

AUGUST PLANS FOR RULE BY DECREE?

DANGEROUS DAYS IN SHOWDOWN WITH TORIES

BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

GREAT DANGERS face the working class as the showdown with the Tory government begins. These dangers must be squarely faced and urgently prepared against.

At the end of the most momentous week in British political and industrial history since the 1926 General Strike, the lines of combat are now clearly and tightly drawn.

Britain's 42,000 dockers came out on national strike yesterday and on Monday they will be joined in a massive one-day stoppage by workers in the West of Scotland, the Midlands and two unions in national newspapers.

The country is headed inescapably for General Strike—the only question is on what day it begins.

The Tories, waving the black flag of 'law and order', are every day provoking the working class into new battles. The working class itself, driven by hatred and contempt for a Tory Government which openly sets out to destroy its basic rights, is rejecting in action the class-collaboration of the trade union and Labour leaders.

On August 9, parliament goes into its nine-week summer recess. During that period the Tory government will rule without even the check of parliamentary debate and public accountability.

Heath and his Cabinet will not hesitate for one minute longer than necessary to resort to rule by decree through the Privy Council. The first step will be a state of emergency next week in answer to the dock strike. The use of troops recalled from Germany, to move essential supplies, is in preparation.

The background to these prospects is ominous and the greatest treachery of the Labour, trade union and Stalinist leaders is that they do not warn the working class of this situation.

Nothing could reveal more brutally the real face of the Tory

enemy than their sending of 4,000 extra troops to Ulster. This brings the total to 22,000 for a population only one seventh of that of Greater London! This should leave no doubt about the scale of the repressions they will prepare for Britain.

Not so obvious, but more profound in its historic significance, is the way in which Heath on TV last Wednesday insisted arrogantly on the authority of the House of Lords as 'the highest court in the land'.

The Upper House is a body of hereditary and life peers elected by nobody and answerable to nobody, a survival from the days of medieval oppression, retained by the capitalist class as a bulwark for its own power.

This decaying, parasitic peerage is now used to confirm with finality the authority of the new National Industrial Relations Court, a court with the powers and purposes of a new 'star chamber', designed to apprehend and jail all those who challenge the power and decisions of the employing class.

This is why one capitalist paper after another, appearing yesterday after the newspaper strike, compared the trade unions and the dockers with lawless 'feudal barons' who must be subjected to state authority.

In the writhings of its senile decay, the bourgeoisie tries to summon up the force, the inspiration, the mission, which its ancestors had in the 16th and 17th centuries.

But it does so this time as a dying class, crisis-ridden, lashing out desperately rather than confidently. It does not face outmoded and corroded feudalism, but a powerful working class with the future in its hands.

All the Tories' talk about defending democracy from the power of the unions is designed to lay the foundation of a repressive right-wing dictatorship.

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Dockers set up solidarity picket with printers

SEVERAL HUNDRED dockers marched from a Tower Hill rally yesterday afternoon to join print workers from Briant Colour Printings Ltd, Peckham, after they claimed police brutality against pickets.

A large force of police stood three deep outside the gates of an associated company Robert Horne's, Southwark factory, facing 400 print workers and dockers.

A team of negotiators headed by Bill Freeman, the Briant work-in committee leader, talked with the management behind the gates. They were asking

management to use the influence which they had when they closed down the Briant plant to get it reopened.

While the pickets stood outside, four printers from Prestige, another Horne company, walked out in solidarity.

When the talks ended the pickets were told that Horne's would only promise to halt lorries at the picket line until 4 p.m. on Monday. This was a breach of previous verbal guarantees, the pickets said.

The fear now is that

Horne's will take legal action against the trade unionists who are demanding the right to work.

Earlier at a Tower Hill rally Freeman claimed that on Thursday night 30 pickets had been despatched to the associated company of Robert Horne's after rumours that several lorries were going to attempt to break the picket line of two men and two women who were there.

Police had claimed that the larger picket

was illegal and moved in to break it up.

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He also alleged that SOGAT official Norman Pennington had been assaulted by police in the back of a police van.

About 250 Briant Colour workers have been occupying their Old Kent Road factory for six weeks in a bid to stave off closure.

Horne's are Briant's largest creditors. The picket at Horne's had been reduced while talks with the company on the future of the work-in at the plant were in progress.

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● SATURDAY JULY 29, 1972 ● No. 828 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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'Lin Piao dead'—statement

PEKING'S year-long silence on the fate of Lin Piao, the former Defence Minister who was once Mao Tse-tung's right-hand man ended yesterday with a statement from the Chinese embassy in Algiers.

A spokesman confirmed that Lin was killed in an air crash in Mongolia last September. He refused to give any further details.

The Algerian government newspaper 'Al-Moujahid' carried a lengthy statement from 'an official Chinese personality' accusing Lin of making many errors, of arrogance and of trying

to 'hoodwink the masses'.

It said he had 'attempted a coup d'etat and tried to assassinate' Mao. 'After this plot was foiled, he fled on September 12 towards the Soviet Union on a plane which crashed in the People's Republic of Mongolia,' the statement said.

Lin Piao, born in 1908 in a poor Hupeh family, joined the Chinese Communist Party as a cadet at the Whampoa Military Academy in 1925.

Lin played a continual role in the Party's struggle for power and headed the Chinese Red Army in Manchuria at the end of the last war.

He later demolished Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang in northern China during the civil war, despite Chiang's numerical superiority.

After the liberation in 1950 he became a member of the politburo, the party's top policy-making body.

Standing on the 'left' wing of the Chinese bureaucracy, Lin Piao was a prime mover in the Cultural Revolution which began in 1966.

The youth and students were mobilized to purge the bureaucracy of time-servers and careerists.

The left turn came to an abrupt end two years

ago, though Lin was confirmed as Mao's heir.

Internationally the Maoist leaders prepared the way for rapprochement with the United States by betraying the struggle in Bangla Desh, solidarizing themselves with the Ceylon regime against the JVP revolt and supporting the butcher Numeiry in the Sudan.

Lin Piao's position in relation to these events is still far from clear. But the Chinese statement makes it clear that the rightward turn produced an upheaval in the Maoist leadership.



Lin Piao (right) with Mao during the Cultural Revolution

What we think

UNITE TO DEFEND DOCK JOBS

WHAT IS at stake in the dock strike? Jack Jones, T&GWU leader, and the Communist Party say more job guarantees for dockers in containerbases.

The dockers made their views clear by roaring 'Heath out' when they heard the news of the national dock strike.

This important political understanding has not simply been grafted onto the struggle—it arose out of it.

For years the dockers have been sold modernization by union officials and many shop stewards' leaders, like Jack Dash in London. Older portworkers got blood money and were pensioned off and the rest got a few pounds extra for operating modern berths where productivity increased a hundred-fold.

Eventually the attack on the dock labour force became so severe that dockers took matters into their own hands and the picketing began.

They quickly found that they were faced with a political fight. The government jailed five dockers who were defending their right to work. Now there is a near universal belief that the crisis on dockland cannot be solved until the Tories are brought down.

It is this political development that Jack Jones and the Communist Party—ever faithful to the politics of class compromise—want to stop.

They say firmer guarantees on jobs would solve the issue. This is nonsense and only a desperate ploy to re-channel the struggle back along safe 'trade union' lines.

Firstly the jobs available in container bases could not possibly absorb the run-down of labour on the docks.

One example illustrates this. At Liverpool, Ocean Port Services, a stevedoring firm owned by Ocean Steamship, are containerizing their Far East trade and shipping through Southampton.

OPS say this means they will be 500 men surplus on Merseyside. Now suppose these dockers were allowed jobs in container bases. Where would they go?

Ocean Steamship is part of the giant OCL container consortium. They send all their containers through inland depots owned by the Containerbase Federation. Could the Containerbase Federation offer jobs to all the 500 from Merseyside? No, the group's six depots currently employ 190 men—nearly three times the number of surplus Liverpool dockers.

The 'jobs guarantees' demand is totally inadequate for another reason. The workers who are employed in the bases are union members. They also have the right to work. It is not a question of warehousemen, drivers and dockers fighting desperately for a diminishing pool of employment in the transport industry, but a united fight by the three sections against all redundancy.

The third and most important reason for rejecting this formula is that it only disguises the further drift towards a smaller dock labour force.

Containerization as a system reduces jobs all along the transport network. The redundancies will not stop just because dockers get a handful of jobs in container bases.

The drivers, warehouseman and dockers have found that the container is a thing to be feared not welcomed. This is because employers use it to destroy jobs and increase profits and not for the benefit of the working class.

The control of the whole transport industry is therefore at stake in the dock strike and that means the survival of the Tories is also at stake. Dockers must be joined by other workers to force this vicious and discredited government out of office.

They must struggle to elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies which must include:

- No redundancies for dockers, drivers or containerbase workers.
- An immediate shorter working week. Keep workers whose jobs are threatened on full pay until the transport industry is nationalized and planned on socialist lines.
- Abolition of the temporary unattached register. Full pay for all dockers.
- The immediate registration of all non-scheme ports.
- Recall of the T&GWU biennial conference to adopt this policy and plan out the fight to implement it.

These demands can only be won if the Tories are forced from office. The solution to the dock crisis is not job guarantees but the nationalization of all the transport industry and shipping, without compensation under workers' control.

All trade unions must join with the dockers to win this massive political struggle. The Tories are shaking—let's bring them down!

Puppet troops routed at Quang Tri

SOUTH VIETNAMESE forces have suffered a stunning reverse in their highly-publicised efforts to retake the provincial capital Quang Tri, captured by liberation forces on April 28.

Their paratroopers, who claimed to have reached the city's citadel on Wednesday, have now been withdrawn from the fighting around the city and replaced by marines. The citadel is still in the hands of the liberation forces.

Officers at the front told correspondents that the paratroopers had never been inside the citadel for very long and never held more than a small corner of the 50-acre walled fortress.

Yet on Wednesday Lt Gen Du Quoc Dong, the paratroop commander, said his troops had raised the South Vietnamese flag over the citadel and 'virtually cleared' it of North Vietnamese troops.

The commander of US forces in Vietnam, Gen Frederick Weyand, visited the paratroop headquarters on Wednesday to decorate Gen Dong with the US Legion of Merit. He said the drive to retake Quang Tri was 'going very well'.

He added: 'No American units could have done better in this situation.'

In fact, said a US adviser on the spot: 'They were taking 150 casualties a day and it just wasn't worth hanging in there.'

According to the 'New York Times', the paratroopers 'have been in continuous heavy combat in the Quang Tri sector for weeks. Casualties and the exhaustion of jungle life have taken their toll.'

Behind their smokescreen of

lies and propaganda about the course of the battle, the South Vietnamese are in deep trouble. They originally expected the liberation forces to thrust down from Quang Tri towards Hue, the ancient imperial capital.

Instead the North Vietnamese forces have turned their flank. As the 'New York Times' puts it: 'In recent weeks there has been growing evidence of massive communist movement all along the western flank of Hue, especially near the south-western firebases.'

One of these firebases, Bastogne, which straddles the approach to Hue from the A Shau valley west of Hue, was abandoned to liberation forces by its South Vietnamese defenders on Thursday. Having failed to retake Quang Tri, the South Vietnamese now face a direct threat to their base in Hue.

The tenacity and determination of the liberation fighters has now turned the tables on their opponents and opened up a new phase of the offensive.

FOREIGN NEWS

\$4,000m trade deficit forecast for US

BY JOHN SPENCER

THE UNITED STATES balance of trade plunged deeper into the red in June with the fourth largest monthly deficit on record, according to figures released by the Commerce Department in Washington. While imports increased by 0.7 per cent, exports actually dropped 0.2 per cent, lifting the next trade deficit to \$590.3m, from \$552.4m in May.

The total deficit for the first six months of this year stood at \$3,342.8m and administration officials have predicted that it will top the \$4,000m mark for the year as a whole.

This would more than double last year's deficit, which was the first in this century. Since last December's international currency realignment forced by the US to make American goods more competitive on world markets the US trade accounts have been getting worse instead of better.

This has already led to several serious runs against the dollar, as holders of the US currency have tried to buy other currencies thought to be more likely to retain their value.

The present trade figures are almost certain to precipitate a

new round of speculation against the US currency.

Faced with a continuing deterioration in its trading position, the US government is stepping up the pressure on other countries for trade concessions. US and Japanese officials are currently bargaining at Hakone, Japan, over a long list of American demands for lifting of Japanese tariffs.

The Americans also want Japan to contract to buy \$300m-worth of US aircraft and \$160m-worth of enriched uranium. The Japanese negotiators have said the aircraft are of no use to them.

Similar pressure is being applied to Europe, and at the GATT meeting earlier this week, the US succeeded in forcing the Common Market countries to lift certain tariffs on US food imports.

President Nixon's decision to

remove the dollar's gold backing on August 15 last year destroyed all basis for the stability of international currency relations.

