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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

BRIGHTON CONGRESS 1972

TUC A COMFORT TO THE TORIES

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE TUC starts its 104th Congress at Brighton on Monday faced with the gravest crisis in the history of the trade union movement. It has been a year of unprecedented turmoil. Scarcely a week has passed without one major political confrontation between the ranks of organized labour and the Tory government.

This bitter class struggle will go on and get worse. Tory ministers do not make decisions in a vacuum. The economic crisis drives them forward—and as the latest unemployment figures have revealed business activity is slipping rapidly into the trough of depression.

The Tories have attacked on two fronts.

With the Industrial Relations Act they are destroying the independence of the trade unions and trying to make these powerful organizations slaves of the capitalist state.

By driving up unemployment they are draining the very strength on which the trade unions depend—the militancy of the working class.

Already serious inroads have been made. Five trade unionists have been jailed, the TUC has abandoned its line of total non-co-operation with the Act and big unions like the transport workers have paid over thousands of pounds of their members' money.

Meanwhile the dole queues stretch almost as long as they did in the late 1930s. The last unemployment figures were the highest since 1939 and an astounding 164,000 workers have been without a job for over a year.

Now the fascists and the extreme right wing are at work, spreading their poison and blaming unemployment on the coloured workers.

This is just a beginning.

The Tories intend to make the next 12 months the year they will smash the working class by dismantling every right won in two centuries of struggle.

Those who say this is exaggerated or alarmist are the same complacent idiots who said talk of jailing trade unionists was a 'little extreme'. They were proved wrong.

The performance of the official trade union leadership in this life-and-death battle has been abysmal. Steadily they have abandoned their positions of opposition to Tory policy.

They collapsed when the Transport and General Workers' Union was faced with sequestration of its funds. The Croydon policy of complete non-co-operation with the Act and the Industrial Relations Court was flagrantly and undemocratically overthrown.

When trade union leaders representing 3.2 million members voted for a special Congress to discuss this historic retreat the right wing minority of 3m stopped the TUC general council from acting.

Democracy in the TUC is a facade in no way reflecting the aspiration of the millions of workers who make up its members.

Now the TUC are talking about joint initiatives with the Tories and the big monopolies. The first one began yesterday when the TUC-CBI panel, designed to stop strikes, stepped in on the government industrial workers' dispute at Deptford, London (see picture this page).

This cringing around before Heath and his Cabinet is in glaring contrast to the courageous defiance of the working class.

The dockers, the railwaymen, the miners and now the builders have all thrown themselves into battle, dragging a frightened and reluctant leadership behind them.

The big clashes proved one thing. The Tory government could be brought down, but for one factor, the reformist bureaucracy at the top of the movement which devoted itself to holding back the working class and protecting their Tory masters.

Delegates at the Brighton Congress must accept the responsibility that it is their very own organization, the TUC which has kept the Tories in power.

What is at stake in the whole fate of the TUC and the working class. If the Tories are allowed another 12 months to follow their policies in conditions of mass unemployment the movement will suffer a defeat which will dwarf that of 1926.

The big battle is on and there is no middle road. The leadership is embarking on a road of total destruction.

Every delegate must ask himself or herself if they are going to tread this road under the facade of loyalty or are they going to break the ranks and speak out?

The key question in this struggle to save the right of the working class is leadership.

TURN TO p. 12

Rough reception for conciliation at Deptford dockyard—see p. 3



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Tuesday is new Govan deadline

GOVAN Shipbuilders yesterday gave the Boilermakers' Society until Tuesday to sign a labour agreement which will establish the company on the Upper Clyde.

This is a four-day extension of the 'final deadline' laid down last week by company chairman Lord Strathalmond. The big climbdown came after a shock decision by the 1,200 rank-and-file boilermakers to reject the deal for the third time (see

filler story on p. 12)

The 11 other unions signed the agreement yesterday in the company's new headquarters at the Linthouse division of the old UCS consortium.

Only the boilermakers are resisting. Their opposition to the deal continues despite pleas from union officials and the entire Stalinist led shop stewards' co-ordinating committee.

Yesterday morning the men met for the second time in two

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The men decided instead to go ahead with their own meeting, previously arranged for next Wednesday. Camden workers joined the strike last Tuesday by a unanimous vote of 600 men.

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Appeal reveals secret Czech trial

SECRET TRIALS held during July are coming to light in Czechoslovakia. In three weeks' time Laci Kalina, a former professor at the Slovak Cinema School, is due to appeal against a two-year sentence.

Until his appeal was announced nobody knew that he had been tried. He was sentenced in Bratislava on July 26 to two years' jail. The prosecution had asked

for a ten-month sentence.

According to the prosecution, Kalina had played a record by the singer Karel Kryl to 'groups' of people at his house.

The record is said to be a 'sentimental and poetic' lament about the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Kalina pointed out in his defence that the record had been widely on sale and denied

having played it to 'groups', but only to individual visitors.

He is also said to have voiced the opinion that a series of articles in the Bratislava 'Pravda' on 'Zionism' showed that anti-Semitism had become official government policy.

A number of witnesses were called who confirmed Kalina's denial of this charge. Some said they too considered the articles had

had anti-Semitic overtones.

The prosecution produced an anonymous denunciation posted in Vienna which accused Kalina of having attacked the 'Pravda' articles abroad. Kalina denounced this letter as a forgery.

He was also accused of having tried to publish his book — an anthology of political sayings — outside the country.

The book was published in Czechoslovakia

in 1966 and withdrawn from circulation on the orders of the Stalinists in 1970.

Kalina pointed out that he had negotiated (unsuccessfully) with western publishers while his book was still on the bookstalls in Prague.

Kalina is obviously being punished for his opinions, and for acts undertaken before 1970. It gives the lie once again to the Stalinist story that the trials are not political purges.

Japanese up arms spending

THE JAPANESE Defence Agency has increased this year's military budget appropriation by nearly a quarter as part of a huge rearmament programme.

The sum which the agency wants allocated for the fiscal year beginning next April is 22.2 per cent up on the original estimate for that year.

The Agency is asking for 987,200 million yen (over £1,000m) to pay for what is termed the fourth National Defence Build-up Programme.

Among the new weapons and installations proposed in the budget are a Hawk surface-to-air missile unit to be deployed in Nagasaki prefecture, an air unit equipped with F-4EJ Phantom fighters in Ibaraki prefecture and an air unit on the recently acquired island of Okinawa.

During the next fiscal year the Defence Agency plans to recruit 2,143 men for the navy and 1,391 for the air force.

Now Czechs welcome Angela Davis endorsement of trials

Political prisoners betrayed

THE CZECHOSLOVAK Stalinists have publicly welcomed the support of Angela Davis for their repressions against the opponents of the Warsaw Pact occupation.

She is one of the very few prominent western Stalinists who have unreservedly supported the purge trials and the Prague CP leaders are using her endorsement of their policies as a means to hit back at their opponents.

It provides them with the opportunity further to slander the oppositionists and broadcast flagrant distortions of their demands and policies.

In a broadcast beamed to Britain on Wednesday, Prague Radio noted her refusal to intercede against the recent frame-up

trials which sent 46 people to prison.

The radio said her case had 'attracted the attention of some of the former leaders who took part in the Prague Spring, who betrayed their country and strayed to the West and are now in the first ranks of the anti-communist campaign.

'One of them, Jiri Pelikan, the former Director of Czechoslovak Television, wrote a long letter to Angela Davis, appealing to her to make a stand against the present policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak government, and

against the policy of other socialist countries, too. Her answer was a very straight "No".'

In fact, Pelikan specifically appealed to Davis to speak out against the frame-up trials of Communists in Czechoslovakia.

The broadcast reveals, if anyone was ever in doubt about it, that the trials were a policy question for the Czechoslovak Stalinists and for 'other socialist countries' (i.e. the Soviet Union).

The Czechoslovak Stalinists have maintained that the trials were simply dealing with breaches of the law. The radio fails to mention that the appeals to



Angela Davis: Backed trials

Davis came not only from Pelikan, but also from inside Czechoslovakia.

Davis' support for the repression in Czechoslovakia is an insult to all those who fought for her release from the California prison where she was held on trumped-up charges.

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

Gun battle in Spain

SPANISH police have tightened security measures in the Basque provinces following a gun-battle with suspected members of the nationalist organization ETA. A policeman was killed during the gunfight, at Galdacano near Bilbao. Police have since arrested a number of alleged ETA members.

End strike-by law

THE CANADIAN government yesterday introduced legislation ordering striking British Columbia dock workers back to work.

The dispute has tied up the port of Vancouver for 24 days and all other British Columbian shipping since August 23. The dockers are demanding higher wages.

Parliament, ordered into special session by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau on Tuesday, ordered employers and unions to begin negotiations 'forthwith'.

AROUND THE WORLD

Ceylon bank strike brings 'stern' action threat

SOME 6,500 Ceylonese bank employees were on strike yesterday in defiance of emergency regulations and despite a government threat that 'stern' action would be taken against them.

A spokesman for the bank employees' union said the strike would affect all the commercial banks including eight foreign banks and about 180 branches throughout the country.

Other bank workers' unions have promised to strike in seven days if demands for improved promotion prospects, pay and conditions have not been met.

A government spokesman said the strike came under emergency regulations introduced in March last year because banks were an essential service.

Under these regulations strikers automatically lose their jobs and stand to have their entire property confiscated by court order.

Informed sources said that these penalties were likely to be imposed because of the strike's serious consequences for the already chaotic economic situation.

Moscow Radio admit crisis grain harvest

MOSCOW RADIO is being forced to reveal the depth of the crisis now facing the Soviet grain harvest.

A recent broadcast report admitted that the harvest was being gathered in 'complex conditions because of strong and persistent rains'.

Harvesting was being done on a selective basis with combines and machines being transferred 'from one suitable field to another'—a clear admission of both the shortage of machines as well as the waterlogged condition of much land.

A later report also admitted that in north Kazakhstan conditions for the harvest had become 'a little more difficult' because low temperatures had arrested the ripening of cereal crops.

Fears are being expressed about the size of the winter wheat harvest.

The Director of the Central Non-Black-Earth Zone warned recently:

'Especially bad conditions for the preparation of the soil have arisen this year. The prolonged drought has resulted in the soil being dried to a considerable depth. . . . The land ploughed was lumpy and it was impossible to break it up well by subsequent tillage before the rain came and to do the sowing in the normal way.'



Veteran peasant leader Maulana Bashani

Awami League attacks Bashani hunger march

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE AWAMI LEAGUE, the ruling party in Bangla Desh, has attacked a proposed hunger march due to start on Sunday led by the veteran peasant leader Maulana Bashani.

Bashani, (91) who heads the National Awami Party, has called for the march to protest against the government's failure to organize food for the peasants whose livelihood was destroyed by the destruction and the mass exodus to India during the December war.

Despite denunciations of speculators and grain hoarders, the Awami League administration has proved unable to prevent the spread of corruption at the expense of the peasants.

Zilli Rahman, the Awami League general secretary, said on Thursday the Bashani march would only create 'chaos and confusion'. He said those who were trying to exploit the food crisis were not friends of the people.

Ominously, he also accused Bashani of 'conspiring against the sovereignty and independence' of Bangla Desh.

There have been a number of calls from right-wing Awami League chiefs for legal action against Maulana Bashani to stifle his criticisms of the new regime.

Chilean police besiege

Allende supporters

CHILEAN Interior Minister Jaime Saurez flew to the southern city of Concepcion yesterday to investigate the serious street clashes which have occurred over the last two days. Concepcion was reported calm but tense after 200 militant supporters of President Salvador Allende peacefully abandoned the headquarters of the Socialist Party, where they had taken refuge following the shootings.

