

AS TUC SIGNS NO-STRIKE PACT WITH CBI TORIES PREPARE EMERGENCY LAWS

BY DAVID MAUDE

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Under the Emergency Powers Act 1920, the government can take steps necessary to secure 'the essentials of life, to the community'. These can be any measures it thinks fit, including sending troops onto the docks to shift perishable cargoes and the introduction of price controls. The Act gives the government sweeping dictatorial powers and the Tories need only seek parliamentary consent within seven days to ratify the state of emergency decree.

As the Tories were preparing this move, TUC secretary Victor Feather signed with the head of Britain's employers, CBI director W. O. Campbell Adamson, a joint pact for stopping strikes.

The document to which the two men put their signatures set out the details of the 'independent Conciliation and Arbitration Service' the TUC and the CBI hope to start operating from September 1.

Eventually the service—seen by Feather as an alternative to 'confrontation' in industry—will have a full-time director and staff.

The costs of the service will be split down the middle. Half of them, in other words, would come out of union subscriptions.

Also yesterday, Feather, Adamson, Sir Frank Figures of the National Economic Development Office and Sir Douglas Allen of the Treasury met to plan the agenda of next Monday's three-sided talks on pay and industrial relations.

The agenda is part of a shabby manoeuvre to shelve the issue of the Industrial Relations Act during their talks. Union representatives also met employers and government officials at an NEDC meeting on the economic prospects of medium-sized firms.

This orgy of class-collaboration took place as the terms of the state of emergency were being drafted. At a press conference called to announce the signing of his stop-strikes pact with the CBI, Feather said it had been achieved 'in a very short space of time with an absence of rancour and complete unanimity about the need for conciliation in industry'.

He went on: 'Confrontation means bloody noses for everybody and we want conciliation and settlements.'

Feather was quick to claim on Adamson's behalf that the CBI director had been 'misquoted' in a recent 'Sunday Telegraph' interview which said the unions and the employers were working with a pay-rise norm of only 8 per cent in mind.

Victor Feather and the TUC General Council think they can use illusions amongst many of their members, created by the release of the five jailed dockers, to launch full-scale collaboration with the government.

They think the process can be assisted by the T&GWU secretary Jack Jones's continuing attempts with the port employers to find a formula for ending the docks strike.

The dangerous, anti-working class character of the TUC's manoeuvres is amply proved by Tory premier Heath's description of Tuesday evening's discussions. They were 'positive, constructive and valuable', he said.

Yet while Heath was turning this conciliatory face to the Feather and Jones, 4,000 extra British troops were consolidating their grip on the Irish working class and government spokesmen were launching a fierce attack on the unions in the House of Commons.

At the end of a heated debate on the Industrial Relations Act he co-authored with then Employment Secretary Robert Carr, Solicitor-General Sir Geoffrey Howe ranted that the unions would 'have to learn to live with democracy'.

After attacking the Labour leaders for 'political opportunism compounded by cowardice', he repeated: 'There must be acceptance by the leaders of the trade union movement that the laws of this land are not made at Congress House.'



It is in these spiteful, arrogant words that the authentic voice of Toryism today is to be heard.

And even behind the relatively diplomatic cadences of Heath, who on Tuesday evening had good reason to be pleased with the union chiefs, lurked the clear threat of a state of emergency.

The Tory leaders know the future of their system is balanced on a knife-edge.

The rising price of gold—yesterday it reached the staggering level of \$70.50 an ounce—is steadily undermining the last remnants of post-war international monetary co-operation (see page 2).

This opens up the immediate prospect of the formation of hostile monetary blocs along the lines proposed by the French and the Italians. Such a development could only heighten the trade war and the credit crisis, threatening jobs and living standards throughout the capitalist world.

Ulster reveals the scale of the response the Tories are prepared to make if they feel the movement of the working class in such a situation makes it necessary.

In this context the union

leaders want talks with Heath, but not with their own members.

Feather and his right-wing supporters refused to recall the TUC, despite the support of unions with a majority membership for this call.

Jones will not recall his union's biennial conference despite the grave threats it faces under the Act. Rather than vigorously lead his 40,000 docker members in struggle to defeat the employers, he rushes into further private discussions with the employers' leaders.

The working class must demand:

- Break off all talks with the Tories.
- Recall the TUC.
- Convene an emergency biennial conference of the T&GWU.
- Extend the docks strike to a General Strike.
- Force the Tories out.
- Return a Labour government pledged to repealing the Industrial Relations Act and nationalizing docks, road transport, banks, basic industry without compensation and under workers' control.

We won't accept pay deal say angry builders

Union - employer talks on the building workers' pay claim ended without any agreement late yesterday afternoon. A thousand-strong lobby of builders stood outside the meeting. They were angry at the latest offer. See p12 for full report.

workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY AUGUST 3, 1972 ● No. 832 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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TORIES PREPARE

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Two-tier system goes by the board

Gold bursts its \$70 barrier

THE 'FREE MARKET' gold price has broken through the \$70-ounce level: in London yesterday it was being quoted at \$70.50 before the morning fixing.

This is more than twice the official price which was in operation until the beginning of this year. The official price fixed by the American Treasury is now \$38 an ounce.

One of the factors driving up the unofficial price is the Franco-Italian proposal that a new official price should be set within the Common Market. The two countries are said to want a price for internal Common Market transactions of about \$70 an ounce.

If such a price were fixed it would destroy the 1968 'two-tier' agreement under which central banks agreed to buy and sell their gold reserves at the price fixed in Washington.

barrier

The two-tier system cannot be maintained for much longer with such a wide gap between official and free market prices. And to add to the fever on the gold markets the United States has hinted that it may sell some of its own reserve holdings on the open market.

In reply to a question from Senator Jacob Javits, Treasury Secretary George Schultz said in Washington on Tuesday that his department will consider selling gold to licensed domestic users at competitive prices.

The sale of gold in this way from US reserve assets would not only breach the 1968 agreement, it would also destroy any lingering hopes that the US will some day restore dollar convertibility.

Dollar holders have been unable to buy gold at the US Treasury since August 15 last year. The 'temporary' suspension of convertibility announced by the president on that day is clearly intended to be permanent. If

the US had any intention of buying back the dollars held by foreign central banks, it would hardly consider liquidating its already depleted gold stocks.

According to the 'Financial Times', the original impetus for the present bout of gold buying on the bullion market is believed to have come from sources in the United States.

The extreme tension in capitalist circles internationally was demonstrated in Tokyo yesterday. The stock market, which had reached a record peak on Tuesday, slumped sharply when a rumour circulated that Japan would be asked to revalue the yen again.

Bank of Japan governor Tadashi Sasaki was forced to stage a special press conference to reassure jittery investors. He said the meeting of the Group of Ten finance ministers due to be held in Washington on September 25 was a routine meeting and not summoned to discuss yen revaluation, as rumoured.

Chrysler turns attack on workers

THE CHRYSLER corporation has attacked the claim that British motor manufacturers had been caught on the hop in the recent upsurge in the demand for cars.

Chrysler UK deputy managing director, Donald Lander, said the company welcomed competition, but launched an attack on the militant labour force.

'What does concern us,' he said, 'is the way in which output is continually affected by the industrial action, and it is this rather than any other factor which is really damaging the industry's opportunities.'

Chrysler, which made a six months' loss of £1.3m, faced a prolonged pay strike by workers at Linwood, Scotland, last winter. This, and the miners' strike, caused a loss of 28,000 vehicles. Production dropped by 12 per cent instead of rising by 4 per cent as planned.

Chrysler's reaction is in contrast to the gloom from British-Leyland which has been severely hit by the influx of foreign models.

Like all the big British motor manufacturers the company saw its share of the home market decline sharply during July. Though sales increased, the share of the home market in July was 28.7 per cent compared with 33.5 per cent during the same month last year.

One of British-Leyland's biggest headaches is the resistance to attempts to introduce a form of Measured-Day Work at Longbridge and the Triumph and Jaguar plants in Coventry.

Ford, which has turned in the best 1972 performance with a record June production of 60,000 cars and 10,000 vans, does not face this problem. MDW has been in operation there for some years now and output has been pushed up.

The other ailing car firm is Vauxhall which returned a six months' loss of £2.6m. Its share of the market continues to diminish. It stood at 9.5 per cent in June—below the 10 per cent share most manufacturers consider necessary for ultimate economic survival.

Vauxhall's problem is one of models which steadily decline in popularity and damaging competition from Ford in the commercial vehicle market.

The British manufacturers are planning a counter-attack. But there are signs already that the explosion of demand caused by the Tory hire purchase concession is slowing down.

Hire purchase sales of new cars fell back 28 per cent last month over the June peak. Hire-purchase deals in new cars totalled 26,079—18 per cent above the July 1971 level.

Haiphong shipyard bombed

AMERICAN Navy planes have bombed Haiphong shipyard for the first time in an attempt to stop North Vietnamese vessels running the blockade of the country's ports.

Haiphong is the premier port of North Vietnam and its shipyard builds and repairs shallow-draught vessels used to unload supplies from Chinese freighters anchored offshore to avoid US mines.

Pilots from the aircraft carrier 'Saratoga' claimed much of the yard had been left in flames. Hanoi's Foreign Ministry said the US had also deliberately bombed residential areas of Haiphong, destroying 400 homes and killing and wounding a great many civilians.

The statement said hundreds of tons of demolition and anti-personnel bombs had been dropped on seven residential areas of the city over the weekend and on Monday.

Italian trains stop

ITALIAN railwaymen went on a 24-hour strike yesterday evening for better pay and working conditions.

The total stoppage of the 215,000 workers on the nationalized railways is in support of an all-round pay rise of £10 a month and demands for recruitment of more railwaymen and an end to casual labour.

The last weeks have seen a large number of strikes and disputes in Italian industry, particularly since the election of a new anti-trade union cabinet headed by Christian Democrat Giulio Andreotti.

Earlier this week newspaper workers ended a five-week stoppage which had prevented publication of most Italian dailies.

Executions in Iran

FOUR Iranian nationals accused of being members of the Khousistan Liberation Front were shot by firing squad in Iran on Monday after trial before a military tribunal.

This brings to ten the number of Iranian guerrilla fighters shot by the Shah's repressive military machine since last weekend. The Shah's propaganda agencies claim that the men were trained in neighbouring Iraq before being sent back across the border.

Six years' jail for Czech ex-Party chief

BY JOHN SPENCER

THE SIX and a half year sentence for subversion imposed on Professor Milan Huebl is the most severe of the 31 prison terms handed out in the current wave of trials in Czechoslovakia. Professor Huebl, a former Central Committee member who was rector of the Communist Party school until purged from office after the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion, is the most important defendant tried so far.

Before August 1968 he was a close friend of Gustav Husak, the Soviet puppet who replaced Alexandr Dubcek as Party first secretary. Husak himself is currently taking a vacation on the Black Sea at the invitation of the Kremlin.

At his trial, conducted in conditions of semi-secrecy, with the press and observers excluded, Huebl was accused of having published 'illegal and defamatory documents' and sent them abroad.

He was said to have edited the clandestine magazine 'Political Monthly', copies of which were found at his home when he was arrested last January. The indictment also cited the names of Ferdinando Zidar, former Prague correspondent of the Italian CP newspaper 'l'Unita' and Valerio Ochetto, another Italian journalist.

