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By DAVID MAUDE

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He told Workers Press from his home in Hemel Hempstead:

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'It was made very clear at our conference in July that we would be opposed to any closures which reduced the level of coal-production beyond its present level and which were not due to exhaustion.

'We are not going to accept the old argument of "uneconomic" pits. It's possible some people in government think they can weaken our bargaining strength through more unemployment, but I would warn them that the miners have never been so confident of their own power.'

The source of the job fears in the pits is a secret report which is under preparation by the National Coal Board on the future of mining in 13 areas.

Nearly 210,000 miners are employed in the areas in question. This is more than 70 per cent of the Board's labour force.

The first draft of the report, on which the NCB has been working for the past six months, went to the Department of Trade



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BY IAN YEATS

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Now they are mounting an all-out offensive to split the dockers by bullying and intimidating workers at the smaller unregistered ports.

After 14 days of talks the Jones-Aldington Committee is believed to have come up with only a tiny handful of jobs and not all of these will be available at once.

A shock report out on Friday disclosed that by 1975 the number of registered dockers would be slashed from 41,500 to 'fewer than' 30,000. T&GWU leader Jack Jones is as aware as any employer of the impact of containerization on dockers' jobs and from his position on the National Ports Council, which commissioned the labour-study, he has a front-seat view of all future trends.

The report, submitted by the National Ports Council to 'senior members' of the Jones-Aldington Committee, warned that London, Liverpool and Hull would bear the brunt of the cutbacks. Ports in Lancashire, South Wales and Scotland would also be affected.

Yet while one of the committees on which he sits reveals the loss of thousands of jobs, Jones sits on another with Lord Aldington talking in terms of a few hundred jobs as a solution to the crisis. Jones, the employers and the Tories know the dockers will not be hoodwinked back to work for a mess of pottage like this.

Jones allows the employers and the government to drag out the Committee's talks and engineer a split in his members on the docks. All the signs point to a concerted campaign by port employers to intimidate small groups of workers at unregistered ports into abandoning the fight.

Massed Tory police have been used as shock troops against dockers to protect scab workers at unregistered ports like Keadby, Lincs. The threat of military intervention to break the strike was made good at the weekend with the first RAF plane loads of supplies to islands off the Scottish mainland.

In Cornwall Tory MPs, shopkeepers and the 'captains' of local industry, including executives from the china clay industry, led a 6,000-strong march through St Austell to intimidate a handful of isolated local dockers. The 108 men have shut the ports of Par, Fowey, and Charlestown and shop stewards representing china clay workers have sent a telegram to Jones requesting a meeting not later than Wednesday.

At the unregistered port of Harwich navyyard 150 strikers have been told there is no guarantee they will be re-employed once the strike ends. Chairman of Harwich Dock Company Phillip Mann claimed dismissals and a phased return to work had been caused by traffic being diverted from navyyard to British Rail's container terminal at Harwich Parkeston. But Bernard Taylor, shipping and port manager at Parkeston, hotly denies the allegation. He said:

'I have not taken anybody's business. I have kept my word to the unions that only regular routed traffic would be handled and all of my management staff have had a very difficult time making sure that this is so. We have turned back a whole train and sent a whole freightliner ship back to Zeebrugge because they were carrying some black cargo.'

While the port employers offensive gathers momentum, big warehouse operators like Vestey and Hay's Wharf, together with the Road Haulage Association, have made it plain there are no circumstances under which they will employ dockers.

And whether dockers' solidarity is maintained or not, the Tories have left no doubt that they are ready to use their emergency powers either to send troops into all docks or even just into those which would almost certainly go it alone after a split—London, Liverpool and Hull.

The longer the Jones-Aldington talks go on, the greater the danger of splitting the dockers. Jones must break off the talks immediately and recall the T&GWU biennial conference to mobilize the labour movement in their support.

● See p. 11. Hull reactions.

## Vietnam jail tortures

POLITICAL prisoners are being tortured in South Vietnamese jails, the 'New York Times' said yesterday. Saigon correspondent Sidney Schanberg said interviews with former prisoners have corroborated accounts already smuggled out the jails. Thousands of students,

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Former prisoners said a favourite police comment was: 'If they are innocent, beat them until they become guilty.'

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# What we think

## The class struggle and politics

THE CLASS STRUGGLE, Lenin said, is one of the fundamental questions of Marxism. That the Heath government has enormously intensified the class struggle since the beginning of this year is patently obvious to every working-class family.

Central to the Tories' offensive has been the 'shake-out' in industry, the deliberate creation of mass unemployment. The government and its backers in the Confederation of British Industry have used the fear of unemployment to drive down wages and working conditions.

It follows, therefore, that all struggles today are political because they involve the policies of the Tory government.

The Tories stand at the back of the ruthless British Steel Corporation closures, the 'rationalization' of the GEC-AEI empire in preparation for the Common Market entry and they stand foursquare with the Road Haulage Association and the Engineering Employers' Federation in depriving workers of decent salaries and conditions.

Of the political character of these attacks there is common agreement between a number of tendencies in the Labour movement—the Communist Party which produce the 'Morning Star', and the revisionists of the so-called International Socialist ('Socialist Worker') and the International Marxist Group ('Red Mole').

But while they recognize formally the role of the Tory government in today's struggles, they seek to confine their own counter-activities to a level of protesting. Take the UCS work-in, which is perhaps the most glaring example of this form of protest activity.

In his balance-sheet of UCS even the limp 'Sunday Times' Labourite, John Fryer, has to write: 'Those who remember the "battle for 8,500 jobs" headlines will notice that up to 2,000 men have vanished since UCS went bust. Some have died or retired, but many have either found other jobs, or joined the unemployed.'

Mr Fryer doesn't draw any definite conclusion from his research, so we'll do it for him. The work-in was a fraud. It did not save all the jobs, nor did it maintain all four yards as a single unit.

Yet this was the slogan which the Stalinists, James Reid and James Airlie, hoisted over the work-in when it began. But at the same time the Stalinist leadership insisted from the very first rally held

in Glasgow that politics be kept out of the struggle.

At every step they diverted attention away from the government.

Yet Lenin warned explicitly about the treachery of such liberal activity in times of grave crisis: 'Marxism,' he wrote, 'recognizes a class struggle as fully developed, only if it does not merely embrace politics but takes in the most significant thing in politics—the organization of state power.'

And translated into current circumstances, Lenin means the Tory government.

We are the only tendency in the workers' movement which has called continuously for the defeat of this government. In doing so we have set our face against the Stalinists and their allies—the revisionist protesters.

Lenin has this to say about them:

'Liberals are prepared to recognize the class struggle in the sphere of politics, too, but on one condition—that the organization of state power should not enter into that sphere. It is not hard to understand which of the bourgeoisie's class interests give rise to the liberal distortion of the concept of class struggle . . .'

This is the essence of the irreconcilable division between them and us. They refuse to call for the overthrow of the Tory government and thus hold back the political development of the working class.

Because they offered no resistance to the government, because they want to co-exist with state power, the Stalinists ended up signing a four-year no-strike pledge with 2,000 men already down the road. This is where 'no politics' struggles lead!

Have the revisionists taken note of the political balance sheet at UCS and learned anything? No. Despite the cruel facts of the work-in farce, they still can't repudiate Stalinism and make a political estimation of the fight. They remain apologists for Reid and Airlie.

Last week's 'Socialist Worker' buried the signing of the Clydebank deal in a six-inch single column on Page 7. This paltry article obliquely refers to the 'tragedy' of the no-strike pledge, but makes no direct criticism of the Stalinists or their policies.

By tailing the Stalinists in and out of every craven deal with the employers the IS assists them in keeping the Tory government in office.

● See tomorrow's Workers Press for another assessment of the Stalinists' role at UCS.

### 'Special camps' being prepared by Tories?

# Terrible trap for Asians

By John Spencer

UGANDAN president Idi Amin has no intention of varying his ultimatum expelling the country's Asian minority within 90 days.

He made this clear when he snubbed Tory envoy Geoffrey Rippon who has now left Uganda for Kenya and Tanzania and has no plans to return to Kampala tomorrow—the only day Amin is prepared to see him.

Amin has said that an estimated 50,000 British citizens must be out of the country by November 8. The Tory government has not yet said whether the Asians hounded out by Amin will be accepted in Britain.

Despite their citizen status, the Asians have been barred from Britain since 1968 under the Wilson government's Immigration Act. If the Tories are forced to accept these refugees, however, they will certainly face stringent restrictions once they arrive.

The government is believed to be preparing special camps on War Office bases to house the refugees from Uganda. And when they leave the camps they will be allowed to live only in certain parts of the country.

Councils in Leicester, Bradford and Coventry have told the government they will not accept any more coloured immigrants. Rippon maintains: 'You can't deal with large numbers of human beings as if they were cattle.' But that is precisely what the Tories propose to do.

Until now all British citizens have had the right to live where they choose. This fundamental right is to be abolished if the Tories have their way. They are pandering to every racist in the country in order to whip up

## Caught between two sets of racist policies

anti-immigrant feeling.

Their unprecedented proposals would reduce the Asian refugees who have already once been robbed of their citizenship rights to the status of second-class citizens if they finally arrive in Britain.

More to the point, the Tories are taking advantage of a crisis which is their responsibility to impose a total ban on all immigration from other Commonwealth countries.

Having already stripped the Ugandan Asians of their citizenship rights—and thus exposed them to the mercies of the racist dictator Amin—they now propose to use their plight to strip every other coloured Commonwealth citizen of their right to come to Britain.

The racist legislation of



Idi Amin

successive British governments has now driven the Ugandan Asians into a terrible trap. There are already reports of Amin's police terrorizing Asians and demanding money from them at gunpoint.

Amin has publicly denounced such actions, but he and his ministers are touring Uganda whipping up a pogrom atmosphere and he has threatened 'highly unpleasant' reprisals against any Asian who is not out of the country by the 90-day deadline.

The only categories allowed to remain after that date are the 23,000 Asians who chose Ugandan citizenship after independence (and then only if they can prove their status with documents) and certain categories of professional employees.

## FOREIGN NEWS

# Race attack on Turks working in Holland

TURKISH workers in the Afrikaander district of Rotterdam have been the targets of three nights of rioting by groups of Dutch youths.

The Turkish workers in this city-centre slum are among the 150,000 foreign labourers imported from southern Europe under the Com-

mon Market 'guest workers' scheme.

Most of them are employed as cheap, menial labour in the country's factories. Right-wing groups have been agitating against them for some time, complaining that they are crowding out the Dutch.

