

TUC-TORY TALKS COVER UP FOR TWO-FACED TREACHERY

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

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They set up committees to stop strikes and hold back wage increases under the guise of helping the lower paid. These will go into action this autumn.

This detailed plan for class collaboration was drawn up as the deadline for using troops on the docks drew nearer. Elsewhere in Whitehall Tories and civil servants finalized plans to enact the Emergency Powers and smash the dockers after demands from the business and farming community.

These moves make the issue involved in the dock strike quite clear. The government is preparing to put dockers down by force if necessary — with the active assistance of the trade union leadership.

Look at the facts.

Dockers in Liverpool and Aberdeen who volunteered for emergency work were led to believe they would get Social Security if their wages went to charity. This has been the practice in the ports in the past.

But after a ministerial directive from London, local Social Security officers withdrew this right.

This was a provocation. The government must have known that dockers would refuse to move vital supplies after such treatment. But the government did not care. Its action is designed to produce the emergency necessary to use troops.

But how does the TUC react to these ominous signs? Its leaders continue their crawling collaboration with the Tories and doggedly refuse to mobilize the movement behind the dock workers.

This is calculated, active betrayal of the working class.

Jack Jones in particular stands condemned for his actions. He is the leader of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Most of his members on the docks stare a Tory offensive in the face. But Jones spends most of his time closeted with port employers and most of his energy looking for ways to get the strike called off.

He would have been at No. 10 last night but for the fact that his schedule demanded a further meeting with the Tory boss of London docks Lord Aldington.

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TURN TO PAGE 12



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In other cases the Ministry has refused to pay benefit to single men in extreme hardship. One, a diabetic, has been thrown out of his lodgings and has nowhere to live.

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action of the social security in denying these lads payment only demonstrates their Gestapo-like attitude.'

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Their action, said Mr McGuire, has been an entirely spontaneous one made by men normally called anarchists.

At the other flash-point, Aberdeen, men have refused to load supplies for the northern isles after being penalized at the Social Security.

They, too, donated all their earnings to a local kidney machine charity.

Poulson paid for G&MWU official's Portugal holiday

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

BANKRUPT Yorkshire architect John Poulson paid for a holiday in Portugal taken by Andrew Cunningham, the North East regional officer of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, and his wife. And he also employed Mrs Cunningham, a schoolteacher, in his Newcastle office in 1969-1970.

The relationship between Poulson and the trade union official was revealed in the Wakefield Bankruptcy Court yesterday on the fourth day of Poulson's public examination.

During the course of the hearing Poulson also answered questions about payment of a salary to the former Home Secretary, Reginald Maudling, and other fees to civil servants and acquaintances.

He agreed that he had paid for two cruises for Mr George Pottinger, a high-ranking civil servant in the Scottish Office, and his family. He went on one of the cruises with them.

Mr Muir Hunter, QC, for the trustees, asked Poulson about Mrs May Cunningham, of Chester-le-Street, Co Durham, who was employed by Open Systems Building Limited from October 1969 to January 1970.

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TURN TO PAGE 12



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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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'Intervene in Prague trials' appeal by oppositionists, but



Davis snubs Czechs

By John Spencer

ANGELA DAVIS has ignored appeals from inside and outside Czechoslovakia to help the victims of the Stalinist purge trials. According to 'The Sunday Times', she 'reportedly considers any East European communist who does not praise Mr Brezhnev (and presumably his aide, Dr Husak) a traitor to the socialist cause'.

When she was acquitted of frame-up murder, kidnapping and conspiracy charges in California, Miss Davis said: 'I am sure the people who struggled for me across the country and around the world are aware that it [the acquittal] is a symbol that we are going to free all political prisoners and the oppressed'.

When the current wave of trials began in Czechoslovakia last month, the 'Citizens Freedom Movement', an underground opposition group, smuggled a letter out of the country asking for her aid. It asked Miss Davis to use her authority with the present rulers of Czechoslovakia to allow her to attend the trials. It said: 'Your victory against a seemingly all-powerful, arrogant bureaucratic machine... is a source of inspiration to us in our struggle.'

It went on: 'Unlike you, the [Prague] defendants

cannot hope for moral or material support from their countrymen because any public expression of sympathy would automatically result in police measures against such sympathizers'.

At the same time, Jiri Pelikan the former head of Czechoslovak television now living in exile in Rome, also appealed in an open letter asking Miss Davis to demand the release of political prisoners everywhere, including Czechoslovakia and the USSR.

These appeals have not been answered, either by Miss Davis herself or by the US Communist Party to which she belongs. The party paper 'Daily World' has carried no report either of Miss Davis' response to these appeals or of the trials themselves.

She made no statement even when her own defence lawyer, Ernest Graves, was refused entry to the Prague trials. He went to Czechoslovakia in a private capacity without her blessing following the publication of the open letters.

Vasil Bilak, the Kremlin's most servile supporter on the Czechoslovak CP presidium, accused Graves and other western opponents of the trials of trying to divert attention from 'the big crimes committed against humanity' such as genocide in Vietnam.

This, Graves said, was a typical evasion tactic. 'Obviously this man is endeavouring to avoid answering the charges of illegality of his own trial by irrelevant cross-accusations'. Graves' statement was only too well-founded.

The trials, held in semi-secret conditions with the public excluded, resulted in verdicts of guilty against all the accused.

They were all opponents of the Warsaw Pact occupation of Czechoslovakia. Many of them had held prominent positions in the Czechoslovak Communist Party under Alexandr Dubcek.

Milan Huebl, the former head of the party college and a member of the Central Committee purged after the invasion, was sentenced to 6½ years' in jail for having circulated a leaflet reminding voters of their right to strike names off the ballot papers in last November's presidential election.

Muffled protest

Thirty other defendants were given lesser prison terms for similar 'offences'. The trials provoked muffled protests even from the ultra-Stalinist French Communist Party and the British CP leaders.

Angela Davis was acquitted in California after a world-wide campaign. She claims to stand as a symbol for the freedom of all political prisoners and the oppressed. Yet she condones the blatant frame-up of communists in Czechoslovakia so as not to disturb her relations with the Kremlin leaders.

During Nixon's visit to Moscow in May, Brezhnev and Kosygin are believed to have raised with him the question of Angela Davis' release. Was her servile support for their repression in Eastern Europe the price of her freedom?

Davis is now about to undertake a tour of the Soviet Union where she will no doubt be feted by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Her cowardly refusal to speak out against the persecution of her own comrades in Prague makes an eminently suitable guest for these heirs of Joseph Stalin.

What we think

ON THEIR KNEES BEFORE WHITELAW

THE DECISION of the Social Democratic and Labour Party leaders on Sunday to postpone their talks with Ulster supremo William Whitelaw should fool nobody. These political traitors have as much independence of Whitehall as a flea in Whitelaw's hip pocket.

If they erred in the timing of the talks, it was only because they thought that once the barricades in the 'no-go' areas were demolished by the massive weight of British armour, the Catholic workers would permit them to freely perpetrate another political swindle.

But treachery has its own reward. The nationalist and republican rank and file, although abandoned by their leadership, demonstrated in thousands against the presence of the hated British army and the equally hateful policy of internment.

At Casement Park, after a fierce engagement with Whitelaw's armed minions and the burning of a Saracen armoured car, thousands of youth and workers vowed to repudiate 'any politician who dares to talk to Whitelaw so long as one man is interned and so long as the British army occupies our areas'.

Although guns were not employed against the army, Whitelaw and the SDLP leaders were left in no doubt about the intransigent opposition to British imperialism among Catholic workers and their families. They have no trust in a negotiated 'settlement' of the Ulster problem.

These sentiments run counter to the wheeling and dealing of the SDLP leaders who, therefore, temporarily postponed the talks with Whitelaw in favour of more talks with Whitelaw's representatives.

Utilizing the political bankruptcy of the Provisional and Official IRA leaders, the latter of which are believed to be negotiating with their erstwhile enemies in the Ulster Defence Association, the SDLP leaders have, predictably, come up with a number of preconditions which, they hope, will give them the necessary cover to resume talks. Among these are the release of internees, reduced military presence in the Catholic ghetto and the disarming of the Protestant loyalists.

Whitelaw has already anticipated these manoeuvres by proclaiming his own plan to

clamp down on gun clubs and to outlaw the wearing of paramilitary uniforms by civilians. He obviously does not want an armed militia which is stronger than the army which is his main and most reliable weapon.

UDA men who paraded in Belfast on Friday, for example, have been reported to the Director of Public Prosecutions and summonses under the section of the Public Order Amendment Act (1970) are deemed likely.

Having broken the back of the IRA's military resistance Whitelaw now feels free to curb the UDA. As 'The Sunday Times' stated: 'Mr Whitelaw's plans will provoke a howl of protest from extreme loyalists, but he has already resolved to face the inevitable confrontation, even if it means the use of force.'

All the SDLP leaders want is a gesture from Whitelaw against the UDA and possibly the freeing of a few more internees and they will resume their 'talks'.

John Hume, SDLP member for Foyle, summed up the policy of this treacherous group when he told the press that he was prepared to settle for 'some short-term assurances to balance what the army has done in the Catholic areas this week'.

Predictably too, the SDLP leaders have remained silent on the feverish attempts of the Lynch regime to quell the IRA and, particularly the statement of Justice Minister Desmond O'Malley that his government would 'obliterate the IRA from Irish society and crush the guerrillas'. As a result of these measures, IRA men who fled to the south are now being forced to filter back to the north.

In this situation the silence of people like Bernadette Devlin and Frank McManus, who refuse to call for a campaign to force the Tories to resign, who fail to denounce the SDLP and who ignore the common interests of British and Irish workers in a joint struggle to evict British imperialism from Ulster, reveals the thoroughly reactionary nature of centrist middle-of-the-road politics.

The task of creating a revolutionary leadership independent of and in opposition to all these reformist forces has become unpostponably urgent.

AROUND THE WORLD

EEC trade deal aids Portuguese atrocities

A PREFERENTIAL trade agreement giving substantial concessions to the reactionary Caetano dictatorship has been concluded between Portugal and the Common Market.

After the first stage of talks last December the Portuguese requested fundamental changes in the EEC proposals to improve terms for items such as farm produce and textiles competing directly with EEC products.

Not only were these concessions made in the second stage of negotiations, but the Common Market allowed Portugal to keep tariff barriers for certain products to protect new industries.

Portugal was thus allowed to reap the benefit of free trade in regard to exports and at the same time protect itself against any threat free trade might pose to domestic industry.

No government either from the EEC or the four candidate countries which are present as observers at the negotiations, raised any political objection. The Tory government's attitude was entirely favourable.