Police had earlier laid siege to the headquarters following

allegations that police bus had been fired on as it went to quell outbreaks of violence in the city centre. The city and surrounding areas were under army control following the earlier declaration of a state of emergency.

TREMENDOUS INTEREST IN LIVERPOOL LECTURES

Tremendous interest has been shown in Liverpool for the series of lectures starting next Tuesday. Already large numbers of tickets have been sold. If you are interested in obtaining your ticket please contact: Bill Hunter, 58 Leighton View, Liverpool 8. Tel.: 051-709 7734.

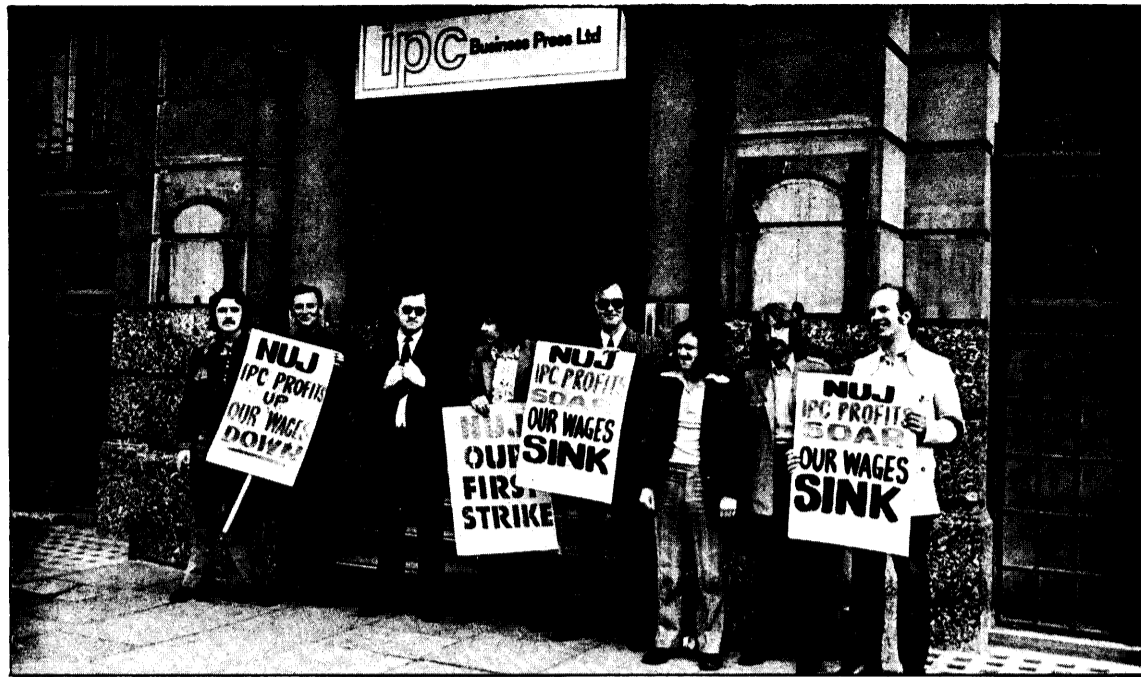
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G. HEALY
(SLL national secretary)

1. Marxism as the theory of knowledge
Tuesday September 5
2. Development of Marxism through working-class struggle
Tuesday September 12
3. Nature of the capitalist crisis
Tuesday September 19
4. Historical materialism today
Tuesday September 26

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

'Selective' strike to become all-out action?



Magazine and Book branch members of the NUJ picket an IPC building in London

THE GIANT International Publishing Corporation has hit back at the 'selective' strike by journalists on five of its London printing houses.

It has told journalists not on strike that there was no work for them and they will not be paid. A spokesman for the National Union of Journalists' Magazine and Book branch has

said that journalists would continue to work and will attempt to bring out their publications.

About 600 journalists employed by IPC have been on strike since midnight Wednesday in support of their claim for a £495 a year increase.

IPC has offered them a two-year agreement giving them a £300 rise from June 1 this year and further £275 increase next

June. This was overwhelmingly rejected by a 1,000-strong mass-meeting on Tuesday.

A spokesman for IPC Magazines confirmed that journalists reporting for work were being told there wasn't any for them.

'We have made it quite clear to the union,' he said, 'that we do not accept this position,' he added.

Lynch to meet Heath at Munich

EIRE PREMIER Jack Lynch is to meet Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath for discussions on the planned all-party summit on Ulster scheduled for next month.

The two leaders were not expected to see each other until October, but Lynch has announced that he will see the Tory premier in Munich at the Olympic Games.

The main topic of discussion will be the moves to end internment — the one obstacle the Social Democratic and Labour Party say stands in the way of their attending the meeting.

The surprise move is a further indication that Tories like Heath and Lynch and the reformists are gearing themselves for a major bid to try and end resistance to the British occupation of the North.

IN BELFAST yesterday the Alliance Party named its team for the conference. The delegation will be headed by former Stormont Minister of Agriculture, Phelim O'Neill. The Party will draw up its proposals this weekend when its 300-strong policy making council meets in County Tyrone.

THE OFFICIAL IRA has condemned the bombing campaign of the movement's Provisional wing.

The Officials say the Provisionals have no mandate from the public.

'When did they ever consult the people on their views of the bombing of shops and restaurants and especially when did they ever ask the workers of various factories whom they blasted out of work continually.'

Government dockers reject arbitration

'It would drag on for months and then we'd still get nothing'

BY IAN YEATS

THE suggestion that the government industrial workers' pay claim should be referred to the new CBI-TUC arbitration and conciliation service was given an icy reception by striking dockyard workers in London yesterday.

'How long is all that going to take?' asked Reg Robinson, shop steward at the Royal Naval Dockyard, Deptford. 'They put these things to arbitration, it drags on for months and months and then we get nothing.'

And steward Charlie Bell added: 'What do I think about our claim going before the CBI-TUC committee? I don't think anything of it. The whole TUC are a bunch of fence-sitters. I've never known men who can put so many meanings into a single statement.'

The 270 men at the Deptford yard staged their second one-day strike in three weeks yesterday in

support of their claim for a £20-a-week minimum basic wage.

Shop stewards and workers criticized their own Transport and General Workers Union leaders.

'All this trouble started with our union officials,' said Reg Robinson. 'In the past our negotiators have accepted things which have made us disgusted.'

'They've come down here with rises of 2s, patted us on the back and told us how much they've won.' Just how much this has been over the years was shown on workers' pay-dockets, which, without overtime last week, averaged a paltry £12.

H. G. Sibley took home £11 and told me: 'Even cigarettes are becoming a luxury.'

The government has offered a £1.75 rise, which, it claims, will add 9 per cent to the annual wage-bill.

But as Reg Robinson said angrily: 'For us to get a basic minimum of £20 we have to have at least a £3 rise.'

With overtime, which averages an hour a day for storemen, most of the



Steward Charlie Bell

men can earn £17 10s a week. Wages of the 28 drivers are substantially higher, but only because they work up to 80 hours a week.

Said Charlie Bell: 'Overtime shouldn't be considered in this. They've already tried to take the hour a day off the storemen. They can take it away at any time. Men in the stores section are really fighting for their lives.'

Reg Robinson told me that the day he received the government's latest offer on August 21 he had a notice from the GLC saying his rent was going up by 99p.

And Charlie Bell added: 'Their offer's gone in the short time since we broke off negotiations and next year the cost of living will go up by 12 or 15 per cent.'

'With a family to keep, food, clothing, rent, hair-cuts and cigarettes, even £20 would still leave a lot of our men below the poverty line.'

The workers say dockers earn double their money for the same job, and complain that 16-year-old typists earn more than they do. Some have sons taking home over £30 a week.

Apart from this month's national dock strike, the Deptford men have not struck since 1926.

Now, they say, solidarity amongst government ship-

yard workers is greater than they've ever known.

Reg Robinson said: 'All of the dockyard men are in contact with one another. If they try to suspend us here, the men in the other Thames yards would be out immediately.'

But rounding on the T&GWU leaders once again, he added:

'Instead of the T&GWU saying "We'll get this settled quickly and strike until we get what we want", they turned round and told us it's up to us.'

'They said we knew best what to do at local level.'

Shares dive

SHARE PRICES continued to drift downwards on the London Stock Exchange yesterday. After the first half hour's trading the 'Financial Times' Index had fallen back 2.3 points to 520. The latest slide was set off by Thursday's warning on inflation from the National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

Allow left papers to print-plea

THE 1/667 branch of the Transport and General Workers' Union has called for dispensation for the Workers Press and 'Morning Star' in the event of any industrial action by the trade union movement which affects the newspaper industry. The bulk of the branch's membership is drawn from the Ford body plant, Dagenham, London.

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PICKETING BECOMES LEGAL

Part 4 of a series on Picketing by Bernard Franks

The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871 revived all the vagaries of the Combination Laws concerning threats, intimidation, molestation and obstruction. These were said to occur if a person 'persistently followed such other person from place to place, or hid his tools, or clothes or watched or beset his house or place of work or business'.

The 'watching and besetting' stricture, in particular, enabled any judge to clamp down completely on picketing, however peaceful it might be, and the entire law was quickly interpreted by justices as making strikes illegal.

In 1872, the leaders of the London gas strikers were sent to prison for a year for only preparing to strike. It was held as a conspiracy to molest the employers.

In the same year, 16 farm workers' wives in Wootton, Oxfordshire, were sent to prison under the Act for picketing in support of their husbands during a strike and 'daring' blacklegs to enter the fields. Police had to guard the court from angry trade unionists during the trial.

But the Liberal government which had passed the Act now faced a new and more powerful, centralized trade union movement.

In 1867 many more urban workers had gained the vote and had become a key factor in elections. But the phenomenal growth of the Agricultural Labourers' Union and the determination of its members to improve wages and conditions and win the vote—which they had not been given in 1867—gave the ruling class, particularly the landowners, a severe fright.

On February 12, 1872, a few

Wiltshire labourers knocked on the door of Joe Arch's cottage at Barford to discuss the setting-up of a union. Fourteen months later the National Agricultural Labourers' Union had a membership of 71,835 enrolled in 928 branches. A further 50,000 signed up in similar farm-workers' unions in the same period.

It is only necessary to reflect on the mode of communication and transport of those times—in many rural districts virtually non-existent—to realize what determination and ingenuity went into this development. Nor were the members joining for penny benefits. Often on the day of signing-up they would put in strike notices to local farmers.

At this time new socialist ideas were permeating sections of the workers' movement under the impetus of the First International and the agitation in support of the 1871 Paris Commune.

In 1874, the Liberal government fell and the new Tory administration was forced to hold to promises made to repeal the Act of 1871. It was replaced with the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875. This continued many of the strictures of 1871 as far as picketing was concerned.

Section 7, which still applies today, makes it a crime for anyone who, with a view to compelling anyone to do or abstain from doing anything lawful:

- (i) uses violence to, or intimidates such other person, his wife, or children, or injures his property, or
- (ii) persistently follows him, or
- (iii) hides his tools or other property or deprives him of them or hinders their use, or
- (iv) watches or besets any house or place where he is, or approaches to it, or
- (v) follows him in the street with two or more other persons in a disorderly manner.



Top: demonstration in 1877 of farm workers, members of the National Labourers' Union. On the platform speaking (labelled No. 1) is Joseph Arch, the unions' founder. Above: eviction of Union members in 1874.

Maximum penalty on conviction is £20 or three months' imprisonment.