Since the riots began on Wednesday, many of the Turkish workers

have fled the area. The agitation against the foreign workers comes at a time of crisis for the ruling coalition government.

Right-wing premier Barent Biesheuvel has been forced to call a premature general election following parliament's rejection of swingeing budget cuts. The police did not

originally intervene against the rioters because they considered there was 'enough tension already' according to a Rotterdam inspector.

They moved in force, however, when they learnt that Turkish workers from other parts of Holland were on their way to help their countrymen.

# Heaviest bombings—but liberation forces press on

AMERICAN planes made the heaviest air raids of the war over North Vietnam at the weekend. About 1,200 tons of bombs were dropped on supply depots and a new oil pipeline running down from the Chinese border to the frontier with the south.

The newly-built pipeline has enabled the liberation forces to out-

flank Nixon's blockade and mining of the country's coast and rivers.

The US planes—eight-engined B52 bombers—attacked points along a line stretching 30 miles south-east and 60 miles north-west of the coastal city of Dong Ha, the US command announced.

American air force, marine and navy planes mounted a further 200 strikes against targets

in the southern part of North Vietnam.

The American command is extremely worried by the outbreak of fighting on a number of fronts in South Vietnam which were previously considered 'secure'.

After seven weeks of fighting the South Vietnamese puppet army has signally failed to take the besieged town of Quang Tri, despite unprecedented US bom-

bardments against the defenders.

In the Mekong Delta south of Saigon, liberation forces in considerable strength are harassing South Vietnamese units and threatening to cut the capital's supply routes.

And there have been reports of big liberation units moving towards the coast in the central area of South Vietnam.

## SDLP whips will be out for all-party talks

WILLIAM WHITELAW, the Tories' Ulster Secretary, has secured all-party talks to be held from September 25 to September 27.

On paper the Social Democratic and Labour Party is refusing to participate, but inside sources say their 'opposition' to talking is only token.

When the whips start cracking John Hume, Gerry Fitt and the others will rush to the Tory master's table.

Also present at the talks will be Brian Faulkner's Ulster

Unionist Party, the Alliance Group and Paisley's four-man Democratic Unionists.

The SDLP is saying that it wants internment ended before attending the talks. There are still 264 internees in the concentration camps, a further 47 having been freed last week.

One of the party's spokesmen, Ivan Cooper, said at the weekend: 'We believe there is only one way forward—talking.'

He claimed that some people in the Official IRA had privately supported their decision to talk while publicly condemning it.



# SIT-IN: A SPRINGBOARD FOR FUTURE STRUGGLES

The 13-week occupation of Wyngrove and Rogers engineering plant at Kirkby, near Liverpool, has forged a new link in trade union solidarity, says one of the factory's stewards.

In an interview with Workers Press, Dave Allen said: 'For the first time in 30 years the men have become conscious of themselves in their trade union strength. The occupation for over three months has solidly knit us all together in a united fight and

we have ended the occupation strong and confident.

'We don't regard the occupation as the end of the fight, but only the beginning. It is the springboard for future struggle. For the first 11 days after we went back to work we had stoppages every day against the management's attempt to bring in despotic rules and because of the presence of staff on the shop floor who were hostile to us during the occupation.

'Only a few days after we returned to work we all downed tools in support of the jailed dockers.'

The occupation was lifted on July 24 after two full-time

**Above: Workers at the Kirkby plant sit-in.**

officials, Gerry Russell and F. Johnson, negotiated an immediate £2 rise on the basic, making a minimum fall back pay of £28. The men also agreed to an incentive scheme to be completed on October 31 which will bring in another £3 to £4.

'They gained extra holiday premiums and an extra day's holiday this year and another two days next year.

All men sacked during the occupation for so-called 'industrial misconduct' were reinstated.

Dave Allen described the deal as 'a victory'.

## RENT QUESTIONS

The Tories' much-vaunted rent rebates scheme involves a savage means test.

Just how the scheme will operate is shown in a document released by the Ipswich County Borough Council.

To make application for a rebate, a three-page questionnaire has to be completed. The applicant must give details of 'family circumstances' and income.

All pensions and allowances must be listed and investment

income. Item 4 asks the applicant to list all uninvested cash in his possession, as well as that of his wife and any tenants.

On the final page the applicant must sign a declaration of accuracy. This section reads:

'I declare that the information given on this application is accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief and that no other income was received by me or my wife/husband apart from that declared.

'I authorize the corporation to make any necessary confidential inquiries from my employer or elsewhere to verify the information given.'

And across the foot of the document appears this threat typed in capital letters:

'A person who by deception dishonestly obtains a rebate for himself or another is on



**Above: Julian Amery.**

conviction liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years.'

This is Julian Amery's great rents scheme for the under-privileged tenant!

If any part of the form is filled in incorrectly — accidentally or otherwise — the tenant faces five years' jail.

# TUC STRIKE: A GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY WAS MISSED

The National Graphical Association—one of the main print unions—has only deferred, not abandoned, strike action against the Industrial Act.

It was TUC general secretary Vic Feather who put pressure on the NGA to call off its one-day strike planned for Monday July 31.

The union had decided to go ahead with the strike against the Act, despite the release of the five dockers the previous Wednesday.

But the TUC intervened after they had called off their own one-day General Strike, also planned for July 31.

John Bonfield, NGA general secretary, writing in his union journal, explains what they told Feather when he first

approached them.

'The National Council felt a golden opportunity was being missed for the whole movement to show its opposition to the Act at a time particularly favourable for making the maximum impact,' he says.

The NGA had already sent a telegram to the TUC urging them to go ahead with the one-day stoppage, despite the release of the five dockers.

Bonfield says his National Council eventually met for three hours on the Saturday before the proposed strike and decided, 'albeit reluctantly', to agree to Feather's request.

But at the same time, a decision was taken to call on the TUC to organize a one-day stoppage against the Act. The NGA is hoping for support from the National Union of Mineworkers.

**Below: Vic Feather.**



## PENTHOUSE AT THE SURREY?

The PLA now says it is willing to negotiate the sale of the land 'at proper commercial prices'.

A consultant has come up with a scheme regarding the commercial and industrial redevelopment of the area.

This would include a yachting marina, a number of office blocks and 1,400 homes.

The report does not make it clear if the homes will be for workers. But judging by other similar schemes, like the one at St Katherine's dock, they are more likely to be luxurious private apartments.

Now that traffic has moved upstream to the containerized Tilbury, the old docks present themselves as lucrative prizes for property developers.

The ground is fast being prepared for another property bonanza on the basis of redeveloping former dockland.

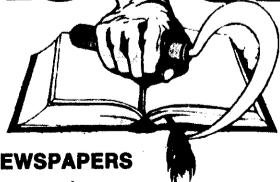
Southwark council and the Port of London Authority have just published plans for the future of Surrey docks.

There are now 450 acres of disused dockland, which are owned by the PLA.



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# THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL

An international discussion article in six parts

## PART 6

### Thesis of the COB<sup>9</sup>

The events in Bolivia have shown that the POR never broke with centrism and that its adherence to the IC was only an opportunist manoeuvre by Lora. The responsibility of the POR in the defeat of the Bolivian proletariat obliges Trotskyist militants to draw up a balance-sheet of the events which carried the military group of Banzer to power. This was a defeat for the Bolivian working class because of the incapacity of its leadership.

Because of his total break with Marxism, Lora and his group always developed an opportunist policy of capitulation to Stalinism and petty-bourgeois tendencies, a conscious negation of all international perspective and the rejection, consequently, of the building of independent parties of a Bolshevik type.

From the congress of the COB in 1970 the POR capitulated to Stalinism and to political theses based on the impossibility of struggling consistently against petty-bourgeois nationalism to the extent that an anti-Marxist conception of the latter was developed; the negation of the theory of the permanent revolution and the acceptance of the 'theory' of the revolution in stages; the acceptance of the 'theory' of the 'building of socialism in one country' and also the acceptance of the international policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. It was the French section itself which produced the first criticism of the theses of the COB. This criticism concluded:

'Comrades, we tell you, quite plainly, motivated by deep and anguished conviction, that if this declaration becomes the policy of the Bolivian workers' movement and represents its orientation, and if the POR should adopt it (or even if it maintained a long silence on the fact that it constitutes the result of a compromise which only has circumstantial value), then the thesis of the COB can constitute a noose around the neck of the Bolivian proletariat since it limits it to Bolivia.'

When it justifies and backs up completely everything the POR has done, the French section opportunistically avoids this criticism and in particular its final conclusion:

'This party prepared this struggle, was prepared for it, was able to take advantage of the opportunities and at each stage of the revolutionary process developed the conditions for the working class to take the power.'

### Revolutionary Leadership

The defeat of the Bolivian proletariat was the result of the prostration of its leadership. The POR was incapable of posing correctly (or, rather, it never even posed it) the struggle for independent leadership. Its basic break with Marxism led it to capitulate to the traditional leaderships and the union bureaucracies. It is no coincidence that after the defeat, Lora, in his balance-

sheet, leaves out all question of working-class leadership. As he expressed it himself, the 'leadership of the workers' movement was correct' and the political policies of the working class were overtaken by the events.

But the main leaders of the working class were the **Lechinists**<sup>10</sup> and the Stalinists.

In an interview which appeared in 'Informations Ouvrières', the OCI's newspaper, he goes so far as to say that Stalinism, pushed by events, was forced to take up 'revolutionary positions'—the same position of Pablo towards the Soviet bureaucracy, except that 'it has become real' for Lora. What is certain is that Lora always accepted the Pabloite theses on Stalinism, theses which led him to affirm that the Sino-Soviet conflict opened up the possibility that a fraction of the bureaucracy would 'debureaucratize' and 'return to Marxism'; a possibility which was reduced to nought by Lora since 'the theoretical discussion did not penetrate to the very root of the problem'.

This metaphysical concep-



Banzer

tion of the bureaucracy is what makes him declare that Stalinism is the same as Menshevism, denying the international nature of Stalinism and the fact that the bureaucracy obtains its power from its control of the means of production and its compromise internationally with imperialism.

The formulation of Lora that Stalinism is only a bridge between petty-bourgeois nationalism and Trotskyism or the position he describes in the article 'Bolivia between nationalism and socialism'—where he states that the independence of the proletariat is measured by its movement to the left in relation to petty-bourgeois nationalism—can only lead to one conclusion. That is the handing over of the workers' movement to Stalinism and the rejection of the struggle for alternative leadership. It is in line with this policy that the POR supported the CP candidate in the Popular Assembly, thus refusing to stand an independent candidate.