With this agreement, the Common Market is aiding the Portuguese dictatorship to finance its brutal colonial wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.

Britain, West Germany, Italy, France and the other NATO states within the Common Market have long aided and financed these wars.

Under the new agreement these same capitalists will be able to step up their investment in Portugal's African colonies, intensifying the exploitation of the African workers and peasants and strengthening the dictatorship against the working class at home.

THE ATROCIOUS character of Portuguese rule in Mozambique is underlined by a report smuggled out of the colony by a

missionary priest Father Luis Alfonso da Costa, who gives details of 92 people killed by Portuguese troops between May 1971 and March 20 of this year.

On the last date, he says, the DGS security police tortured and killed a 68-year-old man in the village of Chimandbue and the military killed a married couple, later burning the bodies.

He has heard of a case of a woman being forced by soldiers to eat the flesh of her slain child, but did not include it in his report because he was unable to verify the story.

He describes in detail the forms of torture used by the Portuguese.

Apart from prolonged physical torture during interrogation, castration and mutilation are common in the prisons, he says. He also describes how the Portuguese forces have set up concentration camps called 'aldeamentos' in Tete province.

Soon, he says, all Africans will be enclosed in them with about 250 people to a camp. Permission to leave the camps can be obtained in theory, but it is not easy in practice.

The Portuguese troops, he says, also take hostages from the camps ten or 20 at a time and torture them as a reprisal for guerrilla activity by the Frelimo liberation front.

The priest also attacks his superiors, the Bishop of Joao Belo and the Archbishop of Lourenço Marques, who support the government and have refused to condemn the atrocities.

'We can't afford another revaluation'

JAPANESE premier Kakuei Tanaka said yesterday that though Japan had a favourable international balance of payments worth over £6,000m a year the country could not afford another yen revaluation.

Tanaka said the size of the yen surplus had led to suggestions that another yen revaluation was inevitable, then he added: 'But

Japan cannot afford another revaluation that would be a crushing blow to medium and small enterprises.'

Japan is likely to come under heavy American pressure for a further yen revaluation at the Group of Ten meeting in Washington at the end of next month. The prospect has already caused convulsions on the Tokyo stock exchange.

Last December, the yen was revalued by over 16 per cent as a result of US pressure.

Tupamaros deputy?

A MEMBER of the Uruguayan Congress has been stripped of his parliamentary immunity and a warrant issued for his arrest on charges of belonging to the Tupamaros urban guerrilla movement. The deputy, Washington Leonel Ferrer, went into hiding.

JVP trial adjourned

THE TRIAL in Colombo, Sri Lanka, of 41 students and young unemployed workers accused of plotting the abortive uprising in April last year was adjourned for three days yesterday owing to the illness of one of the five commissioners.

Youths demand right to organize

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

ABOUT 70 young workers are on strike at Campari Ltd, Cricklewood Trading Estate, which warehouses leisurewear and camping equipment.

Most of them are in their teens or early 20s. Although none of them are actually members of a union yet, they are demanding the right to organize.

Discontent with pay, conditions and hours of work burst into action last Friday when two young men were sacked.

Jim Hennessy was fired for having omitted to sign the back of a packing note, something which the strikers allege often happens where there is a rush of work.

Frank Angear was dismissed within five minutes. He was told he had spent half an hour in the toilet. Frank insists he was only off the job for ten minutes and there were others in the toilet with him at the same time against whom no action was taken.

The other workers are convinced that the real reason for the dismissals is that Jim and Frank were trying to organize the whole firm into the Transport and General Workers' Union.

'When they found out we were giving out T&GWU leaflets', said Jim, 'one controller stood watching me for about three hours waiting for me to make a mistake. When I did I was immediately called into the office and sacked.'

When the others heard what had happened, about 90 per cent of the office and warehouse staff walked out.

They immediately phoned the T&GWU office and were told that an organizer would attend this morning to see what could be done.

The strikers are insisting on three basic conditions before they will consider a return to work: the immediate unconditional reinstatement of Jim and Frank; no victimization of any workers who struck in their support; and the right to organize in the union of their choice.

At 8.15 yesterday, the managing director told them that the chairman had agreed to reinstate Jim and Frank on a paid holiday basis pending negotiations. This offer was unanimously rejected. The workers want their three basic conditions, and they want them agreed in writing.

When this has been achieved and the company has been unionized, they expect the union to take up their other grievances.

In the meantime, they are organizing pickets on all the gates leading to the Trading Estate. Several lorries have already turned away.

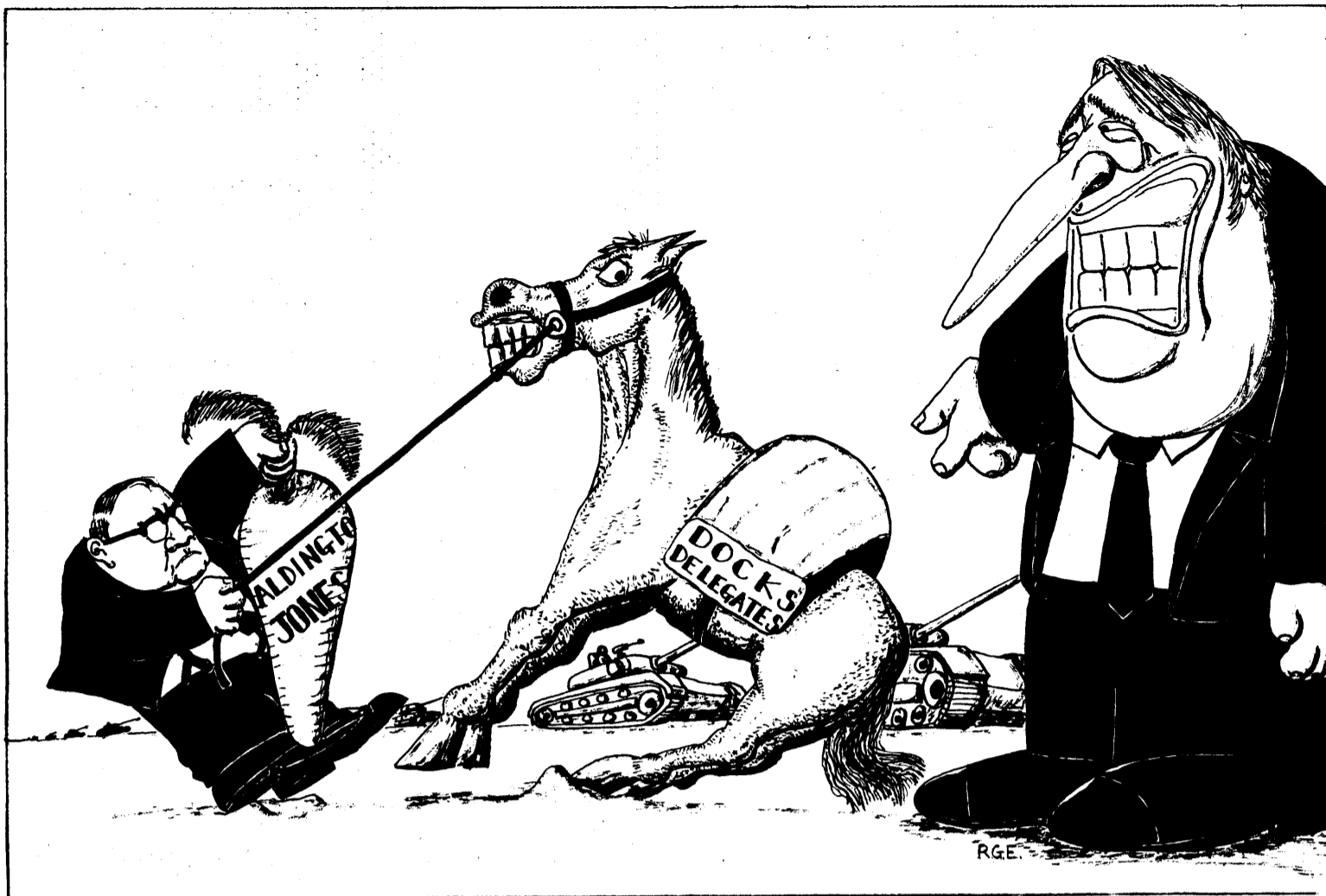
The youth are waiting to see what the union organizer will do. They are determined that no negotiations will go on behind their backs. They have elected a strike committee.

'When the organizer goes in to the management,' Frank said firmly, 'we're going with him.'

Shortly after Friday's walk-out there was a bomb-scare at Campari's. Several police cars arrived. Apparently it had been reported that 'a girl with an Irish accent' had phoned the company saying a bomb had been planted to go off on Monday. The police said they were going to search the place and were looking for a 'brown paper parcel'.

'Many of us have Irish accents,' commented one picket, 'and the warehouse is full of brown paper parcels. It would take them days to go through them all.'

In fact, the police only stayed a short time and by early yesterday morning had not returned.



There's the carrot and here comes the stick!

Sandwich students

BY IAN YEATS

THOUSANDS of students in Britain's universities are forced to live on sandwiches and take exhausting part-time jobs because of the erosion of grants by inflation.

And the crisis will get worse in October when, according to a National Union of Students' survey, undergraduates at 80 per cent of univer-

University rent strikes planned as rises knock grants

sities will face massive rises in halls of residence fees.

Already ten student unions plan rent strikes at the beginning of next term and NUS President Digby Jacks told a London press conference yesterday he expected the strikes to

spread to almost all universities.

£240 of the total student grant of £445 is set aside for rent, but rises in hall fees will mean that 78 per cent of students living-in will face extra charges which must be taken from their food, clothes and book allocation.

At Birmingham, Keele, Bristol and Manchester students will pay up to £317 a year—£77 more than the rent element included in their grants.

Although this rose by 3.5 per cent last year, hall fees went up by 6 per cent and even heavier increases are expected in 1972-1973.

Despite pleas from all vice-Chancellors, the Tory government has refused to increase grants further.

Jacks told reporters the NUS hoped the autumn rent strikes would encourage universities to hold down increases, but he warned that the NUS conference could recommend all-out action for higher grants if the situation did not improve.

He added that the plight

of thousands of students was far worse than even their survey showed.

Many of them, he said, never received their parents' contributions to university grants and others at colleges of further education lived from hand to mouth on discretionary awards.

Mel Ingham, a 30-year-old ex-lorry driver studying German at the University of Surrey, Guildford, where a rent strike is planned for October, said that students needed a minimum of £1 per day for food but many had

only £3 a week left after rent.

He said: 'We have cases where students are forced to live on sandwiches and on top of their studies help out in local coffee bars to get extra money.'

