

UNITED STATES VERSUS THE COMMON MARKET

BITTER TRADE WAR HOTS UP

All-out strike is still builders' main aim see p.12

BY PETER JEFFRIES

AFTER MONTHS of bitter argument, a committee of top-level American and European trade experts has failed to reach any agreement on the reform of the world money and payments system.

Their report, to be published next week by the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OECD), has already been rejected in advance by the US members, led by William Eberle, President Nixon's main adviser on trade matters.

In a minority statement the Americans make explicit their total objection to the report's main line:

- The US refuses to discuss changes in world money arrangements outside of proposals to drastically reduce European tariff levels to the advantage of American exports.
- Eberle also rejects the proposition that it is impossible to liberalize agricultural trade, except in the very long run. The Americans pressed for fundamental changes in the EEC's farm support policy, the corner-stone of the Common Market.
- The US also rejects one of the report's main findings that the chief responsibility for changes in present monetary arrangements lies with the deficit countries.

Bristol docks stop

OPERATIONS in the Port of Bristol were hit yesterday as a strike by 200 docks maintenance men entered its ninth day. Of 24 ships in Avonmouth 13 were partly worked.

Two large cranes are out of action, many forklift trucks are lying idle because of flat batteries and shunting tractors are at a standstill because there is no one to refuel them.

The unloading of grain ships has been affected through the breakdown of pumping equipment and a refrigerated cargo, tea, coffee, cocoa, potash and animal feeding stuffs are also being held up.

Another three ships which had been waiting in the Bristol Channel were due to join the strike-bound ships in Avonmouth last night.

The maintenance men want a £7-a-week pay rise because, they claim, differentials between them and dockers have been eroded.

DOCKERS at Borthwick wharf in Deptford, south-east London, have been told that they are to lose their jobs.

A spokesman for Borthwick's, who gave £1,000 to the Tory Party and £200 to the Economic League last year, told Workers Press yesterday that the company had intended making no public statement on the closure until talks with the NDLB and the dockers' representatives were over.

Here is the clearest possible indication of the grave nature of the crisis of the capitalist system. Nixon's August 15, 1971, measures abandoning the gold backing for the dollar marked a fundamental watershed in the history of post-war capitalism. Since then the scene has been set for an even sharper struggle between European and American capitalism. The OECD report is an expression of this growing clash.

For millions of workers throughout western Europe and America it is a conflict with one immediate implication: unemployment.

The sharp rise in hard core unemployment in Britain—reported in yesterday's Workers Press—is only part of an international trend.

Despite frantic efforts by the Nixon administration in the run-up to the November presidential election, American unemployment still stands at over 6 per cent.

In France unemployment is also growing rapidly. In July the unemployment level stood at over 381,000, an increase of more than 10,000 on the previous month and more than 50,000 up on the same period last year.

And as the trade war intensifies and foreign markets are eliminated through drastic protective measures, so unemployment must continue to grow at an increasing pace.

This is the real economic background to the political struggle which every worker faces against the Tory government.

Even Harold Wilson has been forced to voice his concern at this prospect. Writing in the first issue of a new Fabian Society journal 'Third World', the Labour Party leader warns of a world unemployment crisis that could threaten world peace.

Needless to say the reformist Wilson has no solution to this crisis. But in his own way he expresses the growing fear in the labour and trade union bureaucracy at the implications of the trade war.

In the background stands the huge US trade deficit. Last week Nixon was forced to report the country was a staggering \$500m in the red for last month alone after an equally large June deficit.

Following the record \$3.3 billion first half-year deficit, it now seems certain that the yearly figure will top the \$5 billion mark, over twice the figure recorded last year.

As recently as 1964, the US had a trade surplus of over \$7 billion. Here is but another indication of the rapidity with which the crisis has developed.

At the OECD talks the Americans made clear that they will not yield an inch to European pleas for monetary reform until there is a fundamental turn round in US trade position.

But such a turn round means the crushing of all her leading rivals in western Europe and Japan.

It is in this situation, with the ruling class being forced to turn more and more openly to the extreme right, that the building of the revolutionary party becomes increasingly urgent.



Building workers, on strike for ten weeks at the Laing's hotel site in Gloucester Road, London, sign up to claim hardship money. Many of them are now penniless and yesterday complained bitterly that union leaders had done nothing to help them.

Builders: Preston press hero fails

BY INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

A BID to split building workers in Preston, Lancs, collapsed yesterday when over 100 strikers unanimously rejected pleas to return to work.

Crane operator Stan Low has recently got front-page coverage from the 'Lancashire Evening Post' after announcing his one-man plan to get building workers at John Turner and Son to break the strike.

The 'Post' reported Low's claim that the men were being run by militants. The management supplied him with the names and addresses of their striking employees and he organized a meeting.

But yesterday his efforts ended in total failure before 100 workers, plus a large posse of the capitalist press.

Low began by calling for

a return on the latest employment terms which were rejected by the two unions involved in the strike after massive pressure from the rank and file.

But he was shouted down by angry men who voted to stay out on strike. The 'Lancashire Evening Post' has distinguished itself during the strike by the particularly biased and hostile reportage of the building workers' struggle.

workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● WEDNESDAY AUGUST 30, 1972 ● No 855 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

UNITED STATES VERSUS THE COMMON MARKET

BITTER TRADE WAR HOTS UP

All-out strike is still builders' main aim see p.12

BY PETER JEFFRIES

AFTER MONTHS of bitter argument, a committee of top-level American and European trade experts has failed to reach any agreement on the reform of the world money and payments system.

Their report, to be published next week by the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OECD), has already been rejected in advance by the US members, led by William Eberle, President Nixon's main adviser on trade matters.

In a minority statement the Americans make explicit their total objection to the report's main line:

- The US refuses to discuss changes in world money arrangements outside of proposals to drastically reduce European tariff levels to the advantage of American exports.
- Eberle also rejects the proposition that it is impossible to liberalize agricultural trade, except in the very long run. The Americans pressed for fundamental changes in the EEC's farm support policy, the corner-stone of the Common Market.
- The US also rejects one of the report's main findings that the chief responsibility for changes in present monetary arrangements lies with the deficit countries.

Bristol docks stop

OPERATIONS in the Port of Bristol were hit yesterday as a strike by 200 docks maintenance men entered its ninth day. Of 24 ships in Avonmouth 13 were partly worked.

Two large cranes are out of action, many forklift trucks are lying idle because of flat batteries and shunting tractors are at a standstill because there is no one to refuel them.

The unloading of grain ships has been affected through the breakdown of pumping equipment and a refrigerated cargo, tea, coffee, cocoa, potash and animal feeding stuffs are also being held up.

Another three ships which had been waiting in the Bristol Channel were due to join the strike-bound ships in Avonmouth last night.

The maintenance men want a £7-a-week pay rise because, they claim, differentials between them and dockers have been eroded.

DOCKERS at Borthwick wharf in Deptford, south-east London, have been told that they are to lose their jobs.

A spokesman for Borthwick's, who gave £1,000 to the Tory Party and £200 to the Economic League last year, told Workers Press yesterday that the company had intended making no public statement on the closure until talks with the NDLB and the dockers' representatives were over.

Here is the clearest possible indication of the grave nature of the crisis of the capitalist system. Nixon's August 15, 1971, measures abandoning the gold backing for the dollar marked a fundamental watershed in the history of post-war capitalism. Since then the scene has been set for an even sharper struggle between European and American capitalism. The OECD report is an expression of this growing clash.

For millions of workers throughout western Europe and America it is a conflict with one immediate implication: unemployment.

The sharp rise in hard core unemployment in Britain—reported in yesterday's Workers Press—is only part of an international trend.

Despite frantic efforts by the Nixon administration in the run-up to the November presidential election, American unemployment still stands at over 6 per cent.

In France unemployment is also growing rapidly. In July the unemployment level stood at over 381,000, an increase of more than 10,000 on the previous month and more than 50,000 up on the same period last year.

And as the trade war intensifies and foreign markets are eliminated through drastic protective measures, so unemployment must continue to grow at an increasing pace.

This is the real economic background to the political struggle which every worker faces against the Tory government.

Even Harold Wilson has been forced to voice his concern at this prospect. Writing in the first issue of a new Fabian Society journal 'Third World', the Labour Party leader warns of a world unemployment crisis that could threaten world peace.

Needless to say the reformist Wilson has no solution to this crisis. But in his own way he expresses the growing fear in the labour and trade union bureaucracy at the implications of the trade war.

In the background stands the huge US trade deficit. Last week Nixon was forced to report the country was a staggering \$500m in the red for last month alone after an equally large June deficit.

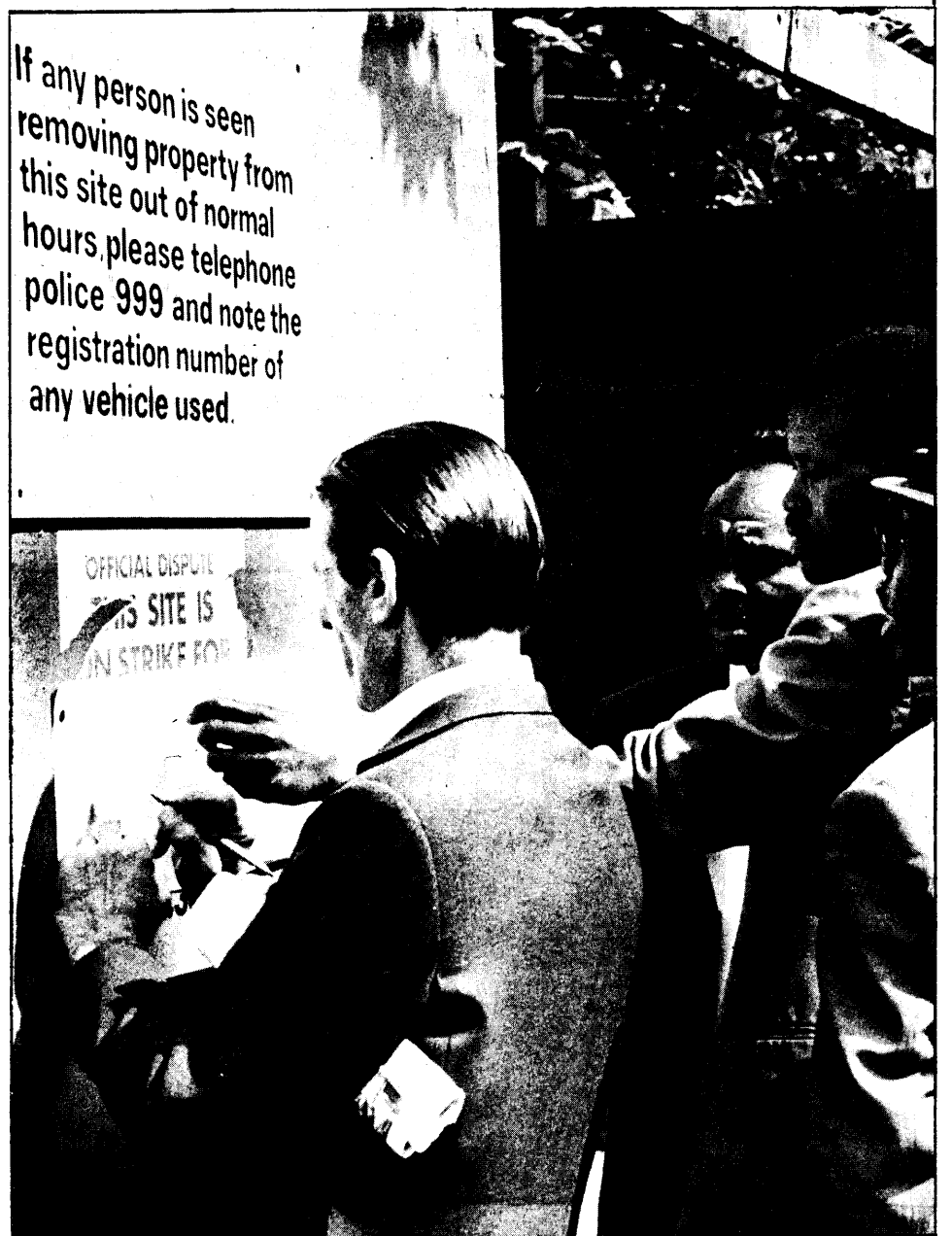
Following the record \$3.3 billion first half-year deficit, it now seems certain that the yearly figure will top the \$5 billion mark, over twice the figure recorded last year.

