernie Steer and Vic Turner



BBC 1

- 9.45 Mary, Mungo and Midge.
- 10.00 Casey Jones. 10.25 Attention and Animals. 10.50 Tin Tin. 10.55 Magic Roundabout.
- 12.55 Trade Unionists. 1.30 Pogles Wood. 1.45 News, weather.
- 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Penelope Pitstop. 5.15 It's Your Word. 5.44 Sir Prancelot.
- 5.50 News, weather.
- 6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.
- 6.20 ANIMALS AT HOME. Peter West visits a riding school.
- 6.40 THE MOVIE QUIZ.
- 7.05 Z CARS. A Neighbour's Goods. Part 1.
- 7.30 THE VIRGIN FELLAS.
- 7.55 THE OLYMPIANS.
- 8.00 PANORAMA.
- 9.00 NEWS, Weather.
- 9.20 DOOMWATCH. Enquiry.
- 10.10 AN HOUR WITH. (New Series.) The Liver Birds.
- 11.10 NEWS.
- 11.15 ATHLETE.
- 11.40 Weather.

ITV

- 11.35 Seven Seas. 12.25 Women.
- 12.50 Freud on Food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Enchanted House. 1.35 Skippy. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty.
- 3.15 Film: 'Silent Dust'. 4.40 Cliff's Kids. 4.55 Clapperboard.
- 5.20 Treasure Island. 5.50 News.
- 6.00 YOU AND THE WORLD. Up West—Part 2.
- 6.20 CROSSROADS.
- 6.40 THE DAVID NIXON SHOW.
- 7.30 CORONATION STREET.
- 8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.
- 8.30 LOLLIPOP. On Safari.
- 9.00 MAN AT THE TOP. All Very Hush-Hush.
- 10.00 NEWS.
- 10.30 NAME OF THE GAME. Man of the People.
- 11.55 ONE POINT OF VIEW.

BBC 2

- 11.00 Play School. 5.35 Open University.
- 7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.
- 8.00 HIGH CHAPARRAL. Follow Your Heart.
- 8.50 MONTREUX 72. Music and comedy starring Marcel Amont.
- 9.20 THE TYNE SLIDES BY. Portrait in music.
- 9.40 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. Soldier Ants.
- 10.10 NEWS, Weather.
- 10.15 HORIZON. Sex Can Be a Problem.
- 10.55 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

REGIONAL TV

- SOUTHERN:** 12.55 News. 1.00 Tennis. 1.25 My three sons. 1.55 Cooking. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Let's face it. 3.30 Bird's eye view. 3.55 Houseparty. 4.10 Twizzle. 4.25 Junkin. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Afloat. 11.00 News. 11.10 Marcus Welby. 12.05 Weather. Guideline.
- HTV:** 2.35 Never back losers. 3.30 Enchanted house. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.35 Superman. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'Double Exposure'. 11.40 Scotland Yard mysteries. 12.10 Weather.
- HTV Wales as above except:** 4.15 Cantamil. 6.01 Y Dydd.
- HTV West as above except:** 6.22 This is the West this week.
- HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus:** 10.30 Sain, Cerdd a Chan. 11.15 Department S. 12.15 Weather.
- ATV MIDLANDS:** 2.25 Silent valley. 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Nanny. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Jokers. 11.00 Aquarius.
- YORKSHIRE:** 1.45 Bewitched. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Film: 'Kelly and Me'. 4.35 Calendar. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.25 Out of town. 6.45 London. 11.55 Yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.
- GRANADA:** 2.20 Yesterdays. 2.45 People like us. 3.15 Danger man. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.25 European journey. 6.40 London. 10.30 Crime and mystery.



WHO IS JACK JONES TALKING WITH?

By David Maude

A member of the Jones-Aldington inquiry into the jobs crisis in the ports has launched a side-swipe against the 1947 Dock Labour Scheme—which gives dockers a partial statutory job-guarantee—on the eve of publication of the inquiry report.

Sir Humphrey Browne is chairman of the British Transport Docks Board, which controls 19 ports, including Southampton, Hull, Immingham, Newport and Port Talbot.

In an interview with the BTDB magazine 'Docks', he attacks 'irresponsible' actions by scheme-registered dockers and calls for his board to be given more control over them. He claims such control might help eliminate many of the problems plaguing the ports.

Our picture shows Jack Jones, Transport and General Workers' Union secretary and joint chairman of the jobs inquiry, at one of its opening sessions.

The man next to him is Lord Aldington, who besides being co-chairman of the inquiry, chairman of the Port of London Authority and a former banker, is an ex-chairman of the Tory Party.

Browne's magazine interview, however, is given in a spirit pretty far removed from the friendly atmosphere these three gentlemen mustered for the camera. It casts considerable doubt on the basis of the agreement they apparently reached during later sessions of the inquiry.

The BTDB chairman says he would like to see his board take over as sole employer of dock labour at all its ports. Cargo-handling is an in-

tegral part of port operation, he explains. Its separation from other aspects is bound to cause problems.

Says Browne: 'Basically I don't like monopolies, but to have a monopoly of cargo-handling is not really different from being in sole charge of the other operations at the port.'

The idea of bringing registered dockers under the same employment umbrella as BTDB staff would clearly represent a major departure from the 1947 Scheme, giving the board hire-and-fire powers throughout.

(The board itself has 10,874 employees, 3,097 of them registered dockers. But if implemented Browne's scheme would presumably apply also to the much larger number of dockers attached to private stevedoring firms operating in BTDB ports.)

Browne makes two significant comments in his 'Docks' interview on the thinking behind his proposal:

1 'The port authority should make the maximum use of its assets instead of allowing stevedoring companies to use those assets free of charge', and

2 'I believe we can give better service, sometimes offering comprehensive terms to port users.'

The bid for more control over the dockers is thus entirely in line with rationalization moves throughout the ports; the intention is to push up efficiency and profits at the expense of the labour force.

Browne says he believes the main body of his staff to be responsible and concerned with the success of the undertaking.

'But', he claims, 'the board suffers from the problems of the industry as a whole, in particular the gap between Docks Board staff and the registered dock workers. Like



Top: Jack Jones with Lord Aldington. Above: Sir Humphrey Browne

so many other problems within the docks, this has its roots in history.'

What does upset him, he goes on, is the situation where there are 'two nations' within one enterprise, where there are disparities in terms of employment and where the 'irresponsible actions of dock labour' can imperil the good prospects for some ports.

'The board', he concluded, 'cannot sustain serious losses to keep some people happy without running into the danger of making many more people unhappy.'

