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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

TUC CONTINUES TO CRAWL TO No 10 CABINET PREPARES FOR STATE OF EMERGENCY

TORIES AT CLASS BATTLE STATIONS



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● For an assessment of the press campaign see page 3.

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With parliament out of the way the Tories will be ruling by decree through the Privy Council.

This is the undemocratic, illegal government which Victor Feather and the TUC General Council sat down to drinks with at No. 10 Downing Street late yesterday.

To watch these trade union leaders sink into Heath's drawing room sticks in the throat of every working man and woman in the country. Only one week ago, five dockers were jailed by this government because they were carrying out their basic democratic rights as trade unionists.

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'We were elected on a programme for a parliament. We have carried through a great deal of it in the past two years. We want to do the rest of it and we intend to do so.'

There is no ambiguity about this sort of language. It is Selsdon Man speaking again.

For the union leaders to be

BY ALEX MITCHELL

entering secret pacts with this man and his government is flagrant treachery.

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This Congress must prepare for the General Strike to force the Tories to resign.

Such a Congress assumes special responsibilities if the dockers now on national strike are not to be isolated and defeated.

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Tory Trade and Industry Secretary John Davies enters No 10 Downing Street for yesterday's talks

These big companies are refusing to sign because they know that declining profits caused by the recession can only be answered by soaring prices and renewed attacks on their work forces through wage-cuts and more redundancies.

And this is the crux of the present situation: the pound is floating—downwards—British industry, particularly engineering and ship-building, is losing out in the fierce international competition, investment is falling and so is output. As British capital faces the collapse of its exploitative, parasitic life, does anyone think for a moment that it will die peacefully?

On the contrary, it will try to prolong its barbaric existence by attacking the working class and its trade unions as a way of resolving its crisis.

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collaborating with Heath, so Jones turns his back on his striking members and resumes talks with merchant banker and port chief, Lord Aldington, who was a former deputy chairman of the Tory Party.

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- Recall the TUC.
- Convene an emergency biennial conference of the T&GWU.
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WHAT WE THINK

JONES-ALDINGTON: NO COMPROMISE

THERE should be no shouts of victory even if docks shop stewards win their demand for a voice at the Jones-Aldington committee.

In a series of legal and negotiating manoeuvres over the last five days, port employers, warehouse owners and union leaders have attempted to create an atmosphere of conciliation and compromise around the committee.

But for any steward to assist this attempt in any way would be a betrayal of his members' interests.

The Jones-Aldington committee's job is to find ways of cutting the labour force in the docks industry with as little industrial trouble as possible.

Its interim report aims at cutting the employment register—already slashed by 20,000 over the last five years—by at least a further 8,000. And as Lord Aldington made clear on Monday night: 'There is no suggestion of any alteration to the report'.

With 900,000 thrown on the scrapheap of unemployment, no trade unionist worthy of the name can have any truck whatsoever with this kind of policy.

For this reason alone the whole basis of the present Jones-Aldington discussions is

completely unacceptable. It is absurd and dangerous to suggest, as some stewards are apparently doing, that the writing-in of a few more 'guarantees' by the employers will settle the jobs crisis in the industry.

This crisis is an unavoidable feature of the crisis of the capitalist system on a world scale, not just of technological change within the industry.

Parasitic employers starved the industry of investment for years while raking off vast profits. When they were finally forced into investment in containerization and new methods by international competition, they found themselves overtaken by the gathering trade war.

Abolition of the temporarily unattached register (TUR), as proposed by the report, is a smokescreen for solving this crisis at the docks' expense.

Jack Jones and his fellow-trade unionists on the committee accepted in the report the employers' claim that besides the 1,600 TUR men there are more than 4,000 attached dockers who are 'surplus to requirements'.

They hoped that this 'surplus' could be reduced by increased severance payments to older or unfit men, with any residual problem dealt with

through work-sharing.

On the longer-term rundown of the industry, all dockers are offered a pious hope. We will try and get more container jobs for dockers, the committee said.

All this amounts to nothing more than a blueprint for further rundown of the industry with union collaboration.

No amount of guarantees can alter its basic character. It is a charter for fatter profits for big employers who have continued to take millions out of the industry over the last few years while destroying thousands of men's livelihoods.

Maybe a few cheapjack firms will go to the wall as well, but the big bosses who sit on Jones-Aldington have no reason to worry.

There are good reasons why the Tories are pushing the union leaders to sell the Jones-Aldington report, and for the massive publicity campaign in its favour launched by the Tory press.

What is at stake in the dock strike is control of the whole transport industry. For it is not just dockers' jobs which are threatened by containerization, but drivers' and warehousemen's as well.

Jones-Aldington is a cynical diversion from this basic issue. The key question on the

docks today is nationalization under workers' control, formally part of the nine-point policy put forward by the national port shop stewards' committee.

But lip-service to this demand is by no means enough. And it can certainly not be pursued by people who at the same time have their eyes turned to the possibility of a compromise through the joint committee.

The Socialist Labour League believes this demand must be placed at the centre of the docks strike:

- No redundancies for dockers, drivers or container depot workers;
- A shorter working week, with workers whose jobs are threatened kept on full pay until the transport industry can be nationalized and planned on socialist lines;
- Abolition of the TUR, with no loss of earnings by any docker; and
- Immediate registration of all ports outside the Dock Labour Scheme.

The T&GWU conference must be recalled to plan the fight to implement this policy, which can only be achieved if the Tories are forced from office and a Labour government pledged to socialist policies elected.

McMahon recalls parliament

AUSTRALIA'S Tory premier William McMahon yesterday announced he will recall parliament on Friday to discuss the national oil maintenance strike.

Strikes over pay and conditions have cut the country's petrol supply to a trickle over the last month. McMahon has demanded that the 1,500 men involved return to work.

During a day of cabinet discussions, Ministers had before them draft legislation providing powers to deregister some or all of the four unions on strike.

The legislation would allow the government to impose crippling fines on the unions if the strike continued. MPs making their way back to Canberra for Friday's session of parliament will travel in specially-commissioned air force jets.

Normal services are grounded for lack of fuel and most cars are off the road.

Mass trial opens in Turkey

A MASS TRIAL of 154 people accused of belonging to the banned Dev-Genc (Revolutionary Youth) organization has opened in a martial law court at a military barracks in Istanbul.

On Monday a team of four prosecutors taking it in turns to read the 136-page indictment, demanded sentences of from six to 36 years' jail for the accused, most of whom are students or former students and four of whom are women.

The trial is the second biggest in Turkey since the military regime declared martial law in 11 provinces 15 months ago and detained more than 2,000 students and trade unionists for their opposition to the government.

The indictment lists 29 charges, including murder, armed acts against security forces, possession and use of explosives, storing arms for illegal purposes, forming an illegal organization to make communist propaganda and producing illegal publications.

NLF attack near Saigon scares Thieu

NATIONAL Liberation Front forces mounted a big attack on Bien Hoa, near Saigon, site of a giant American air base, early yesterday.

The attack, made with 122mm rockets, killed one American and wounded 28 others—the highest US casualties since a rocket attack against Da Nang airbase in July last year.

Bien Hoa airbase is just 15 miles from Saigon city centre and the attack demonstrates the continued strength of the National Liberation Front, despite the relentless US bombardments.

Puppet president Nguyen Van Thieu now forecasts attacks on Saigon and attempts to cut off food supplies reaching the South Vietnamese capital.

His statements contrast markedly with his bombastic remarks on the eve of the unsuccessful South Vietnamese attempt to retake the northern provincial capital of Quang Tri.

Thieu's prediction, made in a speech to the National Defence College, was that the communists would concentrate their efforts on cutting food supplies to Saigon and also try to capture land and 'stir up discontent' among the city's population.

The discontent in Saigon hardly needs 'stirring'—high prices, corruption and military repression have produced a situation there resembling the last days of the Chinese Nationalist regime of Chiang Kai-shek, according to US journalists.

Thieu remains completely reliant on US air power to stave off defeat. He concluded his speech by saying that the United States must maintain its bombing raids against North Vietnam to 'paralyse' the country's economy and 'cause the collapse of its political system'.

Thieu has every interest in keeping the war going—North Vietnam has refused to negotiate until the Americans force him out of office.

Papadopoulos strengthens hand in Greece

GREEK premier George Papadopoulos has installed a new cabinet including 12 of the military chieftains who helped to bring him to power in the counter-revolutionary coup of April 1967.

The move gives the lie to publicists who claimed the Greek regime would liberalize itself. Previously, the colonels held only a few cabinet posts. It brings Papadopoulos closer to his goal of concentrating absolute power in his own hands.

Among the military men appointed to important posts are

former army commander Vassilios Tsoumbas (Minister of Public Order) and Alexandros Hadjipetrou, former director of the Central Intelligence Service, who becomes deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Like his predecessor in this post, Christos Xanthopoulos Palamas, Hadjipetrou will have special responsibility for improving relations with the Stalinist states in the Balkans.

Palamas recently toured some of these regimes, where he received an enthusiastic welcome from the Stalinist rulers.

Paul-Henri Spaak: 'a shoddy little man'

BY JOHN SPENCER

PAUL-HENRI SPAAK, first president of the United Nations, former NATO secretary-general and one of the founders of the Common Market, died in Brussels on Monday aged 73.

Predictably his death was mourned by capitalist spokesmen all over the world. Edward Heath described him as 'one of the principal architects of European recovery after World War II'.

Joseph Luns, the NATO secretary-general, said:

'All people who have known this great statesman will faithfully preserve his memory.'

The State Department in Washington described him as 'a towering figure on the European scene during many decades of brilliant public service'.

Born into a liberal Belgian family, Spaak began his political career on the left wing of the Belgian Socialist Party, editing the weekly 'Action Socialiste'. He entered parliament in 1932. In 1934 he visited Leon Trotsky to 'ask his advice' about the situation in the Belgian party.