As recently as 1964, the US had a trade surplus of over \$7 billion. Here is but another indication of the rapidity with which the crisis has developed.

At the OECD talks the Americans made clear that they will not yield an inch to European pleas for monetary reform until there is a fundamental turn round in US trade position.

But such a turn round means the crushing of all her leading rivals in western Europe and Japan.

It is in this situation, with the ruling class being forced to turn more and more openly to the extreme right, that the building of the revolutionary party becomes increasingly urgent.



Building workers, on strike for ten weeks at the Laing's hotel site in Gloucester Road, London, sign up to claim hardship money. Many of them are now penniless and yesterday complained bitterly that union leaders had done nothing to help them.

Builders: Preston press hero fails

BY INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

A BID to split building workers in Preston, Lancs, collapsed yesterday when over 100 strikers unanimously rejected pleas to return to work.

Crane operator Stan Low has recently got front-page coverage from the 'Lancashire Evening Post' after announcing his one-man plan to get building workers at John Turner and Son to break the strike.

The 'Post' reported Low's claim that the men were being run by militants. The management supplied him with the names and addresses of their striking employees and he organized a meeting.

But yesterday his efforts ended in total failure before 100 workers, plus a large posse of the capitalist press.

Low began by calling for

a return on the latest employment terms which were rejected by the two unions involved in the strike after massive pressure from the rank and file.

But he was shouted down by angry men who voted to stay out on strike. The 'Lancashire Evening Post' has distinguished itself during the strike by the particularly biased and hostile reportage of the building workers' struggle.

Fat bureaucrats throw garlands at airport

Angela is feted by Kremlin

ANGELA DAVIS is now reaping the rewards of her refusal to answer the desperate appeals of persecuted Czechoslovak and Soviet communists.

At Moscow Airport on Monday, she was garlanded by a special reception committee composed of fat bureaucrats' wives.

About 400 women who had arrived in special coaches at the airport threw flowers at her and held up banners acclaiming her as 'a brave American patriot' (sic).

Also at the airport to greet her was Valentina Tereshkova, the former cosmonaut who has become the official spokeswoman of Stalinist womanhood.

She told Davis: 'To everyone in our country you have become very close and very dear. Allow me to hug you and kiss you on behalf of all the people of the Soviet Union.'

Davis replied: 'I bring solidarity from the black people of the United States . . . and from the working class which is rapidly achieving the consciousness which will eventually allow us in the US to join the Soviet people in the ranks of socialism.'

She added: 'It is an inexpressibly wonderful feeling to be here on the soil of the Soviet Union.'

The feeling is no doubt closely linked with her great

BY JOHN SPENCER

admiration for the leaders of the Soviet bureaucracy.

'The Sunday Times' recently reported that she 'considers any East European communist who does not praise Mr Brezhnev . . . a traitor to the socialist cause.'

Davis was acquitted in California after the state had tried to frame her on charges of murder and conspiracy. The chief reason for the frame-up was her membership in the Communist Party.

Yet she well knows that Brezhnev's concentration camps contain thousands of communists imprisoned solely for their opinions.

She has received a number of moving appeals from these victims of Stalinist terror—all of which she has chosen to ignore. An underground group of Czech oppositionists, for example, wrote to her saying:

'Your victory against a seemingly all-powerful arrogant bureaucratic machine . . . is a source of inspiration to us in our struggle . . .

'Unlike you the defendants [in the recent purge trials] cannot hope for moral or material support from their countrymen because any public expression of sympathy would automatically result in police measures against such sympathizers.'

The appeal went straight into Miss Davis' wastepaper basket.

What right has this woman to speak for the working

class? She cannot believe that the US workers want to join her in licking the boots of Stalin's heirs.

When she left the courtroom in San Jose after her acquittal, Davis announced: 'I am sure the people who struggled for me across the country and around the world are aware that [my acquittal] is a symbol that we are going to free all political prisoners and all the oppressed.'

Like the Czechoslovak communists' appeal, these words are forgotten as Miss Davis plunges into the social whirl of the privileged ruling clique in the USSR.

As Trotsky wrote in 'The Revolution Betrayed', discussing the wretched band of Stalin's apologists abroad:

'Friendship for the Soviet bureaucracy is not friendship for the proletarian revolution, but on the contrary insurance against it.'

Davis visits the USSR not as a revolutionary struggling against oppression but as a servile admirer of the counter-revolutionary Kremlin bureaucracy which climbed to power over the corpses of Lenin's Bolshevik comrades.

Her record of hypocrisy and her betrayal of the Czechoslovak communists imprisoned by Brezhnev's puppets make her an eminently qualified 'friend' of the Kremlin.

Real revolutionary struggle involves a ruthless fight against the Davises of this world and the political tendency, Stalinism, which they represent.



Meany still 'neutral'

US TRADE union chief George Meany yesterday killed any lingering hopes that he would endorse Democratic Party Presidential candidate George McGovern.

Meany, president of the AFL-CIO (US equivalent of the TUC) told his 35-man executive that there could be no change in the decision to remain neutral in the November contest.

This followed expressions of hope by both McGovern and his running-mate Sargent Shriver that Meany might at the last moment endorse the Democratic Party ticket.

Amin: Tory aid stopped

THE TORY government yesterday announced it had frozen a £10m economic and development loan to Uganda which was agreed in principle last August.

Officials from both countries were on the point of finalizing the contract when President Amin announced he was expelling all Ugandan Asians from the country.

What we think

WELL DONE STEWARDS!

ALL 23,000 British-Leyland workers who participated in Monday's one-day strike in support of the jobs fight at Transport Equipment Thornycroft, Basingstoke, deserve to be congratulated on their stand.

But particular credit for this powerful act of solidarity, unprecedented within the car and heavy-vehicle combine, must go to the shop stewards at the Bathgate truck plant, Scotland; Leyland Motors, Lancashire; Tractor and Transmission, Birmingham; and Morris Motors, BMC Service and the KD export plant, Cowley, Oxford.

The struggle of these men for the strike call, unanimously agreed by a meeting of 150 senior stewards from all over the combine on August 9, exemplifies the fight for leadership in the unions today.

Their struggle was by no means easy. Yet it was in support of a basic working-class right: the right to work. Also at stake was a key principle—that once the decision to fight for this right had been taken nationally, it should be implemented.

It is only in the most ruthless and determined struggle for these rights and principles that any victories can be won today against the Tory government and the employers, whose ruling-class arrogance and ruthlessness becomes more sharply defined with each increase in the unemployment figures.

In this sense Monday's strike was a vital test of those forces who are really fighting the Tories and employers in the Leyland combine.

As Gordon Owen-Jones, convenor of the 1,500 workers who are currently occupying Thornycrofts, says: if the trade union movement in the combine doesn't show its teeth now, no one's job will be safe.

Leyland's home and overseas markets are shrinking. It is desperately short of cash. Chairman Lord Stokes is hell-bent in knocking it into shape for entry into the Common Market.

But rank-and-file car and vehicle workers are determined that they will not be made to

pay for their employer's crisis.

Stokes is currently trying to force the hated Measured-Day Work pay system—already imposed on 49 per cent of workers in the combine—down the throats of 2,000 Jaguar strikers. They have been fighting for ten weeks.

A new push for MDW at Leyland's massive Austin-Morris complex at Longbridge, Birmingham, has been answered by a rash of sectional piece-work claims.

None of these struggles can be won, however, without the firmest devotion to the fight for principle. It is significant, and dangerous, that the stewards' leadership at Longbridge failed to fight tooth and nail for Monday's stoppage. Stokes will take it as a good augury for his MDW strategy.

Top stewards' positions at Longbridge and several other Leyland plants in the Midlands are held by members of the Communist Party, which has never led a single principled struggle against MDW or for the right to work. For years these men have coexisted amicably with right wingers who put up no fight at all for Monday's strike.

At Cowley, where the fight for the senior stewards' national decision was waged against particularly vicious shop-floor intervention by management, the supporters of the strike at one stage came under fire from the so-called International Socialism group for their activities.

Both these tendencies—the CP and IS—are experts at attempting to stab the fight for principle in the back while it is on and then turning round and cynically blaming the working class. They did it in the fight against MDW. They did it in their sham fight against the Industrial Relations Act. They did it over the engineers' pay claim. They tried to do it over the docks strike, but for many dockers the trick is wearing out. No one will listen to this poison in relation to Monday's strike. This was a significant demonstration that the fight for leadership is not only on in the unions . . . it is starting to be won.

Fewer troops will not end US brutality in Indo-China

LIKE HIS earlier announcement about the abolition of conscription, President Nixon's decision to bring more troops back from Vietnam in no way implies any slackening of the brutal Indo-China war.

The 'residual force' of US soldiers, airmen and technicians who will be left in Vietnam after the cut-backs have been put into effect are the hard core necessary to run and service the

air war against the Vietnamese revolution.

At present there are 39,000 American troops actually in South Vietnam, but this number is only part of the total US forces in the 'theatre'.

The rest are mainly pilots and gunners who operate from outside the frontiers of South Vietnam.

They include another 39,000 men on the aircraft carriers and other US vessels in the Gulf of Tonkin.

Their job is the bombardment of the North

with guns and planes. Their efforts are supplemented by up to 50,000 Americans in Thailand where the heart of the computerized war is situated.

There are seven American bases in Thailand, all carefully protected from prying eyes by the Thai authorities who keep them strictly off limits to all inquisitive civilians.

There are 800 fighter-bombers and 200 B52 heavy bombers currently operating over

Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Only about 70 of the fighter-bombers are actually based in Vietnam.

The remaining US troops in South Vietnam are mainly non-combatants—the actual ground fighting is now being done by South Vietnamese troops.

The Americans have grown so disinclined to fight that they even employ mercenary troops from the Central Highlands and pay them up to \$200 a week to stand guard outside their bases.

Abrupt Tokyo turn to Peking

JAPANESE correspondents in Peking yesterday reported Chinese officials had agreed to consider a series of Japanese proposals for expanding trade.

The proposals, submitted by a visiting private Japanese trade mission, included bartering low-sulphur Chinese crude oil for Japanese petrol, gas oil and kerosene.

Chinese trade officials also told the Japanese businessmen they

would accept deferred payment facilities Japan might provide for exports of steel industrial plant facilities and other capital goods.

Japanese premier Kakuei Tanaka is due in Peking next month for talks on expansion of trade between the two countries.

Added urgency is given to these talks by the threat from the United States to close American markets. Tanaka is meeting President Nixon in

Hawaii on Thursday before he visits Peking.

Nixon is certain to present Tanaka with a lengthy list of US trade and monetary demands. To come anywhere meeting these, Japanese big business must urgently seek new markets elsewhere.

This explains the abrupt turn in Japan's policy towards China and the eagerness with which Tokyo is negotiating with Peking.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

DUNDEE: Wednesday August 30, 8.00 p.m. YMCA Constitution Room. 'Lessons' of UCS and the docks strike.'

PRESTON: Wednesday August 30, 8 p.m. Railway and Com-

mercial Hotel, Butler St (nr railway station). 'The Tory government and the building workers'.

EAST LONDON: Thursday August 31, 8 p.m. Festival Inn, Market Square, Chrisp Street Market, E14.

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

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

Fighting the Tories' Rent Bill

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

SOUTH SHIELDS Labour Council now stands alone in the Tyneside area in its refusal to implement the Tory Rent Act.

All other Labour controlled councils in the North East area have declared they will implement the Act and raise council house rents.

These include Teesside, Jarrow, Hebburn and Boldon, as well as Sunderland, which have applied to Tory Minister Julian Amery for a reduction in the size of the increase because of the economic position and high unemployment.

