

TORIES OUT TO DESTROY UNIONS A FIGHTING LEAD FROM THE DOCKERS

BY WORKERS PRESS
REPORTERS

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The next stage of the Tory attack is to declare a state of national emergency and to rule, during the parliamentary vacation, through the self-proclaimed and unaccountable authority of the Privy Council.

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Certainly the working class is ready to fight as was demonstrated outside Transport House yesterday.

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Then they staged an impromptu and entirely unauthorised march past Parliament to a victory rally at Tower Hill (see p.12). Police who tried to explain the march as illegal were brushed aside.



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In astonishing contrast to the jubilation of his members, Jones said: 'I am a disappointed man.'

He said that he would continue to work for 'peace' in the industry. He was 'sorry' that the dockers had thrown the proposals out despite the unanimous recommendation from himself, national docks secretary Tim O'Leary, and the union's port and waterways committee.

He added that he would contact Lord Aldington to see if any further useful work could be done in the light of the strike which starts today.

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The release of the five London dockers from jail has clearly had a profound and dramatic effect. Dockers feel they now have the government on the run and they want to finish it off once and for all.

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A moment of history

BY G. HEALY

THE DECISION of the House of Lords to uphold the judgement of the National Industrial Relations Court in fining the Transport and General Workers' Union, as well as ruling that trade unions are responsible for the action of their shop stewards, makes a major confrontation between the unions and the Tory government unavoidable.

Coming on the heels of the previous judgement by Court of Appeal Judge Megarry, which emphasized that the NIRC had all the powers necessary to fine and imprison trade unionists, its decisions are well nigh invulnerable in law.

Whatever may be the delay while the appeals were being processed through the higher courts, nobody should have the slightest illusion as to Tory

intentions in relation to the working class.

Through the NIRC they have created the most powerful legal instrument of rule in the history of British capitalism. From now on judgement against the unions will be swift and almost immediately applicable.

The employers know that here they have a means of fighting back which speedily mobilizes all the reactionary forces of the state against whatever union or trade unionist they wish to take on.

While the aim of the government is, as far as possible, to transform the right-wing reformist leaders into some kind of internal police force to discipline trade unionists, the growing class hatred of the employers must inevitably result in a flood of prosecutions before the NIRC.

No matter how loud the TUC chiefs may bleat about the need for negotiation and compromise,

the stage is set for the greatest class battles since Chartism.

It is no longer a question of whether or not the General Strike will come, but when? Even if the right wing should go down on their bellies and crawl before Heath, there is really nothing they can do to avoid a show-down.

The powerful wave of militancy which swept through the country demanding the release of the five dockers and now, the rejection of the Jones-Aldington report is a solemn warning to the government that the working class is ready to fight, no matter what the TUC is prepared to do.

It is safe to say that this warning has not gone unheeded in Tory circles.

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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What We think

ONE DOWN 68 TO GO

DICK TAVERNE, QC, has been flung out of his Lincoln constituency by local Labour Party members. The NEC of the party has upheld their decision to get a new MP to represent them.

We fully support the decision to remove Taverne from the labour movement. Throughout the debate on the Tories' Common Market legislation, he voted with the government or abstained, thereby assuring the Tories of their necessary majorities.

He voted with the Tories in spite of the overwhelming anti-Market decisions taken by the Brighton conference and the parliamentary Labour Party itself.

Now that Taverne has been booted out, the working class must deal with the other traitors who have given comfort and assistance to this hated bunch of bankers and speculators who comprise the Tory Cabinet.

But for the vote of the 69, the Tories could have been forced into a General Election before the Industrial Relations Bill was enacted, and a Labour government returned with the working class demanding socialist policies.

The TUC, and the whole labour movement has since spoken on the Common Market. In particular, trade unionists and working class wives have recognized that the Market is a reactionary grouping of monopolists who want to club together to fight the European working class. These giant firms' weapons will be high prices and unemployment to drive down the standard of living of the working class.

When Taverne voted with the Tories and abstained during a number of other divisions, this is what he was ushering in for workers and their families.

In other words Taverne and his cronies have actively been engaged in shoring up this government so it can get on with its murder, torture and terror in Ulster, it can jail trade unionists, attack the social services, send prices skyrocketing and double council rents.

The Lincoln precedent must now be extended to the constituencies of all the other MPs who have aided the Tories.

CORRECTION

In the Workers Press lead yesterday, July 27, a paragraph should have been inserted between the final two paragraphs (page 8) but which, because of last-minute difficulties of time, was inadvertently left out. This would have read:

'The urgent need of the hour is to mobilize the mass movement to make the Tory government resign and replace it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.'

US admits bombing dykes

NORTH VIETNAMESE troops yesterday seized the key firebase Bastogne, part of the defensive ring around Hué, punching a big hole in the South Vietnamese defences.

Many of the South Vietnamese troops which were defending Hué are now taking part in the attempt to recapture Quang Tri further north. Despite claims that the provisional capital was in South Vietnamese hands, the liberation forces say the citadel is completely under their control.

The citadel has been under bombardment from the US air force and Saigon claimed yesterday that 400 of its troops had entered the citadel. However, journalists covering the battle think it most unlikely that such a small force would be able to take the city.

THE UNITED STATES has for the first time admitted that irrigation dykes in North Vietnam have been hit by bombing. But State Department spokesman Charles Bray claimed the bombing had caused only 'incidental and minor' damage to the flood control system.

The dykes are essential to

flood control during the monsoon season. If they are breached the whole Red River delta could be inundated, threatening millions of lives in this densely-populated area.

Until now Washington has denied that dykes have been bombed, despite eye-witness accounts by foreign observers and plentiful evidence supplied by the North Vietnamese.

The bombardment of the

dykes was under discussion by the American command five years ago. Together with the blockade of Haiphong and the stepped-up bombardment of the North, this was regarded as the final turn of the screw to force North Vietnam to negotiate.

The North Vietnamese have supplied details of bombing raids using blockbusters to undermine the dyke walls and then strafing workers who turned out to repair the damage.

The US ambassador at the United Nations, George Bush, claimed North Vietnam was planning to blame American bombing from floods resulting from failure to maintain the dyke system.

This is plainly a hypocritical attempt to evade responsibility. The US now admits that dykes have been bombed, yet the bombing has not been called off, nor have the previous American denials been explained.



Actress Jane Fonda (left) in North Vietnam. When she returned she brought eye-witness accounts of bombing of dykes.

FOREIGN NEWS

Smith's police kidnap tribe's children

ALL THE children of the Tangwena tribe were herded into trucks by armed Rhodesian police on Wednesday and driven away to institutions.

The racist Ian Smith regime has decreed that the Tangwena lands are part of an area reserved for whites only. Armed police with dogs and helicopters are scouring the hills around the tribes ranch at Gaeresi near the Mozambique border.

The adult Tangwena fled into the hills earlier this week when the police arrived to enforce court orders under the Land Tenure Act. So far the police have been unable to track them down.

More than 100 Tangwena children—many of them under five—have been cared for on a nearby farm since 1970, when the police made their first concerted attempt to drive the Tangwena off Gaeresi ranch.

A spokesman for the Nyafaru Development Company, which owns the farm where the children have been staying, said police arrived on Wednesday and told them they were taking the children.

The children were driven in heavy trucks to Umtali, where they are to be placed in institutions, according to police spokesmen.

This latest Nazi-style kidnapping reveals the true nature of the Land Tenure Act, which is aimed at dispossessing the Africans of all the worthwhile land and herding them into 'reserves'.

By deporting the children, the police obviously hope to bring

about the capitulation of the Tangwena, whose determined resistance is a thorn in the side of the Smith regime.

The search operation at Gaeresi ranch has so far captured only ten Africans, who were brought to court on Wednesday and charged with living on 'white' land.

Three who pleaded guilty were fined £15 a head. One of the convicted tribesmen, called Mutimba, told the court: 'I would rather die than leave Tangwena's land. I will not move to another place. I would rather be killed on my own land.'

Czech purge trials claim 28 victims

EIGHT people have been jailed in two separate trials for subversion in Brno, Czechoslovakia, over the past two days.

In the first trial, which concluded on Wednesday, terms of up to five years were imposed on the six defendants. At the second trial yesterday, two more jail sentences were handed down and four others were given suspended sentences.

Over the past ten days 28 opponents of the ultra-Stalinist Husak regime have been imprisoned in a series of six trials. Similar trials are known to be imminent involving at least three other groups of people under arrest.

The Brno trials were conducted behind closed doors and even the identity of the defendants was not announced until they had been sentenced.

In the first trial they were Dr Milan Silhan, sentenced to five years jail, Zdenek Pokorny (four years), Dr Jaroslav Meznik (three and a half years) and Peter Wurm (three years).

These four were sentenced under paragraph two of article 98 of the Penal Code, dealing with subversion on a large scale or in times of national danger and carrying a penalty of three to ten years.

The other two defendants—Alois Vyrubal (two and a half years) and Jan Schopf (26 months) were sentenced under another section of the code which has a penalty of one to five years.

Announcing the verdicts, the official Czech news agency Ceteka said the six had formed an illegal group between the end of 1970 and January this year 'out of hostility to the socialist state system'. This is the customary slander levelled against those who oppose the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The second trial involved Jan Sabata, son of a prominent supporter of former Party leader Alexandr Dubcek. He and his fellow defendant Vaclav Sabata, believed to be a relative, were sentenced to two and a half and two years respectively.

Jan Sabata's parents and sister have been in prison since last November. They are expected to be brought to trial shortly. The father, Professor Jaroslav Sabata, was Brno secretary of the Party under Dubcek.

Next Monday, Professor Milan Huebl, former rector of the Communist Party college and once a central committee member, Karel Kynvl, a former television commentator, and Karel Bartosek, a historian, will go on trial in Prague for subversion, according to usually reliable sources.

Journalists Jiri Hochman and Vladimir Nepras are expected to be tried in mid-August if they are well enough. The wave of trials has so far evoked no protest from the British Communist Party, which claims to oppose the Warsaw Pact invasion.

SDLP ready to talk with Westminster Tories

ULSTER'S Social Democratic and Labour Party has lifted its year-long ban on talks with either Stormont or Westminster until all internees were freed.

The SDLP has been paving the way for open collaboration with the Heath government for some time.

Two months ago the SDLP told its members in local government to return to their duties.

Now it has condemned the Provisional IRA for showing no concern whatever for human life or democracy.

The Party's volte face coincides with a new wave of IRA arrests and an announcement from

Ulster supremo William Whitelaw that the army will now mount a 'search-and-destroy' operation against the republicans.

The ban on talks never enjoyed unanimous support from party leaders and last week's bomb blitz of Belfast city centre, in which more than a dozen people died and 160 were wounded, provided the opportunity to change SDLP policy.

Ex-Ulster premier Brian Faulkner has had his own talks with Whitelaw and he has said that although Protestants will not accept another Belfast 'outrage', they will co-operate with him so long as the moves to smash the IRA continue.

Tinplate strike is over

THE FOUR-WEEK strike by white-collar workers at five west Wales tinplate plants is over.

And clerical workers at Ebbw Vale are expected to review their decision to strike from August 6 in the light of the settlement agreed by a mass meeting at Swansea on Wednesday.

The strike was against British Steel Corporation's refusal to implement a pay rise recommended by an arbitration panel. Now management and union officials have worked out a 'peace formula'.

Liverpool stewards demand TUC fights the Tories

LIVERPOOL shop stewards have demanded that the TUC be recalled to start a campaign to bring down the Tory government. This was decided by 800 shop stewards' delegates at a meeting called by Liverpool Trades Council on Wednesday night.

Main discussion during the evening centred on whether to call for an immediate and indefinite General Strike to get the Tories out. This was rejected by the meeting and it was notably opposed by members of the 'Militant' group and the trades council executive.