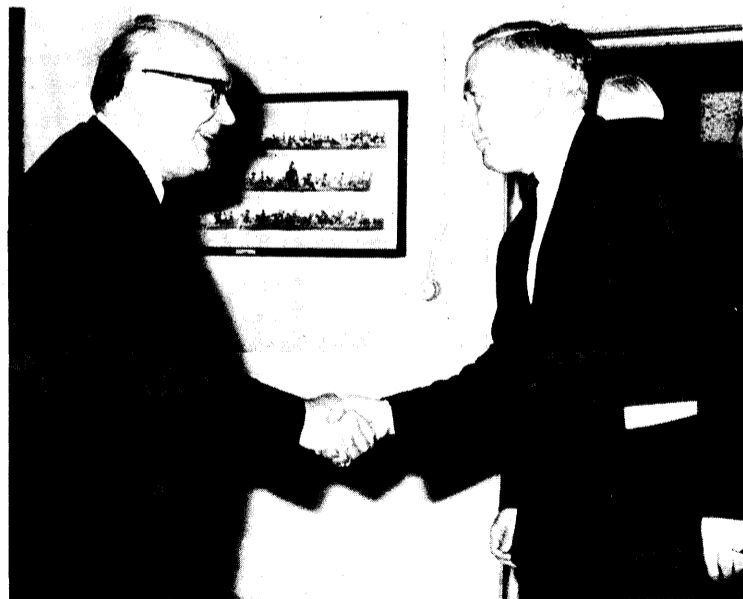
In his 'Diary in Exile', Trotsky describes their discussion:

'I was amazed by his political superficiality... All through our conversation Spaak kept "agreeing" and taking notes. But there was a little something in his agreement which made me dubious. Not that he seemed to me insincere...'

'In general, he seemed to me to be an honest "friend of the people" from an enlightened bourgeois milieu, no more than that. But honest is just the word: he was visibly disgusted by the corruption surrounding Vanderavelde-Anseele [Belgian social-democratic leaders].'

Trotsky adds: 'And now this "revolutionary" hero has become the Minister of Transport in the "National Ministry". Shoddy little man! What was it that decided Spaak—the fear of further action on the part of the masses or petty personal vanity (to become a "minister")? In the end, the difference is not great since these motives so frequently reinforce each other!'

When Trotsky wrote these lines, Spaak was only beginning his career of treachery in the service of the employers. Vanity (of the most petty sort) was certainly one of his driving forces. On the basis of a certain physical



Spaak (left) seen with Harold Wilson

resemblance he liked in later years to be compared to Winston Churchill!

So was fear of the masses. At the Paris meeting of the UN in 1948, he spelled this out very clearly.

'Our policies are founded on fear', he told the assembled representatives of reaction.

His services to imperialism also erased every trace of the honesty Trotsky noted in 1934. By 1967 Spaak had given up most of his political posts (though not his connection with NATO) to become counsellor for Europe for the American ITT combine, now revealed to have organized

a murky plot against Spaak's fellow-social democrat, president Salvador Allende of Chile.

And when Jerome D. Hoffman launched his Real Estate Fund of America in 1969, Spaak became one of his inaugural directors. He resigned about the same time as Reginald Maudling who was REFA's first president. Hoffman is now serving a two-year fraud sentence in the US.

The measure of Spaak's treachery to the European working class can be read in the fullsome tributes of the British Tories, the leaders of NATO and the US State Department.

The grass crawls with pressmen in Essex countryside

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE MALICIOUS attempt by the extreme right wing to disrupt a peaceful camp on Marxist theory organized by the Socialist Labour League and the Young Socialists has failed.

Yesterday the press campaign of lies, distortion and rumour reached an obscene stage with wild accusations of 'Nuremberg-style' rallies in the Essex countryside.

Any worker who bothered to read these lurid and ludicrous 'exposés' in the ultra-Tory press would easily discern the hand of the right-wing witch-hunters.

These men are the specialists—the storm troopers of big business who practise their low craft of red-baiting in every strike. Their frantic activity is fed only by their hatred of ordinary workers—and anyone who stands up for their rights against capitalism.

This latest episode was inspired by Monday Club members. The Club is known for its near psychotic opposition to coloured immigrants and trade unions. One of its executive committee members, Tory MP Harold Soref, orchestrated the campaign from London with the Club's Essex members adding a few absurd toots from the depths of the countryside.

We refer to one Leonard Lambert, chairman of the Essex branch. Lambert naturally has at his disposal the pages of the 'Daily Telegraph'—owned by Lady Pamela Berry, who celebrated the return of the Tory government at the Dorchester with one of the most lavish eating and drinking parties seen in ruling-class circles for decades.

Lambert claimed in yesterday's 'Telegraph' that there were guards with truncheons patrolling the camp: 'They were wearing navy blue caps, navy blue trousers and grey shirts. I thought at first they were Essex policemen but they were guards.'

'A Nuremberg-style rally was being held in the area they patrolled.'

This smear by Lambert is grotesque. Does he, like many other Monday Club members, know what a Nuremberg rally was really like? After all, many are devotees of the braggart Winston Churchill and they may recall the words the master wrote in 1936:

'If ever this country is defeated in war, I hope we may find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful place.' ('Great Contemporaries').

When Churchill wrote this, Hitler was busy murdering Communist Party members, Trotskyists, social democrats and Jews for their opposition to fascism.

As well as being a peeping-Tom for the extreme right, Lambert is a pathetically confused person. The 'policemen' he saw were actors preparing for the camp play—ironically enough 'A Cool Million', Nathanael West's satire on American fascism.

Lambert's intervention, however, was significant. It illustrates the main aim of the press campaign, started in Monday's

Tories begin witch-hunt

on our summer camp



Top: A 'Mirror' photographer takes aim from the cover of a tree. Above: A 'Mail' photographer takes aim as two reporters lean against their car.

'Daily Telegraph' by journalist Guy Rais. This was to encourage local Tories and right-wingers to come down to the camp and create incidents.

Then the bankrupt Tory propaganda machine would have more anti-socialist items to gloat over and the fight for Marxist theory within the working-class movement would have been disrupted.

But the yellow press failed miserably. The only attempt to provoke an incident came from a carful of revellers who shouted: 'Up the Monday Club'. The farmer who owns the field quite rightly demanded their credentials then sent them packing.

These efforts by the right-wing and their Fleet Street friends must not be dismissed lightly.

The antics of reporters from papers like the 'Telegraph', the 'Daily Mail', the 'Evening Standard', the 'Daily Mirror' and even the very liberal 'Guardian' constituted an infringement of the basic right to privacy.

The harassment of the campers and the holidaymakers in the adjoining field began last Friday when the 'Telegraph' paid their first visit. No one would talk

WHO IS HAROLD SOREF?

HAROLD BENJAMIN SOREF, at 55, is notorious for his extreme right-wing views, his hatred of socialism and his passionate support of the white supremacists in Africa.

He is an executive committee member of the Monday Club—a ginger group on the right wing of the Conservative Party with many members who also belong to the National Front.

Soref was elected to parliament by the Tories of Ormskirk in 1970. He is a powerful figure in the circles that back Rhodesia's racist regime. For example, he is chairman of the Monday Club's Africa committee, on the council of the Anglo-Rhodesian Society and member of the Anglo-Zanzibar Society which supports Zanzibar's deposed sheik.

He is the managing director of Soref Brothers Ltd, an exporting firm heavily involved in trade with South Africa.

Soref was educated at one of Britain's most exclusive public schools and studied at Queen's College, Oxford.

He lives in Chelsea and his London clubs are the Carlton and the Reform.

During the war he served as an intelligence officer in the army.

to the reporter and he was politely told to leave.

After the first 'Telegraph' 'exposé' the horde descended. The behaviour of the press witch-hunters can only be understood if one appreciates how desperate they are.

At the camp various mundane tricks were used. Reporters attempted to gain access under false pretences. Planes were hired for an aerial view and the news hounds spent hours lying in uncomfortable ditches all after the 'exclusive'. Finally, one reporter was reduced to striking up a very one-sided conversation with a camper in the toilets.

Calm was restored as edition time approached, but not before the RAF had buzzed the camp with a low flying Buccaneer fighter at 4.30 p.m. Monday (Soref's Home Office inquiry?).

Eventually the field was left to two Special Branch men who scrutinized the site through binoculars for confirmation of the dark press stories of 'urban guerrilla training'.

All these frantic efforts by Tory MPs and newspapers, of course, are directed against the working class. The aim of the 'Daily Telegraph' is to create an atmosphere where more repressive laws against the unions and left-wing organizations can be introduced.

This is what Soref wants when he indignantly demands a Home Office inquiry.

This man offers not a scrap of evidence to support his slanderous suggestion that the campers are being trained in 'urban guerrilla warfare'—but then the truth is hardly the issue for Soref and his press pals.

The same people gloat when the British army invades Ulster and cheer when ordinary trade unionists are jailed because they fight for the right to work.

These campaigns of intimidation must be taken seriously within the labour movement. They are only a dress rehearsal for the kind of dictatorial powers the ruling class has adopted in Ulster.

Monday Club member Leonard Lambert happened to be skulking around an Essex campsite when, he told the 'Daily Telegraph', he saw three men. 'They were wearing navy blue caps, navy blue trousers and grey shirts. I thought at first they were Essex policemen. But they were guards! A Nuremberg-style rally was being held in the area they patrolled.' In fact the men he saw were actors who took part in Sunday night's production of 'A Cool Million'—Nathanael West's satire on American fascism in the 1930s—presented to the camp. Nothing like a fertile right-wing mind, is there?



ACT DOMINATES TUC RESOLUTIONS

Defence or attack in the battle against the Industrial Relations Act—this is the question posed by the preliminary agenda for the September TUC in Brighton published today.

In fact three lines of policy are discernible among the 13 resolutions on the subject unions have submitted for discussion at the conference.

There are those who want to reaffirm and possibly strengthen the policies of non-co-operation and deregistration adopted at Croydon and Blackpool last year. There are those who want to take the offensive against the Act's Tory authors. And there are those who want to use parts of the Act they think are to their advantage.