The Act also made strikes by water or gas workers liable to the same penalty.

However, the new law expressly enacted that attending at a person's house or place of work or business merely to obtain or communicate information was not 'watching and besetting'. Picketing was legal once more, but not to the extent of the 1859 Act which allowed 'peaceful persuasion' as well as communicating information. (Picketing a person's place of residence is now illegal again under the Industrial Relations Act of 1972.)

In the following period the unionizing of semi-skilled and unskilled workers led to increased concern by workers to develop efficient picketing. Previously the skilled worker had depended to a certain extent on the employers' inability to replace him with other skilled labour, to make the withdrawal of his labour felt. With labouring work, however, the employer could always get similar workers to replace strikers.

In this period also the employers were setting up numerous strike-breaking organizations—the so-called Free Labour Associations—to recruit scabs and, with the support of the police, break the picket lines. These would at least make a success of some of the work. Agricultural workers were brought in to replace dockers, general labourers to replace stokers, and so on. At

the same time a massive campaign was launched by the employers and the capitalist press against picketing.

In the Liverpool seamen's strike of 1886, blacklegs were imported from all over the country, many of them fishermen. The strike-breakers were housed in a depot ship, which was attacked by the seamen. Sailors also travelled up and down the railways looking for blacklegs imported in this way and turning them away.

The union leaders, including J. Havelock Wilson, tried to stem the anger of the sailors. For example, he saved the lives of several 'crimps'—procurers of blacklegs, at a price for the companies—whom the sailors wished to hoist up on a lamp-post and riddle with revolver shots. He eventually got the men to go back to work, mainly on the employers' terms.

The successful London docks strike of 1889 also involved battles with blacklegs. At the height of the stoppage 3,000 pickets were in operation, some operating from boats on the river. Agricultural labourers were being brought in their thousands from Essex and nearby counties to work in the docks for £1 a week. In general the strikers were successful in discouraging the strike-breakers.

These strikes were determined, but not so violent as the pitched battles in the United States between pickets and police, military, so-called Pinkerton 'detectives' and gunmen.

During the Great Rail Strike

of 1877, for example, 21 strikers were shot down and killed by troops. On another occasion a section of the militia was forced to run and hide and disband by strikers. Millions of dollars worth of damage was done to rail stock. Two thousand rail cars, 25 locomotives, two round houses and a station were destroyed, though not necessarily by the strikers.

Author Jack London wrote later:

'In America the capitalists destroy their own property as a matter of course. Mr Carroll D. Wright, US Commissioner of Labour, in his report to the government upon the great railroad strike, announced that the railroads themselves had been responsible for burning many freight cars. It is such a simple device, and so handy. It always turns public opinion against the strikers, and enables the authorities to call out the troops.' ('Strike Methods: American and Australian' 1908.)

In Britain the authorities were always ready to show that they could use force if the need arose. Two bystanders were killed at Featherstone, Yorks, on September 7, 1893 when troops fired on the miners' pickets at the Ackton Hall colliery, following the reading of the Riot Act by a Justice of the Peace.

An inquiry into the shooting vindicated the troops and added that innocent victims of action by troops 'have no redress provided that the action was justified'.

CONTINUED ON MONDAY

NIXON'S BOMB WAR BRINGS DESTRUCTION TO THE SOUTH

President Nixon has ruled out any halt in the bombing of North Vietnam during the presidential election campaign.

His decision, announced last week, will come as no surprise to the Cornell University team which has been painstakingly monitoring the US air war against the people of Indo-China.

Their latest study, published in America last week, is an analysis of all the relevant official and unofficial reports on the policies, method and effectiveness of the air war in Indo-China.

Air power is now paramount in Nixon's barbarous strategy for crushing the Vietnamese revolution. It is impersonal, automated, deadly and devastating—on a scale never before seen in human history.

Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Dresden and Coventry are minor incidents by comparison. To maintain capitalism in Vietnam, Nixon is systematically murdering an entire nation.

Much has been written about the horrific bombardment of North Vietnam, but the Cornell study shows that



this is by no means the biggest target. South Vietnam, supposedly America's 'ally', receives over six times the tonnage of bombs.

They estimate that of the 6.3 million tons dropped on Indo-China from 1965-1971, 600,000 tons were dropped on North Vietnam, while 3.9 million were dropped on the south. The remainder went into Cambodia and Laos, much of it on the Ho Chi Minh trail.

In the same period, the US and its puppet army fired off 7 million tons of munitions through artillery, mortars, rockets and naval guns. The bulk of this ammunition exploded in South Vietnam.

The number of civilian casualties in North Vietnam was estimated by the US Defence Department at 'approximately 52,000 civilians killed'. In the south, according to Senator Edward Kennedy's investigators, at least 330,000 people have died as a result of US and Saigon government military action.

Driven from the countryside by the bombing, the influx of peasant refugees into the towns has made South Vietnam more urbanized than, for example Italy or Canada—certainly than any other state in Asia.

The figures contrast with the pious declarations of US general officers like Westmoreland, who was quoted in 1966 to the effect that 'One mishap—one innocent civilian killed or one dwelling needlessly destroyed—is too many'.

The Cornell study shows the dramatic rise in US bombing from a thousand sorties a month in January 1965 to 20,000 a month by 1968—a level that has been maintained with fluctuations ever since.



Less than 10 per cent of these flights are undertaken in support of ground troops. More than 80 per cent is so-called 'interdiction'—which means, the Cornell team says, blanketing 'all areas with firepower . . . strategic warfare . . . directed against the overall reserves of the insurgents which are in the population itself'.

Following this policy, the US had destroyed 70 per cent of the villages in Quang Ngai province by the end of 1967. At one time in 1968 and 1969 more than 90 per cent of the area of the five northernmost

South Vietnamese provinces became a 'free-fire zone'.

The study quotes one particularly cynical Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) report which states that each month 4 per cent of South Vietnam's villages are 'either bombed, strafed, defoliated or otherwise harmed during the course of friendly [sic] military operations'.

Over a year, this could mean virtually every hamlet in the country was damaged in some way. A typical operation is described in the study like this:

' . . . after hostile sniper

Top: Devastation in Saigon after an exercise to 'root-out' National Liberation Front. Left: Nixon. Far left: Kennedy, whose investigators have been researching the extent of destruction in the south.

fire . . . villages are warned by leaflet or loudspeaker, then bombed in reprisal and inundated with "I-told-you-so" leaflets. The pro forma advance approval of the Saigon-appointed province chief, usually an army officer, covers the operation with a fig leaf of propriety.'

The bombing is extremely inaccurate. Bombs dropped outside the target area, euphemistically referred to as 'contingent ordnance' amount to more than half the total bombs dropped.

This includes bombs dropped in the wrong place by mistake or on purpose and those that are just 'dumped' in a convenient spot. The sole purpose of this immense expenditure of bombs is to intimidate the population and break their will to fight.

All the official US sources admit that even the most intensive conceivable bombing campaign would not prevent sufficient supplies reaching South Vietnam to supply the liberation forces.

And most of the bombs are simply scattered over the countryside without any plan at all. In 1966, for example, two-thirds of the total tonnage of bombs was dropped as 'unobserved fire'—i.e. on areas where the 'enemy' might be.

According to Penatgon systems analysts, these bombs, which cost a total of \$2,000m, killed at most 100 liberation fighters.

The Pentagon analysts calculated that the 27,000 tons of dud bombs dropped among the 'unobserved fire' could

have provided the liberation troops with more explosive than they used in the mines and booby-traps which killed 1,000 US soldiers in 1966.

However, they also report that the only effect of their report on the command—and the later capture of a training film showing NLF soldiers how to turn American duds into grenades—was an effort to improve the quality of the bombs and cut the number of duds.

Like the Nazis in the last war, the American pilots in Vietnam disguise their crimes behind an elaborate screen of jargon. 'There are no spaces on bomb-damage assessment forms for civilian damage,' the Cornell study says.

The obvious reason, which apparently escapes the worthy researchers, is that in Vietnam the US is fighting the entire population. It is for this reason that, as the report says:

'The targets hit are assumed to be those described in the original briefing however tentatively their identification may have been . . . A hooch (house) becomes a "military structure" and sampan is a "water-borne logistic craft".'

'The jargon pervades the reports, invades the intelligence accounts and finally comes to influence even the policy thinking.' A cursory study of the Nazi war records, with their talk of 'the final solution' and their polite euphemisms for genocide, would have shown the Cornell researchers that their 'own' imperialism is just as deadly and brutal as the war criminals of the past.



Left: Burton as Trotsky with plaque to Robert Sheldon Harte. Above: Losey's Mercader (left) and GPU agent. Centre: the assassination scene. Above right: the face of the real assassin, Mercader who lives today in Prague with comfortable job and pension. Right: Trotsky with papers of the world Trotskyist movement.

THE SECOND ASSASSINATION OF TROTSKY

BY ROY BATTERSBY

'The Assassination of Trotsky' Director Joseph Losey. With Richard Burton, Alain Delon and Romy Schneider. Technicolor.

At one point in this film Losey quotes with evident approval Trotsky's characterization of art as 'one of the ways in which man finds his bearings in the world'.

Joseph Losey, at 63, is an artist of considerable accomplishment; his films, since the first in 1948 'The Boy with Green Hair' to the most recent like 'Accident' and 'The Go-Between', even when based on poor scripts or after severe re-editing and despoliation by commercial interests, all bear the stamp of a deliberate creative intelligence.

His reputation as a director very much rests on the way in which he has always struggled to say what he meant, sometimes directly, sometimes by allusion.

His work is distinguished by its developing attempt to control all the elements of film, image and sound that go to make up moods, to strip down reality and rebuild it by controlling exactly light and texture, by eliminating all useless movement of actors or camera, by orchestrating the structure and the score through montage (editing) and so on.

His intention has always been, he says, to create conditions where his audience can think.

His ideas were deeply influenced by his experience in the 1930s and by his later collaboration with Bertold Brecht. Working for 16 years in the theatre before turning to films, he did the first American production of Brecht's 'Galileo' with Charles Laughton.

In the 1930s, apart from a range of conventional theatre work, he did many plays including 'The Living Newspaper' for a year under the New Deal (1936) and a play about the Spanish Civil War called 'Who Fights This Battle?'

CONSCIOUS

'I think the most important aspect of my theatre work up to the time I went to Hollywood was its experimental nature and perhaps also its political nature' ('Losey on Losey' by Tom Milne, British Film Institute, 1967, p 99).

In 1935 he visited Moscow, where he did a production of Clifford Odets' play 'Waiting For Lefty', and throughout this whole period, like many artists in the United States and elsewhere, took a conscious part in politics with the Communist Party. For this he was later witch-hunted out of America during the McCarthy period.

So when an artist of this standing and that past turns now to give an account of the assassination of Trotsky, we can be sure that much more is at stake than simply the making of another film.

And although Losey disclaims any direct political intent in his work, preferring general formulations about the human condition etc, it is clear that this film has the most important political implications, both for the view it presents to millions of the meaning of the events surrounding the assassination and for the way in which an ex-Stalinist feels forced to face his history and attempts to settle with it.

Let us say straight off, however, that the bearings which the art of Losey gives us are completely false.

What does the film-maker want us to think, and how does he set about his task? The film begins with a series of still photographs of Trotsky at different periods of his life. As a boy, as a young revolutionary, in 1905, as founder and leader of the Red Army in 1919 second only to Lenin. The next still is from 1929, and the caption beneath explains that this was the year of his exile.