All this is, of course, is a frontal attack on members of Jack Jones's union and an open challenge to the gains won by dockers in struggle since the war.

Its timing cannot be accidental. The employers obviously want the fate of the Dock Labour Scheme thrown into the melting-pot of discussion around the Jones-Aldington report.

Rank-and-file dockers, however, will place no confidence in their leaders' commendation of a report agreed by such people.



Sid Harraway, CP convenor at Ford's Dagenham

NEW FORD PAY ROUND

Ford militants are already somewhat apprehensive about the intentions of their leaders towards the pay claim which is due to start getting off the ground in about six weeks' time.

Word had gone out from the US headquarters of the motors giant at Detroit, Michigan, that the fight against the 1973 pay claim must be hard, fast and if necessary dirty.

Ford of Britain executives have been busy since May trying to pin the blame for their £30m loss last year on the pay strike which shut down every plant in the country for ten weeks.

Chairman Sir Leonard Crossland claims production worth £100m was lost. 'Nobody owes us a living,' says managing director William Baty ominously.

It has become clear in a whole series of recent disputes that the guiding company philosophy is: No return to 1971, lads, or we'll shut up shop.

Shop-floor fears are growing that there may be trimming of sails to this wind by some union officials and convenors.

On July 30, a convenors' meeting at Transport House, London, agreed a shopping-list of demands they want implemented when the present pay deal runs out next March.

- These included:
- A substantial pay increase (understood to mean £10 all round or parity with the highest Midlands pay-rates, whichever is the greater);
 - A five-hour cut in the working week, currently 40 hours;
 - An extra week's holiday;
 - Complete abolition of all the penalty clauses attached to holidays and lay-off pay by the 1968 wage agreement;
 - Holidays to be paid at shift rates, rather than at present on the flat rate; and
 - No changes in pay or working practices without prior mutual agreement between management and unions.

A meeting of shop stewards from all over the Ford combine has been fixed to take place in Coventry on September 10.

It is here—and at a subsequent meeting of works-

committee members a week later on September 18—that the claim will finally be hammered into shape before submission to the company.

There are indications that the policy of Communist Party stewards at these meetings will be to propose that only the first three points of the shopping-list should constitute the claim.

One man believed to be in favour of this approach is Sid Harraway, the CP convenor from Dagenham, Essex, who was removed as the convenor's national chairman last year after a row over statements he made accepting the secret-ballot settlement of the strike.

Harraway climbed back into a position of national responsibility on June 30 as secretary of the convenors' committee. (Les Moore, senior convenor at Halewood, Liverpool, took the chairmanship.)

With the assistance of Jock Macrae, a fellow-convenor at Dagenham, Harraway conveyed the impression to a recent meeting of body-plant stewards there that they thought the three-point claim would be approved.

If it is, the demand for abolition of the penalty clauses would be put aside for the third year in succession.

Ford's hard line on wages this year is likely to be reinforced by a hard line against demands for a new negotiating procedure.

A sub-committee of the lay members of the Ford National Negotiating Committee, which comprises both Les Moore and Jock Macrae, wants the procedure to replace the 1969 'Productivity Enabling Clause' contained in the company's Blue Book of agreements with the NJNC unions.

The expected company refusal to vary the 1969 agreement will probably lead to the setting of a terminal date for the clause—probably coinciding with the expiry of the 1971 pay deal next March.

It is conceivable that CP stewards will argue at Coventry that this move, combined with the three-point claim, would take care of the important parts of the convenors' shopping list.

But if this were accepted, the 1973 claim would go forward with still no challenge to the penalty clauses.

STUTTGART CAR WORKERS FIGHT UNION LEADERSHIP

An important development in the German working class is revealed in a dispute now raging in one of the country's most militant factories, the huge Daimler-Benz works in Stuttgart.

The dispute is between three 'Vertrauensleute' (shop stewards) who have been voted on to the factory council with nearly a third of the votes and the leadership of IG Metall, the metal workers' union. It opposed their candidature and now threatens to expel them from the union.

The three men, Willi Hoss (43), Herman Mühleisen (42) and Mario D'Andrea (29), have long been critical of the union leadership which they accuse of not representing their members' interests.

The union officials retaliated by keeping them off their list of candidates for the factory council, although they have been shop stewards for 15, 10 and five years respectively.

The men decided to take the unprecedented step of standing without official union support.

STRAIT-JACKETS

In the elections they received 3,040 out of 11,273 of the votes, or 27 per cent, which means that if they had fielded more candidates they could have had eight of the 29 workers' seats on the council.

The factory council in Germany is a joint worker-management body which serves as an instrument of union-management collaboration against strikes. By law all members of the council are bound to represent the interests of the factory 'as a whole'.

The union bureaucracy has co-operated with the help of this law in turning these bodies into strait-jackets on the rank and file to prevent strikes.

In practice they are the main basis for the relative class-peace which has reigned in Germany during the boom. As a reaction against this the rank and file in the major factories have set up a kind of unofficial shop stewards' movement of 'Vertrauensleute' which has, however, not achieved the



Above: Willi Hoss, Mario D'Andrea and Herman Mühleisen, shop stewards at Daimler-Benz, Stuttgart

strength of its counterpart in this country.

The grip of the union bureaucracy was first loosened in the autumn of 1969 when a wave of unofficial strikes swept through the engineering and mining industries leading to considerable wage increases. Then during the engineering strike of last year there was considerable criticism particularly from Daimler-Benz workers of the union's policy of selective strikes.

Since then Hoss, Mühleisen and D'Andrea have been determined to get more control for the shop floor over working

conditions and in particular over the speed of the track.

They decided to get onto the factory council in order to have the power to negotiate over wages and conditions (Vertrauensleute do not have this power).

COMPROMISE

The hysterical expulsion threat by IG Metall shows the fear that their class-collaborationist policies will be disrupted by the rank and file.

If a majority of shop-floor militants get on to the factory councils the bureaucracy's

whole basis of compromise could be destroyed.

The three men represent an important new layer of leaders in the German working class. D'Andrea represents the highly-exploited immigrant workers in the factory who make up a third of the labour force (on the track they are 95 per cent).

Hoss and Mühleisen were both members of the Communist Party but the Party does not want to know them since they voiced criticisms of the status of trade unions in Eastern Europe.

Hoss was expelled at the

end of last year and Mühleisen is expecting his notice of expulsion any day.

It is the strength of the organized working class, expressed in the votes for Hoss, Mühleisen and D'Andrea that is the decisive force in German society today, not the desperate antics of the middle-class terrorists like Baader and Meinhof who have caught all the headlines in the last few weeks.