But whether last group—led by the National Union of Bank Employees—will have a voice at the conference is in doubt.

No decision has yet been taken by the TUC Organization Committee about whether suspended unions like NUBE will be able to move their resolutions at Brighton. A spokesman yesterday thought it unlikely they would be.

So the main issue before the conference will be: does it adopt the kind of policy put forward by sections of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, or that which appears to be favoured by unions representing film technicians and print workers.

The AUEW engineers' section will urge delegates to reaffirm their total opposition to the Act and demand 'its repeal by the next Labour government in favour of free collective bargaining'.

Says the resolution: 'Congress . . . endorses the instructions of the 1971 Congress to affiliated unions not to register under the Act and calls for the immediate operation of Rule 13 in the event of unions not complying with this decision.'

'It instructs affiliates, whilst taking all steps to defeat the operation of the Act, not to co-operate in the institutions set up to implement it. It also urges solidarity in defence of unions and individuals penalized by the the courts under the Act.'

'It calls for the establishment of a special joint fund financed by all unions to meet any penalties imposed, and to establish machinery to ensure that any union prevented from functioning by sequestration shall fully maintain its activities.'

The AUEW technical and supervisory section (TASS) will call on unions to oppose implementation of the Act by both political and industrial means.

'Congress will give assistance including industrial action if necessary', the TASS resolution says, 'in defence of affiliated unions victimized under the Act.'

It goes on: 'Recognizing that the Labour Party will expect trade union support in the forthcoming election, Congress demands that the Parliamentary Labour Party if returned to power will remove the Industrial Relations Act from the Statute Book and restore the position which existed prior to the Act.'

The Association of Cinema-



tograph, Television and Allied Technicians is committed to a different line.

While urging Congress to declare no co-operation and assistance to unions whose funds are hit, its motion goes on to stress:

'The real source of these attacks is the Tory government.'

It is only when this government is removed from office that workers' rights can be secured, the resolution says.

The ACTT concludes: 'Congress instructs the General Council to organize a nationwide campaign, including the necessary industrial action, to bring this government down and to fight for the return of a Labour government committed to

- Genuine socialist policies;
- The repeal of the Industrial Relations Act in its entirety; and
- The restoration of previous trade union rights.'

Although its motion is by no means as unequivocal, the National Society of Operative Printers, Graphical and Media Personnel also seems to favour an offensive strategy.

'Congress condemns the anti-trade union activities of the Tory government', its motion says.

'[It] calls upon the trade union movement to forge a new unity in action now against the Industrial Relations Act, and to struggle for an immediate General Election in order to return a Labour government pledged to socialist advance.'

On the other hand the Civil and Public Services Association wants the conference to agree that:

'Where action is taken against a union or its members by any body or person that union has the right to defend itself or its members before the National Industrial Relations Court or industrial tribunals.'

NUBE—suspended for registering under the Act—would, if given the chance, try to persuade delegates that 'affiliated unions should utilize those parts of the Industrial Relations Act 1971 which it is in the interests of their members to do so'.

The National Union of Journalists wants to instruct the TUC General Council to resist the use of the Act to interfere with free reporting and comment.

Most unions are remarkably reticent in the preliminary agenda about unemployment.

This is not because the issue is a dead one—last month's figure of 900,000 jobless showed it to be very much alive—but because previous TUC appeals to the Tories to solve the problem have been shown utterly bankrupt.

Here no union comes forward with an effective policy.

The Transport and General Workers' Union wants full employment declared 'a major national priority'. It wants Congress to reject any idea that merely to reduce the present high levels will be enough.

Besides referring to 'necessary changes in government

policy and the need for union action to reduce' technological and other unemployment', however, the T&GWU leaves vague how this priority will be achieved.

The main substance of its proposals is 'pressure for a shorter working year, including the target of a 32-hour week, a four-day week, four weeks, annual holiday and additional public holidays without loss of pay'.

The T&GWU wants delegates to declare a belief that 'in this way . . . large number of jobs can be created and the proceeds of technological advance more fairly shared'.

The Society of Graphical and Allied Trades wants the General Council 'to organize and head a united effort by the organized workers of this country to obtain the 35-hour week'.

For the most part, the drafting of the conference motions has an air of unreality heightened by the events of the last fortnight.

The sole challenge to the tripartite talks with the Tories and the employers in which the TUC leaders are currently engaged comes from the AUEW constructional section.

In one of the briefest and most direct resolutions on the preliminary agenda, the construction men say:

'Congress reaffirms its opposition to policies of wage restraint in any form and instructs the General Council to refuse discussions with the government or the CBI that have this aim in view.'

CRUCIAL LYNCH VOTE

The result of today's mid-Cork by-election will decide the fate of the Lynch government in Eire.

If he loses mid-Cork Lynch's Fianna Fail party will be in a minority in the Dail (Irish parliament).

With the loss of this seat the total opposition vote would be 69 while his own party's would be 68. He would have to rely on the continued support of such capricious deputies as Neil Blaney, Foley, Brennan or possibly the Aontacht Eireann candidate in the election, Mr Sean Sherwin.

As the 'Irish Times' said on Monday:

'A win in Cork is vital to continued government by Fianna Fail.'

It is a four-cornered contest between Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, Labour and Aontacht Eireann and the Irish Unity party, which was founded by ex-Lynch minister Kevin Boland.

The campaigning is also intriguing because it is the first time that the fragile 'coalition' between the right-wing Fine Gael and the Labour Party has operated. They are giving each other preferences.

Lynch's campaign in the electorate is being conducted on an unprecedented scale. Almost every minister in the government has been on the electorate bangwagon and large sums of party funds have been spent on publicity.

Voting in the by-election could well determine when Lynch will call a General Election.

With mounting unemployment and Common Market entry forcing huge price increases onto the working class, Lynch is fast falling from popularity.

He has also fallen foul of the unions with new National Wage Agreements, which is a prescription for wage-cuts.

BODY COUNT SINCE DIRECT RULE

Contrary to popular mythology, the number of killings in Ulster has increased since the Tories seized direct rule from Westminster.

Since March 24, 182 people have been killed in Ulster. They include 126 civilians and 56 army personnel.

The civilians include 88 Catholics and 38 Protestants. The figures for Catholic deaths are broken down in the following way:

Murdered by Protestant extremists 42; killed by the British army 25; killed in explosions 10, killed in 'crossfire' four; killed in 'other circumstances' four.



DEATH OF NAZI INDUSTRIALIST

Friedrich Flick, convicted Nazi war criminal and West Germany's richest industrialist, died recently, aged 89.

The most powerful of the Ruhr barons, Flick supplied the money which brought Adolf Hitler to power.

During the war he used slave labour in his plants all over Europe to feed the Nazi war machine.

NEW EMPIRE

Sentenced after the war at Nuremberg, he served less than three years of a seven-year term in jail before being released to build a new industrial empire with the remains of his old combine.

Flick's holdings are now worth more than £1,000m. They include a 40 per cent stake in Daimler-Benz and steel interests throughout the Common Market.

Flick's life-story shows how the men who brought Hitler to power are now back in the saddle in West Germany—with the aid of the United States, Britain and France.

Flick's rise to industrial power began after World War I, when he proved extremely adept in taking over companies and banding them into trusts.

He established what was then the biggest coal and steel combine in Germany — the Vereinigte Stahlwerke.

In 1932, according to the indictment at the Nuremberg war crimes trial, Flick joined about 30 other industrialists to form the 'little circle' that 'participated in effecting

Hitler's rise to power'.

On their behalf Hitler crushed the powerful trade unions and the working-class parties, depriving the workers of all rights to fight their employers.

Flick himself won from the Nazis a state loan to buy iron mines in his native Siegerland and electrical works in the Rhineland.

The annexation of Austria in 1938 brought him Salzburg mines and smelting plants.

Other smelters came into his possession with the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. From occupied Poland and Czechoslovakia he obtained more coal, iron and steel concerns.

And as the Nazi armies advanced into the Soviet Union, Flick grew rich on the looted plant and machinery.

Hitler gave his combine lucrative arms contracts and his holdings were estimated at more than £200m.

Slave labourers from all over occupied Europe were herded into special camps to serve the Flick mines, furnaces and foundries.

They worked until they dropped dead from exhaustion and starvation under the whips of SS guards.

After their trial at Nuremberg, Flick and his son Otto-Ernst served only a short term of imprisonment before being released by the American authorities.

They handed him back control of the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, stipulating only that the combine be broken up.

He was ordered to sell off either his coal or his steel interests. Astutely, he chose to sell his coal mines and the

£20m he received formed the basis for the new expansion.

He bought 25 per cent of Daimler-Benz at a time when few people could imagine that the Germans would ever be driving Mercedes cars again.

COMMON MARKET

Forbidden to expand in West Germany, Flick made newspaper headlines in 1955 when he became the first German industrialist since 1914 to acquire a major share in a French steel company.

In April 1956, he bought a major share in a Belgian steel concern, the first German ever to make his way into Belgian basic industry.

Flick was thus one of the main driving forces behind the formation of the Common Market, designed to bring together the most reactionary monopolies in Europe against the working class.

The first steps towards the EEC involved the formation of a Coal and Steel Community dominated by Flick interests.

The Flick group now controls 103 companies and has major interests in France and Belgium. It holds 40 per cent of Daimler-Benz and over 80 per cent of the Nobel Dynamite Company.

The group also has factories making synthetic fibre, a publishing company and Europe's largest paper mill. Its estimated annual turnover is £1,250m.

Several Flick companies have lucrative contracts to supply arms to the West German forces. The biggest of these is Krauss-Mafei which builds the Leopard tank.

URAGUAY'S COST OF LIVING RISES 50%

After the weeks of talk at the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development held in Chile and the innumerable reformist resolutions solemnly voted on, those underdeveloped countries under discussion find themselves in even more serious crisis.

The political powers that be turn to more vicious repression of the working class.

President Bordaberry's regime in Uruguay is a case in point. After two months of a state of emergency in which trade unionists and Tupamaros guerrillas have been arrested and shot, the Uruguayan economy is in a worse state than ever.

