

WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● SATURDAY AUGUST 5, 1972 ● No. 834 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

TORIES READY FOR PORTS SHOWDOWN

SUPPORT DOCKERS AGAINST EMERGENCY

BY DAVID MAUDE

SENIOR CABINET Ministers met at Downing Street yesterday to tighten the state of emergency they hope will break the dockers' strike. The prospect of troops being moved into the docks was being played down in Whitehall after the meeting, but at the same time steps were being taken to call together the emergency committees which have been set up in each port.

Each of these committees can call on the government at any time to provide troops to do dockers' work. Interference with any steps a committee dubs 'essential services' becomes an offence of sabotage.

In other words, under a cover of unconcern, the Tories are busily assembling the weapons to smash the strike if the union leaders fail to get it called off next week.

Members of the Jones-Aldington committee yesterday continued their search for guarantees of jobs from port employers, container firms and companies at present using unregistered labour.

The prospect of Transport and General Workers' Union docks delegates being recalled before next Wednesday or Thursday receded, however. And around the ports yesterday the emergency had definitely hardened dockers' determination to fight to a finish.

In Liverpool, for instance, shop stewards heard reports that dockers who had worked an emergency ship for the Isle of Man and paid the money to charity had been denied Social Security benefit for their families.

A resolution on the issue is expected to be put to a mass meeting in the port on Sunday. This kind of experience increases the likelihood that even if the docks delegates call off the official action, it could continue unofficially.

The national port stewards' committee is committed to meeting immediately after any delegate conference to consider striking on until all unregistered ports are brought within the Dock Labour Scheme and dockers are granted all groupage container work.

And even if both the delegates and a majority of stewards accepted a re-jig of the Jones-Aldington interim, Hull and Liverpool at least are in a mood to continue their action over the unregistered ports.

The danger is, however, that while the Tories are sharply aware of the threat to their power implied in the strike, the dockers' own lines of policy are as yet unclear.

For the third time in eight months, Heath and his Cabinet have taken on a section of the working class which has the ability to defeat them and force



Some of the pickets at the World's End site yesterday

them from office. As in the case of the miners and the railwaymen, they are relying on the trade union and Labour leaders to hamstring their members' strength.

This is the treacherous timetable of these reformists early next week.

1 On Monday, when he should be out whipping up the maximum support among his 1.6 million members for the dockers' struggle, T&GWU secretary Jack Jones will be sitting down with the Tory chairman of the Port of London Authority, Lord Aldington, to review progress in finding return-to-work formula.

2 Later the same day he is expected to go with his fellow-TUC leaders to Downing Street for further talks with the Tories and the employers about pay and Industrial Relations.

3 On Tuesday parliament debates the Tories' emergency measures. The debate is expected to be short. Because of murky 'special circumstances', Harold Wilson and his aptly-named 'shadow Cabinet' have decided that Labour MPs will not raise a single squeak about the powers taken. In fact they will support them.

Jones knows as well as his 41,000 docker members that his talks with Aldington can find no real solution to the jobs crisis in the industry.

He is well aware that the employers' intention is to force another bitter dose of unemployment down his members' throat. Both Jones and Victor Feather of the TUC know the Tories have decided to try and inflict a defeat on the working class in the dock strike.

The more the TUC leaders talk to the Heath Cabinet, and the

World's End builders strike as shop steward is sacked

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

BRICKLAYERS and labourers yesterday picketed the Cubitt's World's End, Chelsea, building site demanding the reinstatement of a shop steward and a labourer.

About 40 workers employed by sub-contractor Mark Prince of Walthamstow, North London, struck on Thursday night when the two men were dismissed.

Pickets scotched claims that the men were 'inefficient' and said they were victimized.

Sacked labourer Gabriel Charles had only been working on the site nine days. 'I'd been on the dockers' march to Pentonville and the building pay lobby,' he told Workers Press yesterday.

The steward, John Fontaine, who also attended the lobby, joined other stewards late yesterday afternoon in reinstatement talks with the sub-contractor. The whole site is likely to stop if the two do not get their jobs back.

Next Tuesday, the World's End men will join other building workers in a demonstration from Speaker's Corner to lobby new pay talks on their claim for a £30, 35-hour week.

Talks on the latest offer, which would only give an immediate rise in basic rates of £3 for craftsmen and £2.60 for labourers, broke down last Wednesday as 1,000 men stood outside the meeting.

Building workers who enter their seventh week of selective strikes on Monday are determined to prevent a sell-out of their claim. There is talk of many areas going it alone if officials sign the deal.

Twenty-four sites are now stopped in London. Bristol and Birmingham city centre sites are totally closed and there are plans for a complete shut-down in Manchester and Liverpool.

The strikes have led to many new recruits to the building unions.

more Wilson supports its emergency powers, the more arrogant it becomes.

What is now required is all-out solidarity action with the dockers by every section of the working class—a General Strike to force the Tories to resign.

● Break off all talks with Heath!

● Recall the T&GWU biennial conference to demand the nationalization of the docks and transport industries under workers' control without compensation!

● Form Councils of Action in each area to mobilize solidarity action with the dockers! Recall the TUC on emergency footing to call a General Strike!

● Return a Labour government pledged to repeal the Industrial Relations Act and nationalization!

workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER • SATURDAY AUGUST 5, 1972 • No. 834 • 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

TORIES READY FOR PORTS SHOWDOWN

SUPPORT DOCKERS AGAINST EMERGENCY

BY DAVID MAUDE

SENIOR CABINET Ministers met at Downing Street yesterday to tighten the state of emergency they hope will break the dockers' strike. The prospect of troops being moved into the docks was being played down in Whitehall after the meeting, but at the same time steps were being taken to call together the emergency committees which have been set up in each port.

Each of these committees can call on the government at any time to provide troops to do dockers' work. Interference with any steps a committee dubs 'essential services' becomes an offence of sabotage.

In other words, under a cover of unconcern, the Tories are busily assembling the weapons to smash the strike if the union leaders fail to get it called off next week.

Members of the Jones-Aldington committee yesterday continued their search for guarantees of jobs from port employers, container firms and companies at present using unregistered labour.

The prospect of Transport and General Workers' Union docks delegates being recalled before next Wednesday or Thursday receded, however. And around the ports yesterday the emergency had definitely hardened dockers' determination to fight to a finish.

In Liverpool, for instance, shop stewards heard reports that dockers who had worked an emergency ship for the Isle of Man and paid the money to charity had been denied Social Security benefit for their families.

A resolution on the issue is expected to be put to a mass meeting in the port on Sunday. This kind of experience increases the likelihood that even if the docks delegates call off the official action, it could continue unofficially.

The national port stewards' committee is committed to meeting immediately after any delegate conference to consider striking on until all unregistered ports are brought within the Dock Labour Scheme and dockers are granted all groupage container work.

And even if both the delegates and a majority of stewards accepted a re-jig of the Jones-Aldington interim, Hull and Liverpool at least are in a mood to continue their action over the unregistered ports.

The danger is, however, that while the Tories are sharply aware of the threat to their power implied in the strike, the dockers' own lines of policy are as yet unclear.

For the third time in eight months, Heath and his Cabinet have taken on a section of the working class which has the ability to defeat them and force



Some of the pickets at the World's End site yesterday

them from office. As in the case of the miners and the railwaymen, they are relying on the trade union and Labour leaders to hamstring their members' strength.

This is the treacherous timetable of these reformists early next week.

1 On Monday, when he should be out whipping up the maximum support among his 1.6 million members for the dockers' struggle, T&GWU secretary Jack Jones will be sitting down with the Tory chairman of the Port of London Authority, Lord Aldington, to review progress in finding return-to-work formula.

2 Later the same day he is expected to go with his fellow-TUC leaders to Downing Street for further talks with the Tories and the employers about pay and Industrial Relations.

3 On Tuesday parliament debates the Tories' emergency measures. The debate is expected to be short. Because of murky 'special circumstances', Harold Wilson and his aptly-named 'shadow Cabinet' have decided that Labour MPs will not raise a single squeak about the powers taken. In fact they will support them.

Jones knows as well as his 41,000 docker members that his talks with Aldington can find no real solution to the jobs crisis in the industry.

He is well aware that the employers' intention is to force another bitter dose of unemployment down his members' throat. Both Jones and Victor Feather of the TUC know the Tories have decided to try and inflict a defeat on the working class in the dock strike.

The more the TUC leaders talk to the Heath Cabinet, and the

World's End builders strike as shop

steward is sacked

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

BRICKLAYERS and labourers yesterday picketed the Cubitt's World's End, Chelsea, building site demanding the reinstatement of a shop steward and a labourer.

About 40 workers employed by sub-contractor Mark Prince of Walthamstow, North London, struck on Thursday night when the two men were dismissed.

Pickets scotched claims that the men were 'inefficient' and said they were victimized.

Sacked labourer Gabriel Charles had only been working on the site nine days. 'I'd been on the dockers' march to Pentonville and the building pay lobby,' he told Workers Press yesterday.

The steward, John Fontaine, who also attended the lobby, joined other stewards late yesterday afternoon in reinstatement talks with the sub-contractor. The whole site is likely to stop if the two do not get their jobs back.

Next Tuesday, the World's End men will join other building workers in a demonstration from Speaker's Corner to lobby new pay talks on their claim for a £30, 35-hour week.

Talks on the latest offer, which would only give an immediate rise in basic rates of £3 for craftsmen and £2.60 for labourers, broke down last Wednesday as 1,000 men stood outside the meeting.

Building workers who enter their seventh week of selective strikes on Monday are determined to prevent a sell-out of their claim. There is talk of many areas going it alone if officials sign the deal.

Twenty-four sites are now stopped in London. Bristol and Birmingham city centre sites are totally closed and there are plans for a complete shut-down in Manchester and Liverpool.

The strikes have led to many new recruits to the building unions.

more Wilson supports its emergency powers, the more arrogant it becomes.

What is now required is all-out solidarity action with the dockers by every section of the working class—a General Strike to force the Tories to resign.

● Break off all talks with Heath!

● Recall the T&GWU biennial conference to demand the nationalization of the docks and transport industries under workers' control without compensation!

● Form Councils of Action in each area to mobilize solidarity action with the dockers! Recall the TUC on emergency footing to call a General Strike!

● Return a Labour government pledged to repeal the Industrial Relations Act and nationalization!

WHAT WE THINK

CAPITALIST LAW AND THE WORKING CLASS

A MAJOR plank in the electoral platform of the Tory Party in June 1970 was 'law and order'. Edward Heath and his 'hang-em' Home Secretary, Reginald Maudling, stated their intention to root out crime in every corner of the land.

Arthur Lewis MP has now blown the myth of these latter-day 'Untouchables'. In parliament two days ago he gave details of 13 companies whose activities fleeced the public of millions of pounds. He said he could name more.

It's a pity Maudling wasn't on hand to reply in the debate. But as you know, he has resigned from duties as law-enforcer-in-general following a decision to call in Scotland Yard's Fraud Squad to investigate the collapsed Poulson empire. Maudling was chairman of one of Poulson's companies and all members of his family—even two teenage sons—belonged to various Poulson boards.

In the Wakefield Bankruptcy Court next Monday Poulson will continue giving evidence about the failure of his companies and the various monies he paid to business partners, aides and acquaintances. Not to mention the furs and jewellery he lavished on his wife, the major shareholder in several of his operations.

After Poulson left the witness box on Tuesday, Maudling issued an angry press statement deploring the taking of public evidence which he, Maudling, says is bunkum.