RELEASE JUAN FARINAS

The Juan Farinas Defence Committee in the United States is launching an all-out drive to secure Farinas' release.

Farinas has been serving a two-year sentence in Danbury Federal Penitentiary since March 27. His imprisonment stems from framed up charges of violating the Selective Service Act at his induction in August 1968.

Farinas' sole crime was to peacefully distribute leaflets opposing the Vietnam war as a class war being waged against the workers and peasants in Vietnam in the interests of American big business.

The Farinas case was a political frame-up from its very inception. The government set out to punish him not for his actions, but for his stated intention of giving leadership to the working class, which is now coming into fundamental



collision with the ruling class.

The political nature of the case has been most clearly revealed by the recent release of statistics concerning the conviction rate for draft resisters. These statistics indicate that there has been a sharp reversal in government procedure concerning draft violators.

While in 1967, only 10.4 per cent of those convicted of draft violations received probation, in 1971 62.7 per cent received probation. Furthermore, the percentage of defendants who were convicted at all during the same period dropped from 75.1 to 34.8.

These statistics clearly expose that the government's jailing of Juan is in direct violation of his civil rights and

constitutes excessive punishment. The Farinas Defence Committee will fight for his immediate release around this perspective.

While Farinas has been in prison, he has taken forward the fight to construct a leadership among the working class and youth. To this end, he has formed a Marxist study group among the inmates to take up questions of dialectical materialism and the history of the Trotskyist movement.

At a time when the government is stepping up its attack on the trade unions through the Pay Board and the courts, we urge all trade unionists and youth to take up the defence of Juan Farinas as part of the defence of the labour movement.

Funds are desperately needed to continue a stepped-up defence campaign, as well as to aid in the support of Farinas' wife and child.

In addition, we call upon all our readers to write to Juan and inform him of your activities in behalf of his defence. All correspondence should be sent to: Juan Farinas 75171, Danbury Federal Penitentiary, Pembroke Station, Danbury, Conn. 06810.

Reprinted from the 'Bulletin' of the US Workers' League.

RUSH TO EXPLOIT SIBERIAN OIL

Siberian oil and gas reserves have become a bait for the world's petroleum men since the Soviet government began to intimate that it would welcome co-operation from the big capitalist corporations in exploiting them.

Already known reserves are believed to be huge and as prospecting takes place the figure is constantly pushed up. Over half the Soviet Union's known reserves are in Siberian territory.

In the Tyumen district, production is planned to reach 400 million tons of oil and 32,000 million cubic metres of gas for the five-year period ending in 1975.

The Soviet oil industry lacks the equipment, the know-how and the technicians to push production anywhere near its attainable limits. Hence the

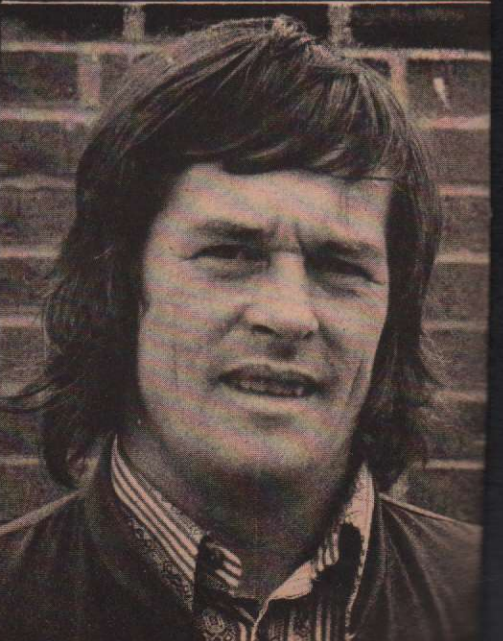
invitation to capitalist firms to come into joint ventures for the development of Siberia's immense natural resources.

Enormous capital outlays will be required to open up new oilfields as well as to develop those already in production. Pipelines are needed to shift the oil and gas to European Russia and the Pacific coast.

The Soviet bureaucracy is now putting up these resources for sale to the highest bidder. It has made a deal with the American Occidental Petroleum Corporation, it is negotiating with other giant capitalist firms and is looking for a deal with Japanese big business.

In short, it is opening the way for the penetration of foreign capital into the Soviet Union on an enormous scale. This illustrates how the bankruptcy of the policy of 'socialism in one country' jeopardizes the relations of production established by the October 1917 Revolution.

'FIVE DOCKERS IN—EVERYBODY



OUT!





LET HISTORY JUDGE STALINISM

The book by Roy Medvedev translated as 'Let History Judge: the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism' (Macmillan £5.75) is the first independent attempt in the Soviet Union to understand the Stalin era which has come out of that country. It is a damning indictment of Stalin and Stalinism which confirms everything which Trotsky wrote about the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers' state. From the great tension under which it is written, its passion drawn from the sufferings of millions of people, is also a testimony to the fact that the conquests of the October 1917 Revolution have not been destroyed. Medvedev writes as a communist intellectual, an oppositionist who is harassed and persecuted for his struggle to tell the truth as he sees it. His book has great merits and deserves a careful study both for what it provides in the way of corroboration for the Trotskyist analysis and what it leaves out. On some crucial questions it is fundamentally wrong and misleading. Medvedev clings to the hope that the bureaucracy will reform itself. In this he resembles the revisionists like Deutscher and Pablo. He fails to see the revolutionary alternative to Stalinism provided by the struggle of the Left Opposition. He does not accept that only a political revolution which overthrows the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy can preserve the social and economic conquests of 1917 which he upholds. The following series of articles submit Medvedev's book to detailed scrutiny with the aim of pursuing the struggle against Stalinism to the end. It will deal in particular with his errors and omissions and point the way for a more rounded analysis which must begin with the works of Trotsky which are cited in the footnotes.

BY TOM KEMP PART 1
By next March it will be 20 years since the death of Josef Stalin was greeted by the leadership of the world's communist parties with tributes to his genius as a Marxist-Leninist which matched the adulation he had received during his lifetime.

Yet today, even in the Soviet Union, despite some attempts to rehabilitate him, his name is scarcely mentioned and a whole epoch of history is thus treated in a distorted way.

In the communist parties outside the Soviet Union a similar embarrassed silence prevails. After a few attempts to explain away his crimes in the period of 'de-Stalinization' which followed the 'revelations' by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union in February 1956, which remained extremely superficial, the matter was allowed to drop out of sight as quietly as possible.

Yet the fact remains that after Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin rapidly emerged as the dominant figure in the party and state apparatus in the Soviet Union. Disposing first of his opponents and then of his erstwhile allies, he ruled in an increasingly arbitrary fashion, wiping out hundreds of thousands of communists during the purges of the 1930s, to become one of the cruellest and bloodiest tyrants in history.

