

DOCKS SHOWDOWN IS NEARER

THE TORIES ALERT TROOPS AND POLICE

BY DAVID MAUDE

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Cabinet staying in touch

EDWARD HEATH yesterday called senior ministers to 10 Downing Street to discuss the emergency situation facing the government.

The meeting heard reports from the Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan on the docks strike and from Ulster Secretary William Whitelaw, who arrived back from Belfast after his meetings with army chiefs, the Social Democratic and Labour Party and the Rev Ian Paisley.

Also present were the Home Secretary, Robert Carr, Defence



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The paper's political correspondent, Ian Aitken, said: 'Senior ministers directly involved in three major political crises—the dock strike, Northern Ireland and Uganda's threatened expulsion of 40,000 Asians—were last night virtually placed on emergency standby as parliament rose for the long summer recess. Many were advised to remain within call for the time being.'

The main consideration yesterday was when to use troops on the docks.

Under the Emergency Powers Act which parliament approved on Tuesday, the Tories have sweeping powers to wield through the Privy Council.

While a group of hard-faced employers play the T&GWU leaders along on the Jones-Aldington committee, the government is starting to use its armed forces to break the docks strike.

Troops and police have already been alerted for action by the Cabinet, which is now virtually ruling by decree with its emergency powers.

The military-style operations of police against the dockers' pickets form part of a blackmail strategy. The Tories hope to frighten those docks delegates who abstained on the Jones-Aldington interim report to vote in favour when it is put to them again. Screams from the Tory press for more pickets to get a 'bloody nose' form part of the blackmailers' chorus.

In this way the Tories think they can isolate the dockers, get their official backing removed and then move in to ruthlessly crush a continuing unofficial strike.

Such a situation would be a serious defeat for the whole trade union movement. Every trade unionist, therefore, must demand that the TUC leaders stop their servile crawling to the Heath government-by-decree and mobilize action to force it out of office.

Some docks shop stewards have demanded that what they call 'promises' in the Jones-Aldington report be transformed into 'copper-bottomed' guarantees.

But Jack Jones and Lord Aldington can produce no solution to the jobs crisis in the port transport industry.

They never could. The purpose of containerization under capitalism is to get rid of dockers, smashing in the process the rights they have won over years of bitter struggle. Employers have invested heavily in precisely this prospect.

For a union secretary like Jones to even suggest this situation can be resolved by amicable agreement with these same employers is bad enough, but the Jones-Aldington interim report has already taken things a stage further.

In it the committee's union members accept the employers' claim that up to 6,000 dockers nationally are surplus to requirements.

The implication is: all we have to do is find 6,000 replacement jobs and Bob's your uncle.

This is a dangerous illusion.

At the most generous estimate the number of container jobs dockers could hope to get if every promise in Jones-Aldington were fulfilled is less than 2,000. And to get these, dockers would have to displace men who Jones and his commercial-section officials eagerly recruited into the union.

So whenever the T&GWU docks delegates are recalled, they have one paramount duty: to reject not only the Jones-Aldington report, but its whole philosophy.

TURN TO PAGE 12



In the build-up to the eventual showdown with the dockers, the police have been given a free rein to deal with pickets. This is a scene from Keadby on Wednesday when 22 dockers were arrested.

RAF airlift to Orkneys

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The announcement came a few hours after a meeting of senior Tory Ministers in London and heralds the first use of the services since the state of emergency was declared.

Orkney and Shetland County Council have

arranged for emergency supplies to be transported to RAF Kinloss. From there they will be flown out to the islands in service aircraft under Ministry of Defence arrangements.

A Scottish Office spokesman said:

'It would not be possible to transport sufficient quantities of urgently-needed

essential commodities to the northern islands over the weekend without the large load-carrying capacity provided by military aircraft.'

Alick Buchanan-Smith, the Tories' under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs, Scottish Office, is maintaining contact with the county councils. Buchanan-Smith, a former Captain in the Gordon Highlanders, is a member of one of the most powerful Tory landowning families in Scotland.

workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● FRIDAY AUGUST 11, 1972 ● No. 839 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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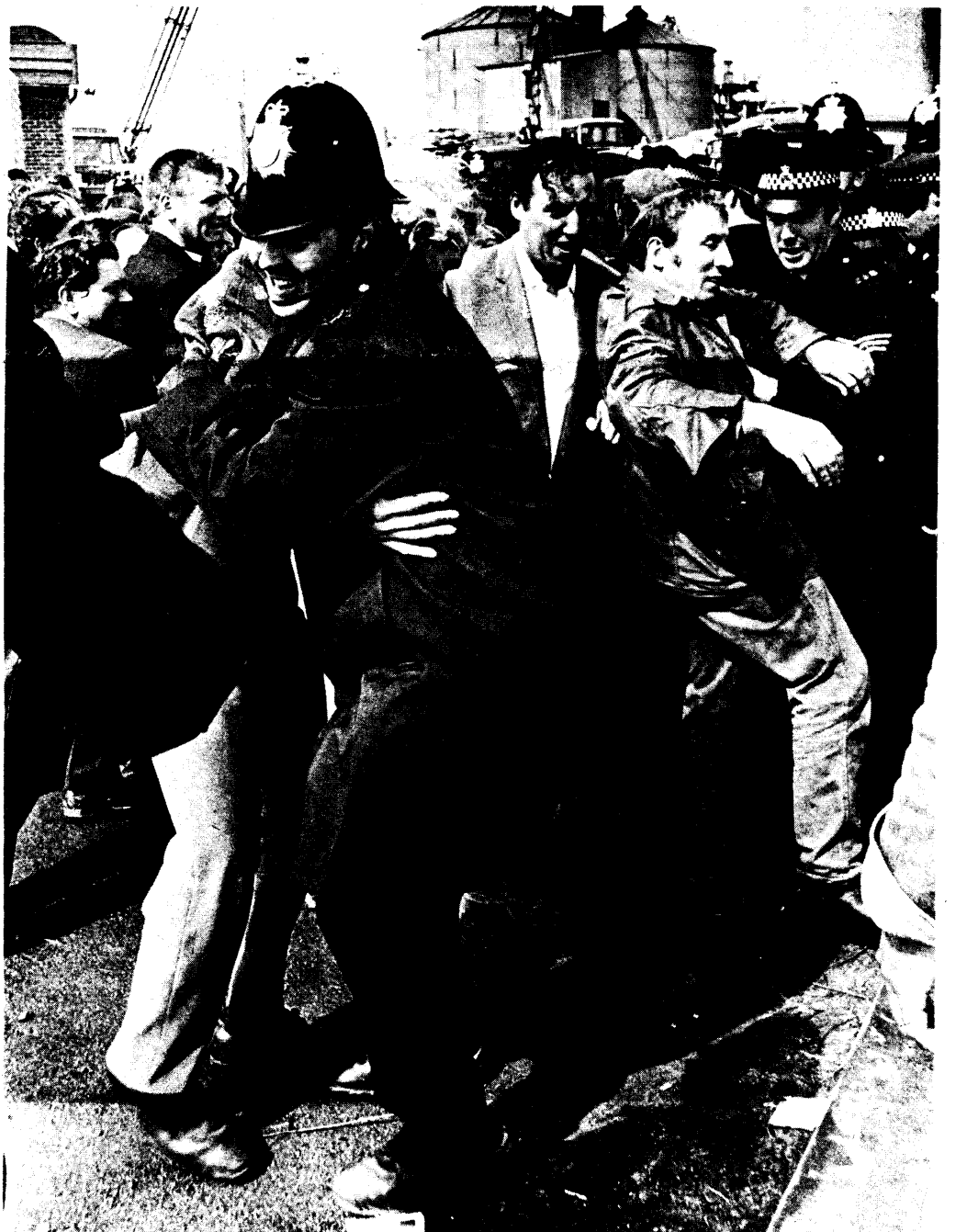
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What we think

ONCE AGAIN: WHERE DO BRITISH CP LEADERS STAND ON MOSCOW TRIALS?

THE BRITISH Communist Party newspaper 'Morning Star' has for the first time editorially criticized the Czechoslovak purge trials.

It said yesterday: 'The limited information available indicates that severe sentences have been passed on communists and others engaged in political activity arising from their political differences with the Czechoslovak government.'

And the paper added: 'Such differences should be dealt with by political means and not by trials and imprisonment.'

This statement is welcome as far as it goes. Trotskyists have always fought for the principle that you cannot solve questions between communists by purges and frame-up trials.

In making this declaration, the leaders of the British Communist Party no doubt hope to conciliate middle-class liberal opinion and placate their own members. In reality, however, they are in the position of brushing away a speck of mud while ignoring an avalanche.

For the trials in Czechoslovakia are not a new phenomenon, a 'spot on the sun', as

the old Stalinist Palme Dutt would have said. They are the direct descendants of the Moscow Trials of the 1930s in which Stalin's secret police framed and murdered the leaders of Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

The same bureaucratic regime which imprisons Jaroslav Sabata and Milan Huebl, former Czechoslovak central committee members, gives asylum to Mercader, Trotsky's assassin, who lives in luxury in Prague.

Everybody, including the leaders of the British Communist Party, is well aware that the victims of Stalin's frame-ups were completely innocent of all charges against them. Yet the British CP leaders—among them John Gollan, now the Party's general secretary—wholeheartedly supported the murder of Lenin's closest comrades.

They endorsed all the slanders and lies pumped out by the Kremlin's secret police machine against the Bolsheviks done to death on Stalin's orders. This, for example, is how William Wainwright, the

present deputy editor of the 'Morning Star', described the Moscow Trials in 1942:

'Trotsky was a Russian who gathered around him a unscrupulous gang of traitors to organize spying, sabotage, wrecking and assassination in the Soviet Union... They wormed their way into important army positions, working-class organizations, even government posts... They did a great deal of damage in Russia before they were caught. But their plot was unearthed. They were brought to trial. The guilty were executed or put in prison.'

The whole world listened incredulously to the story that was unfolded at the Moscow Trials. It does not seem quite so strange now...

This extract is taken from a pamphlet called 'Clear out Hitler's Agents' which advised workers to treat a Trotskyist 'as you would an open Nazi'.

Thirty-six years after the Moscow Trials, the leaders of British Stalinism have still to explain their complicity in the crimes and betrayals of Stalin. They have never repudiated

their slanders against Trotsky and the other Bolsheviks who Stalin murdered.

The British CP leaders now want, for their own reasons, to dissociate themselves from the trials in Czechoslovakia. To do this they lay claim to the principle that 'such differences should be settled by political means, and not by trials and imprisonment'.

They have no right to do this without repudiating their past complicity in the crimes of Stalinism. By their support for the frame-ups of the past, they paved the way for the Prague trials of today.

Gollan, Wainwright and other leaders of British Stalinism must be required to answer:

- Where do they stand on the Moscow Trials?
- Where do they stand on the murder of Trotsky?
- Do they mean what they say about the Prague trials or is it simply a hypocritical evasion of their responsibility for the frame-ups in Prague, which is designed for the ears of the liberals and fake Labour lefts?

Shell drops £100m in half year

THE ROYAL Dutch Shell combine, one of the world's largest corporations, has had a dramatic fall in profits. The six-month profits for this year are £100m less than for the same period last year.

Yesterday's announcement of quarterly accounts sent Shell shares plummeting on all stock exchanges. Profits for the second quarter of the year are only £53m, £20m down on the first quarter. The corresponding second quarter total last year was £111.6m.

For the first half of this year, the Royal Dutch Shell combine has announced profits of £126.4m, means a fall of almost £100m compared with last year's half-time total of £224.5m.