'We have been caught up completely by inflation. Food has gone up and the price of imported textbooks has risen by 25 per cent after the floating of the £.'

Mr Ingham claimed that factory closures and unemployment made it impossible for many students to supplement their grants with holiday jobs.

Nearly 40 per cent of undergraduates live-in and Jacks said the NUS would be pressing the government again to change its mind about raising grants.

Lucas men winning support

LUCAS WORKERS on strike at the company's Burnley plant are calling for sympathy action from other parts of the multi-million pound Lucas empire. The 1,700 strikers have already won support from the Lucas Aerospace Combined Shop Stewards' Committee, which represents 14,000 staff and manual workers throughout the country.

The three-week-old strike at Burnley—made official by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and the Sheet Metal Workers' Union—started when the company refused to pay employees working-to-rule in support of a pay claim.

Burnley workers are paid £6 to £7 a week less than those elsewhere in the aerospace division; they are campaigning to have this disparity eliminated.

The Combined Shop Stewards' Committee said:

'We accept in the rest of the combine that the Burnley workers' increase should be greater than ours since their wages are so appallingly low. We will not stand by and see the company victimize them.'

The company has offered Burnley workers the same increase as that offered to other plants.

Dan Conroy, chief shop steward of the Lucas aerospace factories at Burnley said:

'This statement of action from the Combined Shop Stewards' Committee is most welcome as it will give fresh heart to the men at Burnley.'

Strong rumour about more pit closures

THERE was a strong rumour running through the coal mining industry that there was a possibility of 50 pits closing during the next two or three years, even though they had reserves, a Labour MP claimed in the Commons yesterday.

Mr Edwin Wainwright

(Lab, Dearne Valley) had earlier asked when the existing arrangements for the importation of coal would be concluded.

The Minister for Industry (Mr Tom Boardman): 'Imports have fallen sharply in recent months but we are keeping a close watch on the situation.'



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THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL

An international discussion article in six parts

PART 2

The International Committee

When Trotsky and his collaborators founded the Fourth International in 1938, the international workers' movement was experiencing a great period of reaction ('the FI arises from the most terrible defeats . . .').

The betrayal of the Second International, and then the betrayal of the Third International had conditioned the defeat of the international workers' movement, and fascism was advancing victoriously through Europe. In such conditions, the objective course of events determined that the FI was reduced in its sections to nuclei of militants basically extracted from the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and workers linked to intellectuals, but without ever constituting powerful mass movements.

There did not exist any conception of adapting to this, but the composition of the FI was determined by the objective situation and by its historic task in that period. The struggle for the construction of independent revolutionary parties in each country took place then in totally adverse conditions, 'against the tide of history', as Trotsky described it himself.

'When the revolutionary movement in general is in decline, when one defeat follows another, when fascism is spreading throughout the world, when official "Marxism" is the most powerful organization for deceiving workers etc., it is inevitable in that situation that the revolutionary elements will have to struggle against the general tide of history even if our ideas and explanations are as exact and intelligent as could be expected.' (Trotsky—'Against the Tide'.)

Today the international workers' movement has entered a new period of development as a result of the deepening of the imperialist crisis and the crisis of the bureaucracy. The joint crisis of imperialism and the bureaucracy has only one positive solution within the present framework. The only solution which will open a new epoch of progress for humanity lies with the International Socialist Revolution. The development of the class struggle internationally from 1968, with the French General Strike and the revolution in Czechoslovakia, make the urgent and predominant task the problem of the revolutionary leadership necessary for the taking of power.

Only the FI can resolve the problem of revolutionary leadership and in fact the International Committee (IC) of the FI is the only tendency which subordinates all questions of tactics to the problem of alternative leadership in the workers' movement.

Contrary to what happened in the period in which Trotsky and his collaborators founded the FI, there now exist favourable conditions for its building. The period which has opened up is that in which Trotskyist

parties, sections of the FI, are called upon to take the leadership of the workers' movement on an international scale. That is the conclusion of the Marxist analysis of the present period; to consider that we are in a period of 'imminent revolution' or in an 'objective process' which, through different stages, methods and ways, leads to the world revolution, has no other meaning than to deny the struggle for the revolutionary party and to capitulate to pragmatism, to the 'facts' to 'objective reality'.

Our epoch, as defined in the Programme of the FI, has two alternatives: socialist revolution or barbarism, there exists no 'objective process' towards socialism, the central problem is the problem of revolutionary leadership which only the FI can resolve.

The struggle waged by the IC of the FI has been basically the struggle for the defence and the development of Marxism, the only basis on which it is possible to talk seriously of the struggle for revolutionary leadership. The struggle against all attempts to revise Marxism has been the permanent basis for the building of revolutionary parties.

The revisionist tendencies reflect within revolutionary movements the positions of enemy classes, pressures which are permanent and which imply necessarily the building of the revolutionary tendencies in struggle against them. Only by struggling against all opportunist tendencies can the Bolshevik party be built as a revolutionary party.

The Pabloite leadership of the FI capitulated to the pressures of imperialism, and by doing so broke of necessity with Marxism. The struggle against Pablo began as a rejection of his positions in relation to the Soviet bureaucracy and *entrism sui generis* which led to the refusal to build independent parties of a Bolshevik type.

Pablo's revisionism was aimed at the very essence of the FI:

'The conscious struggle for alternative leadership based on revolutionary theory.'

However, the capitulation of Pablo to the Stalinist bureaucracy supposed a break with the Marxist method, and with dialectical materialism. The IC could only struggle not only against this or that position of Pablo, but from an understanding of the methodological bases of Pabloite revisionism. It is for this reason that the struggle of the IC has been basically the struggle for the development of Marxism and the defence of all the gains of Marxist theory.

What defines a party as revolutionary is only its development of Marxism. A party cannot be defined as 'revolutionary' because of its 'social composition', because of its links with the working class or because of the actual leadership of the working class it might have.

A quotation from Trotsky shows this:

'He who is swimming against



Top: French General Strike, 1968 marked development of international class struggle. Above: Trotsky

the tide is not connected with the masses. Also, the social composition of every revolutionary movement at the beginning is not working class. They are intellectuals, semi-intellectuals or workers connected with intellectuals who are not satisfied with the existing organization. You will find in each country a great number of foreigners who do not enter the workers' movement in each country very easily. A worker in America or in Mexico will become a member of the FI with much less difficulty. A new radical tendency directed against the general current of history in this period is crystallized around elements more or less separated from the national

life of any country and for them it is difficult to penetrate into the masses.'

To accept a quantitative criterion to describe a party means a fundamental break with Marxism and a capitulation to empiricism; the Pabloite crisis was but the struggle between the proletarian Marxist tendency and the petty-bourgeois, empiricist tendency within the Trotskyist movement. Because of the extent which the IC of the FI took up the defence of Marxism, we cannot affirm that the FI was liquidated. The IC of the FI represents the historical continuity of Marxism, of Bolshevism:

'But the sceptics will not keep quiet. But has the

moment come to proclaim it? The FI, we reply, does not need to be proclaimed. IT EXISTS AND IS STRUGGLING. Is it weak? Yes. Its ranks are still rather thin, because it is still young. Up to now, it is made up above all of leading cadres.

'But these cadres are the only hope of the revolutionary future; they are the only ones really worthy of this name. If our International is still numerically weak, it is strong in its doctrine, in its tradition and the unrivalled temper of its leading cadres. If that is not seen today, that is not of the greatest importance, it will be more in evidence tomorrow.'

CONTINUED TOMORROW

MAKING A BUCK IN SPACE

Anywhere for a fast buck—including the moon—might have been the motto of America's Apollo programme. It seems that the astronauts took bags full of contraband souvenirs with them to the satellite in order to sell them later at a profit.

Last month, the Apollo 15 astronauts—Col David R. Scott, Lt-Col James B. Irwin and Maj Alfred M. Worden were reprimanded by the National Aeronautics and Space Agency for smuggling 400 first-day stamp covers to the moon.

After their flight, about 100 of the covers were placed on the market by a West German stamp dealer who was said to have obtained them from an acquaintance of the astronauts. Scott has since been eased out of the space programme.

Now it is the turn of the Apollo 14 crew, who apparently took 200 unauthorized silver medallions with them on their flight in January 1971.

The medals, which commemorated the flight, were provided under the terms of a 'private agreement' between the Franklin Mint, a Philadelphia concern, and the three astronauts, Capt Alan B. Shepard jr., Cdr Edgar D. Mitchell and Maj Stuart A. Roosa.

The agreement with the mint was not known to the space agency, a NASA official explained, because at the time of the Apollo 14 flight, items carried by the astronauts in the kits were not subject to advance approval by the space agency.

He said that, partly as a result of the incident, restrictions on the carrying of personal items had been tightened for subsequent flights.

According to implausible statements by spokesmen for both NASA and the mint, no remuneration was involved, although the astronauts were permitted to retain 150 of the medals for their 'private use'. The medals were not taken to the surface of the moon but remained in the astronauts' 'personal preference kits' on board the Apollo 14 command ship in lunar orbit.

The Franklin Mint said it melted down half the 50 medals returned to it by the Apollo 14 crew and used the silver to strike several thousand 'mini-coins', which it distributed as gifts to its subscribers. None was offered for sale to the general public, a

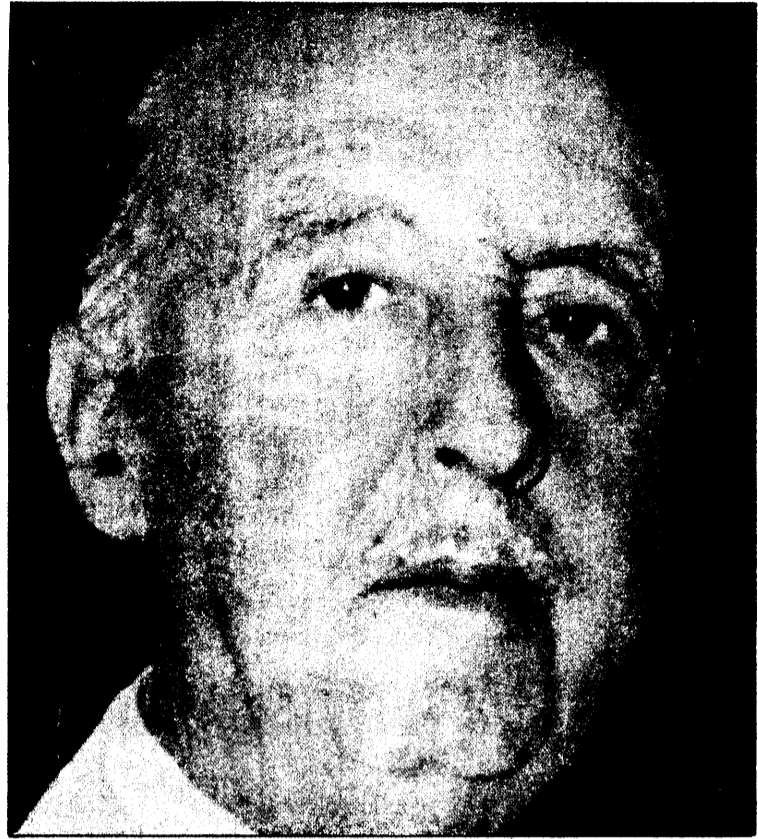


spokesman said, adding that the additional 25 medals had been locked in the mint's vault.