During that period he was hailed both in the Soviet Union and in the communist parties as an infallible leader and theoretical guide and accorded an adulation which was not only foreign to the working class and revolutionary movement, but exceeded that required even by most other dictators. His word was law not only in political matters, but in history, philosophy, linguistics, literature and art.

The Communist Party leaders in Britain as well as other countries claimed to be Stalin's disciples and accepted completely without criticism every word which was issued from the Kremlin. Maurice Thorez was proclaimed as the leading Stalinist in France and it was implied that every other communist leader reflected something of his glory. In the East European countries each national leader was, in effect, a lesser Stalin according his own due measure of reverence and obedience.

It must be said that the respect for Stalin and belief in him as a great leader and Marxist revolutionary found an echo among sections of the working class and not only those directly under the influence of the communist parties. For many Stalin, mistakenly,



Top: Molotov, Khrushchev and Stalin on the Lenin mausoleum during a May Day parade of middle-1930s. Above: Roy and Zhores Medvedev.

personified the hopes and aspirations of the October Revolution and during World War II he seemed to symbolize the heroic struggles of the Red Army and the Soviet people upon which the masses in Europe depended for their liberation from the fascist yoke.

At the same time, the acceptance of Stalin was not universal in the working-class movement by any means. If the purges and trials, the suppression of opponents and the deification of Stalin were accepted and approved by the communist parties and all the fellow-travellers, knowledge of

the crimes of Stalin had penetrated sections of the labour movement.

On the one hand, the Trotskyists in particular carried on a tireless campaign to expose these crimes and to explain politically how Stalinist policies had betrayed the revolution and destroyed the Bolshevik Party.

On the other hand, fear of Stalinist methods reinforced the grip of reformism and 'anti-communism' on large sections of workers, especially in countries like Britain and the USA, where the communist tradition had never been strong. The fact that this



After Lenin's death in 1924 (above), Stalin rapidly emerged as the dominant figure in the party and state apparatus

sentiment rested on a basis of truth as far as the crimes of Stalin was concerned made it all the more tragic.

It was not the least of the counter-revolutionary effects of Stalinism that it divided the working class and strengthened the reformists' hold over it.

The struggle against Stalin and the degeneration of the first workers' state which produced Stalin was carried on from the beginning by Leon Trotsky and by the Left Opposition in Russia in the 1920s. As long as any kind of discussion and debate was possible, Trotsky and his co-thinkers exposed every step of the Stalinist betrayal.

But through his control of the instruments of repression, Stalin was able to defeat the Left Opposition, finally exiling its leader, Trotsky, and destroying physically all of its supporters.

In the 16 years before his assassination by a Stalinist agent, first of all as the leader of the Left Opposition in Russia and then as an exile building the International Left Opposition which in 1938 was to become the Fourth International, Trotsky made a detailed analysis of Stalin's lies, crimes and betrayals. He explained in Marxist terms the social basis from which the monstrous phenomenon of Stalinism had grown.

These writings are invaluable theoretical capital for all those breaking from Stalinism, as well as those coming to Marxism for the first time, who are searching for an explanation and practical advice on how to fight it.

The bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and the East European countries are mortally afraid of Trotskyism. They are afraid of admitting that there was an alternative to Stalin's course, afraid that a full and frank disclosure of the past will bring to light their own questionable origins and bring them to a rapid and terrible reckoning.

That is why so many aspects of Soviet history and the history of the international communist movement must remain a closed book or be dealt with in a way which is as full of falsification and omissions, as was the history written in Stalin's lifetime. It is not surprising that there should be a strong undercurrent of dissatisfaction with this state of affairs, particularly because the greater latitude for research and comment permitted for a time at the height of 'de-Stalinization' has now been curtailed.

A certain amount of the truth, based upon personal experience, did go on record in the Soviet Union. Alongside it there exists a body of manuscript of privately-circulated memoirs and personal accounts. One can be sure, too, that among intimates there will be an eager audience for the personal reports of those who have come back from a living death in the camps and prisons.

The reception accorded to Alexander Solzhenitsyn's 'One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich' during the brief period of the 'thaw' and then the ban on his other novels, 'The First Circle' and 'Cancer Ward' in the reaction which followed, is highly significant. There is clearly a huge audience for books which deal truthfully with Soviet life in the Stalin era.

The whole question of the Stalin era is, moreover, a part of Soviet life and experience whether or not it is written about in the books or adequately dealt with in the histories.

The generations which suffered under Stalin have not all died off. The purges are still part of living memory. Many came back from camps and prisons in the 1950s and 1960s after Stalin's death. They have stories to tell which some have written down or spread by word of mouth, even though they may not reach the official organs.

Even in these, the truth has filtered through to a limited extent and in a selective and one-sided manner. 'De-Stalinization' meant that no shred of credibility remained as far as the trials and purges were concerned. It was, in fact, stopped when public curiosity, and the desire to know the full truth in order that the guilty could be found and punished threatened to open the flood gates which would prepare the way for the political revolution.

A desire to know, to be sure, to explain what the official history passes over in silence or with an eloquent lie is widespread in the Soviet Union. It finds expression in the writing of the *samizdat*—the underground literature which passes from hand to hand in typewritten or duplicated form.

Works by the Medvedev brothers have taken this form in the past. As members of the Communist Party they have sought, however, to get their works produced by the official publishing houses. Roy Medvedev tried to have his analysis of the causes and consequences of Stalinism brought out in the Soviet Union in this way: it was turned down.

The reasons for this are not far to seek. Medvedev does not subscribe to the official legend that despite the 'cult of the personality', which became the euphemism for Stalin's crimes, the 'building of socialism' went on virtually unaffected. He shows in methodical detail the heavy price which the Soviet people had to pay for Stalin and Stalinism. He calls for the full truth to be revealed about the purges, trials and repressions and the complete rehabilitation of the victims.

He allows no way of escape for those who, by their complicity or by their silence, assisted Stalin's rise to power and joined the adulation of him in order to pursue their careers. To that extent Medvedev's book is dangerous, too dangerous, at any rate, for its

publication to be permitted in the Soviet Union. For, Medvedev could get away with what he writes, what would the next author want to say, and the one after that...?

The minds of the bureaucrats in the publishing houses must have boggled. But the decision did not rest with them; it must have been taken at the highest level as a question of state.

Medvedev's book was evidently considered too dangerous for circulation inside the Soviet Union, both for what it contains and for what thoughts and demands it might provoke.

