

# HANOI CRITICAL OF MOSCOW AND PEKING

BY JOHN SPENCER

**SOVIET and Chinese leaders are piling pressure on North Vietnam to accept American terms and end the Indo-China war.**

Over the past few days the North Vietnamese press has published several sharp denunciations of Soviet and Chinese policies, indicating that the North Vietnamese are resisting their demands.

At the same time, however, the American military is stepping up its air attacks on North Vietnam in another attempt to force acceptance of Nixon's terms.

The Hanoi newspaper 'Nhan Dan', in an editorial on Tuesday celebrating the anniversary of the August 1945 uprising which began the Vietnamese revolution, attacked 'disastrous opportunist tendencies of all shades from outside'.

These tendencies, it said, were responsible for 'all sorts of none-too-agreeable actions' against the Vietnamese struggle. The paper contrasted them with the 'revolutionary offensive spirit of our people and their well-tested vanguard brigade'.

The 'Nhan Dan' editorial is unmistakably directed at the Soviet and Chinese leaders. Only last week the paper carried a lengthy article warning that it will not be led into their path of 'compromise with perfidious imperialists'.

The article said the central point of Nixon's strategy was to achieve an equilibrium among the big powers as a 'shield to give the US imperialists complete freedom of action in checking by means of violence the national liberation movement'.

It added: 'If out of the narrow interests of one's nation one tries to help the most reactionary forces avert the most dangerous blows, just like throwing a life-belt to a dangerous pirate, that is a cruel reconciliation beneficial to the enemy and not beneficial to the revolution.'

This not only harms the Vietnamese revolution but endangers the revolutionary conquests of the very countries which carry it out, 'Nhan Dan' said.

It added: 'The evolution of each country is an integral part of the world revolution and the revolutions of all countries have the effect of impelling and assisting one another. The victory of a revolution in a country is not the end but only the beginning of the long travel towards the triumph of socialism on a world scale.'

The Stalinist bureaucrats, however, have gone behind the backs of the Vietnamese fighters to discuss with Nixon the ending of the war.

William Rogers, President Nixon's Secretary of State, argued only last week that the USSR and China are both in favour of a deal and added pointedly that 'they supply North Vietnam'.

Nixon is even more brazenly proclaiming the support of his new-found allies in Moscow and Peking.

Photographs of Leonid Brezhnev and Chou En-lai adorn the frontispiece of the fat, glossy official programme at the Republican Party convention in Miami Beach.

Hanoi has repeatedly said it will have nothing to do with Nixon's latest so-called 'peace proposals'. These, in the words of Hanoi Radio, boil down to this:

'The United States will agree to withdraw its troops if the Vietnamese people agree to lay down their arms and accept the rule of the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet administration in South Vietnam... This is the real nature of his plot to separate the military and political problems in the solution to the Vietnam issue.'

In short, Nixon's so-called generous stand is essentially an extremely stubborn colonialist and aggressive stand concealed under a glossy veneer.'

It now emerges also that the Soviet government was informed almost three years ago about Nixon's plans to mine North Vietnam's ports and escalate the war.

Daniel Ellsberg, the former State Department employee now facing trial for publishing the Pentagon Papers, revealed at a news conference on Tuesday that the Russians were told of Nixon's secret plan on May 14, 1969.

On that date, he said, Henry Kissinger called Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin to tell him that the US would escalate the war if necessary. From that time, Ellsberg said, the Russians knew that the renewed bombing and the mining of harbours were a possibility.

Yet with almost three years' warning of Nixon's plans, the USSR made no attempt either to run the blockade or to challenge the US action.

They had every reason not to do so. The blockade immeasurably strengthened their grip on the life-line of the Vietnamese revolution and their ability to force acceptance of a dirty compromise with Nixon.

The British Communist Party, which claims to support the struggle of the Vietnamese, has no comment to make on the secret diplomatic treachery denounced by Hanoi.

Its leaders are prepared to stand and watch while the revolution in Indo-China is slowly throttled with the aid of the Soviet and Chinese Stalinists.

How could it be otherwise? As 'Nhan Dan' correctly says, 'the revolutions of all countries have the effect of impelling and assisting one another'.

Conversely the counter-revolutionary policies of the British Stalinists, who refuse to fight for the resignation of the Tory government, are a stab in the back not only for the British working class but for the Vietnamese fighters as well.

## Site deals danger



A DANGEROUS development in the building workers' strike is revealed in this photograph. It shows a site in Southampton, Richard Miller Ltd, where a separate site agreement has been signed and the men are back at work.

The site happens to be opposite the local headquarters of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT).

The UCATT leadership is pressing for separate site deals and allowing men on those sites to return to work.

This can only weaken the overall strength of the strike and leave sections of the building workers, particularly those employed by the big construction companies, dangerously isolated.

In London yesterday, UCATT attacked the building employers' organization for instructing firms not to sign individual pay deals.

It claimed 50 firms had already signed agreements, despite pressure from the National Federation of Building Trade Employers. Men were now back at work on these sites 'but we are not saying which firms they are for obvious reasons'.

In Scotland, union officials announced a new stage in their campaign to split the fight for the national pay claim by signing company agreements.

UCATT Scottish secretary Don Macgregor announced that 36 firms in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen had now signed a 'model agreement' for a £25 basic rate for craftsmen.

Workers with these firms would be sent back and special emblems used to ensure they would no longer be picketed.

In North-East England, the unions claimed yesterday, 15,000 building workers were on strike and 180 sites idle. They also said that 12 firms had agreed to pay the £30 a week minimum, allowing 2,000 men on 30 sites to return to work.

Among them was the biggest house-building firm, Greensit and Barratt, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which agreed on Tuesday to pay up.

● More building news, pages 10 and 11.

**ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETING**  
**LONDON TODAY**  
LESSONS OF THE DOCKS STRIKE  
Thurs, August 24, 7.30 p.m.  
Lister Room, Town Hall, East Ham High St South.  
Speaker: Larry Cavanagh (Liverpool docks steward, in a personal capacity). Adm. 10p.

**EIGHT DAYS TO GO—AUGUST FUND £877.78**

WE NEED much more of a spurt to raise our £1,750 target in time. Time is running out and there is still £872.72 left to raise by the end of the month. So do not hesitate—raise all you can today.

There is no doubt that support is growing behind our paper. A special team, which has campaigned over these last ten days to increase the circulation of Workers Press throughout Scotland has met with great response. So far in Glasgow, Irvine, Greenock and Aberdeen, hundreds of papers have been sold each day and many new daily readers won. We know we can get this same magnificent response for our Fund.

You, yourselves, have shown it can be done. Let's therefore have a huge drive now and pull our total up. We are just over our halfway mark. Do everything you can to raise the other half.

Post all donations immediately to:

Workers Press  
August Appeal Fund  
186a Clapham High Street  
London SW4 7UG.

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • THURSDAY AUGUST 24, 1972 • No 850 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## HANOI CRITICAL OF MOSCOW AND PEKING

BY JOHN SPENCER

**SOVIET and Chinese leaders are piling pressure on North Vietnam to accept American terms and end the Indo-China war.**

Over the past few days the North Vietnamese press has published several sharp denunciations of Soviet and Chinese policies, indicating that the North Vietnamese are resisting their demands.

At the same time, however, the American military is stepping up its air attacks on North Vietnam in another attempt to force acceptance of Nixon's terms.

The Hanoi newspaper 'Nhan Dan', in an editorial on Tuesday celebrating the anniversary of the August 1945 uprising which began the Vietnamese revolution, attacked 'disastrous opportunist tendencies of all shades from outside'.

These tendencies, it said, were responsible for 'all sorts of none-too-agreeable actions' against the Vietnamese struggle. The paper contrasted them with the 'revolutionary offensive spirit of our people and their well-tested vanguard brigade'.

The 'Nhan Dan' editorial is unmistakably directed at the Soviet and Chinese leaders. Only last week the paper carried a lengthy article warning that it will not be led into their path of 'compromise with perfidious imperialists'.

The article said the central point of Nixon's strategy was to achieve an equilibrium among the big powers as a 'shield to give the US imperialists complete freedom of action in checking by means of violence the national liberation movement'.

It added: 'If out of the narrow interests of one's nation one tries to help the most reactionary forces avert the most dangerous blows, just like throwing a life-belt to a dangerous pirate, that is a cruel reconciliation beneficial to the enemy and not beneficial to the revolution.'

This not only harms the Vietnamese revolution but endangers the revolutionary conquests of the very countries which carry it out, 'Nhan Dan' said.

It added: 'The evolution of each country is an integral part of the world revolution and the revolutions of all countries have the effect of impelling and assisting one another. The victory of a revolution in a country is not the end but only the beginning of the long travel towards the triumph of socialism on a world scale.'

The Stalinist bureaucrats, however, have gone behind the backs of the Vietnamese fighters to discuss with Nixon the ending of the war.

William Rogers, President Nixon's Secretary of State, argued only last week that the USSR and China are both in favour of a deal and added pointedly that 'they supply North Vietnam'.

Nixon is even more brazenly proclaiming the support of his new-found allies in Moscow and Peking.

Photographs of Leonid Brezhnev and Chou En-lai adorn the frontispiece of the fat, glossy official programme at the Republican Party convention in Miami Beach.

Hanoi has repeatedly said it will have nothing to do with Nixon's latest so-called 'peace proposals'. These, in the words of Hanoi Radio, boil down to this:

'The United States will agree to withdraw its troops if the Vietnamese people agree to lay down their arms and accept the rule of the Nguyen Van Thieu puppet administration in South Vietnam... This is the real nature of his plot to separate the military and political problems in the solution to the Vietnam issue.'

'In short, Nixon's so-called generous stand is essentially an extremely stubborn colonialist and aggressive stand concealed under a glossy veneer.'

It now emerges also that the Soviet government was informed almost three years ago about Nixon's plans to mine North Vietnam's ports and escalate the war.

Daniel Ellsberg, the former State Department employee now facing trial for publishing the Pentagon Papers, revealed at a news conference on Tuesday that the Russians were told of Nixon's secret plan on May 14, 1969.

On that date, he said, Henry Kissinger called Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin to tell him that the US would escalate the war if necessary. From that time, Ellsberg said, the Russians knew that the renewed bombing and the mining of harbours were a possibility.

Yet with almost three years' warning of Nixon's plans, the USSR made no attempt either to run the blockade or to challenge the US action.

They had every reason not to do so. The blockade immeasurably strengthened their grip on the life-line of the Vietnamese revolution and their ability to force acceptance of a dirty compromise with Nixon.

The British Communist Party, which claims to support the struggle of the Vietnamese, has no comment to make on the secret diplomatic treachery denounced by Hanoi.

Its leaders are prepared to stand and watch while the revolution in Indo-China is slowly throttled with the aid of the Soviet and Chinese Stalinists.

How could it be otherwise? As 'Nhan Dan' correctly says, 'the revolutions of all countries have the effect of impelling and assisting one another'.

Conversely the counter-revolutionary policies of the British Stalinists, who refuse to fight for the resignation of the Tory government, are a stab in the back not only for the British working class but for the Vietnamese fighters as well.

### Site deals danger



A DANGEROUS development in the building workers' strike is revealed in this photograph. It shows a site in Southampton, Richard Miller Ltd, where a separate site agreement has been signed and the men are back at work.

The site happens to be opposite the local headquarters of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT).

The UCATT leadership is pressing for separate site deals and allowing men on those sites to return to work.

This can only weaken the overall strength of the strike and leave sections of the building workers, particularly those employed by the big construction companies, dangerously isolated.

In London yesterday, UCATT attacked the building employers' organization for instructing firms not to sign individual pay deals.

It claimed 50 firms had already signed agreements, despite pressure from the National Federation of Building Trade Employers. Men were now back at work on these sites 'but we are not saying which firms they are for obvious reasons'.

In Scotland, union officials announced a new stage in their campaign to split the fight for the national pay claim by signing company agreements.

UCATT Scottish secretary Don Macgregor announced that 36 firms in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen had now signed a 'model agreement' for a £25 basic rate for craftsmen.

