

MARATHON DEAL SIGNED A BLOW AGAINST TRADE UNIONISM ON THE CLYDE

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE MARATHON deal at the Clydebank shipyard marks a black day for the whole of the British trade union movement.

In it the unions have capitulated before a naked threat of mass unemployment and traded their trade union birthright for a handful of jobs.

This shameful end to the long and bitter struggle of the shipyard workers came on Monday night when boilermakers' leader Dan McGarvey surrendered and gave Marathon the go-ahead on their terms.

A defeated McGarvey was forced to admit:

'There is no going back. We have taken this agreement to pieces—and they are signing it. The boilermakers have done something here that they would do for no other employer.

'Everyone knows what this means, and we will stand by this agreement until the termination of the four years. There will be no strikes during the term of the agreement. We have agreed on this.'

So at last the truth is exposed about the struggle on the Clyde and all the warnings of the Workers Press vindicated.

The Stalinist-led shop stewards and the unions have accepted massive redundancies. They have given up the right to strike and they have signed away a worker's right to fight independently to improve his wages.

This is not a victory for the right to work, but a victory for the Tory government. Every deadly clause in the Marathon deal proves this.

The 'new era at Clydebank will mean:

- Workers cannot go on strike. They will be subject to a system of procedure ending in a binding arbitration of disputes.

- If they dare to break out from this strait-jacket and withdraw their labour, Marathon can threaten to confiscate their entire six months' bonus.

- Pay differentials have been abolished. This is not just a question of one group of workers being more greedy than another. Everyone knows that the boilermakers force the pace in the shipyards. Their militancy keeps wages high. And their struggles are the green light for other workers.

Under Marathon this important weapon has been destroyed.

At Clydebank an extremely serious precedent has been established and it will affect the whole trade union movement.



What, for example will McGarvey's position be at other shipyards when the employers begin their inevitable clamour for similar contracts? The Marathon deal opens a gaping breach in the flank of his union and every one of his members is now in grave danger of attack.

Workers Press warned about such concessions in the early days of the work-in. In September 1971 we said:

'If a plan like this is agreed then any employer in the country can come along and say that unless he has agreement to shed his workforce by several thousand under conditions where the remainder work harder, then he will have to go out of business.'

This process has now started at Clydebank. There were 3,200 workers in this yard in June last year. There are now 2,000 and next month there are likely to be only 500. This rump will work under the most vicious contract yet agreed in the shipbuilding industry.

At Govan Shipbuilders similar 'no-strike' pledges have been given on vessels, and there too the boilermakers have abandoned their independent bargaining position.

This is the 'victory' proclaimed by leading Stalinist James Reid and trumpeted throughout the land by the Communist Party.

What victory? Is there a worker who will deny that Tory strategy is to drive down working conditions, push up

productivity, destroy basic rights all with the threat of mass redundancies?

And is there anyone to deny that this is exactly what has happened at UCS—with the one difference that 2,000 men have already left the yards!

It is instructive to recall the words of James Reid rejecting the original plan for buying the Govan-Linthouse yards in September:

'I would rather be on the dole than among the 2,500 left to grovel and snivel and accept wage reductions and all sorts of things.'

Ten months later, what has Reid to say about a deal that means a four-year, no-strike pledge that means immediate employment for 150 men and promises for the rest:

'The deal is in the finest traditions of the trade union and labour movement.' Ironically it was the Stalinist Reid pressing McGarvey the union bureaucrat to accept this slaves' charter.

Reid again on October 16 before a mass meeting:

'There can be discussion but there will be no agreement for one, two or three yards in the absence of guarantees for all four yards and every worker in UCS.'

What a chilling ring these promises must hold for the thousand Clydebank men who are likely to lose their jobs in September and the 500 who will work on robbed of trade union rights.

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UCATT to reject latest pay offer

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(SEE FULL STORY PAGE 12)

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It was a UCS steward, Gerry Ross, who made this point back in October 1971 when he said:

'It's the four yards or nothing. Under no circumstances would the UCS workers accept a split up of their unity. Therefore to accept three-quarters of a victory would be selling out the working class in the whole of the country who have supported us on the basis of no redundancies.'

But the sell-out has come to pass. The most important lesson from UCS is that the fight against unemployment cannot be waged without a struggle to force the Tory Government to resign.

It was this perspective that the Workers Press and the Socialist Labour League campaigned for persistently.

For this we drew the hatred of the Stalinists. They deliberately avoided this fight and fell in with Tory plans. Now the Clydeside workers have paid the price. They have suffered massive redundancies and lost their trade union rights.

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Allende's 'peaceful' road?

Stalinist-led police shoot peasants

RECENT STREET-FIGHTING in a slum settlement just outside Santiago, Chile, has created a severe crisis for the Popular Unity coalition headed by President Salvador Allende. Allende has suspended the two police officers who ordered their men into the settlement—named after the Moncada barracks which Fidel Castro stormed in 1954.

The police claimed to have been searching for arms in the area, which is a stronghold of the left-wing MIR critics of Allende's coalition.

The police claim to have killed one civilian and wounded five in the course of the pre-dawn raid. But the local people say five peasants were killed and accuse the police of opening fire without provocation.

It comes as no surprise to find that one of the two suspended police officers, sub-director Carlos Toro, is a Communist Party member. The Chilean Stalinists form the right wing of the Allende coalition and have for months been demanding armed action to crush the left-wing opposition.

The day before the Santiago shooting the CP political committee issued a provocative statement condemning 'the crimes committed by ultra-left elements who are impeding the work of the government'. It added that the activities of the 'leftists' were aimed at 'diverting attention from the major programmes undertaken by Mr Allende'.

Senator Volodya Teitelbaum, a Stalinist who was guest of honour at the 'Morning Star' rally earlier this year, has even accused the left of opening the door to military dictatorship.

Attacking the 'popular assemblies' set up by the MIR, Teitelbaum said: 'To allow oneself to be led by "popular assemblies" such as we have seen in Concepción is to run the risk of the fate which overcame the Bolivian regime.'

The CP policy of conciliating the right-wing Christian Democrat opposition by trimming the nationalization programme has aroused great opposition, particularly among the poorest sectors of the population who were among Allende's staunchest supporters when he came to power.

Not only have the Stalinists turned from political betrayal to armed action against the poor peasants, but they have completely failed to conciliate either the Christian Democrats or the big American corporations which stand behind them.

President Nixon has adopted a policy of 'blow for blow' in relation to Allende's regime. The US is now demanding 'fair compensation' for the copper mines and other American interests nationalized since Allende took office in November 1970. Otherwise, Washington says, negotiations cannot take place on easing the country's crippling debt burden.

It costs Chile \$300m a year simply to service the foreign debt, most of which is owed to the US. Urgent pleas for amelioration of this burden have met a stony reception in Washington, which is insisting that the copper companies' demand for compensation—running at \$750m—must be met in full first.

At the same time, the Christian Democrats and their allies, who control both houses of parliament, are conducting constant obstruction of the government's day-to-day work. The latest example is the enforced dismissal of Hernan del Canto, the Interior Minister, after a parliamentary vote of no confidence.

Chile has been particularly badly hit by the falling world price of copper, its main export. Allende has been stomping the country demanding greater sacrifices from the workers and peasants, who have already suffered great erosion of their living standards as a result of inflation.

The Chilean escudo was devalued last Friday for the fourth time since the Popular Unity took office.

The outbreak of armed clashes between the government forces and the poor peasants demonstrate conclusively the treacherous reality behind Allende's talk of the 'peaceful road to socialism'.

The Popular Unity regime is counter-revolutionary to the core as the corpses at the Moncada settlement testify.

What we think

BLACK MONDAY ON CLYDESIDE

SPEAKING to a rally of Scottish shop stewards on November 2 last year James Reid, Stalinist leader of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' 'work-in', gave this boastful pledge to the British labour movement:

'If anyone thinks we have involved ourselves in this historical fight in order to do some horse-trading at the end of the day, then they have miscalculated the fighting capacity of the UCS workers.'

A month previously he made the same pledge to 8,500 UCS workers in Glasgow: 'Any suggestion of a sell-out on principle is an insult to the campaign of the UCS workers.'

This, it must be remembered, was not the personal viewpoint of Reid and fellow-Stalinist James Airlie, but the expressed policy of the Communist Party leaders and the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

This, at least, was what they said.

What they meant however was finally revealed last Monday when Dan McGarvey, with the active encouragement of the Stalinist leaders in Clydeside, reluctantly signed the most reactionary, unprincipled and insulting labour agreement in the post-war history of British trade unions.

It is truly without precedent. It is, in every sense, a distinct step in the direction of corporatism.

Even McGarvey, a hardened bureaucrat and reformist, found some difficulty in commending an agreement which the Stalinists volubly welcomed. He told the Press: 'The boilermakers have done something here that they would not do for any other employer.' Every employer in Britain will seek to exploit the precedent established by Marathon Manufacturing and utilize the services of those reformists who willingly sell the workers' birthright for a mess of Texan pottage.

Black Monday on Clydeside is a damning indictment of all those reformist and revisionist forces who separated the UCS struggle from the struggle to force the Tories to resign and to elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

In practice this meant the tail-ending of the spontaneous struggle of the UCS workers, an accommodation of their illusions and prejudices and the counterposing of the prevailing reformist trade union consciousness to those who, like the Socialist Labour League, fought to develop a socialist and Marxist consciousness within UCS in order to build a revolutionary alternative to Stalinism and reformism.

It is no accident that the very same people in the Glasgow Trades Council who opposed the anti-Tory slogans of the SLL on the first UCS demonstration and on May Day 1971 should be responsible for the unconditional surrender to Marathon now.

No accident at all! All those who oppose or evade the struggle against trade union consciousness, i.e. reformist consciousness, and for Marxist consciousness in the working class must inevitably capitulate to the capitalist class and betray the working class in the most cynical way. This is the iron law of working-class history which applies not only to the Stalinists, but to the revisionists as well.

The revisionists from the start of the UCS 'work-in' became the main political hod-carriers for Stalinism. The International Socialist 'state capitalist' group of Tony Cliff and the International Marxist Group of Tariq Ali helped to sustain the credibility of the Stalinists, despite episodic differences, because they all shared a common belief that mass pressure and protest, not revolutionary leadership and a General Strike to force the Tories out, would solve the

problem of jobs and wages in UCS.

They tailed along behind Reid and Airlie who in turn, tailed along behind boilermakers' president Dan McGarvey, who followed Anthony Wedgwood Benn and Harold Wilson. That was the chain of command.

The 'state capitalists', while they criticized incidental aspects of Stalinist policy in UCS, did nothing to embarrass or obstruct the fundamental reformist strategy of 'Keeping UCS open at any price'.

These reformists did criticize the Stalinists—for not being militant enough!

'The determination of the UCS workers to fight for their jobs inspired the entire labour movement. But their struggle was weakened by their stewards' refusal to occupy the yards and confiscate the key bargaining weapon—the ships. 'Compromise and a "reasonable" approach to management and government must be abandoned in favour of all-out militant action [sic] to stop several thousand more Scots workers joining the ranks of those refused the right-to-work.'

(Socialist Worker, March 4, 1972.) Nowhere is there any mention of the Tory government or the Stalinists. It is clear from this quote what the perverse policy of the Cliff group is.

IS treachery, however, does not end in UCS. Opposition to Marxism has led the IS to embrace the most backward anti-communist elements in the docks who are not even prepared to fight for the special dispensation for the 'Morning Star' and Workers Press.