No account has been taken in the first half of the year of adjustments amounting to £34m net arising from translating non-sterling assets and liabilities at sterling's floating rate on June 30.

A statement said: 'Accounting principles for dealing with such adjustments have been under general review.'

Dutch coalition calls an election

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

THE DUTCH coalition government has called a premature general election for November because it is unable to resolve a split within its ranks.

One coalition partner, the Democratic Socialist 70 Party, defected over proposed cuts in social services to meet a £400m budget deficit.

After prolonged negotiations, they refused to rejoin the government and left premier Barent Biesheuvel with no option but to call a General Election.

Until the election, Biesheuvel will head a caretaker government. The Dutch cabinet crisis is doubly significant as the third major government crisis within the Common Market this year.

Italy has already held one premature General Election and the new Andreotti government is looking extremely shaky.

In Germany, the social-democrat-liberal coalition is now in a minority in the Bundestag and a new election is scheduled for November. The tension this has created is demonstrated by yesterday's police raid on the offices of 'Quick' magazine which published Finance Minister Karl Schiller's letter of resignation from the Brandt government.

The political instability of these Common Market regimes is directly produced by the intractable economic and political problems posed by the international recession and the trade war with the United States.

The monopolies which dictate policy within the Common Market are pushing for more right-wing regimes to lead the attack on the working class.

Yet with working-class militancy growing and the strength of the labour movement intact, they are unable to carry out these plans without passing through continual crisis.

Far from being a stable formation harmoniously integrating the various member states, the Common Market is a political battlefield in which the employers are waging a constant struggle for mastery.

Deception and downright lies about bombing dykes

By John Spencer

THE PENTAGON is engaged in a frantic propaganda campaign to 'justify' the bombing of North Vietnam's flood defences and dykes.

After months of denials, the US government was finally forced to admit that some dykes 'near military targets' had been bombed 'accidentally'. In an attempt to back up this implausible story the Defence Department last week released photographs which it claimed showed anti-aircraft guns mounted on a dyke.

In their view, this made the dyke a 'legitimate' target—though as the North Vietnamese sharply pointed out the US has no right to be bombing North Vietnam at all, since the two countries are not formally at war.

The North Vietnamese said that in any case there was no dyke in the picture. They said that what was called a 'dyke' was actually an earth embankment around the gun and what the Pentagon termed a 'river' was really a small nearby lake.

The Pentagon's crude efforts to cover its crimes are not convincing, particularly in view of the latest admissions from that department.

Swedish journalist Sven Oste, foreign editor of 'Dagens Nyheter', visited North Vietnam and accused the US of dropping delayed action bombs as 'a new means of inflicting terror on the population behind the dykes'.

He said the magnetic bombs prevented workers from using machines to fill in craters caused by earlier explosions.

Some of the bombs were capable of burying themselves deep below the surface. He concluded that Washington was trying to pass off the dyke bombing as 'accidents' while at the same time making sure Hanoi knows that the dams are being deliberately put at risk to force them to the conference table.

The State Department last week described Oste's

charges as part of a 'monstrous lie campaign'.

He and his fellow journalists were 'conscious tools of Hanoi', the Department said.

Then they produced the 'evidence'—the photograph of anti-aircraft guns on top of a 'dyke'.

The State Department last week categorically denied the use of delayed-



The official US photo of guns on a dyke. Hanoi says it is a lake.

action bombs against dykes. Then, in a remarkable about-turn, the fact was confirmed by the Defence Department.

In fact, US planes are dropping the Mark-36 delayed-action bomb, a magnetic weapon with extended tail fins to prevent it sinking too deep in

mud or water. The mine is dropped on rivers and canals in an effort to stop the flow of barges carrying military supplies.

The same type of bomb, with its fins retracted to effect a sharper landing, is dropped on road junctions. With fins retracted, it

sinks deep into the earth. These weapons are used on the rivers and canals which run between the dykes.

It requires the hair-splitting skill of a Nixon to state that the US is not deliberately bombing dykes even on the evidence of its own admissions.

Import more planes US tells Japan

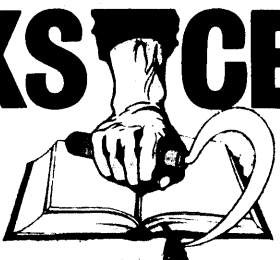
THE AMERICAN government yesterday asked Japan to make emergency imports of uranium ore and commercial aircraft to reduce its payments surplus with the US.

The request was first made at trade talks in Hakone, near Tokyo, last month.

Ambassador Robert Ingersoll met Japanese Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira yesterday to repeat the request, which was accepted only in part at Hakone.

According to foreign ministry sources in Tokyo Ingersoll expressed his government's dissatisfaction with the outcome of the Hakone talks. The US has threatened to force another yen revaluation unless the Japanese fall into line.

Monetary officials in Tokyo are now discussing the introduction of an export surcharge to avert this prospect. Japan's trade surplus is building up at the rate of £3,300m a year despite a 16 per cent revaluation of the yen in December's currency realignment.



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DOCKERS ON THE PICKET LINE

Unregistered ports main target—

Aberdeen dockers

BY OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

THERE IS no doubt among Aberdeen's 150 dockers as to the central issue in the present strike. 'We are fighting on the question of the non-scheme ports,' lay delegate, John McRuvie told me, 'and we don't intend going back until they've either been driven to the wall or brought inside the National Dock Labour Scheme.'

On the two-hour drive back to Aberdeen from the unregistered Moray Firth port of Buckie, where about 600 tons of bacon were being unloaded by non-union labour, several of the dockers explained to me that this question had been festering for some time.

'It has all been brought to the surface by the strike,' one of the pickets explained, 'and I can't see any way round the problem without a radical change of attitude by the employers, which is unlikely.'

'I can't see what can come out of the Jones-Aldington talks. It's a pity we didn't get a General Strike when they arrested the lads in London. Then we could have settled all these questions all at once.'

John McRuvie said he was watching the leadership very carefully on the question of the non-scheme ports and that he saw the danger of a split developing among the delegates if Jones-Aldington comes up with anything new on jobs in the ports where containerization is the central question.

'But in the East of Scotland this problem must be settled,' he said.

'Hull has the same problem—and I don't think Liverpool will go back until we've got this settled.'

In contrast with the day-to-day arrangements made during the 1970 strike, Aberdeen's relatively small force of dockers has organized full-time picketing right round the Moray Firth ports to Invergordon during the present dispute.

They are also co-operating with dockers from Leith and Grange-mouth to cover the most hated unregistered port in the area at Montrose.

The response from most T&GWU drivers has been good. About 30 returned to the Humber area without a load at the beginning of the week after they had been approached by pickets.

But a stream of lorries driven by non-union men, men in the union from weakly-organized areas and self-employed drivers is still available to transport goods such as the Danish bacon I saw taken off the 'Icecap' at Buckie.

The transport firms involved included John Smith of Glasgow; Davidson of Banff; Strachan of Turiff; Noble of Muir-of-Ord; Elrick of New Deer—with a lorry appropriately named 'The Wild Rover'; Munro of Alness; McWilliam of Dufftown; and, from further afield, Alan Blakey of Barrow-on-Humber; W. H. Irving of Longtown and Wilson's Transport, Manchester.

The attention the dockers are devoting to these ports extends far beyond the issue of strike-breaking. The whole future of Aberdeen as a port is at stake, particularly if the situation at Montrose is not dealt with.

Dockers' chairman Ron Findlay told me there was a real danger of Aberdeen being virtually closed down if non-scheme ports continue.

'Five years ago they had about two boats a week in Montrose,' he said. 'Now it's more like five a day.'

'I think it's a fight to the finish now. The trouble is there's too much going to and fro for cups of tea at Downing Street by the top leadership.'

'There's no doubt that nationalization is the answer, but it must be nationalization of all ports—not the scheme the last Labour government proposed. Complete nationalization without compensation and under the control of the workers—that's what's required.'

'Of course,' he said, 'that means getting rid of the Tories. Workers Press is certainly right about that, and I agree with the call for a recall T&GWU conference to work out the fight for nationalization in detail.'



John McRuvie one of the Aberdeen dockers who this week have been picketing at Buckie and other unregistered ports in the North of Scotland.

We want Heysham closed down—pickets

PRESTON dockers with recent help from Liverpool men have been picketing the unregistered railway port of Heysham during the strike.

'The police are definitely intimidating drivers to break picket lines', claimed Bob Kitchens.

'Every time we get the drivers to agree to turn back, the police push them to go on, without, of course, actually saying so', he said.

The dockers were angry yesterday morning at the television news which said they were happy with the situation at Heysham. 'We want that port closed down and no messing', said one picket. 'We want the NUR out in support', said another.

Bob Kitchens told Workers Press that the Jones-Aldington report either had to guarantee their jobs 100 per cent or it was no good.

Yesterday, when a polite police officer arrived at the dock gates at 7.45 a.m. to ask the assembling pickets if they were staying there or going to Heysham, a leading docker told the men not to talk to him.

The day before an inspector had 'jovially' asked where he should send his men as they were very stretched over numbers. When the pickets didn't answer, he said it would help them very much as they had four missing children to find and not enough men.

This emotional blackmail worked yesterday.

The few lorries—it was about 200 a day at Heysham but now only half a dozen come—are driven by road drivers. The pickets tell how the licenses were covered yet the police made no effort to charge the drivers.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

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

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

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

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

Lambeth Council of Action leads rents lobby

BY SARAH HANNIGAN

OVER 250 tenants and trade unionists attended the first public meeting of the Lambeth Council of Action at Lambeth Town Hall on Wednesday.

The meeting followed a lobby of Lambeth Labour councillors, 33 of whom later joined a 44 to 18 vote at a council meeting in favour of the Tories' Housing Finance Act.

Chairman of the Council of Action meeting, Tim Cowen, said that the Council had been formed to unite all sections of workers and tenants in a fight to remove the present Tory government. This policy, he said, had been unanimously agreed at the Council's inaugural meeting in July.

Grahame Nicholson, chairman of the Lambeth Housing Estates Committee, and a member of the Association of London Housing Estates Committee, said that his members had been fighting the Tory housing proposals since last November. They had continually told tenants and residents what the terms laid out in the White Paper produced then really meant.

Council of Action secretary Vivienne Mendelson said that the Council had set out to get tenants and trade unionists together in the lobby and meeting to fight the Tory Act.

'Rising rents and prices are an integral part of the attack on our rights by the Tory government. We have to turn this meeting into something much wider—we have to turn this into a campaign to get this government out,' she said.

'This is not a protest meeting, but a meeting to prepare our policies for the battle to end Tory rule once and for all.'

She went on to discuss the implications of the dock strike and the betrayals by the trade union leadership in the dockers' fight to preserve their jobs.

Transport and General Workers' Union general secretary Jack Jones was more prepared to spend



Council of Action banners outside Lambeth Town Hall.

his time and energy talking to the chief Tory representative of the port employers, Lord Aldington, than to his own members.

The signing of the agreement on Clydeside with Marathon Shipbuilding chief Wayne Harbin, was an equally treacherous deal, she said.

'The unions have capitulated to Harbin in the face of the threat of mass unemployment on the Clyde and they have traded their trade union rights for a handful of jobs.'

These issues affected tenants, because they, like all workers, were in the fight to get jobs and wages to pay for the basic necessities of life.

The 33 Labour councillors in Lambeth who voted for the Tory Act that night must be told they do not represent the tenants and workers—they must be told that they will be expelled for their betrayal, she concluded.

Tenants, trade unionists, Young Socialists, All Trades Unions Alliance and Labour Party Young Socialists members took part in the discussion which followed.