Workers with these firms would be sent back and special emblems used to ensure they would no longer be picketed.

In North-East England, the unions claimed yesterday, 15,000 building workers were on strike and 180 sites idle. They also said that 12 firms had agreed to pay the £30 a week minimum, allowing 2,000 men on 30 sites to return to work.

Among them was the biggest house-building firm, Greensit and Barratt, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which agreed on Tuesday to pay up.

• More building news, pages 10 and 11.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETING

LONDON TODAY

LESSONS OF THE DOCKS STRIKE

Thurs, August 24, 7.30 p.m.  
Lister Room, Town Hall,  
East Ham High St South.  
Speaker: Larry Cavanagh (Liverpool docks steward, in a personal capacity). Adm. 10p.

EIGHT DAYS TO GO—AUGUST FUND £877.78

WE NEED much more of a spurt to raise our £1,750 target in time. Time is running out and there is still £872.72 left to raise by the end of the month. So do not hesitate—raise all you can today.

There is no doubt that support is growing behind our paper. A special team, which has campaigned over these last ten days to increase the circulation of Workers Press throughout Scotland has met with great response. So far in Glasgow, Irvine, Greenock and Aberdeen, hundreds of papers have been sold each day and many new daily readers won. We know we can get this same magnificent response for our Fund.

You, yourselves, have shown it can be done. Let's therefore have a huge drive now and pull our total up. We are just over our halfway mark. Do everything you can to raise the other half.

Post all donations immediately to:

Workers Press  
August Appeal Fund  
186a Clapham High Street  
London SW4 7UG.

## AROUND THE WORLD

# Two-tier gold system in ruins

BY JOHN SPENCER

**FRANCE** has proposed a sharply higher official gold price in a report submitted to the International Monetary Fund as part of the preparation for its conference in Washington on September 25.

The proposal was included in the report against opposition from the United States which wants to keep the official gold price at \$38 an ounce even though it has no intention of selling gold from its depleted holdings.

France has indicated that unless the official price is soon brought into line with the 'free market' price, now standing at nearly \$70 an ounce, it will call for unilateral action by the Common Market countries.

This would mean unilaterally raising the gold price for central bank transactions within the Common Market, establishing a 'three-tier' system in place of the present 'two-tier' mechanism.

The two-tier system was born in 1968 after the devaluation of the pound. The American central bank decided that in order to protect its remaining gold stocks it would sell gold only to central banks at the official price.

This stop-gap arrangement was formally agreed only by about six countries, many others refusing to subscribe or expressing reservations. The two-tier system has been breaking up since August 15 last year, when Nixon severed all links between the dollar and gold.

The essence of the two-tier system is that central banks agree not to buy or sell gold on the free market but to value their own holdings at the price fixed in Washington. This was one thing while the price difference was only a few dollars, but central banks now stand to make almost 100 per cent premium if they sell on the free market.

For this reason, central bankers are now extremely reluctant to use any of their gold stocks to settle international debts, and they have thus effec-

tively frozen one-third of the total international liquidity.

At the same time they are almost equally reluctant to accept paper currency of uncertain parity—above all dollars—in settlement of these debts.

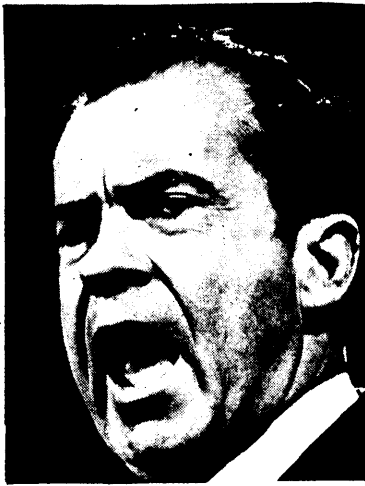
This has created an immense crisis in international trade and made debt settlements particularly for long-term contracts extremely difficult.

The Americans are pushing for the demonetization of gold and the formation of more special drawing rights ('paper gold') to take its place. In fact, however, increased numbers of SDRs would only raise the amount of circulating paper and represent no substitute for the metal.

The monetary breakdown between the major capitalist states involves a real clash of interests and is not a technical question. It cannot be resolved, therefore, by agreement to print more paper, even assuming such agreement is possible.

The American employers are demanding nothing less than a complete overhaul of the entire post-war monetary system and its replacement by another system tailored to their advantage.

Such a situation can only be



Nixon

brought about at the expense of the other capitalist powers.

The conflict cannot be resolved by mutual agreement, but only on the basis of ruthless struggle between the capitalist powers.

At the IMF meeting in Washington, therefore, the only possible outcome is to intensify the trade war and try and cut each others throats.

## Pentagon attacks shipyard workers

**VICE-ADMIRAL Hym an Rickover**, head of the US Navy's nuclear reactor programme, yesterday launched a sharp attack on American shipyard workers who, he charged, were paid too much overtime, loafed about and were not properly supervised.

Rickover accused workers at the yards of repairing bicycles in company time, sleeping, reading, shooting dice or hiding in specially constructed shacks whose walls are covered by pin-ups.

The statement, given before a secret Congressional committee investigating arms spending, indicates that Pentagon spies have been active for months in the shipyards, collecting material

for a concentrated attack on the workers' conditions.

This is a direct threat to the shipyard unions, and comes at the same time as a major spate of closures in the East Coast naval yards.

The clear implication of Rickover's statement is that the time has come for the workers to be disciplined now that unemployment is growing.

The US military has long maintained a discreet silence on its attitudes towards the trade unions. But Rickover's statement heralds the start of a new era.

Like other Pentagon officials Rickover has close ties with the big arms corporations.

They share a common desire to see organized labour crushed in the United States and are now beginning to openly proclaim this ambition.

## Chilean Stalinists defend Allende

**VIOLENT CLASHES** between demonstrating shopkeepers and the Chilean police force are a further mark of the bankruptcy of the Popular Front policies of the Allende government.

As domestic economic problems worsen, Allende is driven into confrontation with those middle-class layers which the Popular Front was meant to win with its peaceful road to socialism.

The Chilean Communist Party has chosen this moment to launch a vicious attack on all opponents of the Popular Unity government in 'World Marxist Review', journal of international Stalinism.

Jorge Texier describes how the Party advised Allende to try to win over the supporters of the Christian-Democratic Party after the latter made some gains in the January by-elections.

The CP called for a public dialogue with the Christian Democrats and a clamp down on the ultra-lefts in the Left Revolutionary Movement (MIR) who were organizing the peasants to take over the land.

From its Second Party Congress in 1923, the Chilean CP under Recabarren has fought for 'Communist participation in parliament and has called on small manufacturers, merchants and intellectuals to co-operate with

the working class.' Opposition to this class-collaboration from Manuel Hidalgo was condemned as sectarian, factionalist and Trotskyist.

The experience of the French Popular Front and the policy of uniting anti-fascist forces adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, confirmed the line of the Party.

Stalin's turn to the Popular Front and to democratic allies in the struggle against fascism was in order to confine the working class to a defence of democracy and prevent any development of socialist revolution.

The fear was that socialism would frighten the middle classes.

In Spain the Communist Party dismantled the control established over production in factories by the working class in Catalonia, dissolved the workers' militias and restored land property to its former owners.

This was accompanied by the persecution of any opposition from the centrist POUM or the anarchist movement as 'agents of fascism'.

This policy demoralized large sections of the workers movement and gave power to Republican leaders who had themselves in government passed anti-trade union legislation and sent in troops against strikers.

As Trotsky warned, the Pop-

ular Front could only weaken the revolutionary struggle of the masses and convince the wavering middle class of the superior will and strength of the fascists.

Allende's government, prompted by the Chilean Stalinists, is treading on the same dangerous course.

Texier can encourage the persecution of the MIR and other groups to the left of the CP on the basis that 'an effort is being made to goad the ultra-leftists into acts of violence that could furnish a pretext for military intervention'.

But the military draw their strength from Allende's policies. The 'battle for production' and 'wage-restraint' cries of the Popular Unity government are incentives for increased exploitation of the working class.

This exploitation and the rapid rise in prices, drives large sections of the Chilean working class and middle class into strikes and demonstrations.

These struggles are met with Allende's troops and police, backed by the Christian Democrats and the National Party, the right-wing and fascist parties of the employers.

Chilean copper workers, peasants and shopkeepers find the Popular Front government on the side of law and order against them.

# What we think

## THE 'RED MOLE' AND STALINISM

WORKERS PRESS has shown that the decisive factor in halting the national dock strike, after Jack Jones had succeeded in reversing the decision of the docks delegates, was the failure of London stewards' leaders to fight for the continuation of the strike in accordance with the resolution of the national port shop stewards' committee.

A number of leading positions among the London dock stewards are held by members of the Communist Party.

The experience proves once again that the fight against the Tory government and against trade union leaders like Jones, who refuse to fight the government, cannot be successful without a principled struggle against Stalinism in the unions.

That is precisely why every revisionist tendency now seeks to protect the Communist Party and to prevent workers from experiences like the dock strike.

This is certainly the role of the so-called International Marxist Group (IMG).

Writing in their paper 'Red Mole', IMG leader Pat Jordan seeks to convince readers that they should continue to place their confidence in the Stalinist-dominated Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions (LCDTU).

The Industrial Relations Act remains, Jordan says, 'because of the activities of people like Jones and the failure of organizations like the LCDTU to deal with this'.

But why has the LCDTU 'failed' to deal with the activities of people like Jones? Because it was created by the Communist Party—assisted by the revisionist groups—specifically to prevent the working class from breaking with Jones and the other trade union leaders.

LCDTU is not an organization created in struggle against the employers, the Tory government and their agents in the labour movement. It is a counter-revolutionary organization formed by the Stalinists and assisted by anti-communist groups in order to divert workers from the struggle against the Tories.

It functioned above all as a means of keeping workers away from the All Trades Unions Alliance—the industrial arm of the Socialist Labour League—which seeks to build a principled unity in the working class in order to defeat the Tory government.

Yet Jordan concludes his article by declaring that the responsibility for leading the working class against the government rests with 'such bodies as LCDTU'.

And the 'Red Mole' editorial calls for the creation of 'new Committees for the Defence of Trade Unions' and for Councils of Action 'to draw all sections of workers in every area into the struggle'.

'Red Mole' simply equates Committees for the Defence of Trade Unions with the Councils of Action called for by the Socialist Labour League. It blandly blurs over the huge historically-developed difference between Stalinism and Trotskyism.

The Councils are not simply to 'draw all sections of workers into the struggle'. These workers are already in the struggle. Our purpose is to build Councils, which will include representatives from all trade unions, tenants' associations and working-class political organizations, to lead the struggle that would force the resignation of the Tory government.

Jordan rejects this and lines up with the Stalinists in advocating 'pressure' on the Tory government.

Jordan, who claims to be a Trotskyist, considers that Workers Press is obsessed by Stalinism. Jordan, of course, has never been a Trotskyist. He has as much right to call himself a Trotskyist as a member of the Labour Party's national executive has to call himself a socialist!

(He has, however, been a Stalinist. Presumably when he was a leading Stalinist in Nottingham he also considered the Trotskyists to be obsessed with Stalinism.)

Now, under an assumed mantle

of Trotskyism, he seeks to ignore the whole history of Trotskyism which developed through the struggle against Stalinism. Stalinism was defined and fought against by Trotsky as a counter-revolutionary force on a world scale.

A product of the pressure of imperialism on the isolated and economically-backward Soviet Union, Stalinism became the major source of betrayal of the working class in every part of the globe.

The Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions is the instrument through which counter-revolutionary Stalinism seeks to exert its pressure by holding back the working class from revolutionary consciousness.

It is used particularly to create and maintain illusions in the working class that 'pressure' can force the Tory government to carry out policies in the interests of the workers and so to prevent the mobilizing of the working class in revolutionary struggle against capitalism and its political representatives.

It can no more be forced to change by 'pressure' than the Tory government can be forced by 'pressure' not to act on behalf of capitalism.