The IMG, despite its pseudo-revolutionary phraseology, is equally guilty of having made its own unique contribution to this historic betrayal.

Its demands were: no redundancies, extend the struggle, occupy the yards. In other words, don't raise the political consciousness of the workers in a struggle against the Tory government and Stalinism, but engage in more forms of spontaneous struggles to 'keep UCS open'.

Militancy, more militancy always militancy was, and is, the bankrupt theme of these revisionists.

IMG support for Stalinism has been deliberately defended on grounds that Stalinism constitutes a necessary and inevitable stage in working-class leadership and that the task of the IMG is to help build the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. This view was clearly expressed recently by an IMG spokesman.

In dealing with the differences with the SLL, he said:

'They [the SLL] accuse us of providing a left cover for the CP while we on the contrary argue that it is impossible to bypass the layer of militants following the CP's line.'

Stalinism, on the contrary, is the expression of the defeats of the working class in the pre-war period and the resurgence of the working class far from signifying a growth and strengthening of Stalinism has contributed enormously to its crisis.

The task of Marxists is to destroy this 'syphillis of the labour movement' (as Trotsky described it) and not defend and justify its counter-revolutionary role in any way.

The betrayal of the UCS workers is a sombre warning to all workers regardless of trade and industry. It provides the most cogent proof of the necessity to fight for Marxist theory, to build the All Trades Unions Alliance in every industry and to transform the SLL into the revolutionary party which will liberate the working class from its fetters of reformist and Stalinist misleadership and lead the struggle for working-class power in Britain.

This will be the central task of the ATUA conference to be held in Birmingham on October 22.

AROUND THE WORLD

Vicious Czech press campaign during trials

THE TRIAL of Professor Jaroslav Sabata continued yesterday in Brno, Czechoslovakia, under conditions of great secrecy amid a vicious press campaign.

Sabata, the city's former Communist Party secretary, is charged with subversion together with an unspecified number of other defendants, believed to number five or six. Though it was originally believed his daughter and daughter-in-law were on trial with him, it is now thought they will be tried separately.

The 'crimes' for which Sabata and his fellow-defendants are being tried are similar to those of the 31 oppositionists who have already been jailed in a series of trials, mostly held in Prague.

The 'subversives' are accused of having distributed leaflets pointing out voters' constitutional rights in the November presidential elections.

The elections, conducted under the gun-barrels of Soviet tanks, were a Stalinist farce, with hand-picked candidates taken from the ranks of the heavily purged bureaucracy.

The accused men and women are also said to have given information to Italian Communist Party journalists in Prague.

In reality the trials demonstrate the extreme weakness of the puppet regime in Czechoslovakia and its lack of a popular base.

Before they could stage the trials, the Stalinist leaders had to ensure that the workers were completely stripped of all political rights, including the right to strike.

These last vestiges of the gains made in 1968 were abolished formally at a packed congress of the trade unions earlier this year.

Taking advantage of the fact

that the public were excluded from the courts and that details of the trials have never been published, the hack press and radio is campaigning vigorously to 'justify' them.

Prague Radio said yesterday: 'There have been no political trials in Czechoslovakia and there will be none, as no one in Czechoslovakia has been put on trial for his views and attitudes.'

It claimed the CP had shown 'great magnanimity' towards the defeated 'counter-revolutionaries' and given all concerned an opportunity 'to rectify their mistakes, orientate themselves correctly and rejoin society'.

It claimed the trials were 'the usual course of action in any civilized state'.

Without giving any concrete instances the radio claimed that 'the working people of Czechoslovakia . . . take a positive attitude to measures aimed at strengthening socialist legality and observing laws adopted by people's representative organs, measures aimed against those who commit offences and against the law and upset the social system'.

These attempts at self-justification will no doubt be eagerly taken up by western Stalinists like Angela Davis, who has refused to aid the defendants in the trials.

They fail to explain why the trials should be held in secret, why the workers who allegedly support them should have to be deprived in advance of their political rights and why it should be subversion to remind people of their basic constitutional rights.

Steward at Ford contract plant claims Dismissed because I organized factory



Steward Vincent Cunningham (centre) with pickets outside the Ford component plant he has organized.

BY IAN YEATS

A SHOP STEWARD sacked from a West London electrical component factory claims he has been deliberately victimized for defending workers' rights. Vincent Cunningham and seven other workers were dismissed on July 21 with two weeks' holiday pay plus a further fortnight's cash in lieu of notice.

Management at Surrey Steel Components Ltd., one of five factories at Hammersmith and Richmond run as a private company by David O'Hayan, sacked the workers after Ford, Germany, cancelled a contract.

Mr Cunningham said yesterday: 'It is only a temporary cancellation and the works' committee proposed a cut in overtime, working a four-day week or, if the sackings were inevitable, adherence to the principle of last-in, first-out. But the management wouldn't listen.'

He claims the real reason for his dismissal at 24 hours' notice is his 18-month long record of unionizing the 60-strong factory and fighting to improve pay and conditions.

Mr Cunningham said: 'Before I arrived, job times were often so high that it was impossible to reach bonus and certain amenities were almost non-existent.'

When Mr Cunningham began work at the factory union organization was non-existent, but now all but five belong to the United Society of Metal Workers.

Mr Cunningham claims he has come close to dismissal on three previous occasions because of his militancy.

Pickets were on duty for the second day running yesterday after their holiday and a mass meeting of the 300 workers at the group's five factories was being held last night.

'We are prepared to stay out

ABOUT 300 engineers marched from Greenwich to Port Glasgow in torrential rain yesterday in support of their claim for higher wages and better conditions. Nineteen were appearing in court charged with breach of the peace for allegedly blocking gas cylinder supplies to the Newark shipyard.

Dangerous rubbish at Stanton

THE ACTION committee fighting against the closure of the Stanton Ironworks, near Ilkeston, Derbyshire, should contain Tories, says one of its spokesmen.

Labour councillor William Cann said: 'The action group is non-political. We just want to achieve our aim and that is to save as many jobs as possible.'

'To do this we must have the support of not only Labour MPs, but Conservatives as well. They are the people in power and I feel that if we do not get their support we are sunk.'

Cann's words are dangerous rubbish. The Tory government has deliberately amassed unemployment of almost 1 million since it came to power just over two years ago. Men, women and teenagers on the dole are a testimony to the policies of the government.

Contrary to what Cann says, the fight for the right to work is a political fight.

If the 1,500 jobs at Stanton are to be saved, the action committee must take up the political fight to get the job-snatchers, the Tories, forced out of office.

Certainly the rank and file recognize the politics of the fight ahead. At a weekend rally, the spontaneous chant taken up by the 2,000 marchers was 'Heath out'.

Youths win the right to organize

YOUNG WORKERS at Campari Limited, Cricklewood, London, returned to work yesterday having won the right to organize in the Transport and General Workers' Union. Their strike had been sparked off by the sacking of two workers, Jim Hennessy and Frank Angear, who had tried to unionize the warehouse and office staff.

With the help of friendly stewards at the nearby Express Dairy, the strike committee had obtained enough union membership forms to sign up everyone on strike.

When a T&GWU organizer arrived at the picket line on Monday afternoon, he was handed a batch of completed forms and immediately went in to see the management.

After a two-and-a-half-hour discussion he emerged to tell the youths that the firm agreed to recognize the T&GWU and to allow all the workers to join it.

There would be no victimization of any of the strikers.

The two sacked men were to be immediately reinstated on a paid holiday basis until next Monday, pending a full board meeting to be attended by union officials.

The organizer assured the youths, however, that it was almost certain they would be fully reinstated then. But if not, the T&GWU would call them all out on an official strike.

AUEW try to hush up Orange deal

ENGINEERS' union leaders want to hush up the sale of their Edinburgh district office to the Orange Order on the cheap.

A letter from the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' executive was read to a recent meeting of the union's Pilton branch, which had complained about the sale.

It warned the branch not to make press statements about national or local union business.

The letter confirmed, however, that the Blenheim Rooms, Edinburgh, was owned by the AEU social committee. It claimed the executive had no standing in the matter.

Pilton AUEW had protested against the sale in April on two counts. First, the Orange Order was considered by many members an anti-union organization, and second, that the £4,500 sale figure fell far short of the building's last valuation at £8,000.

The AUEW's new Edinburgh offices will not be ready until later this year, which means that since April the union has been paying rent to the Orange Order.

WILLIAM HUGHES



WORKERS PRESS sends its condolences to the wife and three children of William Hughes who collapsed last Sunday, and despite treatment in the hospital intensive-care unit, died at 2 a.m. Monday morning.

Only 38 years old, William, who was born in South Wales, had worked on the railways for the last ten years and was an examiner at the Durnsford Road, Wimbledon, depot in South London. He was a dedicated trade unionist and a member of the National Union of Railwaymen.

In April 1971 he became a regular Workers Press reader and afterwards joined the All Trades Unions Alliance and had attended the Young Socialists summer camp. He was about to join the Socialist Labour League.

William led the fight in his NUR branch against the right-wing bureaucracy and against the Stalinists and revisionists. Highly respected by the men in his depot for his principled stand, he was recently elected as an observer on to the NUR district council.

At the centre of his life was a deep class hatred for the Tory government and the ruling class and everything they stood for.

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An international discussion article in six parts

PART 3

The International Committee

The struggle of the IC began against the impositions of Pablo and his group of the 'new character of the Stalinist bureaucracy' and *entrism sui generis* etc., all positions which were attacks on the very essence of the FI. It was the majority of the French section which began the struggle against revisionism, for which they were expelled bureaucratically by the Pabloite majority of the International.

However, the opposition to the positions of Pablo in 1953 was not a sufficient condition to guarantee the struggle for the building of independent revolutionary parties. The IC could only be constituted in struggle against Pabloite capitulation and the extension of this to the methodological understanding of Pabloism and of the significance of its break with Marxist method.

The SWP³ which had adhered to the IC, returned to Pabloism as the crisis of imperialism and the bureaucracy got worse. Cannon and the SWP leaders reacted empirically to the capitulation of Pabloism and its bureaucratic manipulations, but were incapable of understanding the theoretical roots of revisionism.

By leaving on one side the warnings of Trotsky on the need to fight pragmatism, the SWP prepared its cadres for the future capitulation.

By abandoning Marxism and capitulating to American pragmatism, the SWP could adapt itself easily to Pabloism, by assuming a narrow nationalist position and denying its international responsibilities. Faced with the crisis of the bureaucracy in 1956 the SWP abandoned the programme of the political revolution and the struggle for the building of revolutionary parties in Eastern Europe, and, faced with the petty-bourgeois leaderships, it capitulated totally by supporting the leaders of Algeria, Fidel Castro in Cuba and the black movement in the USA.

The assassination of President Kennedy provoked a reaction which revealed its total capitulation: they sent their 'condolences' to the widow and published a statement condemning 'terrorist methods'.

The capitulation of the SWP concluded with its participation and its unprincipled 'reunification' with Pabloism in the 1963 Reunification Congress. The SWP leaders carried through their unprincipled unification with Pabloism by using the argument that the IC ignored the 'new facts' of the world situation, 'facts' which went as far as the natural evolution of non-Marxist forces and non-proletarian forces like Castro in Cuba and Ben Bella in Algeria towards Trotskyism. Thus, the independent revolutionary party was not the central task any more since there existed an 'objective process' towards Marxism and socialism—and Marxism was distorted to become, in the words of Hansen himself, 'consistent empiricism'.