A resolution pledging full support for the dockers' national strike and for a General Strike to bring down the Tory government was passed overwhelmingly.

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THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL

An international discussion article in six parts

PART 5

Revolutionary Workers Party—POR (Bolivia)

From 1952 Lora's POR became the main support of Pabloism in Latin America. Accepting Trotskyism verbally, but denying it in practice, Lora has led the workers' movement in Bolivia to defeat since the revolution of 1952. In fact, Lora supported the MNR⁷ in 1952 and was incapable of struggling for the alternative leadership of the POR around a Marxist programme. Later on, when the MNR began its offensive against the masses, Lora changed his position and centred his hopes on the left wing of the MNR.

In the 'Union Theses of the POR', Lora built his strategy on support for the left wing of the MNR against the right wing. That is a grotesque remnant of the policy of Stalin towards the Chinese Kuomintang and the negation, consequently, of the construction of independent revolutionary parties.

The Pabloite crisis meant for Lora a conscious move from any international perspective. Lora fought from 1953 to 1969 against the IC of the FI, when he made a new opportunist turn and decided to 'support it'. During the whole period from 1953 to 1969 Lora carried out a policy of capitulation to petty-bourgeois tendencies; unconditional support for the petty-bourgeois government of Castro and support for guerrilla movements are the most striking proof of this.

Guerrillas

In the pamphlet 'Revaluation of the method of the guerrillas' Lora declares: 'The POR, from its clandestine position, stated

that it was putting to one side the discussion on the place occupied by the guerrillas in the revolutionary struggle in order to give them its determined support.'

In the POR manifesto on Che Guevara's guerrilla campaign, there is the statement: 'The guerrilla is no more than the method of struggle of the people against anti-popular capitulationist *gorilismo* . . .'. And later: 'At this time of definitions, the POR says publicly that it solidarizes with and supports the guerrilla movement which has just broken out, according to official news bulletins in the south-east of the country. It assumes this position without previously considering its weakness or strength, its virtues or defects. The *guerrilleros*, despite all the limitations which they might have, are part of the advanced army of the people. Their objectives are national and social liberation and they are acting on behalf of progress and the advance of history.'

For Lora the construction of the independent revolutionary party, section of the FI, is left entirely on one side and guerrilla warfare is put in its place. In that period Lora capitulated completely to guerrilla warfare and made the whole strategy of the POR depend on 'support' and 'entrism' in the guerrillas.

Lora argues in this way in the same pamphlet: 'When we talk of popular support we are not at all subscribing to the silent sympathy which the masses may feel towards the guerrillas, but concretely to militant support, to the economic and political support which must be given to them,



Top left: Lora of the POR put aside discussion on the role of guerrillas in the revolutionary struggle in order to give them his support. Above: Che Guevara.

to the co-ordination of guerrilla warfare and agitation in the cities and centres of work. The very existence of the guerrilla centres and the appearance of new ones will become the result of the support of the masses.'

At the extreme limit of his opportunism, Lora even goes so far as to say that 'the guerrilla movement seems to mean a return to Bolshevism of the first period' and calls for entry into the guerrillas, arguing that 'the Bolivian situation requires another kind of guerrilla, that which results from the united front of working-class tendencies'. Only when the *guerrilleros* themselves reject the entry of the POR does Lora criticize them saying: 'Sick and absurd anti-Trotskyism characterized the education of the guerrillas and the attempts which were made to justify them technically. The consequence of this was to keep the POR at a distance, obeying orders from afar and the doors were closed against any future participation by the POR.'

Party

The permanent policy of Lora implies a rejection of the struggle for the building of a

revolutionary party. His theses of support for the MNR for the guerrillas or at the moment the constitution of the RAF⁸ are but manifestations of an anti-Marxist conception which believes that the revolutionary party is the result of the spontaneous development of the mass movement.

In his book 'Perspectives of the Bolivian Revolution' Lora declares: 'The exploited, on reaching a certain degree of maturity expressed clearly their central objective: the constitution of their own government and their wish to cease to be fodder for political movements which are alien to it. The existence of the POR is justified because it expresses this basic tendency . . .'

The party is reduced, according to Lora to the 'expression' of the spontaneous development of the workers' movement, and at a given moment the 'expression' of the 'maturity' of the proletariat, in opposition to the Marxist theses that class-consciousness is introduced into the proletariat from outside and that the party is in no way the 'expression' of spontaneous consciousness but quite the opposite that to introduce this class-consciousness, it is neces-

sary to combat at all times this spontaneous consciousness.

When Lora decided 'to support' the IC after 16 years of struggling against it, was it not correct to draw up a balance-sheet of the POR as the English section maintained in the IC? What guarantee existed that the POR had broken with centrism?

However, the French section decided on its own account and without it having been approved on the IC to consider the POR as a member of the IC. Such a decision on the part of the French section was but a manifestation of its capitulation to centrism and a step forward in the attempt to dissolve the International into centrist organizations with the justification of not appearing 'sectarian'.

CONTINUED MONDAY

⁷ MNR. National Revolutionary Movement in Bolivia. A petty-bourgeois party led by Paz Estensoro which took power in 1952. The MNR and Estensoro now work in full co-operation with Colonel Banzer.

⁸ RAF. Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front. Formed after the Banzer coup in Bolivia by the Stalinists, Pabloites, Lora's POR, the Torres wing of the military and other petty-bourgeois tendencies.

HIROSHIMA: THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE A-BOMB

'It was 0915 when we dropped our bomb and we turned the plane broadside to get the best view. Then we made as much distance from the ball of fire as we could.

'We were at least ten miles away and there was a visual impact even though every man wore coloured glasses for protection. We had braced ourselves when the bomb was gone for the shock and Tibbets said "close flak" and it was just like that—a close burst of anti-aircraft fire.

'The crew said "My God", and couldn't believe what had happened. A mountain of smoke was going up in a mushroom with the stem coming down. At the top was white smoke but up to 1,000 feet from the ground there was swirling, boiling dust.

'Soon afterwards small fires sprang up on the edge of the town but the town was entirely obscured. We stayed around two or three minutes and by that time the smoke had risen to 40,000 feet. As we watched the top of the white cloud broke off and another soon formed.'

Thus reported Capt Parsons of the B-29 bomber 'Enola Gay' after bombing Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. To this day no one knows how many people died in the holocaust of the Japanese port. Last Sunday, on Hiroshima day, the city officials added 1,918 names to the 78,086, already inscribed on a marble cenotaph.

The new names were either people who have died in the past year from the after-effects of the atomic blast or who have only just been identified as victims of the original explosion. The actual death toll in the bombing, however, is thought to be nearer 200,000.

That same August 6, President Harry Truman was on the fourth day of his journey home from talks with Stalin and Churchill at Potsdam. He was handed an urgent message:

'To the President from the Secretary of War. Big bomb dropped on Hiroshima August 5 at 7.15 p.m. Washington time. First reports indicate complete success which was even more conspicuous than earlier test.'

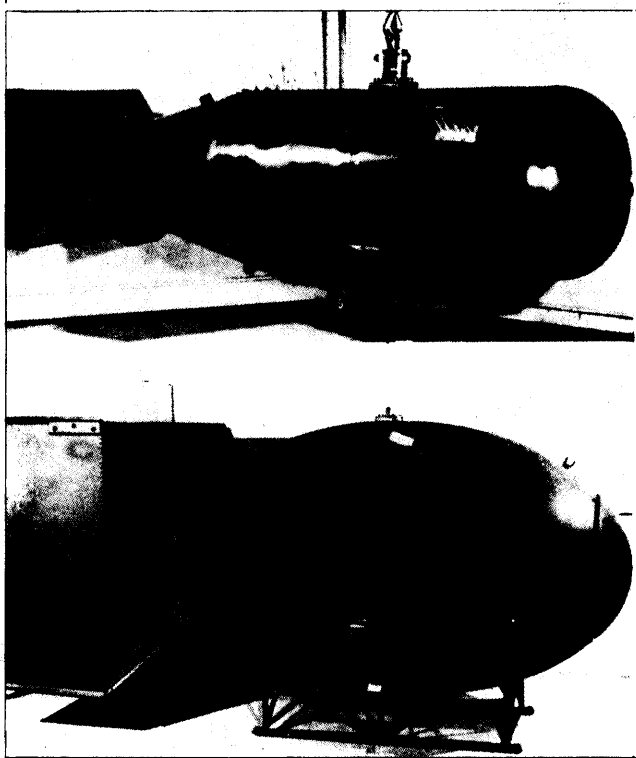
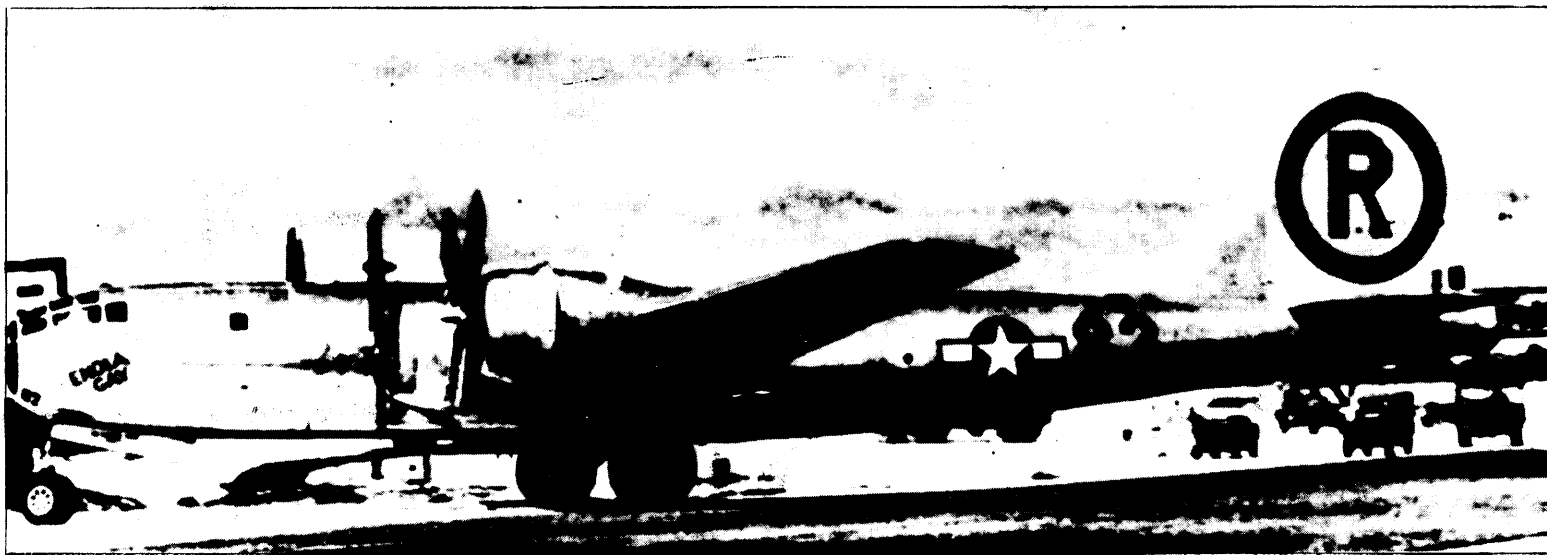
A few minutes later came a second message: 'Following info regarding Manhattan received. Hiroshima bombed visually with only one-tenth cover at 052315A. There was no fighter opposition and no flak. Parsons reports 15 minutes after drop as follows: "Results clear-cut successful in all respects. Visible effects greater than in any test. Conditions normal in aircraft following delivery".'