Zidar and Ochetto were said to have acted as couriers for Professor Huebl. Zidar was expelled from Czechoslovakia in February and Ochetto was arrested in January and held in prison for 44 days before being deported.

According to the prosecution, they had transmitted Huebl's documents to Jiri Pelikan, the former director of Czech television, now living in exile in Rome.

Huebl did not deny having sent the documents to Italy, but he maintained that they were sent to the leaders of the Italian Communist Party, in particular to Enrico Berlinguer the Italian CP general secretary.

Sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment at the same trial was Karel Kyncl, a television commentator under Dubcek, accused like Huebl of 'subversion against the republic'.

The main charge against their fellow-defendant, the historian Karel Bartosek, was that he had translated articles from the French Communist Party press for publication in the 'Political Monthly'.

Bartosek vigorously contested this charge which was brought against him on the basis of a 'confession' made by Professor Huebl during interrogation and later retracted. Bartosek was

given a one-year suspended sentence.

The trial was marked by vigorous protests outside the court by about 40 friends of the accused. They protested that the courtroom was closed to the public in violation of Czechoslovak law.

Only the wives of the defendants were admitted and police even kept out Karel Bartosek's sister, who had travelled from Ostrava to watch the trial.

One of the witnesses, Jaroslav Sabata, former head of the Brno Party organization, refused to testify against Professor Huebl on the grounds that the proceedings were unconstitutional. He and his daughter Hana are due to stand trial themselves for subversion in a few days' time.

The current wave of trials in Czechoslovakia are aimed at destroying active support for the Dubcek wing of the bureaucracy, which opposed the August invasion of 1968 and the subsequent 'normalization'.

Vladimir Ochetto, one of the expelled Italian journalists cited in court, stated on Tuesday that the Prague defendants were totally innocent of subversion.

He said the French CP had not made clear that the Prague and Brno defendants were the true supporters in Czechoslovakia of 'pluralist socialism' which the French Communist Party claimed to support in France.



HUSAK: On holiday

Yard probe down under

A SCOTLAND Yard detective flew out from London's Heathrow Airport yesterday bound for Adelaide, South Australia, at the request of Harold Salisbury, Commissioner of Police there, to investigate allegations against members of his force.

It is alleged that South Australian police officers caused the death of a man by throwing him into a river.

Salisbury was Chief Constable of North and North East Yorkshire last year when Det Chief Supt Robert McGowan, who flew out yesterday, spent five months investigating a murder on Teeside.

Salisbury specifically asked for the services of the Lanarkshire-born detective. He is accompanied by Det Sgt Charles O'Hanlon.

Japanese step up military spending

THE JAPANESE Defence Agency has called for the country's military spending to be more than doubled in the fourth five-year 'defence build-up programme' starting this month.

The Agency urged an outlay of £60,000m between now and 1976. This represents an increase of 205 per cent over

the previous five-year plan which has just ended.

Agency spokesmen said the actual cost would probably be closer to £67,500m taking personnel expenses into account.

The current proposals are a slightly scaled-down version of the original £72,500m plan put forward by the Agency. This

was trimmed after protests from the parliamentary opposition.

The military build-up is a direct response to the rapidly deteriorating situation of Japanese capitalism which has lost its best markets in the United States and is now turning greedy eyes on its Asian neighbours.

Hawke hopes to get oil workers back

UNION leaders yesterday recommended oil refinery workers to call off a month-long strike which has almost halted private motoring in Australia.

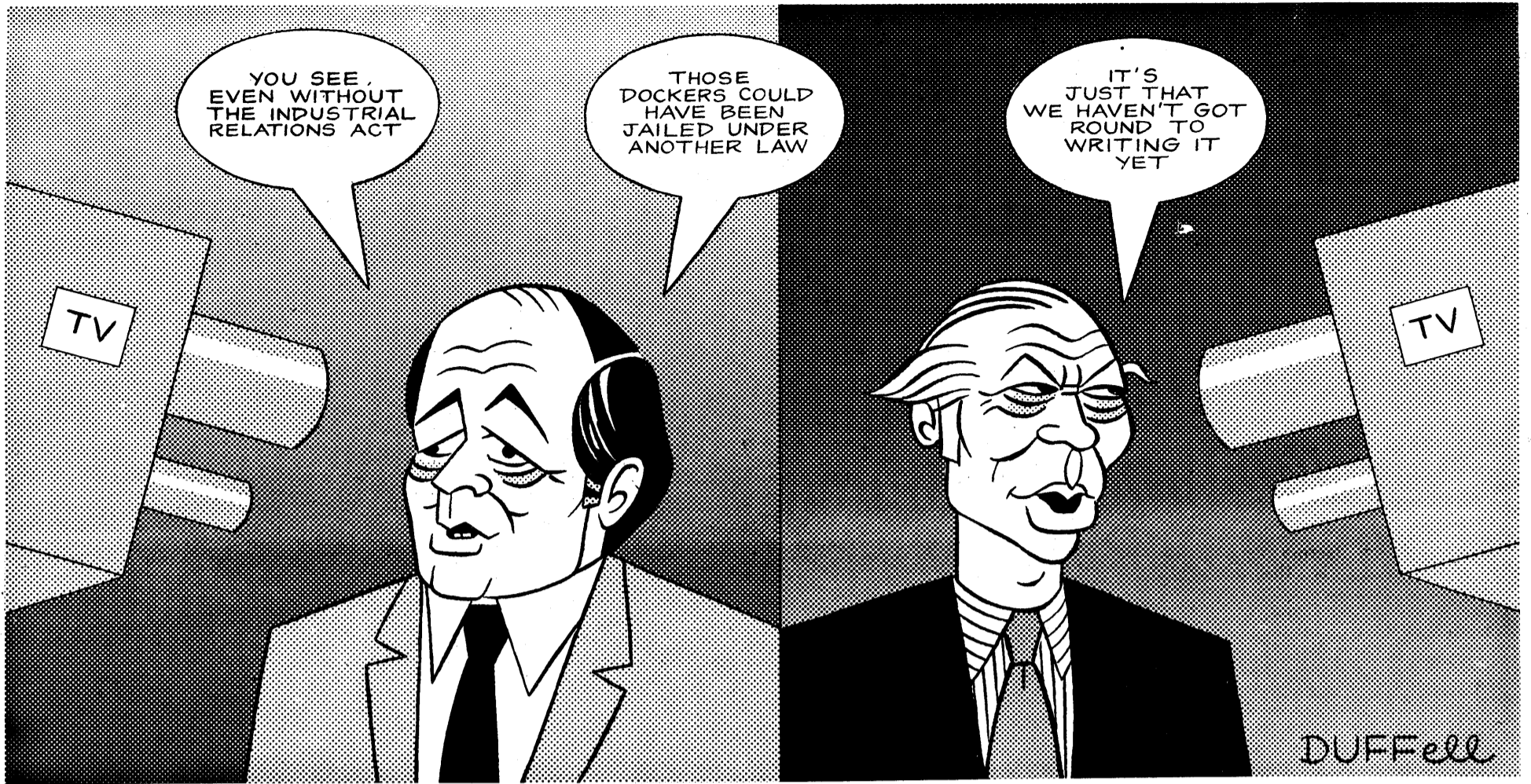
Robert Hawke, 'left'-talking

leader of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, urged the men to call off the strike in return for a guarantee that employers would drop their threat of legal action.

Tory premier William McMahon had threatened to

recall parliament on Friday and take emergency powers against the strikers' unions.

Hawke said he was confident the back-to-work recommendation would be accepted at strike meetings in the main cities.



Collaboration is not such a novel idea

THE POLITICS of coalition received a boost yesterday from Labour peer, Lord Wigg, Paymaster General in the Wilson government.

Speaking at a 'Yorkshire Post' luncheon at Harrogate, Wigg urged Heath, Wilson and Jack Jones to join British industrialists in 'working together' to sort out the country's ills.

'They or their like should sit down with the Prime Minister and leaders of British industry like Lord Stokes or Lord Kearon, men dedicated not necessarily only to the sanctity of huge profits or the smugness of their balance sheets.'

Today's essential and urgent need, he said, was for leading men of goodwill, conscious of the nation's interest, to get together and define immediate problems facing Britain today.

Society was now split as it had not been split for generations and a new basis had to be found for solving the country's doubts and difficulties.

Wigg engineered Wilson's successful bid for the leadership of the Labour Party and became his head of national security—in charge of MI5 and MI6. His speech yesterday concretizes a climate which is already clouding the political scene.

Consider these facts:

- It was Labour votes which kept the Tories in office during the crucial Common Market divisions.
- Labour consistently supports the Tories' policy of out-and-out military repression in Ulster.
- The TUC leaders spend more time with the Tories and the heads of British industry than they do leading their own members in their struggles against Tory laws and Tory wage-cutting.
- Jack Jones has been busy over the past weeks cobbling together a jobs deal on the docks with Lord Aldington, an ex-deputy chairman of the Tory Party.

When Wigg calls for closer collaboration between Labourites, TUC leaders, the Tories and the CBI, he's not suggesting anything that is startlingly novel. It's going on every day of the week.

Camp witch-hunters change their tack

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE 'DAILY TELEGRAPH' attempted once more yesterday to prop-up its faltering campaign against the Young Socialists' summer camp in Essex. On page three the paper suggests that Tilbury dockers have visited the Essex countryside and that this is somehow 'linked' with the camp and a bid by the Socialist Labour League to 'engineer' a General Strike.

The anonymous reporter fails to present any evidence to support these wild accusations. But judging from the camp stories run so far, a hallmark of the 'Telegraph' appears to be its complete contempt for the facts.

With yesterday's feeble effort, the paper appears to have abandoned printing bizarre accusations about guerrilla warfare and Nuremberg rallies. It is concentrating on the more mundane distortions connected with any campaign to persecute the left and trade unionists.

The Home Office, claims the 'Telegraph', has disclosed that the SLL is attempting to engineer a General Strike. This, of course, is a lie as anyone who bothers to read Workers Press, the daily organ of the SLL Central Committee, will readily confirm.

Every day, throughout the recent clash on the docks, the League has called for the TUC, the union leaders and the labour movement to organize a General Strike to force the government to resign.

This call has been openly published in almost every edition of the Workers Press for the last three weeks and many times since the Tories came to power in June 1970—so much for the conspiracy.

The Socialist Labour League cannot 'engineer' a General Strike. Such a strike can only be an expression of the mass movement in the working class—one that at the present time threatens to force the Tory government out of office.

It is of course not the object of the witch-hunters to publish the truth. Their main aim is political—to excite an atmosphere where a pogrom can be launched against the left and militant trade unionists.

This campaign is well underway. Ten right-wing Tories

have already brought out a Bill to proscribe and penalize organizations they consider 'hostile' to the United Kingdom.

One of the sponsors is Harold Soref, the Tory MP who led the witch-hunt of our summer camp.

The Bill received its first reading in parliament yesterday and is ostensibly aimed at preventing foreign left-wing organizations setting up headquarters in Britain.

But its wording would allow the state to take action against any socialist organization in Britain. Called the Proscribed Organizations and Persons Bill, it reads:

'To proscribe the establishment of offices, depots, accommodation addresses or other locations within the United Kingdom, by any person or organization whose declared intentions may prejudice, militate against or be in any way hostile to the United Kingdom and the safety

of citizens of the United Kingdom or British Commonwealth, presented accordingly.'