Apparently nothing worth mentioning happened between 1919 and 1929. Only the New Economic Policy, the defeat of the German revolution of 1923, the death of Lenin, Lenin's last testament against Stalin, the 1926 General Strike, the destruction of the Chinese revolution of 1926, the founding of the Left Opposition, Stalin's left zigzag after the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, or forced collectivization at home and the policy of 'social fascism' abroad.

Only all the fundamental questions that have to be accounted in any reckoning of the degeneration of the inheritors of 1917 into the assassins and mass murderers of the 1930s.

But immediately we are given another caption. This one assures us that wherever facts are proven 'we have attempted to present them accurately' and where not 'we have left them open'.

It is certainly true that the

film throughout pays the most careful regard to the reproduction of minutiae.

One feels confident that the rabbit-hutches are exactly and correctly placed in the garden, that the objects on Trotsky's desk are precisely matched for accuracy with contemporary photographs and that clothes, hair styles and weapons are perfectly chosen.

There are 'facts' which are not so accurate—like the clear insinuation in the film that Trotsky knew in advance about the first attempt on his life and more important still the omission from his last words of Trotsky's famous testament: 'I am confident of the victory of the Fourth International—go forward!'

APPARATUS

These 'facts', of course, have a much more direct meaning, which must at all costs be glossed over or misrepresented if a real reckoning is to be avoided.

After all, it's a reckoning with the fact that our film-maker was able to lend himself wholeheartedly to the apparatus that trained the assassins.

How to square that? Well, first of all it's implied the assassins weren't merely the agents of the Stalinist bureaucracy that received Losey so courteously in the early 1930s. Really, the film would have us believe, it's more complex than that. Losey's credo now is that people are the victims of circumstance.

Both the painter Siqueiros, who led the first machine-gun attack, and Mercader (Jacson) who finally succeeded in killing Trotsky, are presented as primarily of psychological interest.

There is a brief visual reference to Stalin on a poster next to Siqueiros, but apart from that the role of the GPU (secret police) in the first attempt is kept to a minimum and Siqueiros' passionate, flamboyant artistic nature is vaunted to the full instead.

The extent of the operation, involving renting houses for the use of so-called prostitute decoys for the Mexican police and so on, is virtually ignored, even though the script writer Nicholas Mosley makes some play with it in his book 'The Assassination of Trotsky', which he wrote out of the film-script. And since we're led to believe from Trotsky's knowing look that he knew the attack was coming anyway we can relax about the whole episode.

The fact that Trotsky and his wife Natalya always insisted that such an account was false—that it originated in precisely the same Stalinist lie-machine that tried to go further and say that Trotsky even arranged that attempt in order to win sympathy—is again ignored.

Our film-maker knows best and after all the artist must have licence—especially when the truth is so unpalatable to the artist himself.

Again Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's young guards who was kidnapped and later found shot through the head and buried in quicklime, is further maligned in the film. He is shown opening the door to the murderers and leaving peacefully with them.

No mention of the 'fact' that the later successful assassin was almost certainly on the raid, that he was known to Harte as a visitor to the house with the girl Sylvia Agelof. It was probably he to whom the inexperienced Harte opened the door.

It is suggested that Trotsky's continuous assertion of Harte's innocence (we see a commemorative wall-plaque arrive) was at least deluded. Much better for the film-maker if villainy can be created inside the Fourth International, too; if all the 'bad' men weren't just on one side—that is, Losey's side.

If people are victims merely, if the struggle to change the world isn't decisive, if we're all just lost and at the mercy of the situation, then Stalinism was inevitable; the fight to the death against it by the finest of three generations in the communist movement can all be sadly observed as noble but doomed to failure.

And, more importantly, those who supported Stalinism, those who worked for it, need never account for their involvement because they too were just victims, poor creatures of circumstance.

In an interview in 'The Scotsman' (August 21), Losey describes watching a demonstration in Moscow in 1935: 'It had tremendous emotional impact. The old boy up there was Uncle Joe. It was impossible to think of him as other than warm, lovely, of him as carrying forward the revolution of Lenin.'

He goes on to describe the Khrushchev speech to the 20th Congress in 1956 as traumatic; it 'ended most of our lives'. Who could believe it all? Yes, they had known, however, there were liquidations and murders—'there always will be'.

It's true, of course, that the idealism of scores of thousands of middle-class people, including artists, was traded upon by the Communist Parties of the 1930s and 1940s. But how these people came to be so deluded, how the Communist Parties had reached this state is the prime question facing anyone so involved.

The one obstacle to all this 'inevitability', of course, is Trotskyism.

The continuous fight for Marxism by Trotsky and the Left Opposition throughout the 1920s, a fight in which correct assessments of developments were made, in which correct policies were forged; the fight which led to the founding of the Fourth International to replace the utterly degenerated and counter-revolutionary Third International; the continuous and consciously undertaken struggle for theory against all revision—it's this history that stands in the way of those who want to explain away their past as necessary and inevitable.

So another tack must be tried. This time to show Trotsky as noble—yes, as brave indeed, as wonderfully intelligent, as witty, dedicated and fine—but how sad that he was really so totally isolated, so utterly ineffectual, so sadly doomed to be surrounded by people not up to his calibre.

That is to show Trotskyism as correct and even splendid, but to show it as impotent, and as the voice of noble losers in the wilderness.

If that picture can be sustained then another reason not to get too fussed about the past has been fabricated.

But more important than that, even, it's a reason not to have to be bothered about the present, except in the most general way.

DESPAIR

If the struggle for the continuity of the development of Marxism was actually defeated and destroyed in the 1930s, especially with Trotsky's death in August 1940, then indeed no one can do anything except despair or express goodwill messages for its revival. And the film works hardest at precisely this account.

The central image of the film is of a bullfight. Jacson (Mercader) and Agelof are shown watching it.

We see the bull strong, determined, courageous. It charges and counter-charges. The picadors get in some bloody lances but the bull never gives up attacking and

counter-attacking the horses and the mounted riders.

Enter the toreador. Young, swarthy, a little unsure; he faces death too. A first few passes and the bull, becoming more and more frenzied but also more exhausted, is now bleeding profusely.

Then the matador is caught by the bull. Some heavy butting but no sign of any goring. The matador recovers and delivers the death-stroke. The bull roars, staggers, charges, blood gushing from its mouth. Finally it falls, noble creature, in the sand.

In the midst of all this we are shown one key cutaway shot of the crowd. Thousands and thousands of people sitting passively, quietly watching, detached, uninvolved.

After death we see the bull's carcass, pulled from the ring in chains by horses, pulled through mud, and finally we are shown the butchers cutting up the carcass, skinning it, cutting off the hocks, sawing out the organs.

The point of all this is clear: a visual analogy with the assassination is being drawn and, in case you doubt it, the images of the bull's death and Trotsky's are deliberately cut together. Bulls, of course, always lose.

We're also shown Agelof and Jacson arguing at the spectacle. Jacson, the murderer, the GPU-trained assassin, is made to care about 'suffering humanity' and reproaches Agelof (the Trotskyist) with caring only about the horses. Heavenly choirs sing throughout.

This is the only image in the film which alludes to the period after Trotsky's death. We are meant to understand clearly enough that it was one of mud and dismemberment, of degutting, of complete destruction.

Another important aspect of this bullfight device is that violence is turned into a fetish; it is objectified, alienated, put outside.

The involvement of Losey is thus repudiated by a trick, and by employing the bankrupt image of all liberals from Hemingway on, he can join in the chorus of concern and regret about that violence over there whilst remaining detached, even if a little titillated.

That way the assassination can be put in the distance, separated, and the subjective, conscious, responsible factor minimized. Also, of course, the bullfight allows the emphasis to be placed emotionally upon the ritualized and therefore sanctioned nature of the killing. A further reduction of responsibility.

And all this is deeply hidden in the film, none of this is regarded as a fact to be proven or left open.

The undoubted isolation of Trotsky and the bitter struggle for Marxism in those years of defeat for the working class is dealt with as a forlorn and finished process. The 'crowd', i.e. the working class, just wasn't interested except as spectators. So really it's all their fault, too.

The film even goes on to suggest that it was partly Trotsky's own fault that he was murdered!

We see him look suspiciously and thoughtfully at Jacson on one of his early visits with his bogus manuscript. Why then let him in later? Ah, the death-wish you see!

FACELESS

Nicholas Mosley, in his book on the script actually puts the view that:

'Trotsky perhaps admitted the faceless silhouette into his study just for this—to demonstrate that a person should behave with courage and with dignity, and by this to show some faith in the dignity of mankind. For the rest, it did not much matter. So even when the faceless man brought the pick down on Trotsky's skull Trotsky could still jump up and go after him roaring and bite him on the finger and say—"I prevented him!"'

Examine the poison here. The murderer was faceless, i.e. anonymous and not Mercader, Stalinist agent. Trotsky, whose whole life was dedicated to the working class, admitted the killer deliberately as an impotent liberal gesture to human dignity.

When struck he behaved like the bull. His tireless defence of October against Stalin and all he stood for was not really carried on to his last breath but was simply another impotent, empty, patently absurd claim.

This is the philistinism with which we are dealing, but, of course, this is the philistinism of Stalinism. On this level Losey chooses to live and to advocate.

All this is found in every frame of the film. Mercader's 'doubt' is emphasized, his guilty depressions; it's even implied that he did it all from sexual impotence to find an identity as the man who killed Trotsky.

Stalin is only once mentioned by name in the film and then as a joke. He is alluded to visually twice: once in the

brief glimpse of a poster, the second time as a chimera in the Water Garden sequence.

The Stalinist line that Trotsky was a man of principle, yes, but that they had socialism to build—that omelettes mean cracking a few eggs—is not only put by the GPU contact-man to Mercader, it is sanctioned.

When the chief prosecutor in the Moscow Trials explained the alleged acts of his victims as 'Trotsky's thirst for power' Losey finds Trotsky 'pretty ambiguous in his power drive. I think he realized the price of power was more than that was prepared to pay.' ('The Scotsman')

In other words we are asked to accept again that it was all Trotsky's fault and that Stalinism is the inevitable result of the working class taking power, that power and principle must always be separated.

Another version of the same humbug used to cover up for the Stalinist bureaucracy's monstrous crimes is peddled in the form of the old saw that men of action can't be men of imagination, and that men of imagination can't be men of action.

In other words we should accept that Stalin was just a man of action and Trotsky one of imagination, and the conflict between them was one more example of this sad paradox which, again, has exercised liberals looking for a way out since Goethe.

Presumably Losey is thus excused on the grounds that he is an artist and not really involved.

Unfortunately for him, Trotsky was both a man of action and of imagination.

There are many who would like to excuse their own inaction by making this false separation, many who try also to present Marx and Engels as merely scholars and not leading figures in the class struggle. But they, like Trotsky, were leading figures in this struggle; more, they were men to whom knowledge could only be developed in it.

Many, too, try to speak of Lenin as simply a man of action—again trying to ignore his deep and scholarly study of philosophy and his understanding of the relationship of theory and practice as a unity of conflict between opposites. Losey joins these dupes.

He can't stomach the old Stalinist line that Trotsky was a fascist, although he says he believed it at the time ('Scotsman', August 21).

He can't accept what 'Pravda' said, that Mercader

was a disenchanting Trotskyist. But he gives them their new cover, their latest lies.

Mercader 'resorted to violence because destruction is the easiest activity by which a bright and lost young man can make his notch in an arbitrary world' (Mosley, p. 153), or perhaps because the GPU held his mother.