Maudling may even send lawyers to Monday's hearing to protest and seek an adjournment. This would create a difficult situation for the presiding Registrar. He

has already heard applications from two Tory ministries—the Department of Trade and Industry and the Attorney-General's—who want the case adjourned indefinitely.

So far the registrar has resisted these applications and agreed with the QC for the trustees that the case must go on—immediately and in public.

There still remains, however, the danger that many of the facts may be kept from public scrutiny. Because the issues are so grave and the reputation of the deputy prime minister is at stake, it would be wrong if a single shred of evidence was lost.

This applies also to the Real Estate Fund of America, the failed offshore fund on which Maudling served as inaugural president.

Arthur Lewis complained in the House that the full facts of the police investigation into REFA have not been published. This is true. REFA left this country in November 1970 in a shower of bad debts. It took months and months for any confirmation that the police were actually looking into the organization.

And yesterday the new Home Secretary, Robert Carr, wrote to Lewis saying he could not answer his queries about who the police have interviewed. 'I do not

consider it to be in the public interest that I should disclose details of this kind from police reports,' he added.

On the contrary the Home Office and the police has never been reluctant in the past to reveal in detail the state of inquiries into various individuals. Remember the lurid smear campaign that they launched against the German student leader Rudi Dutschke so he could be deported?

One is forced to ask, is there 'special consideration' extended if those involved happen to be the Home Secretary or Lord Brentford, an ex-Tory Minister, another REFA director?

One of the other features of the REFA investigation is the inordinate length of time it has taken. It is two years since the preliminary police report. In that period the fund's founder, Jerome D. Hoffman, has been jailed for two years in the US on a mortgage fraud and revelations about the company have regularly appeared in national newspapers and on television.

Is the great Fraud Squad, immortalized in the television series on BBC, as slow as all that?

Not so slow, however, are the police and the forces of law and order when

it comes to dealing with the working class.

When dockers joined printworkers outside the Robert Horne factory in South London a week ago, a sea of truncheon-waving police turned up to smash peacefully picketing workers.

And the National Industrial Relations Court showed no feet-dragging when it came to putting five dockers in Pentonville for the 'crime' of expressing their basic trade union rights to picket and black.

The law so rushes to get convictions in some cases that it actually uses agents provocateurs to do its dirty work. This was conclusively shown in the recent Saor Eire arms trial. The prosecution abandoned the case at the Old Bailey and it later emerged that a man who had been involved in getting the arms into the defendants' possession was a Special Branch agent.

The defendants were set free having spent seven months in custody in Brixton prison.

None of these legal inconsistencies or House of Commons revelations shock Workers Press. As we explained consistently during the fight against the Industrial Relations Act, capitalist law exists to protect capitalist property and privileges and to keep the working class in chains.

The bankruptcy, corruption and growing viciousness of the capitalist class must become a spur for the building of a revolutionary leadership in Britain which will take the working class to power. It is in this context that the Socialist Labour League is working to transform itself into the revolutionary party later this year.

Workers' strength intensifies currency crisis

BY JOHN SPENCER

THE MILITANT resistance of the working class, especially in Britain, is at the heart of the international currency crisis which has reached a new and decisive stage.

It was the decision of the Tory National Industrial Relations Court not to jail the original three dockers in the Chobham Farm case at the end of June which led directly to the run on the pound.

The NIRC action was taken abroad as a sign of the Tory government's weakness in the face of the working class.

The decision to 'float' sterling, taken after the foreign exchange reserves had diminished by \$883m to \$6,082m, breached both the December 18 international currency realignment deal and the Common Market's own currency arrangements.

It exposed the impossibility of establishing stable monetary relations between the main capitalist countries without any fixed relationship between gold and paper money.

As a result, the gold price has now been driven for the first time over \$70 an ounce. In London yesterday it fell back somewhat to \$67.75, but nobody is now in any doubt that the price will rise again. The capitalist world is anxiously awaiting the opening of the Group of Ten meeting due to be held in Washington on September 25.

The meeting will face demands for a rise in the 'official' gold price, which governs transactions between central banks under the two-tier system set up four years ago.

In particular the French and Italians are pressing for such a rise because otherwise Italy will be forced to devalue the lira and further disrupt the EEC's currency system.

They have even hinted broadly

that unless international agreement can be reached in Washington, the Common Market will go ahead and raise the official price unilaterally, cutting itself adrift from the United States and forming a rival international monetary bloc.

The International Monetary Fund is suggesting an alternative course of action which would equally put an end to the fragile two-tier system. This involves selling gold, either from its own reserves or from those of other central banks, on the free market in order to bring down the 'unofficial' gold price.

In this way, the Fund hopes to gain a 'breathing space' during which the main capitalist powers could discuss 'calmly' the future of the monetary system.

In reality the IMF proposal is a counsel of despair. The rise in the gold price is not simply due to a shortage of gold, but to the fact that the value of currency is no longer fixed in gold terms.

The demand for gold is the other side of the lack of confidence in paper currency—a lack of confidence which is continually fuelled from the enormous pool of paper dollars held outside the United States.

All attempts to overcome this by issuing further international credits—for example through the Special Drawing Rights scheme—can only intensify the crisis.

This is the 'solution' advanced by the 'New York Times', which says: 'To rely instead on the mining activity and sales of gold-producing countries and on the fears and hopes of gold speculators and hoarders is both irrational and hazardous.'

In reality, the 'Times' is simply

bemoaning the operation of the basic law of value, and the anarchism which is inseparable from private ownership of the means of production.

The paper adds: 'An effort by Europe to force a massive gold price increase upon the United States and the rest of the world would be extremely shortsighted and disruptive. It could upset rather than stabilize international money markets and undermine not only faith in the dollar, but in all paper currencies.'

These are not technical questions remote from the class struggle. Value is created by the labour of the working class and it is through an onslaught against the living standards and rights of the working class that the employers are trying to restore value to their currencies.

The Tory government's class-war strategy is dictated by the growth of trade war and recession resulting directly from the breakdown of the international monetary system. In turn the resistance of the working class intensifies the international monetary crisis.

The now-defunct Bretton Woods monetary system—based on the US Treasury's guarantee to sell gold at \$35 an ounce—was in reality a sign of capitalism's weakness faced with the power of the working class.

The relations of compromise established in the post-war period are disrupted with the monetary system, producing an intensely revolutionary situation.

Under discussion in Washington next month is the employers' strategy internationally to deal with the revolutionary danger. These preparations can be met only by the building of the Fourth International to lead the working class towards state power and expropriate the self-confessed bankrupts who lead the capitalist world.

Veiled Czech criticism of British CP

THE CZECHOSLOVAK Stalinist press is engaging in a veiled but bitter polemic with the French, Italian and British Communist Party leaders over the current wave of purge trials.

A typical broadcast on Prague radio's English service on Wednesday justified the trials on the grounds that the accused had violated the country's laws. The fact that most of them were well-known opponents of the Warsaw Pact occupation was described as a 'coincidence'.

This fails to explain why the trials were held in secret on the basis of extremely vague indictments and 'confessions'.

But the radio ploughs grimly on without bothering about these 'trifles'. It adds:

'The consolidation of the socialist position in Czechoslovakia has met with understanding among the workers of many capitalist countries. But it runs counter to the wishes of certain political adventurers who have lost their vision and aspirations.' This can only be a reference to the leaders of the British Communist Party who have issued a mild complaint about the trials. Reuben Falber, the CP's assistant secretary, was quoted in the 'Morning Star' the previous Friday to the effect that:

'There is an absence of official information, but according to reports most of the defendants appear to have been accused of producing and distributing leaflets on people's rights in last autumn's elections. If the reports on the nature of the trials are true, the proceedings and sentences are greatly to be deplored.'

This statement is a tribute to Falber's powers of judicial detachment with its careful qualifications (If . . . according to reports . . . appear to have been . . . If the reports . . . are true . . . etc).

But apparently even this mealy-mouthed evasion is too much for the Czech Stalinist leaders, who want nothing less than complete condemnation of the 'criminals' tried in Prague.

This is what they have come to expect from the servile British

CP leaders, who displayed no respect for the facts when Rudolf Slansky and his comrades were framed on Stalin's orders in 1952.

Despite their complaint about the trials, however, the British Stalinists have not broken 'fraternal' relations with the Kremlin's Czechoslovak puppets.

Nine days ago in Paris, Falber attended a conference of 27 European communist parties which issued a joint declaration appealing—among other things—to the clergy of Europe to protest against the Vietnam war.

Heading the Czechoslovak delegation at this gathering was Vasil Bilak, described in the western press as the prime mover in setting up the frame-up trials. Bilak is one of the most servile supporters of the Kremlin in Czechoslovakia.

He is also the man who told the Czech Central Committee last October:

'It would not have been wise for us to abandon our hard-won positions in the Sudan' after the butchery of the Sudanese communist leaders by General Numeiry.

In this speech, Bilak said the murdered Sudan CP leader Abdel Mahgoub had been 'moving towards sectarian positions' in relation to 'Numeiry's democratic revolutionary regime of progressive officers'.

The British Stalinists, who treat this Stalinist stooge as a legitimate representative of the Czechoslovak working class, have never condemned these cynical sentiments of Bilak's.

The Czech press claims that by drawing attention to the Prague trials their opponents are detracting from the defence of the victims of class oppression in Greece, Ulster and Vietnam.

DR KOFI BUSIA, the former Ghanaian prime minister, now living in exile at Oxford, has been declared a wanted man by the ruling National Redemption Council. An official announcement in Accra yesterday said the Council was satisfied Dr Busia should be detained in the interests of national security and his own safety.

NLF switches on attack in Mekong Delta

LIBERATION forces piled on the pressure against South Vietnamese troops in the Mekong Delta of Vietnam yesterday.

They have massed 6,000-strong outside the town of Cai Lay, a district capital which straddles the main road about 50 miles south west of Saigon.

There was fighting all day on Thursday be-

tween five and 12 miles from the town.

The South Vietnamese are worried that the liberation troops will cut the road and deprive the capital of vital food supplies.

The South Vietnamese are having to switch extra forces to avert this danger, while at the same time they continue the drive to recapture the far north provincial capital Quang

Tri.

About 2,000 South Vietnamese marines are pinned down in the suburbs of Quang Tri facing a strongly entrenched liberation force in the city's walled citadel.

All efforts to clear the citadel have so far failed.

The Marines have also been unable to sever the liberation troops' supply route

from the west.

Soviet-made heavy guns in the hills to the west of Quang Tri are taking a deadly toll of the puppet troops, despite continuous bombings from US air force planes.

The guns—130-mm weapons with a 17-mile range are dug in deeply. It is the first time these weapons have been used south of the demilitarized zone.

Engineers' pay talks to open again?

ENGINEERS' president Hugh Scanlon may curtail a visit to Russia starting next week in order to resume formal pay talks with the employers.

A forthcoming trip to China could also be affected. The talks are likely to be arranged quickly after a board meeting of the Engineering Employers' Federation in 12 days' time.

Leaders of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions are expected to endorse Scanlon's report that there is a basis for fresh talks at their meeting the following day.

This new burst of activity on the claim—lodged a year ago this month—follows an informal meeting on Thursday between Scanlon, CSEU secretary Jack Service and EEF chiefs.

Both pay and the possibility of a new disputes procedure for the industry were discussed.

Taverne may form a pro-Market party



Taverne (seated centre, with light-coloured hair) at a Lincoln constituency party meeting

DICK TAVERNE, QC, the Labour MP for Lincoln, who has been flung out of his constituency, is thinking of launching a new party.