The space agency spokesman said the three astronauts kept some of their share of the medals and gave the rest to friends and co-workers as

mementoes of the flight.

He added that a similar consignment of medals had been scheduled to go on the Apollo 15 flight, but that 'because of the flap' the Apollo 14 medals raised within the space agency, the idea was dropped.



CAMPUS SIEGE

The Spanish government has imposed rigid disciplinary controls over Madrid's two universities in an effort to stifle opposition to the fascist regime.

Statutes providing some university autonomy and student representation were suspended for at least a year and new decrees established a virtual state of siege on the campus.

It is expected that the measures, announced on Friday, will soon be extended to Barcelona, another centre of student opposition to Franco.

The new decrees follow a year of mounting struggle in the universities when thousands of students refused to attend lectures or examinations in a series of strikes and protest demonstrations.

Medical students in particular were angered by a new curriculum and by the dismissal of large number of final year students for whom there are no places to do clinical

work in the hospitals.

Students have been suspended wholesale from the universities and there have been a number of violent clashes between students and the police.

The government took advantage of the academic vacation to put through the new decrees in the hope of presenting students with a *fait accompli* at the beginning of next term.

The first decree provides that the rectors of the universities shall be named by the government from a list submitted by the Ministry of Education. The Minister must find out the views of the candidates for rectorships.

Previously a university board composed of professors and students proposed three names from which the Minister had to select one.

The second decree organizing university life stresses discipline. It gives the Ministry the right to close the campuses temporarily or to transfer the centre of study elsewhere in event of trouble.

some actors or actresses whom they dislike appear.

Iwamoto said colour TV is more popular than black and white among the discerning pets.

He said the reason why the rooms are equipped with luxury electric appliances is that if their environment changes most pets cannot relax.

'We must create the same atmosphere as in their home,' he said.

The pets left in the care of animal hotels receive medical examinations, are given medicated baths have their hair trimmed and eat well-balanced meals.

Iwamoto said the most frequent users of his hotel were generally rich pet lovers and couples who have no children.

This new year holiday he expects to take care of 130 animals and predicts the number of hotel users will increase in future as more owners want to holiday without the problem of caring for their pets.

Pets are now the latest status symbol for the Japanese middle-class whose birth-rate has dropped particularly in urban areas. In the previous decade the middle class were chasing cars colour televisions and air conditioners.

Now that these have become commonplace the emphasis has switched to pets. There are more than 6 million dogs in Japan almost half of them registered with kennel clubs.

A DOG'S LIFE

A boom in keeping pets in Japan has produced a wide new range of industries, all struggling for a foothold in a lucrative market.

Hotels, funeral homes and beauty parlours for pets have sprung up, and there is fierce competition between Japan and the US to control the pet food market.

In fact some pets are living a far more comfortable and pampered life than humans. Some animals now stay at luxury hotels that hardly differ from the facilities offered their holidaying owners.

Rooms, at 5,000 yen (£6.25) a night are already booked up for the New Year holiday.

The rooms are furnished with colour television, air conditioner, bath and toilet. There is even the traditional Japanese painted scroll hanging on the wall.

Do the dogs and cats watch the television? 'Of course they do,' says Teruo Iwamoto, manager of a Tokyo animal hotel.

'They definitely enjoy TV even though they cannot understand the contents.'

'Dogs bark in anger when

HUMAN GUINEA PIGS

The United States Public Health Service has just revealed details of an 'experiment' conducted in the Deep South in which 200 black syphilis victims were denied treatment for 40 years.

The majority are now dead, though 74 are still alive—and still suffering from the disease which can cause blindness, deafness, deterioration of bones, teeth and central nervous system, insanity, heart disease and death.

The so-called experiment, carried out under the Public

Health Service's auspices, was aimed at determining through autopsies what damage untreated syphilis does to the human body.

Of about 600 Alabama black men who originally took part in the study, 200 were allowed to suffer the disease and its side-effects without treatment, even after penicillin was developed as a cure for the disease.

Treatment then could probably have saved or helped many of the victims, Health Service officials now say.

They contend that survivors of the experiment are now too old to treat for syphilis but add that PHS doctors are giving the men thorough physical examinations every two years and are treating them for whatever other ailments and diseases they have developed.

The syphilis experiment,

called the Tuskegee study, began in 1932 at Tuskegee, Alabama, an area which had the highest syphilis rate in the US at that time.

When the 'experiment' began, the discovery of penicillin as a drug to cure syphilis was still ten years in the future and the drug was not to be generally available for 15 years.

Treatment in the 1930s consisted primarily of doses of arsenic and mercury. Of the original 600 patients, a third were free from syphilis, another 200 had the disease and received treatment and the other 200 were given no treatment of syphilis at all.

Men were persuaded to participate in the experiment by promises of free transport to and from hospitals, free hot lunches free medical treatment for diseases other than syphilis and free burial.

State of Emergency Act of 1920

POWERS OF A POLICE STATE

BY PHILIP WADE

It is now almost 52 years since the Emergency Powers Act was rushed through parliament in five days as the post-World War I upsurge in the working class reached a new point.

It was a short Act, just two pages and three clauses in length (and one of those was for the title). Yet it was a device which enabled the state to assume devastating and sweeping powers to deal with the working class.

The government could from then on assume whatever powers it chose to 'maintain essential services'.

The Act spelled out that it was not even necessary for there to be an actual emergency. Even if the government (and the monarch, of course) felt there just might be an emergency it could invoke the Act.

Only two things couldn't be done by the government. There could be no regulations illegalizing strikes and none setting up military or industrial conscription.

The government could rule for seven days by these regulations before putting them before parliament for formal debate and approval. They also had to be renewed once a month.

The dictatorial powers conferred upon the capitalist state machine at that time are the same as those introduced by the Heath government against the dockers.

And when it comes to the question of illegalizing strikes, the Tory government can go one better than the Lloyd George Tory-Liberal coalition of 1920. They have the Industrial Relations Act with its own National Industrial Relations Court and a battery of Tory judges—legal and lay.

At the end of World War I in 1918, the working class began to take up its offensive against the ruling class in the same spirit as before the war. The Russian working class had already taken power in October 1917 and the fear of revolution both frightened world capitalism and inspired millions of workers.

The elections of December 1918 saw the Labour Party establish itself as the main opposition party, forcing the Liberals into the dustbin of history.

Although the Lloyd George-Bonar Law coalition polled 5,091,528 votes, electing 484 MPs, the Labour Party arrived on the scene with almost 2.5 million votes and 59 MPs.

In the previous general election in 1910, the new Labour Party had only obtained 400,000 votes and 42 MPs.

By 1919 the trade union movement had doubled its pre-war membership from 4,189,000 in 1913 to 8,081,000. With it had come the development, for the first time, of a powerful shop stewards' movement.

Discontent was also spreading among the millions of soldiers, angry at the delay in demobilization. The government was treading water. It did not want the sudden influx of workers tired from the Flanders slaughterhouse yet inspired by stories about the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

On January 3, 1919, 12,000 soldiers in the rest camps at Folkestone and Dover demonstrated against embarking to return to France. A soldiers' council was formed at the army service corps depot at Kempton Park, near London. The men declared their intention to fraternize with workers in the neighbourhood.

On January 6 and 7 there were three separate demonstrations near Whitehall. Although the government published orders for swifter demobilization, unrest continued.

In the Canadian camp at Kimmel Park, near Rhyll, five men were killed and 23 injured in a two-day riot over delays in repatriation.

It was not until the end of 1919 that the 4 million soldiers finally left the army for good.

TROOPS IN THE CITY

The government had needed the troops earlier that year to meet the General Strike in Glasgow.

The strike had been called for January 27 to enforce the demand for a 40-hour week. A demonstration of 30,000 took place to George Square where a red flag was hoisted on the municipal flag pole.

By the following Friday, troops were concentrated at key points in the city, armed with tanks and machine guns. Local units were confined to barracks for fear they might fraternize with the strikers.

Also in January both the miners and the railwaymen had lodged demands for wage increases. The miners also demanded a six-hour working day and the nationalization of the mines.

A ballot of miners produced a six-to-one majority in favour of strike action. Coal stocks were extremely low. Allied with transport workers and



railwaymen under the Triple Alliance agreement of 1914, the miners were in a powerful position.

The reformist leaders of the Alliance were clearly frightened of an all-out conflict with the government. And when Lloyd George told miners' leader Robert Smillie that such a strike would involve the unions in a struggle for state power, he backed down.

They accepted a government inquiry into the coal industry and called off their strike.

Although the inquiry came out by majority for some form of nationalization, the government delayed, feeling the retreat among the union leaders. And at the miners' conference in September, the question was buried. The ground had been prepared for Black Friday 1921.

The government had bought time and used it well. Coal stocks were rapidly built up and a system of scab transport by road and rail prepared. War Office instructions were sent out on the use of troops in the event of a strike.

Before the railwaymen struck for their claim in September 1919, the government moved swiftly to crush any signs of discontent among the police force.

The National Union of Police and Prison Officers,

started before the war, had called a strike of the Metropolitan and City of London police on August 30, 1918, in a claim for raising the wages of the force.

Over 6,000 police struck in London and Lloyd George settled quickly. At the same time he prepared to crush the union. Sir Nevil Macready was installed as the new commissioner. He had been adjutant-general of the army and had seen service against Welsh miners before the war.

The second strike began on August 1, 1919, against Macready's policy, backed by a Bill in parliament making it illegal for policemen to belong to a union.

In London 1,083, out of some 19,000 men came out on strike. Within a few days all the strikers had been dismissed. In Liverpool, 932 men struck, out of a force of 2,100. The military were called in to quell a riot.

NO LACK OF POWERS

But the union was smashed and the police made secure for the major class battles that were to lie ahead.