But no mention of the Order of Lenin awarded to his mother after the assassination and none that she was maintained by the GPU for 20 years during his imprisonment. None, either, of his known involvement in the Spanish Civil War, of his training, of his introduction to Sylvia Agelof through the New York Communist Party. Instead:

'Trotskyism seemed to have come to mean just the voice of Trotsky—explaining, protesting, scintillating, enduring. "This was heroic; but what was the end of heroics in war? ... His chickens clucked, his dictating machines clacked ...!" (Mosley p. 144.)

All the scenes of Trotsky in the film are calculated to foster exactly this.

No sign at all that he even followed world events, especially in the USSR. Just shots of a quick bit of brilliant dictation followed by a nice cup of tea and a witty remark about Catherine the Great.

What pathetic reductionism Losey's claim to be working at other levels of human experience, more complicated than 'mere Marxism', turns out to be.

Losey's 'psychology' cannot even resolve the paradox of its own making about Trotsky.

They say he was a man who looked for death, but on the other hand they are faced with him fighting for 15 minutes with an ice-pick over two inches into his brain. They say: 'He verbally protested but did not do things which he could have done' ('Scotsman').

RECORD

And this is said by one who loved the Uncle Joe who had already killed one of Trotsky's sons and imprisoned another murdered his daughter to suicide, killed his secretaries and all his political associates that could be captured—apart from waging a campaign of vicious slanders and monstrous lies.

But such an antithesis is the sterile philistinism that bewails man as half-devil, half-angel: the same philistinism that makes a film like this to defend the liars, the falsifiers

of history, the murderers, those who tried to destroy October.

No mention that Mercader is alive and very well on a pension and with a job in Prague; that he is still supported by the apparatus that continues to imprison communist oppositionists including leading artists, or incarcerates them in mental hospitals.

No word about the force that created the Moscow Trials and ran the camps, that tried to murder and beat all that was best out of the proletariat in Russia and abroad.

No mention because when all the liberal convolutions are done it's these men that Losey ends up supporting—in 1972 as he did in 1935.

There's no accident or mistake made when Losey, who backed the Stalinist line which led to the defeat of the Spanish Civil War, identifies in the film the Spanish centrist POUM with the Fourth International; no error in willfully obscuring Trotsky's struggle to keep alive in practice the truth about the October Revolution of 1917.

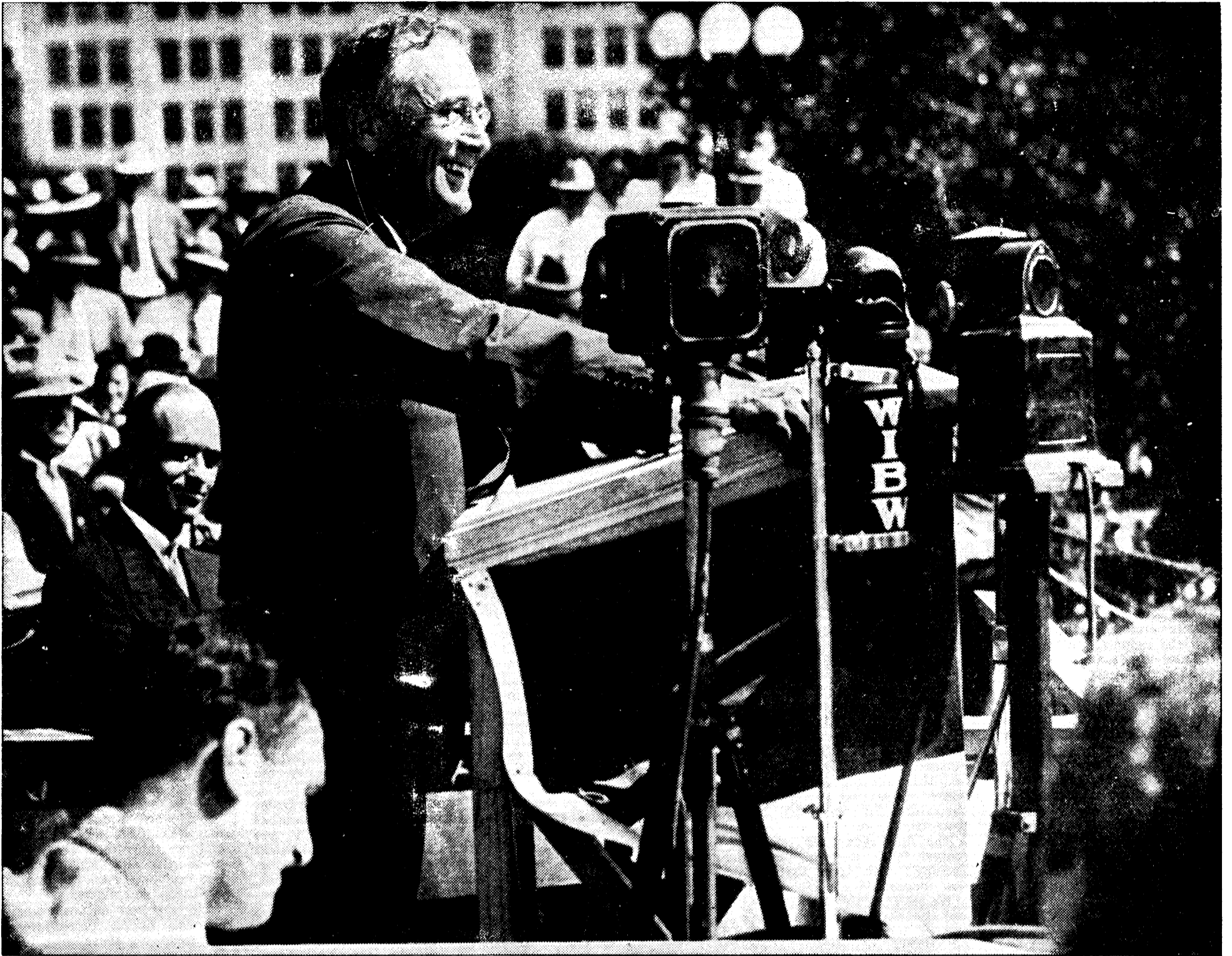
No, this is precisely in the tradition of the trials and the frame-ups.

This is exactly the tradition that must destroy the truth at all costs, not defend it. This is the continuity of counter-revolution, and it comes forward exactly during the deepest crisis of imperialism, when the question of building a revolutionary leadership in the working class is the primary task.

Trotsky's true greatness, however, is not obscured. Isolated, in exile, hunted by assassins, witnessing the destruction of all the leading old Bolsheviks, fighting to create a new leadership against the massive odds of historical defeat and a state apparatus totally committed to the destruction of communism—these were the conditions in which a tiny handful of devoted communists in different countries fought to keep Marxism alive in the working class, through the struggle to build the Fourth International.

The day has now come when that fight and those enormous sacrifices can be fully appreciated. The principles defended then are today becoming the weapons first of thousands and then millions who face the task of overthrowing capitalism.

Trotsky was right when he assessed the work of his last ten years as the most important of his life. It's unlikely on this showing that Losey will be able to say the same.



Franklin D. Roosevelt campaigning for his election in 1932. Just seven years later he dismissed a Bill which would have allowed German refugees a home in America

HOW ROOSEVELT SENTENCED CHILDREN TO DEATH

BY JACK GALE

Early in 1939 a campaign was launched in the United States to create a temporary haven for 20,000 refugee German children.

Senator Robert F. Wagner and Representative Edith Nourse Rogers proposed a Bill to admit 10,000 German children under 14 into the United States in 1939 and a similar number in 1940. This would be in addition to the regular quota of German immigrants.

Approximately half of these children would be Jewish.

A few days after the Bill was put forward, Hitler made a speech threatening 'the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe'. In March, Hitler dismembered Czechoslovakia, thus placing another 300,000 Jews under his domination.

Within a day of the Wagner-Rogers plan being announced, 4,000 American families had contacted the newspapers offering to care for the children.

Eddie Cantor, the Jewish singer and comedian, and a great admirer of President Roosevelt, wrote to the presidential secretary Marvin McIntyre undertaking to find families to care for all the children.

McIntyre replied: 'There is general feeling, I believe, even

among those who are most sympathetic towards the situation in which so many thousands of persons find themselves abroad, that it would be inadvisable to raise the question of increasing quotas or radical changes in our immigration laws.'

The children's case was pleaded by the President's wife, Eleanor Roosevelt.

But Roosevelt was seeking half a billion dollars from Congress to expand the Air Corps and to construct naval bases, and he was always a man to put first things first. As the First Lady recalled: 'Franklin frequently refrained from supporting causes in which he believed, because of political realities. He would say "I can't alienate certain votes I need for measures that are more important at the moment by pushing any measure that would entail a fight".'*

The congressional hearings to discuss the Wagner-Rogers proposal began in April 1939. The first item was a letter from Secretary Hull warning against any departure from the established quota system.

Supporters of the proposal included the trade union organizations, both the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The opposition was led by Francis H. Kinnicut, president of the Allied Patriotic Societies, a group of 30-odd organi-

zations who all wanted to keep the children out of the States.

This wonderful bunch included: The New York County organization of the American Legion, American Women Against Communism, Dames of the Loyal Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Daughters of the Defenders of the Republic, Society of Mayflower Descendants, Sons of the American Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States.

Kinnicut declared that the aim of the Bill was 'to go back to the condition when we were flooded with foreigners who tried to run the country on different lines from those laid down by the old stock. It is not a Refugee Bill at all, for most of those admitted would be of the Jewish race.'

The female of the species was even more deadly. Speaking, or so she said, for the widows of World War I veterans, Mrs Agnes Waters proclaimed:

'I am the daughter of generations of patriots. This nation will be helpless to guarantee to our children their rights, under the Constitution, to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness if this country is to become the dumping ground for the persecuted minorities of Europe.'

'The refugees have a heritage of hate', continued this good lady. 'They could never

become loyal Americans. (They were) motherless, embittered, persecuted children of undesirable foreigners, potential leaders of a revolt against our American form of government. Why should we give preference to these potential communists? Already we have too many of their kind in our country now trying to overthrow our government.'

A representative from Young Americans Incorporated, Mrs Charles Fuller Winters, also testified: 'If we are going to keep this country as it is and not lose our liberty in the future, we have got to keep not only these children out of it, but the whole of damned Europe.'

Another opponent was John B. Trevor spokesman for the 115 patriotic societies united in the American Coalition. He wanted a ten-year ban on all immigration. Trevor had made a political name for himself by a prolonged campaign for the 'deportation of the alien insane'.

Supporters of the Bill pointed out that in the six years from 1932-1938 only 26 per cent of the German quota for immigration had actually been admitted. In the same period, 5,000 more people had left the United States than had come.

But the die-hards had no intention of being confused by facts.

The National Committee of the American Legion issued a

statement opposing the Bill that was staggering in its audacity. It declared that the proposal would break up family life for the children concerned and wasn't the sanctity of the family basic to the American way of life?

These remarkable people were actually claiming that it was better for the family to be united in a concentration camp than split up by some of its members escaping!

In May, 1939, the second Congressional hearing began. More opponents had gathered. In addition to the groups listed above there were now representatives from the Defenders of the Constitution, the Colonial Order of the Acorn, the American Christian Crusade, American Vigilant Intelligence Federation and the Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America.

But, despite their ludicrous names and pretensions, these reactionaries were not to be laughed at. They were a powerful lobby.

The hearings ended on June 1. Next day President Roosevelt received a memo asking him for his views on the Child Refuge Bill.

He scrawled on it 'File No Action FDR'.

The Bill was dead. And so—within a few years—were the children.

* Eleanor Roosevelt 'This I Remember.'