The Tory press says the 'Centre Party' will be pro-European, mildly radical and include a number of Jenkinsites.

Taverne may hoist this banner and stand against the official Labour Party candidate at the next General Election.

The proposal is ludicrous. Another right-wing Labourite, Desmond Donnelly, tried the same stunt at the last election and was firmly trounced by the Labour voters.

Subsequently Donnelly went off and joined the Tory Party.

This is an alternative which Taverne might like to consider.

After all he has been voting consistently with the Tories on the Common Market, the cornerstone of Heath's political programme, thus keeping this anti-union government in office.

Meanwhile in Lincoln itself the constituency Labour Party is in considerable ferment trying to choose a replacement candidate.

At least one of the front-runners is in difficulty because he voted for the implementation of the Tories' Housing Finance Act by the local council.

The question being posed is this: If we got rid of Taverne for supporting the Tories on the

European Communities Bill in parliament, how can we now accept a Labour councillor who votes for their 'fair rents' Bill on the local council?

Predictably, the Tory press is continuing to promote the Taverne bandwagon.

In yesterday's 'Financial Times', the political editor, David Watt, said:

'His views on the Common Market may be right or wrong. But the fact is that he is one of the outstanding politicians in his generation and he is a genuine socialist. A party which will not even try to accommodate him and a leader who dare not lift a finger to help him is indeed in a mess.'

6,000 prisoners in 24-hour strike

OVER 6,000 prisoners yesterday took part in a 24-hour strike for better conditions and the restoration of rights.

They were responding to a national strike call made by PROP, the newly-formed 'prisoners' union'.

At Lancaster Prison, 60 men sat down in the tailors' shop, while 250 sat down in the workshop at Birmingham. Over 400 sat down in the exercise yard at Havering Prison.

PROP said information telephoned to their office gave other figures, including: Dartmoor 50 men, Oxford 80, Leeds 1,000, Hull 170, Pentonville 800, Wormwood Scrubs 750, Wandsworth 800, Liverpool 600, Bristol 270, Durham 400, Manchester 450, Parkhurst 500 and Wakefield 450.

'If there is no response to our demands for improved conditions and restoration of rights and the authorities still refuse to negotiate them we shall organize walk-outs at the open prisons,' said a PROP spokesman.



Scanlon: Moscow trip off

The feeling among CSEU leaders yesterday seemed to be that the EEF is anxious to settle the pay dispute, which the union men claim has proved very expensive to the employers.

EEF sources claimed anxiety for a settlement was strongest on the union side.

Talks on the union's claim for a substantial pay increase, an increase in basic rates, improved holidays, equal pay for women workers and other benefits were broken off by the unions' in January after the employers' refusal to raise their first offer of £1.50 on the skilled man's basic rate of £19 per week. The union's demand was for £5-£6 on the basic.

Since then unions have been pursuing the claim at plant level. Plant convenors in Birmingham are meeting on Monday to plan their next moves on the claim.

On the eve of the CSEU conference in June, the EEF indicated a willingness to improve on its first offer. But later the same week they announced they were not prepared to 'come anywhere near' the claim.

The building employers are currently hoping to settle their pay dispute with the unions with a re-jig of their offer of £3 on basic rates.

Fragile manoeuvres to Ulster 'peace'

BY IAN YEATS

THE POLITICAL line-up for Ulster supremo William Whitelaw's all-party peace conference began to take shape yesterday.

Although it was unlikely that the Eire government would be allowed to take part in the conference, yesterday's London talks between Whitelaw and Irish Foreign Minister Dr Patrick Hillery were expected to lead to fresh agreement on measures against the IRA.

The Tory government needs Dublin's help to stop the IRA from using bases in the Republic as springboards for the kind of border and guerrilla attacks mounted between 1956 and 1963.

In addition the Eire government has agreed to call in all

arms in the Republic and similar steps are in hand in the north.

There have already been across-the-border bomb attacks at Clogher, Clady and Newry, but the Leinster House government is pledged to the toughest measures against the IRA. If simple harassment fails, Justice Minister Mr Sean O'Malley has made it plain the government will alter the law to permit them to deal heavier body blows.

This would be an unpopular course for the Lynch government to take. Even though the ruling Fianna Fail candidate in the Cork by-election hung onto the seat for the government, it was by a mere handful of votes and premier Jack Lynch, whose party does not command a majority in the Dail, continues to hold office

by a precarious margin.

Dr Hillery was urging Whitelaw yesterday for speedy action to remedy the problems of Catholics in the north, especially the 'no-go' areas.

The longer unrest among Ulster Catholics goes on, the greater the danger to Lynch that southern sympathy will turn into a threat to his own government.

Hillery's arguments against another Stormont regime in Ulster will fall on sympathetic ears.

The coalition-style politics pursued by Heath and Wilson at Westminster in their efforts to impose 'peace' on the province will almost certainly be repeated at the all-party conference.

Having come round to the idea that Whitelaw and the army mean business in Ulster the SDLP (Social Democratic and Labour Party) has not only abandoned its early hostility to the conference, but yesterday swung right round to urging Whitelaw to hold it as soon as possible.

The slender political credibility of the SDLP among Catholics depends on immediate action. They want all their relatives freed from Long Kesh, they want the army out of their children's schools and their estates, and most of all they want steps to remedy the appalling economic situation which triggered their protests in the first place.

On the other side of the sectarian fence William Hull's Protestant and Loyalist Workers' Association has launched itself as the Loyalist Workers Party, backed to the hilt by the Ulster Defence Association.

The Protestant workers in these organizations find small appeal in the UDI perspectives of William Craig's Vanguard Movement. They are only too

aware on which side of the Irish sea is the goose which lays the golden eggs on which Ulster industry and their jobs depend.

Although Brian Faulkner's Ulster Unionist Party and the Labour Party will be included among others in the peace conference, agreement between the SDLP and the LWP seems likely to dominate. It is only a result of agreement here that some sort of coalition administration will emerge.

The chief whip of the SDLP, Mr Paddy Devlin, has welcomed the LWP stating there were vast areas without contention where the working classes of both sides could work together about social and economic progress.

But the LWP leaders and the reformists of the SDLP will fare no better than the Unionist Party in the past in solving Ulster's problems.

Agreement between the parties now can only be the foundation for a fully-fledged Bonapartist regime in Ulster, backed by the troops of the imperial power at Westminster.

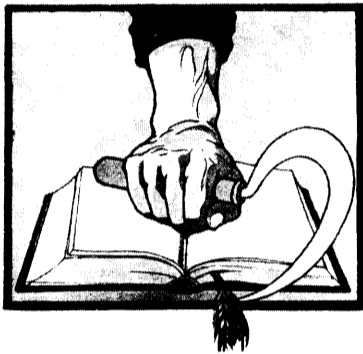
When all is said and done, the issue remains recession and how workers in Britain and Ireland are to resist the attempts of employers and their government to ride out the crisis of their system at the expense of the working class.

With unrest among Catholic and Protestant workers in Ulster at boiling point as more factories close, unemployment mounts and poverty—fanned by inflation—increases, the peace must be fragile and temporary.

The only way out of this vicious trap lies in the unity and mobilization of British and Irish workers to force the Tory government to resign and return a Labour government which must be made to carry out socialist policies.

MARX BATTLES AGAINST THE ANARCHISTS

BOOK REVIEW



'Anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism'. By Marx, Engels and Lenin. Lawrence & Wishart for Progress Publishers, Moscow. Price 90p.

This book brings together in a convenient form a selection of writings by Marx, Engels and Lenin criticizing anarchist theories and policies. Some are extracts from well-known works, others are difficult to find and seldom appear in the standard collections.

Marx and Engels hammered out their ideas in constant conflict with the anarchists of their day, such as Stirner and Proudhon. The history of the First International was bound up with the struggle against Bakunin and his followers.

The sum of the anarchists' policy is the abolition of the state and of all authority. This means hostility to the political practice of the working class and to any form of party organization and discipline.

In the article 'Indifference to Politics', which Marx wrote for Italian supporters of the International in 1872, he makes a two-page summary of the essence of anarchist thought.

If the anarchists were to put their ideas forward in that straightforward way, he says 'the working class would soon tell them where to go and would feel highly offended by these bourgeois doctrinaires and displaced gentlemen who are stupid or naive enough to forbid them every real method of struggle because all the arms to fight with must be taken from existing society, and because the inevitable conditions of this struggle do not unfortunately fit in with the idealist fantasies that these doctors of social science have defied under the name of Liberty, Autonomy and Anarchy'.

The social basis of anarchism is to be found among artisans, small masters and the self-employed and it is given expression by declassed intel-

lectuals. It therefore flourishes in less-developed countries and has never gained much hold on the industrial working class.

That does not mean to say that in certain periods of social crisis, even in advanced countries, anarchism may not play an active and dangerous role. This was seen during the student revolt in France in 1968. What is more, the revisionists, notably the Pabloite 'Ligue Communiste', made a series of unprincipled compromises with the anarchist currents led by people like Daniel Cohn-Bendit.

A good deal is to be learned about the methods of the anarchists from Engels' account of the Spanish revolt of 1873, entitled 'The Bakuninists at Work'. When put to the test they found themselves taking part in a bourgeois revolution and sitting on revolutionary committees on which they were outvoted and impotent.