The President, accompanied by Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, went to the 'Augusta's' ward-room, where the ship's officers were at lunch. In a voice tense with excitement, he said:

'Keep your seats, gentlemen, I have an announcement to make to you. We have just dropped a bomb on Japan which has more power than 20,000 tons of TNT. It was an overwhelming success.'

United Press reported that Truman was 'smiling and buoyantly happy as he made the announcement'. So happy that three days later he had his forces drop a similar bomb on Nagasaki, killing another 73,000 Japanese.

Joseph Stalin knew in advance about the preparations for these war crimes. He was told at Potsdam that the Atomic bomb was to be used against Japan.



Top: B-29 bomber, Enola Gay. Left: 'Little Boy' the uranium bomb dropped on Hiroshima, and 'Fat Man' on Nagasaki. Right: Truman.

Churchill has described his reaction to the news: 'I can see it all as if it were yesterday. He seemed to be delighted. A new bomb! Of extraordinary power! Probably decisive on the whole Japanese war! What a bit of luck!'

His account is corroborated by Truman, who wrote in 'The Decision to Drop the Bomb': "All he [Stalin] said was that he was glad to hear it and hoped we would make "good use of it against the Japanese".'

NEEDLESS

Yet at that very moment the Japanese were suing for peace through Swedish and Soviet intermediaries, as the Americans were well aware.

The negotiations had been in progress fully six weeks before the two Japanese cities were laid waste. At Potsdam it had been agreed that the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan on August 8. Why then did Truman drop the two bombs and needlessly butcher so many civilians?

The real reason is contained in a passage from the memoirs of Admiral James Forrestal, who records his conversation with Byrnes two days after the Potsdam conference. The conference had called on Japan to surrender unconditionally or face prompt and utter destruction.

According to Forrestal: 'Byrnes said he was most anxious to get the Japanese affair over with before the Russians get in . . . Once in there he felt it would not be easy to get them out.' Prompt surrender was necessary so that Japanese capitalism could be preserved and the US hegemony over Asia ensured.

That is why the US ignored the Japanese peace-feelers put

out via Moscow. It wanted to dictate its own settlement without any Soviet participation. The dropping of the two Atomic bombs was thus the opening gambit of World War III — directed against the Soviet Union.

This is now widely acknowledged as the evidence of memoirs and hitherto secret papers released over the post-war period leaves the issue in little doubt. The leading British Stalinist R. Palme Dutt, for example, wrote in the May 1954 issue of his magazine 'Labour Monthly' that:

'The guilt of the Atom bomb is an Anglo-American guilt. The quarter million slain at Hiroshima and Nagasaki were not killed to hasten the end of the war against Japan and thereby "save lives" as the subsequent myth has been spread to seek to hide the guilt.'

Dutt added: 'The dropping of the Atom bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was not the last act in the war against fascism. It was the first act in the new cold war for American domination and against the Soviet Union.'

Perfectly true, but in berating the US and Britain for their incontestable war guilt, Dutt was seeking to hide Stalinism's part in the butchery at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

We have already seen how Stalin himself received the news of the Atomic bomb and how he recommended Truman to put it to 'good use' against the Japanese. This attitude was echoed faithfully by Stalin's acolytes, despite the clearly counter-revolutionary character of Truman's action.

Indeed, more than a year after the bombs were dropped, British Stalinism was still maintaining the 'progressive'

nature of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki holocausts. In a pamphlet published by the Communist Party of Great Britain in 1946 entitled 'Atomic Energy and Social Progress', the following statement appears on page 3:

"All intelligent people know that the Atomic bomb helped to shorten the war and thus saved millions of lives.' Earlier, Harry Pollitt had commented on the Atom bombing of Japan in his pamphlet 'Why You Should Be a Communist'. The comments were equally uncritical:

'When we got the news that the first Atomic bomb had dropped [sic], I think most of us realized that this was something new among all the tremendous events of this long war. Here, helping to close the war with amazing swiftness, is discovered a source of power far more destructive than anything seen in the worst blitzes and flying-bomb raids.'

PRIDE

Pollitt's enthusiasm was as nothing compared with that of the American Stalinists who were no doubt filled with national pride at 'their' country's 'achievement'. The day after Hiroshima, the American CP paper the 'Daily Worker' (later the 'Daily World') ended its editorial by urging still stronger action to force Japan's instant capitulation:

'The enemy has several times rejected unconditional surrender. He must now feel the bombshell of the United Nations action. The enemy must be thoroughly smashed and the basis established for a new Asia.'

There was no room for complacency as the 'Worker's' next editorial pointed out:

'The war is not over, here at home, even though a vast new weapon has been created. Production for victory is still necessary in all fields as well as in the field of Atomic bombs.'

The Nagasaki bombing caused even more joy in the 'Daily Worker' editorial offices. The next day (August 10) the paper ran a cartoon showing a bandy-legged Japanese being blown backward by two explosions. One explosion was labelled 'Soviet declaration of war' and the other 'Atomic bomb'. The cartoon was captioned 'The old one-two'.

The American Trotskyists, in their paper 'The Militant' expressed their condemnation of the 'deliberate and cold-blooded extermination of 600,000 Japanese'. The same issue of the paper, August 18, warned: 'The end of World War II does not mean peace, but only an interval between wars, marked by smaller conflicts.'

Ironically the present-day leaders of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States are busy cuddling up to the Stalinists in various so-called 'peace coalitions' over the Vietnam war. They quote from the 'Daily Worker' and 'The Militant' to show the CP's stinking record and then lend their support for glamorizing the same Stalinists.

Stalinism has not changed its spots. Its support for the Atomic bomb was the inevitable corollary of the theory of 'peaceful coexistence' with imperialism. That theory led the CP to support the murder of hundreds of thousands of Japanese victims of US imperialism.

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

THE RISE OF THE CONTAINER COWBOYS

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

'You're loading a ship without seeing the sea'—ex-dock officer now a superintendent at one of Britain's biggest inland container depots.

The container base has become an increasingly familiar feature of Britain's industrial horizon over the last four years.

These depots, where the containers are packed and unpacked with cargo, are one of the fastest growing industries in the country. There is hardly a town or city without its container bases. They vary from the small converted haulier's yard to the vast complexes owned by the shipping consortia or the National Freight Corporation.

The ICDs, as they are called, are the centre of the row on the docks. Dockers say the work of stuffing and stripping is traditionally their own. Many add that the depots have deliberately been built inland to get round the problem of employing registered labour.

These claims are only partly true. The loading and unloading of containers is undoubtedly a variation of traditional stevedoring work and its transfer inland does not alter its character and certainly some employers have deliberately moved off the dock so they can stop employing dockers. But there are good reasons for inland operations.

Without groupage, containerization would not pay. Transporting a half empty steel box is even more expensive than shifting the cargo by conventional methods. Groupage is done inland to get the full benefits from the new method. Goods must be stuffed into the containers as near source as possible and unpacked as close to destination as possible.

So the depots which handle the trade of big industrial areas like Leeds or Birmingham are built in those very regions, by the motorways, hundreds of miles inland. Most depot owners plead that they did offer jobs to dockers. But in most cases this is a phoney defence because a condition of employment was that the Dock Labour Scheme — the sheet anchor of dockers' rights since 1947—would not operate.

Understandably few dockers wanted to move inland like gypsies and leave the registers, especially in 1968 when there was no serious labour shortage due to union-employer promotion of the severance pay schemes.

Depot employers openly admit that they did not want to extend the workers' rights embodied in the scheme to their premises.

John Reid, head of the Containerbase Federation, put it this way: 'We didn't want to be recognized as a port or as port employers and pay the levies under the scheme.' He was referring to the payment port employers must make towards the cost of the severance scheme and to the revenue pool necessary to support dockers on the unattached register who have no work.

Another smaller operator who had been severely hit by a black on his depot put it more bluntly:

'No one would touch you if you employed registered labour. For example, costs would soar. It would be all right if everyone was in the same boat and had to take the dockers on, but to do it on our own would have been impossible.'

CHEAP

This refusal to work the scheme was an admission that inland operations — though sound for other reasons—did offer the chance of cheap labour with less rights than the dockers.

But even in the early days employers could be fought successfully on this issue. After a prolonged strike at Liverpool docks the Containerbase Federation was forced to register 17 men at its new Aintree depot in 1969. Since then it has offered employment to registered dockers (in fact none has been taken on because of a lengthy dispute about wages and conditions).

The Federation seems to have accepted that where it operates near ports dockers will be employed. The Barking terminal (not a part of the Federation but a separate company) has begun to employ registered workers.

Elsewhere, however, the



Birmingham container base: one-man container packing. The dockers say that this work of stuffing and stripping containers is traditionally theirs.

Transport and General Workers' Union was happy to see bases recruit non-registered labour who often joined the union's commercial section.

It was in this encouraging atmosphere that the 'cowboy firms' began to proliferate round the ports. These operators were often ex-shipping agents or haulage contractors who had been hit by containerization as much as the dockers.

The selling of container space is a very direct affair between the shipper and shipowner. The complicated arrangement for transporting cargo from one country to another involved in the conventional methods has been wiped out by the container networks and with them go the services of the shipping agent and the small haulage firm.

They fought back by banding together and entering the container market themselves. They hired or bought containers and began stuffing and stripping on their own premises.

They did not have the capital or the custom to build land empires like the big consortia. Rather they relied on 'coupon clipping', offering a service at the ports, or in their immediate vicinity, employing cheap labour and giving minor price concessions over the big bases.

Usually the smaller shipping lines would use their service.

In the main they concentrated on the short sea routes, where land costs are a greater proportion of total costs, therefore diminishing the advantage of moving far inland.

Other firms latch onto the big operators. A superintendent at the Birmingham depot of the Containerbase Federation described one typical small operator in the area.

'He has a clapped-out forklift and one packer. Quite frankly we would not be upset to see him go out of business. He offers cut-throat rates. For example the firm might give free storage for containers. We charge £1.20 a day, per box.'

'Such firms can do this because they don't offer our service or carry our overheads. We, for example, will handle all cargo—even a thing like chassis of a big motor or other big pieces of machinery. We don't make anything on this, but it's part of the service. The smaller man will just get the carton end of the trade, small loads nice and easy to handle. The trouble is some of the operators that use this base get the best of both worlds. They will send us difficult loads and give the easy stuff to the bloke down the road who charges that little bit less.'

But the truth is that the 'cowboys', as they are called, though obviously the most pro-

vocative operators to the docker, are not the most important employers. They exist very much on the fringes of the industry.

The issue of groupage, in fact, has been given too much importance. Figures on how tonnage is shifted by the depots are not readily available. The Federation grouped 218,213 tons in the year ending October 1971. Next year, with the containerization of the Far East trade, it hopes to push the figure up to 500,000 tons—but this is a very optimistic forecast.

OPTIMISTIC

It claims to have 18 per cent of the total groupage market—on this basis 2.5 million tons of freight are grouped nationally at inland depots. This compares with the 50 million tons of general cargo that pass through British ports.

The Federation says it will need 450 freighthandlers by December 1973 (again the forecast, on present showing, is optimistic), compared with the 190 it had in June this year.

Again on the same basis this would mean 950 jobs in the depots nationally at the

WHO'S WHO AT HULL

Panalpina hit the headlines when it tried to prosecute the Transport and General Workers' Union and Walter Cunningham, the Hull dockers' leader, in the National Industrial Relations Court.

The company wanted to end the national blacking of its lorries which, it claimed, had brought it to the brink of closure.

Panalpina is an example of a shipping and forwarding agent forced to build up its own container transport business.