### Petty-bourgeois nationalism

In Latin America the process of the national bourgeoisies has been of such a size that it is relatively easy for 'left' groups to appear which declare their 'faithfulness' to the theory of the permanent revolution and



Velasco (above) and Allende (right) did not even protect the petty-bourgeois government of Torres.

reject the theory of two stages.

However, this phenomenon is not backed by an understanding of Marxism, but is the result of spontaneous evolution. The majority of these groups—outside of the Marxist movement and consequently outside an international perspective—have refurbished the petty-bourgeois criticism of imperialism. This criticism is in essence reactionary and in no way touches the actual basis of imperialism. Such groups have invariably refurbished the Kautskyan conception of imperialism, considering it as super-imperialism and as exclusively a national question.

In this way, they have been unable to break politically with petty-bourgeois nationalism, and have become its critics and its 'left' cover.

The POR, and Lora in particular, outside the Marxist movement, have refurbished this left criticism of petty-bourgeois nationalism—this is the basic content of the statement 'they are limited or inconsistent anti-imperialists'.

Consequently, a complete break with nationalism is never posed; in fact its 'anti-imperialism' is given support. It is no coincidence that Lora should conclude in this article that the governments of Velasco and Allende will defend the workers' state in Bolivia. Logically, Velasco and Allende did not even protect the petty-bourgeois government of J. J. Torres.

<sup>9</sup> COB, Bolivian Workers' Trade Union Confederation

<sup>10</sup> Lechinists, Followers of Juan Lechin, a longstanding opportunist in the Bolivian trade unions.



# HOFFMAN STORY WITH TORIES IN AUGUST 1970

When Arthur Lewis raised questions about the Real Estate Fund of America in the Commons recently, the Tory Minister for Trade, Michael Noble, declined to comment.

What's more, Noble and other government ministers have given the distinct impression that the affairs of REFA are almost unknown to them.

The Fund, you will recall, was founded by American financier, Jerome D. Hoffman, who is now serving a two-year jail sentence for mortgage fraud in the US.

First president of the fund was Reginald Maudling and his appointment was announced in an ecstatic press release in 1969 which was headed: 'Naming a great president.'

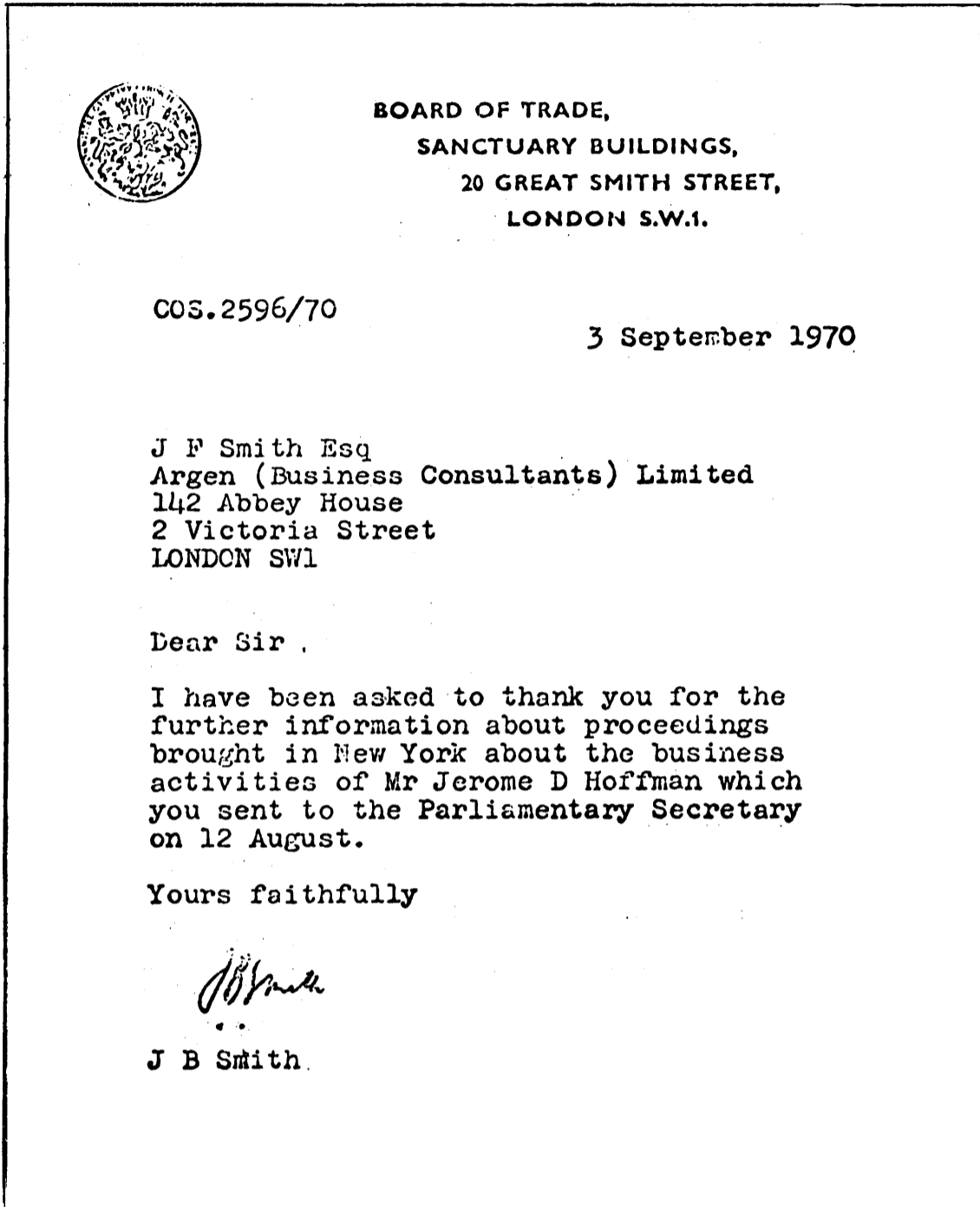
The release said: 'We are pleased to announce that the Right Honourable Reginald Maudling, former Chancellor of the Exchequer for Great Britain and a Member of Her Majesty's Cabinet, Member of Parliament and former President of the Board of Trade of the United Kingdom, has been elected president of the Real Estate Fund of America. His daily activities and dynamic personality will assure the growth in construction of American real estate.'



Jerome D. Hoffman

'This indeed is a monumental milestone for our future and we wanted to share the news with you.'

Maudling resigned from the presidency to devote himself to



campaigning for the 1970 General Election, but he retained his management shares in the company for a further 12 months.

It is now known that details of Hoffman's previous brush with the law enforcement authorities in New York was made known to the minister concerned, Mr John Davies, as early as August 12, 1970.

At this time Hoffman had the fund headquartered in Thorn House, Upper St

Martin's Lane, and was doing brisk business in countries in the Middle East, Africa and South America. (He was forbidden by law to sell his fund in Britain.)

He left London in a great hurry at the end of November 1970 leaving a pile of bad debts.

The letter reproduced above proves beyond doubt that the department and the Tory politicians were fully apprised of Hoffman's past in inform-

ation sent to them by a certain Mr Smith who runs a business intelligence firm called Argen (Business Consultants) Limited.

It is known that in his memorandum to the Board of Trade Smith included details of a case which the New York Attorney General's Department launched against Hoffman for a mortgage swindle.

Now, almost two years later, the department claims to have only just completed its investigation.

## CALL TO CLEAN UP COPS

Every few years some brave spirit undertakes the Herculean task of cleaning up the New York police force, but up to now it has defied all efforts to do away with corruption.

The latest contribution to this losing battle is the report of the Knapp commission, made public earlier this week.

This report proposes that an independent deputy attorney general should be appointed to investigate complaints of police corruption and recommends stricter rules for policemen and abandonment of anti-gambling

and Sabbath laws which invite bribery.

The report opens with the sentence: 'We found corruption to be widespread.'

It says gambling bribes lead to the most sophisticated and widespread corruption. Gambling organizations pay up to \$7,000 (£2,600) a month to the police 'pad', to be divided according to rigid rules among plainclothes detectives and their superiors.

The system is so well organized that a plainclothes man who is transferred to another precinct receives about two months' 'severance pay' from the 'pad'.

Graft from narcotics was not so regular and well organized, but individual payments or 'scores' had been known to go as high as \$80,000 (£30,000).

Street patrolmen dealt in smaller payments, the report went on, but the number of small bribes paid were so numerous that they added substantially to a uniformed man's weekly salary.

Among recommendations, the report proposed strict

enforcement of rules requiring policemen to report meetings with underworld characters and a wider range of penalties for dishonest policemen.

The proposed independent deputy attorney general would serve for five years, with 'authority to investigate and prosecute all crimes involving corruption in the criminal process'.

Commission head Whitman Knapp told a packed press conference in his Wall Street office that the man chosen for the Ombudsman-type job would have to be 'a man of courage, a man of confidence, who doesn't mind taking a beating'.

He said he saw his commission as a chance for policemen to escape the trap of graft and bribery. Policemen who were afraid to go to their superiors or district attorneys had come to the Knapp Commission during its two-year investigation and had told of the corruption they saw.

The report was being studied by New York governor Nelson Rockefeller whose spokesman



said he would examine it at length before acting.

Acting Police Commissioner William Smith, speaking for commissioner Patrick Murphy, who is out of town, said the document 'requires and is already undergoing intensive study and analysis by the police department'.

## NOW A SCANDAL FOR NIXON

Douglas W. English, special assistant to the co-chairman of the Republican Party, has been fired following disclosure that he was paid \$5,000 for helping a Washington builder obtain a loan from New York bank.

In this year of 'clean politics', President Nixon's Republican Party is anxious to avoid becoming contaminated with too many scandals before the election. This is doubly so because five Republican aides were recently found burgling a Democratic Party headquarters in an effort to 'bug' the committee rooms.

English's corrupt practices came to light last week when it was found that he had helped secure the loan by contacting James T. Blair, banking director of the US postal service.

Blair, in turn, said that he telephoned the vice-president in charge of government banking at the First National City Bank. The bank later granted the loan of \$500,000 to Dr Cyrus Katzen, the Washington builder.

English received a \$5,000 check for assisting with the loan.

The check was made out to him by Cyrus T. Anderson, a lobbyist due to come to trial this fall on charges of bribing former US Senator Daniel B. Brewster to influence legislation on 'junk mail' rates.

Thomas B. Evans, the Republican co-chairman, said that he is 'opposed to anyone using his connection with the Republican party for an economic gain'.

