

## After the docks strike THE WAY FORWARD FOR WORKERS

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Miners, railwaymen, engineers, dockers and building workers have all gone into battle to defend their basic rights.

At the same time a section of the employers—particularly in engineering—has proceeded ruthlessly with its attacks on the working class.

And although the Tory government has had to make some adjustments—as on miners' and railwaymen's pay—the workers' capacity to fight is being undermined by their right wing trade union and Labour leadership.

The TUC leaders enter talks with Tory premier Heath in which they accept a wage increase limit of 8 per cent while workers, by their own action, have won increases considerably in excess of this.

This leadership is assisted by all those who fight consciously to prevent the working class mobilizing against the Tory government—namely, the Labour and trade union 'left', the Communist Party and the revisionist groups.

The more the leadership becomes exposed before the working class, the more these tendencies seek to cover up for them with 'left' phrases about more militancy.

Meanwhile the Tory attack persists. Unemployment is growing, the Housing Finance Act comes into effect in October, and extreme reactionaries seek to foster and exploit racialism.

Anti-union laws are strengthened while the imperialist aggression in Ulster intensifies. The employers conspire with judges and peers to impose heavy fines on unions through the House of Lords.

The background to all this is the worsening world economic crisis of capitalism, which since the devaluation of the pound has led to increasingly unstable economic relations between the capitalist countries.

The determination of the United States not to return to gold convertibility and the threat to impose more tariff restrictions are the signs of a cut-throat trade war.

All capitalist monetary relations are disrupted. There is no stable monetary value on which to base international trade. The price of gold constantly rises as inflation grows.

And as a major world recession develops, the corresponding danger of a third imperialist war looms menacingly near.

The working class will meet real dangers. Ulster and Vietnam foreshadow the atrocities which imperialism is preparing to unleash.

The more the leaders betray, the more the Stalinists and revisionists (such as International Socialism, the International Marxist Group) cover up for them. This creates an atmosphere of confusion within a number of industries which are under attack.

It was the creation of such confusion which was responsible for the recent collapse of the dock strike. This in turn breeds cynicism and fear.

This cynicism is expressed by the Stalinists and the anti-communist International group who now openly blame the dockers, rather than the leaders, for the failure of the docks strike.

Fear is reinforced by victimizations and

STATEMENT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE



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At Upper Clyde Shipbuilders this tactic produced great sacrifice from workers. Considerable sums of money were raised, but today the Upper Clyde is on the way to being a distressed area. Out of a labour force of 8,500 in July 1971, there will be jobs for approximately 5,000 available by the end of this year.

Attempts by workers in other industries to resist closure by working in have resulted only in a loss of valuable time during which an attack should have been launched on the Tory government.

This can only lead to disillusionment, confusion and splits in the working class. The fascists and racialists seek to take advantage of this confusion to divide workers by blaming immigrants for unemployment, low wages, bad housing, etc.

Yet the strength of the working class did overcome the recent attempt by racialists to hold a mass march in London.

Shop stewards on the Royal and West India docks refused to participate in the march and the Socialist Labour League also intervened consciously against the racialists.

But the building of revolutionary leadership is today the most important task facing the working class. Militancy is only the starting point for such an undertaking. By itself, it leaves workers at the level of spontaneity.

The highest point of spontaneity was the powerful class action which secured the release of the Pentonville Five. This action proved that the working class does have the strength to bring down the Tory government.

But the Tory government cannot be overthrown simply by militant spontaneous actions. This requires the conscious intervention of the revolutionary party in a struggle to overcome the limits of spontaneity.

Central to this is a continuing campaign

'In politics, too, it is possible to restrict oneself to minor matters, and it is possible to go deeper, to the very foundations.

'Marxism recognizes a class struggle as fully developed, 'nation-wide', only if it does not merely embrace politics but takes in the most significant thing in politics—the organization of state power.

'On the other hand, liberals, when the working-class movement has grown a little stronger, dare not deny the class struggle but attempt to narrow down, to curtail and emasculate the concept of class struggle.

'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.'

Today the Common Market, Ulster, the rising cost of living, unemployment, the Housing Finance Act, the Industrial Relations Act, all point in one direction—the need for a national campaign to mobilize the strength of the working class to make the Tory government resign.

It cannot be stressed too often that the trade union and Labour Party leaders, the Communist Party, the fake 'lefts' and the revisionist groups have no intention of leading any such campaign.

But the strength of the working class can only be established in a fight against its common political enemy.

Struggles restricted to single industries or sections of industries cannot resolve the basic problems faced by the working class. For the dockers to win would and will, require the whole of the working class to be involved in a political fight.

In the same way, the building workers' strike must not be allowed to fail. The union leaders and the Communist Party must not be allowed to split up and isolate the builders.

The strength of the entire working class must be involved to ensure victory. Workers should demand the immediate escalation of the builders' struggle to a national strike combined with an appeal to all trade unionists for full support.

Once the working class has been mobilized in a general strike to force the Tories to resign, it will be able to deal with the traitors inside the Labour Party and the trade unions.

It will have the strength to force socialist policies on a Labour government returned by direct class action.

These would include: nationalization without compensation and under workers' control, of all basic industries as the only solution to unemployment; immediate withdrawal of all troops from Ulster and release of all internees; repeal of all anti-trade union legislation; and repeal of the 'fair rents' Act.

With such policies forced on it by the strength of the working class, a Labour government could not be the same as previous Labour governments.

Through the development of mass action, the right wing would be forced to split and the way opened for the development of a mass revolutionary leadership.

A struggle to force the Tory government to resign involves breaking from all forms of class collaboration in order to force a Labour government into office. This creates the conditions for breaking with the class collaborators within the Labour government.

Here, in essence, is the policy of the Socialist Labour League. The crisis of the capitalist system precludes any possibility of lasting reform.

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# workers press

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## AROUND THE WORLD

# New attack on former spymaster

BY JOHN SPENCER

A VIRULENT attack on two communists who were framed by Stalin appears in this week's issue of the Czech political weekly 'Tvorba', published in Prague.

The attack is a calculated attempt to legitimize the post-war Stalinist purges as part of the preparation of new blows against the Czechoslovak opposition.

The paper attacks Artur London, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in the frame-up Slansky trial in 1952, for supporting a move to grant the wartime resistance leader Leopold Trepper asylum in France.

Trepper headed the successful 'Red Orchestra' Soviet espionage ring in Nazi-occupied Europe during the war. Information of priceless value obtained by Trepper (including the date of the Nazi invasion of the USSR) was ignored by Stalin.

On his return to Moscow after the war Trepper was thrown into prison because he raised awkward questions about the suppression of his group's information.

After ten years in jail, he was released and went to Poland, where he became the leader of the country's small Jewish community.

The Stalinist Gomulka regime later began systematic persecution of the surviving Polish Jews. Their papers were closed down and they themselves were victimized. Trepper requested permission to emigrate to Israel and rejoin his family.

The request was refused and Trepper has not been allowed to leave the country. The Stalinists



Trepper

have made him the target of a campaign of vilification and smears.

'Tvorba' joins in this campaign with the outright lie that he was imprisoned in Poland for 'proved espionage for Israel and insulting the Soviet Union'.

In fact Trepper was imprisoned in the USSR on Stalin's orders in 1945 — three years before the state of Israel came into existence. There is not a scrap of evidence to show that he has ever been an Israeli agent.

The same charge, with its obvious anti-Semitic overtones, figured on the indictment at the frame-up Slansky trial in 1952, where London was imprisoned for life. Eleven of the 14 defendants in the trial were Jews.

The trial's frame-up character was officially admitted in 1963, when a Supreme Court commission cleared London of all charges against him. The commission completely quashed the decisions of the Slansky court and exposed the extraction of forced confessions by systematic torture.

Artur London later wrote a book about his trial and imprisonment under the title 'The Confession'. It has been made into a film. Both book and film are banned in Czechoslovakia.

The 'Tvorba' article notes that London was one of the signatories of an appeal for Trepper to be granted asylum in France.

It says: 'Birds of a feather flock together. Artur guarantees Alfred [one of Trepper's aliases].'

'Tvorba's' lies about Trepper and London have a very definite purpose.

They are aimed at reviving the frame-up judgements of the 1940s and 1950s and taking up where Stalin left off. It is no accident that the article is published in the wake of a series of trials of opponents of the Soviet occupation in which 42 people have been imprisoned.

The 'Tvorba' article is a direct refutation of these revisionist tendencies in Britain and elsewhere which claim Stalinism is a thing of the past.

## US still in the red

AMERICA'S foreign trade balance improved slightly last month but the figures show that it remains deeply in the red.

The deficit narrowed to \$542m from \$590m in June. But much of the increase was due to big exports of grain to the USSR.

However, seven months after the December 1971 dollar devaluation the foreign trade account is still running an annual deficit of more than \$6,000m.

More than half of this figure is due to the imbalance of trade with Japan and the US is making vigorous efforts to force Tokyo to slash its exports and take in more US goods.

The massive trade deficit is behind America's demands for sweeping currency and trade concessions from all the major capitalist countries. They are expected to be the central question at the International Monetary Fund meeting in Washington at the end of next month.

The Common Market powers are trying hard to reach agreement on a united posture with which to meet the American demands. But the recent consultations between French Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann and British and German leaders have demonstrated a deep gulf between the EEC states.

Schumann left London on Thursday in obvious disagreement with Heath and his cabinet colleagues.

He said the staging of a Common Market summit in October—where the French want to settle outstanding monetary and trade questions within the EEC—is still in doubt.

# What we think

## MOSCOW AND PEKING: CENTRES OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

THE SECRET diplomatic manoeuvres of the Moscow and Peking leaders with the US imperialists over the Vietnam war are the high-point of the counter-revolutionary policies of Stalinism

These contacts behind the scenes are the continuation of the relations established on Nixon's visits to the Chinese and Soviet capitals.

Following Nixon's visit to Moscow in May, the Communist Party's 'Morning Star' commented: 'The agreements reached this week in Moscow during Nixon's visit are important steps for creating new possibilities for finally ending the cold war and helping the world along the difficult road to peaceful coexistence.'

'What has been agreed can benefit the peoples of the two countries and of the world, and damages the interests of none.' (Our emphasis.)

While the British CP was issuing these bland reassurances, the Workers Press warned that a dirty deal was being prepared in Moscow at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution

This was not our view alone. It was shared by the leaders of the Vietnamese Communist Party. While Nixon was banqueting with Stalin's heirs in Moscow they launched a blistering attack on this meeting.

'By ignoring and tolerating the US imperialists' crimes,' they said in their paper 'Quan Doi Nhan Dan', 'one cannot repel their aggression. By showing weakness one cannot punish their aggressiveness.'