The firm is part of a world-wide company based in Switzerland. It was originally called Compton Ltd, with headquarters in Bradford and a branch in Hull. Eventually it changed its name to Panalpina (Northern) Ltd. When the company bought its own lorry fleet, Panalpina (Services) Ltd was established.

The managing director, W. Oxendale, started the business with a bike and a boy. He would scour Hull docks for trade.

Things began to drift when the first roll-on, roll-off service began from Hull in 1966. Containerization made things worse and in a battle for survival Panalpina began to hire out containers, handing them over to a local firm for stuffing and stripping.

Then another local firm, Trans-European Pallets set up its own warehouse and Panalpina was forced deeper into the business. It built its own warehouse at Valletta Street, within sight of the docks, and began groupage work.

It lost its transport cost advantage over the big inland depots when it became the practice to charge the receiver of goods all transport charges from the depot premises. Panalpina struggled on and bought its own lorry fleet, offering a door-to-door service to exporters and importers. Then the blacking began and the business slumped once again.

Fifty per cent of the work was groupage and at the height of its operations the company says it dealt with 500 tons of container cargo a week.

The executives of the firm profess to a great faith in the port of Hull. They counter the accusation that the work they did was taken off the dockers by claiming that 50 per cent of the freight they handled was new to the port anyway.

Now their business is seriously diminished. A visit to the Hull warehouse revealed four or five lorries scattered around the yard. From the entrance the immobile cranes of the George Dock are visible.

The warehouse handles a variety of cargo. One container lorry was being stuffed with sacks of chemical. Panalpina has a staff of 45. The ten drivers and four warehousemen are all in the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The rather desolate atmosphere of Panalpina's Hull depot contrasts sharply with the ICDs owned by the Containerbase Federation.

The company's six depots offer four basic services; the receipt of loose cargo and the packing of this into containers and TIR (custom-cleared) vehicles; the unpacking of containers and TIR vehicles and storing of separate consignments ready for collection; the transfer of containers (empty or full) from vehicles to stacks and vice versa and the clearance of container traffic through customs and health authorities.

Containerbase has been plagued by overcapacity since it started in 1968. Originally a 24-hour shift was planned at some depots. The amount of trade to justify round-the-clock operations did not materialize and last year there were substantial redundancies.

Losses have steadily declined from £300,000 in 1969. Containerbase chief John Reid claims the company would have broken even this year if the introduction of the Far East container trade had not been delayed by the Japanese seamen's strike. The company expects to increase its groupage tonnage from an expected 255,000 by October this year to 493,000 by October 1973. This compares with the 218,213 tons in the 12 months ending October 1971.

One problem Containerbase faces is the increasing move to full container loads (FCLs)—that is containers packed full at the point of manufacture. Ford and Massey Ferguson have recently started packing their own containers—this has been a blow to the Federation's Birmingham base.

Ironically the consortia themselves often encourage the move to FCLs. OCL has a team

of experts who will visit firms in Britain and abroad to advise on containerization and the establishment of groupage operations on the manufacturers' premises. It is part of the drive to attract the new consortia badly need.

The Federation did not 'sneak' into business behind the dockers' back. Its board wrote to the Transport and General Workers' Union in 1968. The then general secretary passed on the letter to his deputy Jack Jones and the national docks secretary Tim O'Leary.

On May 27, 1968, a deal was signed. This gave preference to the employment of dock labour—though the men were required to come off the register. The docking section of the T&GWU was given seven days to come forward with men who wanted jobs at the bases. After this, recruitment could proceed freely so long as workers joined the T&GWU commercial section.

Only at Aintree (see above) did the docks section object and this led to a dispute which is unresolved to this day.

The bases inherit problems traditional to the docking industry. Trade still fluctuates. Sometimes the depot workers have very little to do and other times overtime is needed to shift a surplus of cargo. Managers hope the Far East trade will smooth things out and fill the empty spaces in the sheds.

Leeds is a typical, busy containerbase. It lies half a mile from the end of the M1 motorway and shares a few acres of wasteland on the outskirts of the city with a British Rail Freightliner terminal.

It employs 43 freighthandlers, six supervisors and four fitters. The freighthandlers work two eight-hour shifts (6 a.m.-2 p.m., 2 p.m.-10 p.m.) for a £32 basic plus £5 a week shift bonus.

Management says labour relations are good and claims a complete free-strike record during the three and a half years of operations. Leeds supplies the Australian and Far East trade, reflecting the interests of the main users, OCL and ACT. The bulk of traffic is shipped through Tilbury and Southampton.

The depot is lined with stacks of containers—in the groupage export shed about five were being packed during my visit.

Main users include Benn Line Containers Ltd, ACT, Killick Martin, Leeds, Crowe, Louis Duforest, Thomas Cook & Sons Ltd (freight department), LEP Transport Ltd, Systems Interfreight and All-

transport Ltd.

The Birmingham depot was one of those hit hard by redundancy. About half the labour force was sacked last year because the Australia trade did not live up to prospects (of course with registered dock labour the Federation would be unable to declare redundancies in this way).

The depot's difficulties are increased by the hundreds of 'cowboy' firms that operate in the Midlands offering cut-throat rates.

In July, 24 freighthandlers were employed on a 37-hour week. Pay was £32.10 plus an £8 shift bonus.

The labour agreement requires freighthandlers to stuff and strip containers, sweep out the containers, operate and move goods around the warehouse. The shop steward at the base, Bill Russell, says labour relations are good.

There have been a one-day and a one-week stoppage since the bases began operations in December 1968.

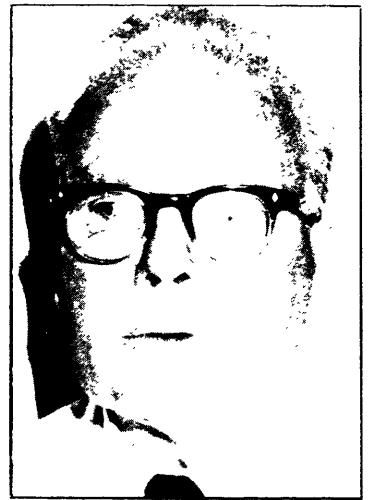
The depot shifts about 800 tons a week, but it can rise to a ceiling of 1,000 tons.

The Federation hopes to increase this to almost 2,000 tons a week when the Far East trade is fully containerized.

The base guarantees to turn-round a lorry in one hour if there are 24 hours' notice of arrival.

Superintendent John Kendrick (40), an ex-dock officer from Liverpool, says this is a major advantage over the ports where lorries can wait for days to load or unload.

The Containerbase Federation appears to be a group with nothing to hide. It co-operated rapidly with the Workers Press and did not refuse any information requested—as the spokesman pointed out, the union agreed to everything...



Above: Tim O'Leary. Below: table of capital invested in containerbases as of July 3, 1972.

CAPITAL INVESTED AS AT 3rd JULY 1962

CONFIDENTIAL

Containerbase (Barking) Ltd	Containerbase (Birmingham) Ltd	Containerbase (Leeds) Ltd	Containerbase (Liverpool) Ltd	Containerbase (Manchester) Ltd	Containerbase (Scotland) Ltd	TOTAL
Overseas Containers Limited	800,000	725,000	418,000	281,000	540,000	3,219,469
Associated Container Transportation Ltd	250,000	241,671	152,000	89,700	162,000	1,315,371
National Freight Corporation	-	187,973	190,000	59,800	135,000	715,278
British Railways Board	-	-	190,000	107,640	243,000	683,140
Clyde Port Authority	-	-	-	-	95,000	95,000
Coast Lines	-	134,255	-	-	-	134,255
General Steam Navigation Company Ltd	-	80,548	-	-	-	80,548
Mersey Docks & Harbour Company	-	-	-	59,800	-	59,800
Atlantic Steam Navigation Company Ltd.	-	80,548	-	-	-	80,548
	1,050,000	1,450,000	950,000	598,000	1,083,000	6,078,220
	900,000	50,000	250,000	-	300,000	1,770,000
Medium and short-term borrowings	£1,950,000	£1,500,000	£1,200,000	£598,000	£1,350,000	£7,848,000

*Containerbase (Barking) Limited is not a member of the Containerbase Federation.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



ON THE HISTORY OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

Editorial Note: This discussion on the history of the Left Opposition was held in Coyocan in April 1939. The summary (it is not a detailed stenogram) was made by Comrade Johnson; it was not checked by Comrade Trotsky.

Trotsky: Comrade Johnson has studied this subject with the greatest attention and the numerous annotations I have made are evidence of the care with which I have read his memorandum. It is important for all our comrades to see our past with insistence on revolutionary clarity. In parts the manuscript is very perspicacious, but I have noticed here the same fault that I have noticed in 'World Revolution'—very good book—and that is a lack of dialectical approach, Anglo-Saxon empiricism and formalism which is only the reverse of empiricism.

C. L. R. James makes his whole approach to the subject dependent on one date—the appearance of Stalin's theory of 'socialism in a single country', April 1924. But the theory appeared in October 1924. This makes the whole structure false.

In April 1924 it was not clear whether the German revolution was going forward or back. In November 1923 I asked that all the Russian comrades in Germany should be recalled. New strata might lift the revolution to a higher stage. On the other, the revolution might decline. If it declined, the first step of the reaction would be to arrest the Russians as foreign agents of disorder.

Stalin opposed me: 'You are always too hasty. In August you said the revolution was

near; now you say that it is over already.'

I didn't say that it was over, but suggested that this precautionary step should be taken. By the summer of 1924 Stalin had convinced himself that the German revolution was defeated. He then asked the red professors to find him something from Lenin to tell the people. They searched and found two or three quotations and Stalin changed the passage in his book.

The German revolution had more influence on Stalin than Stalin on the German revolution. In 1923 the whole party was in a fever over the coming revolution. Stalin would not have dared to oppose me on this question at the Central Committee. The Left Opposition was very much to the fore on this question.

Johnson: Brandler went to Moscow convinced of the success of the revolution. What changed him?

Trotsky: I had many interviews with Brandler. He told me that what was troubling him was not the seizure of power, but what to do after. I told him 'Look here, Brandler, you say the prospects are good, but the bourgeoisie are in power, in control of the state, the army, police, etc. The question is to break that power . . .'

Brandler took many notes during many discussions with me. But this very boldness of his was only a cover for his secret fears. It is not easy to lead a struggle against bourgeois society. He went to Chemnitz and there met the leaders of the social democracy, a collection of little Brandlers. He communicated to them in his speech his secret

fears by the very way he spoke to them. Naturally they drew back and this mood of defeatism permeated to the workers.

In the 1905 Russian revolution there was a dispute in the Soviet as to whether we should challenge the Tsarist power with a demonstration on the anniversary of Bloody Sunday. To this day I do not know for certain whether it was the correct thing to do at that time or not. The committee could not decide, so we consulted the Soviet. I made the speech, putting the two alternatives in an objective manner, and the Soviet decided by an overwhelming majority not to demonstrate. But I am certain that if I had said it was necessary to demonstrate and spoken accordingly we would have had a great majority in favour. It was the same with Brandler. What was wanted in Germany in 1923 was a revolutionary party . . .

You accuse me also of degeneration when you quote Fischer. But why did I give that interview? In revolution it is always wise to throw on the enemy the responsibility.

Thus in 1917 they asked me at the Soviet: 'Are the Bolsheviks preparing an insurrection?' What could I say? I said, 'No, we are defending the revolution, but if you provoke us . . .!'