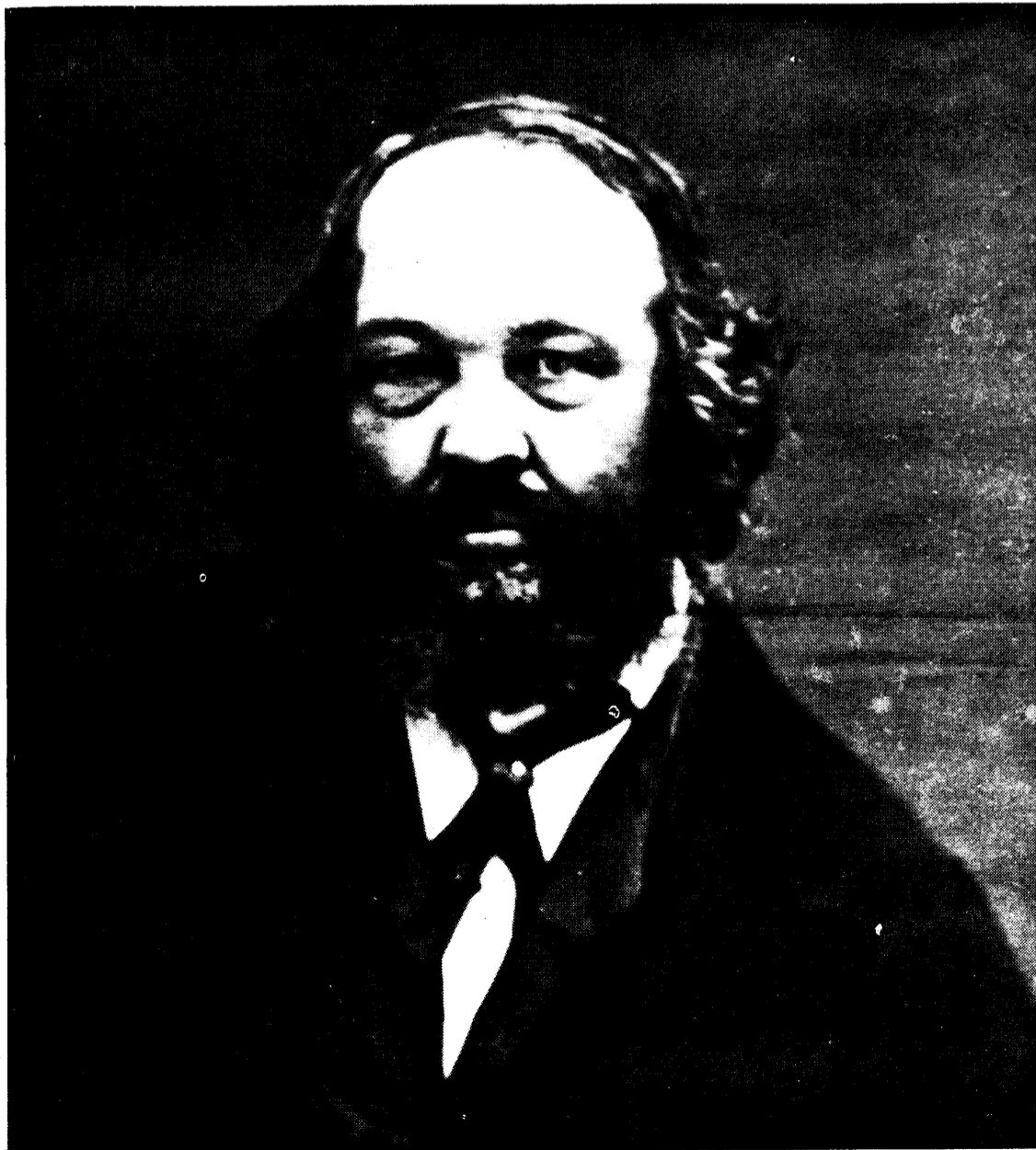
Lenin

This episode, to which Lenin reverted at the time of the 1905 Russian Revolution (see pp. 189-196), recalls the role which the Spanish anarchists played in tail-ending the bourgeoisie during the Spanish civil war, 1936-1939.

The preface to this collection, which was prepared in Moscow, mainly confines itself to summarizing the views expressed by Marx, Engels and Lenin. The author, one N. Y. Kolpinsky, was apparently instructed to work in an attack on Trotskyism if he possibly could, which he does in a politically illiterate reference to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

Strangely enough, at the Second and Third Congresses of the Comintern, to which he refers, important speeches were delivered by Trotsky; in full accord with Lenin he condemned the left sectarianism with which some of the sections of the International were plagued.

Subject to these reservations about the preface, this volume makes a useful addition to any workers' library of Marxist classics.



Anarchists of the past. Top: Peter Kropotkin. Russian aristocrat and theorist of anarchism. Bottom: Bakunin who broke from the First International to advocate anarchism.

EXCLUSIVE LIFE IN THE FACTORY —BY SPANISH WORKER

Juan is a 23-year-old engineering worker who has taken a leading part in the fight for Workers' Commissions in the Spanish working class since the age of 16.

He has just finished his compulsory period of 18 months in the Spanish army. He told Workers Press of his struggle for independent trade unions and of his experience as a conscript in Franco's army.

Juan started an engineering apprenticeship when he was 14 in a small factory employing 250 workers.

As soon as I started in the factory, I had to work a 48-hour week and they paid me £1.50 a week. After two years, this was raised to £3, but although I still had two years of my apprenticeship to go, I had to do the work of an adult worker.

It was then that we started a Workers' Commission in the factory as we could see that workers in other factories were getting better conditions and money through building an organization in opposition to the fascist union.

But we were dominated by the ideas of a young Catholic Workers' Association which, along with the Communist Party and centrist tendencies, were taking hold of the movement of the Spanish working class to make sure no political demands were put forward and that the Workers' Commissions worked through the official system.

As a result of pressure from the Commission, the fascist trade union official put in for a rise. The company offered a weekly increase of 30p to the wage of £6 a week that adult workers were getting for a 50-hour week!

IMPOSSIBLE

The workers rejected this and called for an increase of at least £1.25 and struck for an hour in support of their demand. This was the first strike in the factory for years.

The boss said he was going to give nothing and the representative of the Commissions in the fascist union told the men it was impossible to do any more.

There were some factory meetings and short strikes, but we got no increase. The important thing was that we had started our own organization in the factory which could call meetings and strike actions.

This was happening generally in the 1960s in Spain. Workers were building illegal organizations to fight for a decent standard of living.

This movement took a big leap forward with the struggle against the Burgos trials which became a national movement of workers against Franco's government.

What happened in my factory during the trial was this. We went into work one morning and a picket of youth belonging to the Communist Party entered the factory.

They talked to workers of the need for a sympathy strike and said that a strike was being organized in the area on that day.

They said that what was needed was a General Strike against Franco.

The Workers' Commission called a factory meeting and after a lot of hesitation, it was decided to strike.



FRANCISCO DE LA IGLESIA



MARIO NATXIONDO



FRANCISCO MARTINEZ



JOSE ZEBERIO



JOAKIN ARTOLA



EDUARDO ROMERO

The six accused of the Burgos Trials who were sentenced to death but later reprieved after an international campaign

We all left the factory and started a mass meeting outside the factory to discuss the strike and then the meeting broke up into small groups of workers discussing the fight against repression and for independent unions.

The factory was very quickly surrounded by police and the secret police saw the management, which tried to get a delegation of workers into the factory, but the men refused.

The strike was a big step forward as was the defeat of Franco's attempt to kill the Basque separatists.

However, two weeks after the strike, I was told to go to the management's office to collect my wages. I was confronted with the management and the fascist union officials who gave me the sack.

What has happened since then and the big strikes in the Seat (a subsidiary of the Fiat motor company) and in the building industry is that the Communist Party has done everything possible to divide and weaken the workers' movement.

They broke up the struggle in the engineering industry by calling for regional strikes at

different times during the negotiations of the new agreement. And although textile-workers were involved in a struggle for wages and against rationalization, the CP refused a joint strike of textile workers and engineers—so much for the CP's General Strike!

After getting the sack, I was unemployed for a time until I was 21 when I was called up into the army. They decide by lottery where you go—whether one and a half years in the army or two years in the navy.

BRIBERY

Conscription is a big blow for workers and their families. If the father of the family is ill or dead, it means the sons cannot keep the family and, anyway, it's just the time when you finish your apprenticeship.

In theory, everybody has to do the 'mili', but after three months in the training camp, most of those from rich families vanished from sight. The officers run a bribery racket and let these people go home.

In the army they try to brutalize you. The officers are violent and anybody who is at

all disobedient is beaten—some young workers are beaten to death.

In every barracks, there is a section of the military police—the military investigation service—which keeps a close eye on everybody.

They are suspicious of anybody who reads, even if they are only reading the legal fascist newspapers. It's difficult to read newspapers on the 'pay' they give you. Until January, the pay for an ordinary soldier was 25p a month. In January, this was put up to 75p.

With that you have to pay for all personal expenses, soap, shaving material, bus fares, newspapers etc. What happens is that many workers' families send their sons money or parcels to help them survive.

With this exploitation and the regular use of troops against striking workers, it is necessary to try to organize soldiers in Commissions alongside the Workers' Commissions.

In my barracks, we started a group of seven soldiers which discussed organizing in the army and getting into contact with the Workers' Commissions. After the use of

troops in the Madrid metro strike and the shootings in El Ferrol, a lot of such groups started throughout Spain.

We got into contact with another soldier in another barracks who said he had a commission in his barracks. Again we met the opposition of the Communist Party to the organization of the working class. We wanted a meeting of all soldiers in the barracks in our province to discuss organizing conscripts as part of the working-class movement.

This soldier was in the Communist Party and had contacts in other barracks, but he refused to help us. The Communist Party, with its peaceful road to a democratic Spain, is not interested in conscript soldiers. It wants to organize those officers who want to build a modern 'democratic' army in Spain, a national army independent of American aid.

The Communist Party even has a programme of economic demands for these officers, officers who get at least £50 a week! This is very dangerous for the working class. A new leadership must be built in the Spanish working-class in opposition to the Communist Party.

THE STRUGGLE FOR A US LABOUR PARTY

The capitalist press became near-hysterical during the Miami convention of the Democratic Party. Their fury was with the unions who declined to throw their weight behind ex-preacher, George McGovern, the senator from South Dakota.

At one incredible press conference some of the 'objective' commentators completely lost their cool and began shouting at trade unionists: 'Why don't you give him your votes? Aren't you in fact supporting Nixon by your actions?'

McGovern's anti-union record—adequately spelled out in an AFL-CIO document published on this page—is so damning that the unions refused to be steamrollered into supporting him.

What Miami did prove, however, is the urgency for the unions to construct their own Labour Party.

This was certainly the conclusion drawn by I. W. Abel, president of the powerful United Steelworkers. In an exclusive interview with the 'Bulletin', weekly newspaper of the Workers League, Abel said: 'I think we have just about reached the point to have a Labour Party. The Democrats take it for granted that we are going to come around and support them sooner or later. Who says we can't go somewhere else?'

Speaking in the convention hall to the thousands of delegates, Abel brought the developing break between the labour movement and the party into the open when he assailed the nomination of McGovern:

'You may win the votes of the self-styled liberals, the anti-labour snobs, but that's not America,' he declared.

When interviewed by 'Bulletin' reporter David North, Abel said: 'Labour has been treated poorly at this convention. I am a member of the platform committee, and since the convention started, I have not been consulted about anything. That is, except when they started to talk about money.'

'I don't think you can trust any of these politicians. Look, one of the delegates here used to be in the steelworkers' union. When he ran for office as a Democrat, we supported him and helped him with funds. Now, except for when I get together with him and talk about old times, one wouldn't even know he had any connections with the labour movement. Sure, he has what we would consider a good voting record. But when the chips are down, we can't count on him.'

'If you go into the bar downstairs, you will find millionaires who give money to the Democrats and the Republicans. Many of the same people will be here in a couple of weeks for the Republican Convention.'

'Maybe this convention is the thing that will force us to have a labour party. I have been for one.'

Abel said that when the AFL-CIO holds its national meeting at the end of August, the question of the labour party will be raised.

'It's my feeling that if we are going to have coalition governments, we ought to have a labour party,' he stated.

Abel's sentiments were also echoed by George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO when he told a news conference: 'The AFL-CIO will refrain from endorsing either candidate for the office of President of the United States.'

Meany said that these circumstances 'call rather for the maximum concentration of effort upon the election of senators and representatives whose records commend them to the working people of America.'



Above: George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO. 'You can bet your life we will seriously consider a Labour Party'

Asked by the 'Bulletin' if the question of a Labour Party had been raised, Meany replied:

'The position of labour over the years on the labour party has been very simple. That we didn't want to expend all of our energy running a labour party, trying to run the country, when we were able to bring workers of America, despite our dissatisfaction with conditions, a better condition than workers have in any other part of the world.'

'But if we get to the point when we can no longer bring those benefits to the workers of America under the present two-party system, you can bet your life we will seriously consider a labour party.'

Under pressure from reporters, he stated that he would not vote for either George McGovern or Richard Nixon, and Meany then added 'I only wish Norman Thomas were alive.'



Top: Senator George McGovern under umbrellas. Above: I. W. Abel, president of the powerful United Steelworkers.

WHY THE UNIONS DON'T LIKE MCGOVERN

George McGovern's treacherous anti-union record was detailed in a 'white paper' circulated at the Miami convention by the AFL-CIO. The document is a complete indictment of the 'radical prairie' image of the Democratic candidate.

Senator McGovern has adopted the 'new populism' as a key campaign slogan. Yet the record shows that he has repeatedly voted wrong on legislation affecting working people and the trade union movement.