TORY PRESS HOW THE TORY PRESS WHIPS UP RACIALISM

It looked almost as if the Tory 'Daily Telegraph' had slipped up last week. On August 25 its front page stood out by carrying a huge picture of police and demonstrators at the Republican Convention in Miami.

All other Fleet Street papers, almost without exception, had chosen to give the front-page to a demonstration nearer home.

In the end we weren't disappointed because on page two there appeared an equally large picture of the handful of Smithfield meat porters and National Front supporters who had marched to the Home Office the day before to protest about the influx of Uganda Asians.

When it appeared, the picture of the march, stage-managed by Mosley's Union Movement and the National Front, was invariably linked directly to President Amin's threat to dump his unwanted Indians on Britain.

Rupert Murdoch's 'Sun' didn't bother with a Uganda story but got straight down to stating its view with a headline which blazed, 'Keep them out march'.

A front page editorial, three paragraphs long, warned that unless the government acted with urgency racial prejudice would find a richer diet than just the Uganda Asians to feed on.

The 'Sun's' coverage of the march was only one step removed (if that) from its treatment of last week's saga in the prisons.

On August 25 Rigby had a dig at prison indiscipline with a cartoon showing an officer being summoned to the cell of the prison 'Godfather'.

A week later he showed a bunch of ape-like thickies on the roof of a jail one of them scratching his head and saying: 'Let's see if I've got it right—we all get up on the roof, then we burn the place down.'

The 'Express' front page picture of the Smithfield march was probably the most misleading of them all, reproduced in such a way as to make a handful of marchers look like legions.

With a headline revelation by Mr Chapman Pincher that there was 'No need to let them in' the impression meant to be conveyed was clearly that Britain was on the march (workers at that!) and also agreed.



THE Sun **Coup-at £225,000** **Coup-at 652-1**

FORWARD WITH THE PEOPLE Friday, August 25, 1972

British team split over Bedford

'KEEP THEM OUT' MARCH

DAILY EXPRESS

ASIAN: The Express reveals the astonishing facts

NO NEED TO LET THEM IN!

As meat porters

FRIDAY AUGUST 25 1972

Weather: Long sunny spells

ASIAN: The Express reveals the astonishing facts

NO NEED TO LET THEM IN!

As meat porters

Top: the meat-porters' march. Above: some of the headlines

The 'Express' was almost more blatant than anyone in using the demonstration as the organizers intended.

The lead warned: 'As Whitehall blandly sits planning the tidy invasion of Britain by thousands of Uganda Asians the first rumblings of opposition start from the people.'

This was the march about which meat porters leader Mr Ron Taylor is on record as saying as it formed up, 'It's a flop' and to which National Front activities organizer Mr Martin Webster replied 'It's enough to make a show.'

This, of course was always the aim and the capitalist press seized on it with avidity almost to a man.

The capitalist press barons didn't need asking to give the right impression. Even the so-called liberal 'Guardian' carried the march picture beside a story headlined, 'Airlift posing huge problems for Whitehall'.

Of the regional dailies Commander Hugh Fraser's 'Glasgow Herald' easily won the title for misleading headline (and picture) of the year.

The headline on a story outlining Tory plans to settle the Asians read: 'Cities prepare to resist influx of Uganda Asians'.

There next to it was the inevitable picture from Smithfield with a group of despondent youth and children down-cast with banners which read 'What about our future?'

The 'Birmingham Post' followed suit with a huge front-page picture of non-political Ron Taylor and a headline saying 'We can't take any more Asians'.

The purpose of the march, which all workers' organizations and individual groups of

workers like dockers and dustmen boycotted, was to give the Tory press barons a chance to say Britain hated blacks.

The chance was offered and they seized it. It would be interesting to know if any editors are actually members of the National Front the march was so well timed.

On the day of the march the right-wing 'Evening Standard' rushed a team to London's Southall to gather a news and picture spread calculated to show there were hardly any Britons left in the Borough.

Much weight was given to the fact that little Asian girls eat specially-made sweets—different from those eaten by 'ordinary' children.

If nobody seemed particularly anxious to rush into print with an orgy of racist statements 'The Standard' always had the march to fall back on as proof of what Britons really thought—and they did—right across the front page.

Whatever the aims and motives of the march organizers one fact stands out a mile—the wilfully favourable coverage with pictures deliberately linked to the Uganda crisis need never have been given but for the political partiality of the bosses' press.

Asians, convicts, strikers—they are all the same to the Tory press.

Their coverage of the march fits in with their campaign to whip into line behind the bourgeoisie all the most backward elements, first in a bid to stem the tide of working-class militancy and secondly as a diversion from the real issue—recession and the employers' responsibility for it.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

CHIC STALINISM



Madame Elena Ceausescu

Who was the mystery brunette who made regular visits to Orly airport Paris? When her plane landed a stocky dark man would whisk her and her diplomatic passport away for a shopping spree around the high fashion spots.

The flying shopper has been revealed as Elena the wife of the 'new-look' Stalinist leader Ceausescu, president of Rumania.

Forty-seven year-old Madame Elena Ceausescu has been making a series of one-day visits to the French capital since her recent elevation to the Rumanian Communist Party's central committee.

She has been making the rounds to bring her wardrobe up to scratch so she can look chic at the top of the bureaucratic ladder.

ON THE B'ROO

While Aberdeen's Labour Party leaders wallow in the false optimism created by the great North Sea oil boom,—prospects for school-leavers in the 'new Texas' do not look bright.

Local youth employment officer, Ross Henderson, announced recently that the city is facing a serious youth employment problem for the first time ever. He said that this year's figure of unemployed youth was three times as high as it had been three years ago, and that for the first time in recent years the target of find-

ing jobs for all school-leavers before the next term started was likely to be substantially unfulfilled.

In July there were 269 on the 'youth b'roo' and few vacancies. Henderson said that many 16 and 17 year-olds in particular had few prospects.

'It is really quite distressing. The same youngsters have been coming in almost daily. We have always been able to say that by the beginning of the new term there wasn't much of a back-log of young people. This will not quite be the case this year,' he said.

'WARNING'

Every so often, lucky middle-class girls working in the City of London and the West End get a free copy of 'Miss London Weekly' pumped into their hands.

Put out by Employment Publications it is 'the work and leisure paper for the London girl'. Usually it confines itself to adverts for jobs and articles on the latest fashions.

The latest issue, however, was slightly different, to say the least. The front page screamed in a three-line, thick headline: 'Uganda's Asians "No" to Mixed Marriages'.

The first paragraphs quoted a BBC Foreign Service programme as stating that Uganda Asians spurned their own people to marry English and American girls.

Then the article claims that General Amin's reason for expelling them from Uganda is that they were 'industrious but clanish' and there was a 'failure to integrate'.

The story in 'Miss London' ends with a statement on President Amin's 'paradox' which is the 'fact' that although an approachable man, he cannot take advice.

But there is no explanation as to why this paper at all chose to headline the Asians' failure to intermarry—unless it is supposed to count as a 'warning' to girls in England.

BOOKS



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**ALL TRADES
UNIONS
ALLIANCE
MEETINGS**

DAGENHAM: Tuesday September 5, 8 p.m. Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue, Barking. 'Lessons of docks strike, UCS jobs fight.'

HULL: Tuesday September 5, 7.30 p.m. White Hart Hotel, near Drypool Bridge. 'Victory to the building workers.'

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

WEST LONDON: Tuesday September 5, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Road, (off York Way), Kings Cross. 'Stalinism and the builders' struggle.'

WOOLWICH: Tuesday September 5, 8 p.m. Queen's Arms, Burrage Road, SE 18. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

GREENOCK: Wednesday September 6, 7.30 p.m. Salon Hall, Town Hall. 'The rents struggle and the Scott-Lithgow engineers' fight.'

MANCHESTER: Thursday September 7, 7.30 p.m. Basement Theatre Town Hall.

SUNDERLAND: Wednesday September 6, 7.30 p.m. Trade Union Club, Frederick Street. Speakers: H. Nicol (ATUA), E. Ennew (President of Sunderland Trades Council, in a personal capacity). 'Build Councils of Action. Defend the right to work. Stop rents increases. Make the Tories resign.'

RHYMNEY: Thursday September 7, 7.30 p.m. Rhymney Workingmen's Club, Rhymney, South Wales. 'Crisis of leadership in the trade unions.'

SOUTHALL: Thursday September 7, 8 p.m. Community Centre, Bridge Road. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

EAST LONDON: Thursday September 7, 8 p.m. Festival Inn, Market Square, Chrissp Street, Market, E14. 'What is Stalinism?'

SOUTHAMPTON: Friday September 8, 7.30 p.m. 'The Glebe', Corner of Brintons Road and Northam Road. Speaker: Alan Thornett (deputy senior steward Morris Motors, Oxford, in a personal capacity). 'The lessons of the docks strike and the fight for jobs.'

HULL: Wednesday September 13, 7.30 p.m. Church Hall, Wayne Road, Bransholme (opp 'The Swallow'). 'Fighting the Tories' Rent Act.'

CROYDON: Monday September 11, 8 p.m. Ruskin House, Coombe Road. 'Lessons of the dock strike.'

British-Leyland stewards agree on blacking



Some of the workers at the Thornycroft factory in Basingstoke sold off by British-Leyland to an American firm, Eaton's

Thornycroft men confident of victory

BY IAN YEATS

THE 1,200 MEN who have occupied a Basingstoke engineering factory believe they are going to win. They took over the plant on August 15 after British-Leyland announced the sale of Transport Equipment Thornycroft to the Eaton Corporation of Ohio, USA.

The Corporation has only a three-year lease on the 20-acre site and workers feared they planned a steady run down of jobs.

A meeting of British-Leyland convenors at Preston on Wednesday agreed to black all material supplied by Eaton's or by Thornycroft's twin factory at Bolton, Lancashire.

Deputy Basingstoke convenor Francis Coffey said that this meant they had British-Leyland over a barrel.

'When their stocks of gearboxes for heavy vehicles run out they'll just grind to a halt,' he told me yesterday.

The convenors agreed to extend the black to any firm which tries to supply British-Leyland with equipment they would normally buy from Eaton's or get from the factories at Basingstoke and Bolton.

Mr Coffey added: 'The ball is in British-Leyland's court. Now it's up to them to make a move.'

No new talks are planned between British-Leyland, Eaton's

or shop stewards, but the men's spokesmen and local union officials have made it plain that the occupation stays until there are firm jobs guarantees.

Of the 1,200 men and women at the factory, 120 have already volunteered for redundancy and up to 200 more may do so. But this would still leave about 350 jobs surplus to Eaton's requirements.

Part of the battle is for these jobs, but the other and even more vital part is for guarantees that all the men who want to remain at the plant will be employed virtually in perpetuity.

If the factory shuts down completely Mr Coffey told me it will mean doubling local unemployment figures and few of the men stand any chance of finding alternative jobs close by for their specific skills.

If the blacking campaign fails to bring British-Leyland to its knees, Mr Coffey told me, the joint convenors may consider new strike measures following the one-day stoppage last Monday when about 23,000 men stopped work throughout the British-Leyland combine. About 10,000 others were sent home.

Mr Coffey said they were delighted with the response to the strike call which he estimated

cost British-Leyland 1,200 vehicles.

Neither British-Leyland nor Eaton's have as yet shown the slightest desire or intention of meeting the men's demands for cast-iron guarantees.

Indeed the logic of capitalist economics suggests that British-Leyland has little choice but to jettison the Basingstoke plant in an effort to capitalize sufficient assets to put the combine on a more competitive footing.

Equally, since Eaton's also make gearboxes and must therefore be regarded as buying off a competitor there seems little chance of them sustaining what it was always their intention to destroy.