The struggle against revisionism in the Trotskyist movement, and particularly the struggle in the SWP, revealed a fundamental difference in **method**. The leaders of the SWP had rejected Marxism and had replaced it with empiricism, had rejected the method which starts from the point of view of the transformation of the world and in its place they devoted their time to 'interpreting it' or 'contemplating it'.

What characterized Pabloism has been its inability to develop dialectical materialism against idealist methods of thought, in particular empiricism and pragmatism. It was by breaking with dialectical materialism that the Pabloites prostrated themselves before imperialism and the bureaucracy. The 19 years of struggle of the IC show that in the struggle against Pabloism there cannot be a simple empirical rejection of its positions or 'theories'. An equally empirical rejection can in no way constitute the basis for the theoretical development of Marxists, since such a rejection cannot be permanent and will be subordinated to the ever-changing 'objective reality'. That is the lesson of the return of the SWP to Pablo and Mandel despite having 'broken' with them in 1953.

Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice, and revolutionary practice cannot be separated from the construction of revolutionary leadership. The revolutionary capa-



Ernest Mandel

city of theory is realized in the conscious intervention in the class struggle to build independent revolutionary parties. Nothing is more alien to Marxism than the establishment of a dichotomy between theory and practice; every concession to empiricism inevitably establishes a separation between the two.

What characterizes empiricism is the considering of reality in the form of an 'object of contemplation' and not as 'sensuous human activity, as practice; not as something subjective'. In this way, the only reality are the 'facts' and the development of theory acquires a speculative dynamic which is typical of idealism. ('Hence the active side was developed in an abstract way, in opposition to materialism, by idealism, which naturally does not know real sensuous activity as such.')

Pabloism reproduces the method of thought of the bourgeoisie which consists in



On President Kennedy's assassination, the SWP sent its 'condolences' to his widow Jacqueline (above)

an abundant collecting of empirical data which are then integrated into a 'model' or a rationalist scheme to explain them. For example, Mandel in the Introduction to his 'Treatise on Economy . . . ' says that: 'Marxist method cannot be connived except as the integration of dialectical rationalism with the empirical collecting of facts.'

Such a conception of the dialectic places Mandel in the ranks of the Kantian rationalists in the measure that it was Kant himself who integrated the French rationalism of Descartes and the empiricism of Bacon and Hume. Thus, what is implicit behind Mandel's definition is a dualist conception of the world which considers that human thought can only know scientifically the appearance of things (the phenomena) but not their essence, with the essence consequently being relegated to metaphysical speculation. Dialectical materialism has always had to fight against all these conceptions.

The method advocated by the empiricists, including the Pabloites, which consists in the 'collection of facts' erects an unsurmountable obstacle to the correct understanding of the objective world, since through this method one can only reach what Marx called the 'imaginary concrete' which only leads to the atomization of complete representation in

abstract thought. The scientifically exact method is precisely that in which 'the concrete appears in thought as the process of synthesis, as a result, not as a starting point although it may be the real starting point and consequently, the starting point of perception and representation as well'.

Because of their rejection of the dialectical method, the Pabloites and Mandel were prostrate when faced with the apparent stabilization of capitalism and the Stalinist bureaucracy during the post-war boom. The theories of Pablo on the 'imminent third world war' and the 'new role of the bureaucracy' or the theories of Mandel on neo-capitalism and the third industrial revolution, the scientific technological revolution and the new working class, as with the theories now developed by the OCI⁴ on the 'imminent revolution' or the 'objective process which leads to the universal republic of workers' councils' have a common denominator—the capitulation to the 'facts', to 'objectivity', as theories are attempts to justify or adapt to the spontaneous course of events. All these presuppose a rejection of Marxist method and a capitulation to empiricism.

Only by breaking with Marxism could the Pabloites realize their series of betrayals of the international workers'

movement and Mandel in particular became one of the greatest present-day apologists for capitalism.

He capitulated to Stalinism in the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and to the petty-bourgeois nationalists in Algeria and Cuba: he played an equally important role in the defeat of the Belgian strike in 1961; he supported Dubcek in the Czech uprising in 1968, gave a cover to the French Pabloites who capitulated criminally to 'student power' in 1968—not to mention the liquidation of the Latin American sections of the Unified Secretariat into OLAS and the Castroite movement.

Only through an understanding of the opportunist tendencies' profound rejection of the Marxist method is it possible to guarantee the struggle for revolutionary leadership in the continuity of the FI. The experience of the SWP has no other meaning and constitutes a basic stage in the struggle of the IC of the FI.

³ SWP. *The Socialist Workers' Party of the United States. American section connected with the FI until its reunification with the Pabloites in 1963. It was in the SWP in the early stages of the FI that Trotsky waged the most important struggle for dialectical materialism against the pragmatism of Burnham and Shachtman in 1939.*

⁴ OCI *Organisation Communiste Internationaliste of France.*

MEN BEHIND URUGUAY MURDER SQUADRON

The Senate Committee in Montevideo which is investigating the activities of the Murder Squadron in Uruguay possesses several pieces of evidence which seriously compromise various foreign countries.

The principal testimonies come from two members of the Murder Squadron themselves. One of them is a confession extracted by the Tupamaros from policeman Nelson Bardesio and the other consists of a 30-page confession by another policeman, Nelson Benitez Saldivar, who testified before six Senators belonging to six different political parties.

The police and military hierarchy involved in the Murder Squadron are not only guilty of crimes against the law, but against the nation, described in the military and civil penal code as 'intelligence activities with foreign elements for purposes of war'.

The United States, Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay are implicated in the organization and activities of para-police groups created to apply dirty-war tactics against the Tupamaros and left-wing movements in general.

The Uruguayan police announced that Bardesio denies his original confession, but when he was freed by the Tupamaros, he begged the Defence Minister not to deliver him into the hands of his fellow policemen. General Magnani promised him he would remain under army custody, but he was later switched to police headquarters.

SPECIAL TRAINING

According to the original taped and transcribed version of Bardesio's confession, various members of the Murder Squadron have received special training and weapons in Brazil.

Moreover, a top official of the Argentine secret service, SIDE, Captain Nieto Moreno, delivered elgignite to the Uruguayan forces to carry out an attack against a Peronist leader living in Montevideo, and several members of the Murder Squadron have also taken special courses given by the Argentine SIDE.

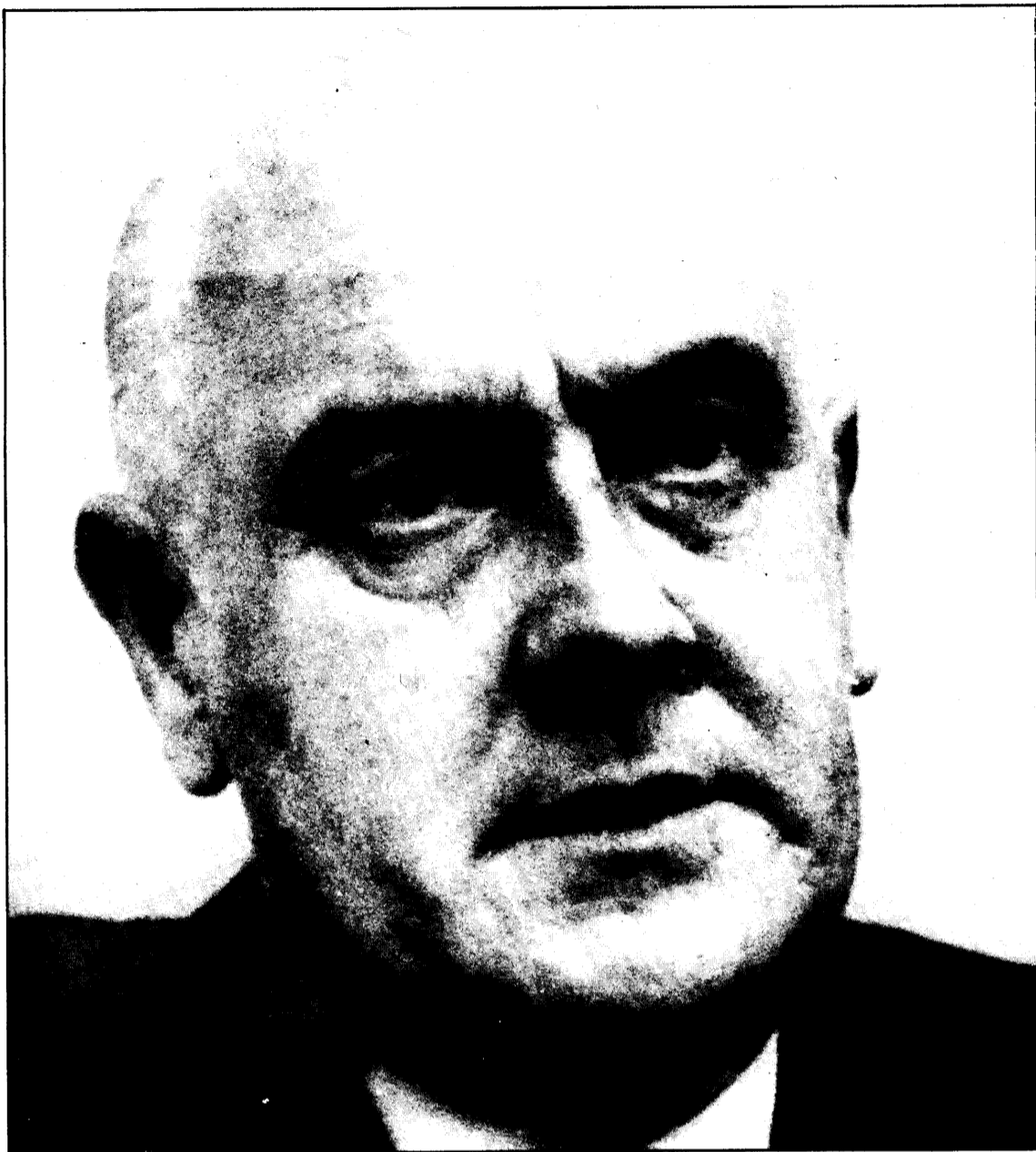
The policemen involved in the Squadron belong to the Bureau of Intelligence and Information, organized by the Technical Assistance Officer of the US Government's Agency for International Development (AID).

According to policeman Bardesio, a CIA agent, William Cantrell, is an adviser in that office and directly granted the equipment and information necessary to organize the Bureau.

At one point Cantrell worked under the orders of Dan Anthony Mitrone who was executed by the Tupamaros.

Bardesio also stated that the US Embassy receives daily two copies of information processed by the Uruguayan police and that it sometimes requests the taped record of bugged telephones.

Juan Noriega, an officer of the US Embassy, disappeared immediately after a telephone switchboard was discovered in the Montevideo neighbour-



hood of Pocitos which had been set up to intercept Soviet Embassy telephone calls. Due to Cantrell's influence, the police later released the Spanish couple who occupied the house where the switchboard had been located (and discovered by chance three years ago).

Bardesio also confessed that he used a special photographic camera set up by the American Embassy in the Carrasco airport to photograph passports.

An American diplomat, Cesar Bernal, was singled out by Bardesio as the man in charge of giving shooting lessons to a group of marines being trained to attack leftist activists and the officers of the Broad Front (the political coalition of left wing and progressive groups).