Tory MP Ronald Bray told parliament the intention of the Bill was to, 'proscribe any organizations and persons involved in these hostile activities, to impose penalties on those involved and make certain types of activities illegal. Moneys collected would be impounded and refunded to donors upon suitable proof being produced. I submit that a Bill to prevent this country becoming a haven for revolutionary activities is essential.'

Bray warned about 'vipers' in our bosom' and added: 'I have not time for British people who owe no allegiance to their native land.'

The government is not backing the Bill.

But it is an indication of the drive by the extreme right for more repression against organizations within the labour movement.

And the Home Office has promised to review regulations governing the establishment of headquarters by political organizations.

After the 1968 General Strike in France, the Gaullist government introduced laws which banned nine left-wing organizations, closed down their newspapers and made membership of them illegal.

10,000 Westminster houses without amenities

WESTMINSTER, one of the wealthiest council areas in Britain, has some 10,000 households lacking one or more of the basic amenities such as bathroom, WC and kitchen, according to a survey published by Westminster City Council.

But 77 per cent had all the amenities.

About 2,000 households suffer from overcrowded conditions, and there is a shortage of furnished and unfurnished privately-rented accommodation.

Aim of the survey was to identify the needs of people who live and work in Westminster's central area.

People in the worst housing conditions are the elderly in unfurnished privately-rented accommodation and the young in furnished premises, according to the survey.

But most of the people interviewed preferred to live in the area. Only a third of those who planned or wanted to move said they would leave the central area.

HIGH COURT judge Mr Justice May yesterday expressed sympathy for four student squatters, then ordered them out of a flat in Kentish Town, London, within seven days. Martin O'Reilly (24) told the Judge they could not afford accommodation on £5-a-week vacation grants. Lidco Investments Ltd were granted possession of the flat and £30 costs against the students.

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TORY PRESS WANTS 'LAW AND ORDER' ELECTION

Ever since the jailing of the Pentonville Five, the political atmosphere in Britain has changed markedly.

From the moment TUC leader Victor Feather called a one-day national strike, we can assume reluctantly, against the dockers' imprisonment the issue for the Tories was plain: 'Who rules Britain?'

The July 27 decision of dockers' delegates meeting in London to call an indefinite national strike over the insoluble problem of jobs reinforced the challenge.

With recession clawing down profits and emptying exchequer coffers, the wage battles of the miners and the railwaymen coming at the end of a bitter two-year offensive fought by practically every major section of the labour movement pushed the government to the edge of the precipice.

The dockers have brought them to the very brink. The Tories are already pincered by the twin forces of working-class resistance and inflation created by shrinking markets. Now the dockers have thrown unemployment in the Tories' faces with more force than any other section of the working class.

It is one thing to be able to shake political heads over rising unemployment while doing nothing about it, but quite another when a section of the labour movement paralyses the country's docks until concrete steps are taken.

With the calling of the one-day strike last week, working-class pressure on the bourgeoisie—maintained at white heat throughout the winter and spring—erupted into the phenomenon of virtual dual power.

The law courts were keenly aware of the implications of the dockers' fight for their right to work in flagrant disobedience of the National Industrial Relations Court and both Mr Justice Megarry and Sir John Donaldson stressed that what was at stake was the rule of law itself.

Only one step behind them were the Sunday issues of the Tory press, two of them maintaining that the crisis was so grave that Heath should call a law-and-order autumn election.

The 'Sunday Telegraph' got closer to the heart of the matter than anyone else.

Who governs Britain was certainly the issue posed by the brazen defiance of the NIRC, not only by the dockers but by the entire trade union movement, it said. And 'people' were alarmed at the readiness of some sections of the community to challenge the rule of law.

But, added an editorial: 'Overshadowing everything is the present Gadarene rush into inflation. Another stiff round of price increases, including the second rise in railway fares within a year, has coincided with the other turbulent events of recent days. The CBI's price restraint policy has been breached by a major car manufacturer and is due to expire in October anyway. The outlook is alarming.'

'The Observer' took up the cry.

'It is the extremity of this docks dispute, its escalation to the point of national crisis, that is most alarming. Coming on top of earlier struggles over the claims of power workers, miners and railwaymen it im-



plies a breakdown not just of our social machinery our methods of settling such disputes but even of our will to settle them, a breakdown of our social cohesion and of the consent on which that must rest.'

DEMOCRACY

Neither 'The Observer' nor the 'Sunday Telegraph' permitted themselves to detail the prospects which the destruction of consensus politics by recession and the substitution of open class war implied.

Peregrine Worsthorne, usually so sharply perceptive of 'the stage we have now reached' managed to inject a broad streak of almost puzzled reluctance into his:

'The challenge to all of us is: to restore the faith of public men that rational, responsible behaviour is politically worthwhile. That faith is badly damaged and unless repaired parliamentary democracy must surely perish.'

But 'faith' cannot be restored. All Tories know that. The employers and their government are forced unavoidably to take on the working class. Some might like to pull back from the brink, but history and the logic of capital prods them forward.

By no means all the Sunday papers shared this nostalgic reluctance to call a spade a spade.

The 'Sunday Express' said: 'There should be no doubt as to the issue that now confronts the country. It is a simple question as to whether this country is to live by law or the brute force of anarchy.'

'Unless there is a quick return to sanity and responsibility this week, Mr Heath should go to the country to seek a further mandate from the people.'

In a front-page article, Don Perry spoke of the danger of street battles and of mobs storming parliament. Ministers were discussing how soon they could move police and troops to deal with such situations, he said.

The prospect of Ulster in England, which only a year ago might have seemed a figment of Lord Carrington's imagination, has suddenly become the common currency of Tory leader writers.

The need to rally the bourgeoisie in these 'dark days' is a much more potent reason for the beatings of the Press barons last week about the loss of their papers than all the claptrap about democratic freedoms.

The Sunday papers certainly didn't miss the first opportunity. And along with the squeals that British democracy had never been so severely threatened by 'the few', came the inevitable witch-hunting of the left.

'Ministers' wrote Perry, 'believe that a loose alliance of revolutionary groups, including the CP, Maoists and anarchists with left-wing militants from the trade unions is determined to turn strikes into periods of serious economic chaos.'

IN PERIL

The 'Sunday Times' weighed in predictably behind them:

'If the law as passed is to be vulnerable to the quasi-violent dissent of a forceful minority then the whole system of law-making is in peril.'

'Only one section of people would benefit from that development and it is not one led by Mr Feather or Mr Wilson. It is the communists, the Trotskyites, and anarchists whose object is to overthrow the democratic system.'



Top: The release of the Pentonville Five. Above: Mr Vic Feather.

Unlike 'The Observer' and the 'Sunday Telegraph', 'The Sunday Times', as always, took the bull by the horns. The rule of capital and its political and constitutional instruments were being threatened. The time had come to hit back.

Said the lead: 'The country faces a major attack upon its constitution principles and freedoms, an attack, once it is perceived for what it is, to which there can only be one reply.'

'There is a developing psychosis which feeds upon itself that the country is indeed now becoming ungovernable. Only the government can extinguish this, not by submitting, but by setting about a calm campaign of re-education.'

'It is possible that this attack will be successfully resis-

ted by the present parliament. But it may be that a full resolution cannot be made until a General Election.'

The sword has been drawn in Britain since the winter. It has been drawn and wielded in Ulster since 1969. As the employment of large numbers of police against pickets at Ellesmere Port and now at Briant Colour Printing shows, it is beginning to be wielded here.

The clamour is mounting in the Tory press for an autumn election so that if the Tories win—with a new government team reshuffled into the public eye during the summer—the sword can not only be drawn and wielded but a serious bid made to deal a death blow to the working class and its organizations.

SPAIN'S NEW FASCIST IDEOLOGUE

BY OUR SPANISH CORRESPONDENT

Over the last two years, Blas Pinar, a man dedicated to the fascist ideals of Jose Antonio, has come into greater prominence in Spanish politics.

A member of the National Council of the Falange, he is the recognized leader of that section of the Spanish ruling class which immediately wants to return to the ideology and methods of the civil war against the working class.

Franco's government and Spanish employers are firmly in favour of such an orientation. The Spanish Communist Party, on the other hand, tries to portray Pinar and Spanish fascism as some isolated historical anachronism, which will quietly leave the scene under the pressure of a 'democratic centrist pro-European tendency'.

'The monocolour government, the upholders of the bunker spirit, the high priest of the structures which came out of the war, are in grave straits.'

The new military-style Prime Minister in France, the growth of support for the Italian fascist movement under Almirante and the prominence of military men under Heath's government show precisely the opposite tendency in reality.

Capitalism requires 'high priests' of Pinar's 'calibre' to crush the working class as the only solution to the international crisis.

At a celebration meeting in

Barcelona in January, Pinar made an appeal for a return to the ideas of the National Revolution which inspired the 'best youth' in the 1930s. His speech was interpreted in many quarters as incitement to a 'coup d'etat' against a government which was too soft on those who wanted to form political parties and foment the class struggle.

The July issue of 'Fuerza Nueva' ('New Strength'), the glossy fortnightly magazine which Pinar runs, is the organizer of this movement which encourages police strike-breaking and attacks on any group in opposition to the Franco regime.

A certain Felix Esteban writes in a letter: 'I am a young Andalusian who loves Spain and national syndicalism . . . Everybody used to call me backward and "fascist" but thanks to God I now have many Falangist friends who oppose this.'

Fascist youth movement

On June 20, Pinar presided over a meeting held on the premises of 'Fuerza Nueva' of secondary school pupils from middle-class homes. Pinar is organising them as an active fascist youth movement.

Seated in front of the flags of Spain, the Falange and Tradition, Pinar told the youth, many clad in the fascist blueshirt and red beret, of the need to prepare



Above: Blas Pinar at school, organizing pupils for his fascist youth movement.

a struggle for God and the Fatherland.

This would be a struggle against those who wanted to introduce 'horizontal', that is, independent trades unions, 'when it is well known the economic and social disasters to which these unions lead and when already many countries consider the vertical unions as the only solution to the terrible problem of strikes'.

These ideas were explained by Pinar at greater length in a still unpublished interview given to 'Le Monde' in February.

'The partiocracy is a luxury which no country can permit itself. The climate of permanent civil strife in those countries where there is freedom for parties is a continual stimulus for our rejection of the party system.'

This struggle for the re-establishment of the Falange takes various forms. One is the organisation of shock groups of managers and backward workers in factories to

beat up and intimidate workers in the Workers' Commissions—illegal embryo trade unions.

Another is to attack those bookshops which sell left-wing literature. Windows are broken and books torn or burnt. In a recent assault on the 'Tres i Cuatre' bookshop in Valencia thousands of pounds worth of books were burnt.

Hostility to the regime

The Falange also enjoys exposing teachers and intellectuals with left-wing views who thus get the sack. They have just led a campaign against two teachers in a secondary school in Valencia, 'who not only showed hostility to the regime in Spain, but also without any hesitation gave their classes a clear Marxist interpretation'.

The local administration was blamed for being too soft, although the teachers were suspended from their jobs:

'Who tolerates so many teachers who do not hide their beliefs? Why are many other companions unemployed who have shown the loyalty? Is not there enough documentation to prevent such situations?'

British trade unionists should take note of the presence of Pinar's men in the International Labour Office which recognises the fascist vertical union and has recently elected two Spanish fascists to its leadership.