In South Shields, however, trade union-

South Shields unionists plan rearguard rent action

ists are suspicious that the local Labour council will fall in line with other Labour councils soon.

The Labour Party won back control of the town council in May after their election pledge not to implement the Act.

The Labour group, however, has ignored the housing committee's move not to take on extra staff to assist the Tory-appointed rents commissioner if he was sent in.

At their last meeting, called when one-third of the group was on holiday, the group decided 13-12 not to hinder rent-raising agents, but to continue its policy of non-implementation.

This apparent climbdown has incensed local tenants and trade unionists who feel the action is hypocritical and an omen of further somersaults.

The local trades council has tried to counter this with a rigorous crash programme to organize tenants' associations on the council estates to promote a rent strike and continue the struggle in the event of a complete climbdown by the Labour group.

Whitelease and Cleadan Park associations have voted unanimously for rent strikes.

Three of the area's 12 estates have

now been organized and a fourth meeting is planned for tonight on the Biddick Hall estate.

Here the trades council hopes to chalk up its biggest success, especially after being snubbed by Labour councillors in the ward who refused to mount a joint campaign for the meeting.

National Union of Mineworkers delegate, Mike Peel, trades council assistant secretary, who has been involved in the campaign, told us:

'Following the unfortunate decision of the South Shields trades council to delay the discussion on the setting up of a Council of Action, the trades council itself has had to take on the role of sole organizers of local opposition to the Tory Rent Act.

'We are grossly undermanned and ill-equipped financially to ensure its success.

'A caucus of ten people have undertaken this mammoth task of organizing the tenants. While their efforts are commendable, a lack of a long-term view to bring down the Tory government will contain the struggle purely within the bounds of economics.

'Whilst I realize that much valuable experience will come out of this struggle, the narrow objectives of the trades council in confining this issue to rents, ensures that if the hoped for rent strike collapses, there is a danger that a lot of activists will be disillusioned because the much broader issues of all-round Tory attacks on the working class will have been neglected.'

Edinburgh still stands alone

THE HOUSING Committee of Aberdeen's Labour-controlled town council has voted — after 'a great deal of thought' and 'under protest' — to implement the Tory Housing Finance Act.

This follows a similar decision in Dundee, where the council also has a long history of Labour control.

These decisions are particularly mealy-

mouthed in view of the Edinburgh council vote against implementation. Edinburgh has been under Tory control until this year, and Labour still does not have an absolute majority.

Fife County Council has voted on an amendment moved by Cllr Alan McLure of Glenrothes not to implement the Act.

A meeting of the

county council's landward members at Cupar voted 21 to 13 for the amendment to a motion of the county vice-convenor that the Act be implemented.

In Dundee the 10-6 vote of the Labour group on the council in favour of implementing the Act violated City Labour Party policy.

An average increase of 91p a week is expected if the Act is en-

forced. Last week about 100 building trades shop stewards condemned the decision and called for the removal of the renegade Labourites as workers' representatives.

A mass meeting has been called for Marryat Hall, Dundee on September 3 to discuss a policy of rent strikes to be backed by industrial action if anyone is evicted.

Aberdeen builders reserve right on pay



ABERDEEN builders are picketing all scab sites in the city. The decision to step up their campaign was taken at a mass meeting in the city. The strikers cheered when their chairman, Ewen Sinclair, put this motion: 'If the TUC and CBI meeting on our claim were to negotiate a settlement on our behalf, we UCATT members reserve the right to accept or reject, on a vote, their decision, because of the fact that the

UCATT leadership were prepared to sell us down the river before.' Immediately after the meeting there was trouble between pickets and police at the Hilton site, where a small contractor was working. The picket would not leave the site until union officials had intervened and stopped the scabs working.



Mike Peel, assistant secretary South Shields Trades Council

As unemployment in the north east rockets towards 100,000, the means test of the Tory Rent Act poses in a concrete way the road of the 1930s.

The rights of the working class, its standard of living and trade unions can only be defended today in the complete mobilization of the working class in a General Strike to remove the Tory government from office.

The All Trades Unions Alliance demand for the building of a Council of Action in South Shields must be taken up as the only means of halting the craven retreat of Labour councils before the Tories' offensive.

This also means bringing together tenants' associations, trade unionists, unemployed and all working-class political organizations onto the Councils of Action.

POCKET LIBRARY

Why a Labour Government?

A reply to some centrist critics

By Cliff Slaughter

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

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

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

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

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



PAPERBACKS CENTRE

28 Charlotte St
London W1



NOW OPEN
Mon, Tues, Wed, Thurs
9 a.m.—6 p.m.
Fri 9 a.m.—7.30 p.m.
Sat 9 a.m.—5 p.m.

BOOKS ● PERIODICALS ● NEWSPAPERS

Part 1 of a series on Picketing by Bernard Franks

READING THE RIOT ACT

'... in all countries the police defend the right of the strike-breakers to injure and kill the striker, to whom, as is well known, the law of the sanctity of human life is not extended.' — Leon Trotsky, 'Where is Britain Going?'

World capitalism is in serious economic crisis to which it reacts everywhere by violent suppression of workers' rights, conditions and organizations and by preparation of a yet more oppressive round of exploitation.

In Britain, the Industrial Relations Act encourages every scab and bosses' nark to come out of his bolt-hole and find that the atmosphere is now much more favourable to his existence.

Not merely the terms of the Act but the overall tenor of Tory rule—the fact that the law generally is being used to coerce trade unionists—gives every blackleg the feeling that he can ram a picket line with impunity.

The employers and their Tory Party spokesmen are making it quite plain that the passing of the Industrial Relations Act is only their first step as far as repressive action against the labour movement is concerned. What they want is a major development now towards the destruction of the trade unions, with all strikes made illegal.

The picket line is now being made the object of a special attack.

The situation where the working class directly pits its strength and ability against the combined forces of the employers and the state to defend conditions, jobs and rights is especially feared and hated by the ruling class. They aim now at a political onslaught through parliament and the courts to give employers the untrammelled right to operate and exploit as they please.

The Tories claim that what they are talking about is so-called 'illegal picketing'—actions alleged to be outside the laws of peaceful picketing.

The fact is, what worried the government in the miners' and dockers' strikes was that successful picketing was achieved even within the narrow confines of the existing law.

Thousands of workers were peacefully persuaded that here were serious and determined men entirely justified in their demands and actions who should receive the utmost support. This is exactly why the Tories wish to change the law even beyond the Industrial Relations Act.

If in a time of capitalist crisis, when every penny and concession squeezed from the working class counts, the law allows effective and successful picketing, then as far as capitalism is concerned the law is useless and must be changed.

The door must, they insist,

be opened even wider to scabs, non-registered dock labour, 'the Lump', the company union, the non-union shop, the blacklist, the private security force and the use of violence to break strikes.

The government and employers claim that they want no more than the 'rule of law'. In practice, as Northern Ireland shows, Tory 'law and order' is the right to use state violence to impose on the working class rising unemployment, a continuously deteriorating standard of living and the suppression of all social and political rights.

The present cringing efforts of the TUC leaders to 'conciliate' the employers and placate the Tories—offering to police and penalize the working class—is welcomed by Heath and company as useful collaboration with their policies.

But it in no way detracts from the preparations for more extreme forms of repression. It is taken as a supplement, not a substitute, for creating additional powers of state action against the trade unions.

If the condemned man likes to go quietly to the scaffold and tie the rope around his own neck, so much the better for the executioner. But the authorities will not think of calling off the execution in consequence.

The working class has both

a right and a duty to continue its defence of all strikes—small, large, economic or political—by whatever methods suitable.

The Socialist Labour League has shown the necessity for the creation now of Councils of Action in every area to organize and carry out the struggle against the Tories. These bodies are entirely suited to organize the defence of strikers and pickets against the violence of blacklegs.

Now by order of Heath and company picketing is a political issue.

The political programme to make the Tories resign and to elect a Labour government pledged to socialist policies is a fight directly to defend all such rights.

Anti-labour laws in Britain—the prohibiting of the right to organize and strike—did not begin with the Combination Acts of 1799-1800 but have existed as long as there have been workers.

This is not surprising. Fundamentally the law is an instrument of the state for enforcing continued suppression and exploitation of the oppressed classes on behalf of the ruling class.

From the 14th century onward, laws fixed wages and made work compulsory under pain of severe punishment including torture and death. Uprisings by labourers and peasants against starvation existence and inhuman treatment were punished with especial ferocity including slow strangulation, disembowelling and quartering while still alive.

Karl Marx examined some of the early laws in Volume I of 'Capital' ('Bloody legislation against the expropriated', chapter 28) and found:

'Coalition of the labourers is treated as a heinous crime from the 14th century to 1825, the year of the repeal of the law against trade unions.'

From the earliest times, labour laws were inseparably bound up with laws against treason and sedition.

The new capitalist class, like the feudal regime before it, realized that labour unrest might quickly become political once the labourers understood that the state machine belonged entirely to, and acted entirely for, a minority group of employing classes.

For this reason too, the rulers always attempted to suppress all parties and press which set out to lift the class consciousness and political understanding of those oppressed. Incitement to disaffection in the state's own forces, the army and navy were especially feared.

This is why laws against picketing cannot be looked at in isolation from much other legislation for protection of private property and the state, and against the literature and organizations of Labour and sections of the middle classes.

One early law which has been available against industrial and political action up to the present times is the **Riot Act**.

Passed in 1714 in face of Jacobite rebellion and the widespread riots over the coming to the throne of the first of the Hanoverian kings (George I), it required that a judge, mayor, sheriff or local Justice of the Peace approach the rioters or 'as near to them as he can safely come' and proclaim 'with a loud voice' the following:

'Our sovereign lord the King chargeth and commandeth all persons, being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves, and peacefully depart to their habitations or to their lawful business under the pains contained in the Act made in the first year of King George for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies. God save the King!'

The definition of a riot has been only slightly modified since 1714. In a court case early this century it was decided that 'there are five necessary elements of a riot:

- 1 Number of persons, three at least;
- 2 Common purpose;
- 3 Execution or inception of the common purpose;
- 4 An intent to help one another by force if necessary against any person who may oppose them in the execution of their common purpose;
- 5 Force or violence not merely used in demolishing, but displayed in such a manner as to alarm at least one person of reason-

able firmness and courage.'

Actual violence need not have been done to any person or property for a riot to be declared, nor does it matter whether its purpose is of a public or private nature, nor legal or illegal (though in the latter case the rioters may also be charged with sedition or treason).

As far as the authorities are concerned, little is needed to turn a political demonstration or a picket line into a riot beyond a scab's or a police officer's declaration that he has been 'alarmed'.

According to the Act, if the rioters had not dispersed within one hour they could be arrested and imprisoned though in later years the military took it as their right to open fire on the crowd as soon as the proclamation had been read.

Originally the maximum sentence was death. Even now it is imprisonment for life.

During the recent miners' strike, 13 pickets were charged under an equivalent Scottish law (and subsequently acquitted) with 'mobbing and rioting'.

It was claimed that they: 'Formed part of a riotous mob of evil disposed persons which acting with a common purpose did conduct itself in a violent, riotous manner to the great terror of the lieges² and in breach of the peace did curse, swear and utter threats of violence.'

'Reading the Riot Act' rarely frightened the working class, and often the authorities refrained from using it for fear of bringing the law into disrepute.

Neither orders by authority nor appeals to reason, for example, stopped the economic and political actions by London seamen, coal-heavers (forerunners of the dockers) and others in strikes and demonstrations during 1768.

Newspapers of the time showed the determination of the strikers and also gave some of the earliest examples of the modern working-class pickets dealing with blacklegs.

¹ Field v Metropolitan Police Receiver, 1907.
² A liege is a vassal bound to serve his superior.



The massacre of Peterloo, August 1819, where mounted soldiers charged and hacked their way through a peaceful demonstration of Manchester workers on St Peter's Fields.