And the paper added: 'Communists always consider the revolution in each country as an inseparable part of the world revolution.'

'They never set national interests against the interests of the world revolution, nor place an individual nation's above the common interests of the world revolution, much less serve national selfishness at the expense of the world revolution.'

And last week when the Nixon administration was claiming that the Vietnamese would soon be forced to swallow its terms, they again pointed the finger at Moscow and Peking:

'If out of the narrow interests of one's nation one tries to help the most reactionary forces avert the dangerous blows, just like throwing a life-belt to a drowning pirate, that is a cruel reconciliation beneficial to the enemy and not beneficial to the revolution.'

The grim reality behind these words is that the Moscow and Peking leaders are sacrificing the struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants to their own narrow bureaucratic interests.

This is the meaning of their

honeyed phrases about peaceful coexistence with imperialism. The reality is counter-revolution and betrayal.

The Vietnamese fighters have waged war continuously for 25 years. Whole generations of their best sons have died on the battlefields of Indo-China. They are subjected to the most relentless and savage bombardment with explosives and chemicals ever known in human history.

And behind their backs the cynical Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats are cordially sitting down with their enemies to negotiate the betrayal of their struggle and the destruction of their gains.

As the Hanoi newspaper 'Nhan Dan' stated last week: 'The evolution of each country is an integral part of the world revolution and the revolutions of all countries have the effect of impelling and assisting one another.'

'The victory of a revolution in a country is not the end but only the beginning of the long travel towards the triumph of socialism on a world scale.'

This indisputable truth is fundamentally at variance with the idea that socialism can be built 'in a single country' on the basis of peaceful coexistence with imperialism. Yet this idea, for which Stalin slaughtered the leaders of the Bolshevik Party in the Moscow Trials, is the basic tenet of bureaucratic rule in the USSR and China.

Stalinism is an international counter-revolutionary tendency. It reflects the interests of the privileged Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats who want at all costs to prevent any independent development of the working class.

Its advocates in Britain carry through their betrayals of the working class with exactly the same end in view. The closing days of the national docks strike provided an unforgettable demonstration of this tendency at work.

When the CP-dominated London docks stewards reneged on the national stewards' decision and refused to put the decision for a clear vote on continuation of the national stoppage against the Jones-Aldington proposals they broke the back of the dockers' strike.

It meant the dockers were delivered, trussed and bound to the mercies of the Jones-Aldington committee, on which the union chief sits side by side with the former Tory Party chairman.

The collaboration of these stewards was the greatest encouragement to the employers and their magazine, the Tory 'Economist'.

This paper commented: 'Dockers' delegates usually go to conferences with their minds

already made up, and the personal intervention of the Archangel Gabriel, still less that of Mr Jones, will not make them change it.

But Mr Jones may be taking comfort from the calculated sweet reasonableness of Mr Bernie Steer and chums who, when interviewed by the Aldington-Jones team during the week, gave a fair imitation of men in whose mouths butter could not possibly melt.' ('Economist', August 5, 1972.) Even at the height of the dockers' indignation against Jones, the Communist Party press did not once criticize him.

Ever since he became secretary of the T&GWU with their assistance the CP have shamelessly covered up and concealed his real face from the working class.

At Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, James Reid of the CP national executive and other Stalinists have accepted no-strike clauses in line with the requirements of the Industrial Relations Act and mass redundancies dictated by the Tory butchers of the four yards.

For the same reason they have consistently opposed demands for a General Strike to force the Tory government to resign because this implies a break with bureaucracy and the construction of independent working-class leadership.

In the United States the Communist Party opposes a break between the unions and the Democratic Party of big business, and supports George McGovern the anti-trade unionist in order to strangle any development of an independent Labour Party based on socialist policies.

Stalinism today is in mortal crisis.

It meets obstacles to its treachery all along the line, in Vietnam, in Britain and wherever there are working men in struggle. This monstrous bureaucratic apparatus, which Trotsky described as 'the syphilis of the labour movement', must be destroyed by the building of independent revolutionary leadership.

The revolutionary struggle against Stalinism is a political task. It cannot be undertaken simply on the basis of militancy, but only by an all-round exposure of the history and actions of the bureaucracy and its supporters.

It is only through the construction of the sections of the International Committee of the Fourth International and its British section, the Socialist Labour League, that the counter-revolutionary plans of the Kremlin and Peking bureaucracies and all the 'little Stalins' around the world can be defeated.

## Gibraltar strikers say 'We won't give in'

GIBRALTAR entered the fourth day of a General Strike yesterday with all government and industrial service at a standstill and the docks, refuse services, water-distillation plant and bus company closed.

The strike is against the deci-

sion of the governor, Admiral Sir Varyl Begg, to order riot troops into the electricity generating station to break a strike of power workers.

The electricity board had previously tried to use scab labour to man the station, running the gauntlet of pickets seeking an across-the-board pay increase of £3 a week.

Union leader Michael Feetham

said the strike had completely paralysed the colony with the support of the local population.

The majority of the 3,000 Moroccan workers on Gibraltar had joined in, he said.

The electricity workers' basic wage is about £12 a week and average take-home pay £14-£15.

Feetham said on Thursday: 'We do not intend to give way.'



'Frankly, the Royals are a great worry to me...

The economic pattern suggests that the bulk of berth closures must fall in the Royal docks.'

—John Lunch, director-general of the Port of London Authority.

# Onslaught on London docks jobs

BY IAN YEATS

**LONDON port employers have mounted a savage campaign to smash the hard core of docks militancy centred on the Royals.**

They have lost no time in taking advantage of the confusion which has followed the collapse of the national dock strike.

In a hard hitting interview in the 'Journal of Commerce' yesterday, Port of London Authority director John Lunch said the employers' master strategy for modernizing dockland had not changed or even slowed down.

Only a week ago Workers Press warned that the effect of containerization and modernization on London would result in the closure of almost all the Upper Thames enclosed docks by mid-decade.

Lunch said: '... Tilbury is our main growth-point and has already established itself as the largest container port in the UK.'

Meanwhile the Tory government has granted permission for the builders' spades to begin their work at Maplin Sands—the all-container air-sea terminal at Foulness due to open in 1976.

We warned that the multi-million-pound Maplin development could threaten jobs even at Tilbury. Lunch told the 'Journal':

'...I think many of the customers now establishing themselves at Tilbury for container ro-ro (roll-on, roll-off) services are doing so with Maplin in mind.'

The port employers have mounted a deliberately-timed

scare campaign to isolate the militants.

Instead of referring to the whole of London's upper docks as candidates for closure, Lunch singled out the Royals for the top of the list.

He said: 'Frankly the Royals are a worry to me as they are not providing by and large the same standard of service as the other docks in the system and it is less easy to attract fresh trade to them.'

The Royals are by far the largest complex in the upper docks and if it is hard to attract trade there it must be twice as hard at the Indias or Millwall.

Why not mention them as well? A bid to smash the hub of London docks militancy is the only possible reason.

In line with the move to containers, Lunch said:

'Earlier this year I forecast a continued reduction of conventional cargo—despite our best marketing endeavours—leading in turn to further reductions in conventional cargo as part of our long-term strategy to streamline and concentrate our docks.'

He added the sinister threat: 'The economic pattern suggests that the bulk of these berth closures must fall in the Royal docks.'

There was also a deliberate attempt to isolate the Royals from the rest of the docks system.

Said Lunch '...nevertheless I am convinced there will be a commercial demand for services in the upper docks in the foreseeable future.'

In case any dockers believed the employers had been concerned about the effects of the dock strike, 'Journal' reporter Peter Green wrote that 'cheerful opti-



Bernie Steer appealing for vote of confidence yesterday

mism and unshakable confidence' were the hallmarks of Lunch.

Lunch said: 'We still face hard times and the revolution is not spent yet but I believe we are now through the worst of it and can look forward in the next two or three years to a much more stable situation when we will have adapted to the new methods.'

Alongside these conscious attempts to split dockers off from their leaders and smash the power of the Royals the 'Journal' announced that employers at cold store and container depots would turn to mass closure rather than surrender to the dockers' demands.

Wrote Green: 'A lead has already been given by Lord Vestey, who is on record as saying he would rather close Midland Cold Store than sell to PLA.'

He quoted 'one container operator' as saying: 'It is true that we have been discussing this very serious threat from the dockers and the consensus of opinion is that every effort should be made

to resist these highly irrational demands.'

'These totally irresponsible tactics must be defeated and we are doing all we can collectively and individually to ensure that the dockers do not succeed.'

'If it means closing down temporarily or permanently I believe the majority of firms caught up in this bitterness will opt to do so.'

The body-blow comes at the end of Green's article.

He writes: 'Observers in dockland believe it will be difficult for Bernie Steer, Vic Turner and others to counter any mass shut-down moves by the container and cold-storage employers. It would be another major rebuff for their tactics following their failure to

keep the national ports strike going.'

'If the militants' power can be broken now, the container men reason, the industry might then be in a position to wrest control from them and start setting the docks back on a stable footing.'

This is the strategy of all port employers. With the collapse of the dockers' leadership and the acceptance of the derisory Jones-Aldington proposals they have jumped in and are kicking with both feet.

As the bosses plan unfolds, the full monstrosity of the Stalinist stewards' failure to fight, hammer and claw for the docks strike to go on becomes sickeningly apparent.

## Royal dockers vote to continue 'blacking' action

**CRITICISM of London's port shop stewards' leadership during the national docks strike prompted Royal group leader Bernie Steer to call for a vote of confidence at yesterday's mass meeting.**

Steer told about 600 men that whatever had been gained by the strike had only been achieved as a result of their policies.

He said the promise held out by Jones-Aldington of getting men off the unattached register was a clear step forward and he added: 'Now we are determined to turn these promises into guarantees.'

In an undisguised reply to critics, Steer shouted: 'We have got policies, we have got recommendations and we are going to put them to you.'

He asked the men to continue to back the fight for the four points laid down by the national port shop stewards' committee.

These stipulate no redundancies, an end to the temporarily

unattached register (TUR), the inclusion of all ports in the National Dock Labour Scheme and that stuffing and stripping must be carried out by dockers.

The campaign of blacking and picketing, he said, was the only way to put teeth into Jones-Aldington. This had already worked at Chobham Farm.

Said Steer: 'We want an endorsement from you today to carry on the blacking and picketing and continue the ban on overtime until all dockers are in permanent employment.'

Men had plainly not been volunteering to picket the Midland Cold Store and Steer appealed for any dockers with time off to join the pickets.

Voting to continue the fight for the national four-point programme and to carry on the blacking campaign was unanimous, but about six men voted against in the confidence vote.

A SIMILAR meeting of 500 dockers at Tilbury yesterday also passed a confidence motion proposed by the stewards and voted with only a handful against to continue the blacking.