The railway union had been negotiating with Sir Auckland Geddes since February 1919 for an increase in wages. He instead proposed a series of

wage cuts. For many grades it would have meant a minimum wage of 40s a week compared with the current wage of 51s.

The strike began suddenly on September 26 and quickly brought the railways to a halt. The government reacted swiftly, denigrating the strike as an anarchist conspiracy.

Scabs were used to try and operate trains, and troops were called out in large numbers. 'Citizen Guards' were enrolled and 'The Times' called for a 'fight to the finish'.

A scheme of emergency road transport was put into operation; drivers were registered and 25,000 lorries requisitioned. The government had no lack of powers for these moves as the wartime Defence of the Realm Acts remained in force.

All the machinery developed in this strike, including the division of the country into 16 separate areas, was maintained and became part of the preparations for the General Strike of 1926.

Within a week the strike was over. There was widespread support from the rest of the trade union movement. But the settlement only provided for the maintenance of existing wage levels for a year.

The year 1919 also saw the launching of a post-war inflationary boom, which was speculative to the core.

Domestic capital issues in that year totalled £187m, and £331m in 1920. In 1920, some 235 companies issued bonus shares totalling £65m on capital of only £97m.

The wholesale price index stood at 226 in January 1919, 249 in July and 300 in January 1920. Wages failed to keep pace.

In March 1920 the miners—having shelved nationalization demands—demanded and won a wage increase. In June, further increases were demanded.

At the same time, the working class was moving in opposition to the intervention by British troops against the new Soviet state. In May, dockers refused to load a ship with munitions bound for Poland. Councils of Action were formed and the withdrawal of troops demanded.

Almost exactly at the same time as the working class began forming local and national Councils of Action for the defence of the Russian Revolution, a break was being made with the social democrats and the Second International.

For July 1920 saw the historic foundation conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain. It immediately sought affiliation to the Labour Party and was just as quickly turned down.

On October 16 a complete

strike took place among miners for their wage demands lodged in June. On October 20, the National Union of Railwaymen decided at a special delegate meeting on a strike on October 24 in support of the miners.

The government chose the strike as the time to rush through an Act conferring wide, dictatorial powers.

The Defence of the Realm Acts, which had enabled the wartime government to rule through the privy council, were fast being repealed.

So, on October 22, 1920, the government introduced the Emergency Powers Bill. By October 27 it was law and the government had assumed complete and unbridled power. It was a permanent Act and could be used as the occasion demanded.

It was enough to frighten the union leaders. The railway leaders postponed their strike and the miners resumed negotiations. Although the miners won their shift allowance, the government was preparing to take them on and inflict a bitter defeat only five months later.

On March 31, 1921, over a million miners were locked out and troops were sent under the same Emergency Powers Act. Machine guns were set up near pit heads. Troops were brought back from Ireland and camped in readiness in London

parks. A volunteer 'defence force' was recruited.

The railway and transport union leaders refused to fight and the miners were left to fight and lose alone. It was Black Friday.

Today the Tory government proceeds in the footsteps of its predecessors. Immediately they assumed power in June 1970 they were confronted with a national docks strike. Emergency powers were taken. These were also assumed in the power workers' dispute and the recent miners' strike.

EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

The government can take emergency powers at any time. With a parliamentary majority it does not actually have to prove that an emergency exists. It is sufficient to say one might occur.

The Act of 1920 reads: 'If at any time it appears to His Majesty that there have occurred or are about to occur events of such a nature as to be calculated, by interfering with the supply and distribution of food, water, fuel or light, or with the means of locomotion, to deprive the community, or any substantial portion of the community, of the essentials of life, His Majesty may, by proclamation, declare that a state of emer-

gency exists.'

A glance at the last occasion of emergency powers will show how sweeping they are in their effect.

In the miners' strike, Regulations 3-5 dealt with control of the ports. Regulations 6-15 provided for the relaxation in restrictions on road transport. A new Regulation, number 11, gave powers to exempt drivers from the permitted hours control.

Regulations 16-20 relaxed the obligations and restrictions on public services and facilities. Numbers 21-24 gave state control over the supply, distribution and price of both fuel and food.

Regulations 25-28 brought power to control transport services and 29-30 power to commandeer buildings and transport and take control of land. Finally, 31-39 imposed severe penalties, including imprisonment, on those breaking the Regulations.

The introduction of emergency powers by the Tories means they are preparing the machinery for an all-out confrontation with the working class. Under the guise of 'legality' the ground is being laid for an arbitrary dictatorship.

Their introduction is an open challenge to the trade union and Labour movement. Councils of Action must

immediately be built in every working-class area, consisting of every political tendency in the labour movement, all trade unions and groups of shop stewards as well as tenants' committees and co-operatives.

These Councils of Action must become the basis all over the country to organize massive resistance to the plans of the Tory government.

The TUC must be forced to make nationally-co-ordinated preparations for the General Strike, preparations to be placed in the hands of the Councils of Action.

The programme of these Councils must be to force the Tories to resign and elect a Labour government pledged to carry out socialist policies.

A Labour government must disband the standing army to prevent it from becoming the instrument for an ultra-right conspiracy against the working class and the Labour government.

It must be replaced with a workers' militia, with democratically-elected officers and subject to the control of the working class through the trade unions and the Councils of Action.

It is in this struggle that a new revolutionary leadership will be built in to prepare the working class to establish a socialist Britain.

Left: the red flag in George Square, Glasgow, during the General Strike there in 1919. Above: the Heath government's proclamation of emergency powers. Below left: Lloyd George. Right: Heath



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THURSDAY, 3RD AUGUST 1972

BY THE QUEEN

A PROCLAMATION

ELIZABETH R.

Whereas by section 1 of the Emergency Powers Act 1920, as amended by the Emergency Powers Act 1964, it is enacted that if it appears to Us that there have occurred or are about to occur events of such a nature as to be calculated, by interfering with the supply and distribution of food, water, fuel or light, or with the means of locomotion, to deprive the community, or any substantial portion of the community, of the essentials of life, We may, by Proclamation, declare that a state of emergency exists:

And whereas the present stoppage of work among persons employed in the ports does, in Our opinion, constitute a state of emergency within the meaning of the said Act of 1920, as so amended:

Now, therefore, in pursuance of the said Act of 1920, as so amended, We do, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, hereby declare that a state of emergency exists.

Given at Our Court at H.M. Yacht Britannia this third day of August in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-two, and in the twenty-first year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

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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 9

LIGHT BEING SHED ON HISTORY IN SOVIET UNION

Stalinism was unable to destroy the basic conquests of the working class made in the October Revolution of 1917; the Soviet Union remains a workers' state, despite its bureaucratic degeneration.

Nationalized property relations and central planning made possible the establishment of a powerful industrial base and impressive rates of growth. But the boastful claims of the bureaucracy that the Soviet Union would 'catch up and outstrip' the advanced capitalist countries have remained unfulfilled.

Cut off from full participation in the world economy, the Soviet economy is beset by growing disproportions and bears much evidence of the backwardness which it inherited from the days of Tsarism.

The continued threat from imperialism diverts immense resources into armaments. Soviet consumers are still badly served both in quantity and variety. Too large a part of the population is still employed in agriculture where forced collectivization has left a lingering resentment.

If Soviet economic achievements are attributable to the planned and nationalized economy which the 1917 Revolution made possible, the sufferings, sacrifices and near disasters of the period since 1928 have been the responsibility of Stalin and the bureaucracy.

Far from having been 'necessary' for industrialization and collectivization, the methods of Stalin represented a heavy overhead cost. As Medvedev puts it, as opposed not only to the Stalinists, but to some bourgeois 'experts' who have claimed that only brutal methods of command could have industrialized backward Russia with such speed:

'The serious mistakes made during collectivization and industrialization lowered the workers' standard of living, disrupted the supply of food and manufactured goods and weakened the alliance between

the city and the country.'

Later he writes about the millions of prisoners in Stalin's labour camps and concludes:

'Industry would have developed faster if these millions of innocent people had worked as free men. Likewise, the use of force against the peasantry slowed down the growth rate of agriculture, with painful effects on the whole Soviet economy to the present day. It is an incontrovertible, arithmetically demonstrable fact that Stalin did not choose the shortest path; he did not speed up, he slowed down the movement towards socialism and communism.'

Here Medvedev is perfectly right against all the apologists for the bureaucracy, as well as against those who argue that such methods are inevitable in a planned economy:

'By maintaining that Stalin's lawlessness derived from the very essence of socialism, from Marxism-Leninism, from the proletarian revolution', he points out, 'the revisionists try to compromise the ideas of socialism, Marxism-Leninism, and the proletarian revolution in the eyes of the masses. They try to transfer to the whole social system the disillusionment and anger that rise in people when they learn of Stalinist crimes.'

That, of course, is not the least of those crimes—that for many people socialism is seen as inseparable from purges and repressions of the type which have taken place in the Soviet Union, or from the type of regime which still exists, though Medvedev does not say so.

He rejects the view that Stalin's crimes were just mistakes, untoward incidents which fade into insignificance beside the carrying out of great historical tasks. As put forward by Stalin's accomplices and apologists in the Soviet Union, or by the Maoists, an excuse is offered for the carrying out of similar crimes.

As Medvedev insists: 'In 1936-1937 Stalin was not engaged in a real struggle with counter-revolutionaries. On the contrary, it was Stalin whose actions in those years were objectively counter-revolutionary. The main tendency of the mass repression of 1936-1938 was an assault on the Party, on old Bolshevik cadres, on proletarian revolutionaries, on the intelligentsia that were honourably serving the interests of the masses.'

'In the 17 years I spent in Stalinist prisons and camps I saw no counter-revolutionaries', wrote one of Stalin's victims of that period in an Open Letter to Mao Tse-tung.



Top: Stalin lying in state in the Kremlin, 1953. Bottom: Stalin's pallbearers (left to right) Bulganin, Molotov, Stalin's son Vassily, the new premier Malenkov, and chief of the secret police Beria



Above: Zhores Medvedev. Fear of the Soviet masses was behind the decision to suppress Medvedev's book. The bureaucracy could not face the kind of discussion to which it would have led. It would have meant a reckoning with the past which it dare not face

Testimony from many sources corroborate this as far as the great majority of the inmates of the camps and prisons were concerned. In them Stalin destroyed the Opposition, hundreds of whom were shot down in cold blood. He smashed what was left of the Bolshevik Party. He tortured and killed thousands of his own loyal supporters.

The bureaucracy today is as afraid of Stalin as it was when he was alive. But while then they showed it by adulation and his name was ever on their lips, they show it today in an uneasy silence. Some have tried to bring Stalin back on their side, making him out to be—despite some faults and 'excesses'—a great leader and even an outstanding Marxist-Leninist.