SECOND TIME ROUND FOR MR BRUNDAGE

by Jack Gale

Avery Brundage, 84-year-old president of the International Olympic Committee, has told the world of his 'astonishment, shock and surprise' at the success of the African campaign to exclude Rhodesia from the Olympic Games.

No one, however, will be astonished, shocked or surprised at the attitude of Brundage.

For this is not the first time he has advocated playing games with racials. It was none other than the worthy Brundage who led the fight to stop the United States from withdrawing from Hitler's spectacular 1936 Olympics.

In November 1933, the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States voted almost unanimously to boycott the Berlin Olympics unless the Nazis permitted Jews equal opportunities in athletics.

But although the AAU dominated American sports the responsibility for US participation in the Olympic Games rested with the American Olympic committee.

Wealthy businessmen

The AOC consisted almost entirely of wealthy businessmen and retired generals—and its president was Avery Brundage.

In September 1934 Brundage announced that the United States had accepted an invitation to participate in the Olympics. As to charges of anti-Semitism, Brundage had been to Germany to see for himself and he'd discovered that everything was just fine.

The German Jews, Brundage told the AOC, were perfectly satisfied with their treatment 'from a sports point of view'. At that time there were over 50 concentration camps in Nazi Germany.

As Arthur D. Morse pointed out in a blistering attack on the American rulers' failure to speak out on behalf of the German Jews:

'Since the committee had agreed unanimously to consider the anti-Semitic situation in Germany only as it related to sports, the debate was not complicated by such extraneous considerations as concentration camps, economic boycott and terror in the streets.'

A year before the Berlin Games were due to take place, the infamous Nuremberg Laws of November 1935 were passed.

These said, specifically, that German citizenship would in future exclude all Jews; that marriages between Jews and Germans were forbidden; that extra-marital relations between Jews and German citizens were forbidden; that Jews were forbidden to employ German citizens under the age of 45 as servants; and that Jews were forbidden to show or touch the national flag.

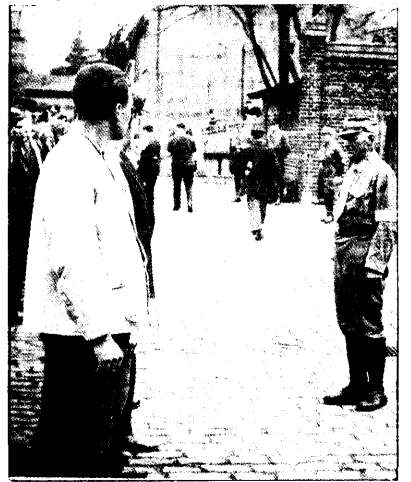
These laws could have been no surprise to anyone: they had been written into the Nazi Party programme in 1928.

Yet Brundage still insisted that Jews would get equal access to training facilities and an equal opportunity to win places in teams representing a country of which they were not allowed to be citizens.

And Brundage could hardly



Left: Avery Brundage (centre) pictured in 1936 with other ex-presidents of the IOC, the Belgian count, Henri Baillet-Latour (left) and Sigfried Edström. Above: Two German athletes featured in publicity as models of German Aryan womanhood. Below: Workers in a labour camp in 1936.



have failed to see what these laws meant in practice. The 'New York Times' carried a report, shortly after the laws were passed, which read:

'Gestapo visited the homes of between 300 and 400 Jewish families... Afterwards the heads of the families in question were conducted to meeting places in town and from there to various sports places in the suburbs of Nuremberg.

'Some of the people were arrested in the streets or in shops, others during the morning services in the synagogue.

'Besides the moral torture and the objugations those several hundred men had to endure, some of them were beaten and scourged. Several were tortured with steel rods and dismissed only after they had signed a paper saying that nothing had happened to them.'

Protests about fascism

But more was to follow. Jews were barred from employment in government, the arts, the professions and in manual crafts. A list of towns from which Jews were barred was drawn up—and it included Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Brundage can hardly have failed to notice that. Garmisch-Partenkirchen was the venue of the 1936 Winter Olympics!

On July 15, 1935, 200 Nazis attacked Jews in Kurfurstendamm in Berlin's West End.

They beat up everyone who even looked Jewish, while the police stood quietly by. Jewish organizations in America raised a storm. But Avery Brundage calmly reiterated that he knew of no racial reasons why the United States should withdraw from the Berlin Games.

Brundage wasn't moved by protests about fascism. People were always complaining about something or other, he said. 'Regardless of in what country the Olympic Games are held,

there will be some group, some religion or some race that can register a protest because of the action of the government of that country, past or present.'

A few days later a German high-jump champion, Greta Bergmann—a Jew—was told only members of the German Light Athletic Association could enter Olympic qualifying field events. Jews were barred from membership.

Only members of the Reich League for Physical Exercise could enter track events. And one of the qualifications for membership of the Reich League was 'ideological fitness'. It was ruled in advance that Jews could not be 'ideologically fit'.

In October 1935 a representative of the American Embassy in Berlin reported that Jews were barred from all open competition and denied the use of sports fields.

Nevertheless Brundage went to the December 1935 AAU convention determined to fight for American participation in the Games.

One of his chief supporters was a General Sherrill who was on record as saying that Mussolini was 'a man I have long known and admired'. The General had expressed a wish that Mussolini could come to America and 'deal with communism as he has in Italy'.

Majority of two

The AAU voted by a majority of two to participate in the Games. The president resigned in protest and Brundage took his place.

Less than six years after the Berlin Olympics, Hitler's 'final solution' to the Jewish problem was under way:

'Mass killing techniques were perfected.

'New arrivals were stripped in preparation for a supposed shower. Soberly-dressed musicians played light music to ease their filing into giant gas chambers able to hold up to 2,000 at a time. When the doors had been sealed, prussic-acid

crystals were dropped through the ventilation shaft.

'After a quarter of an hour, other Jews were forced to clear the dead bodies and collect valuables, including gold teeth, which were deposited in a special account at the Reichsbank.

'The slaughter was given a grisly twist by scientific experiments. Collections were made of skulls and other human parts. Skin was made into lampshades.

'Doctors tried out the limits of human resistance to freezing and the rupture of lungs at high altitudes.'

But in Avery Brundage's immortal words:

'Regardless of in what country the Games are held, there will always be some group...'

¹ Arthur D. Morse, 'While Six Million Died', p. 144.

² Quoted in Alan Wykes' 'Nuremberg Rallies', p. 150.

³ Arthur D. Morse (op. cit. p. 148).

⁴ Richard Proktor, 'Nazi Germany', p. 97.



Women fencers at the victory ceremony. Each gold medal winner received a potted oak from the Black Forest. In third place, a German fencer gives the Nazi salute.

RHODESIA: HOW THEY STEAL THE AFRICANS' LAND

Photographs by Abisag Tüllmann.

The racist Ian Smith regime has been forced to abandon its plans to gain diplomatic respectability by participating in the Munich Olympics. A threatened mass walk-out by all African athletes, supported by black members of the United States contingent was instrumental in bringing about Rhodesia's ignominious departure.

The enforced departure of the Olympic team will undoubtedly be welcomed by Rhodesian African masses who are now suffering intensified racial oppression by the illegal regime.

Since the Pearce Commission finding that the vast majority of Africans opposed the proposed Smith-Home deal, the Rhodesian Front government has launched a massive intimidation campaign.

Africans issuing receipts for donations to the African National Council have been arrested. Some have been paraded, handcuffed to donors, through the townships as an example to others.

The racist Smith regime is also trying to crush a whole tribe—the Tangwena. For the last six years this tribe have lived in the eastern highlands in an area regarded as their ancestral territory. A peaceful people, the Tangwena were content to carry on a mean existence through subsistence farming in inhospitable temperatures.

Since 1966 their huts and crops have been burned, tribesmen have been savagely attacked by police and dogs, heavily fined and jailed; the Tangwena's children have been forcibly taken away and now dispersed all over Rhodesia.

The Smith regime had invoked the hated Land Tenure Act, which found that the Tangwena were occupying 'white' land, destined for Europeans. No blacks were allowed to be there. They had to be moved out.

Today most of the tribe are in hiding in the mountainous region near the Mozambique border. Meanwhile air force helicopters are tracking them down.

The Tangwena people are part of the Barwe tribe who inhabited a vast area stretching some 200 miles from the Zambesi to the Macheke river; it formed part of an empire which ruled Rhodesia, South of the Zambesi for several hundred years.

In 1902, when the Makombe, the Tangwena's eastern neighbours, rebelled against the Portuguese, the Tangwena living in Portuguese East Africa gained permission to join the 70 families in Rhodesia, bringing all the Tangwena together there.

By 1889, Cecil Rhodes' British South African Co had by Royal Charter gained governmental powers over Southern Rhodesia. In 1905 the company sold 250,000 acres of land—including a major section of Tangwena country—to the Anglo-French Matabeleland Co.

Of course the African inhabitants were not informed about the sale and, as the company made no use of the land, they remained unaware of it for many years.

The Tangwena were also unaware of the passing of the Land Apportionment Act in 1931, which was to lay the basis for their present oppression by Smith and his police and armed forces.

This Act divided the land between the Europeans and the Africans. Tangwena territory was classified as 'European' and the people in consequence became 'squatters' on their own ancestral land.

In 1944 the Anglo-French Matabeleland Co ceded 58,000 acres to the Gaeresi Ranch Co for £8,400. William Hammer, the managing director, settled there in 1948.

It was on this land that the Tangwena tribe were living and farming.

In 1965 Hammer ordered about 1,000 Tangwena to quit 'his' land or be fined £100. No one left. The tribal leader, Rekeyi Tangwena, was twice fined £30 for living on 'European' land. Eventually he won his appeal which held his people were lawfully living on ancestral land.

But Smith was not satisfied with the law. A proclamation was issued under the Land Apportionment Act. It ordered the Tangwena off the Gaeresi Ranch by August 31, 1969.

The Tangwena refused to move to non-'European' land which the government offered. They insisted on their ancestral home.

At 5 a.m. on September 18 the police moved in with bulldozers. Rekeyi was taken away and the rest of the tribe fled, leaving their livestock and possessions behind.

When 160 men and women marched to demand the chief's release, they were promptly arrested. Rekeyi himself was taken to a nearby tribal trust land.

When Rekeyi was released, the rest of the tribe made their way back to the ranch to find their homes had been razed to the ground and their possessions destroyed. They immediately began rebuilding operations.

A month later village and government officials again destroyed the property of the Tangwena. The people, scattering into the mountains, were chased with helicopters and dogs.

In 1970 police with dogs again burned huts and destroyed crops. They impounded more than 200 Tangwena cattle and later sold them at auction. A few tribesmen then moved to the new area reserved for them by the government 20 miles away.

The remainder fled into the surrounding hills, living off wild fruits while police hunted for them.

More than 100 children were sent to the nearby Nyafaru farm where they were to be cared for.



Chief Rekeyi Tangwena

Last year the Tangwena once more returned to their land and rebuilt their huts. Maize was planted.

Then last month Smith's thugs moved in again, not only against the tribesmen but against their children.

On July 25 the raid began. The whole area was cordoned off by the armed forces. The Tangwena again fled into the hills, leaving just ten old men who couldn't make the journey. The huts and crops were burned once more. The ten old Tangwena were savagely beaten by the police. When one appeared in court he was heavily bandaged on arms and back. He said he had been attacked by a police dog.

He along with the others was fined about £17 and given a four-month suspended sentence for squatting on 'European' land. One of them told the magistrate: 'I would rather die than leave Tangwena country.'

A few days later, all the children of the Tangwena tribe were herded into trucks by armed police and driven away to institutions.

This barbarous act meant that the Tangwena would find it absolutely impossible to find their children again unless they came forward and gave themselves up to the authorities.

The Smith government refuses to recognize Rekeyi as the Tangwena chief. They have tried to bribe him off and failed.

He said: 'The government does not need our land and we have never troubled them. If they try to move us we will only return again. They cannot defeat our will.'