As Pinar comments, this is something unprecedented since 1937, and it is a 'question of honour for the Minister of Labour and union organization to make social justice the centre of our policy'.

It is well-known that several Labour MPs think vertical unions are excellent institutions. It looks as if many Stalinists and social democrats in the ranks of the TUC and bureaucracy of the European trade union movement are of the same opinion.

US EXPECTS EVERYONE TO HELP THE \$



The Hakone negotiations are a prelude to Nixon's talks with the new Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka (right), who succeeded Sato (left).

American negotiators at bilateral trade talks with Japan in Hakone opened the talks with a demand for a rise in Japanese imports from the US, according to the 'Nihon Keizai Shimbun', an economic daily in Tokyo.

They asked the Japanese to agree to purchase US aircraft worth \$300m and an extra \$160m-worth of enriched uranium as 'emergency' measures to help the American trade balance.

The United States has already taken drastic 'emergency' measures for precisely this purpose—imposing a 10 per cent import surcharge last August, lifting it only when the yen was revalued by over 16 per cent and threatening tariffs against a whole range of Japanese goods.

These measures have not succeeded in putting the trade balance back in the black. In fact the figures for the first half of this year are expected to be even worse than last year's, which were the worst ever.

The Tokyo newspaper published a list of the demands the Americans were making at the conference and the replies the Japanese were likely to make to them.

It said the United States would suggest that Japan buy nine to 11 airbuses at about \$16m each for delivery about 1975, paying in advance for some of them, and that Japan buy 20 amphibious aircraft and 100 fully-equipped heli-

copters for the maritime safety agency and various other organizations at a cost of about \$100m.

Japan's reply, the paper added, would be that its airlines and other domestic air carriers still have no specific programmes to use airbuses and that the maritime safety agency has no plans to incorporate equipment such as that proposed by the United States into its activities.

However, it predicted, the Japanese side would agree to the uranium purchases provided the local electric companies—the ultimate purchasers—could raise yen loans at a minimum 4.5 per cent interest to cover the purchase.

The Japanese would have to pay by May 1973, while the actual uranium would be stored (generously, free of charge) for up to eight years by the US Atomic Energy Authority.

The uranium is useless to the Japanese in the short term: it represents almost ten years' supply.

These desperate measures do not exhaust the American appetite, however. Other requests are even more comprehensive.

They include various steps to liberalize tariffs and other restrictions on import of computer main frames, computer peripherals, computer parts, large-scale integrated circuits, rawhide, beef, oranges, bulk fruit juice, miscellaneous beans, and peanuts.

The list ranges, as can be seen, from the sublime to the ridiculous. Obviously the US government wants to aid its

electronics industry, which is complaining bitterly about competition (labelled 'unfair') from Japan.

The US farmers, too, have obviously been lobbying heavily for concessions from the Japanese. American farm surpluses are building up at a rapid rate, just as in the 1930s.

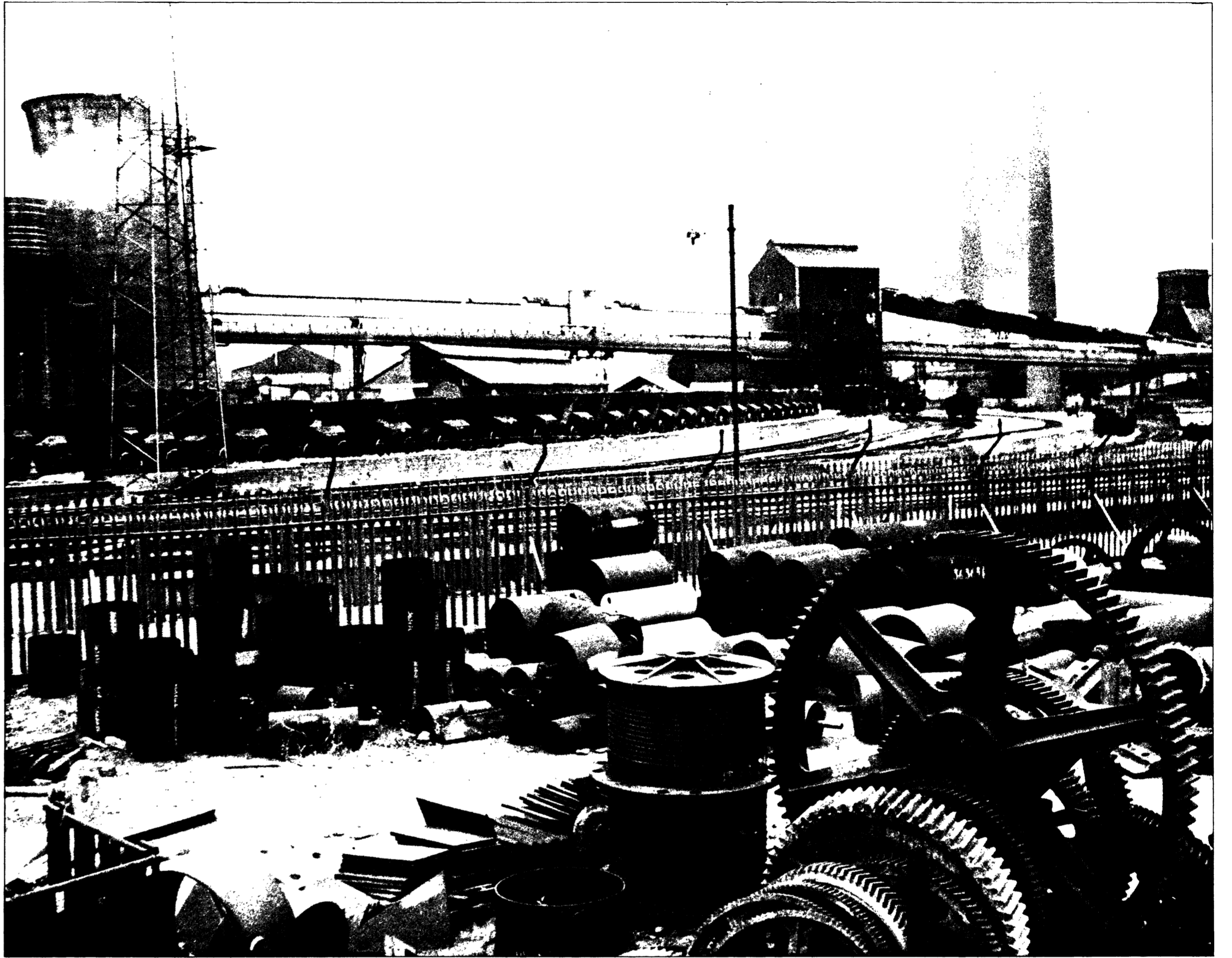
The talks in Hakone, in fact, can scarcely be dignified by the name of negotiations. The only question involved is how far the Japanese will capitulate.

This is in the spirit of the new style of American economic diplomacy ushered in by the Nixon measures of August 15 last year.

According to the Tokyo paper, Japan was ready to go part of the way at least to cutting its own throat on US instructions. Enlarged quotas of computer parts and other electronic goods would be promised; expansion of other quotas would be 'studied'.

The American government is also pushing for Japanese permission allowing more US capital into the country. It wants agreement that American firms be permitted to carry out processing and packaging of bulk drugs, cosmetics and camera films through wholly-owned subsidiaries in direct competition with Japanese industry. This would allow the US firms to escape tariff barriers.

The Hakone negotiations are a prelude to Nixon's talks with the new Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka on Hawaii later this month. The Nixon-Tanaka talks can be expected to proceed in similar vein.



THE DECLINE OF STEEL

BY PHILIP WADE. PART 2

The Tory government's decision to wind up the British steel industry—leaving it without any viable, independent future—was prepared by the policies adopted by the last Labour government under Harold Wilson.

The Labour leadership decided to nationalize the steel industry, the second time they have done this. But the way it was carried through only served to facilitate and assist the processes we are seeing today.

Firstly Labour paid £600m in compensation to the old owners. Firms like Colvilles received £50m, Dorman Longs £46m and the Steel Company of Wales the massive £120m.

In order to make such payments, the British Steel Corporation, which was established to run the industry, incurred an annual £45m burden in interest payments.

Not only this, but 200 firms were left untouched by

the plan. They included some considerable enterprises like Thomas Firth and John Brown, the Sheffield-based engineering and steel groups.

Many of the most profitable specialists and alloy steel makers were not brought into the nationalized steel sector.

The private sector was freed from any restrictions such as price control which was imposed upon the public sector.

Most importantly the control of the industry was placed not in the hands of the working class, but directly under the control of out-and-out Tories.

Lord Melchett became the chairman. This high Tory was on holiday in the south of France when the urgent message came from the Labourites in London that he was wanted to preside over BSC.

Old Etonian Julian Edward Mond, third Baron Melchett of Landford, comes from an old capitalist family. Before taking over steel he was a director of Guardian Insurance and on the board of

His father was Sir Henry Mond, of Mond Nickel and

Imperial Chemical Industries. He had been a Liberal MP, but joined the Tories when his father crossed over to them in 1926.

In January 1969 Melchett gave an indication of the times to come for British steelworkers. He announced plans for 50,000 redundancies by 1975 and the closure of several plants.

But so rapid has been the devastation of the industry that this target has been reached almost three years before its deadline.

When they assumed power the Tories were so overjoyed with the prospect facing them that they decided against denationalization, the policy they adopted after the industry's takeover by the post-war Labour government.

The old owners had had a most generous handout for their largely outdated plant. More importantly, the most profitable sectors had been left in the hands of private enterprises.

So, after hiving off a few profitable side-line operations carried on by BSC, the Tories set about drawing up the vir-

tual elimination of the public sector, spending public money to modernize just a few key plants.

It was in May this year that the Tories spelled out doom for steel. Mr Tom Boardman, the Minister for Industry, rose in the House of Commons to announce investment plans and output targets up to 1980.

He said amid Labour uproar that the forecast for output by 1980 was between 28 million and 36 million ingot tons. It was clear from the rest of his statement that the lower figure was the one the government had in mind.

BSC had been thinking of over 40 million tons by 1980 and an investment programme of £4,000m over the next decade. The largest proportion of the money allocated would be for a major new 'green field' steelworks capable of producing up to 15 million tons a year.

Boardman told MPs that only £200m was to be invested in the period 1973-1974. At this rate only half BSC's investment programme would be reached. Next year's allocation was in itself a cut-back

of £65m on current spending. Most significantly the money was to be spent on five key steel-producing centres and nowhere else. Boardman named the Anchor scheme at Scunthorpe, Lackenby on Teesside, Llanwern and Port Talbot in South Wales and Ravenscraig in Scotland.

NO FUTURE

Areas like Shotton in Flintshire and Corby in Northants were not even mentioned. In other words, they don't have any future whatsoever in Tory plans.

As 'The Times' put it the following day: 'The closure of older plant in order to concentrate more financial resources on larger, advanced steelmaking centres inevitably means adding to the 40,000 redundancies since the Corporation was set up.'

Above all else, the government has made it clear that no new major plant—producing something like 15 million tons and costing at least £1,500m—would be built in Britain.

This plant was to be BSC's attempt to launch itself into modern steel-producing with plants something like the size

of competitors in Europe and Japan.