Recently the Economic Minister, Senor Froteza, admitted that the foreign debt had reached \$673m. The cost of living in 1971 increased by 46.9 per cent and in the first six months of this year, the rate of increase is even more severe.

Published figures estimate that the subsistence income for a married couple with two children has gone up from 51,000 Uruguayan pesos in January 1971 to 94,000 at the present time. In fact most wages still remain below the 1971 subsistence level.

Local government workers earn 30,000 pesos, building workers 52,000 and secondary teachers 50,000 pesos a month.

This rapid inflation has meant larger sections of the Uruguayan masses are being thrown into impoverishment and starvation.

In the riverbank area of southern Uruguay the child population is being decimated by measles. In the past few days, 30 fatal cases of measles have been reported in the departments of Rio Negro and Soriano where basic food items have become luxury articles.

Apart from declaring a state of emergency and stepping up police repression, Bordaberry has begun to look to the President of Brazil, Garrastazu Medici, for help. Brazilian firms are buying up property and land in Uruguay.

He has also imposed a four-month ban on the domestic consumption of beef in an attempt to boost exports.



Medic. Being looked to for help by Uruguay.

This ban has caused wide-scale panic on the food-market. Prices of potatoes and vegetables are soaring, while dealers claim that supplies of pork, fish and poultry will run out in a month.

The International Monetary Fund's response has been far removed from any reformist platitudes about helping the 'third world'. In their latest agreement with Bordaberry, he has to promise not to change his wages policy during 1972. In other words, they condemn the Uruguayan masses to at least another 50 per cent cut in their already meagre living standards.

The only people who are putting forward reformist solutions are the working-class leaders, the Stalinists in particular.

The National Labour Convention (CNT), the country's major trade union organization called a 24-hour General Strike last Thursday. This is the tenth General Strike since Bordaberry took over the presidency on March 1.

These token actions are aimed at pressurizing Bordaberry into 'observing the country's constitutional guarantees' and into allowing wage increases.

This pressure policy is one of the broad coalition of Christian Democrats and Stalinists and has been worked out to avoid an all-out fight against a government set on a path of destroying the working class and to dissipate the militancy of the working class which is ready for such a fight.

Travelling salesman

The contact men who operate in the Soviet planning system are in the news again.

Known as 'talkachi', their activities are as illegal as they are indispensable to the bureaucracy. They are the men who put plants with surplus supplies in touch with buyers and hunt around to find scarce materials or spare parts which enable another factory to keep going.

The 'talkach' roams the country with his briefcase, moving into the inner sanctums of Soviet industry with a nod and a wink. The pay-off for his services may be in cash or in kind and to get what he wants he has to oil palms and cut some very fine corners.

Even 'Pravda' has now to admit his existence. In fact the 'economic reform' which put more power into the hands of plant managers opened the way

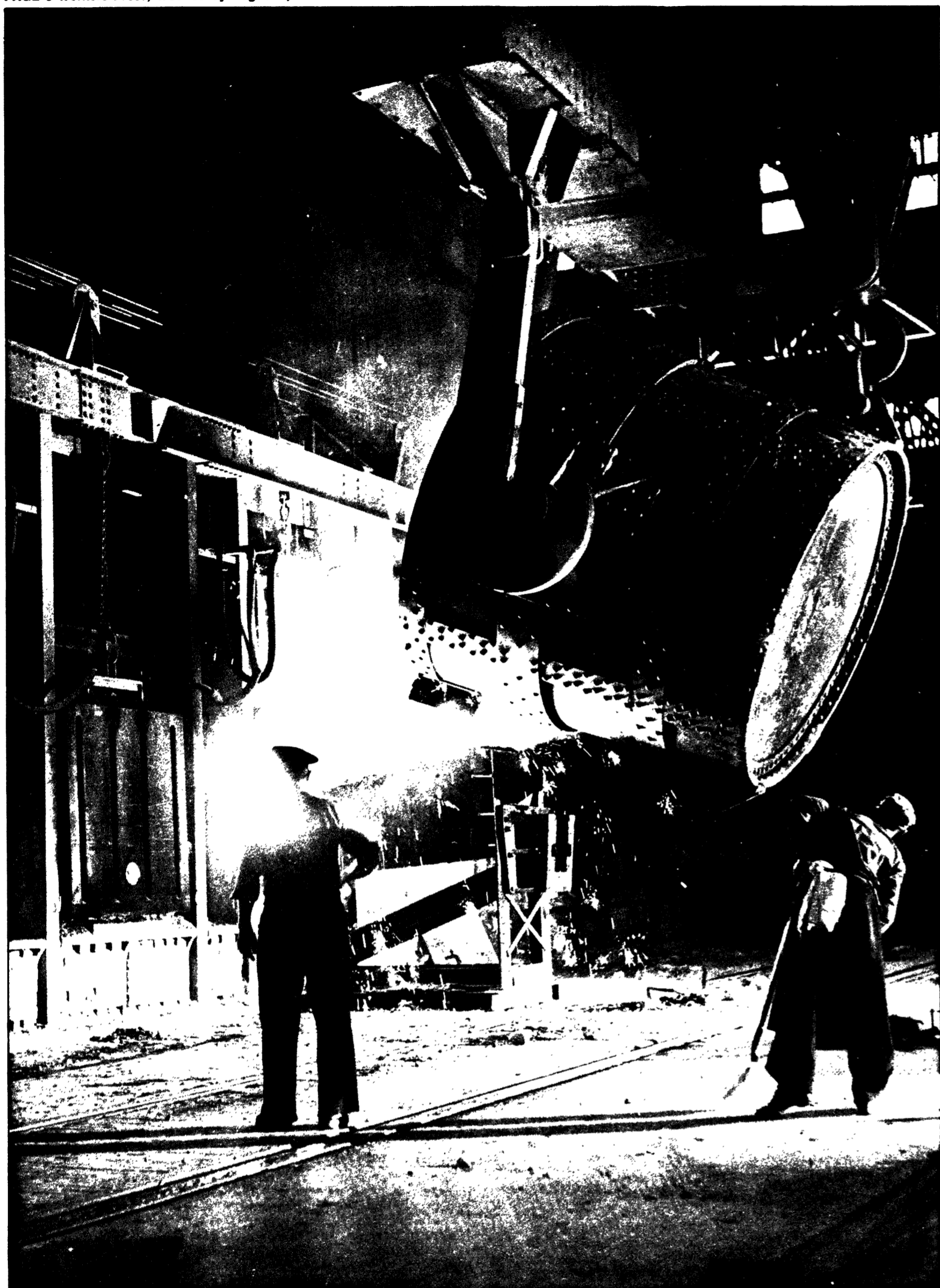
for this particularly parasitic form of private enterprise. They find it useful to have someone around who can help them solve their supply or marketing problems.

It is when bureaucratic mismanagement and gross disproportions have thrown the economy into a crisis that the 'talkachi' really come into their own. The fact that they are now flourishing as never before is highly significant.

The Soviet bureaucracy is facing growing economic difficulties, especially in its attempts to build up technologically more advanced industries and carry out new, giant projects.

The 'talkachi' are a product of the distortions and inflexibility which inevitably accompany bureaucratic methods of planning. They are one of the parasitic off-shoots of the policy of 'socialism in one country'.

The bureaucracy cannot do without the 'talkachi', but the working class can do without both. Only when the political revolution has overthrown the bureaucracy can the planned economy come into its own.



THE DECLINE OF STEEL

BY PHILIP WADE. PART ONE

As the British steel industry comes face to face with Common Market entry, it also reaches the end of a long, historical road which spells doom for it in any independent form.

The British Steel Corporation's annual report just published shows that in the year ending March 1972 they made a gigantic loss of £68m. Home sales only reached 12.6 million tons, and total turnover at £1,292m was substantially below the levels anticipated. The drop in home sales represented a massive fall of 24 per cent compared to the 1970-1971 levels. This reflected the most severe decline in UK steel demand since the war and

a verification of the deep-going crisis throughout British capitalism. In an industry where almost 100,000 jobs have disappeared in ten years—and 40,000 since nationalization in 1967—the Tory government is planning for well over another 100,000 sackings. The vast majority of British steel plants will be closed and production concentrated in a few modernized units. Output over the next decade will be virtually the same as it is now. The Tories have decided, in conjunction with Common Market governments, that any future developments will probably take place on the Continent itself. Already burdened with over capacity—yet on the whole with far more modern equipment—the EEC is firmly opposed to the expansion of

BSC to a position where it might dominate the rest of Europe. At the same time, of course, British capitalism does not have the financial resources to enable prolonged expansion of steel-making capacity in this country. The end of such an industry is of tremendous historical significance for British capitalism. It means that the 'workshop of the world' of the 19th century has now been reduced to the graveyard of world industry. A century ago it was Britain which dominated the world in the production of iron and steel. It provided the basic raw material for manufactured goods. With no great rivals and a vast empire, Britain controlled the world market. Today that position is reversed. British capitalism is

arguably the weakest link of the advanced economies that make up western imperialism. And the fact that most basic of all industries—steel—is on the verge of collapse indicates the depth of that crisis. Even massive state aid through investment loans and two bouts of 'nationalization' have been unable to stop the rot. Now the British steel industry finds itself in the midst of rapid technical changes which are transforming production. The decline in British steel is long-term. Until the 1870s the industry still led the world in production. But by 1914 it had slipped into third place behind the United States and Germany. The main reason for this was the rapid switch from iron to steel production over that period. Iron production was heavily

dependent on manual labour, with highly-skilled craftsmen and a relatively large labour force. Steel production became a viable proposition on the introduction of the Bessemer method in the 1850s. This involved the conversion of molten pig iron into steel without the use of additional fuel. Carbon and silicon were burned out of the metal by a blast of air blown through a converter. The result was a steel much stronger than the wrought iron which had been produced previously. Although relatively cheap, Bessemer had disadvantages in that it was impossible to control accurately the quality of finished steel. It was replaced, therefore, by the open hearth method which, although slower, did allow tests to be made in the course of manufacture. But it was the Americans and Germans who moved into