Evans said that English at first refused to disclose that any government official was involved in the loan.

'He wasn't being candid with me. That is enough to dismiss him,' Evans said. He added that English finally left him a note last Friday acknowledging that he had contacted Blair about the loan.

English (35) was in charge of placing advertising for the Republicans in the party's programme for their national convention, to be held August 21 in Miami Beach. He began working for the Republicans in June at a \$25,000-a-year salary.

After being told that English had received \$5,000, Blair said: 'Oh, God, what a mess.'

He said that he met English three years ago when English worked at the Post Office Department.

## FATAL FACTORY

A Japanese High Court at Kanazawa has upheld a lower court decision which found that a smelting company was guilty of causing a sometimes fatal bone disease in humans with the effluent from its factory.

The High Court ordered the Mitsui Smelting Company to pay compensation totalling £185,000 to seven victims and relatives of seven others who have died. The company said it would accept the decision.

The lower court had found Mitsui guilty of causing 'itai-itai' (ouch-ouch) a painful disease which causes brittleness in bones, by the discharge of cadmium waste from its factory which contaminated surrounding rice paddies and a river.

# CONTAINERIZATION: THE CASE FOR NATIONALIZATION OF THE DOCKS AND TRANSPORT INDUSTRIES

# LIVERPOOL: WHERE THE DOCKERS COULD LEAD THE WAY

By Stephen Johns. Photographs by Martin Mayer.

*'I went on to Seaforth. The cargo they shift there is colossal, but there's no one around. It's frightening'—a Liverpool docker's first impressions of Merseyside's new container port.*

In June 1969 the Liverpool dockers celebrated what they thought was a victory in the battle over containerization.

For several years the Merseyside port workers had watched with growing unease as conventional cargo lost its dominant place to the container on the Irish Sea runs. Now the same process was starting on the transatlantic routes.

In December Atlantic Containers Ltd were starting, through their UK agent Cunard, the first cellular run across the ocean while ten miles inland the first big container base was about to swing into operation at Aintree.

Aintree caused the explosion. This was ironic because the base was designed to deal with traffic bound for Australia via Southampton, not Liverpool.

But the dockers realized that the work there would involve stuffing and stripping, and the fact that the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board had taken a minority share in the venture sharpened their suspicion. (The major shareholder, and effective owner of the base, was Overseas Containers Ltd, a container consortium. British Rail also had a share.)

The struggle was climaxed by a strike and a ban on containers. Eventually the Containerbase Federation—which owned the depot—caved in and agreed to register the 20 workers already employed as dockers.

The shop stewards were jubilant. One, Peter Morgan, declared: 'We have won not just a victory but a battle.'

This verdict turned out to be wildly optimistic. Today the Liverpool dockers find themselves facing the first serious jobs crisis since Devlin and this is despite a steep run-down in the labour force over the last decade.

In 1962 there were 13,589

dockers working at the port (which includes Birkenhead). In January there were around 10,500.

The late sixties had been years of labour shortage. Employers complained they were not able to get the manpower they needed and lobbied to get the register reopened to admit more men.

But this was a phoney shortage. Dockers realized that it had been achieved only at the expense of older and slightly sick dockers taking severance pay leaving the port and not being replaced. One day the severance trick might not work then the temporary unattached pool would swell with unemployed dockers.

The employers, too, were not satisfied. They were pleading for more labour. But this was poor substitute to the smaller manning scales and the vast increases in mobility they really wanted, and which the militant Merseyside men had firmly resisted.

Now this situation has changed dramatically. The most blatant example is offered by the 500 to 600 men Ocean Port Services want to return to the unattached pool. OPS are controlled by Ocean Steamship—one of their lines, Blue Funnel, is to take its Far East export trade away from Merseyside and ship through Southampton's container berth.

There are other straws in the wind. Before the outbreak of national hostilities, the main Liverpool stevedoring firms, OPS, Port of Liverpool Stevedores, West Coast Stevedores, Smith Coggins and the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, were talking of merger. They deny of course that this would lead to any rationalization, but the dockers don't believe them.

There is good reason for mistrust. The MDHB slashed its non-registered labour force by 9 per cent last year and is

Smith Coggins, one of the port's biggest employers announced four days ago it was pulling out of stevedoring operations in Liverpool. This will mean a surplus of 2,300 men. So the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company is faced with the task of absorbing around 3,200 men—a third of Liverpool's labour force.



determined to reduce losses on its cargo-handling operations of £95,000 last year compared to a £164,000 profit in 1970.

## THREAT

Smith Coggins has already announced substantial redundancies on the staff side and dockers are already fighting a skirmish with this firm over a bid to rundown manning levels on a number of Yugoslavian boats. The fact that other port employers were backing Smith Coggins on this issue, just before the national docks strike, was another yet ominous sign of confrontation. But by far the biggest threat comes from Seaforth. This massive new dock built at the extreme north end of the waterfront can almost lay claim to the title of the second port of Merseyside.

The Seaforth development accounts directly for the closure of half Liverpool's existing dock frontage. By September all the old docks from Dingle in the south right up to Pierhead in the centre of the city will be shut-down. The property men, led by (who else) Harry Hyams, have already begun to move in for the kill.

When it gets up to full capacity Seaforth will handle 8.5

million tons a year—that is half Liverpool's total cargo excluding oil.

Half of this will pass through the six giant container berths. The rest will be conventional or bulk cargo handled in modern, capital-intensive berths. The grain terminal will take 2.5 million tons a year and the meat berth 1.5 million. The other trade will be in packaged timber—which again needs minimal man handling.

What this will mean eventually in terms of labour can be seen from these figures. Liverpool's trade averages about 12.5 million tons (again excluding oil). Approximately 6.5 million tons of this is handled by 1,000 men employing new methods (modern bulk or containers), but it takes nine times that number to discharge and load the port's 5.7 million tons of conventional cargo.

The astounding increase in productivity of Seaforth is also exemplified by the smaller gangs on the container terminals and the faster turn-around of ships.

At a Seaforth container berth an Ellerman Papayanni Line boat with 2,000 tons bound for Portugal and Spain can be loaded by ten men in four hours. At a conventional berth it would take 100 men three days to deal with the same load.

On the deep-sea trade, ACL hopes to turn round its most modern container liners which carry 600-700 containers (25,000 tons) as well as a fleet of roll-on, roll-off traffic in 24 hours. At a conventional berth it would take 20 men 15 days to deal with a similar conventional tonnage.

The employers argue passionately that the Liverpool dockers have nothing to fear. They say the Seaforth cargo will be a new trade, that the rate of containerization is slowing down anyway, and that this, plus a continued exodus from the industry through severance, will make the transfer a painless process.

This, of course, ignores totally the dockers' main objection to the overall decline in the industry. They do not want to see more labour bled off through severance. Their solution to the 'surplus' is shorter hours and higher pay—one that the employers naturally resist.

The other big snag is that neither the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board nor the employers' spokesmen can point to where this truly massive increase in trade is coming from.

They work on the typical empirical assumption that trade is somehow bound to increase and if the Liverpool dockers behave themselves the port will get its fair share.

Above: Seaforth—accounts for the closure of half Liverpool's existing dock frontage. Right: Liverpool dockers.

Unfortunately, the other ports think the same thing and they all overlook one crucial factor—the threatening collapse in international trading relations threatened by the chaos on the international monetary exchanges.

Beneath the euphoria the hard facts on Liverpool are as follows:

Bulk and dry cargo, excluding oil, was lower last year than in 1957. Commodities that traditionally require a lot of manpower have declined the most. For example, food and drink imports have slumped from 4 million in 1960 to 2.9 million last year, fruit imports are down from 0.2 million in 1960 to 0.149 million in 1971 and imports of cotton waste have halved over the last ten years.

On the export side trade has fallen from 4 million tons in 1960 to 3.9 million last year and exports of fine goods are down 40,000 tons to 89,000.

The amount of general cargo which is largely manhandled in fact has fallen from 9.7 million tons seven years ago to the last yearly total of 5,737, while bulks have remained static at around 4.8 million tons.

From these statistics a pattern emerges. Dry cargo,



excluding bulks, has steeply declined. From the dockers' point of view this has been made worse by the growth of containerization in this sector.

Bulks have remained static but methods of loading and unloading have been modernized. Again this means less labour per ton.

The employers speak gaily about expanding horizons of trade. But the figures tell a different story and beneath the public relations chatter there are the rumblings of merger and war.

Since 1964 the dockers and the Liverpool port employers have been sparing over modernization. Containerization has forced the issue. To make this huge investment pay, the employers must get smooth and continuous operations. It is one thing to sit-out a strike with little fixed capital and costs, but quite another to watch equipment up to £1m fall idle and see a modern berth empty of trade.

The official opening of Seaforth has already been delayed by an outbreak of militancy. The employers paid for this with a promise to introduce a 35-hour week by September. Now the project is halted again over the same issue. The big operators are desperate; they know they must smash this resistance of lose money.

The Liverpool dockers are equally determined. Their fiercest resistance has been to modernization.

The employers and the Transport and General Workers' Union began talks as early as 1962. The trick was to smuggle modernization through in principle in the guise of decasualization. The real goal of the employers was to reduce manning on gangs and get dockers to move anywhere, anytime.

Peter O'Hare, the T&GWU district secretary, described the first 'new deal' as one which would make every dockers' street 'sunshine street'. Despite this glowing reference, it crashed ignominiously in October 1964 when Frank Cousins was shouted down by angry portworkers in Liverpool stadium.

## WORKSTUDY

The employers and the unions then set their sights on Devlin.

It would need a separate article to do justice to the long and important fight against Devlin on Merseyside. But in short the employers drive was to get dockers away from piece rates paid on tonnage, towards a flat rate payment system—and if possible—workstudy.

The idea was to deprive the dock gangs of any independence over earnings. For example, on the pure tonnage, piecework dockers to a certain extent could decide when they had earned sufficient, then the pace of work could be dropped.

Another practice was the welt. Two gangs would alternate between cargo-handling and rest periods—this was a direct response to the casual system where work and earnings could fluctuate—this in turn put an incentive on making work last.

In addition it would clearly have been disastrous for employers to pay a tonnage rate with containers. A docker's earnings would then have reflected his true productivity and would have been enormous!

But the port bosses were only partially successful in their Devlin bid. But the bosses failed—except on the container berths—to make any substantial alteration to manning levels and any talk of mobility or flexibility is still an anathema to Liverpool dockers.