Yet Jordan—like all revisionists—finishes up defending, covering up for, and collaborating with the Stalinists.

He seeks to develop a strategy which leaves out the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism. He presents the struggle of the working class as developing without any kind of conscious leadership.

He argues that this development without consciousness can permanently change sections of the working class so that they achieve a high level of consciousness! This, he claims, will happen despite the activities of the Stalinists and the fake 'lefts'.

In other words, consciousness is represented as developing spontaneously within the working class as a result of militant trade union struggles. The grip of social-democracy on the working class will weaken without a conscious struggle against it.

The Communist Party and the 'lefts' are said to be incapable of preventing this process.

The role of Trotskyism, therefore, must be irrelevant, or at best, confined to following on behind these events and uniting with everybody in trade union committees.

Above all no principled struggle to build a revolutionary party based on the theory of Marxism is required.

Precisely when workers can be taught important lessons from their experiences, when they can be broken from conceptions developing during the boom period—and, in particular, when important sections of the working class can be broken from Stalinism—anti-Trotskyists like Jordan deliberately seek to prevent such a process.

They use the name of 'Trotskyism' to render it harmless. Lenin was familiar with such people. In 'State and Revolution' he wrote:

'During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their theories with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred and the most unscrupulous campaign of lies and slander.'

'After their death attempts are made to convert them into harmless icons, to canonize them, so to say, and to allow their names to a certain extent for the "consolation" of the oppressed classes with the object of duping the latter, while at the same time robbing the revolutionary theory of its substance, blunting its revolutionary edge and vulgarizing it.'

'Today the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the labour movement concur in this doctoring of Marxism.'

This is exactly the role played by 'Red Mole' today. Its self-proclaimed 'Trotskyism' is in reality the most sophisticated defence of Stalinism, the very opposite of everything Trotskyism stands for.

# Mersey clerks keep port idle

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

LIVERPOOL docks clerks yesterday voted to continue their strike for job security and increased redundancy payments.

Although the dockers returned to work on Monday, little has moved in the port because of the strike by the 800 clerks. 17 vessels remained idle yesterday.

Speakers at the hour-long meeting reported 'slight progress' in negotiations. Talks will continue but there is no mass meeting scheduled until next Tuesday.

Eddie Roberts, an organizer for ACTS, the clerical section of the Transport and General Workers' Union, said their main concern was for the over-60s who would be made redundant because of the proposed mergers on Merseyside.

He said the issue covered no more than about 12 people in the branch. It was a question of trying to establish where the money would come from to cover their demands, he added.

One firm, Ocean Port Services, had agreed to withhold the first redundancy notices for a month.

There were moves meanwhile, to settle a strike of 200 maintenance men at Bristol and Avonmouth docks to resume talks between shop stewards and port officials.

The strike, over pay, began on Tuesday only hours after the return to work of 1,300 dockers.

# Ulster talks on loyalist common front

BRIAN Faulkner, the former Ulster premier, and William Craig, leader of the Vanguard movement, held private talks in Belfast yesterday aimed at building a united front.

The talks were arranged by the reactionary Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland to which both men belong.

The aim of the talks was to draw up a common loyalist policy to be presented at William Whitelaw's all-party talks later next month.

Orange Order officials were disappointed that neither Ian Paisley nor the Loyalist Association of Workers were represented yesterday.

# CLYDE CLIFFHANGER

## Govan 'freeze' deal in balance as boilermakers meet

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

IT WILL BE another cliffhanger on the Clyde today — the deadline for signing a pay-and-conditions deal to establish Govan Shipbuilders Ltd.

The firm want unions to sign the agreement at 10.30 a.m., but at the same time the 1,500 boilermakers from the Govan, Linthouse and

vassed is that the men—77 of them are boilermakers — should get a guarantee that they will be taken on as soon as possible.

Shop stewards' leader James Airlie said the agreement could be signed if there were 'guarantees to cover the work-in'. It is not clear whether he meant a guarantee of immediate employment for the men or merely a promise to do so.

Another obstacle is a demand by the boilermakers that immediate negotiations on a new pay structure should start.

The draft agreement talks of a pay deal 'not later than' January of next year.

But the boilermakers, traditionally the most militant of the 4,000 workers at the three divisions, are impatient. There has been a virtual pay freeze at the yards since the UCS consortium went into liquidation last June.

Today the boilermakers will meet to decide whether the results of yesterday's talks have given enough assurances for the future. If they reject the formula the company will be in serious trouble.

The Tory Cabinet has warned Archibald Gilchrist, chief executive of Govan Shipbuilders, that they will not receive the £35m aid without a signed agreement.

A further delay would jeopardize orders Lord Strathalmond is seeking to secure in Kuwait.

All these pressures are being used to force the boilermakers' rank and file to abandon their trade union rights and break faith with the work-in men.

Resistance to the deal has been strong. At last Thursday's



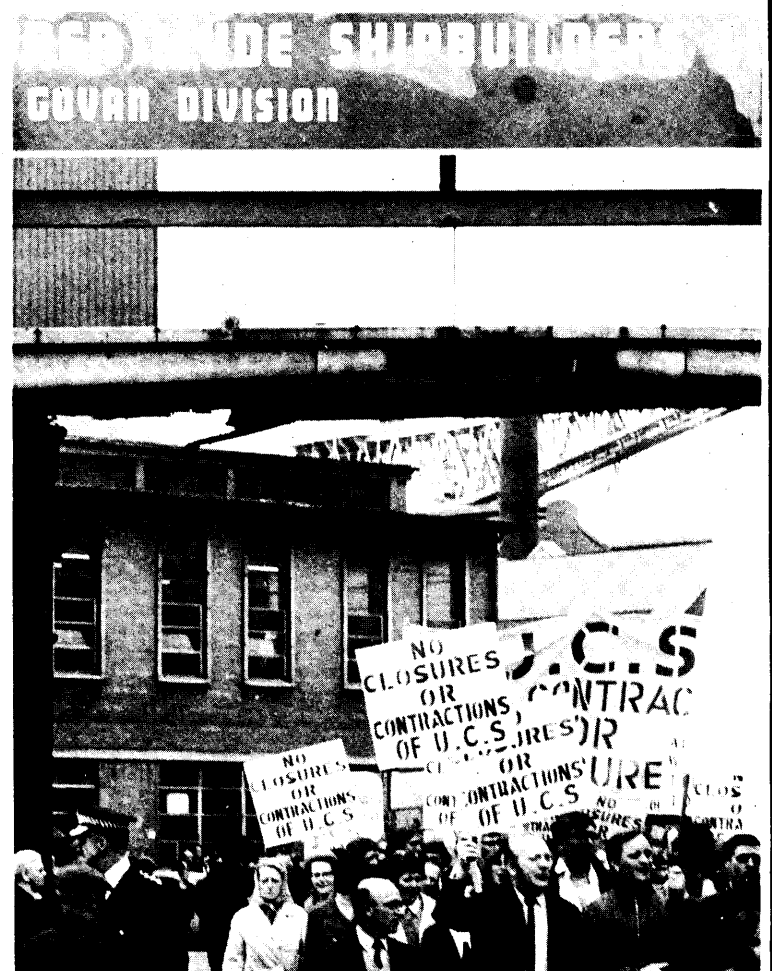
Gilchrist

Scotstoun divisions of the former UCS consortium plan to meet to decide whether or not to give the deal the go-ahead.

Late yesterday talks between the chairman of the new company, Lord Strathalmond, the unions and shop stewards were continuing in a bid to resolve two remaining problems.

One is the position of the 139 'work-in men' at the three divisions. The boilermakers have insisted that these men be reabsorbed by Govan Shipbuilders, but so far the company has refused.

One possibility being can-



These were the demands of the UCS workers last year . . . the Stalinists' policy betrayed them all.

meeting a large minority of boilermakers voted to throw the deal out altogether.

There are also talks at the Clydebank yard now owned by Texan oil-rig builders Marathon Manufacturing on the job position.

This time the work-in is not such a big problem, since there are only 16 Clydebank men taking part despite the 1,000 redundancies that have occurred

over the last 14 months.

The difficulties surround the number of men Marathon want immediately to employ. This total is around 150 and by September a massive surplus of approximately 1,000 workers is seen likely at the yard.

The Communist Party-led shop stewards want to have them 'absorbed' throughout the four divisions, but this task would be impossible.



Airlie (second from right) with (l to r) Feather, McGarvey, Scanlon and fellow-CP steward Reid last year.

## Ulster death toll 527

THE DEATHS of nine civilians on Tuesday brought the official Ulster toll, since the current troubles began in 1969, to 527.

This year alone there have been 316 deaths: 221 civilians, 71 soldiers, 13 Ulster Defence Regiment men, nine police and two reservists.

## A cool million

ALEXANDER Black Mitchell, of Poulton Priory, Poulton, Cirencester, Glos, a former High Sheriff of Gloucestershire, left £1,149,686 gross, £1,119,820 net (duty £284,416).

Mitchell, who died on June 29, left the Trull estate at Cherington and Rodmarton, near Tetbury, to the children of his son, Ian N. Mitchell on their 21st birthdays, and the residue to his wife, Mrs Violette C. R. Mitchell.

# Ex-Securicor man is new Asian supremo

THE MAN who the Tories have appointed in charge of the Ugandan Asian resettlement board is a director of Securicor, Britain's largest private police force.

He is Sir Charles Cunningham, a former permanent secretary at the Home Office who dealt particularly with police matters.

In 1962 the Macmillan government appointed him in charge of the inquiry into the Vassall spy case and last year he headed the investigation into security at Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail.

Curiously enough the man who appointed Cunningham to the job is an ex-Securicor director, Robert Carr, the new Home Secretary.

The other five board members named today by the Home Office are: Mark Bonham-Carter, chairman of the Community Relations Commission; Mrs Charles Clode, chairman of the WRVS; Praful Patel, secretary of the Committee on UK Citizenship; Douglas Tilbe, director, Community and Race Relations

Unit of the British Council of Churches and chairman of the executive committee of the coordinating committee for the welfare of evacuees from Uganda; and B. H. Wilson, town clerk of the London borough of Camden.

## Profits bonanza for Marley

MARLEY, the tiles and building materials group, is on target for another profits bonanza.

With just nine months of the trading period gone pre-tax profits are already nearly £2,400,000 higher. At £7,015,000 they compare with £4,632,000 for the same period in 1971, and £6,940,000 for the full 12 months.

The latest figures show that around £750,000 of the increase was scored in the third quarter.

Good news had been expected on London stock markets and the shares were standing just a shade lower at 126½p.



# PAPERBACKS CENTRE

28 Charlotte St  
London W1

NOW OPEN  
Mon, Tues, Wed, Thurs  
9 a.m.—6 p.m.  
Fri 9 a.m.—7.30 p.m.  
Sat 9 a.m.—5 p.m.

BOOKS ● PERIODICALS ● NEWSPAPERS

# MINERS IN THE WAR

Part one of a two part article by Jack Gale.

The story of World War II is always presented as one of wonderful 'national unity'. All petty differences — such as those between employers and workers—are said to have been put aside.

Everyone 'pulled together' for love of the dear old country behind its dear old leader, Winston Churchill, inspired by love of its dear old King and Queen.

Certainly plenty of people tried to make it so.

These included the Labour leaders, who rushed into Churchill's wartime coalition, the trade union leaders who threw away every hard-won right of their members, and the Communist Party who outdid them all in patriotic fervour and vitriolic strike-breaking.

But the reality was very different.

Everywhere employers, backed by the Emergency Works Order giving them legal rights against strikers, rushed to maximize profits and drive down wages and conditions as much as possible.

And everywhere the workers—to the horror of the social-democrats and Stalinists—fought back.

Nowhere was this more so than in the pits.

Again and again miners struck against wage cuts.

In February 1943, 1,100 men at Bowhill colliery, Fife, struck work against a wage cut of 2d per ton being imposed by the Fife Coal Co. They resisted threats of dismissal followed by call-up into the army.