In the areas set aside for Africans the land is barren and facilities non-existent. The boy (top) is filling his tank at a waterhole in a Tribal Trust near Felixburg. He now has to roll the drum, which is his family's sole water supply, several miles to his home. Near right: On the same Tribal Trust old people suffering from malnutrition wear heavy woollen clothes to keep warm, even though the day is hot.



A Bulawayo school (above) and resettlement huts (far left) where each room houses a whole family.

The abortive Bolivian revolution of August-September 1971 which brought the CIA-sponsored regime of Col Banzer to power has had a considerable impact on the Trotskyist movement.

Not only did these events prove the complete bankruptcy of the revisionist forces of the Unified Secretariat in Latin America, but they also revealed the theoretical degeneration and blatant political opportunism of the Lora-Lambert tendency within the International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI). These grave events gave a vital fillip to a discussion on the philosophical and political roots of the opportunism of the POR (Revolutionary Workers' Party of Bolivia) and its subsequent betrayal of the Bolivian proletariat.

No development of Trotskyism we believe is possible without an understanding and assimilation of the lessons of the revolution and counter-revolution in Bolivia 1970. In the interests of such a discussion we are publishing this critique of the 'Workers' Vanguard' statement on the POR. It has been submitted for publication by the Greek section of the ICFI.



Bolivian miners during street fighting in 1970

A CRYSTAL CLEAR LINE

PART 2 of the series 'Workers' Vanguard and the Bolivian Revolution'.

Let us look at the critique proper which the WV makes of the POR's policies.

It is impressive that the critics themselves are not absolutely sure about their critique. If this impression is wrong, then how can we explain how on the one hand the document condemns the POR for not having advanced the slogan 'Down with Torres' and for having waited for the military government to arm the workers, while on the other hand it comes to the defence of the POR against 'Pabloite slanders' on the same subject by saying: 'The POR did not support Torres . . . the POR line is crystal clear.'

We would find it rather unclear.

The policies of the POR and the Popular Assembly always stood in support of the bourgeois nationalist government. And they never denied this, much less now that all the organizations of the Popular Assembly together with Torres, his military clique and one section of the MNR (the other section is in power together with the Banzer and the Falange fascists) are together in a common front, the infamous FRA (Anti-imperialist Revolutionary Front).

The WV wants to reconcile the irreconcilable.

How can it on the one hand accuse the POR of 'trying . . . to avoid the necessity of an uncompromising struggle for the overthrow of Torres,' and on the other hand rebel against the exclusively (it would have us believe) Pabloite accusations about the POR's support for Torres. . . .

At another point the WV accepts that: 'The Trotskyists of the POR did make a distinction of the class antithesis to Torres.

'They announced that: "The Torres government is not a workers' government", but in saying this they should have characterized it categorically as capitalist, dictatorial and counter-revolutionary.'

Lora did not seem willing however to follow this advice.

Continuing along his 'crystal clear' line, he went on categorically characterizing the Torres government as a 'military nationalist government with bourgeois content, that is with an anti-imperialist orientation.' (Document presented by the POR at the Latin American conference in April 1972, 'La Verité', No 557).

Lora's group wants to 'justify theoretically' even this wretched capitulation to the national bourgeoisie with various tricks by legerdemain.

One of the most seemingly serious is the one that seeks to

justify the popular front with the bourgeoisie with references to the positions of the Third Congress of the Comintern which concern the united anti-imperialist front in the colonial countries.

That united front would have permitted combined action of the proletariat and the peasants with sections of the national bourgeoisie for joint defence in a war against imperialism.

The Third Congress of the Comintern defined quite clearly the boundaries of this tactic: 'The working class movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries must first of all win for itself the position of an independent revolutionary factor within the anti-imperialist front as a whole.'

'Only when its importance as an independent factor is recognized and its political independence secured, then provisional treaties with bourgeois democracy are permitted and necessary . . .' ('The Communist International 1919-1943, Documents, Vol I', Oxford University Press).



Lenin stressed independence

Lenin and Trotsky particularly emphasized the point that Lora prefers to forget: no amalgam, 'irreconcilable preservation of the independence of the proletarian movement, even if it is in an embryonic stage'.

The WV however ignore all these attempts to present the capitulation as logical.

'The POR did not support Torres.'

His deviation lay in the fact that he formed a popular front with the Stalinists who supported Torres. . . . And what was the danger according to the WV, carried by this united front POR-CPB? They had nothing to say but that 'the Stalinists would have done everything in their power to drag the "united anti-imperialist front" towards guerrilla warfare in the mountains or the cities and to turn the movement into a petty-bourgeois one, leaning it on the

peasantry and pushing the proletariat aside . . .'

To whomever has the slightest knowledge of reality and knows the relative positions of the Kremlin, the rabid polemic carried out by all the Stalinist agencies, all the CPs, particularly in Latin America and even more in Bolivia, against guerrilla warfare in the name of the 'peaceful road to socialism', arriving at conscious sabotage and open betrayal, the views of the WV on the fervent passion of the Bolivian CP for a guerrilla war seem ridiculous to say the least.

But we, the Greek Trotskyists, cannot laugh, as perhaps the situation merits, when we hear this *sui generis* 'Trotskyist' group from Greece uttering such insane apophthegms. And this is because we know quite well what their aim is.

By denouncing the guerrilla adventures in Latin America with the ridiculous accusation that they are inspired by Muscovite Stalinism, they are not aiming at the adventurist views of an arch-Pabloite like Livio Maitan which led so many innocent fighters up a blind alley, but they do it from a desire to justify the well-known stand they took at another time, during the guerrilla movement of ELAS in occupied Greece: because the guerrilla army had the Stalinist CPG in its leadership, the present leaders of the WV characterized the whole movement as being 'of a reactionary nature'.

This sectarian and reactionary stand of theirs played a terrible suspensory role in the development of the Trotskyist movement in Greece.

For this reason, we Greek Trotskyists of the EDE can only feel anger about the opportunistic basis upon which they uphold their criticism of guerrilla warfare 'generally'.

They have raised their views about the communist guerrillas under the treacherous Stalinist leadership in a Europe occupied by the Nazis to a super-historical metaphysical schema, into which they try to fit the most different things: the ELAS guerrillas, the Vietcong, the Bengalese Mukti Bahini, the Chinese partisans, together with the Tupamaros, the Pabloite ERP in Argentina or the various radicalized petty bourgeois of the Latin American Castroite Focos.

A second circle of Hell in this Divine Comedy of the WV!

We know from other cases (as for example, that of Shachtman and the 'state capitalists') that usually a hysterical Stalinophobia is the camouflage for an adaptation to the pressure of the bureaucracy, the refusal to come into conflict with

Stalinism within the masses, for the raising of the consciousness of the masses.

In the same indictment served by the WV against the 'United Front of the Stalinists and the Lora tendency', the support of the Torres government by the Bolivian CP is characterized as 'Menshevik'.

Lora himself would not disagree at all with this characterization!

On the contrary, he always wanted to justify his whole opportunist alliance with the CPB with the 'theory' that Bolivian Stalinism is 'simply Menshevik', eccentric and radical and is forced to succumb to the pressure of Trotskyism.

The counter-revolutionary character of the 'left' zig-zags of the Stalinist CP is hidden under the screen of the revisionist conception of the 'Menshevik' character of Stalinism.

From the time of Marx and Lenin we know that an imprecise, unscientific characterization comes, most of the time, to cover political opportunisms and capitulations.

Let us now come to the point to which the WV critique attaches most significance: ' . . . the leaders of the POR and of "Informations Ouvrières"-OCI claim the discovery of a new kind of organ for the conquest of power, the "Popular Assembly of a soviet type".'

'Why this distortion of the Soviet theory? Why were they drawn to the parliament-assembly? Why, instead of building soviets, did they try to frame a constitution, with which "the Popular Assembly would deepen its roots in the Committees"?'

'Why the attempt to create a new, Bolivian-type of revolution, in place of the proven October?'

The WV bases its fundamental attack against the POR on a monumental confusion.

Nowhere does it appear to have a clear idea about what this Popular Assembly is and where exactly the opportunism lay in Lora's line.

So does the deviation of the POR lie in the fact that ' . . . perhaps without realizing it (our emphasis) in fighting for the Sovietization of the Popular Assembly . . . they . . . omitted their basic duty, to put forward the slogan for Soviets . . .?'

Let us try to dissolve the confusion of such statements.

Confusion at times tragicomic, especially when we see the Popular Assembly of La Paz called in one case 'bourgeois parliament', in another 'Constituent Assembly', and another time compared to the 'Small Parliament' of Papadopoulos. . . .

This final insane comparison shows clearly that the WV not only has no idea about the Popular Assembly in Bolivia, but furthermore is drifting on a sea of confusion as far as the situation in Greece itself is concerned.

Harmless body

The unbelievable extract from the document reads:

'Similarly in Greece, Papadopoulos created the "small parliament", a harmless advisory body where 3,000 appointed people vote on behalf of 9,000,000—a corporate body cast in the mould of the fascist state of Mussolini or Franco.' (Our emphasis).

Let us leave for another time the spectacle of a Greece where, according to the WV, corporate and long-lived structural institutions of 'fascism' are operating, and let us return to the 'appointed body' in far-away La Paz.

The Popular Assembly was born in January 1971, out of the mobilization of broad layers of oppressed which followed the seizure of power by the Bonaparte Torres.

This body consisted of 240 members, of whom 60 per cent had been nominated by the trade unions and the

other 40 per cent by left organizations. Most of the 240 representatives had been nominated by conferences or assemblies, of the rank and file in the places of work, they were obliged to have a mandate from their electors and they could be recalled at any moment, if they lost the trust of the rank and file. As we see, we are miles away from the 'small parliament' of Papadopoulos.

Most of the disputes on whether the Popular Assembly has a Soviet character or not are carried out, or continue to be carried out, by various trends for the sole reason of defending the policies of each trend and of avoiding discussion on the essence of the matter.

The Pabloites of Moscow denied the Soviet character of the Assembly in an attempt to dissolve the movement into the remains of Guevarism.

Lora and other opportunists defended (and defend) the 'first Soviet of Latin America' by cultivating the illusion of a 'dual power' which would lead gradually, through the struggle against the fascist 'Gorilismo' and with the conditional support of Torres, to socialism.

Illusion reigned

This illusion finally reigned within the Bolivian proletariat, even in its most *avante-garde* sections, with the result that on August 21, 1971, it stood face to face with Banzer's fascists, unarmed, counterposing only its unrivalled heroism and its high revolutionary morale.

The Popular Assembly was a pole with continually increasing influence on the political and social life of the people.

Torres, as much as the CIA thugs, did not hide his hatred towards the Assembly, which however was impotent against the imperialist designs, not having any legislative power, tied ideologically and practically to the chariot of bourgeois nationalism.

The Assembly always stood on rotten ideological foundations. The programmatic theses accepted by it were those which had been voted in 1970 in the COB, on the basis of a capitulation of the POR to the Stalinist CP.

The stand defined by the position of the COB towards the Ovando regime was conserved within the conditional support of the Torres regime.

The POR wanted to compare this support with the support given by the Bolsheviks to Kerensky against Kornilov.

It wants however to forget the letter from Lenin to the Central Committee in September 1917, of which Trotsky so correctly reminds us:

'Even now, we do not have an obligation to support the Kerensky government. That would be unprincipled. The question is: then are we not for the struggle against Kornilov? Naturally we are. But this is not one and the same thing.

'There is a limit to this: it has been surpassed by many Bolsheviks who fell into "reconciliationism" and let themselves be carried away by the flow of events.

'We will fight, we will struggle against Kornilov, but we do not support Kerensky, we uncover his weaknesses. The distinction is much more fine, but very important and it must not be forgotten.