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Victor Feather, TUC general secretary, with Jack Jones, speaking at the February 21, 1971, one-day protest against the Industrial Relations Bill

# TUC: THE LONG SAD TALE

The TUC's annual report reads like a long sad confession of inadequacy. In section after section the General Council report the policies they have pursued since the 103rd Congress last September, and section after section reveals disaster.

The final sections of the report complete the indictment of reformism contained in its previous sections (already dealt with in Workers Press).

The most powerful trade union movement in the world, which with 10 million members could smash the Tory government with one blow, is reduced to ineffectual protest politics.

The section on economic policy is typical. 'The General Council conducted a major campaign against the record post-war level of unemployment,' the TUC proudly proclaim.

But with what result? Believe it or not, in 330 pages they fail to record the fact that unemployment is already on its way up again and will soon set even higher post-war records.

Nowhere is socialism mentioned. 'The 1972 Economic Review set out proposals for full employment and economic planning entailing an expansionary Budget, a more equitable tax system, and structural reforms including a National Manpower Board, Regional Development Authorities and a Public Investment Agency.'

With policies like these, the capitalist class must be really trembling!

But despite the fact that no inroads at all have been made into the private ownership of the banks and industry, which is where the responsibility for the anarchy of production really lies, the General Council has the gall to add:

'There is evidence that the TUC's advocacy has had a marked influence on public opinion and has brought about a perceptible change of emphasis in government policy.'

Government policy has been to go right on backing the capitalist class to the hilt and, in a period of declining world markets, this means supporting their aims to reduce unit labour costs at any price in order to compete with foreign firms.

## TORY ATTACKS

It has meant vicious use of the Industrial Relations Court to break strikes and tame unions, a crude attempt to impose a fixed and reducing norm for pay increases, and a deliberate programme of money inflation to reduce the worth of real wages and pensions.

Meanwhile the ruling class has gone on an orgy of speculation, some of it 'legal' but much of it openly corrupt, without even the pretence by government to control it. Nowhere is this mentioned in the TUC's so-called economic report.

The one aspect of this rake's progress of capitalism which they did latch on to—the floating of the pound—they actually welcomed at the time as being a sound move!

The other plank of Tory policy has been the deliberate encouragement to British firms to slim themselves down and rationalize in readiness to join the Common Market in a desperate bid to recapture foreign trade.

The most frantic trickery has been going on in parliament to get the EEC Bill through in time, against the clear wishes of the British working class. All the TUC has to say is:

'The General Council have campaigned against British membership of the Common Market on the terms negotiated, stressing the disproportionate contribution Britain would pay into the Community Budget relative to Britain's receipts, and the adverse effects of adhering to the EEC's agricultural policy.'

'The General Council have called for a reappraisal of the Common Market's policy of agricultural self-sufficiency and have criticized present plans for economic and monetary union.'

The TUC's defence of the interests of the working class on the question of jobs has been no less limp.

In November 1971, they were 'urging the government for immediate action to reverse the trend of mounting unemployment'.

They were still urging the same thing by March this year,

and the same cry is certain to be repeated this autumn as unemployment soars again and, what's more, the TUC know it.

And while they go on urging, the docks employers, for one, go on mechanising their industry and throwing workers on the scrapheap.

And where has the TUC been during the docks long struggle for jobs? Joining the state hierarchy in condemning the men's violence.

## 'DIALOGUE'

From its March meeting with Heath, the TUC reports:

'The General Council replied that they were always willing to have discussions with the government, but that it was hard to see any meaningful dialogue taking place in the context of the Industrial Relations Act.'

But even while five dockers were lying in jail for their trade union activities later in the summer, the TUC leaders were embroiled in a long series of discussions with the government, which are still going on. It is this involvement which is death to a real fight being put up against the class enemy, who do not hesitate to use any and every weapon against the working class.

The TUC must be made to break off all talks with the Tory government and to use its industrial power to bring down this regime of grasping capitalists and speculators which is plundering the working class.

## TORIES' SOLUTION IS SECOND CLASS DOCTORS

The Tory government may be plying to 'solve' the shortage of doctors—particularly in the psychiatric and child-medicine fields—in a ruthless and dangerous fashion.

Medical Social Workers can play an important part in the treatment of hospital patients by helping them to cope with many of the problems which are weighing on their minds and delaying their recovery.

They are not, however, doctors and have only the most general idea of the medical condition of the people they are dealing with.

The Seebohm Committee, which issued its report a few months ago, recommended that, amongst other things, the social welfare services should be integrated.

This would mean that MSWs would no longer be employed by the National Health Service, but by local authorities and contracted out to the hospitals.

Discussion about this has been raging amongst MSWs ever since the report appeared.

Whilst the British Association of Social Workers is prepared to go along with the Seebohm recommendations, most MSWs appear to oppose them. They feel they are specialists in a particular field of social work and if they are drawn into the local authorities both they and their patients will suffer.

In particular, whilst some local authorities have fairly good welfare services, many of them are notoriously bad and people are quite unable to get the help they need and to which they are entitled.

Alistair Oliphant, a well-known medico-political commentator, has now thrown a bombshell into the discussion.

Writing in 'Social Worker' August 18, 1972 he suggests that the Tory government already has a secret plan both for MSWs and for the National Health Service.

In view of the shortage of doctors, he says, plans are being prepared to train MSWs to become 'medical assistants'.

Working under a consultant, they could be used more and more as 'primary-care doctors', carrying out much of the treatment needed.

They would be used, he believes, particularly in psychiatric work where the 'rising stresses in every-day living' are leading to more and more 'crises' such as sudden nervous breakdowns attempted suicides and so on, and in the treatment of children.

If Oliphant is correct, it means that the Tory government, as part of its plans to whittle away the Health Service, is proposing to make up the shortage of trained doctors, not by training more, but by using social workers who will have only the most basic training in medical matters.

Thus government money will be saved, whilst the health of thousands of working-class people will be put at still greater risk.



Portugal's Prime Minister, Marcello Caetano denies his armies are waging a colonial war in Africa

## PORTUGAL'S WAR IN AFRICA

The armies of the Portuguese fascist state have launched a new, desperate campaign to root the liberation movement out of their African colony of Mozambique.

They have been unable to break the resistance of the people in the liberated northern zone by Belson-like tortures and pogroms and now they have adopted methods tried and tested in Vietnam.

They have enlisted the aid of South African mercenary pilots to launch a chemical war to starve out the Frelimo guerrillas from the liberated northern forest areas.

The missions comprise defoliant-spraying planes escorted by heavily-armed aircraft.

Their aim is to liquidate the hundreds of clearings made by the local people where crops to feed the guerrilla armies can be grown.

The plants include maize, beans, peas, ground-nuts and bananas.

One of the chemicals used is Convolotox, which not only destroys broad-leaved plants but can also stop fertilization. This means the sprayed area could become completely dead for years in the future.

News of the campaign broke out just as the Portuguese Prime Minister, Marcello Caetano, was busily denying that his armies were waging a colonial war in Africa.

He also claimed that there was no evidence of population in revolt and internal uprisings in Angola, Mozambique or Portuguese Guinea.

The South Africans were assured the area was cleared of guerrillas, but much to their unease they witnessed thousands of cartridge shells littering the base.

As they skimmed over the thick jungle disgorging their deadly cloud, a Portuguese fighter swooped ahead firing machine-guns and rockets into the brush. Overhead two jets dropped 100-kilo and 50-kilo bombs.

One South African plane and a Portuguese jet bought from the US were hit by guerrilla machine-gun fire and the project was cut short, much to the relief of the Portuguese pilots, whose morale—in common with that of the whole colonial army—is at a very low ebb.

The South Africans managed to spray only a fraction of the area, and the mission appears to have been an expensive failure. The Portuguese may, however, launch bigger operations to smash Frelimo's growing hold over their colony.

Over the past few months much of Mozambique's north-western Tete province has slipped from Portuguese control. The army is restricted to towns and fortified posts and is only able to move along main roads.

Latest figures show that in the three months from December to February, Portugal lost at least 197 men. Six trains were blown up, 22 vehicles destroyed, two bridges blown up and nine posts and two concentration camps attacked.

In all 26 major ambushes were launched and an aircraft shot down in the region of Mague.

An eye-witness report recently revealed that the two mottos of the troops are: 'Bring home all your skin, including that on your heels', and 'No heroics'.

One young officer was reported as saying: 'In Guiné, Angola and Mozambique it is really rare to find anyone who seeks an engagement with guerrillas. If you can run away without too many risks, well, so much the better.'

Another soldier, a young worker, gave a vivid account of life in the combat zone.

'I remember very well that in the zone of Bafata, we lived underground all day.

'To go for a piss you had to reach a trench some 15 metres away. You knew there were snipers in the trees round the camp, so that every time you relieved yourself you risked your life.

'And there was fear, dense fear. People were silent. No one spoke. Often there wasn't enough to eat, but there was always plenty to drink: beer and wine. You got drunk to overcome your terror.'

These conditions create such demoralization and terror that the troops — often backward peasants living under the dictatorship at home—develop a savage racialism against the black population.

This is encouraged by the officers and some of the sorties into the forest have been accompanied by the most hideous crimes against the people.

Recently a Portuguese priest smuggled a dossier out of Portugal to Rome. There he revealed mass slaughter of villages. In one, troops tortured people to make them eat the bodies of their own children.

The army is, however, gradually losing its war.

More and more areas are going over to the natives. On her own Portugal is unable to fight a large scale engagement in her colonies. The new danger is support from South Africa and America.



A Frelimo fighter

## CARRILLO'S 'OPEN' METHODS MEAN PRISON IN FASCIST SPAIN

August's 'Marxism Today', the theoretical journal of the Communist Party, prints a translation of extracts from a speech made by Santiago Carrillo at a central committee meeting of the Spanish Communist Party in September 1970.

The speech itself is a clear example of the way in which Spanish Stalinists prepared betrayals of the workers' struggle against Franco.

The main theme of the party line in 1970 was the need 'to come to the surface', and 'win areas of freedom, bases of democratic struggle'.

Carrillo explains how through a fight for democracy, workers won the possibility of organizing strikes, meetings, and demonstrations—all of which were previously regarded by law as criminal:

'From the strike regarded under the law as a crime of insurrection to the strike as everyday practice.'

This creeping democracy dovetails neatly with the protests of the liberal clergy, intelligentsia and the youth of all classes who want progressive 'national harmony'.

Any criticism of this 'coming to the surface' and any concept of building an underground movement is glibly labelled 'ultra-leftist' and 'anti-Leninist'.

Since the speech is described by 'Marxism Today' as 'important background material' on the 'great struggles in Spain', it is worthwhile recording what has happened to Party members following this policy out.