It took Willie Gallagher, the Communist Party's MP for West Fife and Abe Moffatt, another CP member on the executive of the Scottish Miners' Federation to get them to accept a wage cut of 1d.

In December 1941, and again in May 1942, 1,500 Cortonwood miners struck against an agreement signed without their knowledge by Joe Hall, the right-wing president of the Yorkshire Miners' Federation which reduced fillers' rates from 1s 7d to 1s 3d per ton (a loss of 30s to £3 per week).

About the same time 500 men at Cinderhill colliery, Notts, struck against a reduction of earnings through a new price list.

In 1942 and 1943 all eleven pits in the Doncaster area of Yorkshire were involved in strikes over wage-slashing.

Indeed there were so many strikes in the early part of the war (between January 1941 and May 1942 112,000 miners were involved in 234 strikes) that some pay concessions were made in June, 1942. These were known as the Greene Award.

About the same time the Foster Committee recommended wage increases for lads under 21 because of their involvement in strikes.

But the Tory press and the union leaders were viciously hostile to miners who fought in this way.

Early in 1942—after a strike at Betteshanger colliery in Kent—the 'Daily Telegraph' demanded that the 'full force of the state' be used against striking miners.

And the miners' leaders were quick to toe the line. In October 1942, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (forerunner of the National Union of Mineworkers) circulated every lodge in the land



Above: headlines which appeared in the Trotskyist paper 'Socialist Appeal' during the war, in defence of the miners. Left: Bevin.

declaring 'well may the community look upon our industry as one that can be charged with criminal neglect... because of irresponsible strikes and disputes'.

In fact the force of the state was used against the miners.

The wartime Essential Works Order enabled an employer to drag a worker before the courts if he 'behaved in such a manner as to impede production'.

In addition, Emergency Order 1A(a), the Trades Disputes Act of 1927 and the Coal Mines Act of 1911 were used against the miners.

The depths to which the Labour leaders had sunk is shown by the use of the Trades Disputes Act imposed on the working class by the Tories after the General Strike.

It was a Labour Minister—Ernest Bevin, who had been on the General Council of the TUC in 1926—who was now to use the hated Act against the miners, the very men who had suffered most and fought longest in 1926.

Again and again miners were dragged before the courts.

In March 1943, 32 miners from Valleyfield colliery in Fife were fined for going

on strike without giving 21 days' notice. The men had struck against the employers' attempts to reduce the number of men working a face.

Once more the Stalinist Abe Moffatt worked might and main to prevent solidarity action in other pits.

In June 1943, 20 men from the Tareni colliery, South Wales, were fined £20 for 'impeding production'.

When they refused to pay, they were gaoled for a month. Sympathy strikes broke out in five more pits and the spread was only halted by Arthur Horner, Communist Party leader of the South Wales Miners' Federation.

In October 1944, nine miners employed by Powell Duffryn, the South Wales coal monopoly, were ordered by the courts to pay damages to their employers for 'breach of contract'.

The court agreed with Powell Duffryn that the men had 'failed to work with due and proper diligence'.

In March 1945, 1,000 miners from Seven Sisters colliery in West Wales struck work because the Coal Mines Act of 1911 was used against a miner who objected to working in thick dust.

In June 1943, 2,000 miners at Bentley colliery, Yorkshire, went on strike when a 17-year-old boy was victimized for swearing.

The same year 77 miners from Hatfield, Yorkshire, were fined £3 per day for an 'unlawful strike' which lasted two days.

One issue which caused frequent disputes was the wartime powers enabling the government to send unwilling youths down the pit. This frequently meant loss of earn-

ings for skilled men, whom the management put to work with untrained youths.

A typical dispute occurred in 1943 when 23,000 Nottinghamshire miners from 21 pits struck work when an 18-year-old surface worker from Newstead colliery was gaoled for refusing to go down the pit.

Again and again there were disputes over colliery owners who used the excuse of 'wartime emergency' to do nothing about intolerable working conditions.

One constant source of friction was the fines system. In Northumberland, for example, this worked in the following way: a man could earn 1s 1d per ton from a 3 ft 3 in seam. But the overseer could 'lay out' his truck—i.e. search it for stone.

If 28 lb of stone was found in the truck, the worker was fined 2d, if there was 56 lb he was fined 4d.

If there was 90 lb of stone he forfeited his pay for the entire tub—even though it left 1,030 lb of coal which the owner was now getting for nothing! And on top of that, the miner had to pay for the explosive he used!

Similar conditions applied in every coalfield and there were 86 strikes in 1942 alone over this.

Another cause of trouble was the employers' refusal to comply with requests for safety measures.

In October 1944, for example, 400 Welsh miners struck work at Gelliceidrim in West Wales for 17 days because the employers refused to carry out an elementary safety test.

The men feared an inrush of water in an area where

this had happened twice before.

It was typical of the employers' casual attitude to these matters (after all, they weren't down the pit) that they produced maps to show that inrushes couldn't happen—and the maps were dated previous to the two disasters that had already happened!

When the bosses were finally forced to carry out the tests, Stalinist Arthur Horner agreed with them that they need not pay the guaranteed wage for the 17 days lost while they resisted doing the tests.

Of course during all the talk of 'pulling together for the good of all' etc., reasonable people just didn't mention the fact that the mine owners were making a packet.

Indeed, one Lt-Col Mayhew declared in the House of Commons in 1943: 'I do not wish to interrupt my Honourable Friend, but there is a war on.'

'I think he is not quite justified in talking about the profits of mine owners while there is a war on.'

'The principle is to produce coal, and I think my Honourable Friend has laid too much stress on the profits of the mine owners.'

And this when in the decade from 1927-1937 an average of three men per day had died in the pits.

In the six years from 1937-1943, 5,000 miners were killed and 700,000 injured. In the war years, death down the pits rose to 1,000 per year.

Then towards the end of 1943 some slight change began to appear.

In October 2,500 strikers at Haworth, Notts, won 17s 6d. A little later Hatfield Main men in Yorkshire won 1d per ton. And when 360 of them appeared before the courts for illegal striking, they were fined only 10s each—much less than had become the custom.

The owners were seeking to build up the prestige of the union leaders in readiness for the Porter Award on miners' pay which was announced in February 1944.

This award provoked a storm of hostility. Within days, miners in Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire and South Wales were out.

Despite threats of prosecution and imprisonment, there were soon 100,000 men out in South Wales and 80,000 out in Yorkshire.

The Porter Award was, indeed, an insult.

Skilled men and pieceworkers got nothing—in some areas they even got a reduction.

Surface wages were raised by 1s. The much-vaunted minimum wage was so low that it was below what many men already earned—and these men got nothing.

And a 1s 6d charge per week was levied on concessionary coal, in addition the transport costs already paid by the miner. If a father and several sons lived in the same house—as was frequently the case—all of them paid the charge. This was clearly a wage cut.

Moreover the union leaders, who, needless to say, had accepted the Award 'under protest'—had signed a four-year no-strike pledge and undertaken to pay no strike pay if anyone broke it.

The Porter Award provoked the largest miners' strike since 1926.

And it was to meet every rotten device ever known to scabs and strikebreakers—used against the men by the right wing and the Communist Party.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



# NEWARK USA— HIGHEST JOBLESS, FATTEST PROFITS

Where do the American bosses make the most money? According to the 'New York Financial Times', in Newark, New Jersey. Yet this city has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country.

Newark businessmen have a higher rate of return on capital outlay than any other city but the jobless rate there was doubled in three years—in May it stood at 14.5 per cent—worse than anywhere in the British Isles save Northern Ireland.

Industry in Newark has been upturned as employers have run down old and antiquated factories and brought in automation at a ferocious rate.

More automation means less workers—the dole queues in Newark speak for themselves. During 1971 the total number of available jobs in the city shrunk by 11,000.

The kind of redundancy drive is exemplified by the purge in one corporation—Harrison, Remco Inc, who knocked down their labour force from 2,000 to 150.

But the most disastrous unemployment crisis came in March this year when the Ballantine Brewery shut its plants and put 3,000 workers on the bread line.

Brewing is one example of the vast run down in the city's older industries—at one time there were 12 breweries and it was the city's major industry—now there are only three.

Ballantine had tried to modernize without success.

The owners finally quit and sold their brand name to their

competitors, Falstaff Brewers, who make beer at a fraction of the cost. They shoulder Ballantine's goodwill without putting on any workers.

The day the plant shut one man summed up the oppression workers face in the United States. 'I worked at that place for 32 years,' he said, 'and they don't even want to give me a pension.'

His wife added: 'These men built that place and Ballantine's have no right to close it down. It's not fair.'

The day the plant was scheduled to close the workers demonstrated their feelings.

Older workers find their lives being destroyed while prospects for the younger workers get blacker and blacker.

In the past they were at least able to get part time jobs in places like Ballantine's. The pay was low but at least you kept off the dole.

## Joining jobs queue

Now senior men from the breweries already closed are first in the jobs queue at the remaining breweries and the youngsters are out in the cold. Many are forced to go into the slaughterhouses to work cleaning stinking hides and helping butchers deal with the meat.

Here wages and conditions are even worse, but the youth have no choice.

Said one: 'I can't even support a family. I worked at a slaughterhouse for a while but it was costing me more to get there and back than I was getting in wages.'

Occasionally the local bureaucrats promote some

phony campaign for jobs.

These get headlines in the city press—'Mayor Asks Youth Job Funds', 'Newark Businessmen to Pledge the 500 Jobs', 'Manpower Centre Graduate 210'—but all the young workers know is that the unemployment rate keeps on rising.

Some find out the hard way. One young recruit to the dole queue spent 15 months at a training school in Kentucky learning to operate a tractor. 'It was like a prison,' he said.

'You could only leave the place on weekends—it was in the woods. If they didn't like the way you handled your personal life, they made you leave.'

Politicians in Newark—from both the Republican and Democratic parties—have always promised to do something about unemployment and the plight of workers in the city.

When Kenneth Gibson, a black Democrat politician, ran for mayor in 1970, he was built up by LeRoi Jones and the other black nationalists as well as by the Communist Party as being the answer to the problems facing black youth and workers.

But from the very beginning of his election campaign, Gibson was backed by the Prudential Insurance Co and the Newark Chamber of Commerce—by the most powerful capitalists who have interests in Newark.

Since his election, he has shown that he and the nationalists stand in defence of their system against the workers, black and white.

Gibson and Jones helped lead the attack against the Newark Teachers' Union

during during their struggle.

And now, Gibson is preparing to destroy nearly 700 city jobs and lay off hundreds of city workers in attempts to speed-up the rest of the workers.

The trade union leaders have refused to mobilize the workers and youth against unemployment and the city, state, and federal government's policies which create the high jobless conditions.

## Union collaboration

At the Ballantine Brewery, the union's joint executive council even collaborated openly with the company in order to end the sit-down movement with which the ranks had tried to defend their jobs.

Teamsters at the Kingsland Drum Co and Smith Transport have been laid off without notice.

One young worker from Kingsland Drum said that: 'The company moved to a reconditioned plant and when they did it, they cut out some departments.'

'We got laid off. The union wouldn't do anything about it. We need solidarity. We can't protect ourselves unless we do it together.'

Another young unemployed worker interviewed at the unemployment centre said: 'I agree with you.'

'We should have a labour party.'

'I got laid off and now they are calling me for the draft. I might be in the army next month. A labour party could stop that.'

# DADDAH WANTS THE UNIONS UNDER HIS WING

Ould Daddah, the president of Mauretania, has launched a campaign to crush the independence of the trade unions and integrate them with the state.

His action follows a series of strikes in the former French colony on the western edge of the Sahara. In August last year the dockers of Nouakchott struck demanding higher wages.

Their strike was backed by workers in the Société des Mines de Mauretanie (SOMIMA) and later by the iron miners employed in the Société des Mines de Fer de Mauretanie (MIFERMA).

In November, the building workers also came out on strike. The workers' militancy has been building up since 1969 when the country's trade union federation, the Union des Travailleurs Mauritanien (UTM), split at its congress.