The resolution, which was overwhelmingly passed stated:

◀ This meeting of trade unionists welcomes the release of the five dockers as a vic-

tory against the Industrial Relations Act and the Tory government brought about by the militant action of hundreds of thousands of trade unionists throughout the country. We call for:

● Refusal to pay the fines imposed by the NIRC on the T&GWU.

● TUC must continue with its 24-hour stoppage on Monday.

● The recall of the TUC to start a campaign to bring down the Tories and return a Labour government based on a socialist programme.

● If any trade unionist is jailed, then the trades council will immediately call a stoppage of work of all Liverpool trade unionists. ▶

Labour still plans anti-union legislation

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

AT THE same TUC General meeting which agreed to the one-day General Strike next Monday approval was also given to new industrial relations legislation by a future Labour government.

The seal was put on a deal which has been fixed up in secret meetings with the Labour Party national executive over a period of months.

Although few details have yet been released, the proposals will definitely form the basis of new attacks on the trade unions.

The agreement is for Labour to repeal the Tories' Industrial Relations Act and come forward with a so-called conciliation and arbitration service.

But any agreement reached between employers and unions would be binding on the rank and file.

That means any wages deal would have to be accepted, which is another way of smuggling in wage-cutting operations.

A separate division of the arbitration service would consider the 'reform of industrial relations'.

The Labour government would also try to bring in a new Industrial Relations Act itself. Although the provisions have to be finalized it is yet another attempt by the Labour traitors to launch attacks on trade union rights.

All the talk about statutory rights to belong to unions is simply a cover for bringing in another 'In Place of Strife'.

The trade union and Labour leaderships have reached this agreement without any mandate from the rank and file. The working class now has to make clear that if they sweep the Tories out through General Strike action, they will not tolerate new anti-union laws from a Labour government.

Jones-Aldington analysed

Dockers' right to work is sold out

BY DAVID MAUDE

TWO MONTHS of back-stage discussions between union chiefs and port employers produced a report which was very deservedly thrown out by dockers' delegates yesterday.

The six page Jones-Aldington report offered nothing to any worker in the port transport industry.

It serves only to reinforce the view consistently fought for by the Socialist Labour League: that the only solution to the jobs crisis in dockland is the nationalization of the entire industry without compensation and under workers' control.

In essence, the report proposed that:

● The register of temporarily unattached dockers (the TUR), at present comprising some 1,650 men, should be abolished by September 4.

Those involved should be shared out between employers registered under the Dock Labour Scheme. The necessary negotiations were to have been completed by unions and employers during next month.

● Unions, employers and port authorities should hold talks about making available to dockers, work on groupage containers (those packed with partloads at container depots rather than by manufacturers at the point of production).

● There should be a five-month campaign to persuade dockers, particularly the older and unfit men, to leave the industry. Substantially improved voluntary severance terms would be offered. The government would foot the bill.

The Transport and General Workers' Union delegates who met yesterday had every reason to be angry with these proposals; so had the hundreds of rank-and-file dockers from all over the country who lobbied them.

T&GWU secretary Jack Jones put his signature, with his co-chairman Lord Aldington, to the report's pious hope that 'conditions will soon be re-established

Jones (left) with Lord Aldington



which will enable normal working to operate and to continue while these agreements are being reached'.

After Tuesday's meeting of the industry's National Joint Council, T&GWU docks secretary Tim O'Leary claimed the report held 'a possible solution' to the problems of his members.

In fact the report is nothing more than a shabby cover for a further slashing of docks jobs, speed-up and cuts in wages. But these statements from the T&GWU chiefs call into serious question what kind of struggle dockers can expect them to lead on these issues.

The temporary unattached register (TUR) would have been abolished only in name had the report been accepted.

Much was made in the report of a statement that employers are already retaining about 10 per cent of dockers who are surplus to their requirements.

In endorsing this statement, Jones and the other six union men on the committee were in effect patting the employers on the back for not throwing 4,000 more men onto the TUR. They went on to repay them amply for this imagined kindness.

Employers who carried extra surplus labour following abolition of the TUR, the report recommended, would have been able to claim compensation from a central fund operated by the National Dock Labour Board.

But in addition, fully-employed dockers would have been expected to 'make an appropriate contribution' to the additional costs by work-sharing at reduced earnings.

Jones admitted at a press conference on Monday that 'some dockers might earn somewhat less as a result'. He justified this by claiming: 'At least it's a dockers' solution to the problem'. Few dockers agree.

The report went on to say that a general standstill on recruitment should operate in every Scheme port until January 1 next year—effectively cutting out any possibility of job opportunities in the docks for the 870,000 unemployed.

Also contained in this section was a clear threat of a fur-

ther attack on dockers' hard-won working conditions.

'An agreement should if possible be negotiated between employers and unions', this said, 'covering mobility and flexibility of deployment of all types of registered dockworkers.'

On the key issues of inland container depots the report offered nothing.

Firms would be 'encouraged' to take on registered dockers, and 'pressure' would be put on the groupage firms who operate round the ports. This, however, was nothing less than a repeat of existing union policy and no way answered the dockers' demands.

And it is not only the dockers who were left out in the cold by the report, but the haulage and warehousing workers too.

These men, many of whom are in the T&GWU and struck in sympathy with the jailed dockers, were expected to content themselves with a statement from Jones that he does not expect any redundancies in the container depots.

Hardly a reassuring comment. T&GWU officials encouraged these men into the union when

they signed deals with the big container base operators as early as 1968, but have now left them to fight it out with the dockers over a shrinking pool of jobs.

And nothing in the Jones-Aldington report suggested that that shrinkage will stop.

To cite just one real example: at Liverpool, Ocean Port Services, owned by Ocean Steamship, wants 600 men returned to the TUR.

This shipping line is containerizing its Far East trade and shifting to Southampton. Ocean Steamship is part of the OCL container consortium and controls Containerbase Ltd.

Freight will be shifted through Containerbase depots in Leeds and Birmingham. What are the Liverpool dockers supposed to do, travel 100 of miles throughout the country begging for jobs at these depots?

These problems are insoluble without nationalization.

The Jones-Aldington report is just another extension of T&GWU policy which, since the Devlin Report, has helped decimate the dock and road haulage labour forces in exchange for a few pounds a week.

Days lost

1971 WAS described as the worst year for strikes since 1926. Now the headlines are appearing again about 1972.

But there is a difference. There have been more days lost through strikes in the first half of this year, after the Industrial Relations Act came into force, than in the whole of last year.

13,558,000 days were lost in 1971, but between January and June alone 15,460,000 days were lost.

There were fewer strikes this year than last, but the number of workers involved was larger—883,400.

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SPIES AGAINST LABOUR

BY PETER JEFFRIES

Spying, as any London docker can tell you, is Britain's number one growth industry.

And like all such industries, it is no doubt receiving generous financial assistance from the Tory government.

If any worker is shocked about recent activities, they know little of the history of the Tories or the employers.

For Heath's predecessors have always been dab hands at sending spies, informers and agents provocateur into the labour movement.

It has been in times of acute social crisis, like today, that the employers have invariably resorted to the use of spies and informers.

Such a period was that following the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. Faced with a severe financial crisis, heavy unemployment and considerable disruption of all those industries which had been geared to war production, the government of Liverpool and Castlereagh, began to build up a systematic network of informers in all the areas of working-class unrest.

Like today, this was a period in which the capitalist press, led, as you might have guessed, by 'The Times', but ably assisted by the 'Courier', tried to whip up the fear of revolution amongst the middle classes and consistently called for the firmest measures to put down all meetings of workers and reformers.

SUPPORT

The fear of revolution was well founded. As the working-class movement gained in strength and confidence, so the demand for a reformed Parliament, based on universal suffrage, won wider and wider support.

Large sections of the middle class, once the champions of reform, now joined the forces of reaction.

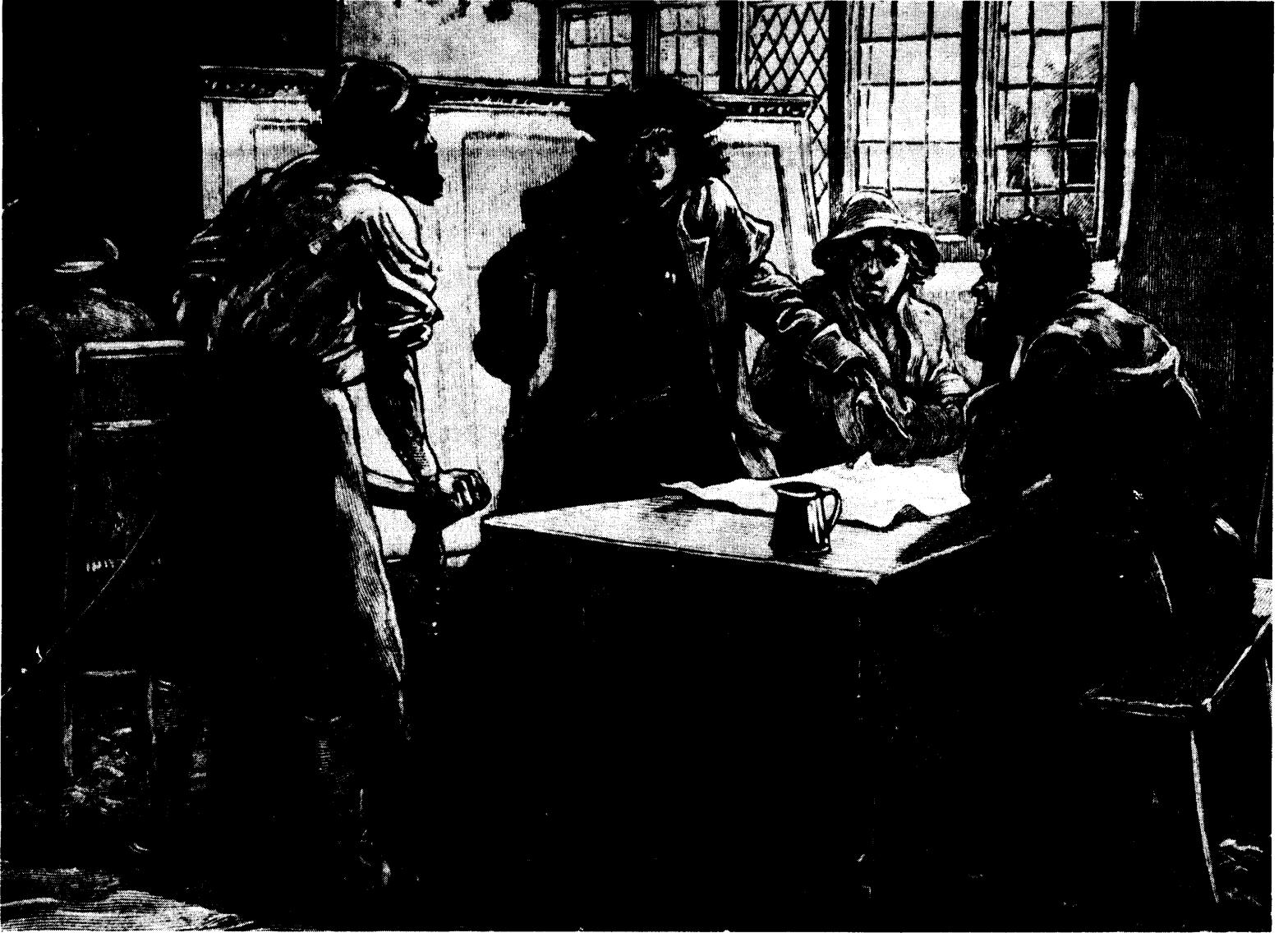
'The spirit of Jacobinism' said Robert Southey, 'which influenced men in my sphere of life four and twenty years ago (myself and men like me, among others) has disappeared from that class and sunk into the rabble, who would have torn me to pieces for holding these opinions then and would tear me to pieces for renouncing them now.'