It was the same thing here. Poland and France were using the Russian Bolsheviks as a pretext for preparing intervention and reactionary moves. With the full consent of the German comrades I gave this interview, while the German comrades explained the situation to the German workers.

Meanwhile I had a cavalry detachment under Dybenko



Top: Trotsky during the Civil War. Above: the German revolution. 'What was wanted in Germany in 1923 was a revolutionary party . . .'

ready on the Polish border.

Johnson: You would not agree with Victor Serge that the bureaucracy sabotaged the Chinese Revolution, in other words, that its attitude to the Chinese Revolution was the same as its attitude toward the Spanish?

Trotsky: Not at all. Why should they sabotage it? I was on a committee (with Chicherin, Voroshilov, and some others) on the Chinese Revolution. They were even opposed to my attitude, which was considered pessimistic. They were anxious for its success.

Johnson: For the success of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Wasn't their opposition to the proletarian revolution, the opposition of a bureaucracy which was quite prepared to support a bourgeois-democratic revolution, but from the fact of its being a bureaucracy could not support a proletarian revolution?

Trotsky: Formalism. We had the greatest revolutionary party in the world in 1917. In 1936 it strangles the revolution in Spain. How did it develop from 1917 to 1936?

That is the question?

According to your argument, the degeneration would have started in October 1917. In my view it started in the first years of the New Economic Policy. But even in 1927 the whole party was eagerly awaiting the issue of the Chinese revolution.

What happened was that the bureaucracy acquired certain bureaucratic habits of thinking. It proposed to restrain the peasants today so as not to frighten the generals. It thought it would push the bourgeoisie to the left. It saw the Kuomintang as a body of office-holders and thought it could put communists into the offices and so change the direction of events . . . And how would you account for the change which demanded a Canton Commune?

Johnson: Victor Serge says that it was only for the sake of the Sixth World Congress that they wanted the Commune 'if only for a quarter of an hour'.

Trotsky: It was more for the Party internally than for the International. The Party was excited over the Chinese Revo-



Above: Chinese Nationalist troops: 'Stalin and company genuinely believed the Chinese Revolution was a bourgeois-democratic revolution'

lution. Only during 1923 had it reached a higher pitch of intensity.

No, you want to begin with the degeneration complete. Stalin and company genuinely believed that the Chinese Revolution was a bourgeois-democratic revolution and sought to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

Johnson: You mean that Stalin, Bukharin, Tomsky, Rykov, and the rest did not understand the course of the Russian Revolution?

Trotsky: They did not. They took part and events overwhelmed them. Their position on China was the same they had in March 1917 until Lenin came. In different writings of theirs you will see passages which show that they never understood. A different form of existence, their bureaucratic habits affected their thinking and they reverted to their previous position. They even enshrined it in the programme of the Comintern, Proletarian Revolution for Germany, dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry for semi-colonial countries, etc.

Comrade Trotsky here asks V. to get a copy of the Draft Programme and the extract is read. I condemned it in my 'Critique of the Draft Programme'...

Johnson: What about Bukharin's statement in 1925 that if war came revolutionists should support the bourgeois-soviet bloc?

Trotsky: After Lenin's Testament Bukharin wanted to show that he was a real dialectician. He studied Hegel and on every occasion tried to show that he was a realist. Hence, 'Enrich yourselves'. 'Socialism at a snail's pace.' etc. And not only Bukharin, but I and all of us at various times wrote absurd things. I will grant you that.

Johnson: And Germany 1930-1933?

Trotsky: I cannot agree that the policy of the International was only a materialization of the commands of Moscow. It is necessary to see the policy as a whole, from the internal and the international points of view, from all sides.

The foreign policy of Moscow, and the orientation of the social-democracy to Geneva could play a role. But there was also the necessity of a turn owing to the disastrous effect of the previous policy on the Party inside Russia. After all the bureau-

cracy is dealing with 160 million people who have been through three revolutions. What they are saying and thinking is collected and classified. Stalin wanted to show that he was no Menshevik. Hence this violent turn to the left. We must see it as a whole, in all its aspects.

Johnson: But the British Stalinist, Campbell, writes that when the British delegation in 1928 was presented with the theory of social-fascism it opposed the idea, but soon was convinced that it was correct...

(It was agreed to continue the discussion. During the interval Comrade Johnson submitted a document. Discussion continues.)

Trotsky: I have read your document claiming to clarify the position, but it does not clarify it. You state that you accept my view of 1933, but later in the document I see that you do not really accept it...

I find it strange that on the Negro question you should be so realistic and on this be so undialectical. (I suspect that you are just a little opportunistic on the Negro question, but I am not quite sure.)

In 1924, Stalin's slogan ('socialism in a single country') corresponded to the mood of the young intellectuals, without training, without tradition...

But despite that, when Stalin wanted to strangle the Spanish revolution openly, he had to wipe out thousands of old Bolsheviks. The first struggle started on the Permanent Revolution, the bureaucracy seeking peace and quiet. Then into this came the German revolution of 1923. Stalin dared not even oppose me openly then. We never knew until afterwards that he had secretly written the letter to Bukharin saying that the revolution should be held back.

Then, after the German defeat, came the struggle over equality. It was in defence of the privileges of the bureaucracy that Stalin became its undisputed leader...

Russia was a backward country. These leaders had Marxist conceptions, but after October they soon returned to their old ideas. Voroshilov and others used to ask me. 'But how do you think it possible that the Chinese masses, so backward, could establish the dictatorship of the proletariat?' In Germany they hoped now

for a miracle to break the backbone of the social democracy; their politics had failed utterly to detach the masses from it. Hence this new attempt to get rid of it...

Stalin hoped that the German Communist Party would win a victory and to think that he had a 'plan' to allow fascism to come into power is absurd. It is a deification of Stalin.

Johnson: He made them cease their opposition to the Red Referendum, he made Remmele say, 'After Hitler our turn,' he made them stop fighting the fascists in the streets.

Trotsky: 'After Hitler our turn,' was a boast, a confession of bankruptcy. You pay too much attention to it. F.: They stopped fighting in the streets because their detachments were small CP detachments. Good comrades were constantly being shot, and in as much as workers as a whole were not taking part, they called it off. It was a part of their zigzags.

Trotsky: There you are! They did all sorts of things. They even offered the united front sometimes.

Johnson: Duranty said in 1931 that they did not want the revolution in Spain.

Trotsky: Do not take what Duranty says at face value. Litvinov wanted to say that they were not responsible for what was happening in Spain. He could not say that himself so he said it through Duranty. Perhaps even they did not want to be bothered about Spain, being in difficulties at home... But I would say that Stalin sincerely wished the triumph of the German Communist Party in Germany 1930-1933...

Also you cannot think of the Comintern as being merely an instrument of Stalin's foreign policy.

In France in 1934 the Communist Party had declined from 80,000 to 30,000. It was necessary to have a new policy. We do not know the archives of the Comintern, what correspondence passed, etc. At the same time Stalin was seeking a new foreign policy. From one side and the other we have these tendencies which go to make the new turn. They are different sides of the same process... The French Communist Party is not only an agency of Moscow, but a national organization with members of parliament, etc.

All that, however, is not very dangerous, although it shows a great lack of proportion to say that our whole propaganda has been meaningless. What is much more dangerous is the sectarian approach to the Labour Party.

You say that I put forward the slogan of Blum-Cachin without reservations. Then you remember, 'All power to the Soviet!' and you say that the united front was no Soviet. It is the same sectarian approach.

Johnson: There has been difficulty in England with advocating a Labour government with the necessary reservations.

Trotsky: In France in all our press, in our archives and propaganda, we regularly made all the necessary reservations. Your failure in England is due to lack of ability; also lack of flexibility, due to the long domination of bourgeois thought in England. I would say to the English workers, 'You refuse to accept my point of view. Well, perhaps I did not explain well enough. Perhaps you are stupid. Anyway I have failed. But now, you believe in your party. Why allow Chamberlain to hold the power? Put your party in power. I will help you to put them in...'

But it is very important to bring up these questions periodically. I would suggest that you write an article discussing these points and publish it in our press.

COMRADE Johnson agreed that he would.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

TINNED PIGS

It must be said at the outset that we have the highest regard for pigs.

But only because they provide a range of food rich in protein and every bit as vital to human survival as the rest of the animal kingdom.

If, however, we were to come to regard them as more than food but as thinking, feeling and consciously betrayed creatures we would all either have to reconcile ourselves to a lifelong role as brutal murderers or become vegetarians.

In fact man has neither lived for millions of years weighed down by an ever growing burden of remorse at the mass slaughter he inflicts on the animal world, nor turned to leaves, berries and roots as his sole means of sustenance.

If he has not been unduly cruel to his domestic animals it is largely because no useful purpose would have been served by it.

As soon as the position altered and a certain elemental cruelty became positively desirable as a means of breeding animals *en masse* and cheaply, capitalist farmers were quick to change their methods.

Suddenly intensive farming became the rage and chickens, turkeys, pigs and calves found themselves in a short life and death cycle in the company of scores, hundreds and thousands of their relatives rarely ever seeing the light of day.

How ridiculous, then, to read in last Friday's 'Evening Standard' under a huge half page picture of innocent, goggle-eyed piglets whose food supplies are due to dry up shortly:

'Observe these pigs. Bless their hearts, they have very possibly two weeks to live. It's enough to break Bernie Steer's heart.'

There is, of course, no men-

tion of the chubby, red-faced Jaguar-driving farmer who for years has lived off the suffering of the poor little piglets.

As everybody knows, pigs can and have been fed for centuries on just about everything including the household rubbish. If these pigs are special, it is just because they are not happy, normal free-range pigs frolicking in the sunshine and fresh air, but the intensively farmed variety.

These need a special maize and fish meal for their carefully 'programmed' existence calculated to provide the farmer with maximum profits.

So the issue is not really about 'dear little piglets' (would you believe) or food, but about profits.

Earlier last week we were also asked to wring our hands and condemn the dockers over the fate of two million chicks—destined, be it noted, not for the bright light of day, but for an overcrowded battery drawer in some dark country shed.

A special Workers Press animal column would be filled every week with horror stories of animals dying, trampling each other to death in the capitalists' cattle ships, of sheep suffocating in jam-packed trucks or of horses dying upside down and side up in aircrafts.

By Saturday the 'Standard' had discovered an Orangutan whose life apparently hung by a mere banana. Of course, jailing animals in tiny zoo cages was not remarked on.

But all these tales of vicious anti-animal attitudes by the dockers were no substitute for suffering people — the technique which had worked so well during the power workers' strike.

Using all its formidable resources 'The Sunday Times' found one—a Guernsey tomato grower, Mrs Sylvia Seally (61), who works a 15-hour day to earn £1,000 a year.



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From the heart of one of the oldest and quietest corners of industrial, coal and iron Britain, an

Outburst of anti-Tory fury

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

NO ONE need be surprised at the heartfelt outburst of anti-Tory feeling at last Saturday's demonstration against the closing down of pig-iron production at the Stanton Ironworks, Ilkeston, Derbyshire.

This feeling arose from the collision of the past history of one of Britain's oldest industrial areas with the present world economic crisis expressed through the policies of the Tory government.

Coal mining and ironmaking have been associated in this area since the middle ages. But the twin industries made a real start when Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries released much land for mineral exploitation on a commercial basis. Ruins of the old Dale Abbey are still to be seen today near the Stanton works.

Although the first blastfurnaces came to Stanton in 1788, the present works originated when Benjamin Smith and his son Joseph leased ironstone, coal and fireclay rights from Earl Stanhope in 1846.

The Smiths built three small blastfurnaces each capable of producing 18 to 20 tons of pig-iron daily.