The Tories' decision, of course, was taken in the middle of absolute collapse of manufacturing investment in Britain. Little steel was being ordered, or come to that, any other basic products like machine tools.

The last hope of the Tories and the ruling class in Britain which they represent was the Common Market. Governments in the Six in any case said in January 1970 they were opposed to BSC's entry into the Common Market in its present form.

Last October Lord Melchett himself made a speech in the House of Lords in strong favour of Common Market entry. He made it clear what the perspectives were:

'Nothing could put our regions, our development areas and the employment of our people in greater jeopardy than turning our backs on Europe at this moment.'

The key section of his speech related to the development of industry, including steel, over the next ten years. 'We shall also need to contemplate joint enterprises in manufacture in Europe, because technology has already led us to the need for very large investments which in some cases may be beyond the scope of our limited national

resources,' he told the Lords. (My emphasis, P.W.)

'I see more vigorous expansion inside the EEC giving us the indispensable springboard for the rationalization and modernization of our steel industry,' he concluded. (My emphasis.)

In other words, the turn to Europe spelled death for the British steel industry.

BSC is 50 per cent bigger than any comparable group in Europe. The Commission in its January 1970 document envisaged the EEC being dominated by some ten big groups, none having more than 12-13 per cent of the total production of crude steel.

So the Tories looked at the situation this way. British steel was both backward and bankrupt, as was British capitalism.

No money could be found to modernize it. So, being pushed along all the time by the wishes of European capital, the decision was taken to wind it up.

Competition inside Europe will be fierce as far as BSC is concerned. At present, BSC shelters behind a tariff barrier of around 8 per cent. This will be progressively reduced in preparation for Market entry and finally disappear on July 1, 1977.

In addition in 1973 BSC will have to begin operating a

pricing system similar to that in Europe.

This basically allows firms to lower their prices from a calculated base to meet foreign competition. This kind of flexible system has been named 'the jaws of hell' because of the temptation to reduce prices to uneconomic levels.

On top of this, all investment plans will have to be submitted to the European Coal and Steel Community. ECSC officials are known to disapprove of expansion plans going ahead while plants that make a loss are still operating.

DISASTER

Over 40,000 workers have been made redundant by British Steel since it was nationalized in 1967. That leaves just over 190,000 production workers.

On present plans the final figure could be as low as 90,000.

BSC chiefs are known to have figures of up to 100,000 more redundancies over the next eight years right in the front of their minds.

There are 118 open-hearth furnaces. These will go. Scotland has 34 and these are all

being shut. That's what lies behind the massive 7,500 to 10,000 redundancies announced for Scotland last month.

Places like Shotton in Flintshire and Corby in Northants will close eventually. Instead, as pointed out, production will be concentrated in five key centres.

For areas like Shotton and Corby, closure equals disaster. With a total labour force of 12,800 supporting a population of 55,000, Shotton would face a complete economic and social collapse.

Corby is no different. The town is steel, with 13,000 workers employed in the tubes and steel plants. Many of the workers are migrants from Scotland who travelled south in the hope of jobs and security.

What is posed here is the end of British capitalism. Without a viable, basic industry like steel for its manufacturing industry, there can be no future for it.

It is not just the Common Market entry that is involved, although that played an activating role in its final collapse.

If one country cannot provide the resources for the development of industry it must be planned on an international scale. But this is impossible in a capitalist system where each country insists on developing industry for profit

and on the basis of competition. What is required is the fight for a socialist united states of Europe in opposition to the capitalist conspiracy of the Common Market.

That means taking up a fight against the leadership of the steel unions, like the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.

This union, along with the others, has put up no fight against closures, although its leaders have intimate, inside knowledge of the Tories' plans.

A new, revolutionary leadership has to be built in these unions, one which can take up the political fight against the Common Market conspiracy.

Steelworkers fighting to defend their right to work must join with other sections of the trade union movement in a fight to remove the Tory government.

Its replacement by a Labour government forced by the mass movement to carry through socialist policies of expropriation of the basic industries under workers' control and without compensation would be the first step along the road to a socialist Europe.

Left: Lord Melchett, who, on becoming chairman of BSC in 1969, announced plans for 50,000 redundancies. Right: Corby, where closure equals disaster.



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 the book is fundamentally wrong. This 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 6
CONTINUED

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY AND FOREIGN POLICY

One of the weaknesses of 'Let History Judge' is its analysis of the right turn in Comintern policy which took place in 1934-1935.

Because Medvedev is unable to explain the reasons for the policies of the 'third period' and their philosophic roots he is unable to explain either the right zigzag which followed, leading to the adoption of the Popular Front policies.

For him, like many anti-Stalinists of the 'new-left' type, while the former was obviously a big mistake the latter was, if not a success,

at least the correct step in the circumstances.'

The right turn is not seen as coming from essentially the same method as the 'third period' excesses of ultra-leftism, nor can it be recognized for what it was.

There is no need to decide who invented the new turn. It may have been Dimitrov, as Medvedev suggests, but there were others in the communist parties and in the leadership of the Comintern who were capable of inventing it.

Much more likely it arose empiracally in the practice of a number of countries after the victory of Hitler, when the danger of fascism became acute. There were, for example, signs of its emergence in France from the time of the fascist riots in February, 1934, and France was one of the first countries in which it found expression even before the 7th Congress of the Comintern of August 1935.

There is no doubt, however, that Stalin quickly made the policy his own and imposed it on the communist parties as firmly as he had done the



Top: Into the 'thieves' kitchen' of the League of Nations in 1934. Litvinov leads the delegation. Above: New look Soviet diplomacy, Stalin and Laval concluding the French pact 1935.

policies of the 'third period'. Medvedev skates over the Popular Front period in the most cursory way, yet it bears examination in relation to what he has written about Stalinism in the 1930s.

While the remnants of the Opposition were being smashed, the Moscow Trials were being staged and hundreds of thousands of loyal communists were being imprisoned and murdered, Stalin was winning support and applause from many 'democrats' and liberals for the

moderation of his foreign policy and its corollary, the Popular Front.

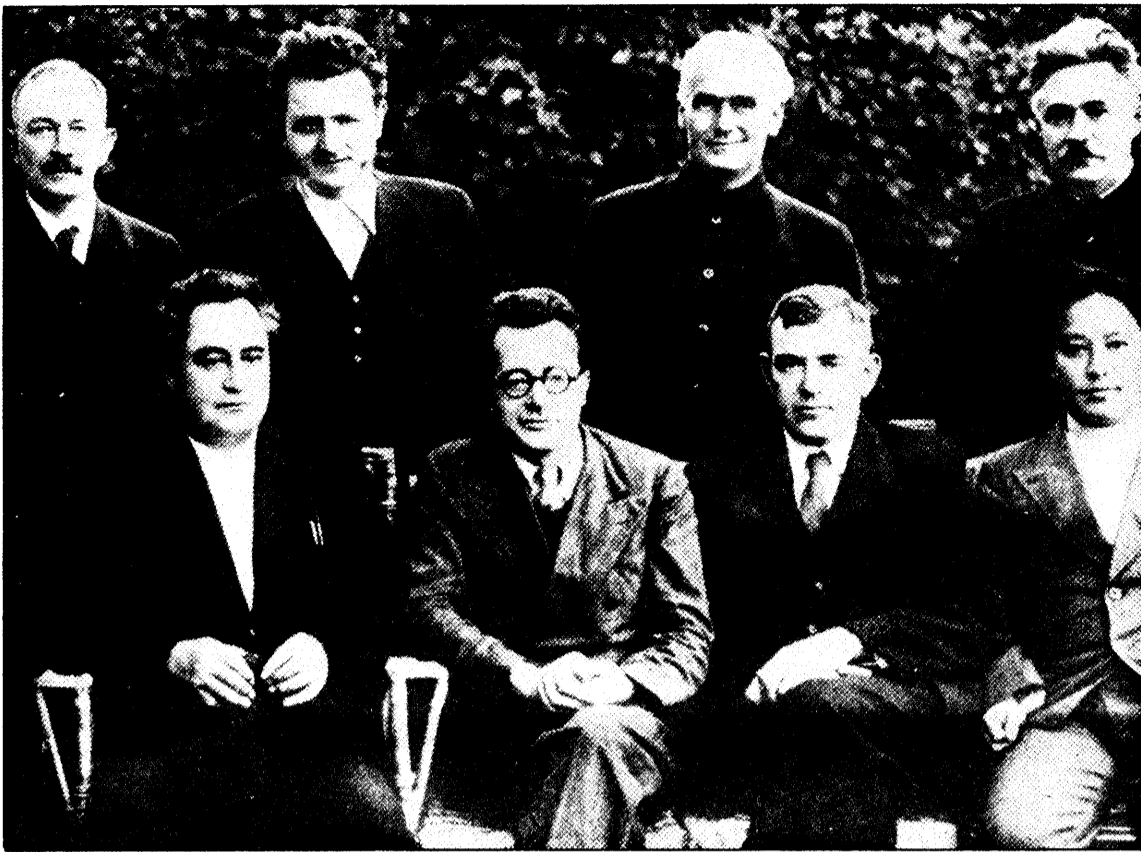
Defence of the bourgeois status quo

More than a shift in tactics was involved. The German events indicated, as Trotsky was soon to point out, that Stalinism had swung definitively to the defence of the bourgeois *status quo*; it had become a counter-revolutionary force. Without understand-

ing this, the nature of the Popular-Front tactic and the so-called struggle against war and fascism proclaimed at the 7th Congress cannot be understood.

There was, of course, a shift in diplomatic policy on the part of the Soviet Union which came about after Hitler's consolidation of power in Germany.

Until then Soviet diplomacy had looked to Germany as a counter-balancing force to Britain and France from whom the main danger to Soviet



General Staff of the Comintern at its Seventh Congress. Seated left to right: G. Dimitrov (Bulgaria), P. Togliatti (Italy), W. Florin (Germany), Chep Shao-yo (China). Standing: O. Kuusinen (Finland), K. Gottwald (Czechoslovakia), W. Pleck (Germany), Dmitri Manuilsky, Stalin's personal deputy.

interests appeared to come. At first the taking of power by Hitler did not change this orientation. Diplomacy as a national state question had by this time definitely superseded world revolution as the goal of Soviet foreign policy. The bureaucracy wanted peace and security. It feared foreign upheavals and adventures. Above all it feared the spread of revolution.

Only when the Third Reich appeared to constitute a military threat did a change in Soviet foreign policy take place. In September, 1934, the Soviet Union entered the 'thieves' kitchen' of the League of Nations and for the next few years became a mainstay of that organization. Even before this, Soviet representatives, headed by Maxim Litvinov, had appeared at international gatherings and were working their passage as responsible statesmen ready to guarantee the *status quo*.

The first fruit of the 'new look' in Soviet diplomacy was the pact with France concluded by Pierre Laval in Moscow in May, 1935. As it was a military defence agreement it required Soviet support for French military preparations. This was ungrudgingly given.

In a joint declaration issued from Moscow it was stated: 'M Stalin understands and fully approves the national defence policy carried out by France to maintain its armed forces at the level necessary for its security.' From that day the French Communist Party dropped its opposition to militarism, adopted the tricolour and the Marseillaise, and became ultra-patriotic.

The pact with France initiated a period of about four years during which, as World War II drew rapidly closer, Soviet policy was devoted to 'collective security' and the formation of an alliance with Britain and France against the Axis powers.