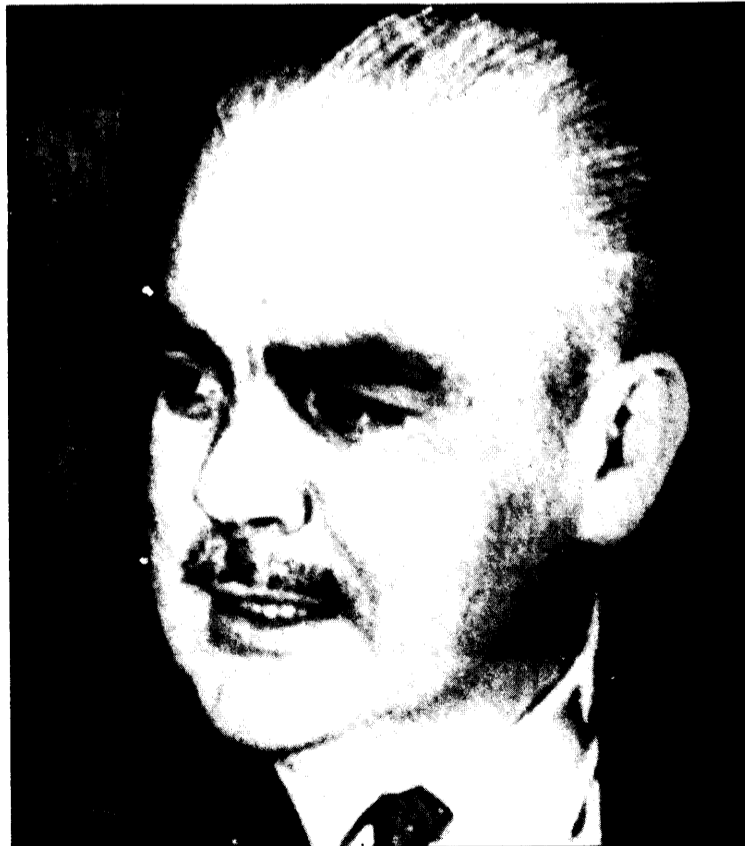
Nelson Benitez Saldivar's confession complements and elaborates on the statements made by Bardesio. According to Benitez, the Paraguayan Embassy has served as a meeting and hiding place for the members of the Squadron.

Benitez was one of the Squadron members who received special training in Buenos Aires. After the collapse of General Levingston's government, the training was suspended.

PERSONAL PHONE CALL

'They told us not to worry, that the new president, General Lanusse, had authorized the training in a personal phone conversation with President Pacheco Areco.'

A Congressional Representative of the Broad Front, Juan Pablo Terra, has made other serious accusations against Paraguay's Ambassa-



Top: General Lanusse of Argentina. Above: General Levingston whose government was also involved in the training of the murder squad.

dor, Atilio Fernandez.

Congressman Terra has proof that the Ambassador has been visiting the military barracks in Paysandu, Artigas, Paso de los Toros and Durazno instigating a coup d'etat. And a personal friend of the Paraguayan Ambassador's and CIA agent in Uruguay, the Paraguayan doctor Angel Crosas Cuevas, was the organizer of the fascist group JUP (Uruguayan Youth on Alert).

The Senate has decided to open an investigatory committee since the armed forces

seem totally involved in fighting the Tupamaros and torturing suspicious elements, and have not even touched the Murder Squadron.

The subject is particularly touchy since it reveals the foreign influence on Uruguayan intelligence branches. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that last year Uruguay occupied first place in the list of Latin American nations receiving police aid from the United States.



NIXON'S ARMOUR PLATED LINCOLN

President Nixon is not a man to take chances. He just took delivery of an armour-plated limousine worth a cool \$500,000. It was delivered to his door in a closed van with a Secret Service escort.

The limousine, a black Lincoln Continental, was hand-made in a secret Ford workshop. The local paper, the 'Detroit Free Press' quoted a workman as saying: 'It's as strong as a tank. It is so strong that a bomb would only roll it over.'

Ford and the secret service declined to comment about the car, but the paper gave these details:

Armour plate

The 365-horsepower engine has a cylinder rating of 480 cubic inches. The car weighs 10,000 pounds, compared to 5,200 pounds for the usual Continental.

Much of the extra weight comes from the quarter-inch of armour plate on the bottom, roof and doors.

The windows and metal-reinforced tyres are bulletproof, and so is the plexiglass bubble which can be hydraulically raised when the President wants to stand up and wave.

Three years

The limousine was three years in the making and never was near an assembly line. It was hand-crafted by ten metal-model makers, two welders and a stockman who worked from special plans prepared by Ford and the Secret Service.

In 1968 Ford signed an eight year contract to keep two presidential limousines available at all times and to build a new one every four years.

The car has handbars for Secret Service agents. Running boards fold out from the fenders.

'It has power everything,' said a worker. As well as air conditioning, two-way radio, telephone, stereo equipment for the front and rear and black leather upholstery, there is also a lock on the petrol cap.



CONTAINERIZATION THE CASE FOR NATIONALIZATION OF THE DOCKS AND TRANSPORT INDUSTRIES

THERE ONCE WAS A BLACK BOX

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

'What we must look forward to, therefore, is what the ICHA (International Cargo Handling Association) has given the James Bond-like title of the NO PORT. The question may be asked where, if not at the port, will the port activities take place? The answer is simply, "in the areas or regions where most of the cargo is consigned or where most of the cargo originates".—James Freight Containers, 1971-1972.

In 1949 an ex-RAF transport officer called John Gordon Woollam persuaded a shipping line on the Irish run to carry a black wooden box across the sea to Dublin.

The box—16ft by 7ft by 6ft and costing £5 secondhand—made its first epic voyage filled with cargo. It waited a while in Dublin, eventually picked up a consignment and made the journey back.

Woollam could not have known it, but he had begun a technical revolution that eventually led to the most serious jobs crisis in the history of dockland and one that in Britain caused the fiercest outbreak of class struggle since the 1926 General Strike.

The innovation took years to bear fruit. The momentous sailing went largely unnoticed in the shipping world and Woollam had a hard struggle establishing himself as anything but an eccentric obsessed with a cranky idea.

But containerization was accepted—years later. Now an estimated 25 per cent of British imports and even greater proportion of exports travel in containers. By 1975 the National Ports Council say half the freight entering and leaving Britain will be containerized.

But the container is only the most dramatic example of a family of innovations that have slashed manpower needs throughout the transport industry.

Unit loading, the packaging of pieces of general cargo into one manageable bulk; palletization, the storage of merchandise on wooden platforms; the roll-on, roll-off system, where giant lorries travel across the sea aboard liners; are all changes that are rapidly transforming cargo-

handling from a labour to a capital-intensive industry.

The battle for jobs on the docks has centred on the inland clearance depots (ICDs) where the containers are packed and unpacked with cargo. The dockers say this groupage work is their own by right and tradition.

But this is only one small aspect — though the most provocative — of the wholesale modernization of freight-handling which the workers in transport have paid for with redundancy and a massive productivity increase.

It is the classic example of the working class reaping only minimal benefits of technical progress and eventually being threatened with mass unemployment.

This is why there is no one device or 'single issue' solution to the docks crisis. The interests of the dockers, the drivers and the warehouse workers can only be safeguarded if the entire industry is restructured along socialist lines—then technical progress will not mean a cut-back in the labour force, but shorter hours and better pay.

The present suggestion of the Transport and General Workers' Union and many port shop stewards that dock workers should be employed in the ICDs will not work.

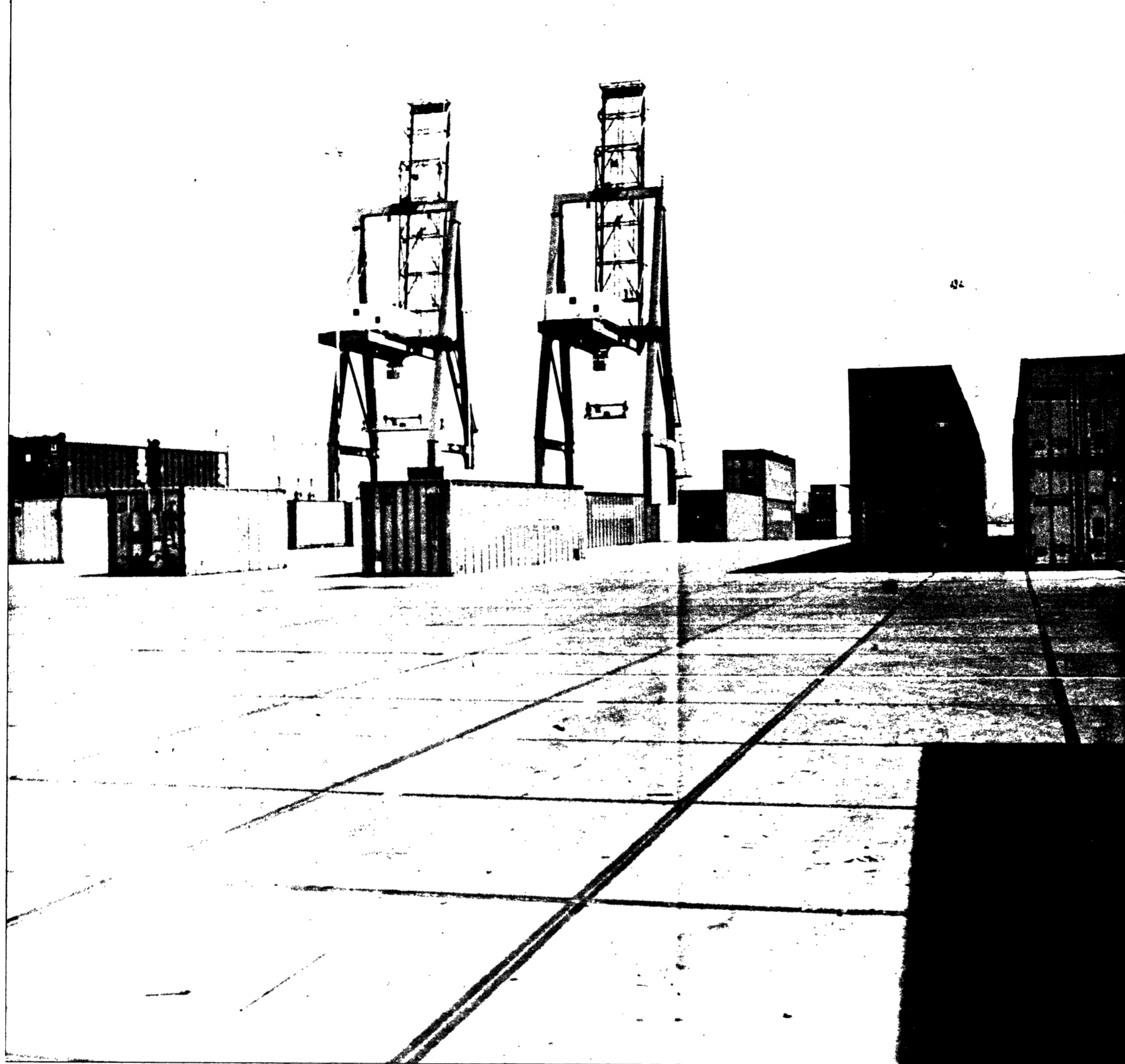
For example, one of the biggest container firms in the country, the Containerbase Federation employed about 190 men in June this year. Their six depots claim to handle 20 per cent of total groupage traffic.