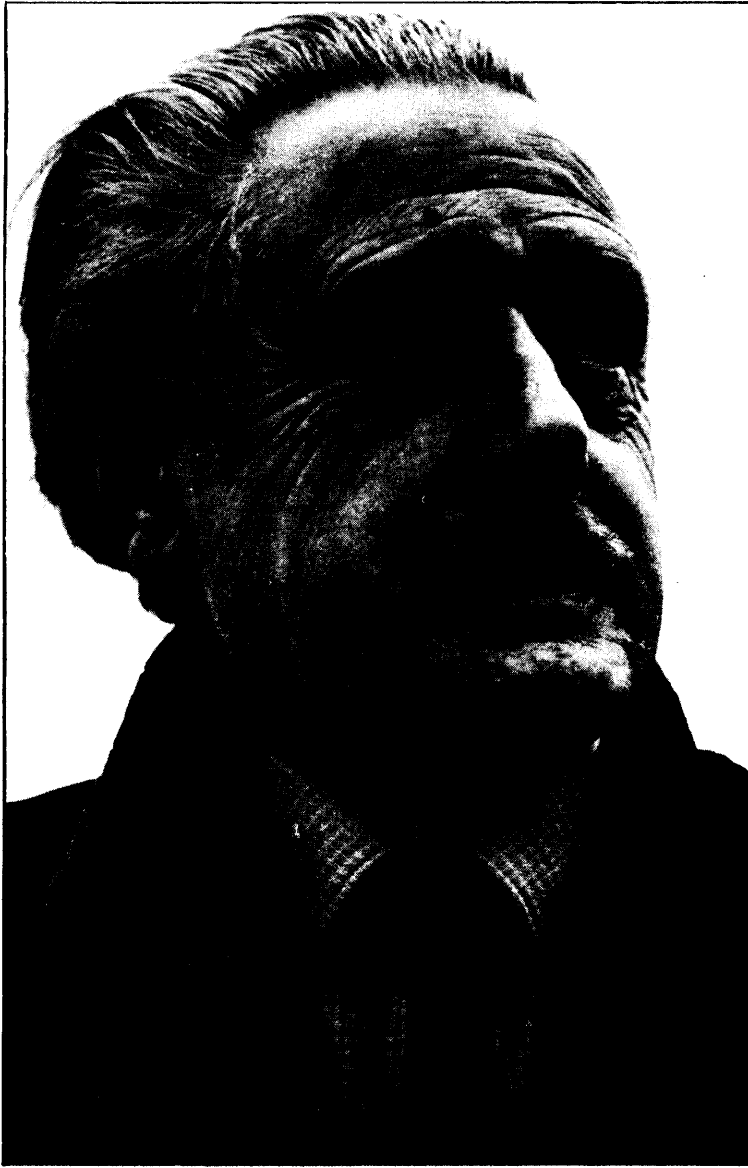
'Wherein lies the change in our tactics after the Kornilov uprising?

'In this, in that we vary the forms of the struggle against Kerensky.' (L. D. Trotsky, 'Germany 1931-1932'.)

The Popular Assembly and the POR gave their trust and support to Kerensky-Torres, just as the 'old Bolsheviks' and Stalin had done. They were waiting for one part of the counter-revolution to arm the Bolivian revolution. And Kornilov-Banzer came in.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

THE SCOTTISH NATIONALIST POET AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY



Scottish poet, and Communist Party member, Hugh MacDiarmid

When Hugh MacDiarmid (C. M. Grieve) celebrated his 80th birthday recently, it was not surprising that John Gollan should send a congratulatory letter on behalf of the Communist Party.

MacDiarmid, internationally recognized as a major poet, leader of the revival of Scottish literature for half a century, is well known as a CP member.

But one paragraph in Gollan's letter might have seemed out of place in the 'Morning Star'. 'You have not always seen eye to eye with us,' wrote the leader of British Stalinism, 'nor we with you. But that's Hugh MacDiarmid. We would not like to see you changed one iota. And even if we did you would not oblige.'

Such liberal sentiments, from a party which has expelled thousands of members in the course of its history, many for merely questioning its line on the history of the communist movement! Was not MacDiarmid's own friend and collaborator, the novelist Lewis Grassic Gibbon (J. L. Mitchell) charged with 'Trotskyism' and expelled?

But an examination of MacDiarmid's special type of unorthodoxy explains Gollan's unaccustomed flexibility. MacDiarmid was never a Marxist, and his noisy quarrels with the CP at no time questioned the domination of the Soviet bureaucracy or challenged its betrayal of communist principles.

He first joined the Party in 1935, although he had been very close to it for some time. In the 1920s, he had been prominent in Scottish Nationalist circles, rubbing shoulders uncomfortably with the right-wing tendencies and middle-class cranks to be found there.

He gravitated towards the Communist Party only when it had already succumbed to Stalinist degeneration. His 'First Hymn to Lenin' (1931) fits the mystical subjectivism of his nationalist politics to 'Third Period' Stalinism:

'Here lies your secret, O Lenin—yours and ours, No' in the majority will that accepts the result

But in the real will that bides its time and kens The benmaist¹ resolve is the poo'er which we exult Since naeboddy's willingly deprived o' the good; And, least o' a', the crood!

This poem played an important part in turning poets like W. H. Auden towards the CP.

The 'Second Hymn to Lenin' (1935) was influential, but in a different direction. Gone is the leftism of the previous few years. Instead, MacDiarmid propounds a relationship between poetry and politics which opens the way for liberal intellectuals into the 'People's Front'.

And inseparable from this is the studied insult to Trotsky; the appeal to the liberals went hand in hand with the campaign of slander against revolutionary politics.

'They're nocht but romantic rebels

Strikin' dilettante poses; Trotsky—Christ, no' wi' a croon o' thorns

But a wreath o' paper roses.'

Thus MacDiarmid earned his licence to hold all kinds of unorthodox opinions in the Stalinist movement. In his autobiographical book 'The Company I've Kept', he tells how he joined the CP:²

'I had to be "vetted", since I had a political past as a Scottish Nationalist and as a socialist town councillor and magistrate.

'Bob Stewart was appointed to "vet" me. After asking me various questions, he said, "I don't know what to put you down as—how to describe your position."

"Oh," I replied, "just put me down as a muddled intellectual." "Right," he said, "you're in".'

MacDiarmid never moved away from his Nationalist politics, and in 1938 he left the CP. The Moscow Trials, the betrayal of the Spanish revolution—these he could willingly accept, but indifference to Scottish Nationalism he could not stomach.

In 1950, MacDiarmid stood for Kelvingrove in the General Election—as a 'Republican Scottish Nationalist with Communist overtones'. About that time he described himself as a 'Tito-ite'—defined for the occasion as meaning a Communist-Nationalist.

Characteristic was his return to the CP in 1957.

While thousands of people were leaving the Party, shocked by the revelations of Stalin's role and by the crushing of the Hungarian workers' councils, MacDiarmid found himself quite at home with his old Stalinist friends. Edinburgh readers may recall a debate in 1957, in which he defended the CP's opposition to the demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain.

MacDiarmid claims with some justification that he won over the CP to his view on Scottish Nationalism.

Especially since 1965, the Stalinists have worked for 'unity' with all tendencies in this political porridge. MacDiarmid himself has been an enthusiastic member of the '1320 Club', alongside some very reactionary figures, and has worked as hard as he could

to tie the Scottish working class to middle-class reaction.

Despite MacDiarmid's loud protestations that he is a Marxist-Leninist, his ideology is permeated with subjective idealism, accurately reflecting the impotence of the Scots petty-bourgeois. Most striking in this respect is his unswerving adherence to the Social Credit schemes of the currency crank Major Douglas.

MacDiarmid quotes with enthusiasm a statement of Douglas's, hailing it as aligning him 'with all that is best in Scottish thought from the Declaration of Arbroath to the present day':

'If all history and all observation has not been misread, there is implanted in the individual a primary desire for freedom and security which, rightly considered, are forms of the same thing.'

MacDiarmid engaged actively in the Social Credit movement in the 1930s.

He does not try to hide the political character of this movement:

'A friend said to me in London . . . "What are you doing among these people? Don't you know they will all go religious-fascist?" I did not realize anything of the kind, but they all did go religious-fascist, and I still do not see why that should be so.'

And even the evolution of the Social Credit group into the semi-fascist 'Greenshirts' did not change the economic views of this great 'Marxist'.

I myself, though a member of the Communist Party, have always believed—and I still believe—that Major Douglas's proposals should be applied in the transitional period before the achievement of integrated communism.⁴

MacDiarmid's mysticism, his 'intellectual confusion', is no barrier to his work for the CP. On the contrary, it fits in well with the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy and the politics of Stalinism today.

Gollan is able to greet him, not just as a 'celebrity', bringing useful publicity to the Party, but as a fellow-Stalinist in his own right.

¹ Benmaist—inmost.

² 'The Company I've Kept', (1966), pp. 152-153.

³ Op. cit., pp. 113-114.

⁴ Op. cit., p. 120.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

THE HUNT

How would you like to be just 32 years old, a Master of the Hounds, bone idle and filthy rich? You would? Listen to this story, then.

The dashing Viscount Wimborne, who has all the outstanding characteristics of the nobility, has just fixed up a deal which will bring him no less than £26m without even raising a sweat.

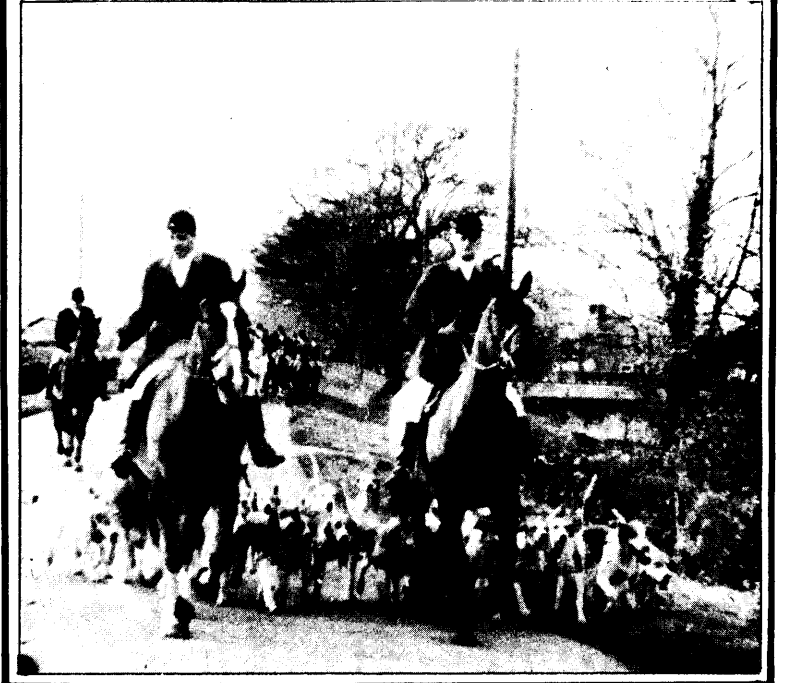
Our noble viscount is simply selling 575 acres of land on his Canford estate, near Poole, Dorset. The local council is buying it to develop a private residential estate and a shopping centre.

Most of the land will be sold off to private developers, say the council. But this won't bother Viscount Wimborne when he's getting £45,000 an acre.

There's no need to think he will be out of a house after the transaction. Viscount Wimborne has a house in Wilton Crescent in London plus a country house and estate near Rugby.

When daddy died in 1967, he inherited about £900,000 from his father's estates in Britain.

Below: huntsmen and the hounds



BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:
Germany 1931/1932
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87;
Where Is Britain Going?
Paperback 37½p
Revolution Betrayed
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.05
Problems of the Chinese Revolution
Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87;
Permanent Revolution:
Results and Prospects
Paperback 75p
In Defence of Marxism
Paperback 75p
Lessons of October
Paperback 60p

Postage 10p per book, 3p per pamphlet. Order from:
NEW PARK PUBLICATIONS
186a Clapham High Street,
London SW4 7UG.

Union law strengthens militants, MP claims

LABOUR MP for Birmingham, Sparkbrook, Roy Hattersley, warned a meeting of his constituency Labour Party last night of the growing influence of the 'tiny disruptive element within the trade union movement'.

And he called for an end to the Industrial Relations Act on the basis that it gave this so-called element 'the best debating point it has enjoyed in 50 years.'