Since the defeat of the Spanish Revolution, Spanish workers have lived under a fascist dictatorship. This means that strikes, trade unions independent of the state and political parties of opposition are illegal. Although the Spanish working class has regained its strength and is building illegal organizations, the measures of the fascist dictatorship still remain.

Some recent events show the criminal dangers in Carrillo's 'open' methods.

### SHOT

During the strike by car-workers at the Seat plant in Barcelona at the end of last year, the police surrounded the factory and prepared to attack the workers who were occupying it. The Communist Party leadership of the workers' commission in the factory insisted on trying 'to persuade the police of the justice of our demands' and began to argue with fascist police chiefs.

Within a few minutes police had entered the factory and had shot at least three workers. These workers died within hours.

In June a local meeting of a workers' commission was organized in a town near Barcelona.

It was organized by party members and along the lines laid down by Carrillo.

Eighty or so workers were called to a wood by the park in the town in the early evening when it was still light.

Despite the presence of passers-by (some obviously prosperous bourgeois), the Party members insisted that no defence pickets or guards were necessary: they were showing 'how democracy would be won'.

Sections of the meeting argued about the need for guards, and organized lookouts strategically-placed around the wood.

Within a few minutes a guard appeared; a car complete with civil guard was on its way.

The car, with gun-barrels pointing out of its windows, soon drove up as the workers rushed in all directions. The civil guard succeeded in shooting one worker.

The secret police have been concentrating their activity on breaking up Communist Party cells and have had success in several towns.

At a Public Order Tribunal in Madrid in July, over 20 Party members and supporters were given sentences ranging from eight years to ten months. The main crimes were possessing copies of the party press and holding illegal meetings.

They will join, in Madrid prisons, the majority of the national committee of the workers' commissions, as well as numerous building workers arrested during an April strike.



Santiago Carrillo

However, Carrillo's line has shifted considerably since September 1970.

The task of the party then was to take control of the workers' movement and guide it behind the democratic opposition; strikes and the General Strike were part of the democratic 'coming to the surface'.

The policy of Carrillo is now to bring the working-class behind the 'neo-centrist' tendency in Franco's government that is for entry into the Common Market, which has now become his panacea for the workers' movement.

Recent issues of 'Mundo Obrero' have dropped the call for a General Strike, which used to appear in every issue.

The latest policy statement has only this to say about strikes and demonstrations: 'The repetition of the same forms of struggle is often counter-productive'. Not a word about areas of freedom.

### NO BATTLE

Perhaps the editors of 'Marxism Today' would like to bring their readers up to date on the positions of S. Carrillo.

They could start with this statement: 'We Communists do not want to make opposition to entry into the Common Market ground for battle.'

'We denounce the monopolist capitalist structure it has in the same way we condemn the present structure of Spain. But in the same way as the solution is not to leave Spain but to transform its socio-economic structures in a general way the solution for the European proletariat is to transform capitalist structures into socialist ones . . . on a European basis.'

In the forefront of the attacks on immigrants is the Monday Club, a right-wing ginger group in the Tory Party. In this article ALEX MITCHELL looks at the history of the club and examines some of its personalities and policies.

# THE MONDAY CLUB COMES IN FROM THE COLD

For a political group which captures headlines almost daily, the Monday Club is a little-known outfit.

The names of its members remain something of a secret. After the last General Election there was great jollification in the club's headquarters in Victoria, London, because 29 members were elected.

Who were they? asked the press. Suddenly, however, there was shyness. 'You could have most of the names, but some of the members don't want any publicity about their membership.'

The club's political significance can be reckoned by the fact that it has come from obscurity in 1961 to having three senior ministers in Heath's government: Geoffrey Rippon, the chief Common Market negotiator; Julian Amery, the Housing Minister who has just legislated the Housing Finance Act to double council rents; and John Peyton, Transport Minister, who was behind the setting up of the Jones-Aldington committee to smash jobs on the docks.

Although the club and its members are publicity-shy, every now and then the veil is lifted just enough for a glimpse of its workings. Such an occasion was the recent election of a new chairman.

The election became necessary following the resignation of George Pole, Tory councillor in the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea.

It was a two-way contest. Richard Body, MP for Holland-with Boston, was the candidate of the 'left', and Jonathan Guinness (42), a merchant banker, stood for the 'right'.

## CONTEST

Body's supporters claimed that an attempt was made to 'slip in' Guinness without a proper contest. They demanded a postal ballot, but were told it would take too long.

In March they called a special general meeting which voted overwhelmingly for a postal ballot. Subsequently voting papers were sent to 1,700 national members and the votes were counted in the first week of June in the club's office just along from Scotland Yard.

Writing about the power struggle a 'Guardian' report said: 'The Monday Club will decide tonight whether it wants to be a right-wing force, hostile to government policies of financial aid to industry,

or a Blimpish group seeking law and order and a ban on immigration.'

In the event the vote went to the Blimps. Guinness, a member of the multi-million-pound brewing family, won by 676 votes to 228.

His election caused great elation in the ranks. For not only had the club won a son of the City of London, but it had also gained a man of blue-chip background.

In the salons of the ruling class the name Guinness is extremely influential. After all, isn't Paul Channon, another member of the Guinness family, a junior Minister in William Whitelaw's Ulster Office, doing very well for himself?

## HOME

The day after he was elected Guinness made at least part of his philosophy known to the public in a cryptic message.

He said he hoped the club would become the 'spiritual and political home for the industrial classes'. He added: 'I do not mean the working classes. We all work, at least I do.'

In another interview Guinness showed the stuff which endears him so mightily to the right wing. He condemned the 'treason of the educated' and called for a return 'to the principles of honour and decency' which, he said, the intellectuals had been trying very hard to rub out.

It's the sort of crude, skin-head rhetoric which the petty bourgeois lap up.

The election wasn't without its muck-raking.

Voters received an anonymous leaflet quoting an Institute of Race Relations article which described Guinness as a race hardliner and Body as a member of the British Caribbean Association. The association, the article said, was 'a Commons-based body designed to work for harmony between the races'.

If there was anything to seal Body's fate, that was it.

For there is one thing which sets the swords rattling in the Club, and that's people who are 'soft' on immigrants. The club has been described as 'obsessive' about race; indeed, it was about Toryism and racialism that the club originally sprang to life.

It was 1961 and Harold Macmillan was touring Africa.

Much to the chagrin of Verwoerd and the ruling Nationalist Party, Macmillan insisted on visiting the ex-Tory colonies first.

Eventually he arrived in



South Africa where the white supremacists were on the brink of legislating enormous constitutional machinery to establish apartheid on a more terror-ridden basis. Macmillan made his over-publicized 'winds of change' speech.

One of the places where the speech caused a backlash was Chelsea.

Paul Bristol, an ex-army officer and shipbroker, was so disturbed by the new Toryism of Macmillan and Butler that he declared the day of 'winds of change' Black Monday.

With a group of friends they began meeting regularly in Chelsea to 'stop the rot' in the Tory 'principles'. They were fighting the 'neo-socialist betrayal', they declared.

When asked about the Bow Group, the ginger group of the 'left' in the Tory Party, one of the clubbers said emphatically: 'They are airy-fairy fellows of the Left Tory fringe, either pseudo-liberal or pale-pink fellow-travelling Labourites, a latterday breed of Butskellites.'

Although the Club began with political amateurs in the front positions, its roots have always gone deep into the Tory establishment. Bristol's two main backers were the Marquess of Salisbury and Viscount Boyd of Merton.

The late Lord Salisbury wielded enormous power in

the Tory Party and served as Colonial Secretary during the 1950s. Much of the preparation for launching the Club went on at his ancestral home, Hatfield House, at Farnsworth.

Here they gathered to eat steak-and-mushroom pie washed down with Pomerol 1959 to discuss 'a return to the principles and integrity of Toryism'.

Salisbury was a direct descendant of Robert Cecil, a leading Minister of both Queen Elizabeth I and James I, while another ancestor, the third Marquess of Salisbury, was Prime Minister three times in the Victorian period.

One of the early meetings at Salisbury's mansion was attended by Selwyn Lloyd, now the Speaker of the House, and another old Cabinet colleague, Lord Chandos, a leading industrialist.

## 'BAD FORM'

The other figure, Lord Boyd, is better known as Alan Lennox-Boyd, who, as Colonial Secretary, administered during the bloody repression of the independence movement in Kenya.

But in the inaugural list of office-bearers none of these dignitaries took prominent or public places. Apart from

Bristol, the notable appointments were: vice-chairman Anthony Maclaren (25), and Angus Nicol, both in law; secretary Ian Greig (35), former Tory Party agent in Stoke Newington; treasurer Cedric Gunnery (27), an executive with a light engineering company; assistant secretary Adrian Fitzgerald (21), trainee in industrial management.

In these early days it was considered 'bad form' to belong to the club. It was more or less a secret Mafia which operated on the fringes of the Tory Party.

But today it commands a serious, if enigmatic, place at the centre of the Heath government.

Apart from three senior Ministers its ranks include prominent Tory MPs like Ronald Bell, Jasper More, John Biggs-Davidson, Harold Soref, Harold Gurden, Victor Goodhew, Stephen Hastings, Joseph Hiley, Mrs Jill Knight, Edward Taylor, Major Patrick Wall, Jerry Wiggan, Harold Woodnutt and Geoffrey Stewart-Smith.

Its 'policies' are not such that they can be put to any real intellectual test. They are most aptly described as eccentric or idiosyncratic.

The Club's one enduring passion is race.

And here Harold Soref, the man who tried to whip up a

witch-hunt against the Young Socialists' annual summer camp, is the unrivalled wizard. Although he has never bothered to join (he dislikes labels of any description), Powell is their mouthpiece on this subject.

In a policy pamphlet entitled 'Who Goes Home?' the Club advocated Powell's view that Commonwealth immigrants who don't take out British citizenship should be deported. The Club also called for repatriation boards to replace race conciliation boards and a ban on letting in dependants.

Freddie Stockwell, an ex-Foreign Office man who was the full-time director, told the 'Sunday Times' in 1969: 'We supported a stand made by Ian Smith and people flocked in to us.'

'Then Enoch Powell was dropped from the Shadow Cabinet and people came to us again. It's a dreadful thing that a man of Powell's calibre was ever dropped.'

In one year membership rose almost 200 per cent. It was in the 12 months preceding the last General Election that the Club first flexed its political muscle—and this caused some disquiet in the crusty clubrooms in Pall Mall.

For one thing, the Club had been busy in the constituencies

organizing candidates threatening to displace 'lefties' like Nigel Fisher, the Tory MP for Surbiton. It was their campaign against Fisher which prompted Harold Wilson to attack the 'fascist-minded infiltrators' who had penetrated the 'local commanding heights' of the Conservative Party. In particular he named the 'skin-heads of Surbiton'.