It was Lord Sidmouth who led the Tory pack against the working-class movement. He was in continual contact with the local magistracy, receiving reports on the activities of trade unionists, collecting lists of names of prominent speakers at the many rallies and demonstrations which were held.

Local squires and landowners were encouraged to issue demands for a restoration of order and the banning of meetings, if bloodshed and revolution were to be avoided.

Those familiar with the ways of today's ruling class and its servile press will not be surprised to learn that when Sidmouth established secret Lords and Commons committees to investigate the unrest in February 1817, they rapidly 'uncovered' a series of plots designed to:

- Seize the bank of England and the Tower.
- Cause the army to mutiny.
- Effect a violent Jacobin



Top: a propaganda drawing of the leaders of the Pentridge Rising, 1817 which was instigated by Oliver, a police spy. Above left: Viscount Castlereagh, who built up a network of informers. Right: radical journalist William Cobbett. Oliver hung his portrait in his room to provide a radical 'cover'.

revolution in London.

These 'revelations' provided a ready excuse for the four Draconian Acts which Sidmouth now rushed through parliament. The first suspended habeas corpus which denied the right to a trial; the second gave the Regent increased security protection; the third savagely increased the penalties for inciting unrest amongst the army; the fourth placed even tighter restrictions on meetings. Now they were made almost illegal.

A NARK

It was in this atmosphere that spying came into its own. Most of the informers employed by the Tory government were ex-radicals or convicts on whom Sidmouth could readily put pressure. Such a one was 'William Oliver' (real name William Richards) the most infamous of all the spies. For decades afterwards, 'to turn Oliver' meant to become a nark in the working-class movement.

Oliver had been released

from a debtor's prison early in 1817 and soon began to worm his way into the London radical movement. In order to impress those whose confidence he was trying to win, Oliver placed a full-length bronze figure of Napoleon on his mantelpiece and hung portraits of the leading radicals—Burdett, Cobbett, Horne Tooke and Fox—in his room.

Reporting to Sidmouth every step of the way, he had rapidly won the friendship of Joseph Mitchell, a leading radical printer, with whom he commenced a tour of the Midlands and North in April 1817. Within three weeks he had established contact with every leading radical in these key centres.

Everywhere his line was the same. He promised that 'London was ready' and encouraged the local leaders to prepare for an immediate rising.

During April, for example, he attended a delegate meeting in Wakefield, represented by leaders from Birmingham, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Barnsley and Leeds. London was

awaiting the signal from the North, said Sidmouth's agent.

Secretly, he reported to his Tory master that the movement was 'weak and impractical and that if it could be delayed it would blow itself up'.

One can easily imagine the confusion which Oliver and his friends spread among a movement operating under conditions of illegality. An old member of the London Corresponding Society recalled the effect which spies had during the French wars of the 1790s:

'If a citizen made a motion which seemed anyway spirited he was set down as a spy sent amongst them by government. If a citizen sat in a corner and said nothing, he was watching their proceedings that he might the better report it . . . citizens hardly knew how to act.'

It was for this reason that the London Corresponding Society had included in its rules the warning that 'A noisy disposition is seldom a sign of courage, and extreme zeal is often a cloak of treachery'.

ARRESTS

Oliver started a second tour of the provinces at the end of May after Mitchell was arrested. On June 6, delegates assembled at a meeting at Thorton Lees near Dewsbury in Yorkshire. Due to the overzealous attitude of the local magistrate troops commanded by General Byng raided the meeting and arrested all the delegates—except Oliver.

Oliver's game was up in Yorkshire and his real role was immediately understood. But by this time he was on his way to Nottingham.

That is how, while local magistrates and soldiers lay in

wait, 300 workers began a march from Pentridge, near Derby, on Nottingham, on the night of June 8.

They were rounded up without difficulty at Eastwood a few miles from the city. Thirty-five were tried and five were hanged, the rest being transported. Oliver's masters had certainly got their money's worth.

Sidmouth and Castlereagh never intended to stop a rising. They wanted to encourage one under conditions where workers could be taught a savage lesson. In the words of Lord Liverpool: 'One can never feel that the King is secure upon his throne unless he has dared to spill traitor's blood.'

But the Oliver affair did not end here. Less than a week after the Pentridge rising, the leading Whig paper, the 'Leeds Mercury', exposed Oliver the Spy. Many sections of the middle class were shocked. As a result juries started to acquit several radicals on trial at the time including Dr Watson, who had been accused of treason.

But the main consequence was to allow the Tories to build up an atmosphere in which their repressive measures against the workers' movement could be intensified.

Recent events in the Industrial Relations Court have shown that spying has become much more professional since the events related in this story. Modern 'Olivers' armed with every technical device are now at work against the working class and the revolutionary movement.

But the working class has also learnt many lessons since its political birth in the industrial revolution. We must certainly be better prepared for today's Olivers than were our predecessors in 1817.

THE PROPERTY MEN OF SOUTHERN SPAIN

BY OUR SPANISH CORRESPONDENT

During the building-workers' strike in Spain last year, Communist Party militant Pedro Patino was killed by fascist police whilst giving out leaflets in support of the strike on a site near Madrid.

In April of this year, the police arrested many building-workers in a week of strikes leading up to May Day. Some of these workers are still in jail and have been viciously tortured.

While these workers construct blocks of luxury flats and offices for the Spanish bourgeoisie, they and their families in the cities of Spain have to crowd into dismal cramped tenements where the rent will take up half of their monthly income.

Many are emigrés who have left Southern Spain to escape absolute poverty and degradation.

A few miles from the tourist 'paradises' in Malaga or Seville, families of Andalusian workers and peasants have to live in caves or mud huts on less than £12 a month.

Their children get no education and their only hope is to escape to the north. But even that escape route is now blocked as the economic recession shuts down factories in the industrial cities.

Alongside this primitive existence and struggle for survival is not merely the traditional wealth of the landed aristocracy, but the property exploiters, the banks and the financiers who make millions while Franco's police clamp down on the struggles of the masses against this exploitation.

Don Enrique Negre Villavechia is such a man of property and finance. A well-known and respected personality in finance and business circles in Barcelona, brother of Pablo Villavechia, revered broker on the Barcelona stock-exchange, Don Enrique had built up a considerable empire.

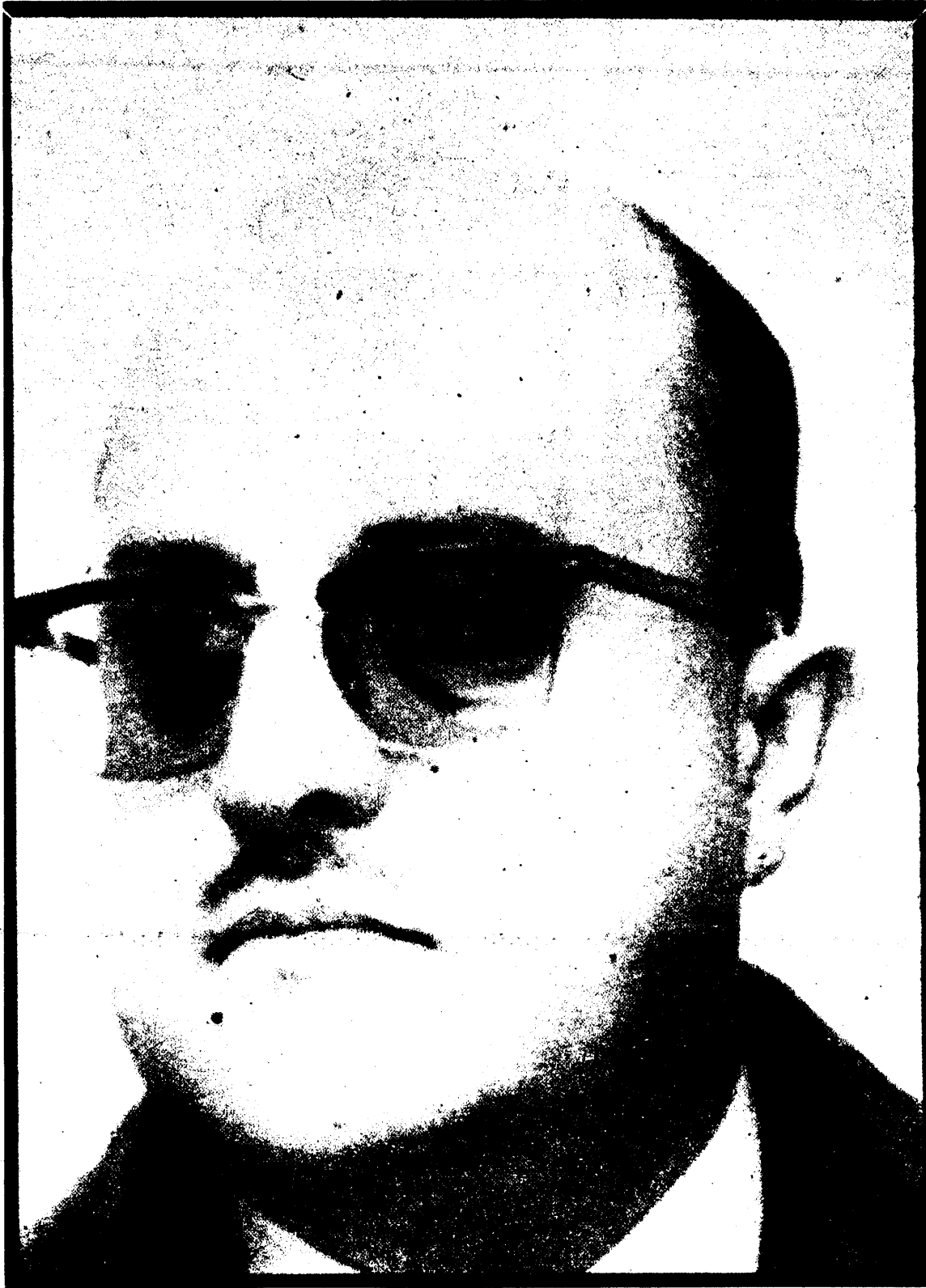
However, at 5 p.m. on June 14 the Don appeared at the local court in Vich and handed over documentation to back up a demand that his three companies, Hoteles de Pallares, ESIFINSA, and Apartamentos Rialp, should be able to suspend all payments.

In recent months Don Enrique has spent a lot of time abroad, where he had to undergo a serious operation. There is speculation in the Barcelona press that perhaps this necessary absence from his business has been a factor determining the present state of these companies.

What of these companies? The first to be created was ESIFINSA in 1965 to help foreign investment and to buy up land for urban development. This company started with £6,000 capital and shares issued to four times the value of that amount. The other companies were set up to exploit the Hotel Condes del Pallares and to extend speculation in flat building.

The luxury hotel Conde del Pallares, valued at £840,000 and a block of flats built by Apartamentos Rialp in Segur de Calafell along with land in Santa Maria de Barbara (Barcelona) is valued at £415,000.

Don Enrique and his entourage found no difficulty



Above: Don Enrique Negre Villavechia, a man of property. Right: the poverty of agricultural workers in southern Spain.

in raising credit from banks and finance houses. Within five years, £1.3m has been handed over by various of these institutions and the company has taken over property and contracts to the value of almost £2m.

Another point of interest is the headquarters of the three companies. These are registered at Torello street Block A No. 1. This is also the registered headquarters of Enrique Villavechia's business in the sheep trade!

When reporters visited the offices of this once up-and-coming company they found an ordinary three bed-roomed flat in the backwaters of Vich with no sign of life. Neighbours said that two gentlemen arrived one day and said that they were setting up an office there but had not been seen since.