The half-yearly American trade figures were anxiously awaited by foreign dollar-holders and they are certain to fuel another run on the dollar.

The dollar has been extremely exposed since Britain floated the pound at the end of June and an all-round revaluation of European currencies against the dollar was staved off only when the Federal Reserve Bank intervened in the market to support it.

● Gold reached a new record price on the bullion markets yesterday. By mid-afternoon it reached \$67.45 an ounce.

Sterling continued to waver and firmed at \$2.45. The 'Financial Times' index dropped almost three points to 497.5.

Yard starts Poulson inquiries

COMMANDER James Crane, head of the Metropolitan and City Police Company Fraud Squad, with his second-in-command, Det. Chief Supt. Kenneth Etheridge, have started inquiries into 'the Poulson affair'.

Both officers were in Yorkshire on Thursday starting the investigation and were back at Scotland Yard yesterday.

The public examination of Poulson, the architect, is due to be resumed at Wakefield bankruptcy court on Tuesday. It was adjourned on July 3 when Poulson (62), of Carleton Green, Pontefract, became ill.

Getting along without Taverne

LINCOLN Constituency Labour Party is to produce a broadsheet explaining why they are flinging out Dick Taverne, their local MP.

Pat Mulligan, secretary-agent of the party, said:

'This is not a witch-hunt against Dick Taverne. The party had the right to ask the MP to retire if they were not satisfied with his performance.'

'Dick Taverne felt that in the end he thought he could get on without the Labour Party. The Labour Party has made it clear it can get along without Dick Taverne.'

Sit-in production

EIGHTY men staging a sit-in at Charles McNeil Ltd, Glasgow for more than a month have decided to restart production.

They have been on strike since February and have controlled the plant for four weeks.

Orders for manhole covers valued at £700 have now been accepted. The cash will be paid into the company's bank account and the men will not draw wages.

Works convenor Andrew McFarlane said: 'We hope that once the management of the firm realize we are back in production they will negotiate with us.'

'Come back Oliver'

THE ECONOMIC and political crisis of the ruling class has brought forth some astonishing letters in the capitalist press.

In yesterday's 'Daily Telegraph', P. E. Stuart of London, SW16, wrote: 'Come back Oliver Cromwell—all is forgiven!'

In 'City Press', Antony Fisher of Newplace, Framfield, near Uckfield, Sussex, said:

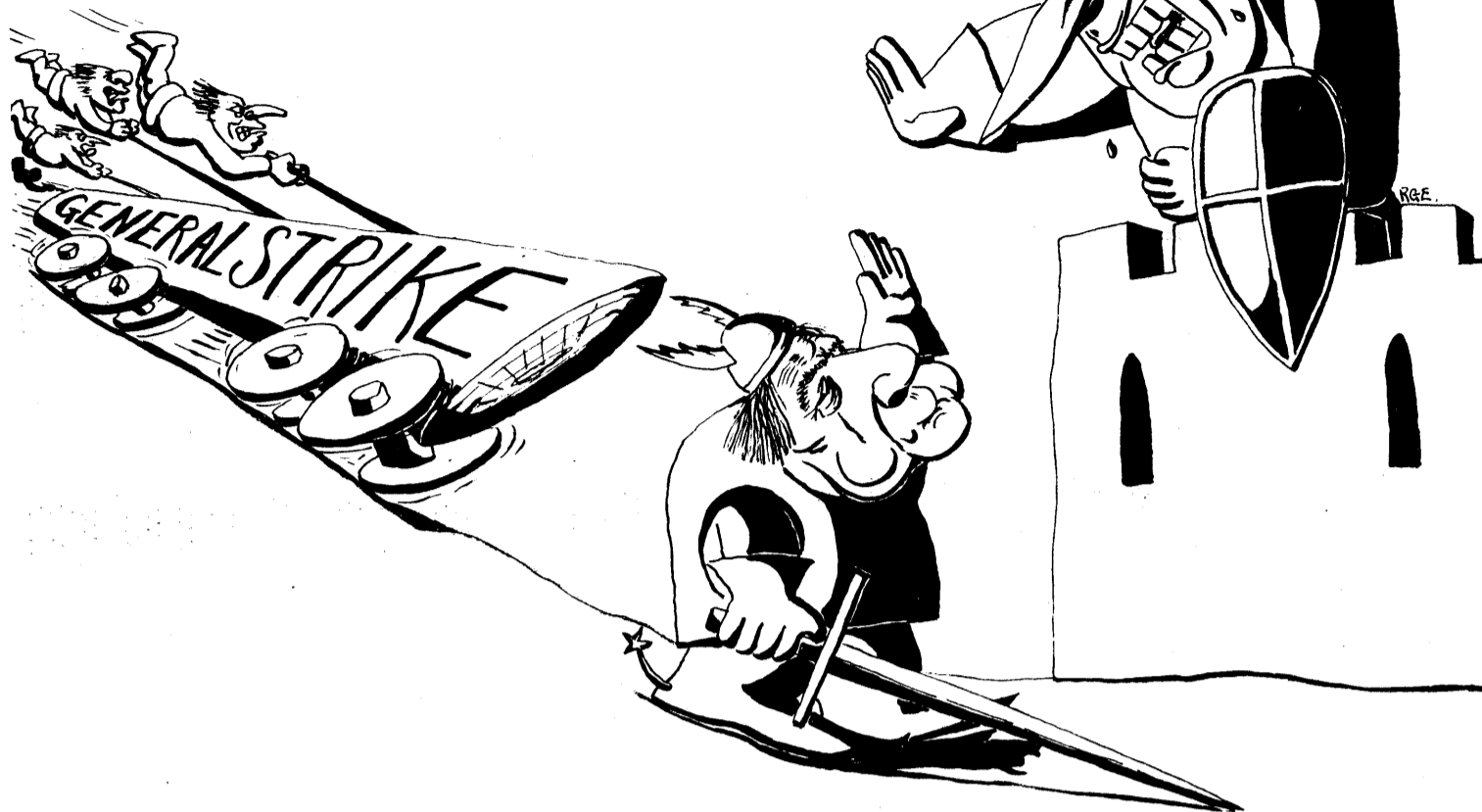
'There is only one man in parliament who is sufficiently respected by everybody to take over the reins of government without an election, and that man is Enoch Powell. We need him as Prime Minister right now.'

Supervisors stop strike

STRIKE action planned by 7,000 Post Office supervisors over a pay dispute has been called off, the Civil and Public Services Association said yesterday.

The Post Office has conceded a claim for an interim payment pending the hearing of a claim by the arbitration court. The payment is worth 6 to 7 per cent.

A half-day strike planned for yesterday was called off, as well as an overtime ban and a number of protest meetings.



Just hold it a minute boys. There's not enough momentum yet

Tories may use Act against striking dockers

BY DAVID MAUDE

EMPLOYMENT Secretary Maurice Macmillan yesterday refused to rule out use of the Industrial Relations Act against the striking dockers.

In a statement to MPs at the House of Commons, he made clear that if the Jones-Aldington joint committee fails to come up with a solution to the dispute, the Tories will attempt to use both the Act and emergency powers.

As he spoke the ports were at a standstill, with ships lying idle or being diverted to the Continent.

Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, was preparing for an emergency meeting with Lord Aldington, Tory chairman of the Port of London Authority and co-chairman of the joint committee on docks jobs.

The government, Macmillan told the Commons, was giving 'immediate consideration to the action they may need to take to protect the general interest of the economy and the consumer'.

Answering a question from his Labour shadow, Reginald Prentice MP, he said: 'I cannot give an undertaking that the appropriate use of the Industrial Relations Act would not be used.'

He insisted that the government was not prepared to allow any weakening of the Act which would allow 'irrational and illegal forces' to operate successfully.

Premier Edward Heath postponed a meeting with Malta premier Dom Mintoff to be in the Commons for the statement.

Around the ports, the situation was one of complete shut-down.

LONDON was stopped completely and 23 vessels were strikebound. More than 20 ships with cargoes which can only be discharged at London queued in the Thames estuary off Southend.

MERSEYSIDE was also solid, with both dockers and clerical staff out.

MANCHESTER'S 1,100 dockers were on strike, 13 ships were idle, with another four at ELLESMERE PORT.

AT HULL 20 ships were strike-bound. Fish continued to be discharged and tankers to unload, but the commercial docks were halted completely.

Dockers were once again picketing unregistered ports along the rivers Humber and Trent.

In the north-east about 1,500

dockers were out and 25 ships held up in ports from BLYTH to the TEES.

In SOUTH WALES, 1,300 dockers at Cardiff, Newport, Swansea, and Port Talbot were on strike.

One group, of 145 dockers at Barry, went on working. They intend to continue almost throughout the weekend.

On Thursday they started unloading 2,200 tons of bananas and reported normally to work

yesterday to continue unloading the remaining 1,500 tons in accordance with an agreement to deal with perishable goods.

SCOTLAND'S docks were at a standstill with an estimated 60 ships lying idle.

Some Aberdeen dockers were attending to vessels involved in essential services. Aberdeen fish dock was working normally.

Porters there were waiting for their position to be reviewed by their union, and were working

on a day-to-day basis.

Over 500 dockers at Grangemouth and Leith met yesterday morning and decided to obey the national strike call.

At DOVER, the Harbour Board agreed with the T&GWU not to accept any roll-on roll-off freight traffic diverted from strike-hit ports at the ferry terminal there.

At FELIXSTOWE container port 300 day shift workers voted to strike immediately.

Mersey clerks fight redundancies

ALONGSIDE the 10,000 Liverpool dockers on strike are docks clerical staff who are fighting port employers' attempt to force through redundancies.

Members of ACTS, the white-collar section of the Transport and General Workers' Union, the 800 staff involved stopped work last Monday demanding the release of the five jailed London dockers.

Originally they had been planning to come out over the redundancies on that date. But as George Morris, assistant secretary of the T&GWU 5/167 branch, told Workers Press: 'We changed the basis

of the strike to the more fundamental issue of the attack on trade unionism itself.'

Now, with the dockers themselves out for the right to work, the clerical workers, who include wharfingers, foremen, counters-off and supervisory staff, are striking for the withdrawal of redundancy notices issued to 62 men.

They also want: parity with the dockers as regards wages and conditions, including severance terms; comprehensive talks on manning levels; and a register in the port which will give job-security similar to that under the Dock Labour Scheme.

'It's the first time these

sections have acted in a united way', said George Morris.

'Even if the dockers hadn't been on strike, there would have been no checks on cargo, no wages paid and no paperwork.'

'We have had full support from the docks section all the time we have been in talks with the companies. This is a very encouraging development for trade unionism in the future.'

The companies involved in issuing the redundancy notices are A. E. Smith Coggins and Ocean Port Services, two of the big four employers in the port currently engaged in merger talks, and J. T. Fletcher, a shipping agent.

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PINKERTON: THE ANTI-UNION PRIVATE EYE

BY JOHN CRAWFORD

In the course of the case against the blacking of container depots by dockers, it was revealed that private detectives had been obtaining evidence, posing as lorry drivers and talking to pickets' families.

This is not something new in this country. But only in the United States has it taken place on a large scale.

The US labour movement has had a more explosive and violent history than that of Britain. When the Civil War cleared the way for the expansion of US capital, the ruthless drive of the newly-formed monopolies for profit took the most brutal forms.

On the other side, the immigrants who streamed across the Atlantic to be thrown into the seething cauldron of US industry produced equally vigorous actions in resisting the attacks of capital.

ENEMY

The use of private agencies as hired armies and intelligence units against trade unionism grew out of this situation. And it is associated with one name above all: Pinkerton's.

Allan Pinkerton was the son of a Glasgow policeman. Apprenticed as a cooper, he was in his young days a radical supporter of the Chartist movement. In 1842, he left Scotland to seek his fortune in America. He found it, not making barrels, but as a detective. In place of his former radicalism, he became an enemy of every form of organization of the working class.

In 1850, Pinkerton became Chicago's first city detective. At the same time, he set up a private agency, later famous as Pinkerton's National Detective Agency. After the Civil War, the firm prospered. But by the early 1870s it hit hard times. (Devotees of the western will recall its worst setback: failure to smash the Jesse James gang.)