In 1959, McGovern voted for the Landrum-Griffin Bill, which was opposed by organized labour. The overwhelming majority of non-southern Democrats voted 'no'—among them such Democrats from

neighbouring states as Senators Anderson and Metcalf of Montana and Senator Burdick of North Dakota, as well as four Democrats from Minnesota and five from Wisconsin.

In 1960, McGovern voted against raising the minimum wage to \$1.15 and extending coverage to 1.4 million retail workers. He was one of only five non-southern Democrats to vote 'no'.

In 1966, McGovern was one of only five northern Democrats who voted to deny minimum wage coverage to some 1 million workers in retail and service firms with gross sales of less than \$500,000 annually. McGovern also voted against raising the minimum wage to \$1.55.

Also in 1966, he voted against an amendment requiring states to provide eligible workers a minimum of 26 weeks of unemployment compensation coverage for 20 weeks of employment. Only five other northern Democrats voted 'no'.

In the same year, McGovern was one of six northern Democrats to vote for a Dirksen amendment to cut appropriations for the Departments of Labour and Health, Education and Welfare.

In 1968, the man hailed as the candidate of the young, voted, along with Republicans

and southern Democrats, to table a Javits amendment which would have provided \$52.1m in appropriations to the Labour Department for summer jobs.

McGovern and 14(b) . . . or the Case of Great Plains Wheat, Inc.

After the Democratic sweep in 1964, a Bill was introduced to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. The conservative forces mounted a filibuster to prevent the repeal Bill (HR 77) from coming to a vote in the Senate. On October 11, 1965, Mansfield moved to invoke closure. McGovern voted against closure—and the motion failed.

Two more closure motions were made—on February 8 and 10, 1966. McGovern voted for closure the first time, against it the second time—the only Senator to switch his vote. He explained that the first vote was to indicate his opposition to filibuster in general, while the second vote indicated his opposition to the repeal Bill.

McGovern is quoted as saying: 'It was a straight political decision. It was the only time in the United States Senate I voted against my conscience.'

What was the politics of McGovern's decision to vote 'against my conscience?'

In February, 1964, President

Johnson sought to end a maritime union boycott of wheat shipments to the Soviet Union by pledging that 50 per cent of such shipments would be carried in US flag ships. This had been the original understanding when President Kennedy had approved the wheat programme, but several giant wheat export companies sought to increase their profits by seeking a reduction in the 50 per cent requirement.

The wheat companies continued to press for a reduction. On May 19, the companies' views were expressed in a memorandum from Great Plains Wheat Inc. to the Special US Maritime Advisory Committee.

Meanwhile Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers' Union, had sent Senator McGovern a statement of the union's position. Mr Hall received a reply from Senator McGovern dated May 24. It was word for word, page after page, identical to the statement of Great Plains Wheat Inc.

Senator McGovern was clearly serving as a mouthpiece for an organization founded to promote foreign and domestic wheat sales.

The 1957 Civil Rights Act was the first civil rights law to be enacted by Congress since the days of reconstruction. McGovern was absent

on the votes leading to passage of this Bill in the House.

In 1959, when the House passed the Rooney Amendment to the Justice Department Appropriations Bill (H.R. 8385) to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for two years and appropriate \$500,000 to it, McGovern was absent—and did not pair.

When the Civil Rights Act of 1960 was up for final House approval, McGovern was absent—and did not pair.

In 1960, McGovern voted against the McDonough Amendment (to the Housing Bill) which would prohibit the Federal National Mortgage Association from purchasing housing where discrimination was involved.

One month later, McGovern voted against the Powell Amendment to the School Construction Bill requiring that facilities built under the Act be open to all students without regard to race, colour, creed, national origin or religion.

On June 15, 1964, Senator McGovern joined 22 other Senators—18 of them from southern and border states, in supporting a last-ditch effort to emasculate the voting rights provisions of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. The McGovern-supported amend-

ment was defeated 62-23.

On May 13, 1968, Senator McGovern joined in supporting punitive legislation that sought to disqualify anyone convicted of participating in a riot from Federal employment for a period of six years. This legislation was a thinly veiled effort to punish blacks who had participated in the disturbances that followed the Martin Luther King assassination.

The Atlanta Constitution of June 7, 1972, reported that McGovern offered two major concessions to the south in meetings at the Democratic governors' conference in Houston.

One was to discourage frivolous challenges to delegations to the national convention. The other was a promise to push for a change in the 1965 Voting Rights Act which requires southern states including Georgia to submit state reapportionment plans to the Justice Department. (Portions of Georgia's 1972 plan were turned down.)

When McGovern's stands on these issues are combined with his votes on minimum wage, youth employment and other economic issues of concern to working people, the result is a record that this 'liberal' is a bitter enemy of the labour movement.



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 7
CONTINUED

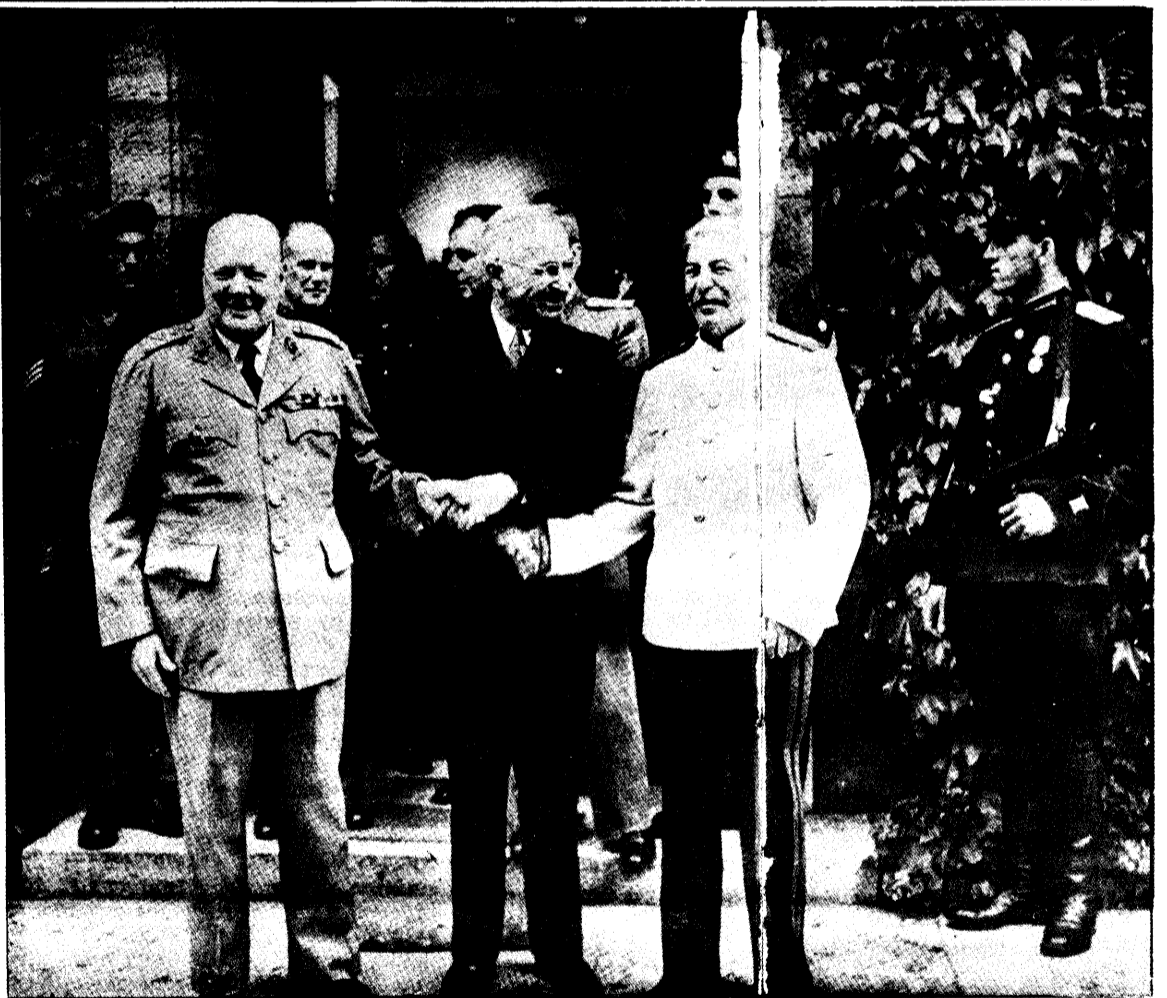
STALIN AND WORLD WAR II

Medvedev deals only briefly with Stalin's post-war policy, which was based, in the first place, on the agreements made with the British and American governments for a division of Europe into spheres of influence made at the conferences of Yalta and Potsdam.

He does not analyse these agreements, though he does deal with some of their effects, notably in France and Greece.

In the former, it was Stalin who imposed the policy of support for General de Gaulle which was carried out by Communist Party secretary Maurice Thorez on his return to France from the Soviet Union, while Palmiro Togliatti called on the Italian CP to support the Badoglio government.

Medvedev's treatment of the French situation in 1944-1945 suffers from his non-revolutionary approach. He thinks that the National Front of the Resistance could have taken power after the liberation of Paris with the Communist



Top: The Yalta, Three Power Conference. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, February 1945. Above: Potsdam. Churchill, Truman and Stalin, July 1945. The Cold War began when the agreements reached at Yalta and Potsdam broke down, because neither Imperialists nor Stalinists were prepared to make concessions

Party in the minority and probably under the presidency of de Gaulle.

He says:

'The whole situation—including the presence of the Anglo-American forces and the rapid revival of bourgeois parties and newspapers and of private industry—made it impossible for the communists to destroy the coalition and rule by themselves.'

In fact the Communist Party played a definite counter-revolutionary role in 1944-1945 in which it set out quite deliberately to re-establish the bourgeois state and permit the discredited and debile French

ruling class to preserve or regain its property. The rapid revival of private industry—and the bourgeois press — was made possible by the policy of the Communist Party. Where the working class went into action, it held it back.

It disarmed the partisan formations which it controlled and amalgamated many of them into the regular army and the police (including later the notorious strike-breaking CRS —Compagnies Republicaines de Sécurité—which in Marseilles was composed at first largely of Communist Party members and supporters) under the slogan 'one army, one police,

one state'—the bourgeois state of the Fourth Republic.

There can be no analysis of the French situation which does not begin from that point. It was not just a question of elections, as Medvedev believes, but whether the working class was to be mobilized or not. The Communist Party enlisted it on behalf of the bourgeoisie and entered the government to safeguard capitalist private property. 'The strike', Thorez cried, 'is an arm of the trusts.'

With all the difference in the Greek situation the role of the Stalinists was the same. Stalin had agreed with Churchill that Greece was in the



Above: Tito and secretary. The first great split in Stalinist camp

imperialist sphere. The Greek communist leaders acted on that basis—to prevent revolution—with the full authority and approval of Stalin, although that meant the bloody suppression of the Greek working class by the British army. That is why Churchill, in the well-known quotations from his memoirs, which Medvedev uses, noted with pleasure the support which his actions received from the Soviet Union.

As Churchill put it: "The Times" and the "Manchester Guardian" pronounced their censures upon what they considered our reactionary policy. Stalin, however, adhered strictly and faithfully to our agreement of October, and during all the long weeks of fighting the communists in the streets of Athens not one word of reproach came from "Pravda" or "Izvestia".

What Medvedev does not adequately bring out is the fact that Stalin carried through this policy of betrayal quite deliberately and coldbloodedly in France, Greece and Italy, just as he had done in Spain during the civil war of 1936-1939.