Although Don Enrique Villavechia is clearly a worried man, he still has friends and he certainly is not likely to receive a visit from the Civil Guard or the Social Political Brigade. That treatment is strictly reserved for workers and peasants fighting for survival under the fascist regime.



RENAULT IN THE SLUMP

The state-owned Renault car firm made a loss last year of some £19m for only the second time in its history.

The strike at the Le Mans plant in May 1971 and sagging foreign markets are blamed by Pierre Dreyfus, the head of the firm, for this financial loss.

Sales have been bad in North America and have flattened out in West Germany as trade war with firms like Volkswagen, itself in even deeper trouble, becomes hotter. As one Renault vehicle in seven is sold in Germany a contraction of the market could have serious consequences.

To keep pace with aggressive foreign rivals, the firm needs to invest heavily in new plant and equipment. For this it is dependent on profits and state support.

Easy credit conditions and rolling inflation have aided sales both in France and Britain so far this year. But the situation when the plant reopens after the summer break is far from settled. Big wage claims must go in to keep pace with the soaring cost of living.

What happens in Renault is usually a sign for the whole French working class. The 'hot autumn' may begin at the giant Boulogne-Billancourt plant, a citadel of the French working class, or at one of the provincial plants which, since 1968, have been just as militant.

STALINISTS PLEAD FOR RULES OF WAR

Three deputies of the French Communist Party have joined with four Gaullists and three others in signing a protest against the violation of the rules of war by the United States in Vietnam.

It calls on 'world public opinion and American politicians to oppose the inhuman methods of warfare employed in Indo-China'. It asks other governments to remind Nixon that 'security cannot exist in the world, nor can there be real international collaboration as long as a great power refuses to respect the fundamental principles of international life'.

Only a party which has long ago abandoned the struggle to overthrow capitalism could permit and—knowing the discipline which reigns in the CP parliamentary group—encourage its members to sign such a declaration.

Not only do these communist deputies line up with enemies of the working class in a worthless protest, but they encourage illusions in the settlement of the Vietnam conflict by negotiation. This could only mean the sell-out of the Vietnamese revolution.

GEORGI DIMITROV AND THE POPULAR FRONT

BY TOM KEMP

Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian communist leader, became famous as a result of his stand in the Reichstag fire trial held at Leipzig in 1933.

As a result of his enormous popularity he was selected by Stalin to replace the little-known Manuisky as Secretary of the Communist International. At the Seventh and last Congress of that body held in Moscow in the summer of 1935 he made the main report which inaugurated the policy of the Popular Front. This became binding policy on all the communist parties until Stalin decided otherwise.

In 1943 Dimitrov wound up the Comintern on Stalin's instructions when it got in the way of Kremlin policy of alliance with Britain and the United States.

After the war he returned to Bulgaria as a national hero as well as leader of the Communist Party. Supporter of the idea of a Balkan Federation with Tito, he came into conflict with Stalin and died in July 1949 while in Moscow in circumstances which have never been fully explained.

The Communist Party of Great Britain has seen fit to devote the whole of the July issue of its theoretical journal, 'Marxism Today', to Dimitrov to mark the 90th anniversary of his birth. The contributions to this issue raise some fundamental questions about the history of the international communist movement which require examination.

While Dimitrov was able to pass himself off at the Leipzig trial as a humble Bulgarian exile studying events in his country he was already an important Comintern official.

He was, in fact, head of the West European Bureau which, behind the front of a harmless publishing house, controlled the activities of the communist parties of Europe. It was, in fact, the transmission belt through which Stalin exercised his control over those parties.

That Dimitrov was able to conceal his real role from the German police and the Gestapo was a tribute, of course, to the highly organized illegal methods of work which the Comintern had inherited from Bolshevism. It was reflected also in espionage rings like the 'Red Orchestra' during World War II.

To that extent, too, it can be agreed that Dimitrov was an old revolutionary. There is also no doubt that in the 1920s he sided with Stalin against the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky. It was as a faithful Stalinist that Dimitrov became a trusted Comintern functionary.

As head of the Comintern branch concerned with relations with European communist parties before Hitler came to power, Dimitrov was necessarily an adherent of the policies of the so-called 'third period'

which had been imposed on the movement by Stalin. This much is admitted by James Klugmann in 'Marxism Today'—though without mentioning Stalin, of course. It was this policy which led the German Communist Party, the largest outside the Soviet Union, to disaster and defeat in 1933.

This period can no longer be passed over in silence by the Communist Party as it was for many years. One of the interesting features of this number of 'Marxism Today' is that it actually discusses the 'third period'. In the editorial comments on page 196 we read:

'At the end of the 1920s and in the first years of the 1930s there were within the International, despite all its many achievements, some deep sectarian mistakes, particularly in regard to the estimation of social-democracy and the social-democratic parties, approaches to the reformist, led trade unions and on the question of the united front.'

So it is admitted that Dimitrov supported the policy which described social democracy as the main enemy, as a wing of fascism. Usually the meaningless term 'social-fascist' was used. Anybody who remembers may know that Herbert Morrison, head of the London County Council, was habitually described as a 'social fascist'.

This term had been used, and perhaps coined, by Gregory Zinoviev when he was in alliance with Stalin in the early 1920s. There can be no doubt, however, that the policy of the 'third period' was sired by Stalin who, in a famous phrase described the fascists and social-democrats as 'not antipodes but twins'.

The whole question is discussed in unusual detail by Klugmann (of 'From Trotsky to Tito' fame) on page 214. Unfortunately he does not mention Stalin—perhaps he has not heard the name! The individuals who formulated the policy and imposed it on the communist parties are somewhat shadowy figures described as 'they' or 'the Plenum'.

Klugmann blasts the 'sectarian approaches' of the 'third period' with an eloquent pen. They were, he says, 'particularly dangerous in view of the fascist offensive. 'Such approaches', he claims 'tended towards underestimation of the threat of fascism.'

There is much more in the same vein. But he does not explain why these policies were accepted without question on instructions from Moscow when their suicidal absurdity must have been obvious to the most dim-witted bureaucrat.

He calls for 'a deeper study of the period'.

It is to be hoped that if he ever makes such a study he will emphasize the fact that Trotsky played a leading part in denouncing the dangers of these policies, before they led to the German debacle, in a series of writings which have often been reprinted. How was it that Trotsky was able to expose these policies while the Klugmanns of the time blindly followed the dictates of Stalin?

The reason why Klugmann is so positive in his condemnation of the 'third period' will be clearer later. In fact his critique of it has nothing in common with Trotsky's, but is intended to prepare the way for the justification of the turn to the Popular Front in 1935, when people like Klugmann began to be attracted into the Communist Party.

The burning down of the parliament building in Berlin, the Reichstag, in February 1933 was made the pretext for a wave of arrests of Communists and other opponents of the regime. The Nazis then staged a trial in which they tried to pin responsibility for the fire onto the Communist Party in the person of Ernst Torgler, a leading CP deputy, and three Bulgarian communists, including Dimitrov.

As already pointed out, the investigation was unable to discover the real reason for Dimitrov's presence in Berlin, though the Nazis were glad to produce some 'foreign communists' for the purposes of the trial.

In the dock Dimitrov was able to turn the situation to good account. Somewhat naively the Nazis had organized a great public spectacle, so that Dimitrov's exchanges with the prosecution and particularly his duel with Goering achieved worldwide publicity.

Although, as Trotsky said, Dimitrov did no more and no less than any revolutionary would have done in his place, the Stalinist propaganda machine built him up into a great hero of superhuman proportions.

The Stalinists needed a hero to cover up their abysmal failure in Germany which had opened the way for Hitler. Dimitrov was an almost providential figure and they made the most of him.

On his acquittal he was received in Moscow with all the honours and promoted to the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Almost all the rest of his life was spent in the Soviet Union as a loyal Stalinist functionary.

A turn was now being prepared by Stalin towards what was to be known as the Popular Front. Dimitrov and others went to work to provide this rightward turn with some semblance of theoretical justification.

'Marxism Today' publishes some letters, notes and speeches made by Dimitrov in July, 1934 which are claimed to be the starting point for the turn to the Popular Front which was made Comintern policy at the Seventh Congress in the following year.

Whether or not Dimitrov contributed to the change of line is of little importance. Even the newest recruit could see that the 'third period' extravaganza had produced the German disaster and that it would have to be abandoned.

Empirically, in a number of countries, the local leadership, often under pressure from the rank-and-file, was forced to look to joint action with social democrats and other tendencies against the growing fascist menace. Meanwhile, Stalin was making a right-turn in foreign policy which was to lead him, in May 1935, to make a defensive military pact with France which was signed in Moscow by Pierre Laval.

7TH CONGRESS AND SHIFT TO THE RIGHT

Just as the 'third period' had seen an ultra-left turn, so the Seventh Congress marked a shift to the right, the abandonment of any revolutionary perspective and the pursuit of alliances with reformist and bourgeois parties. 'Anti-fascism' meant defence of bourgeois democracy.

It was also, as Dimitrov and

Stalin saw, necessary to give the local Communist Party leadership in each country greater independence to make their own alliances and to develop their own tactics in line with the particular national conditions which they faced. The seeds not only of the Popular Front but also of what was later to be called 'polycentrism' were being sown.

However, there can be no doubt that complete and unswerving loyalty to the Soviet bureaucracy was demanded from every Communist Party leadership. This meant loyalty to Stalin, who was now the acknowledged theorist of the entire international movement. The new turn was thus completely consistent with the essence of Stalinism: the theory of 'socialism in one country'.

The Popular Front policy, the policy of broad alliances of all anti-fascists, and the like, for which Dimitrov became responsible, were not his invention. They sprang from the foreign policy needs of the Soviet bureaucracy which, after the German defeat in 1933, had passed definitively to the side of counter-revolution.

The perspective which Dimitrov put forward at the

Seventh World Congress was a Stalinist policy through and through. Although Stalin did not bother to speak at the Congress, there is no doubt that at this time he ruled the Comintern with an iron fist. Contemptuous of foreign communists—he was to have thousands murdered in the name of the Popular Front—he still needed the Comintern as an instrument of foreign policy and of control over the other communist parties.

STALIN THE INFALLIBLE POPE

The policies which were put forward at the Seventh Congress were endorsed by him and bore his trademark. The Obedience had to be paid to his outstanding merits as a theoretician and as a leader. Reference to his name evoked thunderous applause. This was Stalin's consecration as the foremost Marxist of the age, the infallible pope in the Kremlin who crushed his enemies and critics without mercy.

For make no mistake about it, while the Seventh Congress was in session the secret police

was going about its work with ruthless determination on Stalin's instruction. Many a delegate must have thought, when Dimitrov was speaking, of another Comintern leader to whom he bore a certain physical resemblance, the once-favoured Gregory Zinoviev.

Where then was the wretched Zinoviev, upon whose shoulders James Klugmann heaps responsibility for the theory of 'social fascism'? He was being 'processed' by the GPU for the first of his trials, which was to take place in the following year.

In the next three or four years, many of Dimitrov's colleagues and friends were to disappear into the jails of the GPU, never to re-emerge. They included Bela Kun, Hugo Eberlein, Spartacist delegate to the First Congress of the Comintern, many of the German party leaders and almost all the Poles and Yugoslavs.

It is said that Dimitrov fought hard for 'his' Bulgarians and that few of them were in fact victims of Stalin's purges. For most of the others he could do very little. He, at least, had had the benefit of a trial, if only in a Nazi court. Stalin's trials were show pieces in which the accused were rehearsed in advance and only

those willing to go through with the charade were given the benefit of a court appearance at all.

The reality of the purges, the true story of the Comintern in the 1930s and especially after the Seventh Congress, makes a mockery of what James Klugmann and that pathetic old veteran, Isabel Brown, write about Dimitrov in 'Marxism Today'.