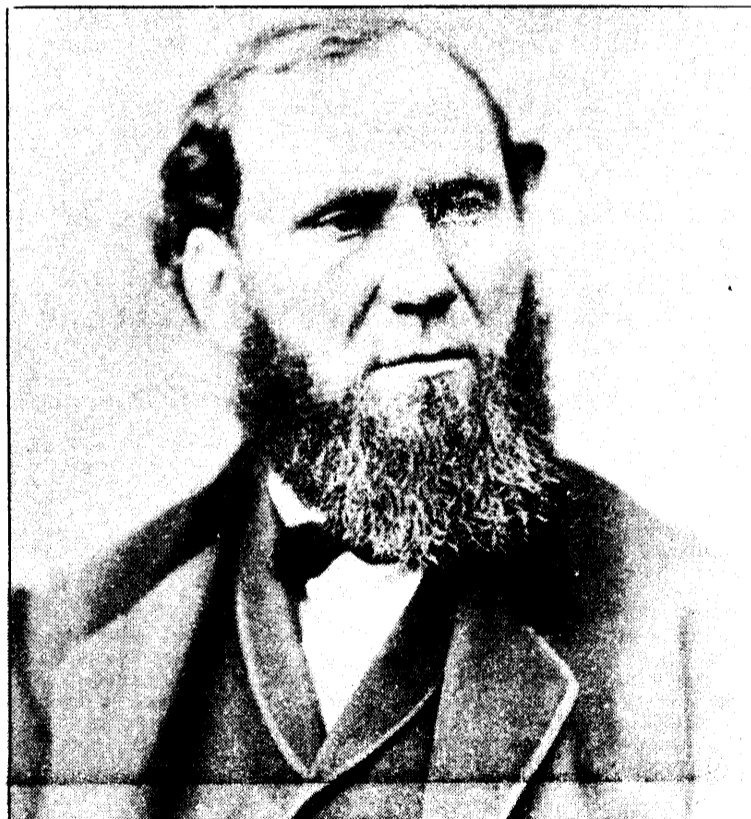
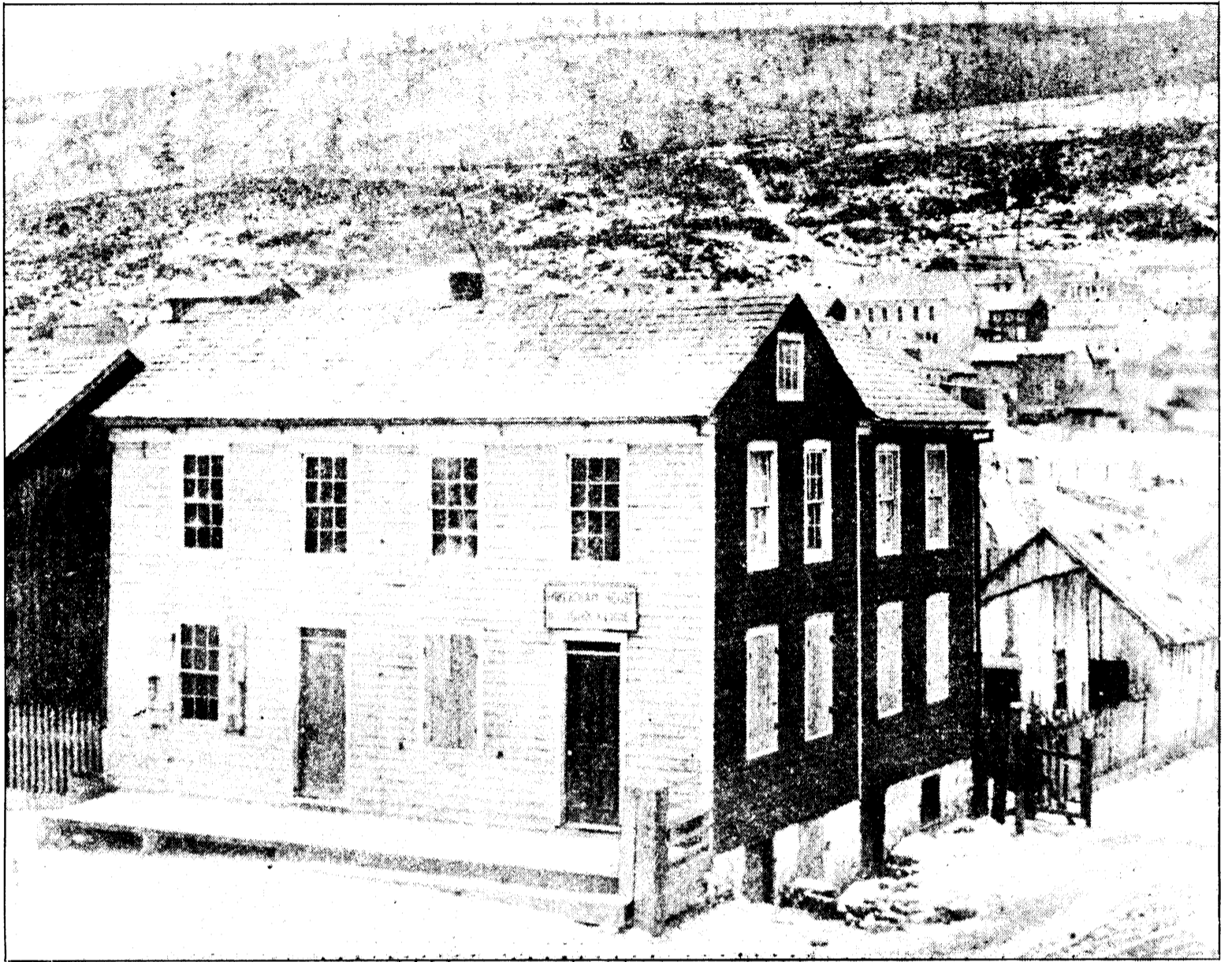
Then, in 1873, Pinkerton arranged a meeting with Franklin B. Gowen, president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company and of its subsidiary in the Pennsylvania anthracite coalfield.

The company was anxious to break up the beginnings of trade unionism among the miners. In particular, Gowen was worried about a group of Irish miners, operating within the secret society, the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Known as the Mollie Maguires, this group was thought to be responsible for actions against company property, agents and scabs.

The AOH was a descendant of the societies like the Whiteboys, which had fought British rule and landlordism in Ireland. In the appalling conditions in which the immigrants were forced to work in the mines, tendencies to terrorist methods were inevitable.

Pinkerton was enthusiastic in helping Gowen to exterminate the Mollie Maguires. And his main line of action was to send trained agents into the mines to infiltrate the organizations of Irish miners. The most important of these was James McParlan.

McParlan, posing as a former member of the AOH and calling himself McKenna, wormed his way into the inner circles of the Order in the coalfield. He was already well-intrenched when, in 1875,



Top: Hibernian House, headquarters of the Mollie Maguires. Above: Allan Pinkerton, detective. Right: Franklin B. Gowen.

Gowen forced the trade union, the Workingmen's Benevolent Association, into a strike by threatening a drastic wage-cut.

The strike dragged on for six months before the union was smashed and the men driven back to work. Pinkerton forces were to the fore in armed action against marching miners trying to stop blacklegs. Pinkerton spies were invaluable in feeding information to Gowen. But their main job was still to be done.

In the last stages of the strike and after its defeat there was an outbreak of sabotage and murder. We must not idealize Maguireism: its methods sprang from its history and the conditions under which it fought.

But there is no doubt that

McParlan knew of all its actions, took part in the planning of some, and may well have instigated many. At the same time, Pinkerton men pushed forward the setting up of vigilante committees to organize public-spirited citizens to murder militant miners and their families.

TRIALS

Then Gowen swooped. Several leading AOH men were charged with murder. When they came to trial in February 1876, the chief witness for the prosecution was their friend 'McKenna', now once more called McParlan. Gowen himself, a former lawyer, was the prosecutor.



In all, 20 men were hanged for crimes attributed to 'Mollie Maguire', ten of them on one day in 1877. Some protested their innocence to the last.

The Philadelphia and Reading was victorious, and paid Pinkerton's for their work to the tune of several hundred thousand dollars.

From then on, Pinkerton's prospered, their name hailed by every union-hating boss—and execrated by every worker. In 1877, the national rail strike brought near-insurrectionary conditions throughout the USA. In his book, 'Strikers, Communists, Tramps and Detectives', Pinkerton boasts that the Philadelphia and Reading was the best-prepared of railways, owing to the advance information obtained by Gowen from Pinkerton spies among the locomen.

Private armies of thugs drawn from the dregs of American society, went into action against the Ohio miners in 1884 and against Chicago factory workers in the same year. In neither case, however, did the hired thugs get away unscathed.

They came off even worse in the 1892 strike at Carnegie's Homestead steel mills. 300 Pinkerton's were sent in by barge up the river. The strikers

got warning, and a battle ensued, in which seven strikers and three Pinkerton's were killed. Finally, the surviving Pinkerton's were captured and handed over to the local sheriff.

In the end, however, the strike was defeated. Carnegie the 'philanthropist' telegraphed from his Scottish castle: 'Life is worth living again. Congratulations all round.'

In 1907, McParlan was once more in the news. The Governor of Idaho, Frank Steunenberg, was hated for his use of state troops against striking miners led by the Western Federation of Miners. This union had as its secretary Bill Haywood, a leader of the Industrial Workers of the World—the 'Wobblies'.

Then Steunenberg was killed by dynamite, and one Harry Orchard was arrested. McParlan was called in to interview the prisoner. Two days later, he had confessed to nearly every crime committed in the area for years—all carried out, he swore, at the instigation of the WFM.

Haywood, together with Charles Moyer and George Pettibone, was arrested. (The arrest was carried out illegally, the three miners' leaders being kidnapped in Kansas and shipped into Idaho.)

Clarence Darrow was called in to defend them against the Pinkerton frame-up. He smashed through Orchard's 'confession' in one of his most famous speeches. The union men were freed.

(Orchard was later found guilty. A death sentence was commuted.)

Pinkerton's were used many times against workers in the 1920s and 1930s, but later they were supplanted by direct agents of the FBI. It is significant that in Britain in 1972, capital turns once more to the weapons developed under more 'primitive' historical conditions.



Above: Ceausescu wanting to raise income. Below left: food queue. Right: 1969 and Nixon.



CEAUSESCU ANGERS RUMANIA'S OLD GUARD

Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu opened a special Communist Party conference in Bucharest last week with a six-hour report to the 2,200 delegates.

Four times his speech was interrupted while delegates rose to their feet chanting 'Bravo Ceausescu' and 'Ceausescu with the Party'.

The conference was called to push through a drive to increase production which Ceausescu ordered following the failure to realize the plan in full last year. He wants to raise national income by over 70 per cent by 1975 by a series of measures which include

decentralization of economic decision making and leaving more initiative to plant managers.

Ceausescu's line has been bitterly contested by an old guard in the Party leadership which dislikes the personality cult around the President and which the Conference displayed once again. It is believed that he has made some concessions to his critics in order to restore some semblance of Party unity while the conference will enable him to reassert his predominance.

In his marathon report, Ceausescu called for a new system in which relations with the Soviet Union and the other states of eastern Europe would be conducted on a basis of equality and independence.

He appealed for the dissolution of both military blocs.

He gave his approval to US President Nixon's visit to Peking and said Rumania's relations with China were improving. He recalled Nixon's famous visit to Bucharest in 1969 and indicated that Rumania had been in advance of the Soviet Union in normalizing relations with West Germany.

The conference cannot resolve the deep divisions within the Rumanian bureaucracy raised by Ceausescu's independent line in relation to the Soviet Union, his drive to raise output by strict ideological discipline and economic reforms and the personal adulation which he now requires.

SEAMEN SHAKE JAPANESE CAPITALISM

A three-month seamen's strike that ended in mid-July has once again emphasized the basic problems facing the Japanese economy, as well as the growing power and militancy of the organized working class.

The strike—the longest in Japanese industrial history—reduced stockpiles of crude oil and other vital raw materials to precariously low levels.

Because of its geographical location and lack of natural resources, Japan is almost totally dependent on imports by sea to supply the voracious demands of its industry. This gave the seamen tremendous bargaining power.

ONE YEAR WAGE CONTRACTS

Wage contracts last only one year in Japan so it is likely that 1973 will see another bitter struggle to increase the seamen's wages.

Shipowners who suffered huge losses and may have to cut share dividends are now considering using flags of convenience—registering vessels in Panama or Liberia—so they can employ foreign seamen at low wages.

The strike showed the growing strength of the 160,000-member Seamen's Union, which compelled the government to intervene and mediate a settlement involving a far larger wage increase than in many other industries—13,800 yen (£17.1) a month.

The settlement, thanks to the reformist leadership of the union, was well below the seamen's original demand, though the government was eager for a settlement at almost any price.

The Seamen's Union is unique in that it is virtually the only industry-wide labour group in a country where most workers belong to company unions.

Normally the union chiefs and the employers reach a compromise pay deal after some face-saving manoeuvring such as token short stoppages by workers that have assumed almost ritualistic status.

But the seamen's walk-out broke this pattern. Under pressure from a militant rank and file, the union leadership dug in for a prolonged strike that more than doubled the previous Japanese record.

The result was more than 2 million tons of exports and imports piled up on docksides and in ships' holds. 1,200 vessels were jammed into ports around the country.