PRODUCTION

steel production quicker than Britain, employing expensive capital-equipment and highly-trained chemists and metallurgists. In 1913 Britain's share of world steel production was about 10 per cent. It was, however, a declining share, the process continuing throughout the 1930s. By 1955 the share was 7.5 per cent and by the late 1960s only 5 per cent. This long-term decline now coincides with the collapse of British capitalism and its investment programmes. The British capitalist class—dominated for so long by parasitical existence off long-term investments, has always been notoriously slow to take advantage of new technology. At the beginning of the 1950s, British workers were refusing to work hand-charged blast furnaces at Corby that had been replaced by the USA and Europe at the beginning of the century by mechanically-charged furnaces. The universal beam mill, used to roll the girders required for construction, was invented by a British emigrant and first used in Europe in

1902 and in the USA in 1908. The first such mill in Britain was opened by Dorman Long in 1958. A comparison with the Japanese steel industry will illustrate vividly the backward nature of its British counterpart and the hopeless position it now finds itself in. In the 1950s the most important breakthrough in steel technology this century, and since Bessemer, was developed in Austria. Called the Lintz and Donawitz method, it involves blasting molten iron with a stream of oxygen, the metal being held in a giant cauldron. Its main advantage over the old production methods lies in its enormous time-saving. A modern basic oxygen furnace can take 350 tons of raw material and convert it to steel within 40 minutes. By comparison, an open hearth furnace needs ten hours to produce the same quantity. Basic oxygen furnaces have a throughput of around 200 tons per man-year; open hearth are less than half that figure. And for certain types of steel—principally mild steels—

basic-oxygen gives considerably better quality control. At Port Talbot, BSC has already replaced 14 old-style converters with two LDs. They are capable of producing 250,000 tons extra of steel each year. Yet the labour force has been cut from 2,500 to 500. As another example, a 9,000-tons-a-day furnace, using the latest techniques, can produce the same steel output, but using only around one-sixth of the labour force as one installed 15 years ago. In the last 15 years Japan has made an astonishing leap from being a minor producer of steel to the third in the world, with a capacity of over 100 million tons a year. This growth has been achieved by building huge coastal works using the LD methods, relying entirely on coal and iron ore imported from the vast fields of Aus-

GROWTH

tralia, Brazil, Canada and India. The Japanese have been able to drop the price of steel they produce by about 3 per cent a year. This has given them formidable competitiveness in world markets, not least of all in Europe. Japanese steel imports by Britain have risen 500 per cent to £20m over the last two years. The first quarter of 1972 has shown a further 12 per cent increase. The United States has 58 million tons of LD capacity and plans for a further 16 million tons. West Germany's LD capacity is 25 million tons with another 16 million scheduled for development. But Britain only produces 11 million tons a year by the most up-to-date methods. Over 50 per cent of all steel in Britain is still produced by the open-hearth method. Despite the fact that £1,000m has been invested in British steel since 1956 and half the industry is less than a decade old, productivity per man, at 110 tons, is under half the Japanese figure. Japan has enormous plants with a 10 million ton plus

Left: Open hearth furnace which replaced the Bessemer method. Right: Port Talbot steel works capacity. There are only three British plants with an output greater than 2 million. Over 30 units have an average output of 850,000 tons. **CONTINUED TOMORROW**

Redundancies in British steel industry since January, 1971

January 1971: Lanarkshire and Hartlepool: 560.

February: Motherwell: 130.

March: Motherwell, Sheffield, Rotherham, Bilston, Corby: 2,600.

April: Irlam, Teesside, Tipton: 7,255.

June: Huntingdon: 200.

July: Hartlepool: 200; Stanton: 244.

October: Hartlepool: 250.

November: Glasgow: 300.

January 1972: Newport: 1,120.

June: Irlam: 2,400; Nottingham: 1,300.



LET HISTORY JUDGE STALINISM

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

BY TOM KEMP PART 6

SOCIALISM IN ONE COUNTRY AND FOREIGN POLICY

The most prevalent mistake made by bourgeois

commentators and the revisionists who scorn the dialectic and pick up the crumbs from the table of the Kremlinologists is to equate Stalinism with the purges and repression in which Stalin indulged.

On this reckoning, since his successors no longer resort to such methods, or do so in a lesser and more discreet way, Stalinism has either

disappeared—to be replaced by something else—or it has become respectable enough to enter into a dialogue or even an alliance with.

This is basically false and un-Marxist. Trotsky took up the political struggle against the development of the bureaucracy long before Stalin resorted to the pathological liquidation of his opponents and established himself as the supreme arbiter of that bureaucracy.

It was Stalin's basic revision of Marxist theory, breaking with proletarian internationalism and propounding the doctrine of 'socialism in one country' which distinguished Stalinism from Marxism-Leninism. It is this theory, and its derivations—'peaceful co-existence' and parliamentary and peaceful roads to socialism—which remain the distinguishing marks of Stalinism to this day as embodied in the policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other self-styled communist parties faithful to the line of Moscow or of Peking.

When Trotskyists use the term 'Stalinism' they refer to this doctrine and policy, worked out by Stalin as the ideology and practice of bureaucratic rule.

In this sense Stalinism remains a deadly canker in the working-class movement, made more insidious in some ways because the old dictator himself is not only dead but completely without honour among the Moscow, if not the Peking Stalinists themselves. They propound and adhere, in fact, to a theory and policy which appears to have no specific origin, but is illegitimately credited to Lenin and, at times, to Marx and Engels.

Whether or not Stalin was

conscious of the fact, the origins of the theory can be traced back to the right wing of German social democracy.

Trotsky points this out in his detailed criticism of the draft programme of the Communist International drawn up by Bukharin to Stalin's order for the 6th Congress in 1928.

In one form or another it appears in the thinking of all reformists who begin always with the national state, their 'own', and never with the unity of the world economy.

As far back as 1878, in the early days of the German Social Democratic Party, one Herr Vollmar put forward a theory for an 'isolated state' on socialist foundations. He assumed that it would be quite possible, in an advanced capitalist country like Germany, for socialism to be established while the rest of the world remained capitalist. He envisaged, as Trotsky put it—before the Stalinists patented the term!—'the perspective of the peaceful co-existence of the socialist and capitalist systems'.

Socialism would triumph peacefully, in Vollmar's view, by selling goods more cheaply in the world market. What a Utopia!

But Bukharin and Stalin took over this theory, or evolved it independently, and erected it into a theory for the Soviet Union and for the entire Communist International. It is the same theory which Khrushchev propounded when he spoke of the triumph of 'communism' as a result of the peaceful competition of the two systems. It is the same theory to which Brezhnev, Kosygin and the leadership of the Stalinist parties adhere to this day.

This, then, is the theoretical

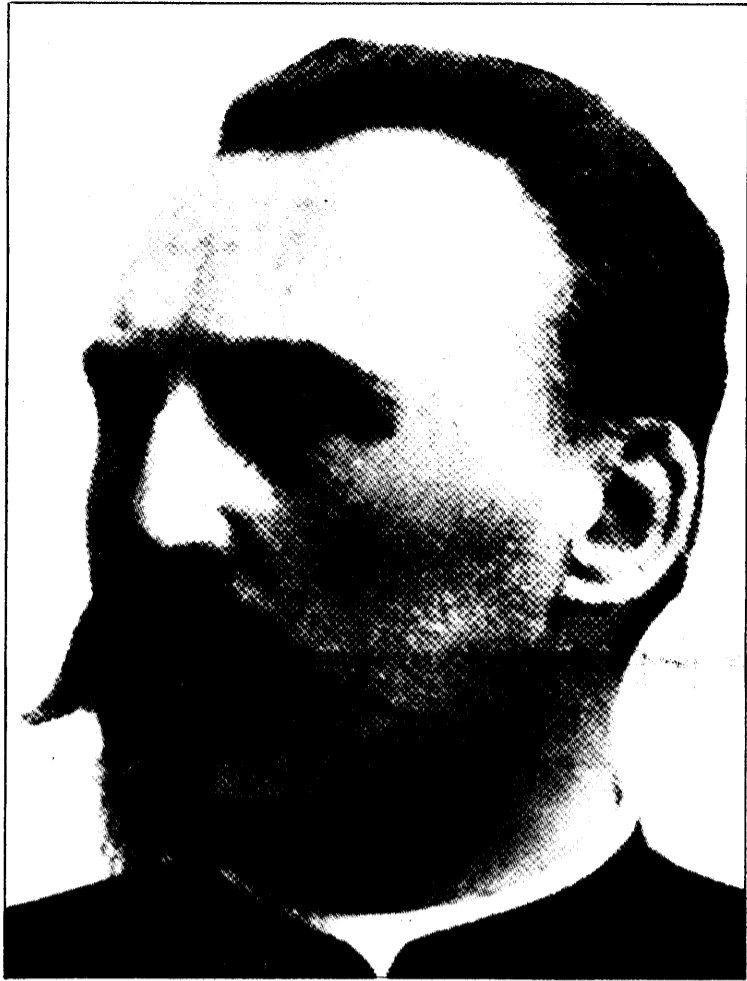
Hitler's accession to power in 1933 was the greatest defeat to the working class movement. Reclamations began. Above: Bookburning.

heart of Stalinism on the basis of which, by means of forced draught five-year plans and dekulakization, Stalin claimed to have built socialism in the 1930s. Through all the zig-zags of the 'third period' and the Popular Front, into alliance with Hitler and out of it and into the agreements with America and Britain, into the Cold War and out of it, this remained Stalinism's guiding star.

The policy of 'socialism' in a single country meant that the bureaucracy could not afford to see revolutionary movements break out, let alone triumph, anywhere else. Lip-service was given to 'internationalism', but in practice it meant unqualified obedience to the needs of the Soviet Union as conceived by the bureaucracy.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union remained a relatively backward country. This was admitted by Stalin and by his successors in their constant, repeated but ever realized, promises 'to catch up and outstrip' the advanced capitalist countries. While Vollmar had, at least, propounded the theory for one of the most advanced countries, Stalin's theory was applied to a country which remained both backward and isolated.