In order to move closer to the bourgeoisie, whether of the fascist or the democratic variety, Stalin cut down thousands of honest revolutionaries from the international communist movement. Dimitrov knew about it and accepted it because he was a faithful flunkey of Stalin. So did Harry Pollitt, R. Palme Dutt ('spots on the sun'), John Gollan (zealous 'anti-Trotskyite' in the YCL of the time and present general secretary) and the other leaders of the CPGB.

Klugmann and company of course, are uncomfortable today with the 'third period'; 'class against class' for them is a meaningless phrase. They want to get nearer to bourgeois democracy, to reformism.

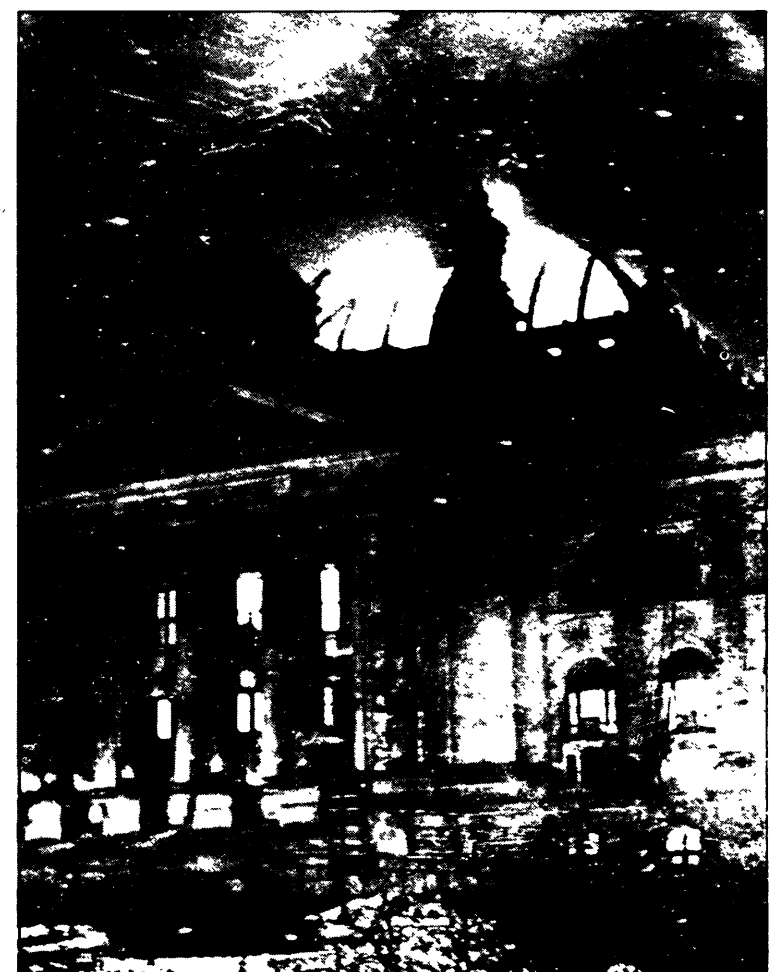
That is why they see Dimitrov as a great precursor. That is why they salute today the Seventh Congress while leaving

above completely Stalin, the OGPU, the purges, the Moscow Trials and all the horrors which followed it as an historical necessity.

They cannot be allowed to get away with so much lying hypocrisy and distortion. This is not history. It is using the memory of one dead man, who conserves a reputation for revolutionary honour on the basis of one action—his defence in the Leipzig trial—to cover up for the most abject retreats and counter-revolutionary policies.

The Communist Party moves still further to the right. In Britain and in other countries it prepares further betrayals of the working class.

Klugmann, Isabel Brown and others who evoke the Popular Fronts in France and Spain in the 1930s conveniently forget that under its banner the working class of those countries were led to defeats and destruction. Dimitrov deserves no honour for his part in that.



Reichstag fire, 1933: to pin blame on the communists, the Nazis staged a public trial. Dimitrov was one of the defendants



LET HISTORY JUDGE STALINISM

The book by Roy Medvedev translated as 'Let History Judge: the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism' (Macmillan £5.75) is the first independent attempt in the Soviet Union to understand the Stalin era which has come out of that country. It is a damning indictment of Stalin and Stalinism which confirms everything which Trotsky wrote about the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers' state. From the great tension under which it is written, its passion drawn from the sufferings of millions of people, is also a testimony to the fact that the conquests of the October 1917 Revolution have not been destroyed. Medvedev writes as a communist intellectual, an oppositionist who is harassed and persecuted for his struggle to tell the truth as he sees it. His book has great merits and deserves a careful study both for what it provides in the way of corroboration for the Trotskyist analysis and what it leaves out. On some crucial questions the book is fundamentally wrong. This series of articles submit Medvedev's book to detailed scrutiny with the aim of pursuing the struggle against Stalinism to the end. It will deal in particular with his errors and omissions and point the way for a more rounded analysis which must begin with the works of Trotsky which are cited in the footnotes.

BY TOM KEMP PART 2

Medvedev rightly sees that 'the rise of Stalinism cannot be understood without examining, if only briefly, the struggle within the Party during the middle and late 1920s. Many episodes connected with that struggle need to be reconsidered in the light of the tragic events of the 1930s'.

Nevertheless, he seriously underestimates the importance of the defeat of the Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky. The interpretation he puts forward, although more honest

than that of the apologists for Stalin, is incorrect and inadequate.

The position he holds is that of the impartial observer who tries to occupy some middle ground between the contending forces. Admitting that what was at stake was more than a struggle for power but also 'serious theoretical and practical disagreements and a contest of ideas, especially over the methods and possibilities of building socialism in the Soviet Union', he refuses to accept that 'Stalin was completely wrong in his struggle with the opposition or that his opponents were completely right'.

The point is that only two alternatives were presented. Stalin's policy and its consequences, including his drive

for personal power, has to be taken or rejected as a whole. Bits of it cannot be picked out for praise and others for blame.

Only the Left Opposition carried on a consistent struggle against Stalin and his policies and put forward a line which was a continuation of Lenin's policy and offered the prospect of reversing his disastrous course.

Medvedev's account of the inner-party struggle of the 1920s, behind a façade of impartiality, is basically hostile to Trotsky. He makes out that Trotsky had 'a poorly-disguised ambition to lead the party' and that he was the first to come out with a platform of his own.

In fact, Trotsky's behaviour during Lenin's last illness and after his death in 1924-1925 shows no evidence of a bid for personal power. Trotsky was, indeed, careful not to do anything which might give any substantiation to those of his enemies who were making such allegations.

After casting doubts on Trotsky's intentions, Medvedev gives a fair account of his earlier political career and shows that the adverse references to Trotsky in Lenin's pre-1917 writings, so assiduously collected and underlined by the Stalinists, were not intended to stick for all time. In fact the differences between Lenin and Trotsky arose almost exclusively over the latter's attempts to conciliate the different factions of Russian Social Democracy, which he subsequently admitted to have been a mistake.

What Medvedev says about the earlier phases of Trotsky's career are only remarkable because the old distortions and suppressions still prevail in historical works published inside the Soviet Union. It is not yet possible to show in its entirety the key role which Trotsky played in the organization of the insurrection in October 1917, in the formation of the Red Army and the winning of the Civil War—during which time he enjoyed the full confidence of Lenin—

and that Stalin's role was a comparatively minor one.

To say that in these years Trotsky was starting his own personality cult is again a slander for which there is no substantiation. That he seemed to many to be the natural successor to Lenin arose from the actual position which he held in the party and in the sympathy of the masses as well as in the Communist International. Next to Lenin's, Trotsky's speeches and statements were the most authoritative and he played an important part in shaping the key documents of the early years of the Comintern.

As a theorist Trotsky was an authoritative and creative Marxist. Contrary to Medvedev's view, the theory of the permanent revolution was a development of classic Marxism and not, as he makes out, a major error based on the 'underestimation of the revolutionary potentiality of the peasantry'.

This favourite and time-honoured charge which the Stalinists made against Trotsky from the early days of the opposition's struggle might have been dealt with by Medvedev in at least a more critical way. Presumably educated in the Stalinist party schools and unable to consult all the relevant literature, he has allowed himself to take on trust the official propaganda. He even gives it added weight because it is mixed in with some valid criticisms of Stalinism.

Preserving the worker-peasant alliance

When Stalin, having obtained control of the Party apparatus through his assumption of the organizational post of general secretary, made an alliance with Kamenev and Zinoviev and invented 'Trotskyism', the 'underestimation of the peasantry' became one of its main distinguishing marks.

First of all, of course, no disagreement arose between

Trotsky (right) Commissar for War, with Muralov, commander of Red Army Moscow garrison, during the Civil War.

Lenin and Trotsky on the peasant question in the period 1917 to 1924. During the Civil War Trotsky repeatedly urged the need to preserve the worker-peasant alliance. Early in 1920 he put forward a programme which foreshadowed the New Economic Policy and included concessions to the peasantry. All the documents of the Left Opposition insist on the need to win over the middle as well as the poor peasants.

Rumours of a difference of opinion between Trotsky and Lenin on the government's attitude towards the middle peasants had been circulated during the Civil War. When the matter was raised Lenin wrote:

'Comrade Trotsky says... that the rumours of disagreement between him and me are a monstrous and a despicable lie, propagated by the landlords and capitalists and their conscious and unconscious servitors. I, upon my part, fully confirm this statement of comrade Trotsky. There are no disagreements between him and me, and in regard to the middle peasants, there are no disagreements not only between Trotsky and me, but in general, in the Communist Party of which we are both members.'

What the Stalinists did was to pick up a rumour which had been circulated by the enemies of the Bolsheviks and turn it to account in their factional attack on Trotsky. It was, of course, combined with bitter hostility to the theory of permanent revolution with which Trotsky was identified. Medvedev shrugs off this theory in a phrase: 'It resembled Marx's and Lenin's theories of uninterrupted revolution in name only.' We are never informed what the difference was, if any.

What is certain, however, is that in the autumn of 1924 Stalin enunciated a major revision of Marxism, the theory of

'socialism in one country', which was henceforth to be the hallmark of Stalinism. A serious analysis of Stalinism must therefore begin with this 'theory' and its social basis.

Since Medvedev is not convinced that it is wrong, he is naturally unable to make head or tail of its antithesis: the theory of permanent revolution.

In declaring that it was possible for socialism to be built in the Soviet Union without waiting for the spread of revolution to the more advanced capitalist countries, Stalin broke decisively with the tradition of Marxist internationalism. Attempts were made, by dragging isolated remarks out of context, to prove that Lenin had also subscribed to this theory. The attempt was, and remains, as bankrupt as it is dishonest.

After the success of the October Revolution, all the Bolsheviks, including Stalin, believed that the defence of the revolution in Russia required its extension on an international scale. No one had foreseen the consequences of



Joseph Stalin

the isolation of a workers' government in an underdeveloped and predominantly peasant country like Russia. Only the size of the Soviet Union and its resources in raw materials made it possible even to conceive of such a thing as the victory of socialism in an isolated country.

By 1924, when the theory was hatched, the isolation of the Soviet Union had become a fact. The revolutionary tide had everywhere receded and capitalism had entered upon a period of temporary stabilization; the defeat of the German October in 1923 was, in this respect, of decisive importance. On the other hand, the forces of counter-revolution had been unable to overthrow the workers' state, which had thus acquired a breathing space after years of Civil War and upheaval.

The adoption of the New Economic Policy in 1921, while necessary to preserve the basic gains of the Revolution, had, nonetheless, been a retreat. It enabled the rich peasant to engage in private trade and to accumulate capital. It permitted the rise of a new bourgeoisie carrying on various forms of trade and speculation. By 1924 some economic recovery had taken place, but the role of the Party and state apparatus had been greatly enhanced.