Somewhere in the Kremlin, instructions were given to the publishing houses not to touch it. It is not impossible, however, knowing how other forbidden books have reached the outside world, that the bureaucracy permitted or even facilitated its communication to foreign publishers through an agent like the notorious Victor Louis.

Inside the Soviet Union a book like Medvedev's still represents a threat; but outside it only confirms what is generally known and brings to light some fresh and valuable evidence. Most interesting, of course, is the fact that such a book can be written by a Soviet intellectual—the bureaucracy may not object to that being known, even if it is not yet willing to let it be published.

But the very weaknesses of the book, which will be examined later in detail, are such as to reduce its danger when circulated abroad.

In the articles which follow the aim will be first to show from Medvedev's account how he brings from inside the Soviet Union confirmation of the Trotskyist analysis of the Stalinist degeneration; secondly, to show the weaknesses of his analysis and to correct them by bringing out the true nature of Stalinism and its social roots; thirdly, to show how the struggle against Stalinism must be carried on until it leads to the overthrow of the bureaucracy.

Whatever its limitations, Medvedev's book remains a great achievement for one working under the difficult and indeed dangerous conditions which still prevail in the Soviet Union. It is massive in its indictment of Stalin. It is frank and fearless in the denunciation of the bureaucracy and its crime. But it is the work of a man who remains a loyal Soviet citizen and member of the Communist Party.

Medvedev has not turned his back on the Revolution of 1917 or on Bolshevism, as he understands it. He has not sought consolation in some fashionable religion or esoteric doctrine. He has not sought refuge in the West, nor is he attracted by capitalist society. Educated under Stalin, a member of the new Soviet intelligentsia, he has come out courageously for a return to Leninism.

Under the circumstances, many of the shortcomings and errors in his book can be understood. In particular, Medvedev clings to the hope that without a revolutionary change, that is to say by methods of reform and gradualism, the consequences of Stalinism can be removed and the bureaucracy accept the norms of Leninism.

It is on this programme, above all, that we part company from him; not without the conviction that many in the Soviet Union, like Medvedev, will soon learn that a return to Bolshevism and Leninism means enlistment in the ranks of the Fourth International and the acceptance of its programme of political revolution as the only way, as part of an international revolutionary struggle, to safeguard and extend the gains of the October Revolution.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

TERROR RAIDS

Our man in Belfast has filed a report on the so-called 'softly-softly' policy of the British army. It compares very differently from the capitalist press accounts. Apart from the shooting of a number of unarmed civilians—including a priest and a 14-year-old girl—there have been the terror raids on various Catholic housing estates.

The Divis Flats in Belfast have been the scene of alleged 'IRA attacks' on the army. Our investigator says that this completely contradicts the facts.

The army has in fact been engaged in unprovoked attacks on the homes of the local population.

Take this statement from Kate Smilie who lives in the flats:

'I heard a crack followed by another crack. The first was a bullet which went through the kitchen and embedded above the fireplace. The second was another bullet which came through the window and embedded in the far bedroom wall. I ran out of my room and into my father's bedroom. I was absolutely terrified.'

Kate says the bullet could only have come from the army post which overlooks the Divis flat. By checking the trajectory of the bullet from the broken window and where it was embedded in the wall it came without doubt from the army post.



In the Unity Flats Eamon Loughney showed how the army has adopted a policy of shooting up Catholic homes to terrorize and intimidate.

A bullet whistled through his window, went through several walls before shattering on the wall over his mother's bed where she was sleeping. Eamon points out that the previous day the army had wanted to search his house. He refused, saying they needed a warrant. They promised that he would hear from them again.

UNCHARITABLE

Mr Anthony Barber may think he has his problems. But consider the problems of Liechtenstein. For those whose geography is somewhat rough, Liechtenstein (pop. 22,000) is the tiny principality on Switzerland's northeastern border with Austria.

When the pound was floated last month, Switzerland took a series of tough measures to keep out unwanted 'hot' money.

Since 1923 the two countries have been closely linked in a customs and monetary union, and the principality uses Swiss money. But in order to prevent unwanted funds coming in through the back door the Swiss decided, somewhat uncharitably, to put Liechtenstein into the foreign category. A spokesman for the principality said that this had caused 'great difficulties' and urgent negotiations were opening with Geneva in order to try and change the decision.

KIM

One place where there is no surprise at the new warmth in relations between South and North Korea is... the Chamber of Trade and Industry in Barcelona, that organization of fascist businessmen.

For the past few months the Chamber of Trade has been receiving hundreds of copies in Spanish of 'A revolutionary history of North Korea' and 'A biography of the great revolutionary leader Kim-Il-sung'. Apparently the North Koreans think that if the fascists read the great leader's revolutionary biography, they will immediately send off a few trade delegations to North Korea!

Below: Kim-Il-sung of North Korea



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JOBS THREAT AT STEELWORKS

BY IAN YEATS

Seven hundred and fifty clerical workers at Ebbw Vale steelworks, South Wales, start their fortnight's annual holiday today. They are due back on August 6 . . . but the works may not reopen.

The works produce 20,000 tons of ingot steel a week, 60 per cent of which is used for tinplate production.

At 10,000 tons a week its tinplate production accounts for a third of Britain's total output.

Unless the British Steel Corporation (BSC) management makes the white-collar workers an acceptable offer they are threatening to strike from August 6.

The country's largest tinplate users like the Metal Box Company which employs 40,000 people claims it will not be affected immediately if the strike goes ahead because it has built up stocks.

This is likely to prove optimistic. The rub is that production of two-thirds of Britain's tinplate has already been stopped for three weeks.

STRIKE ACTION

About 1,300 men have been out since the beginning of July at three works at Trostre, Llanelli and Swansea and four smaller plants in West Wales.

Two of Ebbw Vale's three branches of the Association of Clerical, Technical and Supervisory Staff section of the Transport and General Workers' Union last week voted for strike action unless management met their pay claim in full.

The secretary of the largest branch, Mr Roy Beynon, said: 'We have been negotiating in good faith with the steel corporation since the middle of May, but we have been getting nowhere.'

'We have already had to negotiate with the BSC through a conciliator as though we were already on strike. It

seems as though they are more prepared to talk to strikers than to men who are working.'

Members of the branch which voted against strike action will face pickets if they attempt to go to work on August 6.

Six of the union's seven branches in South Wales have now voted to strike. The seventh will vote on August 7.

Almost 4,100 men have been laid off at plants already on strike and if the Ebbw Vale management makes no new offer, a further 9,000 will be laid off there almost at once.

The laid-off steelmen are solidly behind the clerical workers. The white-collar men's claim was settled in their favour when it went to arbitration, but BSC refused to abide by the decision.