Nor was this merely Stalin's policy. The pathological character of the purges, the costly mistakes of the war period, the vindictive and inhuman treatment meted out to returned prisoners of war—these, no doubt, were the result of Stalin's particularly perverted mind. And even then we must ask why was he able to carry out these arbitrary acts. What were the social forces which produced and sustained such tyranny?

The enduring agreement with the imperialists

But with foreign policy there is an important difference. It expressed not the whims of Stalin, but the needs of the ruling bureaucracy which he represented and to which he had become indispensable. The bureaucratic caste as a whole stood to lose from the spread of revolution into central and western Europe after 1944. It sought to do a deal with the victors in the imperialist camp on the basis of a territorial division of the continent and the recognition of definite spheres of influence and interest. It was not a policy which was at all interested in seeing the working class conquer power because this would have encouraged the Soviet working class to carry out the political revolution in the USSR.

In China, where Stalin advised the Communist Party to support Chiang Kai-shek, a revolution did take place despite and against this policy. This is an aspect of Stalinism which the Maoists, who continue to worship Stalin, are at a loss to explain. Yet it was no more than the corollary in Asia to the policy which he

was able to impose more successfully on the communist parties of Europe.

Only from this angle can the post-war policy of Stalin be understood either in its first phase, when he hoped to reach an enduring agreement with the imperialists on the lines of Yalta and Potsdam, or in its Cold War phase, when wartime co-operation had broken down.

In Eastern Europe, although Stalin expected that the imperialists would allow him to have his own ring of buffer states in which the influence of the Soviet Union would be predominant, he had no intention, at first, of deposing the existing ruling class or overthrowing capitalist property relations. What was shown in Eastern Europe, as had already been shown in occupied Poland in 1939-1940, was that the bureaucracy could not co-exist with a property-owning ruling class of capitalists and landlords.

The transformation of property relations became inevitable and these countries became bureaucratically-deformed workers' states ruled by a local bureaucratic caste dependent upon the support of the Soviet Union.

Certainly Stalin tried to convert these states into 'an extension of his personal domain', as Medvedev puts it. Contradictions emerged between the interests of the national bureaucracy in each country and those of the Soviet bureaucracy upon which they were modelled and whose basic characteristics they shared. Each ruling bureaucracy began to put down roots and acquire its own national pretensions. Some of its members came into collision with Stalin.

Tito, who had the firmest local base, incurred his wrath most of all and the first great split in the Stalinist camp took place. In the other Peoples' Democracies, the years from 1948 to 1953 witnessed a series of great purges, directed by Stalin and organized under the control of the NKVD, which decimated the leadership, filled the prisons and established a reign of terror.

Stalin's policy towards the national bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries went through a number of zigzags, including some 'left' adventures during the early part of the Cold War. Medvedev, while he is able to point to some criticisms made of the national bourgeoisie during the Stalin period, is surely wrong in maintaining that he was not prepared to support any of the bourgeois leaderships.

Stalin's policy towards the national bourgeoisie, in the early stages of the Cold War, reflected a left adventurist turn which was imposed on the communist parties. This did not mean that Stalin had given up the policy of 'peaceful co-existence' but that he had made a tactical shift, using the communist parties in coun-

tries like Indonesia and India to put pressure on the bourgeoisie as an instrument of Soviet foreign policy.

The implication of Medvedev's position is that the Soviet Union should have pursued a more conciliatory policy not only towards the national bourgeoisie, but also towards the imperialists. He criticizes not 'peaceful co-existence' as a betrayal of revolution, but the alleged abandonment of 'peaceful co-existence' by Stalin, all the time looking at foreign policy from a national point of view.

Medvedev's discussion of Stalin's foreign policy, perhaps more than any other part of his book, brings out the essential weaknesses and contradictions in his position. He has no real alternative to the bureaucracy, he is proposing an alternative for it. He wants it to reform itself, to become more 'liberal'. He loses sight of the integral connection between foreign policy and the internal regime.

Through all the changes which it underwent in Stalin's day, Soviet foreign policy expressed the needs and interests of a privileged, parasitic bureaucracy seeking to preserve its rule by reaching an agreement with world imperialism on the basis of an agreed division of spheres of influence.

The Cold War began when the agreements reached at Yalta and Potsdam broke down because neither the imperialists nor the Stalinist bureaucracy were prepared to make the concessions which would have enabled them to work. This was not a question of policies, but of conflicting social systems, shown most sharply in Germany and extending to the whole of Eastern Europe.

This area could not remain in the Soviet sphere of influence and yet retain the connections with world capitalism which it had previously. The Soviet bureaucracy could not afford to see capitalism restored there, which meant that it would once again become a field for capitalist investment, come inevitably under the domination of the United States and be a springboard for an invasion of the Soviet Union itself.

Yet the moves which Stalin was forced to make enhanced fears in the capitalist world that the Soviet Union intended to spread revolution on the bayonets of the Red Army and sweep into Western Europe.

Stalin had no intention of doing this. He probably didn't have the means, having already betrayed the working class in that area and assisted in the restoration of bourgeois property relations.

The measures taken in Eastern Europe especially the purges and show trials, not only encouraged the western countries, organized from 1949 in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to prepare for war, but they also fed the flames of anti-communism.

We come back, indeed, to the methods of Stalinism which alienated large number of workers and middle-class people who could, after the war, have been won to the side of revolution.

Revulsion against Stalinist methods was strongest in Germany where, before Hitler, the communist movement had had the deepest roots. What Hitler could not destroy, Stalin largely did in the post-war years and it was to be decades before the German working class would once again come onto the political scene.

Medvedev has not told the full story of Stalin's crimes, not least of which was to throw back the European revolution and lead many to identify the cause of communism, which is the liberation of the working class, with its oppression by the bureaucracy.

CONTINUED ON MONDAY

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

PRIMITIVE

Another Communist Party show-biz personality has joined the James Reid hot gospel group.

Jack Dash, once the leading Stalinist in London's dockland, has now taken up painting. His canvasses have a strong religious motive.

'My art is primitive. What skills I have, I have stumbled on myself,' he says.

Dash, who claims to be a materialist, is working on his most important work—a portrait of Christ—the first communist.

'I like good Christians,' he told the 'Sun' newspaper recently. An old friend, the Bishop of Stepney, Trevor Huddleston, is giving Dash his first one-man exhibition at a Surrey church.

Huddleston, you may remember, was a leading crusader in the 'Festival of Light' campaign, which wants to stamp out 'moral decay' and has as one of its leading lights the anti-communist Lady Bird-wood.



Jack Dash

Dash was portrayed smiling angelically in 'The Sun', paint-brushes in hand. The story of peace and love was timed nicely to coincide with the outbreak of the national dock strike.

SOLDIERS

'Old soldiers never die... they simply fade away', says the song. And when the old soldiers are high-ranking officers, there is a noticeable tendency in more than one capitalist country for them to fade quietly, upon retirement, onto the staffs or boards of the companies which supply their forces with aircraft and munitions.

While here in Britain questions are being asked about

the business connections of MPs and about payments made to top civil servants, over in West Germany some interesting facts have been researched on how the military men are spending an active retirement.

As many as 18 generals have been found to be supplementing their pensions, so to speak, by working as lobbyists for armament and aircraft interests.

For example, General Werner Panitzki, recently retired as head of the Luftwaffe, now works as a lobbyist for the aircraft firm Europavia.

Then there is General Schlichting, former deputy head of the Luftwaffe. He used to fly Messerschmidts, both in the Condor Legion, which Hitler sent to Spain, and during World War II. Perhaps he developed a sentimental attachment to the company which made the aircraft, because he now works for the Messerschmidt-Boldkow-Bohm combine.

General Kurt Fischer, a general staff officer in the Nazi Wehrmacht, was, until recently, the commander of the West German anti-aircraft corps.

He is now employed as a lobbyist for the Swiss arms firm Hispano-Suiza. By a coincidence, this firm has the contract for supplying anti-aircraft guns to the West German armed forces.

The former commander of the West German fighter squadrons is General Dietrich Adolf Hrabak. He now helps to sell aero-engines for Daimler-Benz.

To round off our examples, there is General Hellmuth Mader, formerly head of the Bundeswehr Troop Office. During the war, General Mader was commander of the 'Greater Germany' division on the Russian front.

After the war, a Soviet military court sentenced him to 25 years imprisonment for his part in the killing of civilians. However, in 1955 he was repatriated to West Germany and promptly reinstated in the Bundeswehr. General Mader now spends his retirement as the main military lobbyist for the huge 'Rheinmetal' steel combine.

And so the list goes on. Of course, similar lists could undoubtedly be compiled for other capitalist countries. But then, after all, the war business is a highly profitable one, so perhaps it is only natural for the generals to see that they get something out of it, and can look forward to some security in their old age!

BOOKS



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

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

Anti-strike panel

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER
FORMER Communist Party member and mine-workers' union leader Will Paynter is among the dozen union officials, academics and employers who are being invited to staff the 'independent Conciliation and Arbitration Service' set up by the TUC and CBI.



Will Paynter, former NUM chief



Sir Jack Scamp

Paynter was secretary of the National Union of Mine-workers from 1959 to 1968. The pits' labour force was slashed from 658,200 to 391,900 in the same period, without a fight. Almost half the country's pits closed.

It was presumably this record which qualified him for an invitation to join the Commission on Industrial Relations in 1969.

Last year Paynter resigned from the CIR. He did so not directly because of disagreements with the Industrial Relations Act, but because the unions had made clear they would not cooperate with the CIR because of the Act.

Yet along with those of all the other potential conciliators who are being approached, Paynter's name was unanimously approved earlier this week by both the CBI and the TUC.

Also on the list is a founder member of the Labour government's much-despised Prices and Incomes Board, Peter Trench.

Trench is chairman of Lovell Construction, one of the firms currently engaged in fighting Britain's 900,000 building workers over their pay claim. He is ex-director of the National Federation of Building Trades Employers.

The other employers' representative is Paul Bradbury of Imperial Tobacco, who may also

Ex-CPer and troubleshooter invited to join the TUC-CBI Service

be joined by former motor-industry troubleshooter Sir Jack Scamp.

On the union side, John Bonfield, general secretary of the National Graphical Association, yesterday turned down an invitation to join the service in advance of actually receiving it.

In a statement issued from his union's headquarters, Bonfield said: 'Seeing that I have never been consulted either formally or informally about whether I would wish to join such a panel... the CBI-TUC cannot complain, I feel, if I decline their invitation in advance of receiving it.'

'It is, perhaps, only fair to add that I am not in a position to accept such an invitation in any event.'

Other union leaders being approached are: Leslie Williams, Civil Service Whitley Council; Joe King, Textile Workers; Sid Robinson, Footwear Workers; Frieda Bonsor, Civil and Public Services Association.

Bob Wright, of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers executive, may also be involved.



National Graphical Association general secretary John Bonfield turned down a place on the panel even before being formally asked.

'Front' ghost haunts the Tories- Wandsworth councillor

THE TORIES on Wandsworth council who oppose opening a new office for the local community relations council are haunted by 'the ghost of the National Front', says a Labour councillor.

Wandsworth's planning committee has recommended allowing the community council to use an empty house as offices for the Tooting Youth Project—an advice centre.

The Tories have objected because they claim it would mean allowing an office in a residential area and could cause noise and disturbance to residents living nearby.

Tory leader Alderman Dennis Mallam said: 'To start the rot like this would mean that we

would be in a very difficult position on many other applications.'