The running down of industry had meanwhile reduced the social weight of the working class. Many of its advanced elements had been killed during the Civil War or had been drained off into the army or the state and Party apparatus. The general penury which prevailed enhanced the dangers of bureaucratism, which began to eat into the Party itself. New layers of careerists and yes-men found their way into its ranks and into public offices. Many had never been Bolsheviks, but had come over from the Mensheviks or other parties.

Trotsky had raised these dangers and put forward a

policy to combat them in the articles which were collected into a short book called 'The New Course'.² Trotsky called upon the party ranks to carry on an unremitting struggle against bureaucratism, appealing particularly to the youth of the party. He saw that only the building up of the economy and an increased output of goods could provide the material basis for a successful struggle against these trends which were threatening to strangle the revolution.

There can be no clearer contrast between Trotsky's 'The New Course' and Stalin's 'socialism in one country'. The one consciously estimated the dangers and put forward a policy to fight them. Stalin reflected in his policy those very social forces which were strengthening the Party apparatus—of which he was making himself the master—and appealed directly to the bureaucratic elements who wanted a quiet life and a consolidation of their new powers and prerogatives after years of insecurity and hardship.

Stalin built up his clientele within the Party, won to his side the ambitious and those who had crossed over from the Mensheviks and conciliated those sections of society which had been strengthened by the New Economic Policy. The basis was being laid for a new ruling stratum emerging from within the isolated workers' state in a backward country. It was an entirely new historical phenomenon and there were no precedents, even in Marxism, with which to analyse it.

Stalin rose together with this new social layer, this parasitic caste, as Trotsky was later to describe it to indicate that it was not a class nor did it exercise a necessary function in a workers' state.

To understand Stalinism, therefore, it is necessary to follow a whole historical process which was not confined to the Soviet Union, but which was also shaped by the relationship of world forces, in the first instance by the failure of the revolution to spread to the countries of advanced capitalism.

The danger of counter-revolution

Trotsky was acutely aware that when the Left Opposition took up its struggle against bureaucratic degeneration, it did so under serious objective handicaps. The masses, whose active participation had made the October Revolution possible, had become disillusioned. The danger of counter-revolution had appeared.

As he put it in some notes which he jotted down in November 1926, and upon which he was to elaborate in later writings:

'The disillusionment of a considerable section of the oppressed masses in the immediate conquests of the revolution and—directly connected with this—the decline of the political energy and activity of the revolutionary class engender an influx of confidence among counter-revolutionary classes—both among those overthrown by the revolution but not shattered completely, as well as among those which aided the revolution at a certain phase, but were thrown back into the camp of reaction by the further development of the revolution.'

Referring more directly to the conditions which favoured the rise of the bureaucracy, Trotsky went on:

'The October Revolution, to a greater extent than any other in history, aroused the greatest hopes and passions in the popular masses. After the maximum of sufferings of 1917-1921, the proletarian masses improved their status considerably. They cherish this improvement which today has only reached the pre-war stan-

dard of living. This living experience is of incalculable significance to the masses, especially the older generation. They have grown more cautious, more sceptical, less directly responsive to revolutionary slogans, less receptive to major generalizations. These moods which unfolded after the ordeals of the Civil War and after the successes of economic restoration, and which still remain undisrupted by new shifts of class forces—these moods constitute the basic political background of party life. These are the moods which bureaucratism—as an element of "law and order" and "tranquillity"—banks on. The attempt of the opposition to pose new questions before the party ran up against precisely these moods.'

Not only was it difficult under these conditions for the younger generations to come forward to arrest the process, but it lacked experience and the necessary revolutionary temper. Simultaneously a shift took place in the party leadership and the bureaucracy began to appear as a distinct layer. Where then did it come from?

Trotsky traces its origin to a parallel process whereby 'there has been an extreme growth in the role played in the Party and the state apparatus by a special category of old Bolsheviks, who were members or worked actively in the Party during the 1905 period [i.e. at the time of the first Russian Revolution]; who then left the Party in the period of reaction, adapted themselves to the bourgeois regime and occupied a more or less prominent position within it; who were defencists together with the entire bourgeois intelligentsia and together with the latter were propelled forward in the February revolution (of which they did not dream at the beginning of the war); who were staunch opponents of the Leninist programme and of the October overturn; but who returned to the Party after victory was secured or after the stabilization of the new regime about the same time that the bourgeois intelligentsia stopped its sabotage. These elements, who more or less accommodated themselves to the July 3 regime, can be, naturally, only elements of a conservative type. They are in general in favour of stabilization, and generally against every opposition. The education of the party youth is largely in their hands.

'Such is the combination of circumstances which in the recent period of Party development has determined the change in the Party leadership and the shift of the Party to the right.'

And Trotsky goes on to make a significant point which links up these objective developments with the rise of Stalin:

'The official adoption of the theory of "socialism in one country" signifies the theoretical sanction of those shifts which have already taken place; and of the first open break with Marxist tradition.'

Trotsky made this dialectical analysis of the ebb and flow of the Russian Revolution not in the spirit of an Isaac Deutscher, to excuse inactivity, but to make possible the conscious intervention of the Marxist vanguard, in this case the Left Opposition. In political terms we can say without hesitation that Medvedev lines up not in the camp of Marxism, but in the camp of the revisionist Deutscher.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

¹Reply to the peasant Gulov in 'Pravda' No. 35, February 15, 1919—see Trotsky, L. 'The Stalin School of Falsification' (New York, 2nd ed. 1962) p.39.

²New Park Publications. New edition now available 65p.

³See 'Fourth International', October 1941.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

THE MAUDLING CONNECTION

Amid the flurry of interest in ex-Home Secretary Reginald Maudling's former connections with property and finance, his interests in shipping and travel may go unnoticed.

In the light of current events on the docks and in shipbuilding a look at these may be informative.

As chairman of Shipping Industrial Holdings, a £19.5m company which by turnover ranks one of the top 35 enterprises in Britain, Maudling received emoluments of £3,000 a year.

The other directors—among them merchant banker Jocelyn Hambro and Sir Alexander Glen, once a member of the National Ports Council—did even better.

The emoluments of the highest paid director, excluding pension contributions, amounted to £36,216. The name of this director is not disclosed in the annual report and accounts.

An analysis of the emoluments of the 12 other directors of the company shows that, excluding pension contributions, two of these received between £27,501 and £30,000; one received between £20,001

and £22,500; two were paid between £7,501 and £10,000; one was paid between £5,001 and £7,500; one was paid between £2,501 and £5,000; while five were paid up to £2,500 each.

The accounts show that the total remuneration of directors and sundry benefits for executive services paid by subsidiary companies amounted to £143,975, out of total directors' emoluments of £157,272 (against £96,579 out of a total of £108,980 in 1966).

A glance at some of the other interests of Maudling's ex-associates is also interesting.

Hambro, of Hambro's Bank, was also a director of Phoenix Assurance and Charter Consolidated. Glen, one of the 'four wise men' who recommended, if not the butchery, at least the disembowelling of UCS, was a director of British Insulated Callendar's Cables.

And among the other directors was one I. T. Morrow, chairman of north-east shipbuilders Smith's Dock, a former director of Rolls-Royce and a director of the container and trailer firm Crane Fruehauf.



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City sympathy for Maudling

THE SEVERE blow that Reginald Maudling's resignation was to the Tory Cabinet is made clear in two editorials in leading capitalist weeklies this week.

These journals shed tears of remorse about Maudling's abrupt departure from the Home Office and deputy prime ministership.

The most outspoken of the two is 'City Press', the weekly newspaper of the City of London with its readership of bankers and brokers.

The front-page article is headlined: 'Maudling most able of Tory ministers'.

The article says: 'The City is shocked and saddened by Reginald Maudling's resignation. As Chancellor of the Exchequer in the early 1960s Mr Maudling had complete confidence of the City of London and he is the only post-war Chancellor who understood the intricate workings of the money markets, world currency and liquidity problems.'

Maudling, the paper says, was 'very much admired' by all international traders. 'It is a disastrous blow to Mr Heath's Cabinet to lose Maudling at the very moment when all their economic policies are crashing around their ears. Maudling alone in the Cabinet has a first-class understanding of the problems of managing the economy.'

This adulatory tone reaches a crescendo when the writer says Robert Carr, Maudling's successor at the Home Office, has 'none of the political genius and acute intellect which stamped

BY ALEX MITCHELL

Maudling as the most able Tory statesman of our time. Harold Wilson has again and again made it clear that Maudling is the only Tory front-bencher whose intellect he respects.'

The 'Economist' is not as overflowing in its praise of Maudling's business 'genius'. It reacts with venomous attacks on Maudling's detractors and seeks to defend his good name. The Lord Cowdray-owned magazine says: 'Mr Reggie Maudling's departure from the government is a very unhappy business.'

'Mr Maudling is neither accused nor suspected of any crime, either in connection with the bankrupt architect; Mr John Poulson, or anyone else. That he has chosen to go can only mean that Mr Maudling has had his gutful of the denigration of public men which is so much the vogue in this country. It is a shocking blow to British politics that a man of Mr Maudling's well-balanced personality can have been brought to this pass.'

In the 'Economist's' view, the whole affair is to be blamed on 'communicators who are simply afraid that their middle age might show if they cease to be trendy'. So the magazine's argument goes, these communicators 'will join any progressive-sounding bandwagon'.

Ever the voice of reason, the 'Economist' says: '... it is time now for everyone in public life, politics and journalism to consider where the line should be

drawn between responsible criticism and irresponsible, even if unwitting, support to the grave-diggers of parliamentary democracy.'

This is the clearest advocacy of censorship of information involving figures in public life.

The editorial emphasizes its call for censorship in the closing paragraph:

'This is not a time for parliament to give in to the muck-rakers. . . . Instead it is a time when responsible men in all parties should display the confidence, which they undoubtedly have, in their colleagues on their own and the opposite benches.'

'A few MPs and rather more Pharisees in the press have contrived to bring down a fine politician. If their interest is genuinely in the health of British politics there is no doubt where their duty now lies: it is in giving open encouragement to Reggie Maudling so that, however long it takes to clear up the Poulson mess, he will want to return to his natural place on the Conservative front bench.'

This may be more difficult than the 'Economist' makes it sound. The Director of Public Prosecutions is at present controlling two investigations into two sets of companies with which Maudling was associated — the Poulson building and designing empire and the offshore fund activities of Jerome D. Hoffman. Hoffman is now in prison in the US for two years on mortgage fraud charges.

Until these inquiries are complete, Maudling says he is unable

MAUDLING MOST ABLE OF TORY MINISTERS

The City is shocked and saddened by Reginald Maudling's resignation. As Chancellor of the Exchequer in the early 60s Mr Maudling had complete confidence of the City of London, and he is the only post-war Chancellor who understood the intricate workings of the money markets, world currency and liquidity problems. His courageous policy of expansion in 1964 during the dying days of the Heath administration in spite of bad trade figures was very much admired by all international traders. It is a disastrous blow to Mr Heath's Cabinet to lose Maudling at the very moment when all their economic policies are crashing around their ears. Maudling alone in the Cabinet

has a first-class understanding of the problems of managing the economy. He is an advocate of both indicative economic planning and a wages and prices policy. During his time as Chancellor of the Exchequer he created the National Economic Development Council (NEDDY), and the National Incomes Commission (NICKY) which was the forerunner of Wilson's Prices and Incomes Board.