But if the club was working against the Old Guard—the Macmillanites—it certainly wasn't opposed to the 'quiet revolution' proposed by Heath.

The manifesto produced at the Selsdon conference six months before the election could have been written by the Club itself.

## CONSCIENCE

Freddie Stockwell said: 'We are the conscience of the Party. We stand for true Conservatism. We believe Mr Heath is taking us there.'

The Club jumped into the election campaign with enormous vigour, providing the local scaremongering to back up the leader's soft sell.

For example, when Heath talked blandly on television about building 'one nation', it was the Monday Clubbers in the constituencies who explained that this meant



John Peyton, MP



Julian Amery, MP



Geoffrey Rippon, MP

clubbing long-haired demonstrators and prosecuting 'subversives'.

One of the first scalps claimed by the Club after the election was Rudi Dutschke's. It was the Club which claimed to have documentary proof that he had broken his permit regulations and therefore should be thrown out.

The Club's other main pre-occupation is combating 'subversion'.

By January 1971 the Club had decided it had sufficient 'evidence' to launch a one-day seminar at £1.50 admission to discuss 'Internal Subversion'.

The liveliest contribution was from Soref: 'The National Council for Civil Liberties is completely infiltrated by communists. Its purpose is to defend those who break law and order...'

After this extraordinary pronouncement Soref went completely into orbit: 'Television and the BBC have been criticized by us for years. There has been no change, except for the worse.'

'There is also book-publishing. If you examine the outpourings of Penguin Books, you will find that they are completely dedicated to propagating all the ideas we've been considering today.'

'It's very difficult to get a part on the stage because of the number of communist producers—and of the number of communist producers at the BBC. On the box there is left-wing propaganda every evening.'

Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, the extreme reactionary who replaced George Brown at Belper, told the same audience that the communists had given the orders for pornography to be propagated to foster the corruption of the West.

Another leading light in the Club, George K. Young, a former Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, repeated the same theme at a Nottingham conference when he said:



Left: Last year's Monday Club Ball. Above: Enoch Powell at same.

'We must begin to scare the pants off those pansies at Broadcasting House. We have got the BBC on the run. They are getting scared.'

And this is precisely the whole point of the Club—it did have the corporation's board of governors 'on the run'.

And by the middle of last year a semi-judicial tribunal headed by Lord Parker, the former Lord Chief Justice, was operating at the BBC as a sort of Star Chamber inquiring into the making of programmes.

## LITTLE FUSS

Of course the Club didn't humble the BBC on its own.

But it is a measure of its political maturity that it was able to get the Heath government to move against the corporation with so little fuss. The Club is extremely sensitive about its connections with extreme right groups like the National Front and the fascists.

After John Ormowe told the 'Daily Mirror' he was a fan of Hitler's, he was expelled, and Stockwell in another interview explained that membership is 'selective'.

'Not any one can join,' he said. 'We think that from time to time National Front people decide they can use us and try to get in but we catch most of them. We've only had to expel two or three members because they belonged to the Front.'

Its most interesting political bond today is with the Ulster Unionists, the reactionary Tory Party in Northern Ireland, which is behind the para-military Ulster Defence Association.

The Club's connections with groups in Ulster forced a spokesman to say last week-end that the Club was in no way connected with gun-running to the Loyalist vigilantes. To dismiss the Club as a

From the Dockers' Tanner Strike 1889 to Devlin 1967. An historical series on the organization of the dockers by Jack Gale

# THE COMING OF THE 'BLUE'

## PART 9

Despite their howls of anguish at the damage done by striking dockers, the shipowners' profits continued to climb in the 1950s. For example, the profits of 57 shipping undertakings that issued annual reports in 1952 rose from £63m to over £96m.

At the end of that year British shipping companies had reserves of over £278m. Nothing of that was used to improve workers' facilities on the docks.

These employers — particularly after the failure of the prosecution of the seven dockers in 1951—relied upon the right-wing leadership of the Transport and General Workers' Union to control their membership.

And these leaders did their best to oblige.

Again and again militants coming up before Dock Labour Board tribunals found these union officials just as anxious to discipline them as the employers—if not more so.

Militants also faced attack within the union itself.

For example one of the seven dockers involved in the 1951 court case—Harry Constable—had been expelled from the T&GWU for being a leader of the 1949 strike. Yet the men continued to work with Constable even though he had no union card.

## DEFIANCE

Indeed in January 1954, 3,000 men walked off the West India and Millwall docks because Constable had been refused work.

The strike lasted two days, and at the end of it the employers were compelled not only to promise that Constable would not be victimized, but also to grant him the personal right to approach or interview any foreman, warehouseman or port superintendent!

To ensure that this pledge was honoured, every man in the dock stood back from the call-stand on the days immediately after the strike until Constable had been allocated work.

This support of Constable was an act of defiance directed against the leaders of the T&GWU. This was soon to take another form.

In January 1954, a port employer reported a member of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers' Union (the 'Blue' union) to the Dock Labour Board for refusing to work overtime.

The Board suspended the man from work for two days.

The NASDU then declared that its members would work from 8.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m., until the Dock Labour Board and the employers accepted that overtime was 'voluntary'. They were supported by the 4,200-strong Watermen, Lightermen, Tugmen and Barge-men's Union.

This overtime ban lasted for over six months.

The dispute centred around what interpretation should be given to a clause in the National Dock Labour Scheme which read:

'A registered dock worker shall . . . work for such periods as are reasonable in his particular case.'

The employers said this meant overtime was compulsory and the men insisted it was voluntary.

During the overtime ban over 67,000 cases accumulated



Birkenhead dockers, members of NASD the 'Blue' Union, march for the recognition of their union in Spring, 1955

of men awaiting disciplinary action for refusing overtime!

But although voluntary overtime was a principle for all unions — including the T&GWU—the T&GWU leadership refused to take any action at all and would not support the stevedores' and watermen's unions.

Indeed the leaders of the 'Blue' were later to allege that the T&GWU poached members from them during the overtime ban.

However that may be, the refusal of the T&GWU leadership to fight on this issue which concerned every docker created enormous dissatisfaction on the docks.

Discontent was still simmering about the overtime ban when another issue arose—this time in Hull.

In August, 1954, a group of dockers from Wales was sent to Hull to alleviate a temporary labour shortage. They were allocated to a grain ship.

In Hull there were no suction fillers for unloading grain. It was done by means of hand-scuttles, the dockers actually standing in the hold amongst the grain.

The Welsh dockers said this was not only unpleasant and dangerous but 'prehistoric', and they refused to do it. Accordingly they were taken off the ship and Hull men ordered in. Not surprisingly, the Hull men refused.

Thus began the 'Filling Strike'. This strike was interesting because it revealed the hypocrisy of the employers' usual claim that workers strike because they are against progress.

Here were workers striking to get modern, scientific methods of work utilized and the employers refusing for the

good old-fashioned reason that it wasn't profitable.

But the consequences of this strike were more important than the immediate issue.

4,000 men were involved in the 'Filling Strike' and they complained that the officials of the T&GWU were just not interested.

They claimed that these officials spoke only to the employers, accepted all the employers' claims and refused even to come on the ships to see the conditions under which the men were expected to work.

Such complaints were not new — but the action that followed was.

By September 1954, 2,500 Hull dockers had applied to join the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers, which at that time had no members in the northern ports.

After some initial hesitation, the London-based NASDU leaders decided to accept them and the floodgates opened.

## RECRUITS

Over 2,000 men signed for the 'Blue' in Birkenhead, big inroads were made into the T&GWU's 27,000 members in Liverpool and considerable recruitment took place in Manchester.

The T&GWU leaders could not stop them, though they tried hard enough.

At the end of September P. J. O'Hare, the Merseyside district secretary of the T&GWU threatened to join with the employers in locking out Birkenhead dockers who had signed to join the 'Blue'.

The grounds were that the National Dock Labour Scheme in the northern ports applied

only to the Transport and General Workers' Union.

He went even further.

The Birkenhead branch of the T&GWU posted notices inviting 1,000 men to register with them for dock work. The men who had signed for the 'Blue' could, it claimed, no longer be on the register of portworkers.

These efforts failed. Discontent with the leadership of the T&GWU had boiled over.

The sources of this discontent were expressed very clearly in a letter from six Manchester dockers which was published in the Trotskyist paper 'Socialist Outlook' on September 17, 1954.

The complaints these workers listed were:

- 1 That paid officials of the T&GWU were in office for life.
  - 2 That T&GWU officials were not elected but were selected by a committee of full-time officials who had themselves been selected by the same process.
  - 3 That the general secretary could not be removed by a straight majority but required a two-thirds majority against him, otherwise he was there for life.
  - 4 That the union's block vote was misused at TUC and Labour Party conferences. It reflected the views of the leadership and not of the membership.
  - 5 That the union's rules revision conference met once every five years.
  - 6 That the views of the rank-and-file member in the branches were stifled by stalling tactics higher up and by union procedure that was deliberately tortuous.
- For years the T&GWU leadership had ignored such

complaints as these. Now it was paying the price.

But the bureaucracy fought back.

It had the support of the TUC — after all, if T&GWU members could get away with this sort of thing, there was no saying what would happen.

The 'Blue' union was expelled from the TUC for breaching the Bridlington Agreement. (That is, the rule that said one union must not poach members from another.)

## BULWARK

Although the 'Blue' leaders claimed that the T&GWU had poached from them during the overtime ban and though they argued correctly that people were voluntarily resigned from the T&GWU and joining them, the bureaucracies still united against them.

The press was equally hostile. 'The Times' complained that the NASD had inadequate control over its members — why, union decisions were sometimes taken at mass meetings?

The Labour leaders were horrified.

The T&GWU leaders were the bulwark of the right wing, nothing should be allowed to weaken them. In Hull men were actually expelled from the Labour Party for joining the 'Blue'.

Last but not least, the Communist Party rallied to Deakin's support. The Stalinists had no desire then — any more than now—to break from the trade union bureaucracy.

So the battle for the 'Blue' was on.

CONTINUED ON MONDAY

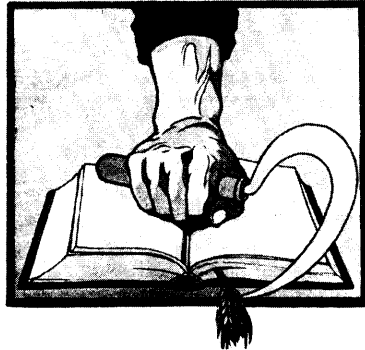




King George V in Belfast where he issued the 'appeal' which split the Sinn Fein movement

## 'PEACE AND RECONCILIATION' —AT THE POINT OF A GUN

### BOOK REVIEW



'Englishmen and Irish troubles: British public opinion and the making of Irish policy, 1918-1922', by D. G. Boyce (Jonathan Cape, 250pp. £4.50.)