In 1858 a new management with banking connections took over and the company began a haphazard course of expansion, opening coal mines in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire and ironstone extraction in Northamptonshire.

Like the Butterley Company nearby, which in its heyday owned coalmines, furnaces, forges, quarries, brickworks and canals, the Stanton Ironworks expanded in an empirical way, increasing its capacity in boom times and buying up its competitors to survive in times of slump.

By 1920 a reorganization of the site was long overdue and considerable capital sums were spent.

By the end of the 1920s the old equipment could no longer be cobbled together, as had been the practice in the previous century, and the blastfurnaces were completely reconstructed.

On the eve of World War II

Stewarts & Lloyds Ltd bought their way into the company.

Production of what is now the company's major product, spun iron and concrete pipes, was pioneered at Stanton in the early 1920s.

If the industrial revolution was born and took shape in areas like Ilkeston, then so was the British working class. Ilkeston workers played a leading role in the Luddite riots from 1811 onwards, and subsequently became involved in the Reform Riots of 1831 that convulsed the whole area between Nottingham and Derby.

The Grand National Consolidated Trade Union of Robert Owen fought its biggest battles in nearby Derby, where the entire industrial workforce turned out for a six month General Strike in 1833 to 1834.

Ten years later the Derbyshire miners started their battle against the criminal abuses of the coal owners and for the right to organize what Engels described so graphically in 'The Condition of the English Working Class'.

The conservative and reformist appearance of the trade union movement in the area since the

end of the 19th century is only the negative side of this early militancy allied to the coal and iron masters' ability to make concessions.

Before nationalization, Stanton Ironworks Ltd boasted of far-reaching fringe benefits, ranging from sickness and pension funds to company housing and company canteens serving company food produced by company farms.

This was the tradition of class compromise that prompted the

dockers and the miners.'

Skinner proposed that the men should occupy the plant in the struggle to defend jobs.

General and Municipal Workers' Union steward Stan Hatton summed up the reaction of the Stanton men:

'A member of the Action Committee has said we are not fighting a political action, but it's a political decision to close the plant. Calling Peter Rost up is fraternizing with the enemy.'

'It's got to be a political fight because politics has created the situation today,' said G&MWU Spun Pipes Branch official William Brown.

'Management were not allowed to run the business in a competitive way. Melchett was under political pressure to give up a big investment programme. Even if a Labour government were elected,' he concluded, 'the fight and the pressure must be kept on the politicians to let the workforce of the country make their full contribution.'



Part of the huge crowd that turned out in Ilkeston last Saturday and chanted 'Heath Out'.



Tom Swain, Labour MP

Stanton Action Committee to invite Tory MP Peter Rost to speak from the platform of last Saturday's protest meeting against the enclosures.

But the meeting was actually dominated by a mood of extreme hostility towards the Tories.

Foremost in the minds of the trade unionists present, drawn from all the major industries in the East Midlands, was the fact that the Heath government is attacking all workers' basic rights.

The 'left' Labour MPs on the platform were quick to pick up and amplify this mood in their speeches.

Tom Swain said for example: 'The only thing we can do as a working class is to do everything to get this government out. We have got to get them out at the earliest possible moment. We want to take over now to redress vital mistakes by this government.'

'All Tories are hypocrites,' said Bolsover MP Dennis Skinner. 'If you want to fight you will have to follow the example of the

Coventry Council looks for loopholes, but accepts rent Act

LABOUR - CONTROLLED Coventry Council has voted to implement the Tories' hated Housing Finance Act.

At a specially-convened council meeting, housing committee chairman Tom McLatchie, maintained, however, that the Labour group was opposed to the Act and called it an intrusion by central government into local democracy.

He proposed asking the Secretary of State for the Environment for a special dispensation for Coventry as he said there had been an increase of 72 per cent overall under the previous, Tory-controlled, council.

But he also asked for authority to notify tenants that their rents would be £1.08 a week more from October 2 if the government does not agree that Coventry council rents are high enough already.

He also saw a 'gleam of hope' in one of the later amendments to the Act which might allow Coventry to stay within the law but not charge increases.

The Labour councillor for Godiva Ward, Mrs Shortland, pointed to the accumulated surplus on the housing account. 'Coventry Council is in a very good position to take a firm stand against the Act altogether', she said.

Though many other Labour councillors spoke of their hatred for the rent Act, it was left to Tory Gilbert Richards to point out the inconsistency of professing opposition to the Act and yet asking for authority to notify tenants of their rent increases.

McLatchie, in his reply, said that the council now has to 'get on with the job of trying to work within the framework of the law'.

He should pause to reflect on the actions of miners, railwaymen and dockers in the last few months. They are not looking for leaders who can find a way of working within the law.

What workers are looking for is a new leadership which will fight to get rid of the Tory government altogether.

Eccles takes a stand

TORY MEMBERS of Eccles council in Lancashire walked out in protest this week when the Labour group used its majority to pass a resolution by 15 votes to eight refusing to implement the 'fair rents' Act.

But the four Tories and three Liberals were joined by former Labour mayor, Alderman Bob Benson, a magistrate, in opposing it. Three Labourites abstained.

Benson said: 'I intend to vote against this because I don't in-

tend to put myself outside the law.

'In my view, if we support this resolution, we are breaking the law. It is ridiculous to oppose the action taken by the government.'

Another magistrate, Liberal leader Councillor Alan Cooper, said: 'There is too much law-breaking in the world today. If sufficient people break the law, we will have nothing but anarchy in this country.'

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TV

BBC 1

9.45 Camberwick Green. 10.00 Flashing Blade. 10.25 Attenborough and Animals. 10.50 Noggin. 11.25 Cricket. 1.30 Fingerbobs. 1.45 News, weather. 1.53 Eisteddfod. 2.25 Cricket and Horse Trials. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Monkees. 5.20 Ask Aspel. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News, weather. 6.00 **LONDON THIS WEEK.** 6.20 **TOM AND JERRY.** 6.30 **THE VIRGINIAN.** The Good-Hearted Badman. 7.45 **IT'S A KNOCK-OUT.** Third international heat. 9.00 **NEWS.** Weather. 9.25 **THE MAN OUTSIDE.** Appointment to View. 10.15 **OLYMPIA 36.** Film in two parts about 1936 Olympic Games in Germany, directed by Leni Riefenstahl. 11.20 **NEWS.** 11.25 **SUMMERTALK.** From Leicester. 12.10 **Weather.**

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 4.30 Cricket. 6.35 Open University. 7.30 **NEWSROOM.** Weather. 8.00 **CHRONICLE.** The Cave Divers. 8.50 **GARDENERS' WORLD.** With Percy Throver. 9.25 **SPORT TWO.** Brian Clough and Sport and Drama. 10.15 **THE BEETHOVEN SYMPHONIES.** Symphony No. 6 in F major (Pastoral). 11.00 **CRICKET.** 5th Test. 11.30 **NEWS.** Weather. 11.35 **LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.**

ITV

11.45 Polaris. 12.25 Women. 12.50 Freud on Food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.30 Dan. 1.40 Bush Boy. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 This Week. 3.45 Delta. 4.40 Happy House. 4.55 Land of Giants. 5.50 News. 6.00 **MIDSUMMER MONTY.** 6.30 **ARNIE.** 7.00 **THE BEST OF PLEASE SIR.** 7.30 **THE FBI.** The Runaways. 8.30 **THE COMEDIANS.** 9.00 **THE MAN FROM HAVEN.** 10.00 **NEWS.** 10.30 **THE FRIGHTENERS.** Firing Squad. 11.00 **WICKED WOMEN.** Florence Maybrick. 12.00 **SCALES OF JUSTICE.** The Hidden Face. 12.35 **OFT IN DANGER.**

REGIONAL TV

SOUTHERN: 12.55 News. 1.00 Beloved enemy. 1.25 Hillbillies. 1.50 Cook book. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Kate. 3.55 Weekend. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Paulus. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Voyage. 5.50 News. 6.00 Day by day. Scene south east. 6.30 Who do you do? 7.00 In for a penny. 7.30 Weekend. 7.35 Sale. 8.05 FBI. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Son of Frankenstein'. 12.05 News. 12.15 Weather. Guideline. **HARLECH:** 3.35 Grasshopper island. 3.45 Women only. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Woobinda. 5.20 Flaxton boys. 5.50 News. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart. 7.00 In for a penny. 7.30 Comedians. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 Man from Haven. 10.00 London. 10.30 Cinema. 11.00 Film: 'Wheel of Fate'. 12.10 Scales of justice. 12.40 Weather.



Anna Cropper and Ron Moody have an 'Appointment to View' in 'The Man Outside' series on BBC 1 tonight.

ANGLIA: 1.40 World war I. 2.05 Mad movies. 2.30 London. 3.15 Survival. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper room. 4.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Glamour 72. 7.35 Comedians. 8.00 Combat. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Payroll'. **ATV MIDLANDS:** 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Julia. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Lost in space. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 In for a penny. 7.30 Persuaders. 8.25 Comedians. 9.00 Man from Haven. 10.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Corridors of Blood'. Weather. **ULSTER:** 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Cowboy in Africa. 5.50 News. 6.00 News. 6.10 Viewfinder. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sale. 7.30 In for a penny. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 10.30 Comedians. 11.00 Film: 'But I Don't Want to Get Married'.

YORKSHIRE: 1.45 Odd couple. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Kate. 4.00 Sound of. 4.10 Calendar. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Happy House. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 News. 6.00 Calendar. 6.05 Randall and Hopkirk. 7.00 Comedians. 7.30 FBI. 8.30 In for a penny. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'Payroll'. 12.30 Weather. **GRANADA:** 2.20 Cook book. 2.45 Saint. 3.40 University challenge. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Happy house. 4.50 Skippy. 5.15 Funky phantom. 5.50 News. 6.00 News. 6.05 OK. 6.30 Riptide. 7.30 In for a penny. 8.00 Protectors. 8.25 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Long and the Short and the Tall'. **TYNE TEES:** 1.45 Funny face. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Yoga. 3.00 Kate. 4.00 Sound of. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Make a wish. 4.55 Thunderbirds. 5.50 News. 6.00 News. 6.05 Perils of

Pauline. 6.30 Smith family. 7.00 Comedians. 7.30 FBI. 8.30 In for a penny. 9.00 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Beauty Jungle'. 12.30 News. 12.45 Epilogue. **SCOTTISH:** 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Animaland. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 Cartoons. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Love American style. 6.30 Helen McArthur. 7.00 Please sir. 7.30 Saint. 8.30 London. 10.30 At odds. 11.15 Late call. 11.20 Name of the game. **GRAMPIAN:** 3.37 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Happy house. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 Bush boy. 5.50 News. 6.00 News. 6.05 Mr and Mrs. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Comedians. 7.30 Jesse James. 8.00 Benny Hill. 9.00 London. 10.30 Hogan's heroes. 11.00 Job look. 11.05 Film: 'The Bridges of Dracula'. Road report.

Provinces move to all-out builders' strike

BUILDING workers from the Wimpey site in Portsmouth will hear a call for a total stoppage at a meeting to be held today.

Half the men walked off the site on Wednesday after firmly rejecting the employer's latest pay offer and a meeting was held at the nearby Hilsea site yesterday to plan future action.

This will include picketing all big sites in the area to rally support for the strike.

One building worker told Workers Press: 'We've rejected the last offer, so now have no alternative but to launch an even tougher fight.'

'Other sites, in Southampton for example, have been out for seven weeks and we must support them before they come and drag us out.'

Other workers said they wanted a national stoppage and criticized the running of their union.