The employers have got a shift system and a temporary agreement to man Seaforth,

but they are extremely frustrated over the stubborn resistance against containerization and further flexibility. Hence the 'show-down' lobby gathered strength in the two massive shippers' emporiums that dominate Liverpool's Pierhead.

In the last analysis the employers would love to get rid of the Dock Labour Scheme. Then the well-tryed methods for beating the resistance out of the labour force could be used in the port. Dockers who misbehaved would find themselves out on the streets.

One leading employers' spokesman put it this way:

'We all pay levies into the scheme. This, of course, makes our costs higher and therefore we cannot compete with other employers in the unregistered ports. By and large the Liverpool employers would like to get rid of the scheme. They resent it.'

The same man admitted Devlin was a limited success. It brought in shift work and meant a real start on modernization could be made. But he added:

'We did not make any significant alteration to the custom and practice of the port. Ideally the employers had the conception of getting the all-round docker—this was a dream that never came true.'

(He pleaded with me not to reveal that the word 'flexibility' crossed his lips—which it did—but he remains anonymous so this was of no consequence!)

Complete flexibility is a dream that the employers desperately want to make come true. Some feel containerization and the threat to jobs it brings is the answer. Others know there is a big fight ahead.

This strategy is dressed up in nice platitudes about technical progress, considerable tut-tutting about the big bad employers of yesteryear and fine sentiments about pulling together for the good of all. This might impress union officials, but does not move the most apolitical Merseyside portworker an inch. To say he mistrusts the employers is a vast understatement.

The battle in Liverpool has so far been confined to a bid to stop groupage operators.

The joint dockers and lorry-drivers shop stewards' committee were first to issue a call on this.

The number of firms blacked before the strike varied around a dozen. Stewards claim that approximately 100 firms have signed a charter promising they will refrain from groupage—but whether they will or not is doubtful.

In Liverpool there is a growing recognition that this kind of action is just not enough.

The Liverpool delegation to the national ports stewards' committee, originally wanted nationalization and workers' control included in the list of demands in the current strike.

This was emasculated after pressure from the London delegation, which wanted the points confined to concessions on container jobs.

As this series has shown, such a minimum programme is entirely inadequate. Concessions of this kind will primarily be used as a lever to get the dockers to accept the employers' plans. Then an even more fierce bid to slash the labour force will begin.

The Liverpool stewards still hold to their original nine points. If they press forwards for them again at national level, they could be the decisive factor—with ports like Hull—in finally breaking the docker from the limited defence of his right to work that has characterized the struggle since Devlin.

# GARMENT WORKERS DEMAND FIGHT FOR DECENT PAY

The executive board of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers' meets on August 21 to decide on whether to accept pay rises offered by the employers.

The executive will hear reports from the divisions on the membership's reaction to the offer of £2 for men and women. The minimum rates will be increased by £1.60 a week for 40 hours.

The Clothing Manufacturers' Federation offer is nowhere near the demands for £5 for men and £6 for women which most branches are clamouring for.

## MEETING

In Leeds, the heart of one of the biggest clothing industries in the country, workers angrily threw out the union's recommendation for acceptance. They went on to call for national strike action at a mass meeting last month.

This month's issue of the union's journal, 'The Garment Worker', gives the distinct impression that the deal is all but signed and delivered.

In an editorial entitled 'Highest pay rise ever', the general secretary, Jack Macgougan, says:

'The recommended agreement, which is by far and away the largest amount ever negotiated in the industry in a single payment, will if accepted, be payable on September 18, 1972.'

'The first offer of the employers, as reported to the membership earlier, was £1.60 payable in two instalments in October 1972 and March 1973. It will be seen that the patient negotiations extending over many hours considerably improved the position.'

'The final outcome of negotiations is always based on compromise and there will be those who consider that the offer is not enough. The executive board in its deliberations took note of the general level of settlements, apart from the

much publicized settlements on a national basis in recent months and was satisfied that in present circumstances the maximum had been reached.'

The offer represents increases of a fraction over 10 per cent which does not even meet the cost-of-living rises which have occurred since the Tory government came to power.

Ironically on another page in the same issue of the journal there appears an article which shows precisely why the union membership must reject the employers' measly offer.

It is an article based on a National Economic Development Committee into the clothing industry. The report states:

'In recent years there has been a steady decline in employment in the UK clothing industry. Between 1963 and 1969 employment fell by 9 per cent. At the same time output has been rising... There is some evidence that in 1970 and 1971 the clothing industry achieved a more dramatic increase in productivity than other industries.'

And here we have the crux of the situation in clothing, as in other industries. Unemployment is growing while the reduced work force is made to step up production.

And now the union leadership wants the members to accept what amounts to a wage-cut!

## LOW PAY

The same NEDC report also states: 'Since the early 1960s the earnings of employees in clothing appear to have almost kept pace with increases outside. But the industry is still characterized by a heavy incidence of low pay...'

Before writing editorials calling on his members to accept paltry wage rises, Mr Macgougan should read his own union journal and acquaint himself with the true economic position of his members.

On the basis of the NEDC's findings and the determined militancy of his members, Macgougan should take the advice of his Leeds district—call a national strike.



Battles between picketing dockers and police. Top: at Ellesmere Port. Below: at Neap House Wharf.



# POLICE TRAINED IN PICKET-BREAKING

Recent events suggest the Home Office has at last slipped the reins of police patrolling picket lines. Memories of Saltley power station have died hard, but the lessons have not been lost.

With increasing frequency, whenever 'trouble' threatens, large police task forces are mobilized for what amounts to unarmed combat against pickets.

The huge force at Ellesmere Port recently was a beginning. But the pattern has been repeated, culminating in the violent dispersal of

dockers and printers at London's Briant Colour Printings two weeks ago.

At Montrose Harbour, Scotland, at the weekend, 150 police were called in to deal with 400 dockers who were picketing Rix Lines Ltd in a bid to enlist the backing of workers for the national dock strike.

There were 'scuffles' when police cleared a path through the picket to allow a scab truck driver to pass through. One officer was trapped between the pickets and the lorry and had to be taken to hospital with leg and back injuries.

As pickets moved to halt the lorry, police piled in and

five men were literally dragged away to waiting police vehicles and arrested.

Only 24 hours earlier 15 engineers were arrested picketing the entrance to Ferguson's Brothers Shipyard, Port Glasgow.

The arrests took place in much the same circumstances as those at Montrose Harbour. When police attempted to escort a scab driver across picket lines, engineers lay down flat on the road beneath the truck's wheels.

A strike over pay and hours began a month ago at Scott Lithgow's dry dock on the lower Clyde and now involves 1,000 engineering workers throughout the area.

## DROP IN JOBS AT SEASIDE

Unemployment in almost all seaside resorts, especially big and traditional ones like Clacton in Essex, usually goes down in the summer.

Clacton is no exception and as holiday-makers and day trippers from London and all over Essex have poured in, many have found work in seasonal catering and entertainment.

But even when all this has been taken into account, summer unemployment is still running at 4.9 per cent compared with the south east region's 2.3 per cent and 3.7 for Essex as a whole.

The situation is so serious that Harwich's Tory MP Julian Risdale is to ask for development area status for the town. Next winter things can only get worse. Last year at the peak of the cold season 8.8 per cent of Clacton's workforce were looking for work.

## SLAVES

An American sportswear firm will close down its West of Ireland factory and move to Mexico or Italy, where, it claims, workers' productivity is higher in relation to wages.

After accepting incentives to open up at Ballygar, Co. Galway four months ago, Scurria International now says the business is unprofitable and is shipping £40,000 of garment-making equipment back to the United States where the company is based.

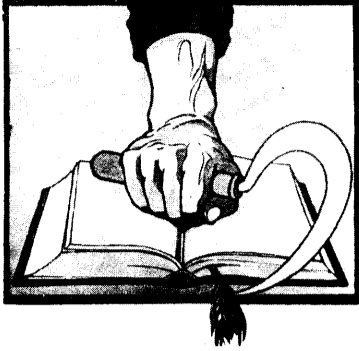
Managing director Tony Scurria said: 'This couldn't go on. I was losing money hand over fist and I had to close down. I am absolutely disgusted with the production.'

Three hundred girls work at the plant and one 18-year-old machinist said: 'Remarks made about us being lazy are completely untrue. We were doing our best to make a success of the factory but Mr Scurria treated us like schoolchildren.'

Clearly the girls work no less hard than anyone else. The hub of Scurria's problem is that pressure on profits is so intense that nothing short of slave labour will do.



## BOOK REVIEW



'Dockers: The Impact of Industrial Change' by David Wilson Fontana, 320pp, 60p.

## GOOD ON RESEARCH SHORT ON ANALYSIS

A national committee representing docks unions, port employers, road-haulage firms and warehousing companies is suggested as a possible solution to the dock jobs crisis in a new book published this week.

The committee, suggests David Wilson, labour correspondent of 'The Observer', could issue general guidelines on the definition of dockers' work. Employers could negotiate on union interpretations or suggest their own.

Wilson then advocates use of the 'release register' of the National Dock Labour Scheme, which allows a docker to give up his registration when taking a job outside the port while retaining the right to priority of selection during any future dock recruitment.

Such a plan, he says, would allow 'the rigid definition of dock work' to be 'slowly eroded.'

'The docker would seek work without any important prejudice to his privileges and the declining band of men on the waterfront could look more readily to the new pastures where progress has directed them.'

He goes on: 'Once British dockers begin to take up new jobs, the insecurity which has stultified the Devlin reforms will be removed and fresh attempts can be made to build on the sound foundations of modernization.'

'Much needs to be done. Management must learn to manage better, the unions must come to terms with each other and with their shop stewards; port finances must be put on a better footing and the organization of work, with the continuing division between ship, quay and shed labour, must be critically examined.'

'Dockers: The impact of industrial change' is a detailed and carefully-researched book.

It sets out in a readable form much of the historical background to the present dispute and can thus contribute to an understanding of the different forces operating within it. There are dangerous inadequacies, however. And its conclusions are pure fantasy.

Stephen Johns has already explained in our series on the impact of containerization, which started on Wednesday, that the jobs crisis on the docks is an inevitable feature of the development of the transport industry under capitalism.

The sharpness of the present stage of that crisis arises not simply from the rapidity of technological change, but from its concurrence with conditions



Jack Jones: unable to reach an agreement with employers on jobs

of world trade slump. No liberal panaceas can alleviate the human casualties which result.

Wilson, who is perhaps the most liberal and well-informed Fleet Street writer on the docks, must by that same token become a purveyor of dangerous illusions.