The oppressions in Ireland since the despatch of British troops there by the Labour government in 1969 have stimulated a flood of books on Irish history. This volume, however, is one of the less useful products of the period.

It purports to be a study of the effect of something called 'British public opinion' on government policy in Ireland between the end of World War I and the outbreak of the Irish civil war in 1922.

In fact it consists mainly of items culled from 'The Times', 'Manchester Guardian', 'Daily Telegraph', 'Daily Mail' and numerous lesser journals down to and including the 'Leatherhead and Dorking Advertiser'.

A daunting enough task, certainly, but one which cannot replace political understanding.

These ruling-class journals, of course, in no sense reflected the opinions of the majority of the British people—that is, of the working class.

Yet we are repeatedly presented with the faceless 'British public'. We are told that:

● 'The British people were determined that any new solution must be set in the British political tradition; there was no room for a republic';

● 'British public opinion was seeking a way of reconciling Irish Nationalist aspirations with the monarchical British system';

● 'Public opinion persuaded Lloyd George to discard his Home Rule blinkers.'

On top of all this, the Lloyd George regime is presented as 'the British people and its government'.

In fact, of course, Lloyd George (the craftiest Liberal since Gladstone) had held on to power by springing the post-war 'khaki elections' and promising the working class 'a land fit for heroes to live in'.

But just as the reader comes to believe that Boyce is going to have to tell us what this 'public opinion' really consists of, he forestalls us:

'The term "public opinion" seems to require some definition, but I have decided that in this case definitions are a barrier to progress!'

On top of all this vagueness, we come very close to getting the stage Irishman—the one who, as everyone knows, 'loves a fight'.

The continual struggle of the oppressed Irish masses against British imperialism is presented as the product of some sort of 'cussedness':

'No sooner had the English worked out an answer, than the Irish thought of another question.'

A survey of British press attitudes to Ireland could be useful. It is interesting to note, for example, that in 1919 Lord French, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was demanding that 'the rebels be seized and put in concentration camps... as had been done in the Boer War'.

But such a survey could only be of value if presented as a study of the conflicting views of sections of the British ruling class, as expressed through their journalistic mouthpieces.

The decisive factor influencing the British ruling class was not some kind of non-material 'public opinion' faithfully reflected through honest newspapers.

(Nor, indeed, was it what Boyce chooses to see as Lloyd George's 'unenviable lot'. A great number of Irish men and women might have considered the Welsh Wizard's lot as considerably more enviable than theirs.)

The decisive factor was the hard material fact that the first imperialist world war had convulsed the whole of capitalism.

England and her first colony were caught up in these convulsions.

In 1916, the heroic Easter Rising had challenged the might of British imperialism, as three years earlier the Dublin workers had challenged that of Murphy and his British backers.

And the revulsion against the 1914-1918 slaughter had finally destroyed the last shreds of credibility clinging to John Redmond's pro-war Irish Parliamentary Party.

Lloyd George had to seek to come to terms with these new forces, as well as the old Ulster Unionist forces, at a time when he faced real danger from his own working class.

He solved this problem in the time-honoured Liberal manner. He told lies to both sides. He told the Nationalists that partition would be temporary and the Unionists that it would be permanent.

The Nationalists were then faced with a constitution based on loyalty to the British Crown. This was forced on Ireland by guns and bayonets.

Boyce has so little understanding of these events—despite his copious reading of just about every article written on them—that he seriously tells us that it was 'the King's [George V] moving appeal for peace and reconciliation [which] helped break the deadlock between the British government and Sinn Fein' (page 144).

Such monumental misunderstanding can only leave the reader aghast.

The 'peace' and 'reconciliation' took the form of Lloyd George telling the Sinn Fein leaders that if they did not accept the oath of loyalty to the British Crown, the British government would extract such loyalty in the usual manner—at the end of a rifle.

It was this 'moving appeal' which split the Sinn Fein, with De Valera opposing acceptance and Griffith and Collins advocating it.

The British imperial government then showed its moving concern for peace and reconciliation by arming the Griffith-Collins faction and precipitating the Irish civil war.

One can only wonder at Boyce's achievement in amassing so many facts and failing to understand a single one of them.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## PROGRESS

Progress has now been made towards an early pregnancy test which would show whether a baby would suffer from spina bifida or anencephaly.

Spina bifida is a severe spinal deformity which usually results in the victim having to spend a lifetime in a wheelchair.

Anencephaly is the failure of the brain to grow in an embryo.

Both are congenital malformations and the chance of them occurring is as high as one in 20 in families in which a blood relative has been affected.

There are an estimated 100,000 cases of spina bifida in Britain.

The advantage of recognition before birth, of course, is that the pregnancy could be terminated.

When tests to recognize mongolism in unborn babies were developed and some doctors advocated voluntary abortions for women carrying such babies, the Catholic 'Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child' raised an outcry.

Will this reactionary organization now start campaigning for women to be compelled against their wishes to give birth to babies without proper backbones or without brains?

## POULSON EXPORTED

It seems that the Poulson affair is an exportable commodity and will be found wherever you find capitalism in crisis.

For something along similar lines is about to break in California, involving the publisher of the 'Los Angeles Times', the Attorney-General of California and a host of famous people yet to be named.

Otis Chandler, publisher of the 'Times', has apparently been busy in his spare time rounding up well-known people of some prestige to back the speculative ventures of his friend Jack Burke, who collected money to engage in oil-drilling schemes.

Unfortunately for his creditors, Burke seems to have done other things with this money than drill for oil.

Money invested in Geo Tek Resources Fund Inc was div-

erted into a number of other operations controlled by the same Burke, who also managed to unload a number of worthless properties on Geo Tek for enormous prices.

Now Burke, who can't pay his bills, faces fraud charges and accusations of misappropriation of funds and breach of statutory duty.

A large number of important people—from 'Times' executives and political and society figures to Hollywood stars—are short to the tune of \$30m.

'Times' publisher Chandler used his name and influence to line up contacts, friends and sources of finance for Burke.



Otis Chandler (top) and Burke

One of his group was Evelle Younger, the state's Attorney-General. His claim to fame is the consistent championing of the death penalty and stronger 'law and order' methods.

Younger, along with others, was 'lent' money by Burke to invest in his project, bring others in and generally see that things went smoothly and without interference.

Not unnaturally, therefore, Younger could never quite bring himself round to investigate Burke's activities. That's some law and order!

## BOOKS



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# Film workers start fight over British Lion closure

BY PHILIP WADE

FILM technicians at Shepperton, Middlesex, have voted for the next Labour government to immediately renationalize the studios under workers' control and without compensation.

A meeting on Thursday night also called for the nationalization of any other major film studios in financial difficulties.

Technicians at Shepperton are



Sapper

threatened with the complete closure of the studios by the new owner of British Lion, assets-stripper John Bentley.

Various branches of British Lion's assets have already been hived off, including Pearl and Dean, the Dover Street offices and Lion Pacesetter Productions.

'Chief fear is that Bentley—head of Barclay Securities—will close down Shepperton and hand over the valuable real estate to property developers at a vast profit

It would mean more film unemployment in an industry hard hit by chronic joblessness.

Thursday's well-attended meeting also demanded the 'blacking' of any British Lion films made outside Shepperton

Another motion passed demanded that indoor film work shot outside the studios be driven back to Shepperton.

The TUC was also asked to effect pledges of support already given to the Shepperton workers.

Alan Sapper, general secretary of the Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians, yesterday told Workers Press: 'We had a very good response from the meeting. Now a lot of hard work has to be put into giving effect to the decisions made

'We are up against one of the most powerful assets-strippers in the country, and we must mobilize the entire workforce in the film industry to fight him.'



Building workers from many parts of the North West — Openshaw, Preston and Lancaster—joined a building workers' march through Bolton to demand an all-out strike for the full claim.

## Building employer on 'conciliation' panel

BY ALEX MITCHELL

THE SUGGESTION is being mooted that the building workers' strike for better pay and hours should be referred to the CBI-TUC voluntary conciliation machinery which comes into operation next Friday.

Two of the promoters of this plan are Victor Feather and electricians' leader Frank Chapple, whose members are still working on a large number of sites under union instructions.

George Smith, general secretary of the biggest building union, UCATT, and chairman of the TUC General Council, is believed to be not unsympathetic to the idea.

There are immense dangers in this proposal. They can be seen if the names on the 12-man panel of conciliators are studied.

The list, published on Thursday, is a neat division of trade union bureaucrats and labour-relations men from big business. One of them, in fact, is a former director of the building employers' federation.

The union side includes Bob Wright, Labour 'left' member of the executive council of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, who is often supported by the Communist Party; Will Paynter, ex-Communist Party member who was former secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers; and Dick Seabrook, president of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers, one of the unions now trying to extricate itself from registration under the Industrial Relations Act.

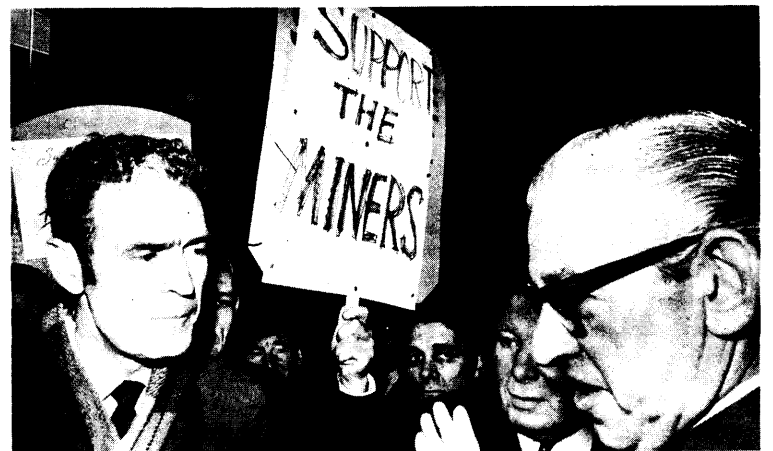
Other union men are Sid Robinson, former president of the National Union of Footwear, Leather and Allied Trades; Jack King, general secretary of the National Union of Textile and Allied Workers; and Les Williams, staff-side secretary of the National Whitley Council.

The management team consists of representatives from some of the most profitable and ruthless businesses in Britain, which are completely tied up with Tory policies.

They include G. Gilbertson, personnel general manager with ICI. The new chairman of the CBI is Michael Clapham, one of ICI's top executives.