In May-June 1936 the French Communist Party stifled the revolutionary upsurge of the French working class after the electoral victory of the Popular Front. Stalin went on to betray the Spanish Revolution in 1936-1939. Communist Parties everywhere prepared the masses for the coming war by enlisting them on the side of their own bourgeoisies, as long as they were actual or potential allies of the Soviet bureaucracy.

At the same time Stalin 'prepared' in his own way by unleashing an unprecedented campaign of terror and murder which disorientated and demoralized large sections of the Soviet population. Deep inroads were made into the commands of the armed forces and

the whole officer corps was decimated.

On the surface Stalin was still looking for an alliance with the 'peace-loving' capitalists in Britain and France and the policies of the communist parties were turned towards support for bourgeois democracy and a search for allies as far to the right as seemed possible.

In fact, the ruling classes of these countries were by no means anxious to have the Soviet Union as an ally. They feared the effects this would have on the working class. It was not Stalin they feared, but the Russian Revolution; not the bureaucracy, but the nationalized property relations and the successes of the planned economy. Certainly they mistrusted Stalin and hesitated to do a deal with him; many hoped to unleash the Nazi Wehrmacht against the Soviet Union.

Negotiations with the Nazi government

As the danger of war increased and the governments of the western capitalist countries hesitated to enter into a defence agreement with the Soviet Union the Soviet bureaucracy decided to abandon the policy it had pursued since 1934 and do a deal with Hitler themselves.

Stalin had hinted at such a change in his speech to the 18th Congress of the CPSU in March 1939. Then, in May, Litvinov ('peace is indivisible') was dismissed.

As Medvedev points out, in the next few months, 'many Soviet ambassadors were recalled and a good number of them, along with many officials of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, were arrested'. At the same time negotiations were entered into with the Nazi government which resulted in the announcement of a non-aggression pact between the two countries on August 23, 1939.

Medvedev does not examine Soviet foreign policy by revolutionary Marxist criteria. Something of the official thinking pervades his account. He sees the Nazi-Soviet pact as the lesser of two evils, the other being isolation.

'Many biased western writers make it seem that the Soviet Union unleashed Hitler by signing the pact. I do not intend to justify Stalin's entire policy. I have already shown how he obstructed a united front in Germany, decimated the Comintern, dissolved the Polish Communist Party, killed the best Red Army commanders. All this greatly facilitated Hitler's drive to war. But the non-aggression pact

should not be added to the list of Stalin's errors and crimes. The Soviet government was compelled to sign the pact because Britain and France had been encouraging German fascism, and were frustrating the negotiations for a mutual-assistance pact with the Soviet Union'. (Emphasis added)

In fact the signature of the pact represented a continuation of Stalin's policy of manoeuvring between rival blocs of capitalist powers in order to preserve the *status quo* and preserve Soviet national frontiers. This policy as a whole was counter-revolutionary and narrowly nationalist. It saw no role for the working class other than as a pawn, manipulated by the communist parties, to reach these goals.

In fact, Medvedev shares that position insofar as he too sees no role for the working class as a revolutionary force. He shares with the bureaucracy the view that the Soviet Union could be defended by pacts with bourgeois states and military means alone.

He does not see the counter-revolutionary nature of the bureaucracy and its policy in the external field. He accords little or no weight to international factors. His own critique of Stalinism remains bounded by the ideology fostered by 'socialism in one country'.

To condemn the pact with Nazi Germany does not mean to say that a pact with Chamberlain and Daladier would have been preferable—which is latent in Medvedev's account. It is to condemn the whole policy of manoeuvres and alliances which had previously brought the Soviet Union into the League of Nations and turned its diplomacy, under Litvinov, towards a policy of 'collective security' based on acceptance of the existing, imperialist, division of the world.

The alternative to the pact was not a different pact with the so called 'democracies, but a revolutionary-foreign policy which the Stalinist bureaucracy and its stooges in the foreign communist parties and the Comintern were congenitally incapable of carrying out because they were thinking of defending their own interests as a privileged ruling stratum, not of advancing the revolution against capitalism.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

'With the Communist Parties moving to the right in accordance with 'peaceful co-existence' and the Soviet policy of a European Security Pact, the Popular Front is being built up again and it is even in order now to denounce the error of 'the third period'.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

BLOSSOM

The business interests of the judges on the National Industrial Relations Court continue to blossom.

Take Mr John Arkell. He has just been elected chairman of the council of the British Institute of Management—hardly an outfit noted for its sympathy towards trade unions.

Since leaving the BBC as director of administration, Arkell has picked up a number of lucrative directorships.

He sits on the board of Boots, the Coates Group and the United Kingdom Provident Institution. He is also chairman of the Air Transport and Travel Industry Training Board.

Twice-married Arkell (63), will take over the chairmanship of BIM from Sir Basil Smallpiece at the annual meeting of the institute on October 4. Smallpiece was former chairman of the loss-making Cunard empire.

POCKET MONEY

Another man picking up directorships like they were going out of fashion is Sir David Barran.

We've another one to add to the list we produced just over a week ago.

Barran, formerly head of Shell and one of Britain's highest-paid executives, has already moved onto the boards of the Midland Bank, British-Leyland and the Burton Group. Now he has joined the Drayton Corporation and the Drayton Group.

This appointment will add some more pocket money to his pension. At Shell he received more than £70,000 a year.

DECENT

Lucky old Jack Jackman. He is the director of Manchester airport. The council met the other day to decide whether His Excellency should live in a council house or a £19,000 house which he wanted in Knutsford.

The airport recommended to the finance committee that £20,000 be allocated to see that Jackman was given somewhere decent to live.

Councillor John Gilmore from Openshaw was immediately on his feet. He said that before spending £20,000 the council should investigate whether there was anything suitable in their own housing stock.

This motion was defeated by 48 to 44 votes. Jackman will now get his Knutsford mansion.

Manchester is a Labour council.

HARDMAN

Great was the jubilation in some circles when Nicholas Ridley, the 'butcher of UCS', was dropped from the Heath ministry.

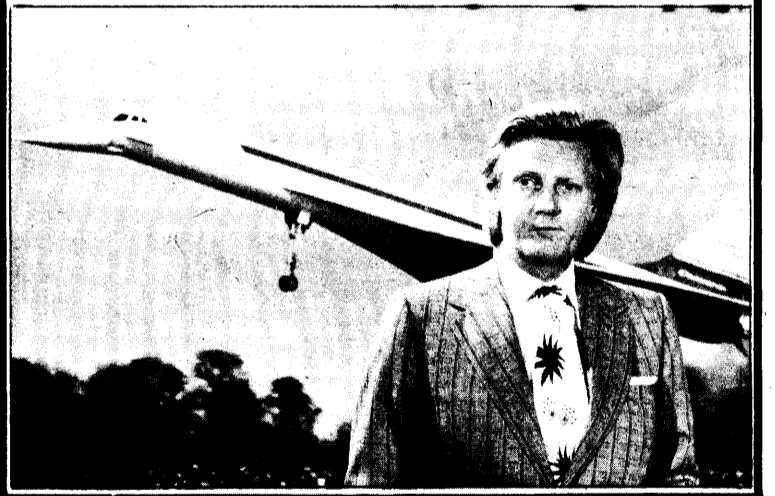
But as we said at the time, there are plenty of other Ridleys in the Tory government.

Michael Heseltine, Minister for Aerospace, has been appointed to take over responsibility for shipping.

He takes over from Michael Noble, who was a former chairman of the Scottish Tory Party.

It was politically embarrassing for the Tories to have Noble wielding the axe on the Clyde. What was needed was a gleaming new 'hard man' of the true Heath school. Enter Heseltine.

Below: Michael Heseltine



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Heath's housing figures a little distorted

TORY PRIME Minister Edward Heath's claim that rents will only rise 7½ per cent in 12 months under the new Housing Finance Act is a distortion of the real situation.

In a letter to Harold Wilson, leader of the Opposition, Heath says his estimate for increased rents due from 8 million tenants in England, Scotland and Wales is 'the best . . . we have been able to make'.

But the figures include 4.25 million tenants who won't be affected, either because they are claiming supplementary benefit or are private tenants who fall outside the Act.

Millions of council tenants face a £1-a-week increase this October and another 40p in April 1973. Only 500,000 are expected to qualify for rent rebate, and there is no guarantee tenants will opt for a mean-test to obtain a reduction.

Heath's figures also attempt to pull in private tenants who won't be affected immediately under the Act. He also fails to take account of the 50p many tenants have already paid from April this year.

Finally, government estimates obtained by Labour MP Frank Allaun earlier this year show that within a few years council rents will double.

In line with the Tories' attack on municipal housing, there has been a sharp fall in the number of council houses started in the second quarter of this year.

Numbers were 19 per cent down on the first quarter and 10 per cent down on the same period for 1971.

Squatting respectably

THE SELF-APPOINTED squatters' leaders of yesteryear are fast becoming the respectable (and well paid) social workers of today.

Many of them work hand-in-hand with local councils, often acting as agents for homeless people seeking short-term accommodation.

Some of those who recently were never out of the newspapers for one exploit or another, are now known to be making big sums of money as landlords by renting out flats themselves.

Never more than liberal protesters, these 'leaders' have been easily swallowed up by the system they were supposed to have declared war on.

The latest example is Jim Radford who led many a squat. Now he has just finished a two-year course in community work at Goldsmith's College, London, to become director of the Blackfriars Settlement at £2,650 a year.

The point, says Radford, is that squatting itself has become respectable. The Settlement has hundreds of them as clients and 14 local authorities have agreed to let them use short-term property.

Two government departments try to end case Strange moves to muffle Poulson

QUESTIONS are to be asked in parliament about the Tory government's attempts to get the Poulson bankruptcy examination adjourned indefinitely. When the hearing reopened in Wakefield on Tuesday, lawyers representing the Department of Trade and Industry headed by John Davies, and the Attorney-General, Sir Peter Rawlinson, applied for the questioning of architect John Poulson to be adjourned.

And late on Tuesday, after a day-long hearing, the former Home Secretary and deputy Prime Minister, Reginald Maudling, issued a statement deploring the fact that Poulson's evidence was being heard in public.

During his evidence on Tuesday Poulson said that he had committed what a QC said was a criminal offence to 'save the face' of the ex-Home Secretary.

Mr Muir Hunter, QC, for the trustees, was questioning Poulson about his business dealings with International Technical Construction Services, one of Poulson's companies, of which Maudling was the chairman.

Mr Hunter referred to a draft letter in which the Pontefract architect agreed to 'eliminate' £300,000 ITCS owed Poulson's organization.

The letter was to Maudling, addressed 'My Dear Reggie', and was signed by Poulson, he claimed, at the suggestion of Maudling.

Mr Hunter asked: 'What was the reason you did it, bearing in mind this is a criminal offence? Was it just to save Mr Maudling's face so that he should not be associated with a company which had a very large debit balance?'

Poulson: 'That was the suggestion made to me.'

Poulson said he signed the letter on the advice of Mr Nigel Grimwood, his solicitor.

Mr Hunter: 'Why did you purport to sign away the sums owed to you by ITCS?'

Poulson: 'I am very sorry I cannot answer. Mr Grimwood did not explain to me.'

Mr Hunter: 'Was it intended to be just a sham?'

Poulson: 'No, sir.'