When the strike started in mid-April, many Japanese industrialists, particularly the steel barons, almost welcomed it as a way to reduce their stocks of imported raw materials which were piling up as a result of a domestic recession.

But as it escalated into a total walk-out for an indefinite period the stockpiles dropped to alarmingly low levels and protests poured in from overseas suppliers who suffered the economic backlash.

The monetary authorities thought that a levelling off of Japanese exports in May and June was timely, because it would ease the pressure for a revaluation of the yen.

But they soon discovered that imports were also being retarded, so that the overall balance of trade remained almost unchanged. Shipping circles say it will take at least three months to clear the piled-up goods and bring shipping schedules back to normal.

A survey made by the Transport Ministry showed six major shipping lines suffered losses totalling 24,900 million yen (£31m) during the strike period.

The survey said the six lines were likely to have deficits of 10,000 million yen (£12.5m) for the six months to September 3, against previously anticipated profits of 16,900 million yen (£21m).

When the strike ended, Japan was down to 15 days' supply of crude oil against a normal 45-day stockpile. Some industries closed down for lack of raw materials. Imported foodstuffs were nearly exhausted.

Shipowners said they were forced to accept the government mediation offer because they receive substantial subsidies for payment of interest on loans to build ships.

They said they would now have to ask for bigger subsidies if Japanese shipping lines were to remain competitive in the world market.

WORKING CLASS EMERGES

Because of its heavy dependence on imports and exports, Japan often accounts for 30 per cent of world freight movements in ton-mileage, shipping sources said.

The seamen's victory—though only partial as a result of the leadership's reformist compromise—is undoubtedly a big blow to the Japanese employing class.

The shipowners are a powerful section of the Japanese employers. Their refusal to give the increase to the seamen until forced to disgorge by pressure from the rest of the capitalist class is a clear indication that the class compromise years of the Japanese 'miracle' are gone for good.

The working class emerges with great strength based on the positions it has won during the boom period.

But it is also faced with a union bureaucracy unmatched for treacherous collaboration with the employers.

The Japanese seamen's strike indicates that the task of building a new revolutionary leadership is on the agenda for the Japanese working class.

TOLPUDDLE 1834 PENTONVILLE 1972

BY PHILIP WADE

On March 19, 1834 six farm workers were found guilty of taking an oath of allegiance to a branch of the union they had founded in Tolpuddle, Dorset.

By March 27, five of the men had been hurried, chained and manacled, to the convict ships at Portsmouth and were soon on their way to the penal settlements in New South Wales. The sixth, George Loveless, who had been ill, was taken to Portsmouth on April 5 and was sent to Tasmania.

For forming a branch of the union, to advance their wages and conditions, the farmworkers were exiled for seven years.

Just as today the ruling class with its laws, its courts, its private detectives, jails five trade unionists and prepares to take on and smash the trade union and working class movement, so it was then.

The Tolpuddle men were also infiltrated by spies of the bourgeoisie who provided the key evidence against them. The ruling class of 1834 brought forward its capitalist laws and faithful judges to carry the law through.

And the forces of law and order were ready and waiting to take the six farmworkers away—not to Pentonville, but to utter degradation and misery in Australia.

The period of Tolpuddle was towards the end of the period of the Enclosure movement in agriculture, the continuation of the Industrial Revolution. It had driven thousands off the land into the towns to become the new proletariat.

Yet in the countryside the plight of the agricultural labourers was desperate beyond words. The villager had been robbed of the strip that he tilled, of the cow he kept on the village pasture, of the fuel he picked up in the woods and of the turf he tore from the commons.

At the same time, the growth of factory production in the towns destroyed or cut down the small cottage industries at which the wife and children worked, adding their earnings to the family income. The villager—deprived of all means of independent subsistence—was now proletarianized: he had become an agricultural labourer.

The labourers revolted in 1830. It spread like wildfire through Kent, Sussex, Hants, Wiltshire, Dorset, Surrey, Buckinghamshire, Essex and other counties. The ruling class, the big landlords and landowners, struck back with terror.

For gathering together to ask for bread and for work, for escorting a few brutal Poor Law Overseers out of the villages, for breaking a few of the newly introduced thresh-

ing machines, they were executed, imprisoned and deported to penal colonies.

Four hundred were imprisoned for 'riots' that cost one life—that of one of the labourers. Some 500 were transported. And before they went, the 500 had to watch fellow labourers being hanged.

One of the nine hanged was a lad of 19 named Henry Cook. He could neither read nor write, and was a plough-boy who had worked since he was ten years old.

His 'crime': to knock off the hat of a landowner and Justice of the Peace in a scuffle. For this he was hanged.

Declared 'The Times': 'Justice has seldom met with a more appropriate sacrifice.' 'The Times' never changes.

Others sentenced were forced to watch the execution of Cook and another. A reporter at the execution described the scene:

'At that moment (as the trap was sprung) I cast my eyes down into the felons' yard and saw many of the convicts weeping bitterly, some burying their faces in their frocks, others wringing their hands convulsively, and the others leaning for support against the walls of the yard and unable to cast their eyes upwards.'

In Hampshire during the early months of 1831 the labourers won a wage increase from 7s 8d to 10s a week. The agitation spread to neighbouring Dorset where the men banded together to present their demands to farmers and landowners.

In Tolpuddle, several meetings were held and spokesmen chosen to meet the farmers in conference. The vicar of Tolpuddle, Dr Warren, presided over the conference.

The farmers agreed to the 10s wage and the vicar pledged himself as a witness to the deal. But the farmers broke the agreement and paid only 9s, then cutting wages down to 8s.

The men took their case to the Justices of the Peace, in the mistaken belief they still had the power to fix wages. And the vicar—in his true role as a representative of the ruling class—denied he saw any agreement made.

The farmers took this as the signal to reduce wages to 7s, threatening a level of 6s if agitation continued.

The men, undeterred, decided to take the historic step and form a union. George Loveless, their leader, takes up the story:

'The men consulted together what had better be done, as they knew it was impossible to live honestly on such scanty means. I had seen at different times accounts of trade societies; I told them of this, and they willingly consented to form a Friendly Society among the labourers, having sufficiently learned that it would be vain to seek redress either of employers, magis-

trates or parsons. I inquired of a brother to get information how to proceed, and shortly after, two delegates from a Trade Society paid us a visit, formed a Friendly Society among the labourers and gave us directions how to proceed.'

The delegates came from the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union. Thousands of workers in the towns, inspired by the ideas of Robert Owen, the founder of English socialism, had swelled the ranks of the union, until the numbers reached a million.

THE UNION

So the Tolpuddle Lodge of The Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers was formed. Besides rules and advice, the London trade unionists brought details of the customary ceremonial swearing-in of members, done with regalia and an oath of loyalty to the union. Although the labourers were worried about the oath they eventually agreed.

The union was formed in October 1833, and some 40 or more labourers enrolled in the first few weeks. The employers and the government moved in to crush it.

It was no longer illegal for workers to combine for trade purposes. The Combination Acts had been repealed in 1824.

Lord Melbourne, Whig Home Secretary, with the local authorities decided to proceed against the men on the charge of administering and being bound by secret and unlawful oaths under an Act passed in 1797. This Act had been passed specifically to deal with the widespread naval mutiny at Nore and Spithead of that year.

The conspiracy against the labourers was carefully planned. Thomas Standfield, another local preacher (44), was the oldest of the six. He was married to a sister of the Lovelesses and had six children. His son, John Standfield (21) was another of the arrested men. James Brine (20) was the only one of the six who was not at that time a practising Methodist. The sixth man, James Hammett (22), was married and had one small child.

Hammett was also a Methodist, but no preacher, being a quiet silent man. He remained silent throughout the trial and afterwards, though a few words might have freed him.

For James had been wrongly identified by one of the informers as having been at the meeting where the unlawful oaths were administered, being mistaken for his brother John who was present. James said nothing, however, and went through the long years of suffering that followed without ever revealing the mistake that had been made.

The trial was rushed forward. The six men were tried before a hand-picked jury and a bitterly hostile judge. After the evidence had been heard, the judge asked the men's spokesman and leader, George Loveless, if he had anything to say. Loveless handed the judge a piece of paper on which he had written the men's defence. It read:

'My Lord, if we have violated any law, it was not done intentionally; we have injured no man's reputation, character, person or property; we were uniting together to preserve ourselves, our wives and children from utter degradation and starvation. We challenge any man, or number of men, to prove that we have acted or intended to act, different from the above statement.'

SENTENCE

In passing sentence the judge said: 'The object of all legal punishment is not altogether with a view of operating on the offenders themselves, it is



CAUTION.

WHEREAS the following persons have been convicted of felonies, and are liable to be transported for seven years, to wit:

Guilty of Felony, AND LIABLE TO BE TRANSPORTED FOR SEVEN YEARS.

AND WHEREAS the following persons have been convicted of felonies, and are liable to be transported for seven years, to wit:

CONVICTED OF FELONY, AND TRANSPORTED FOR SEVEN YEARS.

CHARLES BRINE	JAMES BRINE	JAMES HAMMETT	GEORGE LOVELESS	THOMAS STANDFIELD	JOHN STANDFIELD
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Top: Tolpuddle march. Left: Barbara Castle lays wreath on Tolpuddle martyr James Hammett's grave. Right: The warning given to Tolpuddle trade unionists



'The jailing of the five dockers takes us back to Tolpuddle,' Mike Shuttler, above, chairman of the New Forest Labour Party and secretary of his local branch of the National Union of Agricultural Workers told me at the rally.

A General Strike has to be organized. The action has to be designed to get the Tories out. 'The TUC must give a lead. All those who remain registered under the Industrial Relations Act have to be expelled from the movement. 'The Labour Party leaders are now fighting the fight of the Tolpuddle men. 'The trade union movement now has a big responsibility.

'Now the Constituency Labour Parties must suspend those MPs who voted for the Tories on the Common Market and select new MPs, following the example of Lincoln. 'What I want Barbara Castle to pledge this afternoon for Labour's return is a strong programme of nationalization under workers control and the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act.'

Fields, near to where King's Cross station now stands.

Fearing riots the government deployed troops nearby and had 5,000 special constables sworn in. But there was no disturbance.

MPs continually raised questions in parliament and 800,000 people signed a petition for the men's release.

It was not until March 1836 that Lord John Russell announced a full and free pardon. Many months were to pass before the men got home again.

James Hammett was the only one to reach England—in 1839, three years after his pardon. He was the only one to return to Tolpuddle where he took up work in the building trade. He died in 1891. The other five later went to settle in Canada.

Every year a march takes place in Tolpuddle to commemorate the pioneers of free trade unionism. The leadership of the labour movement, however, has tried to turn the event into an occasion for demagoguery. They try to cover up the real meaning of Tolpuddle for the working class today.

Former 'Tribune'-ite 'left' Barbara Castle who descended on the village as guest of honour led the first frontal assault on the trade unions with her White Paper 'In Place of Strife' which she brought out in January 1969.

On May Day 1969, 250,000 workers struck against Labour's proposed anti-union laws. The Labour cabinet beat a retreat, but not before fixing with the TUC to discipline its own members.

Castle returned in April 1970 with her Industrial Relations Bill. Only the dissolution of parliament and the defeat at the hands of the Tories at the General Election prevented Labour from trying to go through with it.

She was justly barracked and heckled on Sunday for trying to cover up for this betrayal and for her promise that Labour would try again with a new Industrial Relations Bill if returned to office.

She was also condemned for her defence of the prices and incomes policy. For the dockers she had no message of supporting action excepting the call for 'the mobilization of the sense of human fellowship' among the working class.

Those trade unionists who struck in support of the jailed dockers legitimately claimed to be the heirs of the Tolpuddle martyrs and looked to them for inspiration. They immediately linked the struggle against the reactionary Tory government and its hated National Industrial Relations Court with the heroic fight of the agricultural labourers of 1834.

The trade union movement is stronger today than in 1834. It is 10 million strong and has its own political party. But within its movement lay charlatans and traitors of every description, seeking to betray the working class and to hold it back from dealing with the Tory government once and for all.

The fight for the General Strike to force the Tories to resign and the return of a Labour government pledged by the mass movement to carry out socialist policies of expropriation also means the fight to clear out of the Labour and trade union movement the agents of the capitalist class.

ACTION

The points consisted of annual elections to parliament; universal (manhood suffrage); secret ballots; abolition of property qualifications for MPs; equal electoral districts and payment for MPs.

After the sentence of the Tolpuddle six, the working class moved into action. On March 24, 1834, there was a Grand Meeting of the Working Classes in London, called by the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union on the instigation of Robert Owen.

The meeting was attended by over 10,000 workers. Agitation grew and spread. The London Central Dorchester Committee was formed, and in addition to carrying on the campaign for the men's pardon, saw to the welfare of the dependants of the six men through collections.