Now after two years of searching for a policy to control inflation and mop up unemployment Heath and Barber are thrown back on Maudling's ideas but have clearly not got Maudling's expertise to operate them. Maudling's creation, NEDDY, is being used to bring Trade Unions and Employers together over wages. Maudling is the only member

of the Heath Cabinet who was resolutely opposed to Heath and Barber's policy of containing wages by head-on showdowns with powerful Trade Unions. If his advice had been followed we would not have had the disastrous coal strike and rail go-slow which culminated in astronomical inflationary wage increases.

Mr Robert Carr is now the heir-apparent to the Tory leadership. By making him Home Secretary, Mr Heath has made it obvious that he regards him as his crown prince. But both at Westminster and in the City it is well known that Robert Carr for all his tact and charm has none of the political genius and acute intellect which stamped Maudling as the most able Tory statesman of our time. Harold Wilson has again and again made it clear that Maudling is the only Tory front bencher whose intellect he respects.

The Economist

Reggie Agonistes

Mr Reggie Maudling's departure from the Government is a very unhappy business. Mr Maudling is neither accused nor suspected of any crime, either in connection with the bankrupt architect, Mr John Poulson, or anyone else. As, however, Mr Poulson's other activities are now

subject of investigation by the metropolitan police, it is

cease to appear trendy, happened, and it is life, politics and jobs should be drawn irresponsible, even if dignified.

'City Press' and the 'Economist' praise Maudling as the most able man (from a business point of view) in Heath's Cabinet

to return to public office and one suggestion is that these investigations will take many months—if not years—to complete.

There is also a new factor. Last week Maudling said he proposed taking legal action against the 'Sunday Times' for an INSIGHT article on his association with Hoffman's fund.

By strict parliamentary tradi-

tion he cannot resume his Cabinet post until this proposed action is either heard or withdrawn.

As such actions take upwards of a year to be heard, it could be some time before Maudling resurfaces in public life.

In any case, at the rate the working class is moving today there may be no Tory government to rejoin!

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Lead-poisoned workers 'disquieting' says report

BY PHILIP WADE

THE LEAD contamination at a Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ) plant at Avonmouth, Bristol, was caused by inadequate preventive measures, mechanical failures and changes in management.

But the government committee of inquiry set up in February after the plant closed following high lead levels in workers' blood comes forward with little in the way of changing the situation.

The £14.5m smelter has the world's largest blast furnace for the combined smelting of lead and zinc. The plant has been closed three times since beginning operations in December 1968.

During the shut-downs for maintenance and overhauls none of the workers or staff were laid off.

The company spent £540,000 on maintenance in 1969, £570,000 in 1971 and £590,000 during this year's shutdown.

The final closure came because the lead level in workers' blood was reaching a dangerously-high level.

The main recommendation of the committee of inquiry is for the monitoring of air in all dusty areas of the plant to be intensified. But the number of workers suffering from lead poisoning was only 'disquieting', it finds.

And this in a situation where the lead-in-air levels in the smelter have been above the accepted limit for four years.

The report makes it clear, however, that workers are to be expected to return to the plant, pending research into lead exposure levels.

Those workers with a blood-level of over 80 micrograms per 100 millilitres of blood should go back under supervision. Only those with a level of over 120 micrograms should be taken off direct lead work.

Yet the report finds that RTZ

is only 'reasonably confident' that lead-in-air concentrations can be cut back sufficiently.

As far as the committee—headed by Sir Brian Windeyer, vice-chancellor of London University—makes firm recommendations, they are for 'urgent research', the appointment of an industrial hygiene officer and more education of workers.

Yet when reporters visited the plant this week they wore respirators, eye shields and protective helmets when they were shown round.

Mr David Morgan, managing director at Avonmouth, claimed 'very substantial improvements' had been made during the two-month shutdown.

'The effects of the improvements have enabled us to work a much more accepted integrated operation, including all aspects of hygiene requirements,' he told reporters.

One thing RTZ has done is to buy up all the farm land in the immediate vicinity to 'safeguard the public'.

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Curb private police—call

THE CURRENT edition of the 'Law Society Gazette' calls for curbs on private police forces.

The paper says: 'There is no doubt that there is a legitimate function for the growing band of security firms, but the time has come to define the boundaries of that legitimacy.'

'The Home Office and other government

departments might start by giving some thought to the inherent dangers of entrusting outside companies with matters that should rightly be under the direct control of a body with direct responsibility for its actions.'

Entitled 'Pinkerton Rides Again?' the editorial points out there are now more than 70 security organizations in Britain. Between them

they could muster more men than the Metropolitan police force.

'Without questioning the integrity of the private security firms, it is obvious that they cannot guarantee that their men observe the same high standards as those of the regular police forces.'

The 'Gazette' does not point out, however, that there are now something like 50 Metro-

politan police under investigation on various criminal charges.

Neither does it point out — though probably compiled before Reginald Maudling's resignation — that the latest Home Secretary, Robert Carr, was also a director of Securicor before joining the Heath government.

● See page 4 Saturday: 'Pinkerton: the anti-union private eye'.

TV

BBC 1

9.45 Camberwick Green. 10.00 Casey Jones. 10.25 Tennis. 10.50 Tin Tin. 10.55 Magic Roundabout. 11.25 Cricket. 1.30 Fingerbobs. 1.45 News, weather. 1.55 Telewale. 2.20 Racing. 4.20 Play School. 4.45 Jackanory. 5.00 The Monkees. 5.25 Ask Aspel. 5.50 News, weather.
6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK.
6.20 TOM AND JERRY.
6.30 THE VIRGINIAN. Jed.
7.45 IT'S A KNOCK-OUT! First international heat.
9.00 NEWS, Weather.
9.25 THE MAN OUTSIDE. Doubts are Traitors.
10.15 DAVE ALLEN AT LARGE.
11.00 NEWS.
11.05 SUMMER TALK. From Birmingham.
11.50 Weather.

ITV

11.30 Communities. 12.25 Women. 12.50 Freud on Food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.30 Dan. 1.40 Bush Boy. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 This Week. 3.45 Delta. 4.40 Happy House. 4.55 Land of Giants. 5.50 News.
6.00 MONTY MODLYN.
6.30 THE NEW DICK VAN DYKE SHOW.
7.00 THE COMEDIANS.
7.30 THE FBI. The Harvest.
8.30 IN FOR A PENNY.
9.00 THE MAN FROM HAVEN. Episode Two.
10.00 NEWS.
10.30 THE FRIGHTENERS. The Manipulators.
11.00 FILM: 'STOP THE WORLD - I WANT TO GET OFF'. Musical.
12.45 ONE POINT OF VIEW.

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 4.30 Cricket. 6.35 Open University.
7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather.
8.00 GARDENERS' WORLD. With Percy Thrower.
8.25 THE ENTERTAINERS. Part 2. A Right Pair of Villains.
9.15 THE BEETHOVEN SYMPHONIES. Otto Klemperer with the New Philharmonia Orchestra.
10.15 SPORT TWO. The marathon. Cricket highlights.
11.30 NEWS, Weather.
11.35 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 3.00 It's one way of helping. 3.20 Blue water men. 4.05 Happy house. 4.20 Puffin. 4.22 Jimmy Stewart. 4.50 Flintstones. 5.20 Primus. 5.50 News. 6.00 News, weather. What's on where? 6.15 Report. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 10.35 Film: 'Don't Bother to Knock'. 12.10 News, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sport. 10.32 News, weather. 12.10 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 12.55 News. 1.00 Beloved enemy. 1.25 Hillbillies. 1.50 Cooking. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Kate. 3.55 Weekend. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Paulus. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Voyage. 5.50 News. 6.00 Day by day. Scene south east. 6.30 Who do you do? 7.00 In for a penny. 7.30 Weekend. 7.35 Sale. 8.05 FBI. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Black Bart'. 12.05 News. 12.15 Weather. Guideline.

HTV: 2.35 Out of town. 2.55 Remember. 3.20 Grasshopper island. 3.35 Arthur. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Woobinda. 5.20 Flaxton boys. 5.50 News. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30



Julian Holloway—son of Stanley—plays Guy Western in 'The Man From Haven' on ITV tonight at 9 p.m.

Jimmy Stewart. 7.00 In for a penny. 7.30 Comedians. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London. 10.30 Cinema. 11.00 Film: 'The Bank Raiders'. 12.10 Scales of justice. 12.40 Weather.
HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.15 Cantamil. 6.01 Y Dydd.
HTV West as above except: 6.15 Report West.

ANGLIA: 1.40 World War I. 2.05 Mad movies. 2.30 London. 3.15 Survival. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper room. 4.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Glamour 72. 7.35 Comedians. 8.00 Combat. 9.00 London. 10.30 Probe. 11.00 Film: 'The Frightened City'.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Julia. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 In for a penny. 7.30 Persuaders. 8.25 Comedians. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Flend without a Face'.

ULSTER: 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Cowboy in Africa. 5.50 News. 6.00 News. 6.10 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Salé. 7.30 In for a penny. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 10.30 Comedians. 11.00 Film: 'Witness to Murder'.

YORKSHIRE: 1.45 Odd couple. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Kate. 4.00 Sound of . . . 4.10 Calendar. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar. 6.30 Partners. 7.00 Comedians. 7.30 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Barefoot Contessa'. 12.50 Weather.

GRANADA: 2.20 Cook book. 2.45 Saint. 3.40 University challenge. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Happy house. 4.50 Skippy. 5.15 Funky phantom. 5.50 News. 6.00 News. 6.30 Riptide. 7.30 In for a penny. 8.00 Protectors. 8.25 Comedians. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Humoresque'.

TYNE TEES: 1.45 Funny face. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Yoga. 3.00

Kate. 4.00 Sound of . . . 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Partners. 7.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Barefoot Contessa'. 12.45 News. 1.00 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Animaland. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 Cartoons. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Love American style. 6.30 In for a penny. 7.00 Comedians. 7.30 Saint. 8.30 Helen McArthur. 9.00 London. 10.30 In camera. 11.00 At odds. 11.45 Late call. 11.50 Marcus Welby.

GRAMPIAN: 3.37 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 Bush boy. 5.50 News. 6.00 News, weather. 6.05 Mr and Mrs. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Comedians. 7.30 Jesse James. 8.00 Benny Hill. 9.00 London. 10.30 Hogan's heroes. 11.00 Job look. 11.05 Film: 'Shadow of the Cat'. Road report.

Closed shop for seamen approved

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE NATIONAL Union of Seamen, suspended by the TUC for seeking a closed shop arrangement from the National Industrial Relations Court, yesterday had its application approved by the Commission on Industrial Relations.

Councils of Action call from builders

THE No. 2 North Paddington branch of the Union of Construction and Allied Trades and Technicians has passed the following motion:

'This union branch calls on the EC of UCATT to campaign to set up Councils of Action in local areas. The purpose of these Councils would be to unite all local working-class organizations, all trade union branches in the area, all political parties, Labour, Communist Party, SLL, IS and IMG, tenants' associations, co-ops and unemployed committees in a struggle to defend the interests of the working class by:

1. Campaigning to recall the TUC to make it fight the Tory government.
2. To campaign, prepare and be instrumental in leading a General Strike to defeat the Tory government.
3. To campaign for the return of a Labour government, and ensure it carries out socialist policies.'

The NUS was one of the first unions to openly defy TUC policy of non-recognition of the NIRC and non-cooperation with the Industrial Relations Act.

The application for a closed shop was made jointly by the NUS and the British Shipping Federation.