'As a result,' he went on, 'their influence has grown in a way it should not have done had the Bill not been brought into law.'

'Indeed the element has been given more than a debating point. They can argue with some reality for the first time in recent trade union history that the establishment is against the trade unions and that the traditional peaceful means for seeking justice and redress are, therefore, bound to fail.'

'Men with legitimate grievances now find them an attractive and natural ally. As a result, a responsible trade union leadership who worked so hard and fought so successfully this year to re-establish and maintain their authoritative influence over their own trade unions must have seen the Industrial Relations Bill as the principal weapon in their opponents' armoury.'

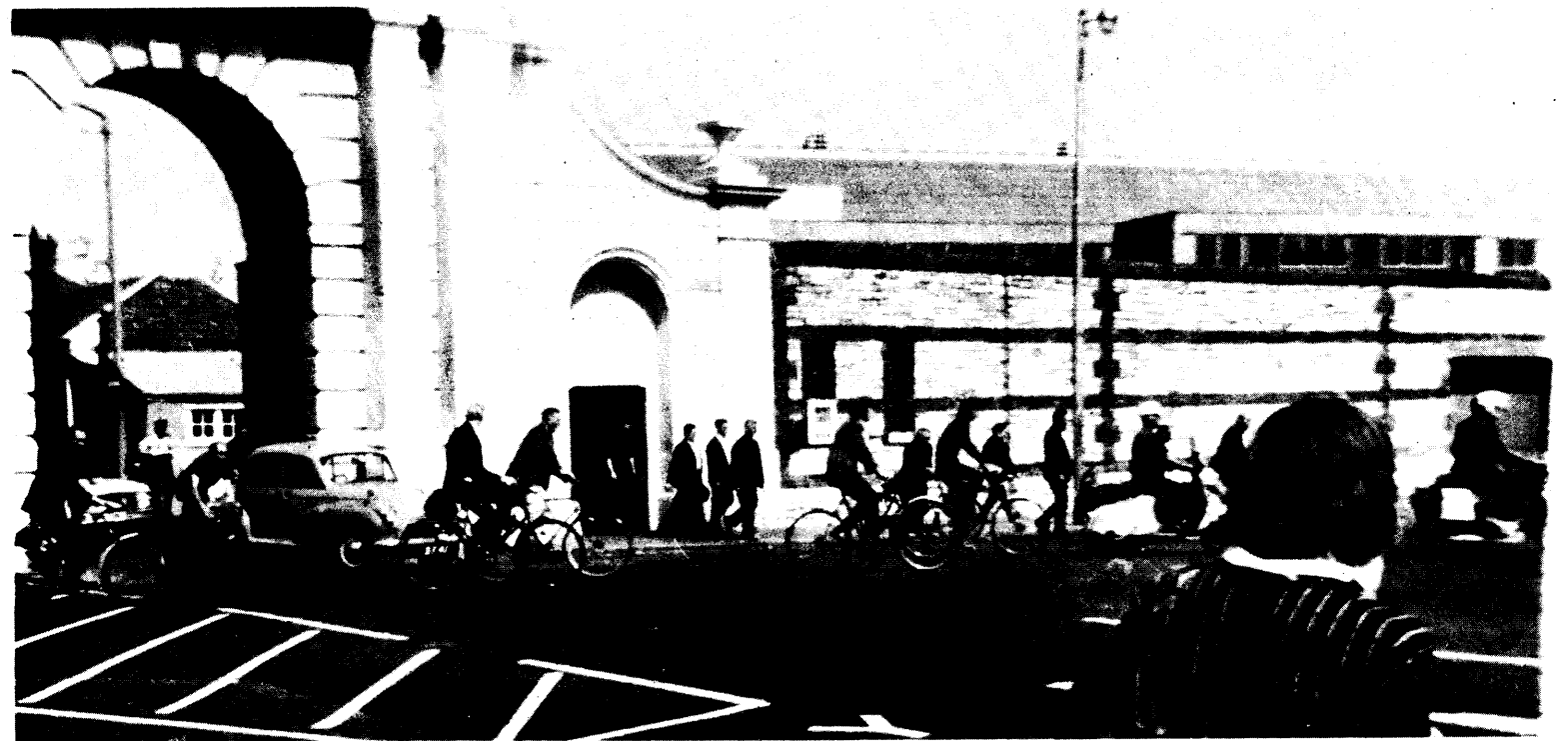
Hattersley is so concerned, it seems, that militant workers should not have any voice in the trade unions that he is prepared to forget the Industrial Relations Act is also the Tories' main weapon in their armoury against these same trade unions!

But then he was also one of the 69 Labour MPs who so forgot their differences that they supported entry in the Common Market and kept the Tories in power.

And many workers also remember him as Barbara Castle's under-Secretary at the Department of Employment and Productivity when she was introducing Labour's own anti-union proposals—'In Place of Strife'.

UNITED PRESS International employees in Belgium have been told to stop work that would benefit the management in a strike by UPI colleagues in London. A spokesman for the National Union of Journalists' Central London branch said the instruction had been notified to them by M. Walter Pauwels, secretary of the National Employees' Union of Belgium, who had deplored that UPI members assigned to Brussels had been sent to London 'to work as strike-breakers'.

Eight-week pay battle—but leaders hold it back



Portsmouth dockyard entrance at the Unicorn Gate

Dragged out work-to-rule demoralizes Pompey men

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

Workers at Portsmouth naval dockyard are now in the eighth week of a work-to-rule in support of their pay claim.

Many of the men feel, however, that this action is getting them nowhere and that their union representatives are holding back from taking all-out industrial action.

Today a further meeting of the Joint Co-ordinating Committee for government industrial establishments, the body that discusses rates of pay for all industrial civil servants, is due to take place and many men are pushing for a one-day stoppage on that day.

Thirteen unions are represented on the JCC. They discuss with representatives of the Civil Service who then report back to Lord Jellicoe, the Lord Privy Seal. Workers Press has spoken to Bill Stillwell, Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) shop steward at Portsmouth, who told us:

'In 1960 the government agreed not to set down rates of pay as it was they who paid the wages.'

'A private inquiry was set up to formulate basic rates—this was set up on 13 different industries and the pay was based upon an average of outside industry.'

'Since then the committee has revised its recommendations three times. First there were groups A to I, then only five groups and in 1970 it set up three industrials—shipbuilding, engineers and building industries.'

'This agreement was not on a basic, but on average hourly earnings and this was excluding bonus.'

'This present claim for 17 per cent is to bring us up into line with this agreement. But now there is the government's 6½ per cent restriction and this is why they cannot carry through their part of the agreement. In actual fact they have reversed their 1960 decision.'

'The present action in the dockyard really first started on July 5 when a group of us attended the lobby of the JCC. On July 7 we held a mass walk-out and demonstration—this was only the second time in the whole history of the yard. The first time was in 1969 in support of the 1970 pay claim and we won the full claim.'

'After this impressive action, where 7,000 dockyard workers marched through Portsmouth, the yard Whitley Committee had no further action in mind!' (The Whitley Committee representatives are elected according to the election system of each particular union. They become senior union representatives in the dockyard—they are the dockyard equivalent to convenors in factories and they have full shop steward credentials.)

'The following Monday about 50 shop stewards lobbied the committee which agreed to receive a deputation of five stewards.'

'The stewards complained about the 1,000 "scabs", but the committee just put it straight back into the laps of the stewards. Committee members told them that they would back any action they decided to take.'

'The result was a walk-off from HMS "Matapan" leaving behind 12 scabs. The men refused to return back to the ship until these men were moved.'

'When the yard Whitley Committee was told, members came down to the dockside and asked the men to return to the ship. They then went to see management and meanwhile similar action took place on HMS "Endurance". The action soon spread and by 2 p.m. that day many of the other ships were joining in.'

'When a full stewards' meeting was held the following day the Whitley Committee refused to forward any policy and simply asked for suggestions. At this meeting on July 11 it was decided to ban overtime and

have a work-to-rule. The committee said it would issue guidelines for the work-to-rule. These, however, took three weeks to compile!

'The men returned to the "Matapan" with the feeling that they had been sold out.'

'The work-to-rule if strictly adhered to would paralyse the whole yard and no man would be able to move, let alone work—the government covers itself so many times with so many rules.'

'The safety part of the work-to-rule has affected the work of the dockyard. The work-to-rule and overtime ban has now gone on for eight weeks. Over this time action has occurred throughout other yards.'

'The work-to-rule stated that no man should go out on trials on board the HMS "Matapan". Yet they were preparing to do just this. Only two men at first started to go—one who wasn't in the union and the other who was waiting for redundancy.'

'The Whitley Committee did



UCATT shop steward Bill Stillwell

not take any action about this and by the following morning the number grew to seven. A picket was arranged for the following day when they were due to leave.

'However the management moved fast and got the men off at 7.30 a.m., beating most of the pickets. The ones that were there managed to get all but three to turn back.'

'The men were in uproar against the Whitley Committee for their lack of foresight. They then went to management to ask for the return of these men. Meanwhile the men passed a resolution to completely black the "Matapan".'

'Reporting back, the Committee said that management would discuss the questions involved if the men returned to work. They did this on the advice of

the representatives and the management refused to shift on any of the questions.'

'The Whitley Committee rescinded the decision of the men to black the "Matapan" mainly because they were scared of calling strike action. The Whitley Committee took one action during the middle of the work-to-rule—they proposed a one-hour stoppage after pressure from the men for further action.'

'The management said any that walked off the ship would be asked to clock out. This walk-out ended in chaos with some men walking off the ships, some staying on, a few clocking out and a few clocking back in again after the hour's stoppage.'

'The committee's recommendation was not to refuse an order (the men could have been ordered straight back on to the ship as soon as they left) and not clock out.'

'I think the majority of the Whitley Committee is holding back the dockyard workers who want to take further action. The committee is looking for excuses for not taking action because of what might come out of it. The majority of the committee has even opposed calling a mass meeting of the men to discuss the latest situation at Portsmouth.'

'The general attitude of the men is that they are sick to death with the work-to-rule, they can't see it getting anywhere. To take action for eight weeks and you can't see any effect becomes demoralizing, especially as they can see no further action.'

'This claim and what the government has offered is just one attack on the working class. The only way to stop it is by removing the government and putting a proper socialist one.'

Said Bernie Wyatt, acting secretary of the Whitley Committee: 'There is no doubt in the committee's mind of the strain put on the management by the overtime ban and work-to-rule which has brought about a vast reduction in work put out by members without as tragic a loss as we would have had if there had been a stoppage of work completely.'

'Management has to continue the bonus schemes where work is measurable. Further it is the policy of the committee to liaise with other yards as to a continued policy in government establishment.'

'When asked if the present work-to-rule was demoralizing the men and that many were talking of leaving the union, he said:

'There has been no talk of withdrawing from the union and to our knowledge no reduction in union strength but an increase of principle.'

Subscribe! workers press

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

£20.28 for 12 months (312 issues)
£10.14 for 6 months (156 issues)
£5.07 for 3 months (78 issues)

If you want to take Workers Press twice a week the rates are:
£1.56 for 3 months (24 issues)
£6.24 for 12 months (96 issues)

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:

Circulation Dept., Workers Press, 186a Clapham High St., London, SW4 7UG.

I would like to take out a subscription to Workers Press.

Days required	MONDAY	THURSDAY
(Please tick)	TUESDAY	FRIDAY
	WEDNESDAY	SATURDAY

Or Full subscription (six days) for months.

Name

Address

Amount enclosed £

TV

BBC 1

9.45 Mr Benn. 10.00 Robinson Crusoe. 10.25 Play tennis. 10.50 Magic roundabout. 11.00 Olympic grandstand. 1.30 Andy Pandy. 1.45 News and weather. 1.55 Olympic grandstand.

7.25 **MISSION IMPOSSIBLE.** Underwater.

8.10 **DRAMA PLAYHOUSE: 'THE VENTURERS'.** Douglas Wilmer, James Kerry, Sebastian Breaks.

9.00 **NINE O'CLOCK NEWS** and weather.