In April 1834 an enormous demonstration took place. More than 30,000 workers assembled in Copenhagen

also for the sake of offering an example and a warning, and accordingly, the offence of which you have been convicted, after evidence that was perfectly satisfactory, the crime, to a conviction of which that evidence has led, is of that description that the security of the country and the maintenance of the laws on the upholding of which the welfare of this country depends, make it necessary for me to pass on you the sentence required by those laws.'

The jury duly found the men guilty and on March 19, 1834, the six men were sentenced to seven years' transportation.

It was also at that time that the English working class was beginning to assert itself as an independent historical force, capable of independent political action.

Up until that point the liberal bourgeoisie had used the power of the workers in the towns to secure for themselves the franchise in parliament. This had been achieved with the Reform Act of 1832.

But this was changing. And in 1837 the Six Points of the People's Charter was drawn

up. The points consisted of annual elections to parliament; universal (manhood suffrage); secret ballots; abolition of property qualifications for MPs; equal electoral districts and payment for MPs.

LET HISTORY JUDGE STALINISM

The book by Roy Medvedev translated as 'Let History Judge: the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism' (Macmillan £5.75) is the first independent attempt in the Soviet Union to understand the Stalin era which has come out of that country. It is a damning indictment of Stalin and Stalinism which confirms everything which Trotsky wrote about the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers' state. From the great tension under which it is written, its passion drawn from the sufferings of millions of people, is also a testimony to the fact that the conquests of the October 1917 Revolution have not been destroyed. Medvedev writes as a communist intellectual, an oppositionist who is harassed and persecuted for his struggle to tell the truth as he sees it. His book has great merits and deserves a careful study both for what it provides in the way of corroboration for the Trotskyist analysis and what it leaves out. On some crucial questions the book is fundamentally wrong. This series of articles submit Medvedev's book to detailed scrutiny with the aim of pursuing the struggle against Stalinism to the end. It will deal in particular with his errors and omissions and point the way for a more rounded analysis which must begin with the works of Trotsky which are cited in the footnotes.

BY TOM KEMP PART 3

THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS FOR THE RISE OF STALINISM

From the start of his struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers' state the odds against Trotsky were very great. Stalin controlled the Party apparatus and in the general reflux of revolutionary feeling his methods and policies, conservative and cautious as they were had a wide appeal.

At first, however, the different points of view were still freely debated in the Party and brought before the working class, though under objective conditions in which the scales were heavily weighted in favour of Stalin and his supporters.

Furthermore, before Lenin's death Stalin had assured the succession by entering into an alliance with Kamenev and Zinoviev, the two Bolsheviks who, on the eve of the insurrection, had publicly proclaimed their opposition to the seizure of power. Their personal weaknesses and ambitions, their hostility to Trotsky's harping on their role in 1917 and in the failure of the German Revolution of 1923 made them believe that they could use Stalin to control the Party. In the event it was Stalin who used them.

On the international arena the post-war revolutionary upsurge had come to an end. The German defeat and the series of further setbacks for the working class in Europe and Asia constituted powerful objective factors on the side of Stalin and the bureaucracy. The confidence of the Soviet working class in its international allies was undermined. The bureaucracy and the petty bourgeoisie craved for a return to a quiet life free from revolutionary 'adventures'.

The masses lapsed into a passivity and watched with resignation as a new caste of privileged bureaucrats emerged from the working class and

the strata linked to it.

On the other hand the period of reflux, after Lenin's death in 1924, drove many of the leaders of the revolution into the ranks of the Opposition. Trotsky was the outstanding representative and leader of this section of Bolshevik-Leninists who remained true to October.

When the hue and cry against 'Trotskyism' began after the publication of Trotsky's 'Lessons of October' following the debacle in Germany, Zinoviev and Kamenev joined in wholeheartedly. All the fruits of this campaign were reaped by Stalin, while to the odium of their position in October 1917 was added that of their responsibility for the defeat in Germany which Trotsky castigated in his pamphlet.

The coalition of Stalin with Zinoviev and Kamenev, known as the 'Troika', was thus short-lived. When they tried to counter his growing individual power, which threatened their own strongholds in the party organizations of Leningrad and Moscow, Stalin quickly demonstrated that he was master of the apparatus. When he imposed the policy of 'socialism in one country' on the Party, at the 14th Congress in December, 1925, Zinoviev and Kamenev and their followers constituted the new opposition which was decisively defeated.

Meanwhile Stalin had consolidated his hold on the party machine and used it with increasing ruthlessness. As Medvedev puts it: 'Resorting to administrative decrees, Stalin used the intra-Party struggle to strengthen his personal position and power. Under such conditions, a normal struggle of ideas within the Party became impossible. Many who sympathized with the views of the Opposition leaders were obliged to conceal their opinions and to vote with the majority more from fear of reprisals than from conviction.'

In the summer of 1926 the 'new opposition' joined with Trotsky's Left Opposition and together they issued a common declaration calling for faster industrialization, the restoration of inner-party democracy and a steep tax on the profits of kulaks and New Economic Policy men. Just over a year later the Opposition drew up a detailed platform based on Marxist principles.²

Medvedev passes over the programmatic demands of the Opposition rather hastily and refuses to make up his mind for or against the Stalinist course in this period. True, he says that it was partly wrong



Top: (l to r) Stalin, Rykov, Kamenev and Zinoviev in 1927. Above: 1930. Trotsky on the island of Prinkipo, near Turkey, with Pierre Naville, an early collaborator of his.

and the Opposition was partly right; but he claims that the latter 'resorted to exaggeration to discredit the CC majority and remove Stalin from the Party leadership. This might have been a worthy goal, in view of the harm Stalin later did the Party. But Stalin's political opponents were too hasty with their attack, striking at Stalin in conditions unfavourable to themselves'.

Conditions may have been unfavourable, but who could say at the time that they might not deteriorate still further if Stalin remained in control? Of course, Stalin took every advantage of the difficulties and weaknesses of the Opposition, stressing Party unity and branding the oppositionists as traitors. Above all he had solid support from the growing party and state bureaucracy. That was the social base upon which he rose and to which he addressed himself.

What Medvedev does not see is that in the struggle

against the Left Opposition, Stalin destroyed the Bolshevik Party and turned it into a bureaucratic machine as a prelude, in the 1930s, to physically wiping out all the old Bolshevik leaders, apart from a few who threw in their lot with him for purely opportunist reasons.

Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism and the ruling caste

Stalin's victory was as fateful as it was decisive, but it was achieved by administrative means, hounding and victimizing Opposition supporters.

Trotsky's struggle against the rising Stalinist wave is well documented in Party sources and in Trotsky's own writings. Which of this material Medvedev, in the Soviet Union, has been able to consult is not clear. Some of his methods, however, are peculiar. For instance, he quotes a lengthy passage from

Trotsky as follows:

'The ruling circles are increasingly growing together with the upper strata of Soviet-NEPman society. Two strata are being created, two life styles, two types of attitudes, two types of relationships, or, to put it more strongly the elements of a dual power in everyday life are being created. Further development may transform it into a political dual power, and a political dual power would be a direct threat to the dictatorship of the proletariat . . . The proletariat must understand that in a certain period of history, if its policy goes wrong, the Soviet state could become an apparatus through which power could be moved from its proletarian base and put into the hands of the bourgeoisie, which would then kick aside the Soviet "footstool" and convert its power into a Bonapartist system.'

Medvedev's comment is: 'It goes without saying that the upper echelons of Party and

state were not growing together with the upper levels of the NEPman bourgeoisie in 1926. The degeneration of a section of the Party was far more complex and concealed.

But he just does not justify either part of this statement.

Nor does he explain that his quotation is, in any case, a composite one, drawn from two separate speeches made to the Party's Central Control Commission in 1927. In fact the second part of the quotation comes from an earlier speech than the first part and the two parts appear to be strung together with little regard for the context.

Taking into account the fact that the translation is different, let us restore the two halves of the quotation to their respective contexts. Placed in its concrete setting the first part rings true:

... "when a man who happens to be dressed a little cleaner, comes to the Regional Committee, he is immediately directed where he needs go; but when a working woman comes, somewhat more drab and dirty, she has to wait a long time in the hall-way." That was said by a working woman, a member of the Regional Committee. Such voices are to be heard more and more often. They signify not only that the number of bureaucrats has increased, but also the fact that the ruling circles are becoming more and more fused with the upper layers of the Soviet-NEP society; and that two floors are being created, two forms of life, two kinds of habits, or, to use the more fully expressive words, elements are being created of dual power in daily life which upon further development may become transformed into political dual power. Now, political dual power would already constitute a direct threat to the dictatorship of the proletariat. An enormous layer of the urban party-Soviet personnel leads the lives of functionaries until 3 p.m.; after three o'clock, they live like men-about-town, taking the attitude of liberals toward the central Committee, while on Wednesdays, after six o'clock, they condemn the Opposition for being men of little faith. This type of party member bears a considerable resemblance to the Tsarist functionary who used to profess privately the theory of Darwin, and who, when the need arose, presented credentials of holy communion.²

Now for the second part, which Medvedev puts first.

"Before there is any talk of what to do, we must honestly state the facts. Just as in the housing question, so in everyday life, in literature, in the theatre and in politics — the non-proletarian classes are expanding, getting elbow room, while the proletariat is being squeezed and is shrinking. I repeat: Just as the bourgeois classes are expanding in the material sphere—you can observe this on the streets, in the stores in the trolleys and in the apartments—just so in politics; the proletariat as a whole is being shrunk, while our party regime strengthens this class shrinkage of the proletariat. This is the fundamental fact. The blow threatens from the Right — from the side of the non-proletarian classes. Our criticism must be aimed to rouse the proletariat to take cognizance of the impending danger, and not to permit the proletariat to think that power has been conquered irrevocably and for all time, regardless of the conditions; and that the Soviet state is presumably an absolute which remains a workers' state always and under all conditions. It is important that the proletariat should understand that in a certain historical period, especially with a false policy of the leadership, the Soviet state may become an appara-

tus through which power may be shifted from the proletarian base and drawn to the bourgeoisie, which would subsequently discard completely the Soviet covering and transform its power into a Bonapartist rule. With a false political line such a danger is quite real.⁴

The portions emphasized are those quoted by Medvedev.

In other words, Trotsky appeals to the working class against the bureaucracy, against the degeneration which Stalin encouraged and of which he took advantage to strengthen his own power. History has fully vindicated Trotsky and so, in fact, does Medvedev's book, despite his rejection of Trotsky's analysis at that time: precisely when the Stalinist bureaucracy was concentrating all power into its hands and casting off what remained of Bolshevism.

The completed destruction of the Left Opposition

In his struggle with the Left Opposition, after the ousting of Zinoviev, Stalin turned to the Party's right wing, of which the one-time 'left' N. I. Bukharin, was the most eloquent and popular spokesman. Bukharin was convinced, after the defeat of the German revolution, that there would be a long period of capitalist stabilization, in which socialism in Russia could only be built, as he once imprudently put it, 'at a snail's pace'. That meant concessions to the kulak and the NEPmen, who were told to 'enrich themselves'.⁵

Bukharin thus became a tool of Stalin as he completed the destruction of the Left Opposition at the 15th Congress in December, 1927. Zinoviev, Kamenev and many others capitulated to Stalin and Trotsky was forced into exile. In dealing with the fate of the Opposition, however, Medvedev lands himself in a series of contradictions.

Having argued that Stalin was partly right against the Opposition and having rejected Trotsky's diagnosis of the rise of the bureaucracy, he is left only with the theory that Stalin 'was increasingly slipping into adventurism and arbitrary rule' without being able to explain why. Trotsky, he concedes, continued the struggle from exile and 'remained a supporter of the proletarian revolution and not a fascist counter-revolutionary as Stalin labelled him'. So well and good: the bureaucracy still maintains the contrary to this day and so do its supporters in the communist parties throughout the world.

However, Medvedev maintains that Trotsky's analysis was 'one-sided and tendentious' and that he could not formulate an alternative Marxist programme. He accuses him, moreover, of 'crude misrepresentation and self-advertisement' in his historical writings about the Russian Revolution.

The most charitable thing to say about these particular misrepresentations is that Medvedev has unfortunately not been able to consult Trotsky's writings in exile and has only seen such truncated extracts as the bureaucracy permits to appear in its official 'historical' publications.

If he had been able to consult Trotsky's own writings and other publications of his supporters he would surely have been struck by the parallel, on many points, between his own history of Stalinism and what they contain. A major difference, of course, is that they were written as long as 30 years ago and could only circulate in the Soviet Union on pain of imprisonment or death. Medvedev has had to rediscover and piece together much of the story for himself from

inadequate and scattered sources.