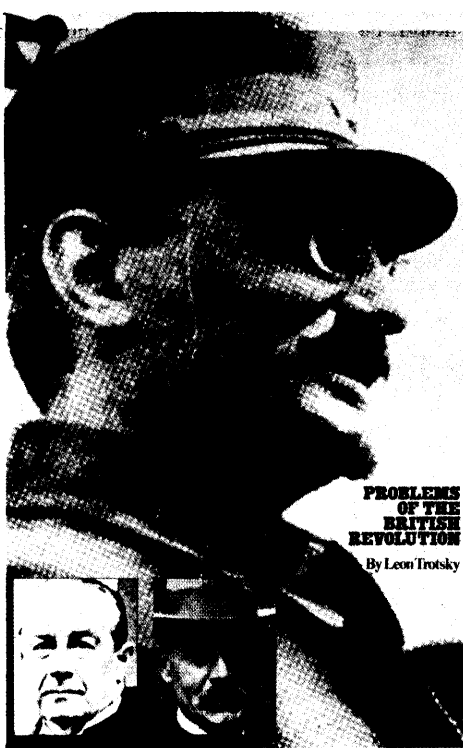
CIR approval of the union's application was based on the view that the 'social discipline' required to contain the tensions which arose aboard ships would not be improved if membership or non-membership of a union became a 'focus for dissent'.

More important, it would 'prevent the frustration of any agreement made between the Shipping Federation and the NUS'.

The CIR said: 'In their working lives aboard ship, seamen have to accept a measure of authority and must be ready at all time to co-operate promptly in action needed for the efficient running and safety of the vessel.'

'In the circumstances these purposes could not reasonably be expected to be fulfilled by means of an agency shop agreement.'

A ship is only a microcosm of society and the object of the closed shop under the Act is plainly to bind employers and union bureaucrats together to administer that 'social discipline' which might otherwise be absent.



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

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

64 pp price 35p (postage extra)

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

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

108 pp price 65p (postage extra)



The New Course 1923
 BY LEON TROTSKY

Angry lobby collars Jones

Dockers hostile to jobs report

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

DOCKERS massed 1,000-strong outside Transport House yesterday demanding the Jones Aldington report on the ports be thrown out. The consensus was unanimous. The men were bitterly critical of the report's recommendations and angry that the Transport and General Workers' Union did not call an official strike to back the five jailed dockers.

Wild cheering broke out when three of them, Vic Turner, Bernie Steer and Tony Merrick, appeared in the crowd.

The heroes' welcome they got was in sharp contrast to the reception for union leader Jack Jones.

He was collared by Merseyside portworkers who had come down 450-strong on a special train to London.

'If you don't like what I am doing,' said a rattled Jones, 'why don't you vote me out.'

One docker dryly replied: 'How can we, you're in for life.'

Walter Cunningham, chairman of the shop stewards, Hull docks, commented:

'We are very pleased with the decision to free the men. It makes the National Industrial Relations Court look farcical.'

'Speaking for the Hull shop stewards, there is nothing in this report. It's the old story of more severance pay to run down the industry.'

Roy Garmston, deputy chairman, Hull shop stewards, said:

'The TUC made up a calypso about the Industrial Relations Bill. This is about their level of protest. If they are in favour of the Act, why don't they come out and say so. At least the shop stewards are honest.'

'We came out in total opposition to the court and the law against great odds. But the working class rallied round and showed their support.'

Terry Geraghty, Hull shop steward and Labour councillor, told me:

'The TUC's one-day strike was a move to stop the development of a General Strike. This latest move in the House of Lords means that every trade union will have to register or face confiscation of its whole funds. It's just as we warned in the beginning of the struggle. The Tory government is still out to smash the trade union movement.'

'The report means nothing to us. In Hull, Ellerman Wilson and Humphrey Brown say they want to return 300 men each to the temporary unattached register. How are these men going to be absorbed? It will be us that will pay for this by lower wages and work-sharing.'

Jimmy Nolan, Liverpool shop steward and member of the port modernization committee, said:

'This claim that the TUR will be abolished is a big con trick. What they really want to do is to get rid of so many men with more severance pay so that the TUR will not be necessary.'

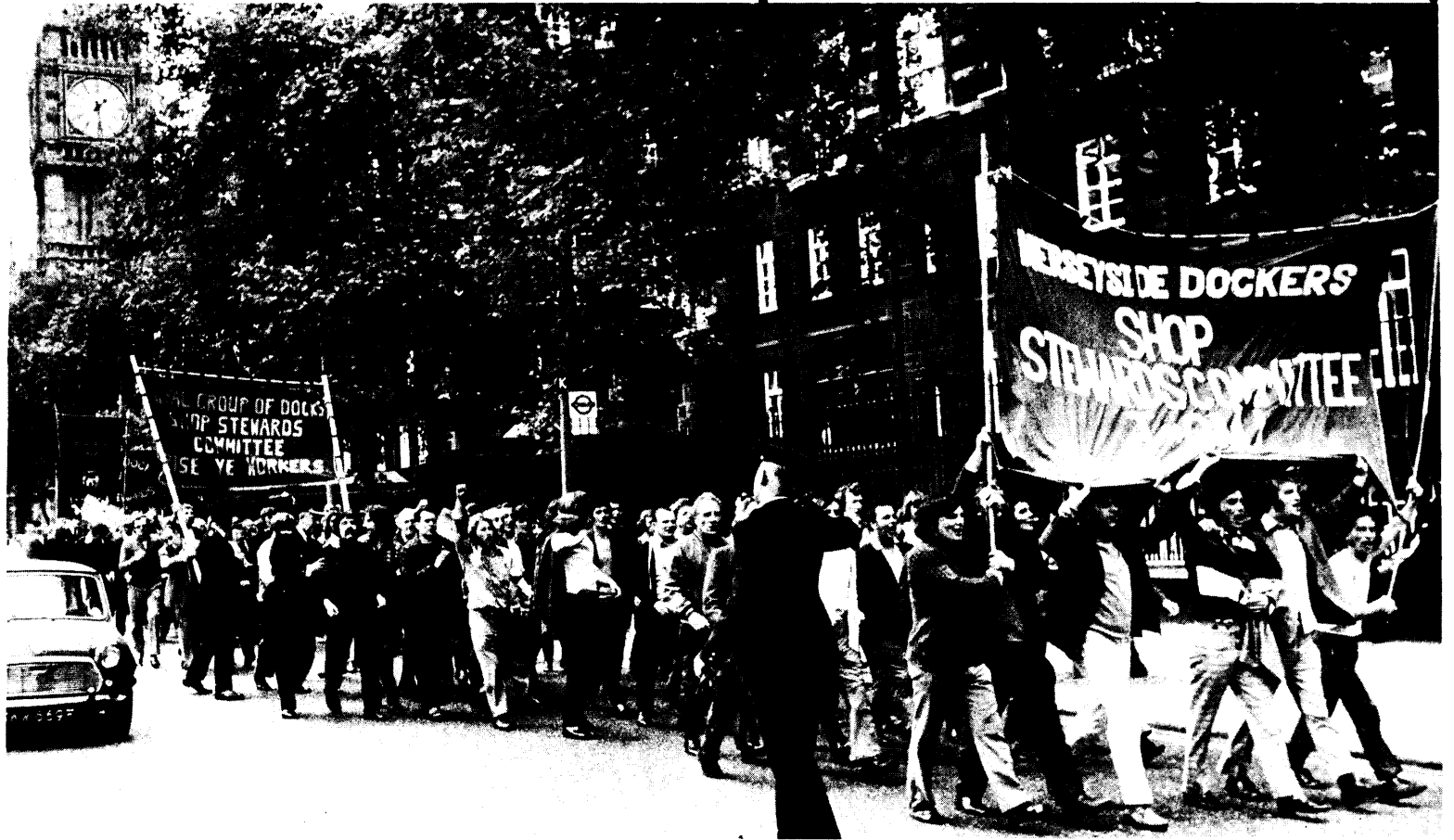
James Stenhouse, another Liverpool steward, said:

'As long as this union goes on accepting modernization on the bosses' terms we will suffer. Nobody is against technical change, but it must benefit the workers. I'm against this report because it does not do that.'

Tony Lazzam (23), a London port worker at the West India docks, commented:

'This report is useless. It offers £4,000 severance, which sounds like a lot of money. But it is only two year's pay. What happens to men over 55 who take it? They will not be able to get another job with the high rate of unemployment.'

His friend, Pete Marshall, also of the West India, said:



A long, hard struggle ahead

JUBILANT dockers and other trade unionists were warned at the victory rally at Tower Hill, London, yesterday afternoon that they should not get carried away with the defeat inflicted on the Tory government.

Paddy Doherty, a dock shop steward from Liverpool, thanked trade unionists for the help they had given in fighting for the release of the five jailed men, but there was 'a long hard struggle ahead'.

London Royal Docks shop steward Colin Rees described the victory which had been

gained as 'unparalleled'. If trade unionists conducted themselves in the same way that they had over the last week, he said, the dockers would win back the work which had been taken from them.

In a brief comment after the meeting Tony Merrick, one of the Pentonville Five, said that severance pay offered by the Jones-Aldington report had never been the answer to the problem of unemployment.

'It is the solidarity of worker with worker that is important,' he said.

Dockers march past Westminster to a Tower Hill rally

A moment of history

FROM PAGE 1

isolate the militants from those workers coming into action for the first time.

Many trade unionists are already asking the question that if five dockers can go to jail for their principled opposition to the NIRC, then shouldn't Jack Jones take the same course of action rather than pay the fine.

The TUC and the right-wing Labour leaders are now caught in the middle of the road between the Tories and their own rank and file. Every retreat which they make is a signal to the Tories to step up the offensive.

Wilson and Feather will ruthlessly oppose every effort made to build the mass movement to make the Tory government resign.

The rank-and-file trade unionist and Labour Party member has no alternative but mercilessly to expose them and fight for their removal from leadership.

The working class is ready to fight, but so long as the TUC and Labour leaders go on hobnobbing with Heath, its hands are virtually tied behind its back.

The lessons are unmistakable. Heath and the Tory government are completing the final arrangements for a brutal and ruthless repression against the trade unions.

They are the apostles of violence.

There can be no compromise. Either the Tory government is made to resign and a Labour government elected pledged to socialist policies or the Tories are hell-bent upon inflicting a most serious defeat on the working class.

Briefly . . .

NEWSPAPER Publishers' Association said last night that both London evening papers had published and were going on the streets. A spokesman said morning papers would be published in both London and Manchester today. This follows a lengthy meeting between representatives of the print unions and the NPA. The Association spokesman said he had no immediate details of any agreement.

LATE NEWS

THE biggest single reinforcement of British troops in Ulster—4,000 men—is now being undertaken a Defence Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman added: 'Following Bloody Friday, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland said nobody could be in any doubt that very resolute and determined action must be taken against those responsible. The extra units are required to enable this policy to be carried out.'

BRITISH Railways Board expected a deficit of £40m in 1972 and a comparable sum in 1973, Minister for Transport Industries Mr John Peyton told the Commons yesterday.

British Rail proposed an overall fares increase of 5 per cent, averaging about 7½ per cent for passengers and 2½ per cent for freight.

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WEATHER

WESTERN Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales will be cloudy with rain at times.

Mist and fog patches in parts of central and eastern Scotland and northern England will soon clear followed by a dry day with sunny intervals. The Midlands, central southern and south east England will be cloudy, but sunny intervals will develop except perhaps in the south east where some light showers are likely.

The far north of Scotland and south west England will be dry with periods of sunshine.

Temperatures mostly near normal, but it will be rather cool in the south east and warm in the south west of England.

Outlook for Saturday and Sunday: Becoming less settled with some showers or rain. Temperatures near normal.

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SOUTHAMPTON'S 2,000 dockers stayed on strike yesterday and will meet this morning to decide on future action.

They will hear a report from yesterday's dock delegates' conference held in London.

Although the dockers maintained their strike yesterday, the rest of the port got back to normal working.

Those who returned to work included 2,000 shipyard workers at Vosper Thornycroft, 450 NUR men who work on the docks, 900 members of the T&GWU No. 57 branch comprising tug gangs, shore gangs and dredging crews.