The manual workers are worried about how BSC might treat them in similar circumstances.

The labour force in the South Wales tinplate industry has been rationalized practi-

cally out of existence since the BSC took over in 1946.

Now the relatively poorly-paid white-collar workers are in a militant mood. BSC gave them £1.60 last May—less than half what the workers are demanding.

BSC would like to dig in its heels on the pay claim. Despite modernization and labour cut-backs at all South Wales tinplate and steelworks, pressure on profit margins is remorseless.

At the purpose-built Llanern steelworks, near Newport, Monmouthshire, an article in the Llanern Group News accuses workers of putting markets in peril because of their 'complacency'. In other words they should work harder.

MILITANCY

But South Wales workers are in no mood for sentiments like these. They are riding the crest of a wave of militancy as it becomes clear that only a fight will stop high-handed

The steelworks at Ebbw Vale

US-style managements riding roughshod over them, will halt closures and will persuade employers to grant pay offers more in line with rises in the cost of living.

Two thousand workers have been on strike for almost a fortnight at Esso's Milford Haven refinery over the sacking of 37 men.

Two hundred building workers at the new vehicle-licensing centre at Morrision, Swansea, struck last week after five labourers tried to break their overtime ban.

Up to 700 building workers are on strike this week in support of the nationwide pay action.

And 450 clothing workers at the Swansea factory of John Stanton Ltd downed tools immediately last week after rumours of staff cuts.

Union representatives have taken the matter up, but feeling is so strong that the works could stop again at any time.

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LETTER

On Saturday July 15, Workers Press published a story entitled 'Three Scottish firms agree to deal' which dealt with settlements reached in the building workers' national pay claim.

This article which was based on official news reports stated: 'Wage increases of up to 60 per cent for 4,000 Scottish building workers have been agreed in Glasgow by representatives and the unions. 'The three companies are the

first in Britain to have reached agreement with the unions who embarked on their selective strikes campaign three weeks ago to achieve a £30 minimum rate...'

Since we had no means of checking this report at the time, we published the facts as we received them.

We are now pleased, however, to print a letter from a labourer working with one of the firms pointing out the real facts of the settlement:

Dear Editor,
I am writing to you in protest at the enclosed article in your paper on Saturday, July 15, 1972. I am employed with one of the three firms involved, as a labourer, so I know the true facts concerning the so-called agreement.

For a start there is no reduction in working hours in it. It was a sell-out by the so-called Action Committee in Glasgow, which has the worst working conditions in Scotland.

Dundee is strong in the trade union and our city has its own Action Committee. The workers in this firm have one too.

Also neither the city committee nor the workers' committee in our firm had any say in this agreement, much to the anger of the workers in Dundee.

There were three agreements—one from Cameron of Aberdeen, one from Bett Brothers, who I work for, and a doubtful third from J. B. Hay. Cameron's of Aberdeen

was the best, giving a reduction in working hours. It was common knowledge that the union was going to negotiate for the best of the three, although the workers were against it.

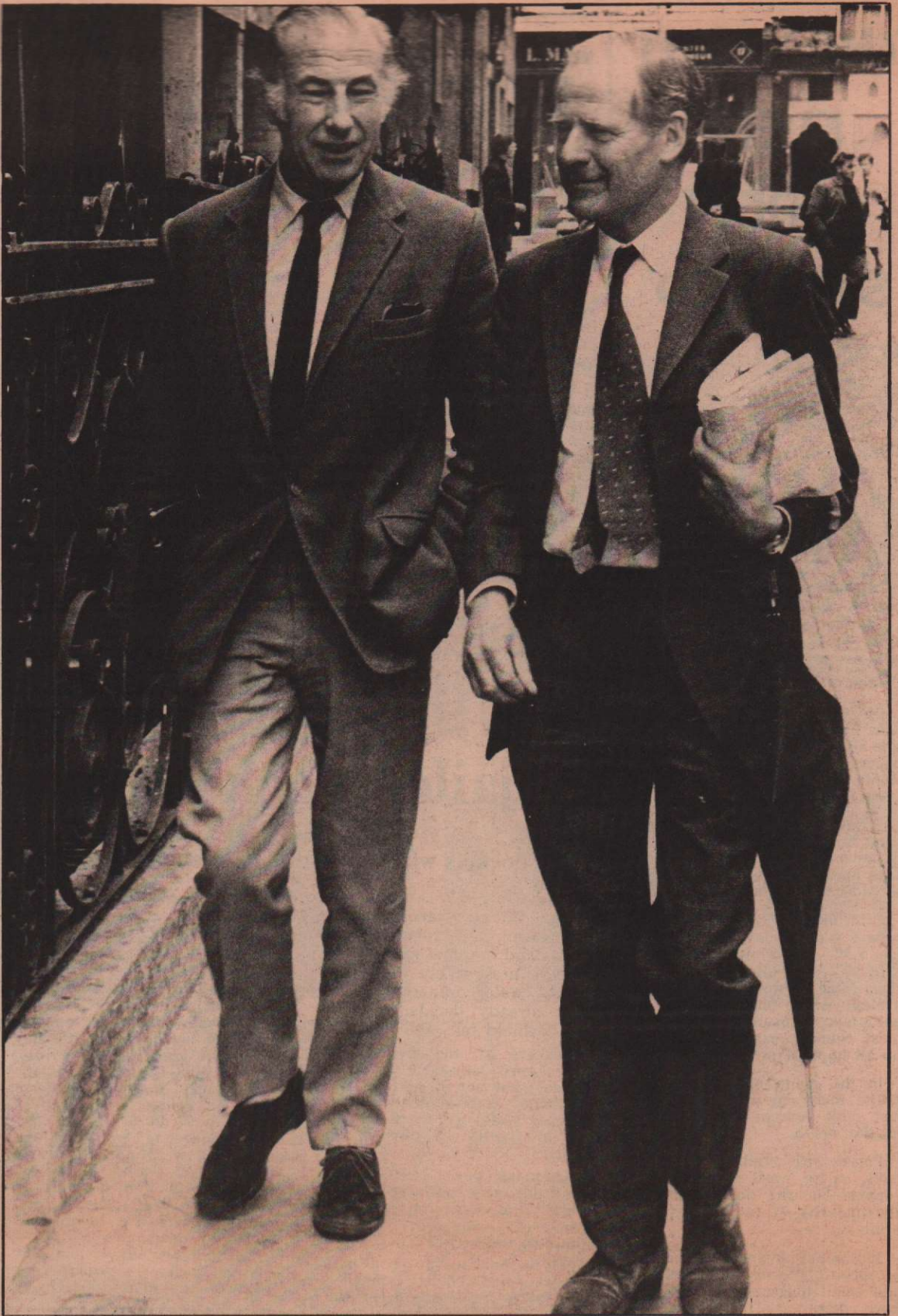
Anyway, Cameron withdrew their offer on the eve of the meeting, so we got the best offer left which was Bett's and they will negotiate a reduction in hours in 1975 when the agreement ends.