Calculating on this basis there are roughly a thousand jobs going in all ICDs—not even enough to absorb the dockers in the 'temporary' unattached pool in London, let alone the 5,000 the employers say are surplus at the ports!

What happens anyway to the warehousemen who the Transport and General Workers' Union diligently recruited back in 1968?

Is Jack Jones, general secretary of the T&GWU serious when he says there would be no sackings at the depots if the dockers moved in? Expansion at the ICDs in preparation for the containerization of the Far East trade, but not nearly enough to compensate for the rundown in dock labour this will create and safeguard the jobs of the existing depot workers.

The impact of modernization cannot be grasped if containers are viewed simply as steel boxes, packed with cargo,



that are easy to handle.

What has been dubbed as the 'second container revolution' centres on the concept of 'through - transportation'.

The container then becomes a vehicle of transportation and the ship, lorry or plane merely a carrier.

This is a profound change. The longer the cargo can be carried unbroken inside the container, the less expense per mile are the transport costs. This is the nub of the 'through - transportation' system. Containers are packed as near source as possible and unpacked as near destination as possible.

CATTLE

Before containerization the docks were the focal point of the world transport system. All cargo in a multitude of loads came to the quayside, was expertly stowed into ships and unloaded piece by piece at the port of destination.

This industry was labour intensive since most of the cargo was handled. The employers, because of the frequent fluctuation in the level of trade, developed the casual system, employing dockers on a day-to-day basis. Each morn-

ing the men would line up in the pen to be picked out like cattle.

With conventional cargo, up to 50 per cent of the total transport costs from country to country occur at the ports. Cunard, for example found this to be the case with one of its liners packed with 75,000 pieces of cargo on the transatlantic run.

This new method has changed the ports from a hive of activity to a mere staging post on the containers' journey. A modern container berth serves one purpose—lifting the steel box from lorry (or quayside) to ship or vice versa and the most striking feature is the lack of dockers. The examples of the breathtaking increase in productivity at container-berths are legion. One will suffice here: At Seaford—a new dock north of the port of Liverpool—ten men can load 2,000 tons of cargo in four hours onto a coaster. With conventional methods it took 100 men three days to deal with the same load.

The success of containerization depends, however, on more than modern berths. The costly cargo-handling equipment at the port must be fully utilized to pay its way. This demands a high and constant flow of full containers. Hence

the emphasis has shifted inland. Containers are either packed at source with one cargo, that is at the exporting factory, or the cargo is gathered together at strategic inland depots and made into full container loads.

Reginald Carpenter in his book 'Containerships' noted one important result of this development:

'In effect,' he wrote, 'the stevedore [and the docker] has transferred his place of work [inland]. His tasks are less onerous, but he remains a key operator whether directly involved in loading containers or acting in an advisory capacity to shippers who want to do their own loading with their own staff on their own premises.'

This was put more bluntly by one ex-docker officer I met at a container base in the Midlands. Pointing to a row of bays where containers were being 'stuffed' he said: 'We're really loading ships 200 miles inland.'

But in practice the re-employment of port workers to the rear of the process has not occurred.

This is because containerization not only offers the employers massive technical improvements, but also the possibility of a 'final solution' to the dock labour problem.

The men they recruit to staff the container bases (with full agreement with the Transport and General Workers Union) are not registered dockers. Many firms argue they offered jobs to dockers first, but on one crucial condition—they had to come off the register. This meant the dockers would have to forfeit their hard-won right under the National Dock Labour Scheme to security from the dole.

(Under the scheme dockers cannot be 'sacked', only returned to the 'temporary' unattached pool where they get a fall-back pay of £23 a week—substantially less than their normal earnings.)

John Reid, chief of the Containerbase Federation, candidly admits that the depot owners do not want to be considered port employers and pay into the scheme. Others want the right to hire and fire, as indeed the Federation did last year when it declared 40 per cent redundancies at its Birmingham depot.

S. G. Burgess, secretary of the National Association of Warehousemen, summed the trend up in 'Freightage 71' in an article on the integration of the shipping lines with transport firms and warehouse owners:

'The professional warehouse

keeper with his expertise has been forced into close collaboration with the container/shipowner and constrained to study container depot work, both at home and overseas.

'Let us particularize the trends. The failure to adapt port facilities to new conditions coupled with unstable relations between port employer and labour has undoubtedly prompted the retreat of the wharfingers, notably from the Port of London. With programmes aggravated by the recent dock strike, storage accommodation is now being acquired away from troubled dockland as far as possible.

'Wharfingers are seeking to diversify their interests and in this respect public warehousing offers a distinct attraction. In consequence the trend is away from the dock area and towards the establishment of large inland warehouses with up-to-date handling aids or the establishment of national warehousing and distribution facilities linked with computer systems.' (My emphasis.)

There are many examples of stevedoring firms—more often than not owned by the shipping lines—moving their cargo operations off the dock and setting up ICDs employing non-registered labour.



At Hull, Ellerman Wilson Lines Ltd operates a container service to Scandinavia and Europe. They are also the main employers of dock labour. They bought a firm called Key Warehousing and Transportation Co Ltd, a firm which runs a groupage warehouse a stone's throw from the docks.

In other cases shipping agents have been forced into the groupage business.

AGENTS

In the days of conventional cargo they offered a service to exporters and importers. The shipping agent dealt with all the arrangements for moving cargo from one country to another. The advent of the container and the 'through-transport' concept side-tracked this service. The big operators offer the containers, their own lorries, depots and ships—they promise door-to-door delivery—so who needs the shipping agent?

So many agents bought their own transport firms, depots and existed on the fringe of the industry — and often on the fringes of the port areas, grouping cargo, employing labour as cheaply as

possible, often with, it must be said, full union agreement. These are the notorious cowboy operations that the dockers hate.

The road haulage business itself has been forced into merger after merger. One of the biggest, the Transport Development Group is a combination of 112 haulage, warehousing and associated manufacturing firms with a wage bill of £20.3m and 12,152 employees in 1971.

The transport, warehousing and shipping industries are now a bewildering web of interlocking interests with only one victim, the workers. This is the turmoil containerization has caused.

It should be re-emphasized, however, that groupage, though the most provocative aspect of containerization, is not the most important. Trade via unit loads in 1970 equalled 16 million tons. The estimates on how much of this was grouped in inland depots varies. Some say 25 per cent, others put the figure as high as 50 per cent.

But whatever the proportion, far more containers are packed full at the point of manufacture than are stuffed at the ICDs. The root of jobs crisis caused by containerization is the system itself. It represents vast technical

changes which should be of great benefit not only to the docker but to working people everywhere.

Should be . . . but for one critical factor. It is a system developed by capitalists. Under capitalism containerization becomes a thing for dockers to fear, it is a trap set by the employers and sprung by the unions with their successive modernization deals.

Not until the docks and the transport industry is nationalized under workers' control will the dockers be able to welcome the container. Then it will mean shorter hours, higher pay and a welcome respite from dirty back-breaking work.

Then the container will mean cheaper food for workers and peasants all over the world who live on the bread line. Under socialism containerization will benefit the many instead of the few.

Tomorrow The octopus that is strangling the dockers—the shipping barons and their empire.



LUSH SELF-INDULGENCE FROM TRUFFAUT

BY GUEST REVIEWER FRANCIS WYNDHAM PHOTOGRAPH BY BEN JONES

'ANNE AND MURIEL' (Curzon) is one of those typically French films in which the director uses the medium to explore his own personal obsessions. In a sense it is shamelessly self-indulgent, but it is also rather admirably serious.

Watching it is like being buttonholed by an egotistic stranger who insists on telling one all about his private life, and it depends on one's mood whether one is interested or bored by the result.

It is also typically French in that the clothes and the décor are in perfect taste and the scenery (whether in pre-1914 Paris or on the wild Welsh coast) is breathtakingly beautiful.

Handled by a less-sophisticated director than François Truffaut, the plot would be unbearably insipid. It is about the relationship between a self-centred young Frenchman and two English sisters, both of whom love him in their different ways.

Muriel is difficult, with-

drawn and inhibited, with a passion for purity and a fear of sex, while Anne is warm and generous and comparatively uncomplicated.

In the part of Anne, Kika Markham gives a marvellously relaxed and beguiling performance, which manages to make sense of a script that often seems wilfully obscure.

Stacey Tendeter is less happily cast as Muriel: the character is supposed to be fanatical and exalted, but the actress seems merely petulant and cold.

Jean Pierre Léaud is curiously passive as the hero—no doubt correctly, as the role is little more than an instrument through which Truffaut can analyse his own reactions to the two opposing types of women who have dominated his erotic imagination.

Truffaut's earlier film, 'Jules et Jim', perhaps his most successful, was adapted from a novel by Henri-Pierre Roche. This new movie is taken from a later book by the same author, 'Les Deux Anglaises et le Continent', which was more or less openly autobiographical.

Roche, it seems, had been involved with two English

girls, and in 'Jules et Jim' had transposed the experience into a story of two men in love with the same girl. Sure enough, the hero of 'Anne and Muriel' writes a novel called Jérôme et Julien, and the film is set within the framework of his writing the second book, which is the source of the film itself.

The style is deliberately literary: most scenes are accompanied by 'voice over' repeating or enlarging on their content, and the characters are constantly writing letters to each other which we both see and hear. The most characteristic shots are of these letters being written, posted, delivered, opened and read.

One gets an impression of a closely-knit group of people forever analysing their feelings, blind to the fact that these are not particularly remarkable in themselves. And yet the concentration of the analysis does succeed in generating an odd dramatic tension, which is quite independent of the fact that the sensibilities being analysed are really rather banal.

Like many Frenchmen, both Truffaut and Roche seem to imagine that all English life

closely resembles that led by the Brontës. The character of Muriel is clearly inspired by Emily—although it is Anne who is made to die of consumption, with a quotation from Emily Brontë on her lips.

It must be said that the Welsh sequences are wildly improbable, although they might seem more convincing if they had been set in France.

Again, one is forced to conclude that Truffaut is here less concerned with life as it is lived, than with his own fantasies, memories and regrets.

It has been suggested that he may have grafted on to the original by Roche his own feelings for two other sisters, the actresses Françoise Dorléac and Catherine Deneuve, both of whom he has directed (in 'La Peau Douce' and 'La Sirène du Mississippi' respectively). Anne has something of Dorléac's spontaneous charm, while Muriel recalls the control and reserve of Deneuve. Françoise Dorléac was killed in a car crash—and in the film Anne is made to die, although she does not die in the book. If one imagines the part of Muriel played by

Above: making her first appearance in a feature film, Kika Markham plays the sensuous sister, Anne, caught up in a love triangle

Catherine Deneuve, one can guess at what is meant by the frequent references to her 'purity'.

All this speculation raises the question of the value of a film that can only be fully appreciated and interpreted in terms of some inside knowledge of the director's own life. As it stands, 'Anne and Muriel' strikes me as fairly meaningless—enjoyable only for the beauty of the photography and the delicate charm of Kika Markham's acting.

And yet, throughout, one senses the existence of some hidden meaning, hinted at by the mysterious intensity which one feels to be at the heart of its conception.

Again, it is somehow typically French that so literary a film, filled with insistent analysis and endless explanations, should have omitted to provide the one explanation (as to why it was made at all) that might have brought enlightenment to a bewildered public.

SEXUAL SADISM MAKES THIS A WINNER

REVIEWED BY ANNA TATE

A film critic once described Michael Winner as one of Great Britain's most successful and least talented directors — a piercingly accurate and rather polite description.