This brought an accusation from Labour member Mike Williams. 'I think the ghost of the National Front (the ultra-right organization) still haunts the Tory benches,' he said.

'Whenever there is an item dealing with the Council for Community Relations they oppose it. In the past five years these premises have not been conforming to the need they were intended for because they have been vacant.'

Hain to conduct own defence

YOUNG LIBERAL chairman Peter Hain is to conduct his own defence against a private prosecution on conspiracy charges at the Old Bailey.

His decision has been taken after consultations with his counsel and his parents. He assured the judge yesterday that he would not turn the trial into a public meeting.

The prosecution is led by the barrister Francis Bannion on behalf of an organization called 'Freedom Under Law'.

It is concerned with the protests organized against the planned cricket tour of Britain by the all-white South African team.

The judge, Bernard Gillis, said he recognized the sincerity behind Hain's anxiety that he should be free to say what he thinks is right.

But in the summing-up the jury would not be asked to decide about racialism in sport, but about conspiracy charges. He said it would be the same if Hain had devoted himself to some other cause, like the homeless, but had committed trespass in the course of the campaign.

'It would not be the uprightness of the campaign at cause on trial, but the trespass,' said the judge.

Six months for stoning

A SOLDIER in the Irish army who stoned British troops was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in Belfast yesterday.

Patrick Coyle (17) of Dublin, was found guilty of riotous behaviour in Belfast.

The court heard that Coyle had been in crowds on successive days and stoned troops.

Company law is prepared for EEC

A GROUP of Britain's top employers are to launch a government-backed investigation of company law.

The aim will be to suggest new legislation ready for entry into the Common Market.

Trade Minister Michael Noble has appointed six employers to man the Companies Consultative Group whose task will be to advise on the reform of company legislation and other related administrative questions.

They include I. Fraser of Lazard Brothers—the merchant bankers connected with ex-Tory Party chairman Edward Du Cann—H. Holmes of Unilever, the soap and food conglomerate, A. F. Murray of Prudential Assurance, and C. L. Baker, Dunlop Holdings, one of the many companies once served by Reginald Maudling.

Hanged jail officer-no inquiry

THERE WILL be no Home Office inquiry into the death of prison officer Gerald Purton, who was found hanged at his home two weeks ago.

'A full inquiry was carried out by the coroner and the Home Office does not propose to take any action', a spokesman said yesterday.

An inquest decided that Purton of Hatherall Road, Maidstone, Kent, killed himself because of worry over an investigation into alleged brutality by other officers at Maidstone prison, where he was principal officer in the hospital.

But relatives of Purton had called on the Home Office for a full-scale inquiry into his death.

Bowaters profits up again

BOWATER Corporation, the multi-million pound paper and packaging combine, announced better-than-expected first half profits yesterday.

The group, which only last month was forecasting earnings of around £6.8m produced pre-tax profits for the six months of £6,932,000.

In the same period last year the total was only £4,917,000.

Martin Richie, the chairman, has already predicted higher dividends this year—a total of at

least 6p compared with 5p.

He was 'cautiously optimistic' about the outlook for the rest of the trading period but sounded one reservation.

He was worried about the effects of continuing unrest in the industrial relations field and inflation.

'It is essential to the UK economy that our businesses remain competitive with those of other countries. This is particularly true when the UK is about to enter the Common Market,' he said.

Bermondsey custard factory to close

PEARCE DUFF, the custard powder firm, is to close its factory in Bermondsey, South London, adding to the long list of shut-downs in the area costing thousands of jobs.

The 214 workers—70 per cent of them women—were given the news this week by company chairman Hugh Bidwell, who was brought in as managing director two years ago.

Pearce Duff's premises, a five-storey block standing on a quarter-acre site, would be gradually phased out starting next March.

Operations would be transferred to a new factory on a six-acre site at Dunstable, Bedfordshire, by June 1974.

The firm, the third largest in the custard powder market with an annual turnover of about £2m, started at the Bermondsey factory in 1847.

'To put ourselves on an equal footing with our competitors... we have to consolidate our resources and manufacture under one roof,' said Bidwell.

The company is also phasing out operations at their Annan, Dumfriesshire, factory.

On hearing the news, Jim Little, secretary of Bermondsey Trades Council, said he was shocked: 'The closure will be a serious blow to employment prospects in Bermondsey for young people.'

Another factory in the area closed down for good yesterday. About 45 workers have been laid off by United Glass Engineering Ltd in New Cross.

Subscribe! workers press

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

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

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

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:

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

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

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

Or Full subscription (six-days) for months.

NAME

ADDRESS

Amount enclosed £

I would like information about

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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

Name

Address

TODAY'S BBC 1

1.00 Weather. 1.05 Athlete. 1.30 Grandstand: 1.50, 2.20, 2.50, 3.20 Racing from Lingfield; 2.05 Road to Munich; 2.35, 3.05, 3.35 International Athletics; 4.45 Final Score. 5.00 Last of the Mohicans. 6.00 News, weather.

6.15 **GUNSMOKE.** The Wrong Man.

7.00 **FILM: 'THE LOST WORLD'.** Michael Rennie, Claude Rains, Fernando Lamas. An encounter with pre-historic monsters.

8.35 **IT'S LULU.** With Dudley Moore, Roberta Flack and Segment.

9.20 **A MAN CALLED IRON-SIDE.** The Happy Dreams of Hollow Men.

10.10 **NEWS, Weather.**

10.25 **MATCH OF THE DAY.** The Watney Cup Final.

11.25 **PARKINSON.**

12.25 **Weather.**

TV

BBC 2

10.35 Open University. 3.00 Film: 'Lost in a Harem'.

7.10 **WESTMINSTER.**

7.30 **NEWS, Sport and Weather.**

7.45 **ALL IN A DAY.** Series of four films which concentrate on a few hours of intense activity. 1: The Launch.

8.15 **TOP CROWN.** Bowling.

8.35 **CIVILISATION.** 8: The Light of Experience.

9.25 **SOUNDS FOR SATURDAY.** CCS.

10.10 **EMMA.** Part 3.

10.55 **FILM NIGHT.** Marlon Brando.

11.25 **NEWS, Weather.**

11.30 **MIDNIGHT MOVIE: 'FEAR STRIKES OUT'.** Anthony Perkins, Karl Malden. Father's attempt to compensate for his own failure by forcing his son to become a successful baseball player: a study of schizophrenia.

ITV

10.50 Primus. 11.15 Sesame Street. 12.15 Jackson Five. 12.45 News. 12.50 World of Sport: 1.30, 2.00, 2.30 Racing from Newmarket; 1.45, 2.15, 2.50 Racing from Redcar; 3.00 International Athletics and Speedway; 3.55 Results, Scores, News; 4.00 Wrestling; 4.55 Results Service. 5.10 News. 5.15 In for a Penny. 5.45 Sez Les.

6.30 **SALE OF THE CENTURY.**

7.00 **FILM: 'THE ROOKIES'.** Darren McGavin. An unusual group of police recruits and their wives.

8.20 **POLICE FIVE.**

8.30 **SATURDAY VARIETY.** Buddy Greco, Lionel Blair.

9.30 **VILLAINS.** Commander.

10.30 **NEWS.**

10.40 **AQUARIUS.** Alfred Hitchcock and Humphrey Burton.

11.40 **PRIVATE VIEWS.** Harriet Crawley talks with Clive Jenkins.

12.20 **THE BISHOPS.**

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 12.45 London. 5.10 News. 5.15 Who do you do? 5.45 Sale. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Colombo'. 8.25 Cartoons. 8.30 London. 11.40 Weather.

HARLECH: 11.15 Sesame Street. 12.15 Farming diary. 12.45 London. 5.15 Please sir. 5.45 Sale of the century. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'McCloud'. 8.30 London. 11.40 Prisoner. 12.40 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 5.45-6.15 Sion a sian.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12.10 Horoscope. 12.15 Captain Scarlet. 12.45 London. 5.15 It takes a thief. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Port Afrique'. 8.30 London. 10.40 Short story. 11.10 Name of the game. 12.35 Stories worth telling. Weather.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00 Yesterdays. 11.25 Make a wish. 11.50 Woobinda. 12.15 Lidsville. 12.45 London. 5.10 News. 5.15 Primus. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Colombo'. 8.25 Cartoons. 8.30 London. 10.40 Prizewinners. 11.30 Journey to the unknown. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 Sesame street. 12.00 Mad movies. 12.30 Cartoon time. 12.45 London. 5.15 Primus. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.10 News. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Hollywood Story'. 8.25 London. 11.40 Strange report.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 11.50 Make a wish. 12.15 Lidsville. 12.40 Gus Honeybun. 11.40 Faith for life. 11.45 Weather.

SCOTTISH: 11.15 Yesterdays. 11.45 Thunderbirds. 12.42 Weather. 12.45 London. 5.10 News. 5.15 Avengers. 6.15 Please sir. 6.45 Comedians. 7.15 McMillan and wife. 8.30 London. 11.40 News. 11.50 Frighteners. 12.20 Weather. Guideline.

ANGLIA: 10.55 Yesterdays. 11.25 Tarzan. 12.45 London. 5.10 News. 5.15 Primus. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Elopement'. 8.30 London. 11.40 Jason King. 12.35 At the end of the day.

ULSTER: 12.15 Skippy. 12.45 London. 5.10 News. 5.15 Primus. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Last of the Buccaneers'. 8.25 Summer results. 8.30 London. 11.40 Frighteners.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 Yesterdays. 11.25 Bush boy. 11.50 Joe 90. 12.15 Dave Cash. 12.45 London. 5.10 News. 5.15 Primus. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Colombo'. 8.25 Cartoon. 8.30 London. 11.40 Journey to the unknown. 12.35 Pastorale.

SCOTTISH: 11.25 Casebook. 11.50 Arthur. 12.10 Horoscope. 12.20 Primus. 12.45 London. 5.10 News. 5.15 In for a penny. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Destination Gobi'. 8.30 London. 11.40 Late call. 11.45 O'Hara.

GRAMPIAN: 12.25 Beagan Gaidhlig. 12.45 London. 5.10 News. 5.15 Batman. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Colombo'. 8.20 Cartoon time. 8.30 London.



New-style Gilbert O'Sullivan guest on 'Sez Les' on independent channels tonight



Marlon Brando as Vito Corleone, 'The Godfather' of a New York Mafia 'Family', can be seen in excerpts from new films on BBC 2's 'Film Night' tonight.

SUNDAY BBC 1

9.00 Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan. 10.20 Gwansanaeth Unedig. 11.00 Seeing and Believing. 1.15 Farm Forum. 1.40 Steam Horse. 2.05 Made in Britain. 2.15 The Pennine Way. 3.05 Young Idea. 3.30 Countryman. 3.55 Film: 'Lill'. 5.15 Onedin Line. 6.05 News, weather.

6.15 **ALL IN A DAY'S WORK.** Doctors.

6.50 **PRAISE THE LORD.**

7.25 **JACK JONES.** With Johnny Harris and his Orchestra and Segment.

8.00 **FILM: 'THE FOUR HORSEMEN OF THE APOCALYPSE'.** Glenn Ford, Ingrid Thulin, Charles Boyer. Two branches of large Argentinian family on opposite sides during the German occupation of Paris.

10.25 **NEWS, Weather.**

10.35 **OMNIBUS AT THE PROMS.** Brahms.

11.25 **INTERNATIONAL GOLF.** Gene Littler (US) v Gary Player (South Africa) at Sunningdale.