Nevertheless at this stage the men are firmly behind their leaders who talk constantly about the factory's real value lying in the skills of the workforce now so callously being consigned to the scrap heap.

Most workers from the cradle up know that employers don't give a fig about them let alone their skills.

There is only one point involved at Thornycroft's and that is the fight for work and therefore bread and butter. The men's

leaders are confident they can fly in the face of all business logic to save their jobs.

Whether they can is all the more doubtful with the disclosure that while British-Leyland is ruthlessly rationalizing its empire at home, it is diversifying it abroad — within the Common Market.

British-Leyland is treading the well-worn and inexorable path of monopoly. The only way it can hope to survive is by rationalization on the one hand and buying out competitors on the other.

As at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, Briant Colour and Tube Investments, what the Thornycroft men are really up against are the iron laws of capital.

The only way these can be overcome lies in nationalization without compensation and under workers' control.

As a first step the Tory government must be forced to resign and a Labour government returned pledged to socialist policies, including nationalization.

With prospects of saving the 1,200 jobs at Basingstoke as bleak as ever, it is still this fight that the 160,000 British-Leyland workers should lead.

Coventry builders' pickets feel they're winning too

COVENTRY building workers this week defied high-speed scab cars — one of them knocking down and injuring a picket — in order to bring workers on the Woodburn site out on strike.

Before the incident with the car a number of pickets at the site gave their views on the strike to Workers Press. Said Joe Brown:

'We are definitely winning the fight in Coventry and it's all been done with Coventry pickets, without any violence — although we have been threatened, in front of the police, with running lorries and vile language.'

'Selective strikes are wrong. One man here has been out nine

weeks, some of us for only two.

'Practically all the union labour is out in Coventry. The Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) must be 100 per cent stronger after the strike. There has been that many people join since the strike started, that one steward has lost count.'

'We talked about nationalization in the 1930s and we got absolutely nothing. Nationalization of the big firms and nationalization of the land is the answer though. Why should some big Earl get £26m for his plot of land?'

Des McCarthy complained bitterly about the use by federated firms of 'lump' labour. This, he alleged, is a practice which occurred

well before the present strike began, and is in complete defiance of an agreement to remove the 'lump', which was made by the Midland Regional Joint Council for the Building Industry in 1969.

'We must break lump labour. After the strike, every site committee will see to it that every employee is a union member and every employer will have to go along with the 1969 agreement,' he added.

Said another picket: 'I think we have a better claim than even the miners.'

'It makes you laugh when you look at the price of houses. Builders are fighting for plots of land at £2,000 and £3,000. The next thing you see in the paper is that the building

workers' claim is responsible for putting up the cost of housing.

'There must be some money in housing. Something like £20m was recently paid for Bovis. Our housing problem is being solved by how much money there is about. Nothing short of nationalization will solve it.'

'There has been a lot of argument about violence. But how do you deal with these people that are prepared to wreck everything? Scabs don't care what they do to wreck your efforts.'

'If there was a complete stoppage for a week, it would be won. UCATT didn't have faith in their workers. The younger generation won't stand for it.'

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SATURDAY TV

BBC 2

2.00 Man alive. 2.50 Cricket. Gillette Cup final.

7.25 **NEWS, SPORT and weather.**

7.35 **YESTERDAY'S WITNESS.** Talkies Come to Britain.

8.25 **CIVILIZATION.** The Fallacies of Hope.

9.15 **SOUNDS FOR SATURDAY.** Doris Troy.

9.50 **LOVE AND MR LEWIS-HAM.** Part 1.

10.35 **FILM NIGHT.** Report on Edinburgh International Film Festival.

11.05 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

11.10 **FILM: 'HANGOVER SQUARE.'** Laird Cregar, Linda Darnell, George Sanders. In London 1900 a composer becomes infatuated with a singer.

1.00 **Weather.**

BBC 1

9.55 **Weather.** 10.00 Olympic grandstand. 10.40-12.45 and 1.45-2.40 Gillette Cup final. Lancashire v Warwickshire. 5.10 Results service. 5.45 News and weather.

7.00 **FILM: 'BACK TO GOD'S COUNTRY.'** Rock Hudson, Marcia Henderson, Steve Cochran, Hugh O'Brien. Adventure set in Northern Canada about a fur trader.

8.15 **THE CASE.** Cliff Richard. Musical comedy.

9.15 **NEWS.** Weather.

9.30 **TODAY AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES AND MATCH OF THE DAY.** High diving, cycling and fencing finals.

ITV

10.50 Primus. 11.15 Sesame street. 12.15 Lidsville. 12.45 News. 12.50 Olympic world of sport. 12.55 On the ball. 1.10 Olympics 72. 1.20 ITV seven. 1.30, 2.00, 2.30, 3.00 Racing from Kempton. 1.45, 2.15, 2.45 Racing from Thirsk. 3.10 Wrestling. 4.00 Olympics 72. 4.50 Results service. 5.10 Olympics and news. 5.25 Sale of the century. 5.55 Sez Les.

6.40 **THE COMEDIANS.**

7.15 **FILM: 'THE CHARGE OF THE LANCERS.'** Paulette Goddard, Jean-Pierre Aumont. Adventure story of the Crimean War.

8.30 **SATURDAY VARIETY.**

9.30 **VILLAINS.** Belinda. Gwyneth Powell.

10.30 **NEWS AND OLYMPICS.**

11.20 **THE AQUARIUS MAHLER FESTIVAL.** Leonard Bernstein with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 12.45 London. 5.25 Who do you do? 5.55 Sale of the century. 6.25 Sez Les. 7.10 Film: 'McMillan and Wife: An Elementary Case of Murder'. 8.30 London. 12.20 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 11.50 Make a wish. 12.15 Merrie melodies show. 12.40 Gus Honeybun. 12.20 Faith for life. 12.25 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.15 All our yesterdays. 11.45 Thunderbirds. 12.42 Weather. 12.45 London. 5.25 Avengers. 6.25 Please sir. 6.55 Film: 'Bottoms Up'. 8.27 News. 8.30 London. 1.15 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 11.15 Sesame street. 12.15 Farming diary. 12.45 London. 5.30 Please sir. 6.00 Sale of the century. 6.25 Sez Les. 7.10 Film: 'Suitable For Framing'. 8.30 London. 12.20 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 6.00-6.25 Sion a sian.

ANGLIA: 10.55 All our yesterdays. 11.25 Film: 'Tarzan and the She Devil'. 12.45 London. 5.25 Primus. 5.55 Who do you do? 6.25 Sez Les. 7.10 Film: 'Spaceflight IC-1'. 8.30 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 12.10 Horoscope. 12.15 Captain Scarlet. 12.45 London. 5.25 It takes a thief. 6.25 Sez Les. 7.10 Film: 'Two of a Kind'. 8.30 London. 11.20 Stories worth telling. 11.25 Name of the game.

ULSTER: 12.15 Skippy. 12.45

London. 5.25 Primus. 5.55 Who do you do? 6.25 Sez Les. 7.10 Film: 'Assault on the Wayne'. 8.25 Results. 8.30 London. 11.20 Documentary: 'The River Nile'.

YORKSHIRE: 11.00 All our yesterdays. 11.25 Make a wish. 11.50 Woodbina. 12.15 Lidsville. 12.45 London. 5.25 Primus. 5.55 Who do you do? 6.25 Sez Les. 7.10 Film: 'McMillan and Wife: An Elementary Case of Murder'. 8.30 London. 11.20 Journey to the unknown. 12.20 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00 Sesame street. 12.00 Mad movies. 12.25 Cartoon. 12.45 London. 5.25 Primus. 5.55 Who do you do? 6.25 Sez Les. 7.10 Film: 'The Set Up'. 8.25 London.

TYNE TEES: 11.00 All our yesterdays. 11.25 Bush boy. 11.50 Joe 90. 12.15 Dave Cash. 12.45 London. 5.25 Primus. 5.55 Who do you do? 6.25 Sez Les. 7.10 Film: 'McMillan and Wife: An Elementary Case of Murder'. 8.30 London. 11.20 Journey to the unknown. 12.15 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 11.25 Casebook. 11.50 Arthur. 12.10 Horoscope. 12.15 Primus. 12.45 London. 5.30 Joe 90. 6.00 Sez Les. 6.40 Film: 'Battle of the V1'. 8.30 London. 12.19 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 12.25 Beagan gaidhlig. 12.45 London. 5.30 HR Puffstuf. 5.55 Who do you do? 6.25 Sez Les. 7.10 Film: 'McMillan and Wife: An Elementary Case of Murder'. 8.30 London.



Film director John Huston looks at some of the films at this year's Edinburgh Festival in 'Film Night' on BBC 2 on Saturday

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 11.00 London. 12.05-12.20 Training the family dog. 1.58 Weather. 2.00 Big match. 3.00 Film: 'Barbados Quest'. 4.15 London. 6.54 Weather. 6.55 London. 7.55 Film: 'The House on Greenapple Road'. 10.00 London. 12.00 Epilogue. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 12.20 Archery. 1.30 Farm progress. 12.05 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 11.00-12.00 London. 12.37 Weather. 12.40 Talking hands. 12.55 Farm progress. 1.25 Out of town. 1.45 Bush boy. 2.15 London. 3.15 Saint. 4.10 News. 4.15 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Truth About Spring'. 9.50 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 12.00 Sez Les. 12.45 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 11.00-12.05 London. 2.00 Journey of a lifetime. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'The £20,000 Kiss'. 4.15 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Night of the Walk'. 9.30 Who do you do? 10.00 London. 12.00 Weather.

HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 12.05 Dan sylw. 12.45 Nabod y gair. 1.15-2.00 Other half.

ANGLIA: 11.00 London. 1.20 Rome. 1.50 Weather. 1.55 Farming. 2.30 UFO. 3.25 Match of the day. 4.15 London. 7.55 Film: 'Hot Spell'. 9.30 Shut that door. 10.00 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 11.00 London. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Find the Lady'. 4.15 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Whisperers'. 10.00 London.

ULSTER: 1.45 Survival. 2.15 London. 3.15 O'Hara United States Treasury. 4.15 London. 7.55 Car-

toon. 8.05 Film: 'Ivanhoe'. 10.00 London.

YORKSHIRE: 10.45 Talking hands. 11.00 London. 12.05 Craftsmen. 12.30 Songs for your delight. 12.55 Farming outlook. 1.25 Common Market cook book. 1.55 Soccer. 2.50 Film: 'Sands of the Desert'. 4.15 London. 7.55 Film: 'Yesterday's Enemy'. 9.45 Popeye. 10.00 London. 12.00 Strange report. 1.00 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.00-12.00 London. 12.25 Children to children. 12.55 Living architects. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Football. 2.50 Film: 'A Woman Possessed'. 4.05 Bugs Bunny. 4.10 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Inspector'. 10.00 London.

TYNE TEES: 10.45 Talking hands. 11.00 London. 12.05 Something to sing about. 12.30 Western civilization. 12.55 Farming outlook. 1.25 Skillful rugby. 1.55 Where the jobs are. 2.00 Shoot. 2.55 Film: 'The Goose Steps Out'. 4.15 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Greengage Summer'. 9.45 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 12.00 Strange report. 12.55 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 1.20 Out of town. 1.40 Horoscope. 1.45 All our yesterdays. 2.15 Studio. 3.15 Soccer. 3.45 Jimmy Stewart. 4.15 London. 7.55 Film: 'A Prize of Arms'. 9.50 Brenner autobahn. 10.00 London. 12.00 Late call. 12.05 Festival cinema.