Taken up with enthusiasm by the bureaucracy as a whole, because it so well suited its needs as a parasitic ruling stratum, the practice of socialism in one country gave it added succour. At the same time it sapped the strength of the international communist movement, transformed the communist parties into 'border



Vollmar, who put a theory for an 'isolate state'.

guards' for the Soviet Union and imposed upon them essentially counter-revolutionary policies embodied in documents like the 'British Road to Socialism', approved and edited by Stalin himself.

Like Vollmar, the Stalinists see that socialism in a single country—now joined by the deformed workers' states of Eastern Europe since 1944-1945—has as its corollary 'peaceful co-existence' with the rest of the world, which remains within the sphere of capitalist economy.

There is no need to recount here all the contradictions in which this involves the bureaucracy because many of them have already been dealt with. We shall be concerned here specifically with its working out in the field of foreign relations.

The Stalinist policy of 'socialism in one country' reflected itself in foreign policy in a very definite way. As Trotsky put it: 'The degeneration of the governing stratum could not but be accompanied by a corresponding change of aims and methods in Soviet diplomacy.'

Instead of being subordinated to the aim of overthrowing capitalism as a world system, it was turned towards 'peaceful co-existence' with the bourgeoisie. Not only did it abandon support for revolutionary movements in other countries, but it expressed a complete lack of confidence in and contempt for the working class and even for the leadership of the other communist parties.

Medvedev's basic failure to understand the nature of Stalinism makes it impossible for him to deal adequately with its diplomatic record. Instead, while being critical of Stalin's policy, he never gets to its roots. For him it consists of some correct decisions and many mistakes, but he blames the mistakes on the fact that the final decisions were taken by one man and that Stalin could not be infallible:

'The system he set up made mistakes not only inevitable, numerous and grave, but extremely difficult to correct. This was one of the most dangerous consequences of the cult.'

The superficiality of this approach is shown when Medvedev turns to examine cases. He begins with the 'third period', from 1929 to 1934, when, following the 6th Congress of the Communist International, under Stalin's direction, the end of the period of capitalist stabilization was

said to open a new one of imminent revolution in which the masses were deserting the social democratic organizations and becoming 'radicalized'.

Central to the new course was the definition of social democracy as a wing of fascism.

'In countries where there are strong social democratic parties', proclaimed the 10th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, 'fascism assumes the particular form of social fascism, which to an ever-increasing extent serves the bourgeoisie as an instrument for the paralyzing of the activity, of the masses in the struggle against the regime of fascist dictatorship. By means of this monstrous system of political and economic oppression, the bourgeoisie, aided and abetted by international social democracy, has been attempting to crush the revolutionary class movement for many years.

This refrain, echoed and embroidered over the next few years, prepared the way for the accession to power of Hitler in 1933, the greatest defeat in the history of the workers' movement.

While condemning the 'third period' policies of Stalin, Medvedev is unable to explain them. He wrongly sees the labelling of social democrats as 'social fascists' to be a continuation of Bolshevik opposition to Menshevism. It was nothing of the kind.

The whole policy of 'socialism in one country' had led to the adoption of essentially Menshevik policies of the 'two-stage' revolution in China and other countries, while the continuators of Bolshevism in the Russian party were hounded and destroyed by Stalin. The turn towards the policy of 'social fascism' was a panic reaction, taken empirically, to the grave dangers confronting the Soviet Union internationally at the very moment when a grain crisis had precipitated forced collectivization, creating conditions of civil war in the countryside. It was an ultra-left, adventurist zigzag which not only did enormous damage to the foreign communist parties and divided and disoriented the advanced workers, but also intensified the dangers facing the Soviet Union.

Medvedev sees clearly enough the dangers of Stalin's policy in the early 1930s, especially as regards Germany. He would have profited from a study of Trotsky's writings on the period, of which he

appears to be unaware. Trotsky warned repeatedly of the suicidal dangers of a policy which saw no difference between fascism and bourgeois democracy, which he traced to philosophical roots.

'From the Marxist denial of the absolute contradiction it deduces the general negation of the contradiction, even the relative contradiction. This error is typical of vulgar radicalism. For if there be no contradiction whatsoever between democracy and fascism—even in the sphere, of the form of the rule of the bourgeoisie—then the two regimes obviously enough must be equivalent. Whence the conclusion: Social Democracy = Fascism. For some reason, however, social democracy is dubbed social fascism. And the meaning of the term "social" in this connection has been left unexplained to this very moment.'

Trotsky then goes on to explain the difference between democracy as a form of bourgeois rule, in which parliament provided the main arena for the operation of social democracy supported by the workers, and fascism, in which the workers' organizations are smashed and all power gathered into the hands of a dictatorship representing finance-capital and leaning on the support of the petty bourgeoisie.

Stalin's policies, imposed on the communist parties, isolated them from large sections of the working class and opened the way for the victory of fascism. The alternative was not support for bourgeois democracy in the abstract, not a relaxation of the struggle against social democracy, but a United Front tactic.

Such a tactic could not be aimed directly and exclusively at the followers of the social democratic organizations—the so-called 'United Front from below' put forward by the Stalinists. It had to be turned to the organizations having a mass basis and thus to the leadership of those organizations. With what purpose? Trotsky explains:

'The Communist Party proves to the masses and their organizations its readiness in action to wage battle in common with them, for aims, no matter how modest, so long as they lie on the road of the historical development of the proletariat; the Communist Party in this struggle takes into account the actual conditions of the class at each given moment; it turns not to the masses only, but also to those organizations whose leadership is recognized by the masses; it confronts the reformist organizations before the eyes of the masses with the real problems of the class struggle. The policy of the united front hastens the revolutionary development of the class by revealing clearly that the common struggle is undermined not by the disruptive acts of the Communist Party but by the conscious sabotage of the leaders of social democracy.'

These were the principles upon which the United Front was advocated in the early years of the Comintern. It had nothing in common with an abstract defence of democracy. It was an active policy of class struggle to win leadership in the class. The crime of Stalin was that he rendered the German Communist Party in particular incapable of making such a bid for leadership. This was not just 'stupidity', as Medvedev suggests, it was the result of a complete break with Marxism and internationalism.

PART 6 WILL BE CONTINUED TOMORROW

¹ L. Trotsky 'The Revolution Betrayed' p. 186.

² L. Trotsky 'Germany 1931-1932', p. 63.

³ L. Trotsky, *op. cit.* p. 103.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

ONE

His Master's Voice: Introducing the BBC's 'World at One' programme William Hardcastle absentmindedly announced: 'This is William Whitelaw . . . I mean . . . William Hardcastle in the World at One studio . . .'

CHAMPAGNE

Thousands of trade unionists often wonder what goes on inside the four walls of Congress House when the TUC is in session.

Since the Tories came to power and began their offensive, the working class has looked—so far unsuccessfully—for leadership from the TUC.

The Monday after the five dockers were taken to Pentonville, the TUC 'inner cabinet', the finance and general purposes committee, met in London to consider the situation.

Outside hundreds of trade unionists, taking part in a lobby called by the All Trades Unions Alliance, were demanding some action. The ATUA section were demanding a General Strike to make the Tories resign while the faction led by the Communist Party remained silent.

Suddenly, a man appeared at the window of the third floor of Congress House. He had an object in his hand, which he threw. The next thing lobbyists saw was an empty champagne bottle smash into pieces next to their feet.

Not a beer bottle, notice, but the best champagne.

Well, you always wanted to know what went on in Congress House.

GEMS

You gasped at the Jak cartoon in the 'Evening Standard' during the power strike, reeled at the 'Daily Telegraph' editorials during the miners' strike.

Listen to some of these gems from this week's main article in the Lord Cowdray-owned publication, the 'Economist':

'In any sensible industrial system the right sanction against the likes of them [Messrs Steer, Turner etc.] is not jug, but the sack. If they persist with their unlawful

industrial practices, they should be dismissed from the trade union, whose rules they will be flouting, and then from the docks where they will be steadily rendering all jobs uneconomic.'

In another passage the author says the past week is 'about whether Britain is to be governable under any democratically-elected administration, with the courts protecting the weak [the "weak" being a reference to Midland Cold Storage, the outfit owned by the multi-millionaire Lord Vestey!] or whether the real powers of decision are to pass to marauding protection rackets . . .'

'If those who use mob violence to break laws they dislike are confirmed in real power, there will be three further results. First, everybody knows that they will become more violent and corrupt—and in a personal and venal sense, not merely in their present power-seeking one,' etc., etc.

There is one final paragraph worthy of mention:

'Mr Carr could have changed the history of the government if he had stood before parliament and declared that he utterly rejected that men who had killed old people by interrupting electricity supplies should be rewarded in this way.'

Mr Alastair Burnet, editor of the 'Economist' is shortly to become the main anchor man for the BBC programme 'Panorama'.



Mr Carr

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We're at crossroads in fight with Tories says dockers

SOUTHAMPTON docks shop steward Denny Harryman believes that the working class has reached the crossroads in its struggle against the Tories. He told our reporter:

At the moment everyone except those closest to the struggle believes that the dockers are locked in a battle with the employers over wages, conditions and jobs.

The majority of dockers, despite the shouts of 'Heath out' on demonstrations, are interested only in getting guarantees of job security.

They want to be sure that their jobs will still be there five years, ten years, and even 50 years' time.

The delegate conference decision to strike at 8 a.m. Friday, July 28, after twice postponing it was a manifestation of the insecurity the dockers felt.

But the Tories are under no illusions. They see this latest resistance of the working class as a direct threat to their way of life. They believed that the Industrial Relations Act would be the instrument to silence the Labour Party, gag the TUC and the unions and castrate the workers.

Unhappily for them, as the miners and railwaymen before them, the dockers are in no mood to fall for their gigantic confidence trick.