12.15 **Weather.**

TV

BBC 2

9.35 Open University. 1.50 Cricket. 7.00 News Review.

7.25 **A SOUND OF DOLPHINS.** Jacques Cousteau and his divers.

8.10 **SCOTT ON FOOD.**

8.55 **MUSIC ON 2.** Pianist Andre Watts plays works by Bernstein, Schubert and Liszt.

9.50 **THE ROADS TO FREEDOM.** The Reprieve.

10.35 **FOR THE NATION.** Clendon Park.

10.50 **WORLD CHESS CHAMPIONSHIP.**

11.15 **NEWS, Weather.**

11.25 **ONE MAN'S WEEK.** Alan Bennett.

ITV

11.00 Service. 12.00 Country Calendar. 12.20 Yesterdays. 12.45 Catweazle. 1.15 Stingray. 1.45 Odd Couple. 2.15 Big Match. 3.15 Film: 'Fools Rush In'. 4.40 Golden Shot. 5.35 Follyfoot. 6.05 News.

6.15 **CLASS OF '72.**

7.00 **SONGS THAT MATTER.**

7.25 **DOCTOR IN CHARGE.** Amazing Grace.

7.55 **FILM: 'A GUIDE FOR THE MARRIED MAN'.** Walter Matthau, Robert Morse, Inger Stevens. Comedy about married man whose thoughts have begun to stray to other women.

9.30 **WHO DO YOU DO?**

10.00 **NEWS.**

10.15 **PLAY: 'A BIT OF VISION'.** Drama at a ramshackle farm.

11.20 **ELEVEN PLUS.**

12.05 **THE BISHOPS.**

REGIONAL TV

HARLECH: 11.00-12.05 London. 2.00 Journey of a lifetime. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Film: 'Zoo Baby'. 4.20 Arthur. 4.40 Film continued. 5.35 Folly foot. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Captive City'. 9.30 Who do you do? 10.00 London. 11.20 Avengers. 12.20 Weather.

HTV Wales as above except: 12.05 Dan sylw. 12.45 Nabod y gair. 1.15 The other half.

HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus: 5.35-6.05 Nabod y gair.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00-12.05 London. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Sport. 3.15 Film: 'A Matter of Who'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'Hud'. 10.00 London. 11.20 Spyforce. Weather.

YORKSHIRE: 10.45 Talking hands. 11.00 Service. 12.05 Craftmen. 12.30 Songs. 12.55 Farming. 1.25 Cook book. 1.55 Survival. 2.20 Bowling. 3.15 Film: 'Five Golden Hours'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'Goodbye Charlie'. 10.00 London. 11.20 Strange report. 12.15 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 London. 12.30 Children to children. 12.55 Living architects. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.50 Rocket Robin Hood. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Film: 'The Merry Monahans'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Letter'. 9.40 Minstrel days. 10.00 London. 11.15 Out front.

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 Big match. 3.15 Film: 'The Little Red Monkey'. 4.35 News. 4.40 Lon-

don. 6.15 Faces of power. 7.00 London. 7.55 Film: 'The VIPs'. 10.00 London. 11.20 Sez Les. 12.05 Weather. Guideline.

ANGLIA: 11.00 Service. 1.20 Remember. 1.50 Weather. 1.55 Farming. 2.30 Film: 'Another Shore'. 3.55 Colchester tattoo. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'Scandal at Scourie'. 9.30 In for a penny. 10.00 London. 11.20 Saint. 12.15 Reflection.

ULSTER: 1.45 Survival. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Film: 'Tarzan and the She-Devil'. 4.40 London. 7.53 Sports results. 7.55 Film: 'The VIPs'. 10.00 London. 11.20 Saint.

TYNE TEES: 10.45 Talking hands. 11.00 Service. 12.05 Something to sing about. 12.30 Western civilization. 12.55 Farming. 1.25 Rugby. 1.55 Out of town. 2.15 Jobs. 2.20 Bowling. 3.15 Film: 'Five Golden Hours'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'Five Finger Exercise'. 10.00 London. 11.20 Strange report. 12.15 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 1.20 Out of town. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 Yesterdays. 2.15 Plot to murder Hitler. 3.15 Film: 'The Secret'. 4.40 London. 6.15 Faces of power. 7.00 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Prodigal'. 10.00 London. 11.20 Late call. 11.25 Songs remembered.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00 Service. 12.55 Cook book. 1.25 Yesterdays. 1.55 Farm progress. 2.25 Film: 'Your Witness'. 3.55 Place of her own. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Young Lawyers'. 9.30 Short story. 10.00 London. 11.25 Untouchables.

Stalinists praise Marathon pact which threatens bonus

Clyde agreement 'outlaws' strikes

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

SHOP STEWARDS and union officials have agreed to a four-year deal at the Clydebank shipyard which virtually outlaws strikes and establishes procedures for settling disputes by binding arbitration.

The deal, signed yesterday by 13 unions, was also accepted by 2,000 Clydebank workers after a recommendation from the leading Stalinist shop steward James Reid.

After the meeting Reid said: 'It is a good agreement. . . . No one in their right senses wants a strike for the sake of a strike.'

Yesterday's moves mean the Texan oil-rig builders Marathon Manufacturing are finally launched on the Clyde. But they also signal the end of further resistance against redundancies and management strike-breaking.

ON STRIKES the unions have agreed to machinery to settle disputes by arbitration. This must be mutually agreed but the arbitrator's findings will be binding on workers and management.

The bonus system can be used against any unofficial disputes. Workers will lose their 10 per cent bonus paid every six months if they have more than 140 hours off work during the period without a legitimate excuse.

One Clydeside union official admitted yesterday that it could be used by management against unofficial strikes.

'It may be seen as a deterrent to stop workers breaking from national procedure,' he said.

ON JOBS there are no guarantees for Clydebank's 2,000 labour force. About a thousand of them face the dole at the end of September. Marathon will take on 150 workers immediately and hope to employ 500 within two months.

This means another pledge to the labour force has been broken.

Stewards said they would only accept proposals which 'cumulatively' cover the four divisions of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders and all the men in them.

Now Marathon can pick and choose who to employ. At the end of September, 450 Clydebank men will leave the yard to complete work on two vessels for the UCS liquidator at the Govan yard.

They are likely to lose their jobs as this work finishes.

Another 500 men will work for Marathon, but this means an immediate jobs crisis for the thousand Clydebank workers. They must go on the dole sustained only by the vague

promise of future employment at Marathon.

The unions and stewards were stampeded into agreement after Marathon warned that any more delay would mean an end of their Clydebank project.

Marathon will undoubtedly use this threat against any group of workers who resist their plans in the future. But it is the Stalinists on the stewards' co-ordinating committee who have given them the whip hand.

The 'work-in' technique they devised was designed to reach this end. It meant confrontation with the government could be avoided for months and months while jobs and conditions were traded in a bid to get private employers to buy the yards.

This eventually led to the splitting up of the UCS labour force between Marathon and Govan Shipbuilders.

But more important it meant that the fight to save jobs was gradually lost.

Over 2,000 workers have already left the yards and they may be followed by up to 1,000 more — this out of a total labour force of 8,500 employed last June when

the consortium went into liquidation.

This result has been dubbed in Stalinist circles as a 'victory'. In fact the redundancies are about the amount envisaged in secret plans drawn up by the Tories to destroy UCS and sell its assets off to whoever wanted them.

This betrayal had the effect of diverting a mass movement building up around UCS in the early days. It could have been directed against forcing the Tory government to resign. Instead it was kept in safe reformist channels.

Meanwhile a total of 32,000 redundancies occurred in Scotland during the first seven months of the 'work-in'.

The Stalinists' political role even gained praise from the UCS liquidator Robert C. Smith.

He reveals that at its high last October, only 390 men were involved in the work-in, and the total slumped to 177, despite more redundancies.

He pays tribute to the 'restraint' of the co-ordinating committee.

In his report to the UCS creditors issued on Thursday he writes:

'It is greatly to the credit of



Stalinist stewards James Airlie and James Reid with boilermakers' leader Dan McGarvey—who has yet to sign the deal—during negotiations on the work-in

the leadership of the shop stewards' co-ordinating committee that, one or two isolated short-lived and regretted incidents apart, they have exercised the potential for negative control with considerable restraint and have been ready to see that the practical needs of the situation demanded the co-operation of all the interested parties.'

Workers must realize the lesson of the UCS struggle and see clearly the hand of Stalinism. The Communist Party will always combine with the trade union bureaucracy to sell jobs and conditions to avoid the ultimate political struggle to remove Toryism, which is the only way workers can defend their rights.

Toy takeover

LESNEY, the 'Matchbox' toys firm yesterday clinched a £1.2m European takeover deal. The group is buying out the West German Edor firm which already acts as the sole distributor of Lesney products in Germany. Lesney says the deal will enable it to consolidate its share of the German toy market by direct participation.

Laissez faire attitude towards companies —claim

OFFICIALS of the Department of Trade and Industry are just not up to investigating companies which allegedly fleece the public out of millions every year, according to stock-broker Martin Moir.

He told a press conference yesterday that he supplied notes for Arthur Lewis, the Labour MP who attacked the Department in the Commons on Thursday.

He said that in many cases company law was ignored in Britain. There was virtually no use of power and no use of prosecution against companies which broke the law.

He accused the Department of 'a sort of 19th century *laissez faire* attitude', which assumed that if companies published things they were all right.

But some companies, as had been shown, did not even bother to publish.

'It is a great danger in our society for civil servants to do nothing when it is obviously their duty to do something.'

They gave the impression by their existence that there was some protection for the investor and shareholder, when in fact there was none.

Backed by details of his own attempts to induce the Department to take up particular cases, Moir's remarks should provide much food for thought among the Tory 'law and order' brigade in the City of London. (See What We Think p.2.)

Poulson application explained

ATTORNEY-GENERAL Sir Peter Rawlinson yesterday explained in a Commons written reply why counsel appearing for him had applied for an adjournment of the bankruptcy proceedings involving John Poulson at Wakefield.

He said: 'I instructed counsel to appear for me in support of the application for an adjournment because I wished to seek to ensure that nothing should be said or done in the bankruptcy proceedings which might prejudice any possible prosecution resulting from the current police investigations into the affairs of Mr John Poulson.'

'I was not acting on behalf of the government, but in pursuance of my constitutional responsibility for the fair administration of the criminal law.'

LATE NEWS

WEATHER

NORTHERN and eastern Scotland and north-east England will start cloudy with rain at times but it will become brighter later in the day.

The Midlands, East Anglia and south-east England will be mainly dry with sunny periods but there may be some scattered showers later.

South-west Scotland, Northern Ireland, Wales and western districts of England will be rather cloudy with occasional showers but also sunny intervals.

Temperatures will be near the seasonal normal.

Outlook for Sunday and Monday: Changeable with rain at times. Temperatures near normal.

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.

AUGUST FUND UP TO £198.48

KEEP IT UP. Not a day must go by this month where our Fund does not leap ahead. We need this great effort to raise our target of £1,750 before the end of the month.

It is more vital now to raise this money than ever before. With the dockers' strike and the emergency powers, the political situation has never been more sharp. We urge you not to hesitate. Let's have a great campaign for our August Fund. Raise all you can and post off every donation immediately to:

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

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

PUBLIC MEETING

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE
LONDON, WC1.

Thursday August 10, 7.30 p.m.

END THE TUC TALKS WITH HEATH

VICTORY TO THE DOCKERS

NATIONALIZE DOCKS AND TRANSPORT INDUSTRIES

MAKE THE TORIES RESIGN

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