The split came on the issue of the UTM's ties with the ruling party, the Parti du Peuple Mauritanien, which is the personal fief of Ould Daddah and the sole legal party in Mauretania.

The more militant union members broke from the old UTM in 1969 and set up their own union organization independent of the PPM.

Daddah is determined to smash this body and bring the working class once more under his personal domination. This is totally in accord with the requirements of the mining monopolies which dominate the Mauretania economy.

Two months ago the leaders of the PPM declared that it wanted an end to the 'confusion' in the unions, which it said aided 'trouble-makers' and split the workers in line with the aims of 'political and anti-party elements'.

It called on 'all honest workers' to work towards the creation of 'healthy trade unionism' following the PPM line.

Three weeks later the party decreed that the UTM would be integrated into the party within six months as the only legal union organization.

This decree is a blatant violation of the Mauretania constitution and the International Labour Organization code, to which Daddah's government is a signatory.

It also directly contradicts the decision taken democratically by all the professional trade union organizations at their congresses, which affirmed their desire to remain independent from the state.



Ould Daddah of Mauretania

# THE LORDS ARE RATTLING THE FEUDAL CHAINS

BY JOHN CRAWFORD

When the Industrial Relations Act and the National Industrial Relations Court were used against the dockers, it was accompanied by the clanking of feudal machinery of state and law.

It verged on the bizarre that in a dispute arising out of the most advanced technology in the transport industry a key role—that of arresting five London dockers—was played by a Dickensian character known as the Tipstaff.

And the release of the Pentonville Five came about only after the fining of the Transport and General Workers' Union had been upheld by the House of Lords.

The judgement of this body, it will be recalled, had to be rushed out in record time so that the NIRC could order the release of the dockers. Heath, on television, reminded us that the House of Lords, which many people thought had lost all functions but pure decoration, was the supreme judicial body.

The reactivation of historical fossils like the Law Lords is no accident.

As the clash between the working class and the state shakes society to its foundations, feudal monsters long ago put to sleep begin to stir. In a period of revolutionary struggles, history walks the streets.

Institutions like the monarchy, the Privy Council and the House of Lords are indeed remnants of feudalism.

They were left in existence by the victorious capitalist class precisely in order to continue to defend the rights of private property against the danger of revolution.

Their powers were cut down and restricted by the rising class. But in the compromise between the money power and the old nobility which characterized the English revolution, many changes were not made by legal statute but by 'convention'.

Accepted practice, the gentlemen's agreement, the 'done thing'—these are the bases for vital aspects of British government.

So when the ruling class sees its powers being challenged by the fight for workers to defend their rights, it will turn increasingly to methods, laws and institutions whose operation have been suspended 'by convention' for centuries. Take as an example the functioning of the House of Lords as a Court of Appeal.

The High Court of Parliament is one of the most ancient roles of the Lords, going back to the *Curia legis* (King's Court) of early Norman times.

Peers had the privilege to be tried 'before their peers' for any offence right up to 1948. In Tudor times the Lords became the highest appeal body for England and Wales. Until 1844, any member of the House of Lords could take part in judicial proceedings.

Then came the famous case of 'O'Connell v the Queen'.

The Irish Nationalist politician was appealing against his sentence for sedition. The Tory peers turned out in force to deal with their enemy, and a vote against O'Connell was actually taken. But Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst refused to announce the result, fearing that it would rather too blatantly display the nature of the court.

The lay peers were persuaded to withdraw, and five Law Lords (judges who were also peers) voted three Whigs to two Tories in O'Connell's favour.

Since 1876 Lords of Appeal in Ordinary have been appointed—the first life peers.

There are up to 11 of them. Together with the present and past Lords Chancellor and other judges and ex-judges, they alone decide the cases before the House.

## MEN FROM THE BACKWOODS

But the law remains unchanged.

Some day, when the issue is of sufficient importance, hundreds of Tory backwoodsmen will be hurried from their ancestral homes or tax havens to pronounce judgement as the supreme legal authority. They will then be breaking convention, the way things have been done in 'normal' times, but they will not be breaking the law.

The Privy Council is one of the most ancient institutions of the British state.

In the days of the Tudors, it was the most important instrument of royal policy. When the Civil War and the beheading of Charles I had decided the issue of the relation of the monarchy to parliament, the Privy Council declined in importance. Today it decides nothing—acting purely formally in carrying out the policy of the Cabinet.

But that is by convention. In law, the Cabinet does not exist. Nor does the Prime Minister. The monarch ('in Council') orders various things to be done on the advice of Ministers of the Crown.

An Order in Council, approved by four or five of the 300 or so Privy Counsellors, is the usual way Acts of Parliament become law, although Ministers also have their own statutory powers.

The Privy Council, chosen by the Queen, includes all past and present Cabinet Ministers, members of the Royal Family, archbishops, Lords Justice of Appeal and other worthy notables.

It prorogues parliament and summons a new one. (The two 'normally' go together, but, again, only conventionally.) Its members are sworn to secrecy.

All this has been for many decades a matter of legal

curiosity, a constitutional tourist attraction.

The 17th century struggles established that the monarch was governed by the common law, and exercised his prerogative only through and on advice of Ministers responsible to Parliament. But that is—or should we say 'was'—in 'normal' times.

Wade and Phillips' 'Constitutional Law' adds: 'In time of sudden invasion or formidable insurrection the King may demand personal service within the realm'.

Is it not conceivable that the Queen in Council might at some time proclaim all kinds of measures to deal with 'formidable insurrection'?

It is here that the House of Lords once more comes into the story.

The House of Lords comes, not so much from the feudal epoch itself, as from its break-up, as money dissolved the old relationships and serfdom disappeared in a welter of noble medieval thuggery.

The Lords became a major power under the Tudors.

Decimated by the Wars of the Roses, the peers were reinforced by Henry VIII with the new aristocrats, men of money and property who had done well out of the sale of Church lands. With the removal of the 30 abbots, the lay peers were now in a majority.

By Stuart times, the Tudor trick of playing off Lords and Commons was not so easy; even the Lords refused to back Charles I all the way.

But in the course of the revolution, the demand grew to get rid of the peerage altogether.

After the execution of the King in 1649, the Levellers in the Commons succeeded in abolishing the Upper House along with all titles, which they regarded as an instrument of William the Norman ('that thief and tyrant,' Lillburne called him).

Cromwell, always afraid of the movement against the old order going too far, tried unsuccessfully to stop this move, and later attempted to set up 'another House' to which some tame peers could be persuaded to return. But it was only at the Restoration that the House of Lords was recalled.

In the age of aristocratic government, when the economic power of the new ruling class was strong enough for it to govern through the remains of the old, the House of Lords really came into its own.

Conflict between Lords and Commons was rare in the 18th century, for a very simple reason. The Lords included the largest landowners, who were able to decide who was 'elected' to the Lower House.

This was a very happy arrangement when it came to enclosures of common land. This type of skulduggery was usually carried out by means of a Private Bill in the House of Lords, which was then easily passed through the Commons. The enrichment of the landlord and the ruin of



the small farmer was thus accomplished with the help of a few noble friends and a little bribery—the oldest parliamentary tradition.

The industrial revolution, however, demanded new forms of government, in which the industrialist held power more directly. There were therefore conflicts between Lords and Commons, notably on the Corn Laws and on the reform of parliament itself.

But these struggles were resolved without too much disruption of the governmental arrangements.

## THREAT OF MORE PEERS

The threat to create enough peers to carry through the 1832 Reform Bill was enough to secure its passage through the Lords. The threat was never carried out.



Top: Lords, after investiture of three more of their kind at a Knight of the Garter ceremony. Above: the Tipstaff (centre) surrounded by more 'commonplace' state officers, at the arrest of the five dockers

The battles between the Lords and the Liberal governments at the beginning of this century were even less fundamental in character.

In order to bring the Lords into line, Lloyd George filled the House with wealthy industrialists, who were happy to pay him for the privilege of sitting in feudal splendour.

In this way, after the Lords held up the 1909 budget, the 1911 Parliament Act was forced through. This removed their Lordships' right to veto any Bills concerned with finance, and cut down their delaying power on other measures passed by the Commons to two years.

In 1949 the Atlee government amended the 1911 Act so that the Lords could only delay Bills for one year.

The idea was to make sure that steel nationalization could not be held up by the Tory peers. In the event, however, Atlee backed down from a confrontation and postponed the operation of the Steel Act as well as amending it so that denationalization could easily be carried out.

The House of Lords today is a very different body from its

feudal past.

The ancient noble families have been joined, first by the new aristocrats of Tudor times, then by the Edwardian industrialists, and finally by an assortment of domesticated trade union leaders, retired professors and superannuated actors since 1958 as life peers.

## POWERS HELD IN RESERVE

But it still remains a solid fortress of property and privilege. And, despite conventional operation, it holds certain powers in reserve.

We have already mentioned the power of the Queen in Council, which functions by the monarch calling a few of the Privy Counsellors together. But although it has never happened since 1688, the Lords can also sit in Council. Summoned as a Council of

the Crown, the Lords would then be entitled to approve measures ordered by Royal proclamation. Of course as with all conventional functions such action could be challenged in the courts, by which time all kinds of things could have been done and people put out of the way. Perhaps the case would eventually find its way to the supreme tribunal—the House of Lords!

We have seen how the House of Lords found its subordinate place in the capitalist state, combining the functions of watchdog and brake, after emerging from the balancing act of the Tudor monarchy into the post-revolution compromise between landed aristocracy and industrial capital.

Today as all the bases for historical compromise are smashed, the state once more enters a period of precarious balancing. One support is the army, another the monopolies and yet another—much more fragile—the trade union leaders.

In this situation the workers' movement must watch out for the activities of very old institutions in very modern operations.

From the Dockers' Tanner Strike 1889 to Devlin 1967. An historical series on the organization of the dockers by Jack Gale

# THE DOCK LABOUR SCHEME

## PART 7

The National Dock Labour Scheme came into operation at the end of June 1947. Its aims were declared to be: ensuring greater regularity of employment and an adequate supply of labour, to facilitate the rapid turn-round of ships and the speedy transit of goods through the ports.

Authority was vested in a National Dock Labour Board, consisting of a chairman and vice-chairman appointed by the Minister of Labour, plus four members from the workers' side and four from the employers'.

The Minister has the right to appoint two more 'independent' members, but this right has so far never been exercised.

The Board's functions are to control recruitment to and discharge from the port registers and to be responsible for training and welfare, and the provision of amenities on the docks.

These duties were to be financed by a levy of up to 25 per cent of the wages bill paid to the men.

The scheme allowed for non-registered men to be used in an emergency and for a temporary register to be set up where seasonal fluctuations were common (as in Southampton).

The National Dock Labour Board was also empowered to cut the port registers.

Each port, or group of ports, has its own local Dock Labour Board consisting of an equal number of representatives from each side.

In legal terms, all dockers became employees of the Board (up to 1967) until the moment they were hired by a company operating in the port.

Men who were not hired at the free call were obliged to report to the Board's pen to find out if they were needed elsewhere in the port, or to get their card stamped, as entitlement to attendance money for the half-day.

Under the 1947 transfer clause men were also obliged to accept any suitable work in the port, or at another port provided it was, in the Board's opinion, within daily travelling distance of home.

Disciplinary powers were vested in local boards. The 1947 procedure was for an employer to lodge a written complaint with the Board. The accused man then had three days to lodge an appeal.

The Board heard the case and could issue punishments ranging from dismissal to suspension for up to five working days.

The Scheme also underwrote the agreements of the Joint Negotiation Council for the Docks Industry, which established the weekly guarantee and attendance money.

Arthur Deakin, who had succeeded Ernest Bevin as General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, hailed the scheme as 'a form of workers' control'.

But many dockers were more cautious. They pointed out that the 'men's representatives' on the disciplinary tribunals were usually right-wing union officials who were only too eager to line up with the employers in forcing militants off the dock.

The Scheme did, however, take away from the employer the sole right of hire and fire.

It also removed from the employers their previously unlimited disciplinary powers over the men.