They realize that this Act can be defeated and it is up to trade unionists everywhere to support them and it is not only the Industrial Relations Act that can be defeated here.

The Tory Party, big business and the whole rotten system is at crisis point and as the workers inflict more defeats, like freeing the jailed dockers, they become more aware of their power and the Tories more hysterical about losing theirs.

The labour movement is at the crossroads. It must not draw back now. Only complete victory will be enough. Anything less will be a sell-out!

Equal pay attacked

EQUAL PAY for women could mean a drastic reduction in female employment according to a new report from the Office of Manpower Economics. The Equal Pay Act is due to come into force at the end of 1975.

The findings in a sample of 200 firms showed that many employers favoured men in terms of the comparative costs and productivity of the two.

It also warned that present male-female differentials would have to be altered if equal pay was not to worsen significantly the present rising tide of inflation.

Only about a third of women in industry covered by national agreements have so far had discrimination over pay removed or a commitment for its phased removal by 1975. One in nine female manual workers receive rates less than 80 per cent of the male rate.



Company returns reveal an economic collapse

BY PHILIP WADE

THE slide towards outright collapse of the fundamental basis of the British economy continues uninterrupted. Latest returns from motor manufacturing and machine tools are ample verification of this trend.

Capital investment in manufacturing for 1972 is expected to be 3 per cent down on last year's figure. That in turn was 8 per cent down on the 1970 figure.

It is in this context that Alfred Herbert of Coventry, Europe's largest machine-tool manufacturer, has just announced a £2.28m loss for the six months to April 1972.

The previous half-year resulted in losses of £3.22m. It is not surprising, therefore, that no interim dividend is being paid this time.

The latest figures show that the value of sales fell by £5m or almost a quarter to £15.8m. The order intake was also down £5m to £14.4m.

No account has yet been taken of the losses suffered following the collapse in June of Herbert-Ingersoll, the Daventry-based Anglo-American, advanced machine-tool venture.

Alfred Herbert, which had a 44.3 per cent share in the company lost about £2m in the operation.

The British machine-tool industry is now in its worst slump since the 1930s. In real terms, the £71.5m worth of net home orders received last year was the lowest yearly total since 1950.

Proof of the world nature of the economic crisis comes from a glance at the American machine-tool industry, the most advanced in the world.

US output last year was a third down on 1970 and less than half the 1967 level. The West German and other European machine-tool industries have followed the slump in Britain.

Now the world machine-tool output—which in the boom averaged an annual growth of 7 per cent—actually declined in 1971.

In the past two years, Alfred Herbert has purged its workforce ruthlessly in a futile attempt to overcome the crisis. The number of sites went down from 15 to 11 and they sacked over 3,000 workers, one quarter of the labour force.

Now City commentators say that unless the company picks up substantial orders within the next six months it is likely to go bankrupt.

Britain's car industry—capitalism's great survival hope—is also sliding into deeper and deeper financial trouble.

Chrysler UK, the former Rootes Motors group, has just turned in a net pre-tax loss of £1.3m for the first six months to May 1972.

This compares with a profit of £3.26m at the same time last year. Turnover for the latest period was down £5.4m at £134.4m.

The news follows last week's Vauxhall announcement of a pre-tax loss of £2.55m for a similar period.

Although both companies have tried to blame domestic strikes and the miners' dispute for their losses, it is clear that something more fundamental lies behind the returns.

The main reasons for the slump are devastating foreign competition. Overseas competitors—especially the Japanese—have steadily been increasing their share of the British car market. Their share now stands at about 25 per cent and was built up during the lengthy credit squeezes.

Although there has been a substantial growth in demand for cars in Britain following the relaxation of credit restrictions, manufacturers like Chrysler and British-Leyland have been unable to take advantage of it.

Mr George Turnbull, managing director of the Austin-Morris division of British-Leyland, says British manufacturers are in a bad position to meet the competition.

'None of the domestic manufacturers, except those with massive unused capacity, can hope to supply their full potential in the market,' he says. And Austin-

Morris was not in that position, he explained on Monday when he launched the new Morris Marina vans.

It is for that reason that British-Leyland is one of 80 big firms who have refused to renew their 5 per cent price restraint pledge to the Confederation of British Industry.

Chrysler UK is still considering the position. Other refusals have come from Courtauld's, Redland, the brick manufacturers, and Marley.

Finally, a survey just published shows that Britain's share of world invisible trade has continued to decline. The Tories and financiers often make great play about shipping, investment and insurance earnings abroad which help to cover balance of trade deficits.

The figures published yesterday for 1969 show Britain's share falling from 12 per cent to 11.6 per cent.

Jaguar talks fail

A FIVE-WEEK-OLD piecemeal strike at the Jaguar car plant in Coventry continued yesterday after an attempt to settle it failed on Monday night.

Both sides met for several hours, but a union spokesman said afterwards that no acceptable formula was worked out and there were no plans to meet again.

The dispute is over higher piecemeal payments to 2,500 car-assembly men.

A further 3,500 Jaguar workers have been laid off. So far the dispute has cost the company £7m in lost production.

A dispute at Rover's main assembly plant at Solihull, Warwickshire, was settled on Monday, when 120 internal drivers accepted a union recommendation and agreed to return to work. Their dispute, over job grading, had stopped car and Land-Rover production.

VW cuts 14,000 jobs

ATTEMPTS to arrest Volkswagen's 1971 profits slide have led to 14,000 men losing their jobs.

Last year the West German giant ended with net profits of

only £1.5m and was forced to cancel dividends to shareholders. World-wide group profits slumped by 75 per cent.

Since last year the directors of VW, which is 40 per cent state and federal government-owned, have moved ruthlessly to improve their trading position, beginning with the dismissal of combine chief Dr Kurt Lotz.

Rationalization has pruned the VW workforce in six factories at Wolfsburg, Brunswick, Salzgitter, Kassel, Hannover and Emden by 14,000 men. New plants are to be opened in South America and the 'underdeveloped' world where labour costs are cheaper.

Sales for the traditional VW 'Beetle' car have fallen disastrously and the labour cut-backs are part of preparations for new production lines, which it is hoped will be turning out a fresh range of 900 cc to two litre cars by next year. The emphasis will be on interchangeability of parts and economies of scale.

The international currency crisis, especially the effective devaluation of the dollar, coupled with intense Japanese competition, has severely hit VW sales and profits.

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TV

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9.45 Mr Benn. 10.00 Casey Jones. 10.25 Play tennis. 10.50 Adventures of Tintin. 10.55 Magic roundabout. 11.00 Cricket. 1.00 Disc a dawn. 1.30 Andy Pandy. 1.45 News and weather. 1.53 Cricket. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Starsport. 5.10 Pixie and Dixie. 5.20 Little women. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News and weather.

6.00 **NATIONWIDE.**
6.50 **TOM AND JERRY.**
7.00 **RYAN AND RONNIE.** Ryan Davies and Ronnie Williams.
7.25 **MISSION IMPOSSIBLE.** The Freeze.
8.10 **NO EXIT.** 'Last Land' John Gregson and Moira Redmond.
9.00 **NINE O'CLOCK NEWS** and weather.
9.25 **BATTLE OF STALINGRAD.** Grand strategy of World War II.
10.25 **THE WATNEY CUP SOCCER SPECIAL.**
11.25 **LATE NIGHT NEWS.**
11.30 **Weather.**

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 4.15 Cricket. Gillette Cup. 5.35 Open University.

7.00 **CRICKET.** The Gillette Cup.
7.30 **NEWSROOM** and weather.
8.00 **TIMES REMEMBERED.**
8.10 **MAN ALIVE.** Henry Higgins—Bullfighter.
9.00 **FOLLOW THE RHINE.** Switzerland.
9.25 **FILM: 'I AM A FUGITIVE FROM A CHAIN GANG'** Paul Muni.
10.50 **NEWS ON 2** and weather.
10.55 **ALL OUR OWN WORK.** Council estate residents in Surrey make their own TV programme.

ITV

11.00 George Formby. 12.20 Women. 12.45 Freud on Food. 1.10 Bellbird. 1.25 Sean. 1.40 Woobinda. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Simon Locke. 3.45 Edgar Wallace. 4.40 Hatty Town. 4.55 Little Big Time. 5.20 Ace of Wands. 5.50 News.

6.00 **JUNKIN.**
6.25 **CARTOON.**
6.35 **CROSSROADS.**
7.00 **WHICKER.** (New Series.) Within a Woman's World.
7.30 **CORONATION STREET.**
8.00 **CADE'S COUNTY.** Ragged Edge.
9.00 **THE MAIN CHANCE.** Doll on a Wall.
10.00 **NEWS.**
10.30 **TONY BENNETT.** At the Talk of the Town.
11.00 **PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING.**
11.45 **WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.**
12.00 **THE BISHOPS.**

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 2.40 No short cut. 3.00 Eisteddfod. 4.05 Paulus. 4.20 Puffin. 4.25 Good afternoon. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 F Troop. 6.35 London. 11.45 News, weather. Epilogue.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.44 News. 11.47 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 12.55 News. 1.00 Let them live. 1.25 Hot dog. 1.50 Cook book. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Danger



John Gregson (left) plays millionaire Sven Ericsson in 'Last Land' in BBC 1's 'No Exit' series. Peter Graves plays Jim Phelps who deals with the James Bondish 'Mission Impossible' exploits on BBC 1.

man. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Enchanted house. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.35 Get this. 7.00 London. 12.00 News. 12.10 Weather. Guideline.

HTV: 3.30 Talking hands. 3.45 Ugliest girl. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Dave Cash. 7.00 London. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 11.45 Frighteners. 12.15 Weather.

HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 3.45 Hamdden. 4.15 Miri Mawr. 6.01 Y Dydd.

HTV West as above except: 6.15 Report West.

ANGLIA: 1.40 World War I. 2.05 Rovers. 2.30 London. 3.15 Licence to fly. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.30 Romper

room. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Mrs Muir. 4.40 Magic ball. 4.55 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 London. 10.30 Odd couple. 11.00 Wrestling.