Medvedev deals with these apologists: 'Such a formulation contains a hidden suggestion that great merits give someone a right to commit certain crimes. It would be immoral to suggest that a man who has saved a thousand people from death can receive an indulgence from history and then with impunity kill 100 or 200 innocent people.'

He rightly argues that Stalin's crimes cannot be balanced off against his correct decisions:

'Any rehabilitation of Stalin would be a crime against the Party.'

But the Party which Stalin left is not the Party which he found: it is this dialectic which Medvedev does not grasp. The Party became the instrument of the bureaucracy, of the parasitic caste represented by Stalin.

It is not simply a question, therefore, of condemning Stalin, opposing his rehabilitation and making sure that his crimes are widely known. Medvedev takes just this rationalist position: as though the bureaucratic degeneration has been reversed, or at least stopped:

'We must discuss what must be done in order not to repeat the mistakes of the past. Socialism does not generate lawlessness, as its enemies maintain. But we know now that socialism in itself is no guarantee against lawlessness and the abuse of power.'

The rise of the bureaucracy as a parasite

Such a position eliminates the need for struggle because it does not see the contradictions in Soviet development which permitted Stalin to emerge and become a bloody tyrant. In a socialist society a Stalin could not emerge. It was the degeneration of a workers' state—backward, isolated, peasant Russia—in a period of defeats for the international working class, which provided the conditions for Stalinism. Certainly Stalin, with his narrow-mindedness and vindictive cruelty, gave the process its special character and set his personal seal upon it.

But it was the rise of the bureaucracy as a parasitic layer created by the specific conditions of Russia and the isolation of the first workers' state which gave Stalin his opportunity. Stalinism was not the product of one man's will despite the monstrous and pathological features which it derived from him.

Moreover, Stalinism was fought step by step within the Communist Party by the Left Opposition. The bureaucratic degeneration could have been arrested against all the odds; Trotsky's struggle derives its significance and its historical justification in the first place from that possibility.

But that was not its only justification. In his person, in the formation of the International Left Opposition and then in the founding of the Fourth International in 1938 Trotsky was able to preserve for posterity the continuity of

Bolshevism and Leninism. 'Trotskyism', which was invented by the epigones to slander Trotsky in the eyes of the Party—by suggesting that it was something distinct from Bolshevism and that Trotsky sought personal power—became in time the proper description for those who carried on the struggle for genuine Marxism-Leninism.

Medvedev believed, at least when he wrote his book, that 'all of the layers of Stalinist filth' could be washed out of the communist movement in argument and debate. But the lesson of his story, when it is completed by reference to sides of historical experience which he leaves out or interprets wrongly, is that it can only be flushed out as a result of a struggle against the bureaucracy and its supporters.

The lessons of Soviet history since the death of Stalin in 1956, the experience of the East European countries, is that the bureaucracy can only be overthrown by a political revolution, it cannot be reformed, nor will it reform itself under pressure or by persuasion. The attack on the oppositionist intellectuals, such as the Medvedevs themselves, in the past few years proves that it has not changed. It can, however, no longer resort with impunity to the methods of Stalin. The weaknesses of the bureaucracy are now more apparent. The weight and self-consciousness of the working class have grown. The tensions in Soviet society are now extreme, just as they are in all the countries where the heirs of Stalin, the Stalinists of today, still rule.

We can understand why they could not allow Medvedev's book to pass into the hands of the Soviet reading public. It is certain that it would have been snatched from the bookshops as quickly as it arrived by young people, intellectuals and many workers avid for a piece of the truth, which is still concealed from them or known only by oral tradition and the accounts of survivors.

Fear of the Soviet masses was behind the decision to suppress Medvedev's book. The bureaucracy could not face the kind of discussion to which it would have led. It would have meant a reckoning with the past which it dare not face.

The awakening of new Soviet generations to political life precipitates them inevitably into a search for the origins of the present crisis of the bureaucracy. All the ground which Medvedev has traversed will be gone over many times. The archives will have to be opened and truth shed upon every detail of history.

By its nature such a process cannot be completed. It will be, as it already is, part of the struggle against the bureaucracy and the preparation for the political revolution and that revolution itself.

For it is only after the overthrow of the bureaucracy that everything which can be known will be made available. This will require a return to the traditions of the Left Opposition and a study of Trotsky's writings of a kind which Medvedev has evidently not made.

Despite its weaknesses, despite its rejection of the Trotskyist alternative, Medvedev corroborates much of what Trotsky wrote about Stalinism and the rise of the bureaucracy.

Written under conditions where much secondary material, as well as the sources which no one can see, was not available, his book has something of a pioneer character as a book written inside the Soviet Union by a loyal Communist Party member. We can be sure that it will not be the last book of its kind.

CONCLUDED

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

CARPETED

'The Times', as the hoardings used to tell us, is the top people's paper. It also claims to be completely objective and impartial in its reporting. But sometimes the two things conflict — as one 'Times' man found last week.

Ian Murray is a Tory. But on July 30 he wrote a piece making some fairly mild criticism of the Jones-Aldington interim report.

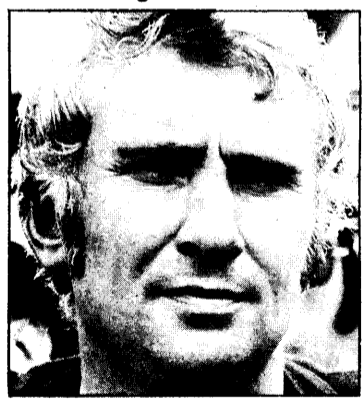
Murray pointed out what everyone had been saying since the report was rejected the previous Thursday: that it 'needs considerable rewriting if the strike is not to drag on'.

The piece appeared—under the by-line 'Labour Staff'—the following day. Anonymity did not save Murray, however. On Monday afternoon he found himself carpeted before Lord Aldington on an upper storey of the National and Grindlays Bank.

Murray's article, the irate Aldington complained, 'could have been written by Bernie Steer'.



Above: Aldington. Below: Steer



In vain the reporter protested that his main source had been port employers and a docker friend of extremely moderate political views. Objectivity is all very well, it seems, but only so long as it doesn't disturb top people's breakfasts.

EXPLANATION

On a spring day in May, five motorway workmen had just started work after their roadside lunch when they heard a bang.

The men saw a Ford Capri heading straight for them. One or two dropped their shovels and ran while the others sheltered behind the lorry they had been loading.

While they watched, the car veered into a line of rubber cones and paraffin lamps in the nearside lane and then stopped. It moved slowly off again with great noise and clatter because of the debris trapped in the wheels.

Two police constables dashed to the scene on the M6 at Fillongley. One straight away smelt alcohol.

The driver of the car was Lady Kenyon of Gredington, Whitchurch, Shropshire, wife of the fifth Baron Kenyon.

While the amazed workmen came out of their refuges to which they had fled for safety, one of the police questioned the driver. According to the prosecutor: 'He guessed by Lady Kenyon's demeanor that she had been drinking.' We can only guess what this means.

Lady Kenyon was given a breath test, but was twice unable to muster enough wind even to blow up the bag.

Warwickshire magistrates were offered a letter from Lady Kenyon's 'medical adviser' which it was claimed would 'give some explanation'.

The explanation turned out to be that Lady Kenyon had 152 milligrams of alcohol per 100 millilitres of blood against the legal maximum of 80. She was fined £60 and was banned from driving for a year.

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Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

BY PHILIP WADE

THE HATED Housing Finance 'fair rents' Bill is now an Act. The Tories' plans mean that millions of council tenants face another £1 a week on their rents from this October.

Rents will go on increasing —if the Tories have their way —until they more or less double. Subsidies to local councils for building flats and houses will gradually be phased out.

For the first time since the 1930s, the notorious means test will be introduced on a massive and universal scale for those forced to apply for rebates.

Yet although hundreds of thousands of tenants organized around their own associations have put up a hard-fight against the Bill, they have been brutally betrayed by the Labour leadership, both nationally and locally.

Few Labour councils have said they won't implement the Tory Act, designed to destroy the whole basis of municipal housing.

Lambeth still to decide: Council of Action to lobby

One of the councils which hasn't made up its mind yet is Labour-controlled Lambeth in south London. The only agreement the councillors have reached so far is to do nothing.

Tomorrow they meet for the final time before the summer recess. The Lambeth Council of Action has called for a lobby and demonstration at the council meeting.

The demands are for non-implementation of the Act, the expulsion from the Labour Party of all those who carry out Tory policies, the resignation of the Tory government and the return of a Labour government pledged to carry out socialist policies.

I spoke to Graham Nicholson, chairman of the Lambeth Borough Estates Group, which

incorporates about 20 tenants' associations affiliated to the Association of London Housing Estates. His group is supporting the lobby and demanding action from the Labourites.

'We began fighting the "fair rents" policy as long ago as July 1971 when the White Paper "Fair Deal in Housing" came out.

'The council has known about it all this time—but the members have been split down the middle as to what to do. They have claimed they couldn't do much because there was no one to back them up.

'But the only security we could offer them is fighting with them. It's an effort to get people going, but we will do it.

'Yet the councillors have proved very reluctant to put themselves forward — especially when you consider it is a Labour council. They have let us down disgustingly. Instead of giving a lead over this complex issue they have done nothing.'

Mr Nicholson, a member of the Post Office Engineering Union, lives on the 15th floor of one of Lambeth's enormous tower blocks. For a magnificent view of industrial south London he pays nearly £10 a week in rent and rates.

Why had Labour councils up and down the country refused to give a lead to the thousands of tenants who always turn out and vote Labour?

'I blame the National Executive of the Labour Party for that. All along they refused to give a lead, saying it was up to the individual boroughs to make up their own minds.

'When there were no guidelines from the top, the individual councillor thought about the possible £400 surcharge and took fright.

'The trade union leadership has also let us down badly on the Housing Finance Bill. We sent them telegram after telegram, but none were ever read out at their meetings. And many times we have tried unsuccessfully to get one of them to speak at our meeting.

'This government talks about inflation, yet this is one of the most inflationary pieces of legislation ever. Rents will soar and so will rates. And on top of that tenants can go through the 44th available means test.

'The fight against the Act can't help being political, that's true. The Tories sat on this Act for a long time. Now it comes with the Common Market and

the Industrial Relations Act.

'Those who cannot afford the rent will have to move out into inferior accommodation. Ghettos will be formed when all housing should be a social need.

'Tenants were slow on the uptake, but now they're waking up. The fight is not finished—it's only just started. There will be an enormous reaction when the rent increases start hitting people.'