Left: Arthur Deakin—under him union officials became a disciplinary force against militants. Right: Sir Walter Monckton, Tory Labour Minister, 1955.

These gains have been jealously guarded by dockers ever since. They have been equally consistently under fire from the employers who have been trying for a quarter of a century to destroy or erode the Scheme.

In that time the employers have argued that the Board's disciplinary powers were inadequate, that union officials carrying out management functions on the boards had inadequate control over their members, and that the Scheme gave the employers inadequate control over the register.

This last was a polite way of saying that the bosses wanted to recover their old unlimited right to hire and fire.

During the years of full employment and economic expansion, the old guard of the port employers were restrained by the more far-sighted representatives of the ruling class.

In 1955, for example, the National Association of Port Employers asked Sir Walter Monckton, the Tory Minister of Labour, to remove all union representatives from the Dock Labour Boards.

Monckton appointed Lord Devlin to inquire into this proposal and Devlin rejected the employers' demands on the grounds that dockers could no longer be controlled by threats. 'Threats', declared His Lordship, 'disturb the minds of moderate men without deterring the extremists'.

## Fines

In other words, the ruling class in the conditions prevailing at that time, preferred to rely on the union leaders holding back their men rather than on direct dominance by the port employers.

They relied, in fact, on men like John Donovan, the then Transport and General Workers' Union's National Docks Secretary, who pledged to the employers in 1946—shortly before the Scheme was brought into operation:

'We will take our responsibilities equally with you and we will fight our men if they are not playing the game.'

The NAPE's persistent efforts to bring about large-

scale modifications in the scheme during the 1950s remained unsuccessful.

They frequently asked for periods of suspension longer than the five days laid down by the Scheme, and they tried to get money fines imposed on 'trouble-makers', in addition to suspensions.

The bosses also proposed to suspend the Scheme during unofficial strikes so that men could be laid off without the guaranteed payments and so that unregistered labour could be used to move essential cargoes.

This was turned down by Devlin in 1956 on the grounds that the government already held such powers under the Emergency Powers Act of 1920.

Despite the employers' hatred of the Dock Labour Scheme and the basic gains which it represented for dockworkers—and which they have rightly defended—this Scheme was in no way a step towards workers' control of the docks. Such control cannot be operated until property is taken out of private hands.

Revisionists like the Institute for Workers' Control consistently present workers' control devoid of any revolutionary struggle against capitalism:

'Workers' control signifies a struggle by workers and their organizations to encroach upon the prerogative of management and to cut back managerial authority in the enterprise and the powers of capital in the economy.

'It begins with the simple trade union demands for control of hiring and firing, tea-breaks, hours, speed of work, allocation of jobs and so on.'

'It mounts through a whole series of demands (open the books, for example) to a point where, ultimately over the whole of society, capitalist authority meets impasse.'

This conflict was not lessened after the introduction of the Dock Labour Scheme. Less than a year after its inception, 19,000 London dockers plus a further 9,000 in Liverpool were on strike over discipline.

Eleven men in the Regents Canal dock had rejected a piecework price for discharging 100 tons of zinc oxide.

Inspection committees found against the men and they were each given one week's suspension and three months' disentanglement to attendance money and guarantee.

The strike began over these punishments. 205,000 man days were lost and 1,000 troops were sent into the London docks in the first declared State of Emergency since the General Strike.

Eventually, the punishments were reduced to two weeks' disentanglement.

Within a year (April 1949) 15,000 London dockers were out again in the so-called 'Ineffective Strike'.

## Challenge

On national instructions, the London Dock Labour Board had struck off the register 33 men who were said to be 'old and ineffective'. An official strike was called by the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' Union, though many T&GWU men joined in as well.

The strike was defeated after a week, largely because the T&GWU fought against it, and NASD was expelled from all Dock Labour Board representation.

A more powerful challenge both to the union leaderships and the state, however, was to arise out of the 'Canadian Seamen's Strike of May-July 1949.

This was a stoppage in support of the Canadian Seamen's Union, which the Canadian shipping bosses were seeking to smash.

Dockers at Avonmouth refused to work a number of Canadian ships and similar action rapidly followed in Bristol, Liverpool and London.

408,000 man-days were lost, a State of Emergency was declared and once more troops worked the London docks.

The importance of this strike, however, lay in its aftermath. It had not only challenged the Dock Labour Board, but the Transport and General Workers' Union as well.

It was, strictly speaking, not a strike but a lock-out. The men had refused to work only certain Canadian ships. The employers refused to allow them to work any others un-

less they worked the ones in dispute.

The struggle was then led by an unofficial London Central Lock-Out Committee. The T&GWU executive subsequently expelled three leaders of this committee — Harry Constable, Ted Dickens and C. H. Saunders—from the union and barred four others from holding office.

Since no one could work on the London Dock without a union card this meant the three men were being put off the dock.

A new Port Workers' Defence Committee called out 19,000 London men demanding reinstatement for the three.

The government (Labour) sent 3,000 troops into the dock and the London Dock Labour Board (including of course T&GWU representatives) threatened to withdraw registration from every striker.

The Communist Party pulled back from a fight against the T&GWU bureaucracy and the strike was defeated.

Constable was left without a union card, but, such was his standing on the dock, that he was permitted to work without one.

The collaboration of the Communist Party with the right wing leaders of the T&GWU (the Stalinists hoped to persuade their 'friends' to withdraw the 'Black Circular' barring Party members from holding office in the union) was to take even more open forms in 1954.

But the immediate consequence of the pull-back in 1950 was to encourage the Labour government and the employers to go over onto the offensive.

Immediately the expulsions strike was over, the Labour government set up the Leggett Committee of Inquiry into unofficial strikes in the London docks. Less than a year later, dockers were to find themselves on trial at the Old Bailey.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

<sup>1</sup> David F. Wilson: 'Dockers; the Impact of Industrial Change,' p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Ken Coates and Tony Topham, 'The Debate on Workers' Control', pp. 33-34.





# MORE MYTHS OF THE WILD WEST

## FILM REVIEW

Sam Peckinpah's 'Junior Bonner' (starring Steve McQueen, Robert Preston, Ida Lupino and Ben Johnson).

Sam Peckinpah makes very nasty films. Anyone who saw 'The Wild Bunch' will know what I mean.

The closing sequence was a shoot-out which set the screen and the aisles awash with blood and bits of flesh blasted by shotguns.

To give added effect Peckinpah showed a number of the victims being burst asunder in slow motion.

It was a colossal exhibition of gratuitous violence.

On the promise that his latest film 'Junior Bonner' (Odeon, Kensington) was 'more meaningful', I went along.

Peckinpah, however, was at it again. Could it be any other way?

There's no mayhem this time.

The only 'bloodshed' is an almighty punch-up—again we get the slow motion bit—which is brought to a close by the playing of the American national anthem.

The anarchic theme remains. People are miserable, worthless victims of the social condition they're caught up in.

In this film Peckinpah chooses the Bonners, a rip-roarin', rootin'-tootin' family. In the 1970s the Bonners are still hopelessly and romantically wedded to the Wild West.

Head of the family is Ace Bonner (admirably played by Robert Preston), whose great claim to fame is that he busted the toughest bronc in the West at Madison Square Gardens before an audience of city dudes.

His estranged wife, Elly pretends to be the firm, 'sane' member of the family, but when the guitars start strumming she can't resist another ride in the saddle with Ace.

Then there's Curly Bonner, their son.

He's the wide boy in the family. Not for him the rodeo trail with its stinking caravans and its bone-breaking dangers.

Curly decides to cash in on

the commercial aspect of the Wild West.

He defiles the rest of the family's great passion by forming a company called Curly Bonner's Rancheros.

This is a nightmare outfit which is into property development and also bussing tourists around Arizona to look at caged animals and Red Indians.

Curly has a hard-faced wife, a couple of dinky kids, a personal advertizing spot on television and a big bank balance.

The moment of truth in the film comes in a sullen confrontation between Curly and his younger brother, Junior Bonner (Steve McQueen).

Junior, or JR as he is known, is hooked completely on the rodeo circuit.

He carries on the unruly and cavalier tradition of his father and always tackles the meanest and ugliest bull in the business.

Over a drink in the saloon, Curly says to JR: 'I'm on my way to making my first million and you're trying to break eight seconds', a reference to JR's aim to ride a vicious-looking bull inside the time limit and win a couple of thousand dollars prize money.

Peckinpah, therefore, poses two alternatives: unbridled free enterprise or refuge in rekindling the romanticism of the West.

Curly the capitalist is shown in the grand parade driving a tractor which is pulling a float of mini-skirted gals giving away free goodies to the spectators.

Ace and JR climb aboard the same horse and ride madly through the parade and then through the neighbourhood—in slow motion—causing terror to the inhabitants.

Their escapade ends at a deserted railway station where Ace asks his son for money to take a trip to Australia, the last frontier of the American dream, to prospect for gold.

When the film draws to its predictable conclusion—Ace gets his ticket to Australia, Curly's doing very well and JR has ridden the minotaur—one is left with some huge questions to ask Peckinpah.

For instance has he ever visited any of the Wild West towns where the rodeo riders operate?

They are a far cry indeed from the all-American, apple pie and toffy apple portrait

painted by Peckinpah.

They are dreary, miserable, poverty-stricken ghost towns. Poverty-stricken, that is, for the majority of the population, who live off the tourist trade and a bit of seasonal work on the land.

There is certainly none of the bonhomie which Peckinpah attributes to the tree-lined township in his film. He has the barman handing out free drinks to the broncbusters and the same host laughing gleefully during the fight which wrecks his pub.

In Arizona, where the film was shot, such an incident would have provoked a police invasion of the scale which turned up at Attica prison... and with the same murderous results.

In Peckinpah's version of middle America not a cop is to be seen.

Only god-fearing prairie folk.

Their grand parade even has a military band—just back from Vietnam?—which gets a great reception from all the cleanshaven, bronzed cowboys who stand waving the stars and Stripes.

The other staggering gloss is Peckinpah's womenfolk.

In particular, there is the girl who JR charms into the haystack with his deep blue meaningful glances.

She is Raquel Welch, Tricia Nixon and one of McGovern's daughters rolled into one. In fact very much like the super-girl in 'Love Story', in whose mouth butter wouldn't melt.

But the rodeo circuit hangers-on are far different from this.

They are rather like the 'groupies' who follow around pop stars. They crawl from one sleeping bag to the next and from one road show to the next. That's the reality of their cruel existence.

The American cinema has already constructed one mythology about the West. Now Peckinpah is superimposing another.

British audiences will be confused by the unrealness of this film.

In New York it will have the middle class lashing around in a 'crisis of conscience' about the future of civilization.

In the poor towns of the American Mid-West it will be a sick joke.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## A MAN OF PROPERTY

James Callaghan, shadow Home Secretary and the man who sent troops into Ireland, may have to declare an interest when it comes to debating Labour's programme at annual conference.

His recent activities down on the farm may be a source of embarrassment when delegates come to the Labour Party's proposal for a wealth tax.

The value of farmland has soared recently. Farms of 100 and 150 acres can fetch an average £368 an acre compared with £263 an acre last year.

Over four years ago Callaghan went into farming with a friend and bought 110 acres near Lewis for £22,000. Several

thousands have been spent on improvement and the two men managed to get a £400 government grant.

The value of the property today is around a cool £80,000.

Half of this is Callaghan's. With his interests in two banks and other assets Labour's Number Two is well into the wealth tax bracket that the Party rank and file will be pressing for at the October conference.

Any questions on public ownership on the land might be slightly awkward as well. Anyway the debate should be interesting.

Below: James Callaghan, the Labour Party's wealthy No. 2.



## BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY :  
Germany 1931/1932  
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87½  
Where Is Britain Going ?  
Paperback 37½p  
Revolution Betrayed  
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.05  
Problems of the Chinese Revolution  
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87½  
Permanent Revolution :  
Results and Prospects  
Paperback 75p  
In Defence of Marxism  
Paperback 75p  
Lessons of October  
Paperback 60p

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

# Preston site strikers to march today

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

**TOMMY LAWTON, Preston district organizer of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians has warned local strikers against splits generated by the capitalist press.**

Men at a recent builders' meeting in the town called for the ejection of a representative of the Lancashire 'Evening Post'. They accused the paper of bias against their strike.