ULSTER: 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Viewfinder. 6.35 London. 10.30 World War I. 11.00 Wrestling.

YORKSHIRE: 1.45 Dr Locke. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Eisteddfod. 4.10 Calendar. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Sean. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.05 UFO. 7.00 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 10.30 Blue light. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 Weather.

GRANADA: 2.25 Freud on food. 2.45 Seaway. 3.40 Junkin. 4.10 News. Peyton Place. 4.40 Sean. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. What's on. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart. 7.00 London. 10.30 Shirley's world. 11.00 London.

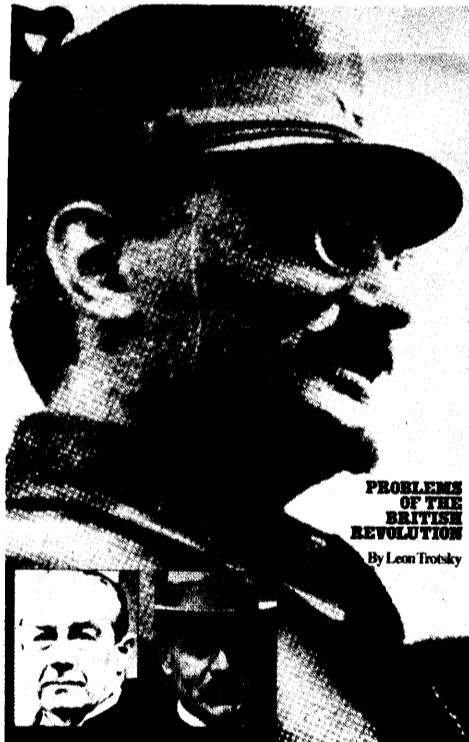
SCOTTISH: 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Animaland. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Under these roofs. 6.30 Band call. 7.00 London. 10.30 At odds. 11.00 Wrestling. 11.45 Late call. 11.50 McCue's music.

GRAMPIAN: 3.37 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Grampian week. 6.20 Canadian view. 6.35 London. 8.00 Department S. 8.55 Police news. 9.00 London. 11.45 Scales of justice.

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Signs of builders' pay climb-down

BY INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

THERE are dangerous signs that the building trade unions might be willing to wind up their six-week-old selective strike campaign on the basis of a new pay offer from the employers.

Yet the offer, which will be discussed today at the industry's joint national council, is little better than the employers' 'final offer' made before the strikes began.

A two-year, two-stage deal is proposed which would raise the craftsmen's basic rate to £23 immediately from the present level of £20. From May 21, 1973, the rate would rise to £26 a week.

For labourers, the rate would be raised immediately from £17 to £19.60 and to £22.20 from next May.

This new deal has been worked out over the past week between the two sides sitting on a special NJC negotiating committee.

Firstly, the offer falls way short of the building workers' pay and conditions claim. This was for £30 for a 35-hour-week and another week's holiday. The employers have offered no concessions on hours and only two days' extra holiday over the next two years.

When talks finally broke down last month after 18 months of tortuous negotiations, the employers had offered an 18-month package deal to raise the craftsman's basic to £25 and the labourer's to £21; just £1 and £1.20 less than the latest offers. And the new offer lasts six months longer.

The employers are still trying to avoid increasing the basic rate to £30 by coming forward with guaranteed bonus payments of £2 from November and £3 from next May.

Another manoeuvre is a 'threshold' clause giving a 20p-a-week increase in October 1973 for each ¼ per cent rise in the retail price index beyond an 8½ per cent increase between August this year and August next year.

But the feeling among the 20,000 building workers out on strike, some for six weeks on 300 sites all over Britain, is for nothing less than the full claim.

LATE NEWS

THERE WAS not sufficient evidence to warrant prosecutions of any members of the security forces who took part in the events in Londonderry on 'Bloody Sunday' January 30, said the Attorney-General Sir Peter Rawlinson, in a Commons written reply yesterday. He had also decided not to proceed further with charges against civilians.

Briant men reach an agreement with firm's creditor

WORKERS at Briant Colour Printing, London, have reached agreement with the firm's major creditor, Robert Horne, that no lorries will cross their picket lines while negotiations about the future of the Old Kent Road plant are in progress.

Last Friday trouble flared after several hundred police dispersed a 400-strong picket of printers and dockers outside Horne's factory. There were seven arrests.

Work-in committee leader Bill Freeman told a meeting of about 100 dockers and printers at the picket line yesterday:

'Horne's have finally agreed that no lorries will cross our picket line while we are negotiating. We've got it in writing and we are prepared to accept that Horne's will stick to it.'

'I think the management realized they were not just dealing with a bunch of printers from the Old Kent Road, but with the trade union movement as a whole. Words cannot express our appreciation for the help given us by the dockers.'

Mr Freeman said a token picket would be continued until the future of BCP was settled.

'We're fed up with promises. We want guarantees,' he said.

Twenty police formed a line across the factory's main gate yesterday while the meeting was in progress, but 40 reinforcements stood by in a side street. Throughout the meeting two cameramen took photographs from an open fourth-storey window.

Yesterday afternoon BCP shop stewards were seeing solicitors to draw up documents for Horne's management to sign guaranteeing that work previously done at the factory would not be farmed out throughout the print industry.

Mr Freeman described the future as 'rosy' and claimed that negotiations were in progress with a number of potential buyers for BCP. The effect of keeping orders flowing into the threatened factory will be to maintain it as a viable and going concern.

JOB PROSPECTS at Palmers Tyneside ship-repair yard at Hebburn were 'according to hopes rather than plans', the Swan Hunter group said yesterday.

The group takes over the yard, which has been closed for almost three years, from Vickers on August 19. It is developing plans to lengthen and widen one of its docks to take ships up to 370,000 tons.

A company spokesman said: 'This scheme, if it matures, would considerably increase the employment prospect on the Tyne in general and in Hebburn in particular.'

Attempt to stop Poulson bankruptcy case fails

THE PUBLIC examination in bankruptcy of architect Mr John Poulson will continue. Several applications for indefinite adjournment were turned down at the hearing in Wakefield yesterday.

At the same time, Mr Muir Hunter, for the trustees, revealed that Poulson had given Mr T. Dan Smith, former chairman of the Northern Economic Planning Council, £155,000 in the years following 1962.

For Poulson, Mr Leonard Saffman claimed that for the examination to continue might prejudice the outcome of any possible criminal proceedings.

He was supported by Mr Harry Bennet, QC, for the Official Receiver, instructed by the Solicitor for the Department of Trade and Industry.

Also supporting the adjournment application was Mr Gerald Coles for the Attorney-General, the government's chief law officer.

Resisting the applications, Mr Muir Hunter said in 28 years at the Bar he had never heard of such an adjournment.

'It is perhaps singular that a debtor involved in such a notorious bankruptcy case . . . should have his application supported by the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry and on behalf of the Official Receiver and by the Attorney-General,' he said.

Mr Hunter said that during the adjournment between June 13 and July 3 a list had been prepared showing the presents that Poulson had made since 1962.

'These came to £334,000 of which £155,000 had been received by Mr Poulson's old friend, Mr Dan Smith, former chairman of the Northern Economic Planning Council.'

'I asked about certain payments and it was questions about Mr Dan Smith that attracted attention. It may be that Mr Smith has an explanation for some of the enormous sums which have been paid to him. He has produced at least one contract of service.'

For these reasons, added Mr Hunter, the examination must continue. The Registrar, Mr Garside, agreed with him.



Work-in committee chairman Bill Freeman speaking outside Horne's yesterday

Dock pickets fan out to all major ports

DOCKERS' pickets fanned out from every major port yesterday on the fifth day of their official strike. Ship owners complained that they were losing an average of £1,000 a day for each of the 5-600 ships strikebound by the dispute.

The government announced that if no settlement is reached by the time parliament recesses a week today it will declare a state of emergency.

There are thought to be about 170 ships idle in London, 100 in British Transport docks, such as Southampton, Hull and Immingham, 60 in Scotland and 49 in Liverpool.

The Port of London Authority said that 43 ships were lying off Southend, the transit area for the docks.

This was the highest figure so far recorded in the authority's twice-a-day count. They were mostly general cargo boats but included container vessels.

The number of ships was building up in Scottish waters. Seven vessels lay off the Tail o' the Bank, waiting to dis-

charge at the Clyde ports. Four more were anchored in the Firth of Forth.

Pickets were on duty at unregistered ports around Scotland's coast, but otherwise there was no movement in the main ports.

A spokesman for the Clyde Port Authority said 30 ships were berthed in the Clyde.

The Forth Ports Authority said 11 ships were at Leith, seven cargo vessels were partly discharged at Grangemouth and two awaited unloading at Methil.

At Manchester, where all 1,000 dockers have been on strike since Monday last week, there are now 18 ships idle, with four at Ellesmere Port.

WEATHER

EASTERN England, eastern and northern Scotland will be mostly cloudy with some rain at times.

Wales, western Scotland, Northern Ireland, central and western England will have occasional showers with sunny intervals.

It will be generally cool in the east and rather cool in the west.

Outlook for Thursday and Friday: Sunny intervals and scattered showers, chiefly in the east. Becoming cloudy in the west later with occasional rain. Rather cool at first, temperatures becoming near normal later.

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Lynch is after IRA

THE IRISH Republic's premier Jack Lynch said yesterday his government was committed to stamping out the IRA in the Republic and that gunmen fleeing from the North would be arrested if they had broken the law.

Speaking after a two-and-a-half-hour emergency cabinet meeting, he said his government was ready to accept the reasons for the British army's invasion

of Ulster's 'no-go' areas, providing it saved lives.

He repeated his government's intention of cracking down on the IRA in the Republic and said that, with the introduction of special courts, many people had been convicted who might otherwise have been acquitted.

Asked about the position of Sean MacStiofain, Provisional IRA chief of staff, now thought to be in Dublin, Lynch said he would be arrested if he broke the laws of the state.