The Association of London Housing Estates are hoping for support from the local government workers' union, NALGO. Many branches of the union have pledged not to do the administrative work concerned with the Act.

'We support the Council of Action as far as opposing the Act is concerned and for the voting out of those councillors who refuse to fight.

'Although I personally support the campaign to make the Tories resign, we can't commit the association to a political line like that. I know it's a contradictory position, because it is a political issue we're taking on. But that's the position of tenants' associations at the moment—non-political,' said Mr Nicholson.

Picket rent collectors call

STOCKPORT council tenants may picket rent collectors to force a 'confrontation' over the Tory government's Housing Finance Act. Local firms could also be hit by sympathy walk-outs, a tenants' leader has warned.

Proposing the picket move, Ron Williams, chairman of Thornley Lane Tenants' Association, said:

'The first weapon to be used against the government's Rent Act would be the picketing of any government agent appointed to be the landlord of council tenants in Stockport. This should be followed by picket lines, in the hope that rent collectors, who are trade unionists, will not

cross the lines to collect rent.'

In this way a 'confrontation' could be achieved, if the collectors who failed to cross the picket lines reported back to their superiors.

Some tenants, however, have criticized the picket protest plan. Secretary of the Lancashire Hill Tenants' Association, Mrs Ida Morris, said it was 'cutting off their noses to spite their faces'.

She added: 'If they withhold their rent, they are doing the stupidest thing. There will be massive evictions, and they will have to pay what they have been withholding. I wouldn't have anybody dictating to me how I should pay my rent. It is no way to win a fight against the Rent Act.'

Confrontation due at Southampton ship builders



THE SHIPBUILDING firm of Vosper Thornycroft based at Woolston, Southampton, seem determined on a major confrontation with their 2,000-strong workforce.

Two separate disputes have been affecting the yard for several weeks. One concerns a pay claim by 400 technical and supervisory staff members of various grades who want parity with skilled manual workers and with equivalent grades in other shipbuilding yards.

Management responded to an overtime ban and work-to-rule with the sacking of 21 TASS members. Last

Monday a mass meeting voted unanimously for all-out strike action until the men were reinstated and the pay claim settled.

Subsequently 19 shipwrights were laid off because they refused to work with non-union inspectors who had replaced TASS men on strike.

The second dispute concerns Boilermakers' Society members. The management claims that under the existing agreement they have the right to conduct a time-and-motion survey. This is refuted by the men.

As a result, however, 61 boilermakers who

have refused to be timed have been laid off. They have been clocking-on for the past three weeks, but have been offered no work.

Last Friday, the 61 boilermakers joined the TASS members on the picket lines.

Vosper have threatened that unless there is a full resumption of work this week by all sections they will begin mass lay-offs. The first of these are expected to be some of the ancillary workers today and tomorrow. By the end of the week possibly hundreds of craftsmen will also be laid off.

According to an elec-

trical trades union member the confrontation could be to force new agreements on bonus schemes and shiftwork under conditions of lay-offs and threats of redundancies.

● MEANWHILE at the International Synthetic Rubber Company workers have voted unanimously to continue their five-week-old strike. Trouble broke out at the plant when management sent home men who were banning overtime because of the firm's refusal to negotiate on a new grading scheme. Below: ISR workers picket a supply lorry.



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9.45 Joe. 10.00 Flashing Blade. 10.25 Sounding Out. 10.50 Tin Tin. 10.55 Magic Roundabout. 1.00 National Eisteddfod. 1.30 Trumpton. 1.45 News, weather. 2.30 Eisteddfod. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Vision On. 5.20 Scooby-Doo. 5.44 Sir Prance-lot. 5.50 News, weather.
6.00 NATIONWIDE.
6.50 GOLDEN SILENTS. Parody Time.
7.15 Z CARS. Relative Values Part 2.
7.40 TOM AND JERRY.
7.45 LAUGH WITH HOPE: 'THE CAT AND THE CANARY.'
9.00 NEWS, Weather.
9.25 DOCUMENTARY: THE BEST KEPT SECRET. A look behind the door of the Council Chamber.
10.15 FILM 72.
10.45 A LASTING JOY. Choice of poetry by C. Day Lewis.
11.15 CRADLE OF ENGLAND. Part 4: The Age of Aggression.
11.45 NEWS.
11.50 Weather.

TV

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 6.05 Open University.
7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.
8.00 THE NEW MASTERS. Naum Gabo — 'Constructivist' sculptor.
8.50 COLLECTOR'S WORLD.
9.25 OUT OF THE UNKNOWN. The Sons and Daughters of Tomorrow.
10.15 A MATTER OF DISCIPLINE. (New Series.) The Army.
11.00 NEWS, Weather.
11.05 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP. Interview with A. L. Rowse, historian, essayist, poet, Cornishman.



Sculptor Naum Gabo is the subject of tonight's 'The New Masters' series on BBC 2

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 2.25 Helpman. 3.05 North with the spring. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Odd couple. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Arizona Raiders'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Actualities et projections. 11.15 Gazette. 11.20 Weather.
WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 10.59 News. 11.02 Leonard Elmhurst. 11.22 Faith for life.
SOUTHERN: 12.55 News. 1.00 Jobs. 1.25 Dick Van Dyke. 1.50 Farm kitchen. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Saint. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Torchy. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.35 Smith family. 7.05 Film: 'Tarzan and the Huntress'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Odd couple. 11.40 Farm progress. 12.10 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 3.45 Let's face it. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 5.20 Full house. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Odd couple. 7.10 Film: 'Tarzan and the Mermaids'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 The making of Milk Wood. 11.30 Collecting on a shoestring. 12.00 Weather.
HTV Wales as above except: 2.25 Royal National Eisteddfod. 4.15-4.30 Miri mawr. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 11.30-12.00 Sion a sian.
HTV West as above except: 6.18-6.35 Report West.
HTV Cymru/ Wales as HTV Wales plus: 10.30 Eisteddfod.
ANGLIA: 1.40 Remember. 2.05 Mr Piper. 2.30 London. 3.15 Junkin. 3.45 Women. 4.10 News. 4.15 Felix. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Colombo. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Jesse James.
ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45

Women today. 4.10 Dr Simon Locke. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.55 London. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Walk the Proud Land'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Who do you do?
ULSTER: 4.35 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Lidsville. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Odongo'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Shirley's world.
YORKSHIRE: 1.45 Mysteries. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Chefs. 3.15 Hadleigh. 4.10 Calendar. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.05 Hogan's heroes. 6.35 Film: 'Sitting Bull'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Not so much a theatre. 11.30 Spyforce. 12.25 Weather.
GRANADA: 2.20 Audubon wildlife theatre. 2.45 Time to remember. 3.10 Cinema. 3.40 Junkin. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Amazing world of Kreskin. 6.30 Simon Locke.

7.00 Film: 'Sierra'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 10.30 It's all in life. 11.00 Felony squad.
SCOTTISH: 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Animaland. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Hogan's heroes. 6.45 Film: 'Gidget Goes Hawaiian'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Diversions.
TYNE TEES: 1.45 Mysteries. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Master chefs. 3.15 Hadleigh. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Perils of Pauline. 6.30 Hogan's heroes. 6.55 Film: 'Aaron Slick from Punkin Crick'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Division four. 11.55 News. 12.10 Us and them.
GRAMPIAN: 3.37 News. 3.45 Women. 4.18 Yoga. 4.40 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Dick Van Dyke. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.55 Film: 'Gaby'. 8.30 Queenie's castle. 9.00 London. 11.00 Canadian shield. 11.15 Epilogue.

ITV

11.10 Outlook. 12.25 Women Today. 12.50 Cook Book. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Felix. 1.40 Batman. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Let's Face It. 3.45 Danger Man. 4.40 Yak. 4.55 Showtime. 5.20 Full House. 5.50 News.
6.00 THE DAVE CASH RADIO PROGRAMME.
6.25 CARTOON TIME.
6.40 CROSSROADS.
7.05 QUEENIE'S CASTLE.
7.35 FILM: 'DEAD MEN TELL NO TALES.' Christopher George, Judy Carne. Hunted man loses memory in car crash.
9.00 CRIME OF PASSION. Cecile.
10.00 NEWS.
10.30 IT'S ALL IN LIFE. Al Read.
11.30 CHILDREN TO CHILDREN. From Holland—Child Child.
12.00 OFT IN DANGER.

7,000 could be sacked at Shotton

THERE is strong evidence that 7,000 men will be sacked at the North Wales Shotton steelworks according to East Flint Labour MP Barry Jones.

The British Steel Corporation is believed to have decided on the shut down of Britain's steelmaking furnaces. A top-level secret meeting between BSC executives and Department of Trade and Industry officials was held in London last week.

Mr Jones has demanded a statement on the future of Shotton from Tory Trade and Industry Secretary John Davies.

In Scotland a government decision on the long-awaited Hunterston steel complex has been put off until at least mid-October.

Davies said the Tories were waiting to see BSC's estimation of the market, available next month.

The decision rests on whether the government and BSC can agree that Britain needs between 28 and 36 million tons of steel a year by 1980. If a lower figure is agreed, then such a development will not go ahead anywhere in Britain.

Ration book man left £95,166

SIR ROLAND E. WALL, the man chiefly responsible for introducing the points rationing system during World War II, left £97,166 gross £92,560 net in his will published yesterday. Duty was £23,286. Sir George of Greenways, Haywards Heath, Sussex, who died in June, aged 74, served in the Ministry of Food from 1939 to 1946. He was a former chairman of the Fitch Lovell food group.

Gold rises in Germany

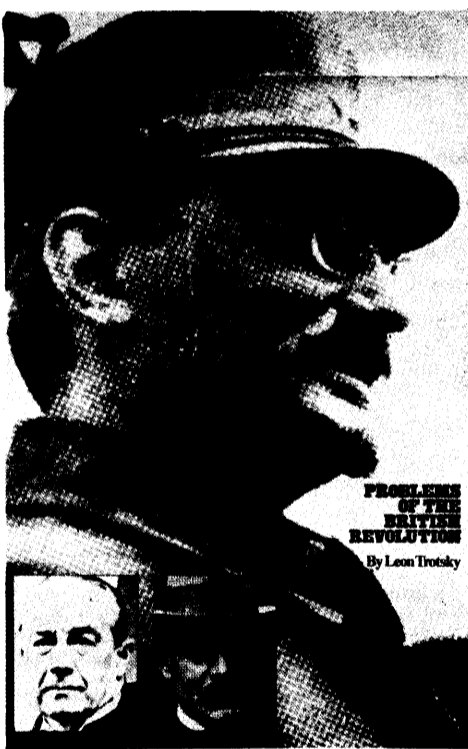
THE PRICE of gold rose in quiet trading on the West German official gold market in Frankfurt yesterday as dealers fixed the daily price for the one-kilo bar at 6,990 marks (£908) compared with Friday's rate of 6,965 marks (£904).