Mr Hunter: 'Was it intended to be real and have real effect?'

Poulson: 'I don't know what effect it was. I was in a state. I had lost everything. Whether you believe it or not is up to you.'

Mr Hunter: 'You have a mode of escape other than fainting. Would you like to say you did these things under the undue influence of your solicitors?'

Poulson: 'Under the advice of the solicitor, because I had never contemplated action to this effect.'

Poulson claimed he was owed much greater sums of money than he owed. 'I did not know then the difference between insolvency and bankruptcy until it was explained fully later.'

Mr Hunter: 'Did you then seek to pay your customers?'

Some of the headlines on Maudling's unprecedented statement



Poulson: 'Yes.'

Mr Hunter: 'At this time what were you doing with your money?'

Poulson: 'Doing business.'

Mr Hunter: 'Including financing your wife's companies?'

Later Mr Hunter said: 'You were prepared to pay money into your wife's and Mr Maudling's companies, even though you owed income tax of £160,000?'

Poulson: 'I was owed greater sums.'

Mr Hunter: 'If it came to a choice between paying Mr Maudling and your wife's companies and paying your income tax, you chose to prop up the companies?'

Poulson: 'No, sir, I was never in any doubt at that time that I was owed sums very much in excess. It was quite safe. The revenue had had large sums off me. The revenue could do with more like me.'

(In the original bankruptcy petition it was revealed that the Inland Revenue was Poulson's biggest creditor.)

Shortly after 6 p.m., Maudling issued a brief statement via the national news agency, Press Association. The statement said: 'I have seen preliminary reports of what Mr Poulson said today at his bankruptcy hearing.'

'If these reports are correct, I must make it quite clear that what Mr Poulson is saying does not correspond with the truth.'

'I wish to make the most vigorous protest against this form of procedure which allows Mr Poulson to make any allegations he likes about me, without notice, and in my absence, and without any opportunity for me to refute them.'

Legal correspondents said the terminology and character of Maudling's intervention was unusual. One lawyer told Workers Press:

'The legal principle is that no one should issue statements interfering with or commenting on a witness's evidence when the case is proceeding. But this case is, I suppose, fairly unique.'

The applications for the adjournment of the hearing were refused by the court.

In submitting that the case should proceed, Mr Hunter said that in his 28 years at the bar he had never known of such an application.

'One is by Mr Saffman (for Poulson) for an indefinite adjournment on the grounds of the institution of the police investigation, the second by Her Majesty's government—by the Attorney-General and the Depart-

ment of Trade and Industry—who also desire an indefinite adjournment on grounds which I have so far failed to understand.

'It is perhaps singular that a debtor involved in such a notorious bankruptcy case, who collapsed while being examined and is now applying not to be further examined in public, should have his application supported by the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry and on behalf of the Official Receiver and by the Attorney-General.'

'This country is outstanding in the matter of bankruptcy law—the public have the right to hear the debtor and every single creditor has the power to question him. Why has this great scandal or alleged scandal burst on this country and its public?'

'During the adjournment between June 13 and July 3 the Official Receiver and his officers, with what appears to be exceptional diligence and devotion to public duty, prepared a schedule on which they had been working night and day of a list since 1962 of the presents that Mr Poulson appears to have made to his friends.'

'These came to £334,000 of which £155,000 had been received by Mr Poulson's old friend, Mr Dan Smith, former chairman of the Northern Economic Planning Council. I asked about certain payments and it was questions about Mr Dan Smith that attracted attention.'

'Having set the country on fire and attracted the attention measured by the presence of the representatives of the press today, it is now desired that none of these matters should be pursued in public—not even for the benefit of innocent people who may have been falsely traduced. It may well be that Mr Dan Smith has an explanation for some of the enormous sums which have been paid to him.'

'He has at least produced one contract of service. Similarly there are persons referred to who had explanations as to what payments were for. None of this is to come out in public at all while the police investigation goes on. The public is to wait to hear of these until there are committal procedures and trials.'

'They are talking as if Mr Poulson is going to be prosecuted. This is most unjust. I see no reason to believe that Mr Poulson will be prosecuted for anything outside bankruptcy, but there may be two or three things on which he could be prosecuted under the Bankruptcy Act.'

The court adjourned until next Monday when Poulson will continue his evidence.

TUC suspend another 19 registered unions

ANOTHER 19 unions learned yesterday that they had been suspended from the TUC for refusing to come off the Industrial Relations Act Register.

Among them were the 316,000-strong Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers and the National Union of Bank Employees with 90,000 members.

More than 35 unions have now been suspended for failing to comply with the deregistration instruction and barring future policy changes by affiliated unions the 19 will be the last batch to have action taken against them.

The next stage will be expulsion. The TUC General Council is at present formulating its policy on this issue ready for the Congress in December.

They are likely to reiterate their earlier position that the suspended union must come into line by December 31 or face expulsion.

But this will meet strong opposition at the Congress. The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers is calling for the immediate operation of rule 13, which lays down expulsion for unions who flout the General Council line.

Some unions have already changed their minds on registration under pressure from their membership moved by the jailing of the dockers.

The electricians, led by right-winger, Frank Chapple, has deregistered and Civil Service and the shop workers are attempting to change their policy before the Congress.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

PUBLIC MEETING

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE
LONDON, WC1.

Thursday August 10, 7.30 p.m.

END THE TUC TALKS WITH HEATH
VICTORY TO THE DOCKERS
NATIONALIZE DOCKS AND TRANSPORT INDUSTRIES
MAKE THE TORIES RESIGN

Speakers:

Larry Cavanagh, dock worker
G. Healy, SLL national secretary

TV

BBC 1

9.45 Along the Seashore. 10.00 Casey Jones. 10.25 If You Were Me. 10.50 Tintin. 10.55 Magic Roundabout. 1.00 Hen Allerau. 1.30 The Herbs. 1.45 News, weather. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Harlem Globetrotters. 5.20 Barrier Reef. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News, weather. **6.00 NATIONWIDE.** **6.55 HE SAID, SHE SAID.** Panel game. **7.25 TOP OF THE POPS.** **8.00 THE DICK EMERY SHOW.** With June Whitfield. **8.30 HAVING A LOVELY TIME.** Colin Welland at the Seaside. **9.00 NEWS, Weather.** **9.25 PLAY: 'STILL WATERS'.** Margery Mason, Bryan Pringle, Richard Pearson. Married couple with grown-up children find relaxing proves harder than they anticipated. **10.20 THEM.** Comedy by John Speight. **10.50 KENNETH HARRIS INTERVIEWS.** Sir Val Duncan, Chairman of Rio Tinto Zinc, the world's biggest mining company. **11.40 NEWS.** **11.45 THE ENGINEER'S WORLD.** With Eric Laithwaite. **12.10 Weather.**

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 5.35 Open University. **7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.** **8.00 SONS OF THE BLOOD.** (New Series.) The Great Boer War, 1899-1902, recalled by the men who fought it. **8.30 EMMA.** By Jane Austen. Part 3.

9.15 INDUSTRIAL GRAND TOUR. 2: Sticklepath. **9.25 SHOW OF THE WEEK: MORECAMBE AND WISE.** **10.10 NEWS, Weather.** **10.15 WORLD CINEMA: 'NEVER STRIKE A WOMAN—EVEN WITH A FLOWER'.** Czechoslovak comedy about a man who cannot say no to women.

ITV

11.30 The medium and the message. 12.25 Women today. 12.50 Common Market cookbook. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.30 Zingalong. 1.40 Arthur. 2.05 Castle haven. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Joker's wild. 3.45 Marcus Welby MD. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Atom ant. 5.20 How! 5.50 News. **6.00 WRECKERS AT DEAD EYE.** Ship in the Night. **6.30 CROSSROADS.** **6.55 FILM: 'RUN FOR THE SUN'.** Richard Widmark, Trevor Howard. A reporter goes to Mexico to find a missing American author. **8.45 MAX BYGRAVES AT THE ROYALTY.** **9.15 IMAGES.** Imogen Hassall and Matthew Scurfield. **10.00 NEWS AT TEN.** **10.30 CINEMA.** **11.00 THE AVENGERS.** My Wildest Dream. **12.00 THE BISHOPS.**

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 2.35 Wave makers. 3.00 Eisteddfod. 4.05 Nuts and bones. 4.20 Puffin. 4.22 Dick Van Dyke. 4.50 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Hogan's heroes. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Girl in the Headlines'. 8.45 London. 11.02 Marcus Welby. 11.15 News, weather. **WESTWARD. As Channel except:** 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 10.59 News. 11.55 Faith for life. **SOUTHERN:** 12.55 News. 1.00 Afloat. 1.25 Hogan's heroes. 1.50 Cook book. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Man from



Actor Kenneth Griffith interviews veterans of the Boer War in 'Sons of the Blood' on BBC 2 tonight. He has also written and narrated this new series. Above: Field telephone operators.

uncle. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Dithers. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Stingray. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Simon Locke. 7.15 Film: 'Black Spurs'. 8.45 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Film: 'Behemoth the Sea Monster'. 12.20 Weather. Guideline. **HTV:** 3.20 Cook Book. 3.45 Simon Locke. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Joe 90. 5.20 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Dick Van Dyke. 7.10 Film: 'Escape from Zahrain'. 8.45 London. 10.30 Pembrokeshire. 11.15 Spyforce. 12.15 Weather. **HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except:** 4.15 Miri Mawr. 6.01 Y Dydd. **HTV West as above except:** 6.18 Sport West. **ANGLIA:** 1.40 Remember. 2.05 Joe 90. 2.30 London. 3.15 Randall and Hopkirk. 4.10 News. 4.15 Jimmy Stewart. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Cross-

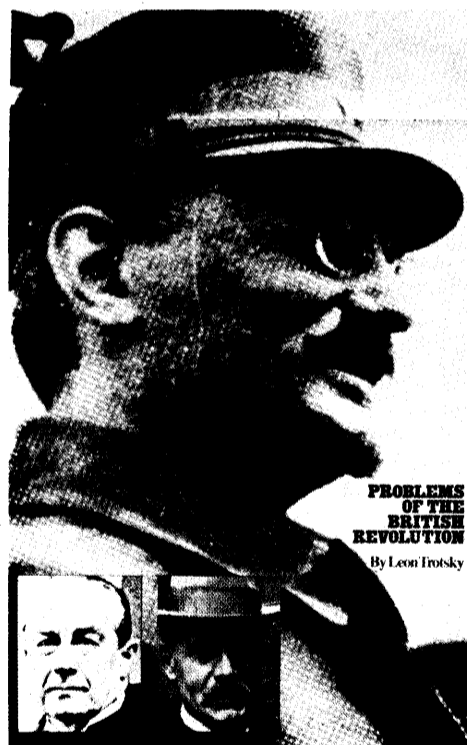
roads. 7.00 Sale. 7.30 Film: 'The Nebraskan'. 8.45 London. **ATV MIDLANDS:** 2.40 Potter's art. 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Family affair. 4.35 Nuts and bones. 4.50 Pretenders. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sale. 7.30 Film: 'Smokescreen'. 8.45 London. 11.00 O'Hara. 12.00 Stories. **ULSTER:** 4.10 Gourmet. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Partners. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sporting challenge. 7.30 Film: 'Revolt at Fort Laramie'. 8.45 London. 11.00 Champions. **YORKSHIRE:** 1.45 Mysteries. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Eisteddfod. 4.10 Calendar. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Funky phantom. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.05 It takes a thief. 7.00 Film: 'The House on Telegraph Hill'. 8.45 London. 11.00 Mannix. 11.55 Something to sing about. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 2.25 Freud on food. 2.45 Wonderful world. 3.40 Casebook. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Lidsville. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. Police file. 6.25 UFO. 7.20 Film: 'The Young Lawyers'. 8.45 London. 11.00 On the line. 11.35 Scales of justice. **SCOTTISH:** 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Animaland. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Funky phantom. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 UFO. 7.10 Film: 'A Boy, a Girl and a Bike'. 8.45 London. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 As others see us. 11.35 On the buses. **GRAMPIAN:** 3.31 News. 3.35 Job look. 3.40 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Pippi. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Top team. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.55 Film: 'The Young and the Guilty'. 8.15 In for a penny. 8.45 London. 11.00 Young view. 11.30 Avengers.