The Action Committee and all the building shop stewards are meeting to discuss what action to take.

Although a £30 minimum for tradesmen might be a victory in Glasgow or England, it's a defeat in Dundee. We already had that before the agreement was signed, although it never cost the firm much as 99 per cent of the workers earn more than that with bonus.

D. Gould,
Dundee

P.S. We were fighting for a basic rate, not a minimum.



Ernest Clarke (left), President of Actors' Equity and Gerald Croasdel, general secretary

WEST END ACTORS PLAN PAY FIGHT

PHOTOGRAPH BY P. J. ARKELL

Actors from a number of West End theatres plan to lobby a meeting of union representatives on Friday to demand no retreat from their wage claim for a £30 minimum weekly wage.

The meeting has been called to hear a report-back from talks between leaders of Actors' Equity and the Society of West End Theatre Managers last Thursday.

During the talks, the managers gave no indication that they were prepared to move anywhere near settling the actors' claim.

MINIMUM WAGE

Besides the demand for a £30 minimum wage for performances and rehearsals, it includes demands for eight weeks' guaranteed employment, holiday pay and sick pay. The AGM decided on strike action if talks broke down.

Friday's lobby, however, is expected to reveal grave doubts among many rank-and-file members of the union about

the way the union leadership is pursuing the claim.

On June 23 strike action was put off when union representatives accepted advice from the Equity Council to continue talks with the managers.

Then, a fortnight ago, it was announced that Equity had made a joint application with the theatre employers for an improved closed shop under the Industrial Relations Act.

At the union's AGM a resolution reaffirming 'total opposition' to the Act was carried by a three-to-two majority. The resolution went on to call on the Council to demand the TUC carries out its responsibilities and organize the entire trade union movement in a campaign to defeat the Act.

On the basis of a previous referendum decision, however, the Equity Council has gone ahead to register. (In the referendum 1,250 union members voted against registration, but 2,130 voted for.)

Now the Council is to go to the National Industrial Relations Court for special closed shops to cover the West End, repertory and provincial theatres and touring companies.

Talks are in progress with the employers about similar applications for film-making and commercial television.

COMPLETE CONTRADICTION

It was these moves for an approved closed shop which made up the TUC leaders' mind last week to suspend Equity from membership.

Meanwhile many actors, particularly in the West End, point out the complete contradiction which now exists between the union's pay and industrial-relations policies.

They ask how enthusiastically Equity leaders are going to press their pay demands against the employers when the same leaders are relying on the same employers for support in the closed-shop application.

One indication of the answer to this question came last week when stage-managers were encouraged by the Council to drop out of the claim altogether.

Those taking part in Friday's lobby will no doubt hope to persuade their representatives that they must redress the balance.

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THE NIGHT FLEET STREET STOPPED

BY IAN YEATS

AT A few minutes to ten on Saturday night, a key section of Fleet Street printers struck against the jailing of five London dockers by the Tory Industrial Relations Court.

Earlier many of them had been harangued by leaders of a 1,000-strong march by print-workers backing the occupation of Briant - Colour Printing, Peckham, London. (See p. 3.)

By early evening, circulation vans lined the narrow roads outside all the major national Sunday papers as drivers arrived to find empty despatch bays and silent presses.

From Bouverie Street to Shoe Lane, the usually near-deserted pavements were thick with workers arguing heatedly over what should be done about the dockers.

Printing time for many of the papers was as early as 7.30 and by 9.30 the Newspaper Publishers' Association announced that, apart from the 'Sunday Times', which had managed to get a few copies off the machines, most Sunday papers had given up all hope of production.

In the event, no other papers found their way onto the breakfast table—except those printed in the north.

Faced with similar jobs problems, there was overwhelming support for the dockers among the majority of the drivers and printers.

In the past five years hundreds of printing firms have closed and small magazines and papers have disappeared as big combines like IPC have bought them up and rationalized them out of existence.

With their own jobs fight looming and unemployment rising on all sides, few printers believe that it will be long before they too are threatened by the Tory anti-union law.

Throughout the evening confusion and uncertainty about who was doing what about the docks left the men shifting uneasily from one foot to the other while officials of the machine room chapels wrangled over what course to take.

For many of the men the issue was simple. At 9.30, while editors and executives fumed over the delay, rank-and-file members of NATSOPA's joint London chapels took the law into their own hands.

More than 600 of them left the street and filed into the warren of dark alleys which wind between the publishing houses.

In an unlit paved square behind the 'Sunday Telegraph' hundreds of shadowy figures listened to an unofficial call for strike action.

A few minutes before 10 p.m. a shout and a show of hands clinched their decision.

Within minutes the meeting place was deserted, the otherwise quiet alleys alive with hurrying feet.

Doors into the brightly lit machine rooms swung vacantly open waiting, like the giant presses, for a work force that did not return.

Tories plan war on IRA

A MILITARY onslaught against Republican strongholds in Belfast and Derby was under preparation by army chiefs and the Tory cabinet at the weekend.

Ulster's Tory supremo William Whitelaw saw leading Unionists in Belfast on Saturday and promised he would not personally meet the IRA again.

He said more troops would be sent into the province and recruitment into the Ulster Defence Regiment, the police and the police reserve would be stepped up.

He also said army reaction would be more intensive in the future. Former Stormont deputy premier John Andrews, who

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

headed the Unionist deputation, said the meeting had been 'well worthwhile'.

'These are the points Ulster considers necessary . . . There are plans in the British government for the restoration of normality, he said.

Over the weekend the army moved into a number of areas in Belfast and other parts of Northern Ireland, arresting a total of 84 people.

Many were held in custody and those who were released were branded with indelible dye by the troops.

In Derry, the Provisional IRA command on the Creggan estate said:

'It seems certain that the army

is going to come in after what happened in Belfast. But we are ready. We are waiting. We will see how good our defences are.'

The Provisionals claimed responsibility for the series of bomb blasts in Belfast on Friday which killed a total of 16 people and injured more than 100, reducing the city to a state of panic and terror.

The IRA apparently planned this act of mass terrorism to force the Tories' hand and provoke a military showdown with the army.

Only two weeks previously the IRA leadership was engaged in secret talks with the Tory supremo on a 'permanent settlement' of the Ulster question.