He is appalled by the conflict of worker against worker which has arisen over containerization. He wants the unions themselves — through the transport committee of the TUC—to identify the proportion of traditional dock work now in operation outside the ports and agree that dockers have a prior right to this share.

But because throughout the book he consistently separates social and industrial developments on the docks from the basic economic and political changes which underlie them, he ends up in exactly the same impasse as the Jones-Aldington committee.

As Karl Marx insisted over a century ago ('Capital', vol. III): 'The contradiction of the capitalist mode of production... lies precisely in its tendency towards an absolute development of the productive forces, which continually come into conflict with the specific conditions of production in which capital moves, and alone can move.'

The working out of this contradiction on the docks today means, as Jack Jones and Lord Aldington have found, that it is absolutely impossible to reach an agreed solution to the jobs crisis.

Wilson quotes Philip Bates, chairman of the ACL consortium, as saying: 'We all know everybody's gone too fast into containers; it's been too fast for all of us.'

And Wilson himself points out how even when the pattern had become apparent, 'the government, unions and employers all shrank away from the vexed issue of job rights'.

Now this was no accidental coyness. Those involved tried to avoid the issue because they new it posed far more than just which section of workers should perform what work.

In Saturday's Workers Press our reporter Ian Yeats explains that the jobs of more than 11,000 of London's 15,000 dockers could come under serious threat in the not too distant future.

Stephen Johns has already estimated in the same series of articles that the number of replacement container jobs available nationally will be at the most generous estimate 2,000, even allowing for expansions.

These two sets of statistics alone pose the question: can dockers afford to let the capitalist class continue to control the docks?

With 900,000 workers already on the dole, the answer is no.

Wilson's talk about dockers going to 'new pastures where progress has directed them' is plainly a pipe-dream. In his search for a panacea he here sows further dangerous illusions.

The book's other main dangers arise from its general support for the Devlin modernization scheme and its thinness when dealing with the more recent history of the unofficial and shop stewards' movements.

Wilson's attitude to Devlin is best summed up in the following quote:

'The report was indeed a *tour de force*. It contained a brilliant analysis of casualism and was clothed in the most incisive terms, sparing none in its criticisms and ending with a precisely-stated plan of action.'

'Nothing here of the drab Whitehall fustian which has condemned so many government reports to the pile of cast-offs, nor of those well-meaning but woolly conclusions which are eminently easy to ignore.'

This admiration spills over into a cavalier, three-page dismissal of the six-week Mersey strike against Devlin-style decasualization in 1967 as 'largely... a battle for higher earnings'.

This is far too simple. The strike was part of a national movement which for the rank and file raised far wider issues than just money.

To dismiss Liverpool in just a few lines and then go on to deal just as briefly, but separately, with London is to do dockers in both ports something of a disservice.

It first fails to explain why dockers were opposed to decasualization — not because they liked the appalling casual system, but because they rightly suspected the 'strings' that went with Devlin.

Secondly it glosses over the role of the full-time union officials, particularly their absurd and deceitful promises of no redundancy.

Third and perhaps most important in the present situation, it virtually ignores the part in enabling Devlin to go through played by the unofficial leaders, particularly around Jack Dash and his Communist Party-led liaison committee.

And all these lessons are vital for the struggle today.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## LUCKY

We can now reveal why the Tories are so desperate to see council houses sold off to their tenants. And it has little in common with the idea of a 'property-owning democracy' Environment Minister Peter Walker and others so often spout about.

Westminster city council—Tory as long as anyone can or cares to remember, and not noted for its devotion to working-class tenants — has just offered 16 of them 'a chance to buy their own homes'.

The houses, at Telford Terrace, were built 18 years ago, and directly face the magnificent architecture of Battersea power station. Rent and rates are not far short of £20 a week as things go.

Last December the tenants were asked if they wanted to buy. Last week the letters arrived informing the lucky tenants that negotiations could begin at around £35,000 a house.

Now 16 of the tenants have banded together and are seeking legal advice. Said Mrs Joanne Douglas:

'It looks very much as if they delayed eight months to take advantage of the spiral in house prices.'

That is not all, however, for the letter warned of a higher price in the near future.

'I'm sure you will appreciate that in the current market conditions, any figure quoted in this letter must be reviewed if there is a substantial lapse of time between the present date and the completion of any agreement with you,' it said.

And for the last word, we give you Alderman David Cobbold, chairman of the housing committee: 'The price doesn't strike me as out of this world,' he said.

## POULSON

When the Poulson hearing reopened this week Mr Gordon Slynn, for the Attorney-General, was at pains to explain that the government was not responsible for last week's application for an indefinite adjournment of the case.

He said Sir Peter Rawlinson had been represented as intervening for the government.

But the Attorney-General had a responsibility—separate from and independent of his position as a member of the government—in the area of criminal law which was not the responsibility of the government as such.

Mr Slynn went on: 'In a case like the present, where the constitutional authorities are investigating, it is a matter of concern of the Attorney-General that such an investigation should be properly and fully conducted.'

He said Sir Peter was anxious to ensure that the current police investigation should not be impeded by anything said in the bankruptcy proceedings.

The Official Receiver had also made an adjournment application in his own capacity and Mr Slynn said it was impossible to describe this intervention as being that of the Secretary for Trade and Industry, Mr John Davies.

'The application was in no sense made to you on the basis that all further inquiries in this matter should be held behind doors. There was no suggestion that the public examination should not be reopened in due course.'



John Poulson

Replying to Mr Slynn, the recorder, Mr Garside, said the Attorney-General's position had perhaps not been made clear last week and he thought it right that the proceedings should record the Attorney-General's position.

Mr Saffman, for Poulson, also entered a medical report of Poulson's condition when he reached hospital after collapsing at the bankruptcy hearing on July 3.

Poulson had been found to be suffering from psychological shock which was treated with librium, 'a very strong sedative which does slow down the senses'. He was still having this course of treatment, Saffman added.

When everyone had said his piece the recorder thanked them all for explaining everything... and invited Poulson back into the witness box!

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# JAGUAR STRIKERS FEAR ISOLATION

The 100,000 Coventry engineering workers striking today will be joining, for 24 hours, 2,000 car makers from Jaguar's Brown's Lane, Radford, factory.

Today the Jaguar strikers enter the eighth week of their fight for higher piecework earnings—a fight which has brought the wrath of the Tory press down on their heads and which a local Tory MP tried to use in his campaign against Social Security payments to strikers.

Leyland boss Lord Stokes is determined not to grant the pieceworkers' demands because he wants them to accept a changeover to the notorious flat-rate, Measured-Day Work pay system.

There is little doubt he has the full backing of the Tory government in this. As Coventry MP Maurice Edelman told a near-deserted House of Commons last Tuesday night, the policy of confrontation at Jaguar's flows directly from the policy of confrontation pursued by the Tories with the unions generally.

Stokes' reply in the local press the following day virtually proved the point: the company was quite prepared

to grant increased earnings for greater efficiency (a Leyland euphemism for acceptance of MDW), but there would be no increases in piecework pay.

The answer was the same after Marathon talks starting last Thursday afternoon and continuing into the weekend. (The talks included representatives of the 3,000 men laid off by the dispute.)

But attitudes are hardening, too, on the other side. Workers Press found when we visited the picket-line that the struggle was increasingly being seen as not just for wages, but for rights.

'Other sections got a rise on their earnings in April this year — why shouldn't we?' pickets asked.

## EQUAL

Mick Richards, the stewards' spokesman, explained: 'The toolroom workers, clerical staff, draughtsmen and exhaust assembly have all had rises of between £4.50 and £5. Just before we came out on strike the foremen got £4.'

'Now these are mostly people who aren't subject to the kind of fluctuations in earnings we are and who, in many cases, can rely on a guaranteed week.'

'We think we are entitled to at least equal considerations. But the company has

apparently decided to have a showdown.'

The stewards were aware Leyland wanted to change the payment system at the factory and were willing to discuss its proposals, Mick Richards said. But first they wanted a settlement of their piecework claim.

Any negotiations on MDW would then have to take place against the background of the new rates.

One of the pickets, Don Harron, member of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, experienced MDW when working at Coventry's Chrysler UK complex and is certainly not enamoured with the system.

He told Workers Press: 'Our claim for this piecework rise at Jaguar commenced as far back as January this year, before the firm even mentioned MDW.'

'This pay demand is divorced from any MDW. We demand the rise before we will even talk or negotiate on a changeover.'

'Other sections got a rise without any increase in production. Only the car assemblers have been refused.'

The present strike is not the first dispute of 1972 at Brown's Lane.

The year began with 108 production-line workers making engine blocks having

to fight off an attempt by management to restrict their piecework earnings. Engine assemblers starved of components as a result walked out demanding alternative work.

That dispute coincided with rumours that Leyland was well on the way to completing its plans for rationalizing its specialist car divisions (comprising Jaguar, Triumph and Rover), cutting down the labour force and refurbishing its market strategy.

## LOSSES

Chairman and chief executive F. W. R. 'Lofty' England, who succeeded the firm's founder Sir William Lyons on March 3, has shown himself determined to pursue these plans, even to the point of massive short-term losses.

In July the Beaverbrook-owned 'Sunday Express' seized on a phrase in a leaflet issued by the Coventry branch of the Claimants' and Unemployed Workers' Union at the factory: 'The Social Security is the biggest strike fund of them all.'

It claimed, incorrectly, that the leaflet was a 'shop stewards' document' and 'the strikers' leaflet' in order to witch-hunt the strike.

The thing that really got the 'Express' going was the fact that rows of the company's new £2,700 XJ12 cars had



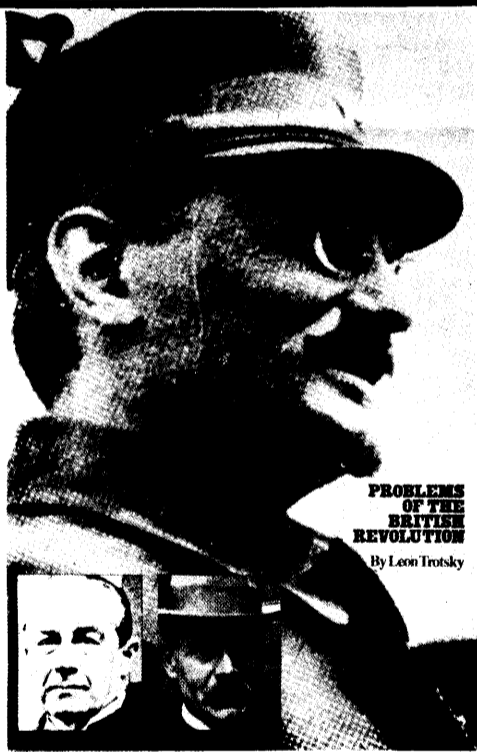
Lord Stokes

been immobilized inside the gates by round-the-clock picketing. Its stockbroker-belt readers were foaming at the mouth.