West German investors speculating in gold usually channel their transactions through the Zurich bullion market because all gold sales on the West German market are subject to the country's 11 per cent added value tax, which makes speculative investments unattractive.

Briefly . . .

THE THREE-WEEK-OLD pay strike of workers at Honeywell's three Scottish factories will go on. A mass meeting due to be held yesterday was cancelled because shop stewards had nothing new to report.

THE SCOTTISH Engineering Employers' Federation has indicated that Edinburgh's Miller & Co Ltd were willing to raise their £2.50 wage offer to 200 engineering workers in a bid to end the three-month-old strike.



Trotsky's reply to critics of 'Where is Britain Going?'

This collection of articles was penned by Trotsky in reply to various critics of his then recently-published 'Where is Britain Going?' They appeared in the Soviet press of the time and constitute a necessary corollary and sequel to that work. Trotsky here dissects the arguments of all the brands of opponents of Marxism: reformist, centrist, pacifist, Fabian, trade-union bureaucrat and by implication, its Russian counterpart, the nascent Soviet bureaucrat. Here also he unravels many of the knotty problems facing the infant Communist Party developing a strategy for power in the revolutionary epoch.

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What you've been waiting for: a new impression of 'The New Course'

A salient work of Trotsky treating with his struggle against the rising Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Written in the aftermath of the civil war and in the period of the New Economic Policy when, despite all the conservative pressures generated within the Soviet Union, there still seemed every chance of curbing and overcoming this bureaucracy. This book makes a bridge between Lenin's deathbed struggles against Stalinism and the later founding of the Joint Left Opposition.

108 pp price 65p (postage extra)



The New Course 1923
 BY LEON TROTSKY

Angry rank and file opposed to latest offer

Countrywide votes on all-out action on builders' claim

BUILDING workers from all over Britain will demonstrate outside the employers' London headquarters today to try and stop union leaders selling out their claim for a £30, 35-hour week.

The Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians executive has already accepted the compromise deal worked out with employers two weeks ago.

Transport and General Workers' Union officials decided yesterday to reject the offer, which falls miserably short of the original claim.

At the same time the rank-and-file is bringing to an end the half-hearted official, six-week, selective strike campaign which has brought out 400 sites and about 30,000 men.

Instead, meetings at Bristol, Birmingham, Leeds, Barnsley, Aberdeen and Manchester, among other places, have voted for all-out strike action to win the claim. London is expected to follow soon.

All major building sites in Barnsley came to a halt yesterday as more than 1,000 men joined the strike. In Manchester, more than 500 building workers lobbied union leaders who were meeting to decide whether to accept the offer.

One of the main demands has been for the resignation of the UCATT leadership, led by George Smith, chairman of the TUC General Council and one of the architects of the new 'conciliation' anti-strike deal fixed up last week with the Confederation of British Industries.

Said Ewen Sinclair, secretary of Aberdeen No. 3 branch:

'The executive is just selling us down the river. I had the full backing of the delegates when I suggested at the meeting that they should be removed from office by constitutional vote.'

Workers with Peter Cameron Limited who originally accepted an interim offer of a £25 minimum and a guaranteed fall-back of £30, have now rejoined the strike.

The National Federation of

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Building Trades Employers — sensing a deal with the union leaders — yesterday rushed to condemn the unofficial walk-outs. Said a spokesman:

'Negotiations are being resumed and there is a good chance of a settlement being reached. Men will therefore be well advised not to respond to these unofficial calls, which can only result in their losing money unnecessarily.'

The latest offer only gives an immediate basic rate of £23 a week for craftsmen and £19.60 for labourers, increases of just £3 and £2.60. In May 1973, craftsmen would get another £3 and labourers an extra £2.40.

BY PHILIP WADE

The rank and file, however, is not interested in a two-year agreement, despite the offer of an extra guaranteed bonus. Workers point out that a bonus can disappear at any time, but basic rates cannot.

Opposition to the deal has also mounted because the employers have not conceded a minute off the working day.

Men on the McAlpine New Covent Garden Site, Vauxhall, London, yesterday voiced their bitterness at the preparations for a sell-out by the union leadership.

John Bambridge, T&GWU steward on the site, told me: 'If they accept it, we won't be go-

ing back. We've already been out six weeks and don't dare give in now. We will let them know what we think of this sell-out today.'

'After tomorrow we're going to call out every possible site in London. It's been done in other places and it can and must be done here.'

He said hundreds of building workers had been recruited to the union in the course of the strikes. To keep them the strike had to be won.

'I'm sick of going in and begging overtime so men can earn a decent living wage. We want a basic wage of £30 and nothing less.'



Striking builders outside the new Covent Garden site, Vauxhall, London, who will join today's lobby of pay talks.

TWO-FACED TREACHERY

FROM PAGE 1

Midland Cold Storage, part of the Vestey empire, has not agreed to employ dockers. The company still insists that men must come off the register if they want jobs.

In other words the manoeuvres by Jones in the port of London tend to backfire on the dockers.

It's the old story, employers want peace on their terms — that means a smaller dock labour force and the destruction of the National Dock Labour Scheme.

Jones is emerging from this strike a discredited trade union leader. He was rebuked at the first delegate conference and now, despite the inspiring strength and solidarity of his members, can only drop to his knees before big capitalists like Vestey and plead for a few crumbs.

His only honest alternative is to disband the Jones-Aldington farce, pull out of the TUC-government negotiation, pull his union together through a recall of its biennial conference and plan action to get rid of this government.

These are the most critical days of the strike. Dockers must be continually on their guard against provocation and treachery from their union.

They must demand that Jones starts fighting to mobilize the whole trade union movement behind the strike.

- Recall the T&GWU biennial conference to mobilize the union around the dockers.
- End the Jones-Aldington farce.
- Break off relations with the Tories.
- Mobilize the TUC for a General Strike to force the Tories to resign.
- Labour must nationalize the docks and transport industry without compensation under workers' control.

Flying picket hits Colchester dock

DOCKERS' pickets hit the unregistered ports of Colchester yesterday, disrupting grain and timber shipments along the River Colne.

In the early afternoon, two pickets were arrested.

Two coachloads of dockers from Tilbury and the Royals travelled the 60 miles to the port.

Their main targets were Hythe Quay, Haven Quay and another small wharf at Rowhedge.

A spokesman for the Colchester Dock Transit Company at Hythe Quay claimed no more cargo than usual was being handled.

But the dockers were unimpressed.

'It's cheap labour whatever they're handling,' insisted Tilbury docker Bernie Whitwell, a Transport and General Workers' Union member.

'That's what is robbing us of our work and that's what we're out to stop.'

He and other pickets were determined not to be 'confidence tricked' by Jones-Aldington as they said they had been by the Devlin report.

'We were told there would be no redundancies, everything would be rosy,' Bernie said.

'But we lost a third of our men. And that's what will happen this time if we're not careful.'

Many pickets were 'convinced that the Jones-Aldington committee had now run into serious trouble in its attempt to end the strike quickly and was settling down for a lengthy campaign.'

The pickets seemed to have severely stretched the resources of the local constabulary, which had to set up a mobile radio control centre on a hill between the picketed wharves in order to maintain contact between groups of police.

A mobile police canteen was also in service.

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

Poulson paid for holiday

FROM PAGE 1

schoolteacher. Mr Hunter: Had she any experience in your class of work?

Poulson: No. Mr Hunter: She claims to have been employed by Ropergate Services (another Poulson company) as an administrative assistant and adviser on interior decoration?

Poulson: Yes, I think it would be that.

Mr Hunter: You said she was a caretaker. You didn't realize I had got a letter from her?

Poulson: I got very confused. Obviously an ex-teacher would not be a caretaker.

Mr Hunter: Was this just a sinecure you created for Mrs Cunningham?

Poulson: No.

Mr Hunter: She was taken on at a time when the whole business was running into the ground—a retired schoolmaster and the wife of an alderman as an administrative assistant and adviser on interior decoration?

Poulson: Yes.

Mr Hunter: Was Mr Cunningham on the payroll of OSB?

Poulson: Not that I know of.

Mr Hunter: Or on Dan Smith's payroll, which amounts to the same thing?

Poulson: I don't know that.

Poulson said he had done a lot of work in Cunningham's union offices and this was the reason he had paid for Cunningham and his family to go on a holiday at Estoril, Portugal, costing £256.

He was not aware of having paid for another holiday before this.

Mr Hunter: What relationship apart from the appointment of Mrs Cunningham and your having built offices for Mr Cunningham's union and having sent them on one or two holidays, was there between your side and Mr and Mrs Cunningham?

Poulson: I remember going to a football match with them when I was in the Newcastle area.

In later replies he agreed that, at some point which he could not remember, he had sent a memo to the effect that Mrs Cunningham was to be paid £1,500 a year, but that payment was to be transferred so it would be paid by Mr Dan Smith.

Mr Hunter: Why should Mr Dan Smith be paying your consultants and out of what?

Poulson: I didn't know he was.

Mr Hunter: Why is it if that was a genuine employment of herself by Ropergate Services that she should be paid by Mr Smith?

Poulson: At that time I had lost my business. I wasn't even going to the office. I was told to keep away.

Earlier in the hearing Poulson was asked about a letter he had written on March 9, 1968, in which he said Mr Maudling was to be paid £1,500 which was for nine months as a director of OSB.

Mr Hunter: We have seen the accounts of International Technical Construction Services (another Poulson company which Maudling chaired) in which his salary is shown as £9,500 a year: Is that an accurate statement?

Poulson: I hope so.

Mr Hunter: Do you remember paying Mr Maudling £2,000?

Poulson: No.

Mr Hunter: Do you remember anything about this payment?

Poulson: Certainly not.

Also during his examination Poulson admitted paying for two cruises taken by Mr Pottinger and his family.

'The first time I did it out of favour,' Poulson said, 'the second time I wanted his company.'

Mr Hunter: Was the second time 1966 or the next year?

Poulson: It would be 1967 or 1968.

Mr Hunter: In 1967 you were being desperately pressed for money to pay your income tax?

Poulson: Yes.

He was also asked about a holiday for another unnamed civil servant and his family.

'Did he go at your expense on five other holidays at the Trefunna Castle in the West Country?'

Poulson: Not five.

Mr Hunter: He has deposed that he did.

Poulson: It's staggering to me.

Hearing continues.