After considerable discussion he was allowed to stay because, as one delegate said, the publicity 'would only get worse'.

A delegation of Preston building workers will join a march through Bolton today in support of the full claim.

Preston has also congratulated the Blackpool strike committee formed only a week ago—for pulling out local sites.

Even the police headquarters at Hutton, where the management had prepared secret ballot forms, came out by a majority of 28 to two when approached by the strike committee.

The Preston building workers now have the support of the local trades council and the two Labour Party constituencies.

Cllr Harold Parker, chairman of the education committee, told Workers Press that a resolution had been passed at the trades council which 'condemned the articles in the Lancashire "Evening Post" accusing the building

workers of greed and disappointing people in Preston over their Guild period'.

The resolution went on: 'We support the building workers in their struggle over intolerable wages and working conditions.'

Cllr Parker, who is an executive member of the trade council, went on: 'I feel we should show tangible support for the men's fight. For example, should we continue basic work with firms who employ lump labour?'

He hopes to move a resolution in the trades council banning lump labour in the area.

Cllr John O'Connor, a building shop steward and member of Preston South Labour Party, told Workers Press that there was 'enthusiastic and unanimous support' for the building workers.

At the pickets' meeting yesterday morning the strike committee recommended that every single stand should be completed by the scaffolders for the Guild week starting September 3.

This is a complete reversal of previous policy, and after the meeting many militants told Workers Press they were opposed to this decision.

At Monday's mass meeting Tommy Lawton had received cheers when he said: 'We'll only build the stands if the Guild will let the people in for nothing.'

Cllr Parker told the strike committee that the Guild would receive no profit from this work. At yesterday's meeting men from Turner's site, in mid-Preston, asked about the profits Scaffolders would receive.

Another compared the issue to the miners' strike. 'They struck solid and they won,' said one rank-and-filer.



Preston building workers at their meeting

At Monday's meeting Lawton said: 'We have not had an increase in basic rates from January 1971 yet houses have on average increased by 20 per cent. Profits of some firms have increased by 50 per cent. We want a guaranteed wage at the end of the week.'

He went on: 'We've reached the bottom. We can't go any lower. If we lose this one, you might as well go out of this industry because we will starve.'

'Socialism is built on the working man's struggle for survival.'

'We try to create something better for those coming after us. It's the employers you work for who runs your and millions of families' lives. We are fighting for the right to live and the right to work.'

Tommy Irving of the Transport and General Workers Union read a prepared leaflet to be issued to the strike committee and pickets which said: 'We have to advise that we are on official strike in the construction industry in support of this claim.'

He added that T&GWU drivers had general instructions not to cross the picket lines and, in particular cases, had been told by convenors not to.

The lack of union leadership was questioned again.

'They've talked about total escalation. Why don't Jones and Smith [T&GWU and UCATT leaders] stand up and say it's a national strike?' asked Alan Moon of the strike committee.

'I propose a joint shop stewards' committee like on the docks.'

Tommy Irving replied that on August 17 at 4 p.m. he had received a telex signed by Jack Jones which said: 'We will escalate the strike until it becomes a complete national stoppage.'

ABOUT 7,000 building workers are on strike in South Wales, according to UCATT regional organizer Ron Bowen.

'We have found tremendous enthusiasm among the men,' he said. 'Some are ringing us up asking us to send mobile pickets to get their sites closed.'

This week pickets have brought work to a halt on the Cardiff-Merthyr trunk road and the £200,000 hypermarket at Caerphilly.

Smaller sites in Port Talbot and Swansea were also closed.

# Toyota sacking: 'black cars' appeal

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

TWENTY-THREE members of the Transport and General Workers' Union are entering the fourth week of their official strike at Toyota (Great Britain) Ltd at Lydden Hill, near Dover.

The strike began when two union members were sacked on July 21 for alleged 'inefficiency'.

But the circumstances of their sacking are puzzling.

Four days prior to the sacking one of the men was given a pay rise of £4 a week. Then he and the other sacked men were invited into the office and told that trade unions were not recognized.

They were subsequently dismissed.

The area organizer of the union has been in touch with Pride and Clarke, Croydon, who are Toyota dealers in Britain, but with no success.

Leading member of the strike committee, Vic Mowles, told Workers Press that attempts will be made to black Toyota cargo leaving Antwerp at the weekend.

He went on: 'If we can stop this ship Toyota have really got problems.'

A telegram has gone to Antwerp dockers' union by courtesy of the Kent area of the National Union of Mineworkers, appealing to them to stop the cargo leaving for Dover.

Dover and Rochester dockers are refusing to handle Toyota cars and British Rail men are blacking all local deliveries and giving the strikers financial support.

I would like information about

## THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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

Name .....

Address .....

**Subscribe!**  
*workers press*

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

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

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

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:

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

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

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

Or Full subscription (six days) for ..... months.

Name .....

Address .....

Amount enclosed £

# Essex port project could doom London, Tilbury

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

THE GOVERNMENT has agreed in principle to an application to develop 1,500 acres at Maplin Sands, Essex, for container and unit-load facilities.

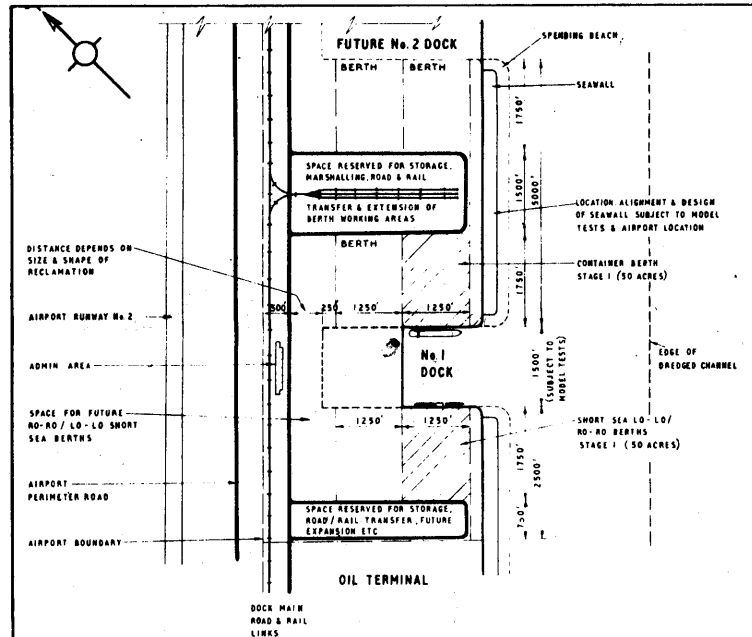
In April, the go-ahead was given for the development on an oil terminal to handle ships of up to 500,000 tons.

The seaport will be a vital part in the total Maplin project to build London's third airport and a new city for 250,000 people to go with it.

But the seaport itself is only expected to employ about 1,500 workers, and only half of those will eventually be dockers.

The development of an integrated port at Maplin could mean the end not only of the enclosed docks like the Royals but also the modern Tilbury complex.

Maplin could become the basis



The provisional berth-plan for Maplin Sands which could kill the Royals

of a 'through' delivery service using sea, road, rail and air.

Use of large Continental-style lorries, an expansion of the rail freightliner service and barge ships will form the basis of this operation.

Japanese ships carrying 1,000 containers at a time will arrive at Maplin and their loads will go straight to the buyer's door, cutting out all those who used to handle the goods before.

The Port of London Authority is planning two high-capacity load

terminals for Maplin stage one, one for deep-sea container traffic and the second for short-sea services using a lift-on, roll-on type of operation.

'The unit-load terminals at Maplin will be capable of handling the largest container-ships that can be envisaged for the future,' said the PLA.

The ships will be able to navigate the channels, berth and unberth at any state of the tide and in virtually all weather conditions.

# TV

## BBC 1

9.45 Along the trail. 10.00 Robinson Crusoe. 10.25-10.35 Noggin and the omruds. 10.40-12.45 One-day international cricket. England v Australia. 1.00 Race to the White House. 7.30 Herbs. 1.45 News and weather. 1.53 Show jumping and international cricket. 4.15 Play school. 4.00 Deputy dawg. 4.45 Jackanory. 5.00 Harlem globerotters. 5.20 Barrier reef. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News and weather. 6.00 **NATIONWIDE.** 6.55 **HE SAID, SHE SAID.** 7.25 **TOP OF THE POPS.** 8.00 **THE DICK EMERY SHOW.** 8.30 **HAVING A LOVELY TIME.** Auberon Waugh... with the Guns. 9.00 **NINE O'CLOCK NEWS** and weather. 9.25 **PLAY FOR TODAY: 'The Man in the Sidecar'.** By Simon Gray. Gemma Jones, James Larenson, David Collings. 10.40 **THEM.** James Booth, Cyril Cusack. 11.10 **ROBERT WAGNER'S CINEMA.** 11.40 **LATE NIGHT NEWS.** 11.45 **Weather.**

## BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 4.30 One-day international cricket. England v Australia. 7.30 **NEWSROOM** and weather. 8.00 **SONS OF THE BLOOD: 'The Great Boer War'.** 8.30 **EMMA.** Part six of the dramatization of Jane Austen's novel. 9.15 **INDUSTRIAL GRAND TOUR.** Crich. 9.25 **SACHA'S IN TOWN.** Sacha

## ITV

11.35 East meets West. 12.25 Women today. 12.50 Common Market cook book. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.30 Zingalong. 1.40 Arthur. 2.05 Castle haven. 2.30 Matinee. 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 **TODAY.** 6.30 **CROSSROADS.** 6.55 **FILM: 'The Man in Grey'.** Margaret Lockwood, James Mason, Phyllis Calvert, Stewart Granger. An ex-debutante in the 1790s is in love with a highwayman but married to a rogue. 9.00 **MAX BYGRAVES AT THE ROYALTY.** Guest Jack Smethurst. 9.30 **THIS WEEK.** 10.00 **NEWS AT TEN.** 10.30 **CINEMA.** Clive James. 11.00 **THE AVENGERS: 'Get a way'.** 12.00 **CHRISTIANITY IN ADVERSITY.**



James Booth in 'Them' (last of the series), BBC 1, 10.30 p.m.

## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 2.50 Kate. 3.40 Cyprus. 4.05 Nuts and bones. 4.20 Puffin. 4.22 Dick Van Dyke. 4.50 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.10 Hogan's heroes. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Seven Hills of Rome'. 9.00 London. 11.02 Marcus Welby. 11.55 News and weather in French. 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 and weather. 1.00 Afloat. 1.25 Hogan's heroes. 1.50 Common Market cook book. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Let's face it. 3.00 Saint. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Send for dithers. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Stingray. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 On the buses. 7.15 Film:

'Sam Hill: Who Killed the Mysterious Mr Foster?' 9.00 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Film: 'Dark Eyes of London'. 12.35 Weather. Guideline.

**HARLECH:** 3.20 Common Market cook book. 3.45 Dr 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: 'Whistle Down the Wind'. 9.00 London. 10.30 A game of islands. 11.00 Spyforce. 12.00 Weather.

**HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except:** 4.15-4.30 Miri mawr. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 10.30-11.00 Songs of the Celts. HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Report West.

**ANGLIA:** 1.40 Remember. 2.05 Joe 90. 2.30 Women today. 3.00 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 Crossroads. 7.00 Sale. 7.30 Film: 'The Lavender Hill Mob'. 9.00 London.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 3.10 Houseparty. 3.25 Paulus. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Family affair. 4.35 Nuts and bones. 4.50 Pretenders. 5.20 London. 6.00 ATV today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sale. 7.30 Film: 'The Spy With My Face'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Marcus Welby MD. 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 Their kind of music. 7.30 Film: 'Gallant Journey'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Champions.