The strikers, however, were, and remain, unimpressed.

There is a fear that the strike could become isolated, though. Don Harron told us:

'There are other factories working which are part and parcel of this fight. If all the British-Leyland factories in Coventry came out with us we could crack Jaguar's like a nut.'



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

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

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# Snowball effect of confrontation at yard

ANOTHER major step towards a confrontation between workers and management is expected this week at the shipbuilding yards of Vosper Thornycroft Ltd., Woolston, Southampton.

Last Monday, Vosper's laid off 35 Transport and General Workers' Union ancillary workers and at the same time announced a further 360 layoffs by the end of the week. These included more ancillary workers and 290 craftsmen.

This follows the strike by 400 draughtsmen over a pay claim and the sacking of 19 shipwrights for refusing to work with non-union members. Sixty-one boilermakers have been laid off because they would not accept a time-and-motion survey.

Despite these confrontations, the shipyard stewards have yet to indicate how they intend fighting back. No policy has so far emerged apart from an overtime ban and the refusal to co-

operate with non-union labour.

Vosper's has an order book worth £150m spread over the next seven years. The biggest single order is from the Brazilian government for four Mk10 frigates worth £100m.

The rest of the orders include another Type 21 frigate and a glass-reinforced plastic hulled mine-hunter for the Ministry of Defence.

To cope with the Brazilian order Vosper's is spending £1.25m on two new covered building berths and an extended fitting-out quay.

Recently announced half-yearly profits showed a substantial rise over last year, but this is mainly due to decreased interest charges. The company has also received progress payments from the Brazilian government, boosting the cash flow by more than £1m, and cash from a sale and leaseback deal on two of their hovercrafts.

The problem facing Vosper's, though, is of cash flow. The firm is hoping that when the Brazilian contract is really under way its payments will cover the costs of the next phase.

But work is held up on the

Brazilian contracts because the covered berths are not yet completed. Although well ahead of schedule, they are not expected to be finished until November.

Meanwhile work on the keel of the first Mk10 frigate, which was laid to qualify for progress payments, is being slowed up.

Prefabricated units for the frigate are accumulating and continued production is also dependent on the new berths.

There is no doubt that Vosper's will want new and tough agreements with the unions when the new berths are operational. It is likely that they will press for three-shift working.

Therefore the present confrontations have come at a convenient time. Hundreds of men off pay during a work gap would help the cash flow situation slightly and would create the right environment for Vosper's to force new agreements through.

Construction union members who work for Condors, the subcontractors on the covered berths, are likely to support industrial action taken either by the Vosper Thornycroft men or the UCATT and T&GWU members on the site.



Draughtsmen members of TASS outside the Vosper-Thornycroft factory in Southampton.

# Hull dockers ready to continue battle

HULL DOCKERS start the fourth week of their strike ready to fight alone with Liverpool and London if necessary.

Their fear, one could almost say their expectation, is that Jack Jones will get the delegates to call off the strike on a formula that offers no solution to the crisis they face.

As one of the Hull delegates told me: 'Jones and O'Leary are hoping they can cool things off enough to get the majority back behind them. No one can tell me that those delegates from the small ports are not being got at.'

But after a week of battling in the quiet Trentside cornfields, the Hull dockers do not intend to go back until the 'cowboy' ports that are eating into the trade of Hull and Goole are firmly registered.

But there is also the feeling that this strike is more decisive and important than any other since the war.

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

The Devlin report bought two years of relative peace. There was the widespread myth that it was designed to help the dockers to security and steady high wages.

Instead the employers used the report to run down the labour force and in Hull develop the private ports and inland container depots.

It is very difficult to work the same trick twice on the Hull dockers. This why the Jones-Aldington report is treated with derision or indifference.

After Devlin, the fine words and soothing sentiments are not enough.

There is another important factor in the situation. To the Hull men the strike is not just a dispute in the traditional sense—one where the men stay out, get concessions and go back.

A feeling of continuity from other major struggles against the government pervades the dockers meeting and the picket line.

The taunt to the scab drivers at the private wharves was: 'Killed any miners today'—an echo of a past, but not forgotten struggle.

The Hull dockers know they are part of a greater movement against the Tories and the employers. The fact that the authorities are prepared to pay out £100,000 to protect some private wharves confirms the suspicion.

So all the hatred of the Tory government felt by the working class finds expression in the dockers' battles. They become the front line and begin to realize they are the front line.

TOMORROW an interview with Terry Geraghty, Hull port steward.

# Fear of union chiefs splitting off smaller ports

ARTHUR ATKINSON a shop steward in the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' 'blue' union told me:

The danger facing the dockers has been there for a long time. It was there at the time of Devlin, which I opposed. The danger is the threat to the National Dock Labour Scheme. This is right in the middle of this dispute.

The results of Devlin were a tremendous cut back in the labour force through severance—a kind of slow withering away of the Scheme and a fall in manning scales, meaning far higher

productivity.

Now we are in a position where our livelihoods are at stake. We started the fight over this a few years ago by having a series of unofficial strikes against the development of 'inland ports' here in Hull. At that time the union backed us, but it was basically a sop to get us to call it off.

Now there is the Jones-Aldington report. There is only one thing that this committee can do to get us back and that is to register every port in the country.

We are not afraid of com-

petition from other registered ports, but we are not going to compete with slave-labour in these little wharves. The rates in these places are sometimes 50p an hour, there are no rest periods, they work unprotected through all kinds of weather. They are on and off the dole—all the worst kind of features of the casual system. What are we supposed to do—accept all that?

The scandal is that the T&GWU has been to these places getting men into the union with these conditions. All that union thinks of is membership.

## BBC 1

9.45 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 10.00 Flashing Blade. 10.25 Attenborough and Animals. 10.50 Noggin. 11.25, 2.25 Cricket. 1.30 Pogles' Wood. 1.45 News, weather. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Penelope Pitstop. 5.15 It's Your Word. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News, weather.

6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.  
6.20 ANIMALS AT HOME.  
6.40 THE MOVIE QUIZ.  
7.05 Z CARS. Not Good Enough part 1.  
7.30 THE VIRGIN FELLAS.  
7.55 THE OLYMPIANS.  
8.00 PANORAMA.  
9.00 NEWS, Weather.  
9.20 DOOMWATCH. The Killer Dolphins.  
10.10 AN HOUR WITH TERRY SCOTT.  
11.10 NEWS.  
11.15 ATHLETE.  
11.40 Weather.

## ITV

10.55 Film: 'Clarence the Cross-eyed Lion'. 12.25 Women. 12.50 Freud on Food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Enchanted House. 1.35 Skippy. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Monty Modlyn. 3.00 Film: 'Apartment for Peggy'. 4.40 Cliff's Kids. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 Treasure Island. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.  
6.20 CROSSROADS.  
6.40 OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS.  
7.30 CORONATION STREET.  
8.00 WORLD IN ACTION.  
8.30 LOLLIPOP.  
9.00 MAN AT THE TOP. High Stakes.  
10.00 NEWS.  
10.30 THE NAME OF THE GAME. Jenny Wilde is Drowning.  
11.55 DOCTORS' DILEMMAS.

## TV

### BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 4.30 Cricket. 6.35 Open University.  
7.30 NEWSROOM. Weather.  
8.00 HIGH CHAPARRAL. The Price of Revenge.  
8.50 A. P. HERBERT'S MISLEADING CASES. What is a Snail?  
9.20 HORIZON. The story of the Tay Bridge.  
10.10 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. 'Hands'. By Fay Weldon.  
10.40 NEWS, Weather.  
10.45 CRICKET. 5th Test—England v Australia.  
11.15 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.



Domini Blythe as Venice in tonight's 'Thirty-Minute Theatre' play 'Hands' on BBC 2.

## REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 3.05 Cliff's kids. 3.15 Puffin. 3.20 Yoga. 3.40 Thriller. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 11.55 Visages de France. 12.10 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 2.50 Gus Honeybun. 3.15 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.20 Sport. 11.50 News. 11.53 Epilogue.

SOUTHERN: 12.55 News. 1.00 Tennis. 1.25 Three sons. 1.55 Farm kitchen. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Film: 'No Road Back'. 3.55 Houseparty. 4.10 Twizzle. 4.25 Lucy. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Afloat. 11.00 News. 11.10 Marcus Welby. 12.05 Weather. Guideline.

HTV: 3.45 Women. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.25 Bugs Bunny. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Wind of Change'. 11.45 Mysteries. 12.15 Weather.

HTV Wales as above except: 3.05 Awdur A'r Mis. 4.15 Cantamil. 6.01 Y Dydd.  
HTV West as above except: 6.22 This is the West this week.  
HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.15 Cantamil. 6.01 Y Dydd.

ANGLIA: 1.40 World war I. 2.05 Arthur. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Jokers. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper room. 4.55 London.

6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Connell. 11.05 Spyforce.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Houseparty. 3.25 Paulus. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Nanny. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Jokers wild. 11.00 Aquarius.

ULSTER: 4.00 Let's face it. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Smith family. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.35 Name of the game.

YORKSHIRE: 1.45 Bewitched. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Ugliest girl. 3.00 Folklore festival. 4.35 Calendar. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.05 Folklore festival. 6.45 London. 11.55 Yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 2.20 Yesterdays. 2.45 Pippi. 3.15 Danger man. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Slyvester. 6.15 Journey. 6.40 London. 10.30 Film: 'Lady on a Train'.

SCOTTISH: 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Casebook. 4.40 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 10.30 At odds. 11.10 Late call. 11.15 Frighteners.

GRAMPIAN: 3.37 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. Farming. 6.15 Me and the chimp. 6.45 London. 10.30 In session. 11.15 Young view.

What I would like to see the dock workers get is a guaranteed wage from a levy on containers like the dockers have in the United States. I have never been a fan of nationalization because under this system it changes very little and often means big redundancies. It must be nationalization under workers' control.

The same problems arise with modernization. Let no-one say the dockers are against modernization. The 'blue' union emerged on this dock from a demand by the men for better methods of handling grain. The employers

and the union officials said this was impossible—of course then it did not suit them.