Due to a structure which makes talent entirely secondary to profit, the film industry boasts a number of personalities with an overwhelming insight into and preoccupation with the correct ingredients for box-office bangers. In this, Michael Winner outstrips the field.

With a single-mindedness which certainly indicates a stubborn intention to live up to his surname, he has, over the years, hatched a series of films which contrived, without exception, to fulfil the norms (as far as these can be predicted in an unpredictable and slumping market) of commercial success.

'The Nightcomers' is a prime example of this species of 'filmus commercialis' with all the component parts of sex, sadism, violence and sentimentality.

But, worst of all, the film has pretensions toward a more priggish cultural acceptance than Winner has really aspired to in the past.

It brings to mind the attempt of Hugh Hefner to artistically enhance his 'Playboy' magazine image by producing the film 'Macbeth' with Roman Polanski.

Hefner used Shakespeare.

Michael Winner uses Henry James, not that James had the talent of a Shakespeare.

In any event, all the characters of the 'Nightcomers' are based on the James novel 'The Turn of the Screw' and with the unimaginative help of screen-writer Michael Hastings, Winner has succeeded in producing a tale of tormented emotional relationships which smack of pseudo-D. H. Lawrence, pseudo-L. P. Hartley, pseudo-Thomas Hardy and pseudo-Henry James to boot. The whole thing is, in a word, pseudo.

Those who saw 'The Virgin and the Gypsy', 'Women in Love' or 'The Go-Between', will find this film, both in direction and content, only a paltry imitation of the worst artistic excesses of more talented directors. What John Schlesinger, Ken Russell, Peter Yates, Joseph Losey or Christopher Miles do with consummate ease and sometimes consummate error, Michael Winner apes with profound affection and constant error.

One aspect above all others seems to attract Winner to produce and direct 'The Nightcomer's'—its sexual sadism.

The fact that he elevates this sadism into a mystical, natural drive with artistic knobs on, makes it all the more unsettling.

Had he tried harder he could certainly not have pulled off a film which could more justifiably enrage women liberationists, as every pat clanger is trotted out to reinforce the age-old image of the eternally dominant male brutalizing and crushing the puritan, virginal female in order to 'awaken' her to sensual reality.

Having uncovered a truth,



Marlon Brando in 'The Nightcomers'.

i.e. that there is in 'love' a high degree of hate, competition and struggle for dominance, and that nature itself is cruel and aggressive, Winner proceeds to one of the most full-blown clichés ever to hit the screen. One feels, as his pretentious camera swings towards facile parallels with the animal world, that he has read ten pages of Conrad Lorenz and misunderstood about nine of them.

Dwarfing all else, the publicity for the film does a hard sell with the caption 'BRANDO, BRUTAL, BEAUTIFUL . . . Directors are



Stephanie Beacham as Miss Jessel.

not, of course, always to be blamed for what the publicity boys do to their finished product, but in this case, Winner was on to an ad-man who could not have better understood the message of his film.

Marlon Brando is the crowning commodity, his stardom the selling kernel of 'The Nightcomers'.

The concept brutality is beautiful is the other peg on which a dubious morality is hung.

All this is wrapped up and delivered in the name of reality and art, tied with the

tinsel cloak of mystical sentimentality, which verges too often on the ridiculous. There is even an attempt at philosophy, which falls like a thud from a great height when the lead-character, Quint, says meaningfully: 'It hurts when you're born and it hurts when you die.'

The extension of this maxim in the film seems to be that you might, therefore, just as well, in between, brutalize all and sundry.

Given the burden of such a script and such direction one suffers most of all for Brando.

The idea of casting an all-American, Method star in the role of an all-Irish rogue, can only be described as aberrated. If the character has any strength at all it is due to the talent of Marlon Brando, who manages, one never knows quite how, to bring a touch of credibility where there is none whatsoever.

It is only too clear that he was much more at home in 'On the Waterfront' than in an English rural setting at the turn of the century, dressed like a navy and intoning in a heavy Irish brogue.

He looked for all purposes like an uneasy bull which has been led into a pre-arranged china-shop. He runs through the fields and forest (there is a lot of 'artistic' running through fields and forests in this film) like a man being tracked by the FBI rather than the easy, sensual man of nature he was meant to represent. I thought the lines had got crossed between Perry Mason and Lady Chatterley's Lover.

But for those who like sadistic sex, violent deaths and sloppy sentimentality, this is the film to see. It certainly has to be seen to be believed.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

LEAFLET

An Edinburgh Labour councillor has been attacked in a scurrilous and illegal leaflet put out by an organization called the LDA.

The councillor, Ron Brown, proposed erecting a plaque at the Edinburgh birthplace of the great socialist James Connolly.

In a leaflet distributed in the city the LDA, presumably some extreme right-wing Protestant group, condemn Connolly as a 'murderer' and a 'traitor'. They print Mr Brown's address and telephone number and ask other extremists to 'Write or phone him and let him know that it is not a lunatic that you want for a councillor. Nor an IRA lover.'

The authors prefer to remain anonymous—in fact the leaflet bears no imprint and therefore breaks the law.

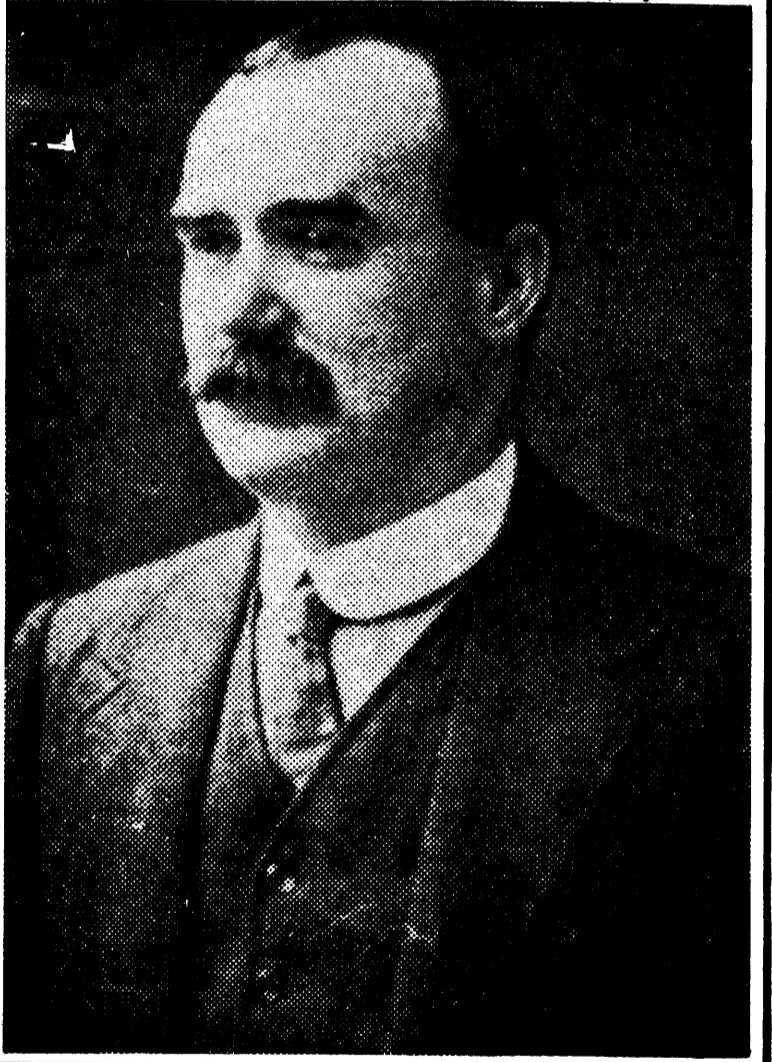
Mr Brown says: 'In proposing that a plaque or monument be erected at the birth-

place of James Connolly, I am not simply wanting a tribute to a great socialist of the past. It is far more than that. I want to re-emphasise our working-class history — our revolutionary heritage—which is so important at the present time.

'The LDA, on the other hand, is attempting to split workers on sectarian grounds here in Scotland, as the leaflet proves.

'In my view, one of the reasons for this happening is the bankrupt policies of so many labour and TUC leaders.' NOTE: In fact Connolly was murdered by British imperialism for his role in the heroic but abortive 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin. Connolly was sentenced to death and was shot tied to a chair in Mountjoy jail, Dublin. A wound he had received in the fighting made him unable to stand before the firing squad.

Below: James Connolly



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Print workers seek union recognition

ELEVEN of the 12 workers in the printing section at Toye, Kenning and Spencer Limited, at Bedworth, in Warwickshire, are continuing their strike to demand union recognition.

The men joined the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades the week before Easter. Twice since then the management of the regalia manufacturing company has refused point blank to grant recognition on the grounds that this would upset the rest of the factory, who are mostly General and Municipal Workers' Union members.

According to the strikers on picket duty these grounds are unfounded.

Eight days ago the men finally walked out when the management refused to pay holiday money in full.

Last Friday they came up with an offer of the required holiday pay and an increased pay offer for five workers who were previously being paid less than union rates.

The fight is being undermined by the management's use of students in the print section working on strikers' machines.

SOGAT officials have so far been unsuccessful in tackling the National Union of Students to stop this.

The strikers are determined to stay out until recognition is obtained.

NEW ZEALAND Motor Corporation, which assembles British-Leyland vehicles at Panmure, near Auckland, is negotiating to use its surplus capacity to put together Japanese Datsuns. A corporation spokesman said that agreement was near for an arrangement to assemble a substantial number of cars for Nissan Motor Distributors Ltd.

'Urgent powers' needed to end pyramid selling—MP

THE TORY government has eventually got around to preparing measures to deal with pyramid selling, which has swindled people out of thousands of pounds.

Minister for Trade, Michael Noble, is to announce in the next few days the steps to be taken against this sharp business practice.

In the House of Commons this week Raphael Tuck, Labour MP for Watford, called for urgent powers to outlaw the technique 'in view of Mr Justice Megarry's comments in the High Court that pyramid selling was capable of being operated dishonestly and amount to swindle of a far reaching nature'.

Noble replied: 'I have taken note of the judgement. It relates to the two companies for which winding-up orders have been made.'

'Wider implications it may have will require further examination. A study of pyramid selling is in hand and I hope shortly to reach decisions on any further measures that may be

necessary to regulate the practice.'

Mr Tuck: 'Many people have been and are being swindled out of their life savings by slick operators in this field. The practice has been made illegal in a number of states of the United States.'

The judge—in a recent case involving a subsidiary of the Koscot Interplanetary Group—had described the scheme as reeking of 'cunning and dishonesty', recalled Tuck.

Asked if he couldn't 'speed up things to see that more people are not swindled out of their savings', Noble said: 'I shall take whatever action is necessary as soon as I can.'

This lackadaisical attitude has been evinced by the Tory government in relation to pyramid selling for months—not to say years.

It is no use the Tories saying the whole squalid practice has only just been brought to their attention. It was completely exposed in an article in 'The Sunday Times' by Richard Milner more than 14 months ago. In a major feature entitled 'Time to police the franchise jungle',

Milner spotlighted the growing importance of the pyramid selling scheme in general and the Swiss-registered Koscot Interplanetary in particular.