The terrorist action in Belfast, like the secret talks with Whitelaw, demonstrates the total political bankruptcy of the IRA's reactionary nationalist leadership.

The Belfast bombings have strengthened the Unionist right and given the military an opportunity to escalate enormously the repression in Ulster under the guise of 'hunting down terrorists'.

Whitelaw and Defence Minister Lord Carrington yesterday met Prime Minister Edward Heath to report on the latest army actions.

Heath and his ministers also met army top brass to co-ordinate the plans for further action against the so-called 'no go' areas.

Industry comes to halt in support of jailed dockers

STRIKES AND demonstrations in support of the five jailed dockers will spread throughout British industry today.

The mines, transport, the engineering industry, car plants and national newspapers are the most likely to be hit. South Wales miners' leaders have already decided to call the coalfield out.

Dockers at the five South Wales ports will meet today to decide what action to take and on Friday trade unionists from all over Wales will stage a summit in Cardiff to discuss the crisis.

All major ports will be at a standstill today and lorry drivers' leader Eric Reznitz predicted nationwide stoppages in the transport industry.

In Liverpool the powerful executive of the Trades Council—already on record for a General Strike if trade unionists are imprisoned, will meet this evening to decide on a campaign of action.

Amid this general move towards a General Strike the TUC Finance and General Purposes Committee will meet in London today to work out its position on the most serious challenge to labour in the history of the trade union movement.

Miners' leader Lawrence Daly said yesterday he would call for strike action by all unions at the TUC's General Council meeting on Wednesday.

'I will be speaking for industrial action by all affiliated unions,' he told Workers Press yesterday.

'This should be aimed at securing the release of the dockers, defeating this vicious legislation and forcing the government to call a General Election if necessary.'

He will meet fierce opposition from the right wing and 'moderate' General Council members who want to confine any action to protests and demonstration.

On two major coalfields emergency meetings will be held to discuss immediate strike action.

The South Wales miners' executive in emergency session at Pontypridd yesterday decided for strike action. This will be put to a coalfield delegates' meeting on Tuesday.

In Barnsley, Yorkshire, Arthur Scargill, agent for Yorkshire's 68,000 miners, said he was expecting strike calls.

These will be presented at an area council meeting of union delegates in Barnsley today. Yorkshire miners feel that a huge show of industrial strength from all trades unionists is necessary to secure the release of the five.

In Scotland the coalfield is closed for the summer holidays. But Scottish leader Michael McGahey pointed out that the coalfield had already gone on record threatening strike action over the arrest of the 13 Longannet power station pickets. He believed the Scottish miners would take a similar position on

BY THIS morning the dockers' picket-line outside HM Pentonville prison will be more than 60 hours old.

The solidarity with the jailed men of those taking part is fierce; by yesterday afternoon some of them had been there, with only very short breaks, since Friday.

When Vic Turner, whom the High Court Tipstaff failed to locate on Friday, was taken in at 4.30 p.m. on Saturday—after spending several hours on the picket-line—a group of dockers ran part-way into the prison entrance with him pledging to continue the fight (picture p. 6).

The dockers are being held as civil prisoners.

Their one privilege is that they can wear their own clothes.

But to buy more tobacco, or

the jailing of any trade unionists.

In London lorry drivers' shop stewards will meet with dockers' leaders outside the Royal group of docks today to propose a joint campaign committee to organize industrial action.

In Liverpool drivers' shop stewards have called a meeting tonight to draw up a list of essential services to be maintained if a mass meeting decides for strike action tomorrow.

In Birmingham 500 maintenance fitters at the giant British-Leyland plant at Longbridge will meet today to decide whether to strike.

The National Union of Journalists, meeting in London has unanimously registered its strongest protest against the Act. Ironically, Herman Roberts, former Industrial correspondent of the 'Birmingham Post', was one of the judges who ordered the arrest of the dockers. He is still a member of the union.

On the docks, London, Hull and Liverpool are already committed to strike action until the five are released.

Hull shop stewards met yesterday and planned a flying squad to picket any port which did not come out on strike.

In Southampton dockers will hold a mass meeting today and on Teesside dockers have already threatened to stop work.

Main supply route cut near Hue

THE SUPPLY road linking South Vietnamese troops outside Quang Tri with their base area around Hue was cut at the weekend by North Vietnamese advance units.

The North Vietnamese have built bunkers along the side of the road and on Saturday they destroyed at least two trucks as they tried to speed past them.

The road block, 17 miles north of Hue, was attacked by tanks, aircraft and artillery as the Saigon command tried desperately to keep its supply route clear.

The North Vietnamese action has severely hampered traffic on the road and threatens to cut off the 20,000-strong South Vietnamese from its rear areas.

The task force is bogged down outside Quang Tri, which is held by crack North Vietnamese troops in strongly fortified positions.

A similar tactic was used by the liberation forces earlier this year in the battle for An Loc, the provincial capital 60 miles north of Saigon. At An Loc, the South Vietnamese forces lost thousands of men in their efforts to keep the road open.

Saigon sources reported that liberation troops are withdrawing northwards from the coastal Binh Dinh province to reinforce other units around Hue and Quang Tri.

They said the struggle in this area would be politically the most important of the campaign.

Government troops moving cautiously back into the coastal province reported that most of the young men had left with the liberation units to undergo training in guerrilla warfare.

'It looks like they will be coming back and causing trouble for some time to come,' one puppet officer said.

The Saigon command said its troops were meeting little resistance in reoccupying the Binh Dinh province, which was a Viet Minh stronghold during the war with the French.

JULY FUND £1,901.42

YOU HAVE raised more than ever before with a magnificent total of £1,901.42. Not only is this £650 over the target, but this has come in nine days before the July appeal officially closes. Such a contribution is overwhelming.

We know that behind this effort lies the desire of our readers to support the fight to bring the Tory government down. Workers Press is your paper and it is pledged to force this

government to resign. It is to this cause every penny of the July Fund will go.

As we still have some time left to the end of July, can we push up the Fund to £2,000? Let's try and show our class enemies how determined we are to fight them to the end. Send all donations to:

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186a Clapham High St,
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MR REGINALD MAUDLING, who resigned as Home Secretary last Tuesday in connection with the Poulson affair, said in a statement from his Essendon, Hertfordshire, home yesterday: 'I am consulting my solicitors with a view to taking immediate proceedings in respect of the "Insight" article in this morning's "The Sunday Times".' The article is about the Real Estate Fund of America.

THE NIXON administration has forecast that the American trade deficit will substantially exceed \$2,000m (£800m) this year.

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