ICI, Britain's biggest industrial complex, has just become the world's largest chemical company. According to the magazine 'Chemical Insight', the £1,400m ICI giant has just wrested first place from the American-based Du Pont corporation

ICI figured prominently in



Would-be conciliator Wright confronted by miners' pickets during their strike.

supporting the Tories' drive into the Common Market.

Another management executive on the panel is also from a staunchly pro-Market company.

He is D. J. Flunder, a director of the Dunlop Rubber Co which is now merged with Pirelli of Italy. A director of Dunlop prior to his appointment to the Cabinet was Reginald Maudling, the ex-Home Secretary.

Also on the panel is P. Bradbury, the director of industrial relations with the Imperial Tobacco group whose chairman is Sir John Partridge, former head of the CBI. Partridge was knighted by the Tories.

The others are A. J. Nicol, deputy managing director of Joseph Lucas; G. E. D. Halahan, managing director of Round Oak Steel Works; and Peter Trench, chairman of J. Lovell (Holdings), one of the firms currently fighting the building workers. Trench

was NFBTE director and a member of Labour's Prices and Incomes Board.

Workers should put no faith whatsoever in this TUC-CBI body in their fight for decent wages.

It represents a scheme scrambled together by the right-wing leadership in the trade unions, big business and the Tories in the aftermath of the miners' strike.

The trade unions were at no stage given a mandate by their members to join this treacherous enterprise with the employers.

Every worker knows the phoniness of arbitration. And with unemployment now at 1 million, rate of investment falling, big business cannot and will not pay decent wages. This joint panel is a prescription for wage-cutting. The building workers, in particular, must be warned

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# SATURDAY TV

## BBC 1

9.40 Before the event. 10.00 Weather. 10.05 Athlete. 10.30 Olympic grandstand. 10.40, 1.35, 2.05, 4.35 International cricket. England v Australia. 12.45 Football preview. 1.20, 1.50, 2.20 Racing at Goodwood. 2.40 XX Olympic games. 4.55 Final score. 5.15 Last of the Mohicans.

**6.15 NEWS and weather.**

**6.30 GUNSMOKE: 'The Judas Gun'.**

**7.20 A SPECIAL DAD'S ARMY: 'Battle of the Giants'.**

**8.15 IT'S LULU . . . Not to Mention Dudley Moore.**

**9.00 A MAN CALLED IRON-SIDE: 'The Man on the Inside'.**

**9.50 NEWS and weather.**

**10.05 MATCH OF THE DAY.**

**11.05 TODAY AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES.** Opening ceremony.

**12.10 Weather.**

## BBC 2

2.20 Come lasses and lads. 3.00 One-day international cricket. England v Australia.

**7.00 WORLD CHESS CHAMPIONSHIP.**

**7.20 NEWS, SPORT and weather.**

**7.30 ALL IN A DAY: 'The Visit'.**

**8.15 CIVILIZATION: 'The Worship of Nature'.**

## ITV

10.50 Primus. 11.15 Sesame street. 12.15 Lidsville. 12.45 News. 12.50 Olympic world of sport. 12.55 On the ball. 1.10 Olympics 72. 1.20 The ITV six. 1.30, 2.00, 2.30 Racing from Bath. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Racing from Newcastle. 2.55 Olympics 72. 4.50 Results service. 5.10 News and Olympics. 5.20 Sale of the century. 5.50 Sez Les.

**6.30 WHO DO YOU DO?** Freddie Starr and Peter Goodwright.

**7.00 FILM: 'The Swordsman'.** Larry Parks, Ellen Drew. A Scottish Highlander returns to his ancestral home and falls in love.

**8.20 POLICE 5.**

**8.30 SATURDAY VARIETY.** Starring Neil Sedaka.

**9.30 VILLAINS: 'Sand Dancer'.**

**10.30 NEWS AND OLYMPICS.**

**10.50 AQUARIUS MAHLER FESTIVAL.** Symphony No. 9 with Leonard Bernstein and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

**12.30 CHRISTIANITY IN ADVERSITY.**

**9.05 SOUNDS FOR SATURDAY.** Roberta Flack.

**9.50 EMMA Part 6.**

**10.35 FILM NIGHT.**

**11.10 NEWS ON 2 and weather.**

**11.15 FILM: 'It happened in Athens'.** Jayne Mansfield, Trax Colton, Nico Minardos, Bob Mathias.



Heavy-handed programming from BBC 2. Olympic folly with Jayne Mansfield ('It Happened in Athens', 11.15 p.m.)



Director Joseph H. Lewis tried to make a Highland adventure story ('The Swordsman', ITV, 7 p.m.), which ended up looking like a Western . . .

## REGIONAL TV

**SOUTHERN:** 11.15 All our yesterdays. 11.45 Thunderbirds. 12.42 Weather. 12.45 London. 5.20 Avengers. 6.15 Best of please sir. 6.45 Comedians. 7.15 Film: 'Colombo: Dead Weight'. 8.27 News. 8.30 London. 12.30 Weather, guideline.

**HARLECH:** 11.15 London. 12.15 Farming diary. 12.45 London. 5.20 Please sir. 5.45 Sale of the century. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'McCloud: A Little Plot at Tranquill Valley'. 8.30 London. 11.50 Play back. 12.50 Weather.

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

**ANGLIA:** 11.00 All our yesterdays. 11.30 Film: 'Tarzan's Desert Mystery'. 12.45 London. 5.20 Primus. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Escape From San Quentin'. 8.30 London. 11.50 Jason King.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 12.10 Horoscope. 12.15 Captain Scarlet. 12.45 London. 5.20 It takes a thief. 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'The Captive City'. 8.30 London. 10.50 Short story. 11.20 Name of the game. 12.45 Stories worth telling. Weather.

**ULSTER:** 12.15 Skippy. 12.45 London. 5.15 Primus. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'At Sword's Point'. 8.25 Summer results. 8.30 London. 10.50 Documentary. 11.40 Frighteners.

**YORKSHIRE:** 11.00 All our yesterdays. 11.25 Make a wish. 11.50 Woobinda. 12.15 Lidsville. 12.45 London. 5.15 Primus. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Colombo'. 8.30 London. 10.50 Arthur C. Clarke. 11.40 Journey to the unknown. 12.35 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 11.00 Sesame street. 12.00 Mad movies. 12.35 Cartoon. 12.45 London. 5.15 Primus. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'It Came From Outer Space'. 8.25 London. 11.50 Strange report.

**TYNE TEES:** 11.00 All our yesterdays. 11.25 Bush boy. 11.50 Joe 90. 12.15 Dave Cash. 12.45 London. 5.15 Primus. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Colombo'. 8.25 Cartoon. 8.30 London. 10.40 Arthur C. Clarke. 11.40 Journey to the unknown. 12.35 Epilogue.

**SCOTTISH:** 11.25 Casebook. 11.50 Arthur. 12.10 Horoscope. 12.20 Primus. 12.45 London. 5.15 Joe 90. 5.50 To be advised. 6.30 Comedians. 7.00 Film: 'Law of the Lawless'. 8.30 London. 11.50 Late call. 11.55 Sez Les.

**GRAMPIAN:** 12.25 Beagan gaidhlig. 12.45 London. 5.20 Batman. 5.45 Who do you do? 6.15 Sez Les. 7.00 Film: 'Suitable For Framing'. 8.30 London.

# SUNDAY TV

## BBC 1

9.00-9.30 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 11.00-11.30 Seeing and believing. 11.45 World of Abbott and Costello. 12.59 News. 1.07 Olympic grandstand.

**6.05 NEWS and weather.**

**6.15 OLYMPIC GRANDSTAND.** Gymnastics.

**7.25 THE BLACKPOOL TOWER CIRCUS.**

**8.15 FILM: 'Bad Day at Black Rock'.** Spencer Tracy, Robert Ryan, Ernest Borgnine, Lee Marvin. A one-armed stranger meets trouble in a small Western town.

**9.35 NEWS and weather.**

**9.45 OMNIBUS AT THE PROMS.** Gilbert and Sullivan.

**10.35 TODAY AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES.**

**12.30 Weather.**

## BBC 2

1.45 Weather. 1.50 Cricket. 4.10 Profile of a cricketer: Clive Lloyd.

**6.40 PRAISE THE LORD.**

**7.05 NEWS REVIEW and weather.**

**7.25 THE WORLD ABOUT US.** Monkeys, Apes and Man.

**8.15 MUSIC ON 2.** Ashkenazy plays Chopin.

**9.20 MARY: 'Rhymes and Reasons'.** Mary Travers.

# TV

## ITV

11.00 Morning service. 12.00 Country calendar. 12.20 All our yesterdays. 12.45 Catweazle. 1.15 Stingray. 1.45 Odd couple. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Film: 'Ferry Cross the Mersey'. Gerry and the Pacemakers, Cilla Black. 4.40 Golden shot. 5.35 Follyfoot.

**6.05 NEWS AND OLYMPICS.**

**6.15 BRICKS OR MORTALS?**

**7.00 SONGS THAT MATTER.**

**7.25 DOCTOR IN CHARGE: 'The Taming of the Wolf'.**

**7.55 FILM: 'Gigi'.** Leslie Caron, Maurice Chevalier, Louis Jourdan, Hermione Gingold, Eva Gabor. Musical romance.

**10.00 NEWS AND OLYMPICS.**

**10.25 COUNTRY MATTERS.** The Mill.

**11.25 ELEVEN PLUS.**

**12.10 CHRISTIANITY IN ADVERSITY.**

**9.45 THE ROADS TO FREEDOM: 'The Defeated'.**

**10.30 NEWS SUMMARY and weather.**

**10.35 FILM: 'Boeing, Boeing'.** Tony Curtis, Jerry Lewis. A comedy about a bachelor with three girl friends—all air hostesses.



. . . John Sturges, who made 'Gunfight at OK Corral', had better luck when trilby-clad Spencer Tracy went West in 'Bad Day at Black Rock' (BBC 1, 8.15 p.m.)

## REGIONAL TV

**SOUTHERN:** 11.00-12.00 London. 12.37 Weather. 12.40 Talking hands. 12.55 Farm progress. 1.25 Out of town. 1.45 Bush boy. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'The Rising of the Moon'. 4.35 News. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Seventh Dawn'. 10.00 London. 11.25 Sez Les. 12.10 Weather. Guideline.

**ANGLIA:** 11.00 London. 1.20 Remember. 1.50 Weather. 1.50 Farming. 2.30 UFO. 3.25 Dr Locke. 3.55 Show jumping. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: '10.30 p.m. Summer'. 9.30 Shut that door. 10.00 London. 11.25 Saint.

**HARLECH:** 11.00-12.05 London. 2.00 Journey of a lifetime. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Captain Pirate'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'Forever Female'. 8.30 Who do you do? 10.00 London. 11.25 Avengers. 12.25 Weather.