Returning to his theme last weekend Milner recalled:

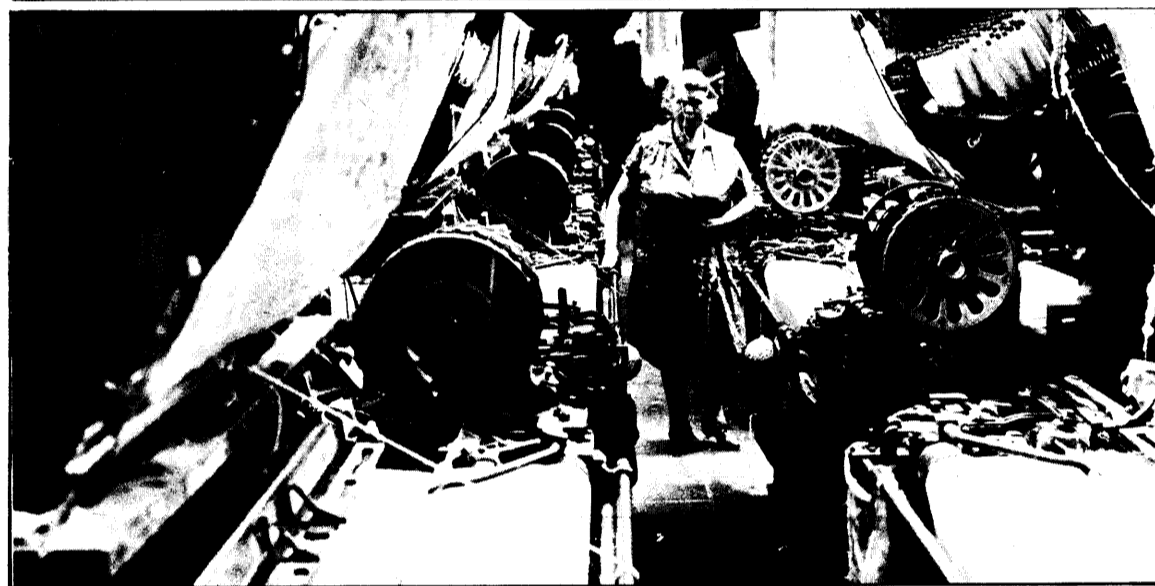
'At the time the Board of Trade had little or no official interest in the franchise industry. It even passed the buck to the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, apparently on the ground that the only franchises that sprang to mind involved food.'

Milner reveals that the Department of Trade and Industry has investigated about five firms other than Koscot.

Koscot's main rivals include Holiday Magic and Opus, together with Golden Chemical in detergents, Vashchek (England) and Computex in computer-linked discount buying, and Scott James of Westminster in clothing.

Milner is cynical about the delayed intervention of Noble's department.

'By the time the DTI acts, the early birds will have got the worms. And the worms will have been got.'



Cost of dying is up

IF YOU think the cost of living is getting out of hand, then it's time to look at the cost of dying too.

Priests are charging more for burial services and funerals are becoming more expensive.

In the Midlands, the average simple funeral is now 20 per cent costlier than a year ago. It is well above the £100 mark, according to a local survey.

And this figure does not take into account any of the 'extras'—like flowers and headstones.

The National Association of Funeral Directors has just released its standard charge rates for the next financial year. Their minimum charge will be £69.75 compared with £64 last year and £59 in 1970. Association president G. N. Carter blames increased costs:

'This is part of the runaway cost of inflation. If the timber bills that are coming in are anything to go by, it is inevitable the price will go up still further.'

The land speculation is also a factor in the accelerating cost of dying. For example, a private grave for two has gone up from £20 to £27 in recent months.

With these soaring charges, many funeral directors are now reporting considerable debts.

One who has been operating in the Midlands for the past 50 years told the 'Birmingham Post': 'I have to write off the cost of three or four funerals a year. I am owed thousands of pounds. There is one person paying me off at £1.50 a week because she could not afford the bill. You'll never find a funeral director who is a millionaire.'

Footnote: Ever-conscious of their election promise to build 'A Better Tomorrow', the Tory government is paying out grants of up to £30 to underprivileged people unable to afford the cost of burying their close relatives.

TURKEY and the US have opened talks in Ankara on the projected sale of more than 60 American Phantom fighters to the Turkish air force. A ten-man delegation led by Richard Violette, a Foreign military sales specialist from the US Defence Department, arrived at the weekend and opened negotiations on Monday. The arms will further strengthen the reactionary military regime, which already boasts Europe's largest army.

Belfast linen firm closes two plants

THE BELFAST linen company, William Ewart and Son, has announced that 300 workers at two of its plants will be sacked because spinning and processing at the plants will be discontinued.

A statement by Ewarts announced that spinning will cease at its Crumlin Road mill and cloth and yard processing will end at the Glenbank Bleach and Dye works after completion of current orders. The decision has been taken because of losses in those areas which prohibited the continued operation of the plants.

These cutbacks can only mean a very severe blow to Belfast workers already faced with chronic unemployment since the two main areas of employment still operating in the city have been textiles and the shipyards.

Aer Lingus first loss in 11 years

AER LINGUS, the Irish airline, has made a trading loss after 11 consecutive years of profitability.

The loss to the year ending March 1972, amounted to £596,000. This compares with a trading profit of £17.6m in the previous year.

Although revenue increased by 13 per cent from £37.5m to £42.3m, expenditure went up faster—by 19 per cent from £35.9m to £42.9m.

The net loss after payment of tax and interest charges was a staggering £2.395m, compared with a net profit the previous year of £815,000.

Aer Lingus chairman Patrick Lynch this week blamed the loss on the troubles in Northern Ireland among other things.

In addition, however, he pinpointed the root causes—inflation and the saturation of the North Atlantic routes. In fact, the airline's heaviest losses—£2m—were on the North Atlantic route.

Lynch said he could only see losses ahead for the company over the next two or three years.

Work-to rule holds up nuclear submarine

GOVERNMENT dockyard workers at Chatham are now in the second week of a work-to-rule and overtime ban in support of their pay claim.

The refit programme for ships in the yard is now well behind. Shift work has come to a halt on the multi-million pound nuclear-powered submarine 'Warspite'.

And the ban on overtime has hit work schedules on conventional warships.

The dockyard workers began their action after they and 190,000 other government industrial workers were offered a miserly £1.50 by the Civil Ser-

vice Department.

Ten unions meeting early in July turned down the 8 per cent offer, demanding £2.70 all-round.

Talks between the unions and government officials are expected to open again in London this Friday.

Meanwhile, the Chatham dockyard workers are seeking support from other Medway-based government establishments.

Jim Lewis, chairman of the Whitley committee in the yard said: 'This pay rise is not just for the dockyard workers, but all industrial workers in government establishments.'

Dublin dockers jobs decimated

HUNDREDS of Dublin dockers have been made redundant in the last ten years because of the introduction of unitization and containerization.

In the cross-channel sections of the port, the number of dockers has fallen 80 per cent from nearly 1,000 in 1961 to 200.

The deep-sea labour force has almost been halved from 1,000 to 550. Over 70 fork-lift truck drivers had lost their jobs and these have been taken by the re-

maining dockers.

These figures are revealed in a new report by the Dublin Port and Docks Board. It calls for expansion of port facilities and the creation of more job opportunities.

More than 60 per cent of all Ireland's general export cargo passes through the port of Dublin.

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TV

BBC 1

9.45 Mr Benn. 10.00 Flashing Blade. 10.25 Tennis. 10.50 Noggin. 12.25 Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan. 1.30 Andy Pandey. 1.45 News, weather. 1.53 Eisteddfod. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Ballet Class. 5.20 Little Women. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News, weather.
6.00 NATIONWIDE.
6.50 TOM AND JERRY.
7.00 RYAN AND RONNIE. Comedy.
7.25 MISSION IMPOSSIBLE. Time Bomb.
8.10 NO EXIT. Queen's Messenger.
9.00 NEWS, Weather.
9.25 ATTACK FROM THE WEST. Part 6: Grand Strategy of World War II.
10.25 DOWN TO EARTH.
11.00 ECHOES OF LLANGOLLEN.
11.30 NEWS.
11.35 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 5.35 Open University.
7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.
8.00 TIMES REMEMBERED. Children from abroad.
8.10 MAN ALIVE. Aircraft Noise.
9.00 FOLLOW THE RHINE. With Johnny Morris. Part 2: Basle to Baden-Baden.
9.25 FILM: 'THE RED BADGE OF COURAGE'. Audie Murphy, Bill Mauldin. Northern recruit's experience of active combat in last days of American Civil War.
10.30 REBEL POET. Hugh MacDiarmid.
11.10 NEWS, Weather.
11.15 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

ITV

10.50 George Formby. 12.20 Women. 12.45 Freud on Food. 1.10 Bellbird. 1.25 Sean. 1.40 Woobinda. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Simon Locke. 3.45 Edgar Wallace. 4.40 Hatty Town. 4.55 Little Big Time. 5.20 Ace of Wands. 5.50 News.
6.00 JUNKIN.
6.25 CARTOON TIME.
6.35 CROSSROADS.
7.00 WHICKER. Within a Woman's World.
7.30 CORONATION STREET.
8.00 MIKE AND BERNIE'S SHOW. With Kenneth Haigh and Barbara Murray.
9.00 THE MAIN CHANCE. Choice of Jungles.
10.00 NEWS.
10.30 TONY BENNETT. At the Talk of the Town.
11.00 WRESTLING.
11.45 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY. Andrew Alexander.
12.00 OFT IN DANGER.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 2.35 Consider science. 3.05 Hadleigh. 4.05 Paulus. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Good afternoon. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 F troop. 6.35 London. 11.45 News, weather.
WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.44 News. 11.47 Faith for life.
SOUTHERN: 12.55 News. 1.00 Let them live. 1.25 Hot dog. 1.50 Cook book. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Danger man. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.35 Get this. 7.00 London. 12.00 News. 12.10 Weather. Guideline.
HARLECH: 3.20 Talking hands. 3.45 Ugliest girl in town. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West.



The late Audie Murphy as a raw recruit in the Northern Army during the American Civil War in 'The Red Badge of Courage' on BBC 2

6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Dave Cash. 7.00 London. 8.00 Mike and Bernie's show. 9.00 London. 11.45 Frighteners. 12.15 Weather.
HTV Wales as above except: 3.45 Hamdden. 4.15-4.30 Miri mawr. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd.
HTV West as above except: 6.15-6.30 Report West.
HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus: 10.30-11.00 Eisteddfod.
ANGLIA: 1.40 World war I. 2.05 Rovers. 2.30 London. 3.15 Thoroughbred. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.30 Romper room. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London.
ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Ghost and Mrs Muir. 4.40 Magic ball. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 8.00 Mike and Bernie show. 9.00 London. 10.30 Odd couple. 11.00 London.

ULSTER: 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 UTV News. 6.10 Viewfinder. 6.35 London. 10.30 World war I. 11.00 Wrestling.
YORKSHIRE: 12.50 Men and women of Yorkshire. 1.45 Simon Locke. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Sound of. 3.15 Delta. 4.10 Calendar. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Sean. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.05 UFO. 7.00 London. 10.30 Blue light. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 Weather.
GRANADA: 2.25 Freud on food. 2.45 Seaway. 3.40 Towards the year 2000. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Sean the leprechaun. 4.55 Little big time. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 North west goes south. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart show. 7.00 London. 8.00 Mike and Bernie's show. 9.00 London. 10.30 Dick Van Dyke. 11.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 11.25 Cricket. 1.45 Simon Locke. 2.15 Bellbird. 3.00 Good afternoon. 3.00 Cricket. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Perils of Pauline. 6.30 Shirley's world. 7.00 London. 11.45 News. 12.00 Us and them.
SCOTTISH: 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Animaland. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Under these roofs. 6.30 Band call. 7.00 London. 10.30 At odds. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 Late call. 11.50 McCue's music.
GRAMPIAN: 3.37 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Grampian week. 6.20 Canadian view. 6.35 London. 11.45 Scales of justice.