Now we are at the crossroads. The greatest danger is that Jones and O'Leary will get a split. They will get the delegates' conference to reverse their vote and then leave the three big ports out on their own.

It will be an unofficial strike and in this situation the Tories will use the troops and the emergency powers. This would be helping the Tory government but that's no surprise seeing the way all the trades union leaders are acting now.

## Home prices double in six years

IN TWO YEARS house prices have soared by 29 per cent and they have doubled over the last six years.

The fastest growth in prices has been in the south east and the conurbations, says the Building Societies Association in its year-book out today.

At the same time, however, the assets of the building societies have also increased. Lending at around 8½ per cent, total assets, which were £13,000m at December last year, had reached £14,000m by mid-1972.

The annual total of mortgage loans at the end of last year had doubled since 1966—from £1,245m to nearly £2,750m. The average size of a mortgage in 1961 was £1,500. It is now well over £4,000.

At the beginning of this year the Halifax and Abbey National societies held assets greater than those of the entire business a decade ago.

# Rank and file force the pace for builders' strike

UP TO 100,000 building workers are now on strike for the £30, 35-hour week claim. And all-out strike action is being called all over Britain.

By the end of the week the number on strike could reach 500,000 as the movement for a total, national strike, gathers pace.

Tomorrow the building union leaders meet in London to decide further strategy on the claim.

Led by George Smith, general secretary of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians, they are firmly opposed to a national strike.

Instead they will try and move

## strike

BY PHILIP WADE

for further escalation of the abortive selective strikes. In this they will be backed by the Communist Party, which, while paying lip-service to national strike calls, does nothing about it.

IN Preston, building workers have found a new strength and unity as they go for an all-out stoppage.

In the last three days they have called out 22 more sites. There are 750 building workers on strike in Preston now.

The mood of the men was expressed by Frank Harkin, a labourers' shop steward from the large Shephard's market site.

'We found it easy really, easier than we thought. They just wanted asking.'

Another picket, Alan Moon, new delegate to Preston trades council, said:

'This is really great—the majority are willing to come out. They just wanted the leadership.'

THE Southampton regional action committee has set up a sub-committee with the task of bringing new sites out on strike.

More than 20 sites have joined the stoppage in the area in the last three days and 2,000 men are on strike. Two small factories which supply sites with window frames are also out.

## AUGUST FUND £500.16—NO TIME TO WASTE

WE ARE now almost halfway through August and still some distance from reaching our £1,750 target. We have not a day to waste. Let's change the position at once.

Dockers and building workers out on strike need the fullest support of the labour movement. However much Jones and the union leaders try to reach a deal with the Tories, a head-on collision cannot be avoided.

Workers Press is needed to mobilize workers everywhere. The Tory government must be made to resign. Our Fund this month, therefore, is doubly important. At the moment we have outstanding £1,249.84. Make sure this is raised by the end of the month. Collect as much as you can. If possible, raise extra amounts. Post all these immediately to:

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

# MINERS' LEADER WARNS OF JOBS CRISIS IN PITS

FROM PAGE 1

Heath's demand for more attacks on the miners coincided with his preparation for the use of troops against the dockers, and with two other unemployment-causing moves.

The British Steel Corporation has been told that its plans for a 36m ingot ton capacity by 1980 are far too ambitious. Industry Minister Tom Boardman says that no more than 28 million tons will be needed.

Last Wednesday ship-owners were told that despite their £12m assistance to Marathon Manufacturing in setting up with a no-strike deal at Clydebank, the Tories are not going to restore the old system of investment grants for ships built at

British yards.

In the mines, the Tory pressure for more unemployment is a direct retaliation for the pay defeat inflicted on them by the miners earlier this year.

Workers Press has been proved right in its warning when the NUM leaders settled on February 18 that the Tories would hit back with unemployment.

Here is a vital lesson for all dockers.

The engineers' leaders refused to join the miners in the struggle with the government, preferring instead to adopt a plant-by-plant pay struggle which has still not been brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

Jack Jones, the leader of the Transport and General Workers' Union and a sup-

porter of the plant-by-plant strategy, did equally little to support the miners' officials.

The miners' leaders settled £1 short of their pay claim when they could have brought down the Tory government.

The chief argument of these leaders—and of many of their supporters in the Communist Party—was that to stay out longer would have lost them public support.

As a consequence, the government was left in office with the power to hit back not only against the miners, but the railwaymen and the dockers as well.

This week it is virtually certain to move troops onto the docks in a bid to break their struggle for the

right to work.

There are two conclusions which must be drawn from this:

● There can be no reformist solution of the fight for jobs. Any solution which does not begin from the struggle to force the Tories to resign from office is under these conditions treacherous.

● Purely sectional struggles by any group of workers today are suicidal.

With the dockers, miners must demand that their leaders mobilize action to force the Tories to resign.

The NUM must be committed to a policy, not just of extending nationalization to the mining machinery and coal-distribution industries without compensation, but of full

workers' control throughout the nationalized coal industry.

There can be no union agreement to any further redundancies in an industry whose labour force has been halved in the last ten years.

Any closures through exhaustion must be dealt with by work-sharing with no loss of earnings by any miner.

The Tories must be forced to resign.

A Labour government must be elected which, immediately on coming to office, would nationalize machinery and distribution and place the whole industry under the control of workers' committees which will plan it on socialist lines.

## Pay rise could shatter CAV peace

MANAGEMENT hopes of a year-long peace at CAV Acton, West London, could be shattered in three ways following the post-holiday return to work this morning of the factory's 2,700 workers.

Shortly before the holiday management conceded an all-round pay increase of £3.25 in reply to the engineers' pay claim.

An extra £1 was granted for skilled timeworkers under the 12-month deal. Semi-skilled timeworkers are to get an extra 50p.

The first source of trouble could be the fact that workers do not yet know whether they will get the increases immediately.

In Birmingham, main centre for CAV's Lucas parent, workers who accepted similar increases have been told that they will

not be paid out until they agree a new procedure agreement.

The procedure would allow the company considerable control over the election and functioning of shop stewards. CAV stewards who have seen the proposals say they would virtually wind-up effective trade unionism at Acton.

Even if this hurdle is cleared, CAV management faces discontent at Acton among skilled pieceworkers whose earnings are restricted by 'permanent sign-up'.

These sections do not qualify for extra payments on top of the basic £3.25. They could soon start pushing to close the gap this has opened up with the timeworkers.

The most serious threat to the new pay structure embodied in the 12-month deal, however, lies in the fact that on the last day before the holiday a lengthy laboratory workers' strike was settled on the men's terms, giving them £3.36 on top of the general increase.

This gives the lab workers, whose struggle was fought against by right-wing union leaders in the factory almost up to the last minute, total increase of £7.61.

Arthur Mason, the leading lab steward, told Workers Press at the weekend that the company had had to concede his members' demands and agree to pay out the £3.36 'as a right'.

He said: 'The management has had a lesson here that even when they have the support of some elements in the unions, when a group of workers dig their heels in they can't be beaten.'

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## Coventry stops over union Act

OVER 100,000 Coventry workers will strike today against the £55,000 fine imposed on the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Industrial Relations Act.

## Paintshop decision

THREE HUNDRED paint-shop workers at British-Leyland's Austin-Morris car factory at Longbridge, Birmingham, meet today to decide whether to continue a week-old strike over piecework prices.

Management of the Longbridge complex's Trentham paint-shop offered a rate of 76p an hour for a new electrostatic paint process. The rate for the old process was 85p.

At the same time it attempted to bring in 12 workers from another section of the complex who were already on a Measured-Day Work rate of £1 an hour.

## Keadby talks

TALKS are due to take place today at the unregistered Neap House wharf on the Trent, near Scunthorpe, between dockers, lorry drivers and construction workers from the British Steel Corporation's Anchor site.

Workers at the Anchor site have said they will black BSC materials carried by lorries entering the wharf, where dockers' pickets were viciously attacked by police at the end of last week.

As their site nears completion, the 400 construction workers at the Anchor plant face redundancies.

The one-day strike was called by T&GWU shop stewards in the city. It has been backed by the district committee of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

There will be a mass rally and demonstration through Coventry in the morning.

Apart from Triumph Motors, all the factories are expected to be at a standstill. Public transport will also halt.

Although a Triumph mass meeting last week rejected the strike call, internal drivers still wanted to strike. They were dissuaded by shop stewards and T&GWU convenor Eddie McGarry.

JAGUAR shop stewards on Saturday rejected a new pay offer for Coventry workers when they met management. The proposals will be voted on at a mass meeting of 2,000 workers tomorrow.

● See page 10 for fuller story.

## Curtain up on 30p.c. rise

WEST END theatre managers are getting ready to put seat prices up by as much as 30 per cent when Value Added Tax is introduced next April.

Wage demands by actors and musicians would also hit prices, said John Gale, chairman of West End managers yesterday. Profit margins would be hit so prices would have to go up.

**ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS**

**EAST LONDON: Thurs, August 17, 8 p.m.** The crisis of capitalism and the docks struggle Festival Inn, Market Square, Chriss St, E.14.

Support the builders and dockers. Force the Tories to resign.

**WILLESDEN: Monday August 14, 8 p.m.** Trades and Labour Hall, High Road, NW 10.

**PRESTON: Wednesday August 16, 8 p.m.** Railway and Commercial Hotel, Butler Street, near railway station. 'Support the dockers and building workers.'

**COVENTRY: Wednesday August 16, 7.30 p.m.** Hertford Tavern (Junction St, adjoining The Butts).

**NORTH LONDON: Thursday August 17, 8 p.m.** Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road, N4.

**LUTON: Thursday August 17, 8 p.m.** St. John Ambulance Hall, Lea Road.

**Socialist Labour League PUBLIC MEETINGS**

**End TUC talks with Heath! Stop Jones-Aldington collaboration! Victory to the dockers! Nationalize the docks and transport industries! Make the Tories resign!**

**LIVERPOOL**  
MONDAY AUGUST 14  
7.30 p.m.  
Stork Hotel  
St John's Lane

**Speakers:**  
LARRY CAVANAGH (Liverpool dock worker)  
ALAN STANLEY (Vauxhall Ellesmere Port shop steward)  
Both in a personal capacity

**Chairman:**  
BILL HUNTER (SLL Central Committee)

**MANCHESTER**  
FRIDAY AUGUST 18  
7.30 p.m.

**Milton Hall Deansgate**

**Speakers:**  
LARRY CAVANAGH (Liverpool dock worker)  
ALAN STANLEY (Vauxhall Ellesmere Port shop steward)  
Both in a personal capacity

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