**HTV Wales as above except:** 12.05 Dan sylw. 12.50 Nabod y gair. 1.20 The other half.

**HTV Cymru/Wales and HTV Wales plus:** 5.35 Nabod y gair.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 11.00-12.05 London. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Tarzan's Magic Fountain'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Jazz Singer'. 10.00 London. 11.25 Spy-force. Weather.

**ULSTER:** 1.45 Survival. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Tarzan's Triumph'. 4.40 London. 7.53 Sports. 7.55 Cartoon. 8.05 Film: 'The Liquidator'. 10.00 London. 11.25 Saint.

**YORKSHIRE:** 10.45 Talking hands. 11.00 London. 12.05 UFO. 12.55 Farming outlook. 1.25 Common Market cook book. 1.55 Soccer. 2.50 Film: 'East of Sudan'. 4.30 Cartoon. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'Funeral in Berlin'. 9.50 Popeye. 10.00 London. 11.25 Strange report. 12.20 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 11.00-12.00 London. 12.30 Children to children. 12.55 Living architects. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Football. 2.50 Film: 'Sea of Sand'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Corn is Green'. 10.00 London. 11.25 Scotland Yard casebook.

**TYNE TEES:** 10.45 Talking hands. 11.00 London. 12.00 UFO. 12.55 Farming outlook. 1.25 Western civilization. 1.55 Where the jobs are. 2.00 Big match. 3.00 Film: 'Johnny Frenchman'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Saboteur'. 10.00 London. 11.25 Strange report. 12.20 Epilogue.

**SCOTTISH:** 1.20 Out of town. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Studio. 3.15 Film: 'True as a Turtle'. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Agony and the Ecstasy'. 10.00 London. 11.25 Late call. 11.30 Festival cinema.

**GRAMPIAN:** 12.55 Common Market cook book. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Farm progress. 2.25 Film: 'Dangerous Voyage'. 3.45 Danger man. 4.40 London. 7.55 Film: 'Three on a Spree'. 9.30 Short story. 10.00 London. 11.25 Untouchables.

# Bus workers back Leyland strike call

BY PHILIP WADE

**A MASS MEETING of 5,000 workers at British Leyland Motors, Leyland, yesterday decided by a four-to-one majority to strike on Monday.**

The men congratulated the workers at Thornycroft's, Basingstoke, for taking over their factory in defence of their jobs.

In London, meanwhile, a delegation from the occupied factory picketed the Leyland headquarters in Berkeley Square. They later visited Leyland's AEC plant in Southall.

The Leyland Motors workers were told by engineers' union convenor Len Brindle: 'This is a fight for job security. One thousand jobs have gone here in two years which future generations will not have.'

He explained that management had agreed that outside contract work would end as soon as possible, but now they had reneged on this written agreement.

He attacked the capitalist press for saying that the one-day strike was only in support of Thornycroft's.

'It is our conclusion that British Leyland Motor Corporation, at their highest level, and specifically in the truck and bus division, have decided on a policy of rationalization,' Brindle told the meeting.

'Maudslay and Thornycroft's have gone. Management have totally ignored our written agreement for full and frank discussion before closures.

'Thornycroft's gained this agreement after a seven-week strike. Now this plant has been sold to Eaton's of Ohio.

'We will only co-operate in progress if job-security is guaranteed.'

He said Monday's strike was

'the beginning, not the end of the struggle.'

'Look at the miners, dockers and textile workers having to stand up to protect their jobs. In the interests of profit jobs go to the wall.'

The meeting passed a four-point resolution which calls for:

- 'Blacking' of all Thornycroft materials;
- A one-day strike on Monday;
- A meeting with union officers to discuss the company's rationalization programme; and
- A lobby at the British Leyland headquarters in London on a date to be fixed.

After the meeting Len Brindle told Workers Press: 'The TUC should take co-ordinated and militant action over the issue of the right to work.'

'The TUC should be the vanguard. These issues are no longer emotive phrases. The membership is ready to fight.'

'We couldn't have got this vote four years ago.'



'We have to win or we'll end up joining the one million jobless,' a Thornycroft picket told Workers Press at Berkeley Square yesterday.

## 'Strike on' vote in Glasgow

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

**GLASGOW Corporation building workers yesterday dealt a crushing and humiliating blow to their union leaders by deciding to stay out on unofficial strike.**

When officials put the vote to return at the carefully stage-managed meeting in a Glasgow theatre only a handful of the 4,000-strong audience raised their hands.

After the decision a deflated Joe Murphy, secretary of the official West of Scotland action committee, said: 'Naturally I am disappointed. I thought there would be more in favour of the official line.'

The confrontation marked the climax of a week-long bid by union leaders to get the corpora-

tion workers back before talks with Scottish building authorities start next Tuesday.

They have been aided by the local press, especially the 'Scottish Daily Express', who have launched a vicious campaign of vilification against the strikers.

But both the Tory media and the union bureaucracy were unable yesterday to break the resistance of the militant Glasgow workers.

Speaker after speaker appealed against a split in the ranks. Only one man—a national executive member of the Transport and General Workers' Union building section—spoke up for the platform and he was drowned by boos and shouting.

The meeting began with a pleading address from Murphy—a T&GWU official.

'If you are going to be militant,' he said, 'you have to know first who you are fighting against.'

He said building workers were not in dispute with local authorities. Then uproar broke out as he threatened: 'If Glasgow Corporation building workers stay out on this particular strike it could be that the local authority council would not want to meet us on Tuesday.'

At this stage the meeting broke down as men shouted: 'That's the bosses' line', 'Are you selling us out, Joe?'

Finally Murphy was forced to come clean and put a straight recommendation for a return to work.

But speaker after speaker got up and attacked the platform. The overwhelming consensus was that a return to work would split the strike and demoralize workers out on private sites.

Mick Kane, a UCATT member, made a passionate plea for unity.

'The overwhelming spectacle of seeing 10,000 to 15,000 hands raised at our Glasgow Green meeting for an all out strike for a half-decent living wage is what is motivating me.'

'The Labour Council in Glasgow have a direct responsibility to the trade union movement over people employed directly by the authority.'

'They must step in and confirm our faith because never let it be forgotten that the trades unions begat the Labour Party and it exists through the interests of the trade unionists.'

'I say we must stay out on strike until the bitter end.'

One of the speakers, Tom Matthews, was singled out for attack by the platform. He is a member of the action committee but spoke against the recommendation. There is a fear that the officials will now purge the committee of any rank-and-file representation.

### WEATHER

AN ANTICYCLONE is slowly moving over Scotland as a depression moves northwards towards South-West England. North and East Scotland and North-East England will be dry with sunny spells.

South-West Scotland, Northern Ireland and North-West England will be rather cloudy with perhaps some rain later. Eastern England will have sunny spells after early morning mist and fog patches. Wales and South-Western districts of England will be cloudy with thundery showers at times.

It will be warm in central and eastern districts of England. Elsewhere, temperatures will be near the seasonal normal.

**Outlook for Sunday and Monday:** Sunny intervals but also some thundery showers, heavy at times. Temperatures mostly near normal but warm in the east at first.

# THE WAY FORWARD

FROM PAGE ONE

The crisis of the system therefore poses its revolutionary overthrow, through a struggle for a programme of transitional demands.

Such demands, as Trotsky explained in the founding document of the Fourth International (the Transitional Programme), must lead to the conquest of power by the working class:

'The strategic task of the next period... consists in overcoming the contradiction between the maturity of the objective revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the proletariat and its vanguard.'

'It is necessary to help the masses in the process of the daily struggle to find the bridge between present demands and the socialist programme of the revolution.'

'This bridge should include a programme of transitional demands, stemming from today's conditions and from today's consciousness of wide layers of the working class and unalterably leading to one final conclusion: the conquest of power by the proletariat.'

Grave dangers lie ahead. New class battles are approaching under conditions where the existing leadership of the working class is even more bankrupt than was that of 1926.

At this critical stage the political fight against spontaneity and revisionism waged by the Socialist Labour League must be extremely sharp.

Many workers are still only at the first stage of breaking from reformism. The League must exercise great care in explaining its



Stalinist work-in policy at UCS led to loss of jobs

programme and policy, while at the same time making no adaptation to spontaneity nor to political backwardness.

This will involve conflict with many workers as established ideas are challenged and distributed. This disturbance is a necessary and unavoidable part of the struggle to create revolutionary consciousness.

Workers' Press plays a central role in the conflict and strife

through which consciousness is developed.

The organized strength of the working class can only be developed and expressed through struggle against the Tory government to force it to resign.

We call on every trade unionist and Labour Party member to begin this fight and we urge every reader of Workers Press to join the Socialist Labour League.

August 25, 1972

## AUGUST FUND £1,082.30—SIX DAYS LEFT

THIS IS our last weekend and probably our last chance to raise large amounts for our August Fund. Let's grasp the opportunity and collect most of the £667.70 which remains outstanding.

We know you will do it. In this political situation when Workers Press, alone, stands out clearly against the treachery of both the reformist union leaders and the Stalinist bureaucracy, we are confident we have your growing support.

Help us, therefore, with a very special effort to keep our paper out in front. We are now at the last lap of the fight. One more spurt and you can do it.

Post all donations immediately to:

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

### ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

TUC MUST BREAK OFF ALL TALKS WITH HEATH!

MAKE THE TORY GOVERNMENT RESIGN!

**NOTTINGHAM: Tuesday August 29, 7.30 p.m.** People's Hall, Heathcote Street. 'Victory to the building workers!'

**PRESTON: Wednesday August 30, 8 p.m.** Railway and Commercial Hotel, Butler St (nr railway station). 'The Tory government and the building workers!'

**CAMBRIDGE: Thursday August 31, 8 p.m.** Red Cow (behind the Guild Hall). 'Lessons of the dockers and Builders' strikes!'

**SLOUGH: Tuesday September 6, 7.30 p.m.** Slough Community Centre, Farnham Rd. 'Force the Tories out! Expose the traitors in the labour and trade union movement! Speakers: Frank Tomany and Brian Bailey, both in a personal capacity.'

Lessons of UCS and the Docks Strike.

**ABERDEEN: Monday August 28, 8.00 p.m.** Trades Hall, 24 Adelphi.

**DUNDEE: Wednesday August 30, 8.00 p.m.** YMCA Constitution Room.

### Socialist Labour League FOUR LECTURES THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

given by G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)

1. **Marxism as the theory of knowledge** Tuesday September 5

2. **Development of Marxism through working-class struggle** Tuesday September 12

3. **Nature of the capitalist crisis** Tuesday September 19

4. **Historical materialism today** Tuesday September 26

**AEU HOUSE**  
Mount Pleasant  
Liverpool 1, 7.30 p.m.

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