City clamp on credit for property

THE CITY of London, worried about the lack of investment in manufacturing, is trying to stem the continual flow of funds into property and finance. Yesterday the Bank of England moved to reimpose the main banks' lending controls.

A letter from Sir Leslie O'Brien, governor of the central bank, asks them to 'make credit less readily available to property companies and for financial transactions not associated with the maintenance and expansion of industry'.

He goes on: 'I am sure banks appreciate the need to meet this demand if the growth of the economy is to proceed soundly.' City financiers are clearly concerned about the lack of interest in industrial investment and the ominous signs of ever-increasing speculation in property and finance companies.

THE PRISONERS' union PROP, which organized last Friday's national jail strike, said yesterday it would organize a demonstration outside Wandsworth jail. It has demanded an immediate public inquiry into the allegations of brutality and the suspension from duty of all prison staff involved in the allegations. The demonstration is against brutality by prison staff and disciplinary proceedings against men at Wandsworth who took part in Friday's sit-down, the union said.

PROP has threatened an immediate general prison strike if prisoners are punished for their part in the national action.

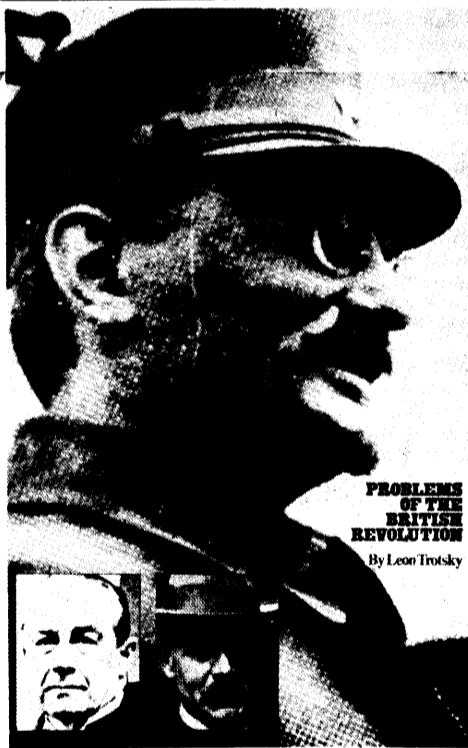
Right-wing teachers register

A GROUP of right-wing teachers in the breakaway Professional Association of Teachers have become registered under the Industrial Relations Act.

The association is committed firmly to a 'no-strike' policy. The group, which claims more than 4,000 members, was formed during the teachers' strike campaign in 1969 and 1970.

It is ludicrously small compared with the 230,000-strong National Union of Teachers, but it still represents a threat in the event of strike action called by the official union leadership.

The NUT and the National Association of Schoolmasters have both deregistered in accordance with TUC policy. The PAT is now expected to seek representation on the Burnham committee which fixes teachers' salaries.



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.

64 pp price 35p (postage extra)

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

Stalinist bluster to cover UCS treachery

MASKING their treachery in accepting a four-year no-strike pledge at Clydebank, the Stalinists yesterday called a meeting of shop stewards in Glasgow to put a 'militant' face.

A meeting of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions at a bingo hall in Partick called for a one-day stoppage throughout the West of Scotland on September 5 to coincide with the TUC annual meeting at Brighton.

The resolution read: 'We demand that the TUC General Council will cease co-operation with the government and the CBI, but will instead reaffirm the determination of the movement to make the Industrial Relations Act inoperative by total non-co-operation with the refusal to carry out instructions of any court or institution set up under the Act.'

'We pledge ourselves to operate a maximum day of stoppages [sic] on September 5 and to send a token delegation to the lobby of the TUC on that day.'

This is the face of Stalinism in the trade unions today. Pathetic, worthless one-day stoppages, and 'token' lobbies are suggested in the face of the biggest onslaught that the ruling class has launched against the trade union movement since the Combination Laws.

James Airlie, who chaired the meeting, refused to take a counter-resolution submitted by Stuart McAusland, Central Glasgow ETU branch, which called for full support for the dockers and the building of Councils of Action to prepare for a General Strike to defeat the Tories.

Criticizing the deal at Clydebank, McAusland said it was no different to the deal being done between the TUC and the CBI.

He attacked James Reid's statement at the weekend that the deal 'is in the finest tradition of the trade union and labour movement'.

Kevin Halpin condemned the resolution and Airlie said: 'We don't want to be undemocratic, but only one resolution is going forward and that is the liaison committee's.'

AUGUST FUND £252.59—STILL A LONG WAY TO GO

THE STATE of emergency and attacks by the Tory government continue as determinedly as ever. This political situation leaves no time, therefore, for us to sit back over our Fund.

We know that you, our readers, have made a magnificent effort in the past. But the August fight has really just begun. After the UCS betrayal Workers Press is needed to expose the treachery of the Stalinist and reformist union leaders more than ever before.

Our Fund must not be allowed to slip back. An extra fight must be made to pull the figure up. Raise more wherever you can. We still have £1,497.41 to collect by the end of this month. Post all donations immediately to:

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

OVER NORTH Scotland there will be rain at first but brighter weather with showers at times is expected later. Elsewhere in the British Isles there will be showers and sunny periods. The showers will be most frequent in Scotland and Ireland but will die out during the day over south west England and South Wales. It will be rather cool in the north but temperatures will be near normal in the south.

Moves for all-out action on pay Builders force UCATT back

BY PHILIP WADE

DESPERATELY afraid of the militancy of their own members, the executive of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) yesterday decided to reject the building employers' paltry pay offer.

When an angry, 7,000-strong demonstration of building workers reached the employers headquarters in London yesterday they found that their union leaders had failed to turn up for the meeting.

One of the militants told Workers Press: 'If they had been here and had accepted the offer, I don't know what we would have done to them. There might have been a lynching!'

The UCATT rejection of the offer follows a decision already taken by the Transport and General Workers' Union.

At a rally earlier in Hyde Park, delegates from Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Manchester, Yorkshire and other areas reported all-out strike action for the full £30, 35-hour week claim.

The mass meeting passed a resolution calling for an all-out national strike of building workers.

The marchers demanded the resignation of George Smith, UCATT general secretary, for originally accepting the deal.

As London's biggest demonstration of building workers wound its way down Oxford Street, the cry was raised, 'Heath Out'—£30 for 35 hours now.

The employers' latest offer falls far short of the original claim.

Craftsmen would only get an immediate rise in basic rate of £3 and labourers £2.60. No concessions have been offered on the demand for a shorter working week, but most seriously the proposed agreement is essentially an anti-strike deal.

For the payment of the guaranteed bonus is conditional on an uninterrupted working week. This means employers would be able to provoke strikes to cut wages.

Ian Hayes, UCATT member from Bolton, Lancs, told me: 'Every site is out in Manchester and they totally reject this offer.'

'When I heard of the sell-out, I was at first disappointed then angry. If they betray us, the branches will demand their resignation. This fight is the fight every worker must take up. It is the same for everyone with rising prices and the Common Market. Workers have enormous strength in their hands if they wanted to use it.'

'If you get a Labour government returned they must nationalize the building industry and end decasualization.'

Barnsley strike committee member, Denis Burnett, said: 'We have not been out for six weeks for 60p.'

'We have sent telegrams to London demanding the leaders' resignation because we have lost all faith in them.'

Brian Sanderson, T&GWU convenor from Southend, echoed the feeling for a joint struggle with dockers:

'We are all in the same union anyway and after all it is the same struggle. This is not just a wage claim—it's our future. If we lose this one, we are in trouble.'

Yesterday's massive show of militancy throughout the country is a complete indictment of the Communist Party support for limiting the struggle to a selective strike policy.

About 100 building workers from Leeds travelled down to



Yorkshire T&GWU builders at the Hyde Park rally

London for yesterday's lobby. Almost every building site in Yorkshire is out on strike for the claim.

Dave Burrows, one of many young workers who made the trip, told Workers Press: 'It's not the local leaders we have to worry about, it's the top brass down in London.'

'First they bring us out on strike and at the first opportunity they try to sell us out. The offer is useless and they won't get away with it. If they try we will kick them out.'

Preston building workers are in full support of the campaign to extend the strike into national action.

Alan Moon, a militant on one of the sites, said: 'We won't get the full claim under this government.'

His call for a national stoppage was also supported by Frank Harkin, a labourers' shop steward.

In Glasgow yesterday, over 3,000 building workers demonstrated through the city against the UCATT leadership. The march took up the cries of 'Smith Out' and 'No Sell-Out'.

A mass meeting afterwards voted unanimously to stay out indefinitely until their demands are met and to picket any site not yet out on strike in the Glasgow area.

Birmingham building workers yesterday occupied the Social Security main office in Radford Street and demanded that a special strike centre be set up to handle their claims.

The men declared that they would not quit the building until they had received assurances that they would get benefits to which they are entitled.

Several hundred men took part in the occupation.

Police tackle dock pickets: Troops next?

MASSIVE police reinforcements were on duty yesterday to keep unregistered ports open. In several areas there were again clashes between dockers and the police as scab drivers passed in and out of the gates.

In many areas police from outlying areas have been drafted into service to bolster smaller constabularies.

The Home Office, which is masterminding the operation, is determined that there is no repetition of the miners' strike when the police often had to back down due to the superior solidarity of the picketing.

The Tory Cabinet went into emergency session yesterday to discuss the timetable for introducing troops into the docks.

Pressure for an immediate attack on the dockers is being sought by the National Farmers' Union which described the situation as 'critical'.

About 450 police were on duty at a private wharf near Keadby, Lincolnshire, yesterday as dockers from Goole arrived in strength to close the port.

The wharf, LSD Transport, situated on the Trent, was the scene of angry clashes on Monday in which 17 dockers were arrested and several injured.

Police there yesterday came from Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Leicestershire.

When two lorries forced their way through the lines yesterday fights broke out and three pickets were slung into police vans.

Trent-side employers yesterday issued a defiant statement saying:

'We will continue to discharge as long as our workers are not in danger. We feel that the time has come for every right-thinking person to resist by every lawful means the strangle hold which the dockers seek to put on British ports, whether registered or unregistered.'

At the unregistered port at Heysham yesterday, Preston and Liverpool dockers joined in a picket several hundred strong to stop railway wagons going in and out of the dock. All the work from Preston has been diverted to Heysham.

Ken Powrie, a Preston docker, told Workers Press that the strike had really shown up the union leaders.

'They're sitting on the fence,' he said. 'Blokes are worse off under this government than ever before. All these closures are disastrous. It's the working class that always gets it.'

He also cited other anti-working class policies of the government—the rent Act, the Industrial Relations Act, the Common Market.

Ugly scenes developed in the afternoon when police charged the pickets to force a pathway for 'scab' lorries. They also tore placards out of dockers' hands.

At the nearby Taylor Woodrow power station site a mass meeting of striking building workers unanimously passed a resolution supporting the dockers.

Convenor Stan Jackson reported to the meeting that the regional council had decided in Manchester to call for a national building strike.

He told Workers Press that if UCATT accept the employers' offer 'they've sold us down the river'.

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

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