On the basic issues, however, Medvedev confirms everything that the Trotskyists wrote about Stalinism. His own anti-Trotskyist prejudice is perhaps due to the inoculation he received from the still unabated anti-Trotskyist campaign which rages in the Soviet Union to this day. As for the charge of 'self-advertisement' levelled against Trotsky, it is purely gratuitous; it is not documented, nor can it be. Trotsky deals with his own role in the revolution of 1917 in an impersonal and objective manner as any reader of 'The History of the Russian Revolution' can check for himself—except in Russia, where it is still banned.

Medvedev does not come to terms with the theory of 'socialism in one country' and, as we have seen, treats the theory of permanent revolution in a cavalier fashion. Basically he does not appear to be very interested in theory; his book, after all, is a compendium of facts more than an interpretation of events.

The triumph of Stalin in the 1920s is seen almost exclusively as an internal Soviet matter. In fact there was a close relationship between the defeats of the international proletariat and the degeneration of the Soviet Union, beginning with the defeat of the German Revolution in 1923.

The rise of Stalin can be plotted on the world arena as follows:

1923: Failure of the German Revolution, the most propitious post-war revolutionary situation.

1926: The British General Strike: Stalin supports the TUC General Council which betrays the strike.

1926: Second Chinese Revolution collapses after Stalin compels the Chinese Communist Party to enter the Kuomintang and support Chiang Kai-shek.

1928: Sixth Congress of the Communist International adopts a programme, drawn up by Bukharin, based on the theory of 'socialism in one country'.

1929: Comintern adopts the notorious theory that social democracy is a form of fascism, 'social fascism'. Support for communist parties declines almost everywhere, despite the worst economic slump in the history of capitalism.

1933: Hitler takes power 'legally' in Germany, smashes working-class movement completely. No resistance from Communist Party under Stalin's orders.

1935: Seventh World Congress of the Comintern adopts the Popular Front line, abandons any pretence at revolution.

1936-1937: Stalinists betray Spanish Revolution, prevent revolution in France, support 'national defence' and 'collective security'.

1939: Stalin makes pact with Hitler. World War II.

This background of international defeats for the working class produced by Stalin's 'mistakes', flowing from the policy of 'socialism in one country' and revolution nowhere else, enabled the bureaucracy to consolidate its rule in the Soviet Union.

Stalin's personal power and its increasingly arbitrary use, producing one of the most monstrous and bloody tyrannies in history, was accepted by the bureaucracy as the price of retaining its own power and privileges despite the swathe which Stalin and his secret police cut through its own ranks.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

¹New Park Publications.
²'Platform of the Left Opposition'. New Park Publications.
³'The Stalin School of Falsification'.

⁵A conscious echo of a phrase used by the French bourgeois prime minister Guizot in the 1840s.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

TOP OF THE BILL

James Reid continues to turn up in the strangest places—like London's plush Café Royal.

He will be at this top night-spot the Dubarry Suite on October 31 sharing the platform with extreme right-wing Tory Enoch Powell.

They will be leading a seminar which will instruct businessmen on industrial discipline and how to deal with conflict on the shop floor.

Reid has been chosen, say the organizers, Business Studies Consultants, because of his experience at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders.

He is top of the bill! 'Jimmy Reid,' declares the publicity blurb, 'A successful exponent of the "sit-in" technique at UCS. Rector of Glasgow University' (one might add national executive member of the Communist Party!).

Reid, says BSC, is giving a 'snoop-floor view' and Powell is giving an 'independent view' (what else?).

'We like to get a spread of different speakers,' the BSC spokesman told Workers Press. Reid, he said, had been informed that he would be sharing the platform with Powell.

The BSC leaflet on the seminar says:

'British managers faced with the intensification of industrial conflict are gravely concerned with likely developments in many areas of industrial discipline: picketing, sit-ins, the breaking of rules and pro-

cedural agreements, unfair dismissals as well as internal union discipline.

'This major one-day seminar will give practical guidance in these key areas. For example, should managers now plan on the assumption that, in an "explosive situation", the judiciary, the police or the government can no longer be relied upon to help ensure the existing law is enforced?'—An interesting question.

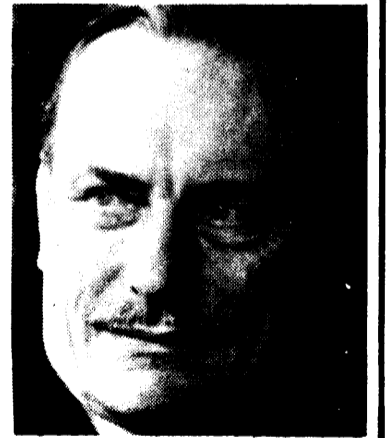
Reid is not the first trade unionist to step willingly into BSC net. A few months ago Hugh Scanlon was explaining to the bosses what he thought about the Industrial Relations Act and last year Harold Wilson joined with Enoch Powell (always a favourite) for another session.

Reid of course will be slightly put out with one aspect of the pre-publicity.

He is not, of course, an exponent of the 'sit-in' technique, as the brochure claims, but the 'work-in' technique.

A sit-in at UCS would have caused a major confrontation with the government and liquidator because of the need to finish existing contracts quickly. In the interests of 'industrial discipline' Reid and the Stalinist leaders of the struggle decided therefore on a 'work in'—but no doubt he will be telling them all this at the Café Royal.

Below: Reid and Powell



BOOKS



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Judiciary lambasted by Tory press

BY PHILIP WADE AND ALEX MITCHELL
 WITH UNACCUSTOMED frankness sections of the Tory press have taken to berating the judiciary for its handling of the docks crisis.

The spectacle of the newspapers lashing the judges—albeit with ermine whips—is unprecedented. It should be noted, however, that the press is not complaining about the judgements of the courts. They simply want the judiciary to act more cleanly, more efficiently.

The clumsy manoeuvring over the past week brings the law into discredit, the editorial writers argue.

If there has got to be backroom legal wheeling and dealing, please do it discreetly. That's Fleet Street's message to the law men.

And certainly the advice is not misplaced... from the bourgeoisie's point of view. Since the dockers were first jailed, the crusty corridors of the inns of court and the House of Lords have been afire with comings and goings of a historic order.

The crucial times in the calendar of events are these:

- On Tuesday afternoon the Official Solicitor visited the jailed dockers at Pentonville.
- He did not immediately apply to the NIRC because of 'technical and procedural reasons'.
- He didn't even go to court on Wednesday morning.
- He waited until 3 p.m.—a couple of hours after the House of Lords judgement on the container blacking case.
- When he appeared before the NIRC he partly based his application for release of the dockers on the House of Lords judgement.

This is the bare bones of the flurry of events, now for some of the meat.

Apparently it was known on Tuesday, at least in legal circles, that the House of Lords' judgement on the responsibility of the Transport and General Workers' Union for its members' actions was to be made on Wednesday.

There had obviously been something of a rush to get it ready, although the world at large did not yet know the judgement was about to be delivered.

Some law students at the NIRC on Wednesday who had been following the case closely as part of their studies had been expecting the judgement on Friday at the earliest.

On Wednesday morning the Press Association put out the news that judgement was to be that day, although no time was given.

Knew result

A phone call to the House of Lords produced a time of 12 noon. But on arrival at 11.50 a.m., the Workers Press reporter was promptly told the judgement was now to be at 12.30 p.m.

Yet we and other reporters assembled in the House of Lords lobby for the judgement to begin already knew the result. There was ample confirmation from solicitors and counsel from both sides that the decision had gone against the T&GWU.

It is not too difficult to argue from the fact that if everyone knew the decision that morning, Lord Denning, Sir John Donaldson and the Official Solicitor knew the night before.

A few minutes before the judgement, a bundle of duplicated copies of the findings were brought out and handed to the press.

They had been run off in haste. On page 27 a whole paragraph had been scored out by pencil marks and reporters told



Con Clancy carried shoulder high after his release from Pentonville on Wednesday.

How the dockers were released

to ignore the content. There were gaps between some words and large breaks between some paragraphs.

'The Guardian' correspondent said yesterday: 'The House of Lords' judgement was so rushed that there was not even time to print it in the ordinary way.'

The National Industrial Relations Court began hearing the application from the Official Solicitor at precisely 3 p.m. on Wednesday afternoon, after the House of Lords' judgement became known to the world.

It was also, incidentally, timed to commence—whenever by accident or design—after the meeting of the TUC General Council which called the one-day General Strike.

Despite the Lords' judgement, however, 'The Guardian' legal correspondent Michael Zander argues that there was no basis in law for releasing the five jailed dockers. The NIRC's explanation is described as 'manifestly defective'.

It left completely unexplained how the court could in good conscience release men imprisoned for contempt who remained totally unrepentant'.

Said Sir John Donaldson in the NIRC's judgement: 'This court has not asked or expected these men to apologize and they have not done so.'

And later: 'Furthermore they have given no assurance that they will observe the truce for the future. They would have us believe nothing has changed.'

Then after talking about the Lords' decision and the Jones-

Aldington report, Donaldson said 'a fresh start should now be made'.

He went out of his way to tell the men he was about to free that they wouldn't be going to jail again, even if they went back to blacking the Midland Cold Storage depot in East London.

All that would happen is that 'they would stand condemned by their own actions' as men bent on the 'destruction' of among other things 'the rule of law'.

'For the reasons which we have given and just before we returned to court to give them, we ordered the immediate release of these men from custody,' he concluded.

Discussions

In these troubled times you can always rely on a revealing quotation from 'City Press', the weekly newspaper of the City of London.

Its front-page lead article declares: 'Easy docks solution bungled—High Court judges scared.'

'High court judges are wildly alarmed at judges being drawn into politics through Industrial Relations Court decisions and appeals. Sir John Donaldson had long discussions with Lord Denning and other High Court judges on Tuesday after the Official Solicitor made application for an urgent hearing to get the five dockers released.'

News of this secret meeting between Donaldson and Denning will be of great interest to dockers and other workers who have been fed on Tory propaganda about the independence of the judiciary.

In 'The Guardian' there is further information about Denning's role:

'It is confirmed that the Court of Appeal, over which he was presiding, unexpectedly adjourned at 12.25 p.m. on Tuesday until after lunch. Lord Denning's clerk has told me that he is not at liberty to disclose the reason for this unusual occurrence.'

'It is also confirmed that the Official Solicitor, Mr Norman Turner, saw Lord Denning in connection with the case,' the paper's legal correspondent said yesterday.

The 'New Statesman' was even more outspoken about the legal shenanigans:

'The basic cynicism of the court's workings could hardly stand more blatantly revealed than they now do.'

'At least now it is self-evident that it was sheer hypocrisy for Mr Maurice Macmillan to bumble on about the impossibility of the executive interfering to reverse a decision by the judiciary in order to spring the dockers: such a move, said the Secretary for Employment on Monday, would be undermining the whole basis of the British constitution. Yet who now believes that the court surrendered to anything else but a political imperative?'

In a special edition of BBC's 'Panorama' on Thursday night, Jack Jones, the T&GWU general secretary, made allegations which clearly rocked interviewer Robin Day.

Jones claimed that the House of Lords judgement had not treated his union fairly. They had not had sufficient time to present their case. Furthermore, he was calling for an official inquiry into the conduct of the five Law Lords.

Return to picket line

CON CLANCY, one of the five dockers released from jail on Wednesday, was back on picket outside the Midland Cold Storage depot yesterday.

With him was Ted Hedges, one of the seven men originally named in the stop-picketing order of the National Industrial Relations Court but not sent to prison.

A spokesman for the dockers said: 'The picketing goes on.'

NIRC president Sir John Donaldson said on Wednesday that the Law Lords had reinforced the court's original view that the Transport and General Workers' Union was responsible for the actions of its stewards.

The primary method of enforcement of the Act was against the funds of organizations rather than individuals, he said.

The pickets have been outside the depot for ten weeks.

Midland Cold Storage, losing £2,000 a week, is expected to start laying off the first of its 57-strong work force in the next few days.

The Midland directors were meeting yesterday to consider possible new legal moves. They could not apply for an order against the T&GWU.

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TODAY'S

BBC 1

10.55 Weather. 11.00 Athlete. 11.25 Cricket. 1.30 Grandstand: 1.35, 2.05, 2.35, 3.05 Racing from Goodwood; 1.50 Road to Munich; 2.20, 2.50, 3.20 Cricket —England v Australia; 3.20 Swimming; 4.50 Final Score. 5.00 Last of the Mohicans Part 2. 6.00 News, weather. 6.15 Tom and Jerry.