BOOKS



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We won't accept pay deal say angry builders

BY PHILIP WADE

ONE THOUSAND building workers from all over Britain lobbied pay talks yesterday demanding 'no sell-out' on their claim for £30 and a 35-hour week.

Union leaders had misinformed the men, the press and police as to the location of the meeting.

In the end the lobby had to march from New Cavendish Street—London headquarters of the National Joint Council for the industry—to Bedford Square, the building employers' HQ a mile away where the talks were taking place.

They broke down after two hours with no agreement reached.

Speakers at the lobby said that men were walking out on sites all over the country in defiance of the union's selective strike policy.

Others demanded the resignation of the union leaders if they accept the latest offer. This was greeted by cheers.

The employers have offered a two-year, two-stage deal. This would give craftsmen £23 immediately and £26 next May. Labourers would get £19.60 and £22.20 next year.

No concessions have been offered on hours and the deal is only a little better than the offer made when the strike began.

Alan Brown, shop steward on the strike-bound Queen Elizabeth hospital site, Birmingham, said: 'This is a back-handed deal.'

'We want £30 for a 35-hour week now—not in a one or two years' time. And we won't go back until we get it.'

'The union leadership have to sort themselves out. Or we will put new people in their place.'

He told me that the strike would be extended to building workers who line foundries with bricks in the Birmingham area. They were also seeking support from railwaymen and other trade unionists.

Dennis Johnson, chairman of the Bristol strike committee, told me: 'The offer is definitely unacceptable. We have not come all the way here to be sold out. We are determined to go it alone if the union leaders settle.'

Forty-two sites are shut in Bristol, involving the entire central area.

'This deal is no good to us,' said Alex Lee, strike committee member at the McAlpine hotel site, Gloucester Rd, London.

'Every single building worker says he won't accept it. We have been out now for six weeks and we can stay out for six months if necessary.'

AUGUST FUND STARTS WITH £100.36

LAST MONTH'S Fund was magnificent. You raised, in the midst of the holiday period, over £2,000. Many thanks to every one of you for this very great effort.

Now we face a political situation where emergency powers and brutal oppression of the Ulster working class are becoming the order of the day. The Tory government sets the pace and leaves us no time to sit back.

This month we again need a very special effort. Our expenses are rocketing high and our holidays are not yet over.

We need to increase our Fund target to £1,750 to cover us this month. We know you will do everything you possibly can. Post your donations to:

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NEWS DESK 01-720 2000
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Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Picketing of ports stepped up



DOCKS shop stewards yesterday put their case to the Jones-Aldington committee, which is trying to find a formula for ending the national strike.

Some of the 300 pickets out in different areas of London yesterday seen outside the Midland Cold Storage container base yesterday

The meeting was attended by one representative from each of the seven ports associated with the national port shop stewards' committee.

At its meeting on Saturday the committee agreed to press for two stewards from each port to sit on the committee, but this was turned down. The working dockers from London sit on the committee with union leaders and port employers.

Heavy picketing was maintained by dockers around the country yesterday in a bid to seal off all but emergency supplies, or those agreed by the unions on humanitarian grounds.

The London stewards estimated that they had a total of about 300 pickets out.

Yesterday's main target was Hythe Quay, near Colchester, but dockers were also on duty at Folkestone, Whistable, Harwich, and Midland Cold Storage. A spokesman emphasized that there was no let-up, either, in the picketing of all the London docks themselves.

In Liverpool, about 3,000 dockers were urged at a mass meeting to stage mass pickets of several small unregistered ports, such as Heysham and Glasson Dock, near Lancaster. These were working 'flat out', stewards said.

Stewards told the meeting they had agreed to allow a 40-strong shore gang to break the strike and handle a children's educational cruise liner, the 'Uganda', due to dock today.

The ship will land about 600 schoolchildren and embark another 60 for her next cruise. The dockers have agreed to load food and stores for the trip, so that she can sail on Friday.

16 stevedores who handle ships at Scarborough left a meeting of Hull dockers yesterday to make application to join the Transport and General Workers' Union as regular dockers.

About 200 Hull dockers went to Scarborough on Tuesday and stopped a timber ship discharging. The harbourmaster has closed the quays.

About 100 lorry drivers demonstrated outside the city hall where the dockers held their meeting.

A plea for the shipment of Channel Island tomatoes to be resumed was turned down at Southampton by dockers' delegates yesterday.

Afterwards, one of the Channel Islands' delegates, Maurice Le Main, from Jersey, said: 'We were not really disappointed because we appreciate the position the British dockers are in, fighting for their livelihood.'

About 400 of Manchester's 1,100 dockers met yesterday. After hearing reports from delegates they decided to hold a further meeting the day after the next national delegate meeting.

It was estimated that between 500 and 600 vessels were still stopped around Britain yesterday.

Ulster: British troops still digging in

BY IAN YEATS

THERE WERE sporadic shooting and stoning incidents in Ulster yesterday as people living in Catholic areas of the Province adjusted themselves to the second day of the blanket presence of British troops.

Saladin and Saracen armoured vehicles roamed Catholic neighbourhoods in Belfast and Londonderry with turrets revolving and foot patrols of troops and Royal Ulster Constabulary were moving on all streets.

In Belfast shots were fired in the Unity Flats area and near the Europa Hotel. Hundreds of troops were rushed to the Short Strand area when Catholic and Protestant gangs clashed after loyalist workers at the Sirroca factory had been stoned from the Catholic district.

In Londonderry, Ulster GOC Gen Sir Harry Tuzo 'drove off at speed' when his car was stoned. Five hundred girls at the Rosemount shirt factory which overlooks the Bogside refused to work because troops were using the roof as an observation post.

The number of troops on the streets was cut to 1,500 in a bid to overcome the 'barricade mentality' generated by army brutality last August.

No mass searches or arrests were carried out, although arms and munitions were taken from selected houses. Soldiers went out of their way to make themselves popular, especially with children.

'The Guardian's' Belfast correspondent, Simon Winchester, speculated yesterday that if the situation remains quiet until after the Apprentice Boys' Rally on Saturday week, most internees will be out of Long Kesh.

Tory intentions behind the unprecedented 'Operation Motorman', launched at 4 a.m. on Tuesday August 1 were not to physically eliminate the IRA, but to make it impossible for them to continue to operate.

While the root causes of Catholic unrest remain unchanged, creating these conditions is likely to mean the continued presence of most if not all the present 21,000 soldiers.

In Derry yesterday troops were repositioning more premises at strategic points and clearly preparing for a long stay.

Meanwhile the declarations of

renewed guerrilla activity by both wings of the IRA expected by some observers, failed to materialize.

On the contrary, the Officials in a statement issued through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau in Dublin, said they would not be 'drawn into an open conflict' and recommended instead the ostracizing of British troops.

Belfast Provisional IRA leader Sean MacStiofain has urged his men not to engage the army in shooting incidents.

Rural raids on individual loyalists directed from a new field headquarters in the wilds of Co Donegal are unlikely to have much impact or command much support even from Catholics.

Many Provos are thought to have gone to ground in Ulster. Eire Justice Minister Mr Desmond O'Malley said yesterday that Eire laws might shortly be changed to allow them to step up their anti-IRA campaign and he warned that IRA units attempting to set up across the border would be raided.

The Provos are almost certainly short of arms as a result of the army raids and the drying up of overseas supplies. In Dublin yesterday three men thought to be Provos carried out a daylight robbery for eight guns.

Meanwhile the Whitelaw administration in Ulster is once again turning the face of friendship to the Catholic population, keeping the army on a tight rein and dealing promptly with all Catholic 'complaints' at Stormont.

Their efforts are being aided by the leaders of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. While criticizing the army's 'iron fist' invasion of the no-go areas Mr Ivan Cooper made a blistering condemnation of IRA terror.

After midnight talks with Eire leaders on Wednesday the SDLP announced that despite the army 'invasion' it is still willing to talk to Whitelaw about the future of the province. The discussions are expected to take place on Monday.

Eire premier Jack Lynch has been urging the SDLP leaders to get round the conference table with Whitelaw ever since his last summit with Tory leader Edward Heath.

Strike threat over rail sackings

RAIL UNION leaders yesterday met the British Railways Board to warn that industrial action could follow if it persists with a proposal to cut about 20,000 jobs over the next four years.

The National Union of Railwaymen wants the cuts achieved through voluntary retirement rather than compulsory severance.

The board has agreed to most of the unions' demands for increased redundancy payments, but has refused to give a pledge on the demand for no compulsory.

The NUR conference last month instructed the union's leaders to back their demand for no compulsory redundancies by strike action if necessary.

EGYPT and Libya yesterday agreed to merge their two countries 'by stages' following talks between Anwar Sadat and Col Muammar Gaddafi in Benghazi. A simultaneous announcement of the historic decision was expected from Cairo and Tripoli.

The Tories badly need communal agreement in Ulster and there is evidence that much the same tactics will be used to curb Protestant extremism.

The Life Guards yesterday raided a Protestant house in Belfast confiscating rifles and machine guns. Whitelaw has also called for details of the 100,000 arms certificates issued to Ulstermen. He is believed to be sceptical about the need for so many guns in urban areas.

William Craig's Vanguard movement has lost ground to the Protestant and Loyalist Association of Workers, led by Belfast docks convenor William Hull and the Ulster Defence Association. The LAW, fully backed by the UDA, is about to launch a new political party to contest all future elections.

The Heath government hopes that if Ulster can be kept quiet until the autumn and democratic political forces encouraged, the projected all-party peace conference will be possible and perhaps even the controversial referendum on partition.

The LAW and the UDA are unlikely to come round to the idea of Irish unity, even though some politicians have begun to sound out Eire ministers about the prospect of making the Republic more acceptable to Protestants.

The ground is being prepared at the very least for a coalition-style administration of the north underpinned by the imperial power at Westminster and with the backing of the green Tories in Dublin.

It is also opening the gates to new developments in the Ulster working class. Whatever the form of any future administration in Ulster, no significant inroads will be made into unemployment, low pay and substandard housing.

Even now the Province virtually survives on Exchequer hand-outs to Harland and Wolff and other key sections of industry.

Political developments in Ulster pose more sharply than ever the need for an end to sectarianism and for workers on both sides of the Irish Sea to unite on a common programme to force the Tory government to resign and replace them with a Labour government pledged to carry out socialist policies, which alone can solve the problems thrown up by recession and the worsening crisis of world capitalism.