**YORKSHIRE:** 1.45 Scotland Yard. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Sound of... 3.15 Corwin. 4.10 Calendar news. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Funky phantom. 5.20 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.05 It takes a thief. 7.00 Film: 'Desperate Journey'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Department S. 11.55 Something to sing about. 12.25 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 2.25 Freud on food. 2.45 Wonderful world. 3.40 Scotland Yard casebook. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Lidsville. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Amazing world of Kreskin. 6.30 UFO. 7.25 Film: 'The Silent Gun'. 8.50 Sylvester. 9.00 London. 11.00 Police file. 11.05 Avengers.

**TYNE TEES:** 1.40 Scotland Yard. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Junkin. 3.00 Sound of... 3.15 Calling Doctor Gannon. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Woobinda. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Other Lindisfarne. 6.30 Coronet blue. 7.25 Film: 'The Little Hut'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Sporttime. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 Police call. 11.35 Calum's ceilidh. 12.05 News. 12.20 Epilogue.

**SCOTTISH:** 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Women today. 4.10 Animaland. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Funky phantom. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Randall and Hopkirk. 7.10 Film: 'The Adventures of Quentin Durward'. 9.00 London. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Festival. 11.35 On the buses.

**GRAMPIAN:** 2.31 News. 2.55 Job look. 3.40 Women today. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Pippi longstocking. 5.20 London. 6.00 News and weather. 6.10 Top team. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.55 Film: 'The Girl Rush'. 8.30 Shut that door. 9.00 London. 11.00 Young view. 11.30 Avengers.

# Manchester picket planned



'HEATH OUT!' was the central demand of Tuesday's 2,000-strong building workers' march through Manchester.

But although a call for a total nationwide stoppage was carried Communist Party members sought to relieve pressure on the union leaders to mobilize for an all-out battle with the Tory government. 'Never mind the executive committee', London Stalinist Jack Henry told a meeting.

## General Strike on Rock

WORKERS in Gibraltar staged a General Strike this week in protest at governor Sir Varyl Begg's decision to have British troops man the electricity generating station, during a strike.

The public service employees went on strike at the beginning of the week in support of a wage demand. During the first 24 hours of their strike six government technicians had manned the main generating station but on Tuesday they agreed to leave

after discussions with union leaders.

It was then that the governor ordered troops into the generating station.

After a demonstration of over 5,000 workers along the Rock's main street, the governor told public service workers' representatives that he would pass on their request for a settlement of their pay claim to the official employers and the British government.

He said, however, that he could not arbitrate or give a directive as requested by the unions.

# Hain case costs hearing due today

AN APPLICATION for the costs of the private prosecution against Peter Hain, chairman of the Young Liberals, to be paid out of public funds will be heard by Judge Gillis at the Old Bailey today.

It is being made by Francis Bennion, the 48-year-old barrister who brought the prosecution.

Hain (22), was fined £200 by the judge on Monday after a jury found him guilty of conspiring to hinder and disrupt the Davis Cup tennis match between Britain and South Africa in 1969.

Hain was cleared on three

other conspiracy charges relating to anti-apartheid demonstrations as sports events involving South African teams.

A spokesman for Bennion's solicitors said in London yesterday: 'It would be quite improper for me to say what the figure of costs is.'

The amount has been estimated, however, at about £20,000.

Bennion, director of Freedom Under the Law Ltd, is closely connected with the right-wing Monday Club.

For a profile of the Monday Club, see Saturday's Workers Press.

# BOOKS



Moscow Trials Anthology

Paperback, 62½p

**MAX SHACHTMAN:**

Behind The Moscow Trial

Paperback 75p

**ROBERT BLACK:**

Stalinism In Britain

Paperback £1.12½—cloth £2

**LEON TROTSKY:**

Death Agony of Capitalism

(The Transitional Programme)

Pamphlet 5p

Class Nature of the Soviet State

Pamphlet 20p

In Defence of the October

Revolution Pamphlet 15p

The Theory and Practice of

Revisionism Pamphlet 15p

Postage 10p per book, 3p per

pamphlet. Order from:

**NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS**

186a Clapham High Street,

London SW4 7UG.

# West India dockers attack racists

BY PHILIP WADE

**SHOP STEWARDS** at London's West India dock yesterday joined stewards from the Royal group in condemning today's anti-immigrant march to the Home Office.

A steward told me that there was no steward who would back the march by a group calling itself the Smithfield Workers Against Immigration.

Leaflets have been given out urging dockers to demonstrate against the entry of Ugandan Asians expelled by the military regime of General Idi Amin.

On Tuesday, stewards from the Royal group attacked the march and said they would have nothing to do with it.

'I've never felt racial at any time,' John Lynch, West India steward said yesterday. 'The situation has always been that the working class are slaves in one way or another.'

'I am against any worker being opposed to another worker because he is coloured. The Tories are helping to stir up racial feelings because it's always been their policy to divide and conquer.'

'A lot of Tories have no time for Edward Heath and would rather have Enoch Powell. But the Tories will never disunite because they want to keep the power.'

'There's said to be a basic truth that we're a small island and not everyone can be king of the castle. But some people in this country own thousands of acres of land which cannot be built on.'

'Only one man told the truth about the Tory Party, even though he never always stayed to the "left", and that was Aneurin Bevan. He said they were vermin, and he was right,' said Lynch.

He said he knew what the Tories were like from his family's experience.

They had originally come from Ireland during the potato famine in the 1840s and his grandfather had died in a work-house.

'Who are these Tories? Men

like Lord Vestey made his money when his family was in the slave trade. He owns the Ulster Bank and builds his ships outside the country because he is such a patriot!

'This racial issue is being found for economic issues.'

'Let me tell you this. If we get rid of all the coloured people there will still be one million unemployed because of the way the Tories are closing industries down.'

'Men like Powell and Nabarro think that only one thing can split the working class and get the Tories popularity and that's the racial issue.'

'They used to get the King and Queen to come down this way and take our minds of our empty stomachs. Now they use racialism, and papers like the "Daily Express", the filthiest one going.'

'Look in Northern Ireland. William Craig, a Tory who supported the Industrial Relations Bill, and who is against the working class and strikes, has set up a private army.'

'Yet no one has invoked the law against him because he is a good Tory. The Tories are the greatest men of violence of all,' added Lynch.

The Smithfield demonstration today comes at a time when extreme right-wing groups in Britain have launched a national campaign to whip up racial hatred and split the working class.

It is aimed at fooling workers by saying immigration is the cause of unemployment and bad housing when it is the Tories who have closed factories, deliberately stepped up unemployment and attacked housing conditions and rents.

The Smithfield campaign is being led by two meat porters, Danny Harmston and Ron Taylor.

Harmston led the 1968 Powell march. He once stood as a candidate for the British Union Movement, led by Sir Oswald Mosley who organized fascist and pro-Hitler forces in Britain in the 1930s.

Harmston was also a member of the National Socialist Movement, the predecessor of Colin Jordan's British Movement.

London dock stewards who have stood out against the march strike a blow for working class unity and follow the traditions of the dockers who in the 1930s battled it out on the streets with Mosley's Blackshirts when they tried to march through the East End of London.



John Lynch at West India docks yesterday

## TUC protest over Law Lords haste

THE TUC is to write to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hailsham, about the circumstances surrounding the rushed House of Lords decision in the container blacking dispute.

The General Council decided yesterday to intervene on behalf of the Transport and General Workers' Union which had fines of £55,000 reimposed on it following the judgement.

The Council heard a letter from the T&GWU which described the 'unusual aspects' of the way the case had been conducted.

The Lords reversed the judgement of the Court of Appeal and thus enabled the National Industrial Relations Court to reconvene and release the five jailed dockers.

The TUC will be writing to all affiliated unions advising them of the implications of the judgement. In essence the judgement means that it is the unions'

responsibility to police their members, particularly shop stewards and militants.

IF THE opening session of the TUC Congress at Brighton on September 4 decides to continue the suspension of registered unions, delegates from all 35 unions on the register will be barred from the proceedings.

Their resolutions before Congress will fall and their delegates will be ineligible for election to the General Council.

But it became clear after yesterday's General Council meeting that the TUC leadership will not press for the expulsion of the 35 rebel unions.

Instead their suspensions will be extended until December 31 during which time they will be asked to come off the Tory register.

The question of registration comes up at Brighton on Monday afternoon, the first major business session of conference. Any of the 35 unions may appeal to Congress against suspension.

## Dispensation demand wins union support

THERE IS growing support among trade union branches for dispensation to be granted to Workers Press and the 'Morning Star' in the event of a national closedown of the press in support of trade union struggles.

Many trade unionists now see that there is a need in such an emergency for the newspapers of the labour and trade union movement to continue to function normally.

The East London No 15 branch of the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union has passed a resolution stating:

'This branch calls upon the executive council of Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union to urge the executive councils of the printing unions to grant special dispensation allowing Workers Press and the "Morning Star" to continue printing in the event of further newspaper strike action.'

The resolution will be forwarded to the union's executive council.

The shop stewards' committee at the Ford body plant, Dagenham, representing 5,000 workers has passed a resolution calling for dispensation for Workers Press and the 'Morning Star' if any industrial action like that over the jailed dockers occurs again.

They will send their letter and resolution to the executives of the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades and the National Graphical Association.

The No 26 divisional council of technical and supervisory section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has agreed to send a resolution to their executive committee. It urges them to use their influence to secure special dispensation for both Workers Press and the 'Morning Star' in the event of industrial action being taken by printing unions similar to that recently taken against the jailing of the five dockers.

The same call has been taken up by London airport branch of the electricians and plumbers' union. It was passed overwhelmingly and will be put before the next meeting of Hounslow Trades Council.

The resolution states: 'In the event of any further industrial action or acts of solidarity in the printing industry of the type seen on July 25 and 26, this branch of the London airport EPTU calls upon the executive committees of the printing unions to grant dispensation to all working-class publications, notably Workers Press and 'Morning Star', in order to allow normal publication of presses that support workers' struggles, as a matter of principle.'

### ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

TUC MUST BREAK OFF ALL TALKS WITH HEATH!

MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN!

**AYLESHAM: Thursday August 24, 8 p.m.** The Legion, Burgess Road. Speakers include Cavanagh Weaver, steward from Wm. Griffiths, Canterbury.

**SHEFFIELD: Thursday August 24.** Western Works, Portobello. 'The builders' strike'. Chairman: Tal Clarke (UCATT branch secretary). Speaker: Sean Coulston (Sheffield strike committee member). Both in a personal capacity.

**PRESTON: Wednesday August 30, 8 p.m.** Railway and Commercial Hotel, Butler St (nr railway station). 'The Tory government and the building workers'.

**SLOUGH: Tuesday September 6, 7.30 p.m.** Slough Community Centre, Farnham Rd. 'Force the Tories out! Expose the traitors in the labour and trade union movement!' Speakers: Frank Tomany and Brian Bailey, both in a personal capacity.

### Socialist Labour League

FOUR LECTURES THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

given by G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)

1. Marxism as the theory of knowledge Tuesday September 5

2. Development of Marxism through working-class struggle Tuesday September 12

3. Nature of the capitalist crisis Tuesday September 19

4. Historical materialism today Tuesday September 26

**AEU HOUSE** Mount Pleasant Liverpool 1, 7.30 p.m.

### CIRCULATION

01-622 7029

### NEWS DESK

01-720 2000

### LATE NEWS WEATHER

AN ANTICYCLONE will remain slow-moving over western parts of the British Isles as a weak trough of low pressure moves South over the North Sea.

Northern parts of Scotland will have occasional drizzle while in South East Scotland and eastern parts of England it will be rather cloudy but dry. Elsewhere it will be fine after early mist or fog patches and sunny periods will develop in most places and although warm, there will be sea breezes near the coast keeping these areas rather cool.

Eastern parts of England and Scotland will also be rather cool while in northern Scotland temperatures will be near normal.

**Outlook for Friday and Saturday:** Mainly dry with sunny periods but cloudy with some rain in West and North Scotland. Rather cool near the east coast, otherwise temperatures near, or a little above normal.