GRAMPIAN: 12.55 Common Market cook book. 1.25 All our yesterdays. 1.55 Farm progress. 2.25 Theatre. 3.15 Soccer. 3.45 Dr Simon Locke. 4.15 London. 7.55 Film: 'You're My Everything'. 9.30 Short story. 10.00 London.

SUNDAY TV

BBC 2

1.45 Weather for farmers. 1.50 Cricket. Nottinghamshire v Middlesex.

6.40 **PRaise THE LORD.**

7.05 **NEWS REVIEW.** Weather.

7.25 **THE WORLD ABOUT US.** Man of the Masai.

8.10 **MUSIC ON 2.** From the Proms.

9.15 **MARY.** Rhymes and Reasons. Women. Mary Travers with guest Georgia Brown.

10.00 **THE ROADS TO FREEDOM.** The Defeated. 15th June 1940—Afternoon.

10.40 **NEWS SUMMARY.** Weather.

10.45 **FILM: 'MONKEY BUSINESS.'** Cary Grant, Ginger Rogers, Marilyn Monroe. Howard Hawk's comedy about a chemist who discovers the elixir of life and tests it out on his wife.

BBC 1

9.00 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 9.30 Seeing and believing. 10.00 Olympic grandstand.

8.00 **FILM: 'THE RARE BREED.'** James Stewart, Maureen O'Hara. Western about an English farmer newly arrived in Texas.

9.35 **NEWS and weather.**

9.50 **TODAY AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES.** Athletics, show jumping, swimming, fencing and weightlifting finals.

12.30 **Weather.**

ITV

11.00 Morning service. 12.00 Country calendar. 12.20 All our yesterdays. 12.45 Catweazle. 1.15 Stingray. 1.45 Odd couple. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Turncoat. 4.15 Golden shot. 5.00 News and olympics.

6.15 **WHY NOT?**

6.55 **APPEAL.**

7.00 **SONGS THAT MATTER.**

7.25 **DOCTOR IN CHARGE.** An Officer and a Gentleman.

7.55 **FILM: 'SECRET MISSION.'** Hugh Williams, James Mason, Michael Wilding, Roland Culver. During World War II three men land in France to discover the underground nerve centre of the German command.

9.30 **WHO DO YOU DO?** Freddie Starr, Peter Goodwright.

10.00 **NEWS AND OLYMPICS.**

10.30 **COUNTRY MATTERS.** The Sullens Sisters.

11.30 **OLYMPICS 72.**

12.00 **ELEVEN PLUS.**

12.45 **CRAFTSMEN IN THE CHURCH.**

POCKET LIBRARY

Why a Labour Government?

A reply to some centrist critics

By Cliff Slaughter

A series which appeared in Workers Press in June, 1972 is now available as a pamphlet in the Socialist Labour League Pocket Library.

'WHY A LABOUR GOVERNMENT? A Reply to some centrist critics.' By Cliff Slaughter Price 5p

Other titles in this series include: **The Case for a General Election** By Alex Mitchell.

The Ulster Dossier
The Social Security Swindle which includes the All Trades Unions Alliance Draft Manifesto and the Charter of Basic Rights.

All are available from 186a Clapham High St, London SW4 7UG. Or The Paperback Centre, 28 Charlotte St, London W1.

AUGUST FUND MAGNIFICENT FINAL TOTAL OF £2,162

IT'S A MAGNIFICENT final result and certainly the best so far. We are very proud of the great struggle that you, our readers, put up for our August Fund. Our many, many thanks.

Since the start of Workers Press, nearly three years ago, we pledged to produce a paper which, each day, told the truth to its readers and fought determinedly for its socialist principles. From your tremendous support, which gets better each month, there is clearly a growing need for such a paper.

This encourages us enormously and makes us even more determined to press on with our plans. Immediately our main aim is a big circulation drive to win new readers all over the country. So far, in Scotland, this has proved a huge success. Now in the coming months, we intend to travel into other main areas and greatly expand our sales.

But all these plans need your help. Our monthly Fund is very necessary for such a campaign. You have already proved that you are fully behind us. Let's therefore, not waste a moment in the fight to raise our September target. Post all donations to:

Workers Press
September Appeal Fund,
186a Clapham High St,
London, SW4 7UG.

Builders' picket stops lump site

TWENTY Camden Council building workers joined builders from several London sites in a mass picket of Willments site in Hornsey Road, London, yesterday, (below) where lump men were still working.

The 60-strong picket was successful and the site was closed in an hour.

Several pickets insisted that police had found an air pistol in a car carrying four men who normally work on the site. But the police denied the claim.

MORE than 70 engineering workers, who on Wednesday walked off the site of the M5 Motorway bridge at Avonmouth, Bristol, yesterday picketed the site on both sides of the Avon.

Construction work, already delayed by a country-wide investigation of box-girder bridges and a series of industrial disputes, has been halted.

The present trouble is over pay and bonuses and the men think that they will be reinstated have been told by the contractor if they work under existing agreements.

The bridge will carry the Birmingham - Bristol motorway into Somerset.

Govan deal thrown out again Clyde rejection a

defeat for Stalinists

THE DECISION by the Clyde-side boilermakers to reject the Govan Shipbuilders deal is a sensational defeat for the Stalinist-led shop stewards' co-ordinating committee.

The two leading Stalinists, James Airlie and Sammy Barr, used every possible means of persuasion and pleading to get the men to change their minds.

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

his meeting and was soundly defeated once more—this time by a larger majority.

The decision to accept the deal was unanimous on the shop stewards' co-ordinating committee. Yesterday was the first time the rank and file has rejected their call for more compromise with the capitalists who are taking over on the upper Clyde.

The boilermakers stood firm for the right to set a date for wage negotiations despite massive pressure from the press and TV, a mixture of threats and persuasion from the union officials and pleas from Stalinists like Barr.

Many boilermakers recognize this episode as a trial of strength with the new Govan Shipbuilders' management who were to

After the first vote on Thursday, Barr departed from past practice and made a statement condemning the decision to reject the deal.

'On this occasion,' he said, 'I must make my position clear. In some way this dangerous decision must be overturned before tomorrow's signing, even if it means having a recall meeting in the morning of the boilermakers.'

The present decision can have a disastrous effect not only on their jobs and those of their colleagues in the yards, but on the livelihoods of several thousand men whose jobs depend on the industry.'

The argument could have come from the most reactionary employer or Tory. But Barr got

take over the yard on September 11.

The men felt that if they lost this battle the management would gain the whip hand during the key months ahead.

Specifically many men want the £1 an hour earned by craftsmen working for Marathon Manufacturing at the Clydebank yard further down the River Clyde.

They point to the fact that Marathon negotiated its pay rates before it set up in business.

Yesterday was the third time the boilermakers have met and rejected the Govan Shipbuilders' deal.

The argument over the threat to jobs put forward by Barr is, to say the least, curiously out of character. He and his Stalinist friends, James Reid and James Airlie, have traded jobs with Marathon and Govan Shipbuilders for months.

They devised the exhausting 'work-in' strategy. This prevented any interruption in the liquidator's task of winding up UCS and finishing the ships and gave the Stalinists time to start discussions with the Tory government and various buyers for the yards.

In this demoralizing interlude over 2,000 men left the yards—at the peak of the work-in there were only 390 men taking part. The proportion of work-in men to men made redundant has now slumped to 14 per cent.

The so-called victory on the Clyde, amounts to 700 guaranteed jobs at Clydebank out of an original 3,080 at the time of liquidation last June. At the Govan, Scotstoun and Linthouse divisions, Govan Shipbuilders hope to employ about 4,000—this compares with the 5,369 last June.

Briefly...

JAGUAR strikers in Coventry are to be called to a mass meeting next Tuesday, union officials and strike committee members decided yesterday. But it is unlikely that the arbitration and conciliation service, which came into being yesterday, will be called into the ten-week piece-work dispute. Works convenor Mick Richards told Workers Press no one was interested in the service at the moment.

BUILDING strike action committee leaders in Wigan are calling for a conference of their opposite numbers throughout the North-west region next Friday. The central demand of the conference, which will be held in Wigan itself, will be for the calling of an all-out national strike by the building union leaders.

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TUC A COMFORT TO THE TORIES

FROM p. 1

Two things are posed. A new leadership can only be built in total opposition to existing reformist policies. Secondly there can be no compromise with the Tories on fundamental issues of democratic rights, wages, employment

WEATHER

EARLY MORNING fog patches over Scotland, Northern Ireland, and northern areas of England will soon disperse. Although cloudy at first over eastern England, sunny spells are expected in all areas except the extreme north of Scotland. It will be warm in all districts except east coast districts of England where temperatures will be normal. Outlook for Sunday and Monday: Dry in most places. Continuing warm in the south. Becoming cooler in the north.

and working conditions. Talks with Tories are out, joint initiatives are out and any compromise is out.

New leadership must start from these premises. But it cannot be a new leadership in name only.

The main task is to force the Tories to resign and replace them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. This must be at the centre of every trade union battle. This means the new leaders must be trained to put an end to capitalism and build socialism.

The issue of state power, who rules, the working class or the capitalist class is the most vital question facing the Congress.

The paralysing limitation of protest opposition must also be rejected.

The one-day General Strike on September 5 must be supported. But this action cannot settle the issues and every worker knows this.

The series of one-day protests made no mark on the TUC leaders and least

of all on the Tory government. There is a danger that more useless protest will only sap the strength of militants and cause demoralization.

The coming year will be the most decisive in the history of the working class movement in Britain. The opportunities are enormous. The Tories could be defeated, removed from power, never to return.

This requires a mobilization of the working class on the issues that concern it most—rents, houses, jobs and basic rights. None of the problems workers face can be solved without a mass political mobilization.

This is, first and foremost, a task for the TUC and the trade-union movement.

The mobilization to bring the Tories down must start from the Congress. This would create a condition where the working class could force the Labour leaders to carry through a socialist programme or make way for those that will.

Put Asians in army barracks—Alderman

LABOUR councillors in Birmingham have added their voice to the uproar at the 'influx' into Britain of Asians expelled from Uganda.

They are to urge the Tory government to spread the Asians throughout the country and not to concentrate them in any particular city areas.

The city's General Purposes Committee comprising both Tories and Labourites met on Thursday and passed a special resolution urging the government and the Resettlement Board to bear in mind the already high proportion of immigrants already present in Birmingham and other cities.

Deputy Mayor, Alderman Victor Turnton, said that a 'sudden influx' of a large number of immigrants could be the 'straw that breaks the camel's back.' 'The good grace that has

been built up over the years in this city could go at one go,' he said.

He suggested that old military barracks which at present were going to 'rack and ruin' could be made available to house the Asians.

Chairman of Birmingham's Housing Committee, Cllr George Canning, said that the city could not stand any large number of immigrants.

'It would be foolish for me to offer any hope of housing in this city,' he said.

ASIANS arriving at Heathrow airport yesterday stated that they had been closely searched before leaving Uganda.

Women complained that jewellery had been taken from them.

AT A special meeting of Leicester city council on Thursday night to discuss

plans for the settlement of Asians, Colin Jordan, leader of the extreme right-wing British Movement stood up in the public gallery and showered councillors below with leaflets while shouting slogans against immigration.

'The people of this country don't want pressured immigration. It's ridiculous to be sitting here talking about coping with them. You should be talking about ways of stopping them coming here.'

Most of his remarks were lost in the uproar which followed, with many of the councillors shouting back at Jordan.

Ironically after the interruption the Labour-majority council overwhelmingly passed a resolution advising the government that the housing, social security, health and education services of the city were already stretched to capacity.