PRESTON building workers are preparing flying pickets to call out men still working in the area.

They have found that with the call for a national strike many non-union men are asking to become members of a union.

One picket said: 'I agree with Stan Jackson and the Taylor-Woodrow men in Heysham for supporting the dockers. They want registered ports and we want the building industry unionized.'

As it is, the stoppage has caused Preston council to switch plans for Preston Guildhall which commences at the beginning of September. The new Guildhall will not now be finished in time.

Overtime ban delays new skins for 'pigs'

THE OVERTIME ban by government industrial workers in support of their pay claim is holding up work on strengthening armoured troop carriers ('pigs') from Ulster.

Workers at the army ordnance depot at Ludgershall, Wiltshire, imposed the ban following a paltry £1.50 wage offer.

Leaders of 200,000 government industrial workers recently rejected the 8-per-cent offer from the Civil Services Department.

Emrys Harris, Andover district secretary of the AUEW, said work on strengthening the vehicles would be seriously delayed. At worst no work would be done, since most of it fell in overtime periods.

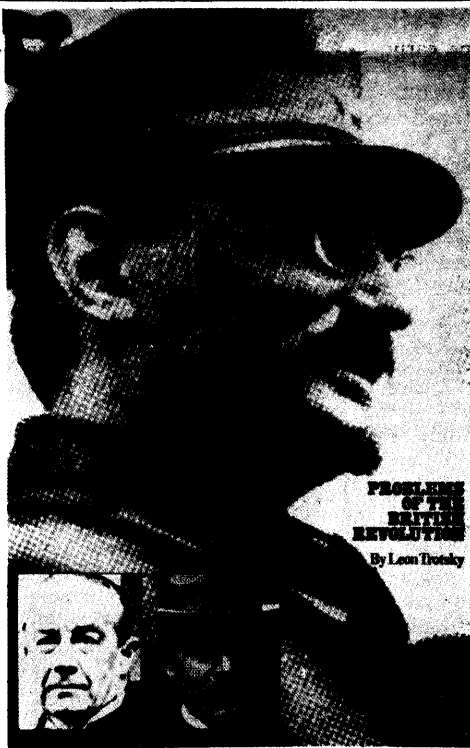
More than 400 of the vehicles have been returned to Britain because they were pierced by bullets tipped with tungsten fired by the IRA.

Norman Atkinson, the Labour MP for Tottenham, has accused the Tories of putting pressure on negotiators not to settle for anything more than £1.50.

He said there were 5,000 industrial civil servants earning less than £17.95 a week.

CORRECTION

The second sentence in the first paragraph of yesterday's lead story should have read: 'During the next ten weeks, parliamentary democracy could well be replaced by a form of Privy Council dictatorship which is immediately answerable to nobody,' inserting the word 'immediately'.



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

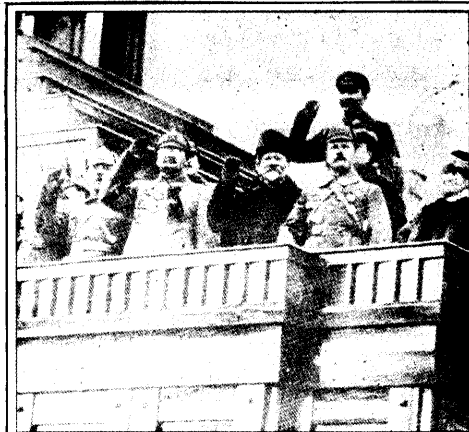
This collection of articles was penned by Trotsky in reply to various critics of his then recently-published 'Where is Britain Going?' They appeared in the Soviet press of the time and constitute a necessary corollary and sequel to that work. Trotsky here dissects the arguments of all the brands of opponents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

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108 pp price 65p (postage extra)



The New Course 1923
BY LEON TROTSKY

Work-in dangers at print factory

THE SO-CALLED triumph at Briant Colour Printing Ltd, London, appears to be something less than the 'victory' it was hailed by yesterday's 'Morning Star'.

One hundred and twenty men and 30 women have been working in at the Old Kent Road factory since June 21, after management announced they were closing down.

Although five or six buyers have expressed interest in the plant, none are willing to take it over except as a going concern.

A month of picketing the factory of Robert Horne Ltd, Briant's largest creditor and responsible for plunging the firm into voluntary liquidation, has finally won some concessions.

An agreement reached this week between Horne's and the work-in committee guarantees that it will not farm out work previously done at Briant's throughout the print industry.

It has also agreed to provide paper for any of the small current orders the workers have in hand, as well as for any potential buyer.

These concessions put the work-in in the best position it could hope to be. They guarantee the factory gets any orders which might be available and ensure that the men have the paper stock to execute them.

Now the workers are faced with the task of building up the plant's order books to the point where potential buyers can feel confident that the business is viable.

So far progress has been slow and the depressed state of the print industry generally, taken together with the £100,000-a-year plus losses Briant's had been making previously, leaves little scope for optimism.

Time is not on the side of the work-in. The business remains in the hands of the liquidator, Mr P. Granville White, and it cannot be long before the winding-up operation is complete.

Apart from guaranteeing not to farm out Briant's work, Horne's role as paper suppliers to the work-in is strictly commercial—limited credit for known orders.

There is no question of the firm generously pouring money into a bottomless well. And once the liquidator finishes his work, Horne's will wash their hands of the factory altogether.

All this leaves the work-in committee racing against time to transform a defunct business into a profit-maker capable of luring and netting a new owner.

In a similar situation at UCS workers were eventually forced to accept a four-year, no-strike pledge and the disappearance of trade union conditions in order to entice a buyer.

Briant Colour workers must examine what happened at UCS in order to avoid the same dangers for their own work-in.



Above: Former rugby player, Hull docker Mike Smith, is helped from the picket line at Keadby, near Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire, on Wednesday with a crushed ankle. He and several other pickets claimed police would not move a Black Maria after it was driven onto his foot.

Right: Scenes reminiscent of the frisking in Ulster took place on the roads into Keadby on Wednesday, when every car, coach, lorry and its occupants were searched by the police.

Picket switches to Hull

FROM STEPHEN JOHNS IN HULL

HULL DOCKERS yesterday transferred their attention to unregistered warehouses in the centre of Hull.

A 40-strong picket was launched on Hull Warehousing and Forwarding Limited, a firm that has recently sprung up in the city employing non-registered labour.

Shop steward Harry Kidd told me that the firm was attempting to shift cargo while the strike was on:

'These people employ labour who get far less wages than registered dockers. We have been picketing them for some time. We are determined not to let them get away with it.'

Colin Townsend, owner of the company, admitted that his six staff were paid less than registered dockers.

'But we are very flexible with overtime,' he added.

He claimed to have lost £1,200 since the dockers started picketing his premises.

At the other trouble spot on the Humber—Neap Wharf—a token picket was out yesterday. There was no repetition of the attacks by police which marked the first three days of picketing this week.

Forty-one men were arrested in these angry clashes.

On Wednesday night in Scun-

thorpe a total of 40 dockers were tried at a special magistrates' court and fined up to a total of £1,000.

Roy Garmston, deputy chairman of the shop stewards' committee, told me that the fines had ranged from £40 to £100.

He said that the picket of the private wharves would be continued until the dockers had achieved their objective and shut them down.

● At North Shields 130 striking dockers decided not to discharge 180 tons of fish, worth £70,000, from the factory trawler 'Ranger Calliopee', due at North Shields at the weekend with mechanical trouble.



Engineers' pay talks re-open on Monday

TALKS ON the engineers' pay claim, submitted 12 months ago, will reopen at the Engineering Employers' Federation headquarters in London on Monday.

This was agreed at York yesterday by the executive of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

Informal talks between CSEU chief negotiator Hugh Scanlon and the EEF were held last week.

Last December the unions turned down an offer of £1.50 on basic rates.

Jack Higham, CSEU president said yesterday: 'We are committed to negotiating a one-year agreement, not a long-term deal, and the employers have accepted this.'

'We are optimistic. The employers have said they have something better to offer us. They have not spelt it out in money, but money is behind our thinking.'

They were also looking for some progress towards an extra week's holiday.

It was also announced in York yesterday that increases of £2.80 a week for skilled men and £2.60 a week for semi-skilled have been agreed for 9,000 maintenance engineers employed by health authorities in hospitals and similar establishments. The increases are backdated to January 1.

Police and troops

FROM PAGE 1

At the last T&GWU conference in July 1971, Jones spoke of union pressure on the TUC for a 'mighty campaign' against unemployment.

The conference passed resolutions calling for urgent government action to cut the jobless figures and demanding that a future Labour government nationalize the docks and transport industries.

With 900,000 workers out of a job the Tories have shown they have no intention of heeding the first call.

Jones' responsibility, therefore, is to act immediately to get the Heath blackmailers removed from office. Only then can his members' constitutionally-decided demands be implemented.

Every moment the T&GWU secretary spends in further time-wasting on the Jones-Aldington committee is a step nearer the use of troops on the docks. Every time the TUC leaders cross the threshold of 10 Downing Street trade union rights come under further threat.

The docks delegates must reject the Jones-Aldington philosophy and the T&GWU biennial delegate conference be recalled to adopt the following policy:

● No redundancies either on the docks, in the container depots or in the road-transport industry.

● A shorter working week. Maintenance of all workers whose jobs are threatened on full pay until the industries can be nationalized and planned on socialist lines.

● Full rates of pay for all dockers. Work-sharing with no loss of earnings where there is insufficient work.

● Mobilize the strength of the union, in united action with the rest of the trade union movement, to force the Tory government to resign. Demand that the TUC call a General Strike.

● Elect a Labour government which will immediately nationalize the ports and road transport without compensation and under workers' control.

AUGUST FUND £443.16 — A GOOD POST, DON'T SIT BACK

A GOOD post yesterday of £138.50 brought our total up to £443.16 for our August Fund. But we must not sit back for a moment—we are still a long way from raising our target of £1,750.

While the dockers remain out in front in the fight against this government, they must not be allowed to stand alone. All the support of the labour movement must come behind them in this decisive battle.

Workers Press must be used to mobilize this support. We appeal to you, our readers, to take our paper everywhere and rouse the whole trade union movement.

Immediately, we need all your help in the campaign for our August Fund. Extra amounts can and must be raised. The fight is on. We are determined to make this month our best so far. Post all your donations immediately to:

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

CONTAINERS

SEE TODAY'S CENTRE PAGES

This vital series should be read by all workers. Be sure of your copy by 'phoning our circulation department 01-622 7029

Sheffield sites out

BUILDING workers' flying pickets have closed down all private sites in Sheffield.

John Couston, member of the Sheffield strike committee, said:

'In my opinion all construction workers should be out. The only ones who should carry on should be the small maintenance group so the housewife doesn't suffer.

'Whatever agreement they come to nationally, we're not stopping here until we get the full claim.

'We've got 100 per cent backing. Sites have been calling us up and telling us to come and pull them out. All sites we've been to have replied with a spontaneous walk-out.'

The Sheffield committee has called a big rally on Saturday at which an appeal will be made to get the backing of corporation workers.

● See p. 11

LATE NEWS

WEATHER

EASTERN England will be dry with bright or sunny periods. Eastern Scotland will be mostly dry with sunny spells becoming cloudy later.

Central and north west England and western Scotland will start bright but become generally cloudy with some rain later. South-west England, Wales and Northern Ireland will be cloudy with outbreaks of rain. Temperatures will be near normal in most districts.

Outlook for weekend: Sunny intervals in most places but also showers. Remaining mainly dry in the south. Temperatures generally a little below normal.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.
Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 186b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.