6.20 **GUNSMOKE.** Hidalgo.
7.10 **FILM: 'FOXHOLE IN CAIRO.'** James Robertson Justice. German spy in World War II crosses 1,500 miles of uncharted desert to reach Cairo.
8.30 **IT'S LULU.** With Dudley Moore, Dusty Springfield and Segment.
9.15 **A MAN CALLED IRON-SIDE.** The Professionals.
10.05 **NEWS, Weather.**
10.15 **MATCH OF THE DAY.** Football — Watney Cup Competition.
11.15 **PARKINSON.**
12.15 **Weather.**

TV

BBC 2

9.05 Open University. 3.00 Film: 'Play It Cool'. 4.20 Fishing. 4.30 Cricket. 6.40 High Life. 7.05 Westminster.

7.25 **NEWS, Sport, Wather.**
7.35 **THE CODEBREAKERS.** The Lucy Ring.
8.05 **TOP CROWN.** Crown Green Bowling.
8.25 **CIVILIZATION.** Part 7.
9.15 **SOUNDS FOR SATURDAY.** Don McLean.
10.05 **EMMA.** Part 2.
10.50 **FILM NIGHT.**
11.15 **NEWS, Weather.**
11.20 **CRICKET.** Highlights from 4th Test.
11.50 **MIDNIGHT MOVIE: 'THE ABOMINABLE SNOWMAN.'** Peter Cushing, Forrest Tucker.

ITV

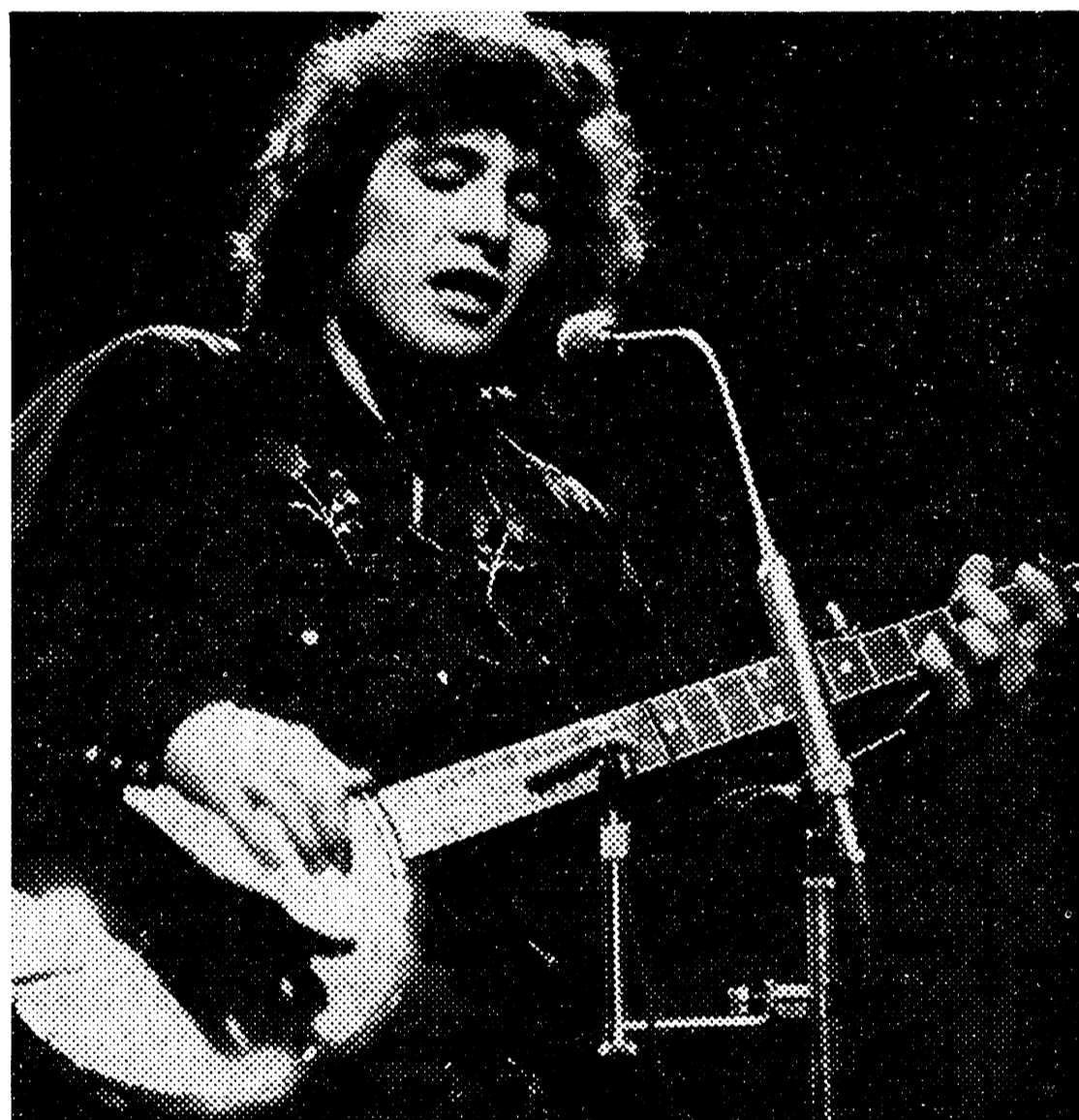
11.15 Primus. 11.40 Sesame Street. 12.40 Jackson Five. 1.10 News. 1.15 World of Sport: 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Racing from Thirsk; 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Racing from Newmarket; 3.10 Athletics; 3.55 Results, Scores, News; 4.00 Wrestling; 4.55 Results service. 5.10 In for a Penny. 5.40 News. 5.45 Sez Les.

6.30 **SALE OF THE CENTURY.**
7.00 **FILM: 'AT SWORD'S POINT.'** Cornel Wilde, Maureen O'Hara. Musketeers protect Queen of France.
8.20 **POLICE FIVE.**
8.30 **BURT BACHARACH.** With Cilla Black, Isaac Hayes, Rex Harrison.
9.30 **VILLAINS.** His Dad Named Him After the General.
10.30 **NEWS.**
10.40 **PARADE.**
11.25 **SHORT STORY.**
11.55 **ONE POINT OF VIEW.**

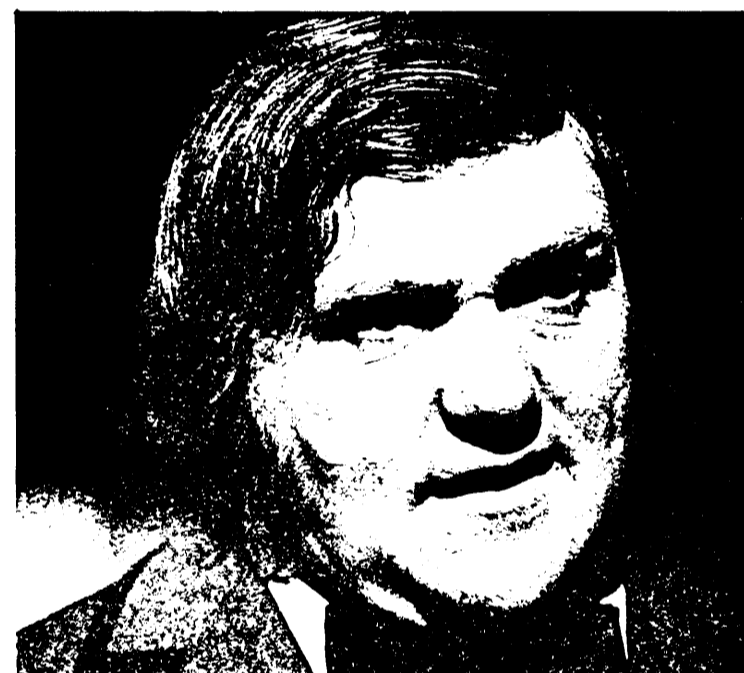
REGIONAL TV

All regions as BBC 1 except:
Wales: 6.20 Top of the form. 6.40 Disc a dawn. 12.17 Weather.
Scotland: 10.15 Sportsreel. 10.45 Sing Hi, Sing Lo. 12.17 News, weather.
Northern Ireland: 6.10 News, Sports. 12.17 News, weather.
England: 12.17 Weather.
CHANNEL: 1.10 London. 5.10 Who do you do? 5.40 Sale. 6.10 News. 7.00 McCloud. 8.25 Cartoons. 8.30 London. 11.25 Weather.
WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.15 Make a wish. 12.40 Lidsville. 1.05 Gus Honeybun. 11.25 Faith for life. 11.30 Weather.
SOUTHERN: 11.40 Yesterdays. 12.10 Thunderbirds. 1.07 Weather. 1.10 London. 5.10 Avengers. 6.10 News. 6.15 Please sir. 6.45 Comedians. 7.15 Movie. 8.30 London. 11.25 News. 11.35 Strange report. 12.30 Weather. Guideline.
HTV: Sesame street. 12.40 Farming. 1.10 London. 5.10 Please sir. 5.40 Sale. 6.10 News. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Movie. 8.30 London. 11.25 Prisoner. 12.20 Weather.
HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 5.40 Sion a Sian.
ANGLIA: 11.00 Yesterdays. 11.30 Film: 'Thunder In the Valley'. 1.10 London. 5.10 Who do you do? 5.40 Primus. 6.10 News. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'The Family Secret'. 8.30 London. 11.25 Jason King.
ATV MIDLANDS: 12.35 Horoscope. 12.40 Captain scarlet. 1.10

London. 5.10 It takes a thief. 6.10 News. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Escape from East Berlin'. 8.30 London. 11.25 Saint. 12.25 Stories.
ULSTER: 12.40 Skippy. 1.10 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 Who do you do? 6.10 News. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Second Chance'. 8.25 Results. 8.30 London. 11.25 Frighteners.
YORKSHIRE: 11.25 Yesterdays. 11.50 Cricket. 1.10 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 Who do you do? 6.10 News. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'The Spy with My Face'. 8.25 London. 11.25 Strange report.
TYNE TEES: 11.25 Yesterdays. 11.55 Cricket. 1.10 London. 5.10 Primus. 5.40 Who do you do? 6.10 News. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 McCloud. 8.25 Cartoon. 8.30 London. 11.25 Journey to the unknown. 12.20 Songs.
SCOTTISH: 11.50 Casebook. 12.15 Arthur. 12.35 Horoscope. 12.45 Primus. 1.10 London. 5.10 In for a penny. 5.40 Who do you do? 6.10 News. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Posse from Hell'. 8.30 London. 11.25 Late call. 11.30 O'Hara.
GRAMPIAN: 12.50 Beagan Gaidhlig. 1.10 London. 5.10 Batman. 5.40 Who do you do? 6.10 News. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 McCloud. 8.20 Cartoon. 8.30 London. 11.25 Survival.



Don McLean is on BBC 2's 'Sounds on Saturday'



'Sez Les' returns to independent channels on Saturday

SUNDAY

BBC 1

9.00 Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan. 10.30 Morning Service. 1.25 Farming. 1.55 Steam Horse. 2.20 Made in Britain. 2.30 Laurel and Hardy. 2.50 Young Idea. 3.15 Countryman. 3.40 Film: 'Bedtime Story'. 5.15 Onedin Line. 6.05 News, weather.

6.15 **ALL IN A DAY'S WORK.** Teachers.
6.50 **SONGS OF PRAISE.**
7.25 **HIPPODROME CIRCUS GREAT YARMOUTH.**
8.15 **FILM: 'TENDER IS THE NIGHT.'** Jennifer Jones, Jason Robards Jr., Joan Fontaine, Tom Ewell. Screen version of Scott Fitzgerald's novel about psychiatrist who gives up practice to marry wealthy, neurotic ex-patient.
10.35 **NEWS, Weather.**
10.45 **OMNIBUS AT THE PROMS.** Gabrieli and Liszt.
11.30 **INTERNATIONAL GOLF.** United States v The World.
12.20 **Weather.**

TV

BBC 2

9.35 Open University. 1.50 Cricket. 7.00 News Review, weather.

7.25 **THE WORLD ABOUT US.** Operation Seashore.
8.15 **SCOTT ON DRESS.** Terry Scott.
9.00 **MUSIC ON 2.** Parade starring Cyril Shaps and David Waller.
10.00 **FOR THE NATION.** Gainsborough.
10.15 **THE ROADS TO FREEDOM.** Part 6.
11.00 **WORLD CHESS CHAMPIONSHIP.**
11.25 **NEWS Summary, Weather.**
11.30 **ONE MAN'S WEEK.** Roy Hudd.

ITV

11.00 Service. 12.00 Country Calendar. 12.00 Yesterdays. 12.45 Catweazle. 1.15 Stingray. 1.45 Survival. 2.15 Sportsworld. 3.15 Jason King. 4.15 Odd Couple. 4.40 Golden Shot. 5.35 Follyfoot. 6.05 News.

6.15 **SUMMER OF THE ASH FAMILY.**
6.35 **LIFE WITHOUT GOD.**
7.00 **SONGS THAT MATTER.**
7.25 **DOCTOR IN CHARGE.** On the Brink.
7.55 **FILM: 'THE SPY WITH A COLD NOSE.'** Laurence Harvey, Daliah Lavi. Comedy.
9.30 **WHO DO YOU DO?**
10.00 **NEWS.**
10.15 **PLAY: 'BEFORE PARIS.'** Romance.
11.15 **ELEVEN PLUS.**
12.00 **ONE POINT OF VIEW.**

REGIONAL TV

All regions as BBC 1 except:
Wales: 1.25 Farming. 3.40 Baseball league. 4.20 Omnibus. 6.15 Cyllie Yng Nghwmni. 6.45 Mewn Cywair. 12.22 News.
Scotland: 6.50 Songs of praise. 12.22 News, weather.
N Ireland: 12.22 News, weather.
England: 12.22 Weather.

CHANNEL: 11.00 Service. 12.00 Family dog. 1.53 Weather. 1.55 Film: 'The Music Man'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Double Man'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Avengers. 12.05 Epilogue. Weather.
WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.15 The Lords. 1.25 Farm progress. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.
SOUTHERN: 11.00 Service. 12.37 Weather. 12.40 Talking hands. 12.55 Farm progress. 1.25 Out of town. 1.45 Bush boy. 2.15 Sportsworld. 3.15 Film: 'Charge of the Lancers'. 4.35 News. 4.40 London. 6.35 Out of this world. 7.00 London. 7.55 Film: 'Dead of Night'. 9.50 Film diary. 10.00 London. 11.15 Sez Les. 12.00 Weather. Guideline.
HTV: 11.00 Service. 2.00 Journey. 2.15 Sportsworld. 3.15 Film: 'The Impersonator'. 4.20 Arthur. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'That Kind of Woman'. 9.30 London. 11.15 Avengers. 12.15 Weather.
HTV Wales as above except: 12.05 Dan Sylw. 12.50 Nabod y Gair. 1.15 The Other Half.
HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus: 5.35 (Rpt) Nabod y Gair.
ANGLIA: 11.00 Service. 1.20 Remember. 1.50 Weather. 1.55 Farming. 2.30 Film: 'Double Bunk'. 4.10 Dr Locke. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'Highway 301'. 9.30 In for a penny. 10.00 London. 11.15 Saint.
ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 Service. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 Yesterdays. 2.15 Sportsworld. 3.15 Film: 'Don't Ever Leave Me'. 4.40 Lon-

don. 6.35 Out of this world. 7.00 London. 7.55 Film: 'No Love for Johnnie'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Spylforce.
ULSTER: 1.45 Survival. 2.15 Sportsworld. 3.15 Film: 'Tarzan and the Amazons'. 4.40 London. 7.53 Results. 7.55 Cartoon. 8.05 Film: 'BFs Daughters'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Saint.
YORKSHIRE: 10.45 Talking Hands. 11.00 Service. 12.05 Craftsmen. 12.30 Beloved enemy. 12.55 Farming. 1.25 Cook book. 1.55 Calendar. 2.20 Bowling. 3.15 Film: 'Murder Without Crime'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'Green Fire'. 9.45 Popeye. 10.00 London. 11.15 Strange report. 12.10 Weather.
GRANADA: 11.00 Service. 12.55 Year 2000. 1.20 Yesterdays. 1.50 Rocket Robin Hood. 2.15 Sportsworld. 3.15 Film: 'The Wistful Widow'. 4.35 Cartoon. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'No Love for Johnnie'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Out front.
TYNE TEES: 10.45 Talking hands. 11.00 Service. 12.05 Something to sing about. 12.30 Beloved enemy. 12.55 Farming. 1.25 Rugby. 1.55 Out of town. 2.15 Jobs. 2.20 Bowls. 3.15 Film: 'The Crooked Web'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'High Wind in Jamaica'. 9.55 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 11.15 Corwin. 12.10 Congo.
SCOTTISH: 1.20 Out of town. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 Yesterdays. 2.15 Sportsworld. 3.15 Film: 'Light Up the Sky'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'Fall Safe'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Late call. 11.20 Songs remembered.
GRAMPIAN: 12.55 Cook book. 1.20 Yesterdays. 1.50 Farm progress. 2.20 Film: 'Ferry Cross the Mersey'. 3.55 A place of her own. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'Aaron Slick from Pinkin Crick'. 9.30 Short story. 10.00 London. 11.15 Untouchables.

We want jobs not promises demand from dockers' rally

DOCKERS do not want promises of jobs. They want guarantees, Bernie Steer, stewards' leader from the Royal Group of docks, said yesterday.

He told a mass rally of London dockers at Tower Hill that they could be facing 'the Waterloo' of the docks industry.

But the dockers were not going to play Napoleon. If anyone was going to lose it would be the employers.

The rally applauded Steer, Vic Turner and the other three

dockers released from Pentonville prison by the National Industrial Relations Court on Wednesday.

Tony Merrick, one of the five, had a simple but telling message for his fellow workers: 'Pentonville prison, Caledonian Road, London, Cell Block A—Cell 38-39 are empty. Thank you.'

Derek Watkins, another of the jailed men, told the rally that when they heard the demonstrators outside the jail shouting for them it was 'wonderful, wonderful'.

Bernie Steer said that the docks' stewards were not opposed to the technological revolution in the industry, but to the misuse of

BY DAVID MAUDE

new developments to put men out of work.

'We don't want promises, we want guarantees', he said in reference to the Jones-Aldington report rejected by docks delegates on Thursday.

Dockers had accepted what they had been told about the last inquiry into the industry conducted by Lord Devlin, that it would solve all the evils of the docks. But they now found themselves with 20,000 men less than when the report was published.

The employers said in the Jones-Aldington report that they would take all the men out of the unattached pool.

That was what the dockers wanted, Steer said, but they had heard similar promises in the past.

'We don't doubt the sincerity of our negotiators, but we do doubt on past record the honesty of certain employers.'

He told the employers that if they were serious in what they said about safeguards, it was easy to convince the dockers. They should take their shares out of unregistered labour depots and send the work back into the docks.

Vic Turner, chairman of the Royal Group stewards, called called for constant picketing of unregistered ports which were still working.

Actors lobby £30 meeting

THE 50 actors and actresses who lobbied yesterday's Equity meeting to discuss the West End pay claim were refused admittance to the meeting.

And the union's council also refused to read out their petition to delegates.

It seems clear from yesterday's discussion that the leadership has retreated from the £30 minimum; already a £25 offer is being suggested with the other £5 in January. The musical companies in the West End are proving particularly hostile to the wage demand. Below: Actor Robert Morley is addressed by lobbyists carrying slogans like: 'What's the secret, open the meeting.'

Kid gloves come off in Ulster

COMMENT BY IAN YEATS

THE KID-GLOVE technique having failed, the Tory government is now preparing to administer a heavy blow to the IRA in Ulster.

The 4,000 extra troops ordered to Northern Ireland bring the total number of infantry units there to 27—five more than are normally kept in the whole of Britain.

All the indications are that the Tory government has given the go-ahead for a major search-and-destroy offensive against the IRA in Londonderry's Bogside and Creggan areas along the lines of the Lenadoon operation—700 soldiers 'saturated' a small Catholic district of Belfast.

Since the end of the 14-day June truce, the IRA Provisionals have intensified their campaign with new and heavier weapons.

With industrial unrest escalating on the home front, the Tories pressed home their 'peace' initiative to the last.

Having induced the Social Democratic and Labour Party leaders to swallow their peace bait, secret Labour and Tory talks were held with Provo leaders aimed at persuading them to lay down their arms and come to the conference table.

Both failed. Neither could offer the IRA anything but promises and as Belfast commander Seamus Twomey acidly observed: 'Mr Whitelaw had promised so much to everybody he had nothing left to give.'

In point of fact the Tory cupboard had been empty from the start.

Heath and Ulster Secretary Whitelaw knew very well that all they were really asking was that Ulster's insoluble problems should be discussed rather than fought over.

Backbench Tories, the Unionist lobby at Westminster and Protestant extremist organizations further ensured that concessions to the IRA were minimal.

The Provo leaders stuck to their guns and insisted on the release of all internees, the withdrawal of British troops to barracks, steps to deal with the Protestant UDA and recognition of Ireland's right to deal with her own problems.

The RAF flew them home to Ulster necessarily empty-handed and the shooting war was called on again with renewed intensity.

Ulster's crisis is the crisis of capitalism generally. The talks with the Provos foundered on the insolubility of this crisis and nothing else.

If the Tories could solve the problems of unemployment, low wages, high rents, slum housing and inflation in Ulster, they could solve them throughout Britain.

But they cannot. The overt

wielding of the Tory club in Northern Ireland by the military is only one step removed from the policy being implemented against the working class in Britain through the agency of the anti-union laws and the National Industrial Relations Court.

As yet the Ulster working class is faced with no alternative to the sectarian petty-bourgeois and reformist leadership of the IRA and the UDA.

What has always been required was and is a party based on genuine revolutionary Marxist perspectives which alone would have allowed Catholic and Protestant workers to unite in a class offensive against the masters of capital on both sides of the Irish Sea and both sides of the border.

With the failure of their peace initiative, the Tories are now faced with huge new troop commitments to the province—so substantial that three of the seven extra units have had to be brought back from Germany.

Meanwhile, as they continue to get inextricably bogged down in Ulster, working-class tempers in Britain are rising fast—so fast that the prospect of a General Strike has never been closer since 1926 and the national dock strike alone poses the need for a declaration of a state of emergency with all its repercussions.

The jailing of the five dockers not only concentrated the attention of the working class on the Industrial Relations Act, but on to the need to throw out the Tories once and for all.

The despatch of more troops to Ulster discloses yet again the grass-roots bankruptcy of Tory policies in the teeth of deepening recession on the one hand and a working-class offensive of unprecedented militancy on the other.

The Tories are in a corner. But like all trapped animals they are going to hit out mercilessly—in Ireland and at home.

The Tory government can and must be forced to resign. The only prop that holds the whole rotten edifice of Tory power in office is the treacherous collaboration of the Labour Party leaders.

Wilson wholeheartedly backs Tory policy in Ulster and only on Wednesday he described the Jones-Aldington report which would lead to massive sackings in dockland as a 'first-class' set of proposals.

There is only one way to end unemployment and inflation in Ulster and in Britain. That is to force this Tory government to resign and elect a Labour government which must be forced to carry out socialist policies.



DANGEROUS DAYS AHEAD

FROM PAGE 1

'The Times' spoke for the ruling class in its editorial yesterday:

... the trade union claim is much more than to say that this is a bad Act, it is to say that their affairs, and their affairs alone, cannot be legislated for and that they will not accept any such legislation.

'This again is a claim which is anti-democratic because it sets the rights of a powerful minority [the working class is a minority!] above the rights of the whole. It is the same as the claim of the medieval church that clerics could not be tried in lay courts; it would create, if it were accepted, two jurisdictions, one the law of Britain and the other the law, such as it is, of the TUC.'

What this really means is that the ruling class recognizes that a situation of virtual dual power has been created. The warning is unmistakable. The Tories will try to rally all their forces to put an end to this situation. They are looking for the opportunity to spring an election on the issue: 'Who rules Britain?'

They will try to frighten the middle class through inflation and the fear of 'chaos' into a 'law-and-order' stampede.

They will try to use the trade union and Labour leaders, ever-willing, to confuse and divide the working class, to disarm them in face of the blows being prepared.

Instead of preparing and mobilizing the movement, these TUC leaders are talking with the CBI to set up 'independent' conciliation procedures. Meanwhile the decision of the House of Lords will bring thousands of employers' applications to the NIRC.

The last week has shown a great change in the thinking and action of millions of workers. Wilson and Feather will fight all the harder to prevent this change from leading to the defeat of the Tories by the mass movement.

The fight for alternative revolutionary leadership is now the question of the moment for every trade unionist.

What then must be done? In the dangerous days ahead, there must be not a moment's relaxation in the struggle against the government, which hopes to arm itself to the teeth during the 'quiet' August-September period. The dockers have given the lead to every worker: step up the fight to get the Tories out!

The first and most urgent demand must be for the immediate recall of the TUC and Labour Party conferences, to meet jointly and decide on action. They must decide on the preparation of a General Strike to force the Tory government to resign, followed by the return of a Labour government, which must repeal the Industrial Relations Act and carry out nationalization of the banks and major industries, without compensation and under workers' control.

This is the only way to warn, mobilize and prepare the working class to answer the threat of imposition of right-wing dictatorship. This threat is not in the distant future, but is brought into the calculations of the government of today by the great strength of the working class in rejecting the Industrial Relations Act.

What matters above all is that the working class becomes conscious of its strength.

In every city and town, in every region, build Councils of Action, representing trade union and factory organizations, political parties of the working class (Labour Parties, Socialist Labour League, Communist Party, and all socialist organizations), tenants' committees, unemployed, and all those fighting the Tory government.

Socialist policies are the only way out of the crisis! The power of the Tories and their class must be broken! This means mobilizing the working class to make them resign and returning a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

NEWS DESK 01-720 2000
CIRCULATION 01-622 7029

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

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