9.50 **TODAY AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES.** Diving, Fencing, swimming, canoe slalom finals.

12.30 Weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Jackanory. 4.50 Laurel and Hardy. 5.10 Blue Peter flies the world. 5.40 Magic roundabout. 5.45 Sounds of music.

6.45 **BIRD'S EYE VIEW.** John Bull's Workshop.

7.30 **NEWSROOM.** Weather.

8.00 **TIMES REMEMBERED...** by children from abroad.

8.10 **MAN ALIVE.** The Army Game.



The BBC has a sudden obsession with the army and tonight does a public relations job through comedy and documentary using both channels. On BBC 1 Warren

ITV

11.00 Film: 'Boys Will Be Boys'. Will Hay. 12.25 Women today. 12.50 Freud on food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Sean the leprechaun. 1.40 Woobinda. 2.00 Castle haven. 2.25 Racing from York. 3.15 Edgar Wallace. 4.10 Hatty town. 4.25 Little big time. 4.50 Ace of wands. 5.20 Olympic games and news.

6.00 **TODAY.**

6.35 **CROSSROADS.**

7.00 **WHICKER.** Within a Woman's World.

7.30 **CORONATION STREET.**

8.00 **THE BENNY HILL SHOW.**

9.00 **THE MAIN CHANCE.** Dear Sir, Unless...

10.00 **NEWS AND OLYMPICS AT TEN.**

10.50 **TONY BENNETT.** At the Talk of the Town with Cleo Laine.

11.20 **PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING.**

11.50 **WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.**

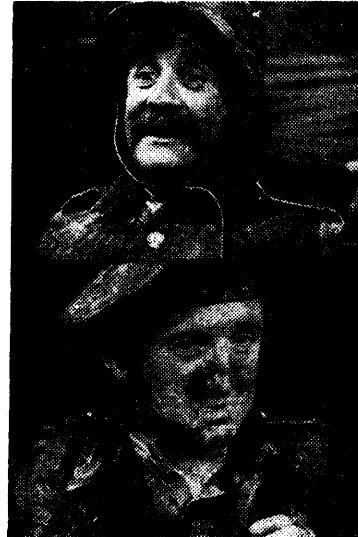
12.05 **CRAFTSMAN IN THE CHURCH.**

9.00 **FOLLOW THE RHINE.** Oberwesel to Utrecht.

9.25 **FILM: 'THE SEARCH'.** Montgomery Clift, Aline MacMahon, Jarmila Novotna. A young refugee after World War II is helped by an American soldier to regain his identity.

11.05 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

11.10 **FESTIVAL 26.**



Mitchell (top) and Ronald Fraser are in 'No Peace on the Western Front' at 9.25 and BBC 2's Man Alive programme at 8.10 investigates 'The Army Game'—the Territorials.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 1.45 Good afternoon. 2.18 Puffin. 2.20 London. 4.10 Paulus. 4.25 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 F troop. 6.35 London. 11.45 News, weather. Epilogue.

SOUTHERN: 12.55 News, weather. 1.00 Let them live. 1.25 Hot dog. 1.50 Common Market cook book. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.25 London. 3.40 Houseparty. 4.00 Little big time. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.35 Get this. 7.00 London. 8.00 FBI. 9.00 London. 10.50 Afloat. 11.20 London. 12.00 News. 12.10 Weather. Guideline.

ANGLIA: 1.35 World War I. 2.00 Rovers. 2.25 London. 3.30 Yoga. 3.55 News. 4.00 Romper room. 4.25 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London.

HARLECH: 2.15 Racing from York. 3.45 Ugliest girl in town. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.25 Crossroads. 4.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 On the buses. 7.00 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 11.45 Frighteners. 12.15 Weather.

HTV Wales and HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 3.45 Hamdden. 4.15-4.25 Miri mawr. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd.

HTV West as above except: 6.15-6.30 Report West.

ATV MIDLANDS: 1.45 Racing from York. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Women today. 4.10 Rupert bear. 4.25 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London. 10.50 Odd couple. 11.20 London.

ULSTER: 1.45 Racing from York. 3.40 Sound of... 4.00 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London.

6.00 News. 6.10 Viewfinder. 6.35 London. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London. 10.50 World War I. 11.20 London.

YORKSHIRE: 1.45 Dr Simon Locke. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.25 London. 4.10 Sean the leprechaun. 4.25 London. 6.00 Calendar, weather. 6.35 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 10.50 Blue light. 11.20 London. 11.50 Weather.

GRANADA: 1.15 Freud on food. 1.45 Racing from York. 3.40 Peyton Place. 4.10 News. Sean the leprechaun. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Newsday films. 6.30 Odd couple. 7.00 London. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London. 10.50 Dick Van Dyke. 11.20 London.

TYNE TEES: 1.45 Dr Simon Locke. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.25 London. 4.09 News. 4.10 Make a wish. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Charlie Brown. 6.35 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 11.50 News. 12.05 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 1.45-3.15 Racing from York. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Women today. 4.10 Hatty town. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Cartoon. 6.20 Under these roofs. 6.35 London. 7.00 Band call. 7.30 London. 8.00 Cade's county. 9.00 London. 10.50 Festival. 11.20 London. 11.50 Late call. 11.55 McCue's music.

GRAMPIAN: 1.45 Racing from York. 3.15 News. 3.20 Yoga. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.25 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Grampian week. 6.20 Canadian view. 6.35 London. 8.00 Department S. 8.55 Police news. 9.00 London. 11.45 Scales of justice.

Engineers' settlement leaves hardest fighters with nothing

Scott Lithgow men go it alone

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

ONCE upon a time men like the Scott Lithgow engineers from the shipyards on the lower Clyde were the pride of their union.

The president of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Hugh Scanlon, would point to them as an example. Here were men in the midst of a bitter strike following the strategy laid down by himself when he decided to abandon any idea of a national strike over the engineering pay claim.

With many other militant Scottish workers they were encouraged by the president to declare local guerrilla warfare against employers for at least an increase in the basic rate, a substantial general increase (to benefit the higher paid men) and better holidays.

(This incidentally, was after Scanlon had coolly abandoned the demand for shorter hours and dealt a mortal blow to the spate of Manchester sit-ins.)

Now the wheel has turned the full circle. After over ten weeks of bitter strike the Lithgow men, from Greenock and Port Glasgow, together with their 400 brothers from Kinkaid's Engineering, have found themselves an embarrassment to their leader.

The national deal reached over a week ago meant no pay increase at all for the militant engineers like the shipyard workers who had been in the vanguard of Scanlon's plant-by-plant battles for the claim.

The award merely improved pay packets for that small minority in the industry who lived on the old basic of £19 for skilled workers and £15 for semi-skilled.

Naturally the Lithgow men were angry—what exactly had their ten-week struggle been about? This was the question they asked Scanlon when they cornered him days after the national settlement at the union's Peckham Road headquarters in London.

To their amazement the strikers found that the struggle after all had been all about the tiny minority of lower-paid men.

This has not endeared the men to their leadership—Scanlon was accused of 'verbal acrobatics'.

There are grounds for the accusation.

If the struggle was about only the lower-paid men, one wondered why a circular was issued to all branches in mid-June defining three minimum points of settlement. These were, an increase in the basic rate, a general all-round increase and longer holidays.

One wonders also why the original charter, which included a demand for a 35-hour week, was tabled in the first place.

In fact Scanlon was covering up for the collapse of his claim—the direct responsibility of himself and his executive and the Lithgow men know it.

Despite this blow the Scott Lithgow men decided that the national settlement was entirely inadequate and voted to keep out on strike. But they continue to fight with the knowledge that the struggle is now isolated.

Strike committee chairman Vic Lyle summed up the mood among the engineers:



Men picketing the Scott Lithgow gates on the lower Clyde



'It was Hugh Scanlon who came up here and talked about not enough action being taken on the claim. He encouraged us to go ahead and fight it out at local level.

'So that's what we did. But now we find the whole thing turned around. We find we have been used for the lower paid. The men who have been doing what the executive council said have got nothing.

'It's an understatement to say the men feel very, very bitter,' says Mr Lyle.

The blow is doubly hard to bear since the men were strong believers in the plant-by-plant strategy.

'In past national claims we usually got nothing or very little—because we work above the basic.

'When Scanlon put this local action idea we thought it was a new trend, giving us a chance to fight for our increases. But then they got the employers round the table after all the fighting and what did they get, £3 on the basic. Well we were offered £2.75 before the strike started.'

Mr Lyle and his committee are carrying the fight forward for the four points—a substantial wage increase, a shorter working week, more holidays and an increase in the consolidated time rate.

The battle has been a tough one on both sides.

Scott Lithgow are noted for their ruthless business methods and the engineers launched a determined picket to stop supplies entering the yards after they found that management and staff representatives were doing their work. Clashes with police led to 27 arrests

But despite the setback, morale is still high. The vote to stay out after the national settlement and after nine weeks on strike was overwhelming.

When Lithgow men return they will not go back undefeated and they will have learned some lessons about Hugh Scanlon and his executive.

NOTE: In case the talk about low paid and high paid confuses anyone. The 'high'-paid Scott Lithgow workers earn a maximum of £27.50 and many walk out with £20 a week after stoppages!

I would like information about

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

Fill in the form below and send to NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE, 186A CLAPHAM HIGH ST, LONDON, SW4 7UG.

Name

Address

SDLP closer to outright betrayal

LEADERS of Ulster's Social Democratic and Labour Party yesterday described reports that they have adopted a policy which abandons the prospect of a united Ireland as 'inaccurate'.

According to leaked reports following the Party's weekend conference in Donegal the SDLP proposes joint rule of Northern Ireland from Dublin and Westminster.

The 'Belfast Telegraph' say the SDLP would like a regional assembly in Ulster elected under proportional representation with two high commissioners. The assembly would have wide powers, but security would be the responsibility of Westminster and Dublin.

From the plan the SDLP appears to have abandoned any call for a united Ireland.

Instead they have adopted Tory policy which is to keep the six counties separate from the rest of the country so long as majority in the north want it this way.

Gerry Fitt, who represents the SDLP at Westminster, said the report was incorrect on some important points. But he did admit that the SDLP were very interested in joint control.

The latest proposals in fact are closely in line with the appeasement policy suggested by the Party's leaders in January—before Bloody Sunday and direct rule wrecked any moves towards a deal.

In a television investigation of the Ulster crisis Fitt admitted he was in favour of a 'democratically-elected' assembly in the north, but was vague over the issue of unity. It would operate, he said, 'within any future all-Ireland constitution'.

Clearly the opportunist leaders of the SDLP are now crawling towards a new deal with the Tory government over the bodies of the Irish working class.

It is significant that they have also asked to see Tory premier Edward Heath for talks over the 'slow progress towards ending internment'.

The SDLP leaders would undoubtedly use such a meeting to sound out Tory reaction to their latest treachery in preparation for attending the all-party talks called by Ulster Secretary William Whitelaw in late September.

The SDLP is verbally committed to boycotting these talks unless all internees are released. But behind the scenes there is a strong desire to attend.

The Provisional IRA has called for a boycott of the talks 'while recognizing the sincerity of some of the people concerned'.

They declared there will be no end of their campaign until their demands are met in full by the British government.

These include a call for an 'all-Irish' conference to determine the future of the country.

They have admitted that the army occupation of the republican areas of Belfast and Derry has been a blow to their offensive which continued early yesterday with a fierce gun battle near a Belfast hospital in which the army claim eight gunmen were hit.

The Official, and so-called Marxist wing, of the IRA, has reached even deeper depths of futility. Their protest now involves mock Gaelic football matches outside the British embassy near Dublin.

Council builders join strike for first time

All-out action still aim of builders

BY PHILIP WADE

OVER 500 building workers employed by Camden council in north London yesterday struck in support of the claim for £30 and a 35-hour week.

A mass meeting voted in favour of a complete and immediate stoppage, the first by London council workers during the ten-week battle. The meeting also voted for an all-out, national strike called by the union leaders.

The proposal for immediate strike action came from the floor and was enthusiastically received. At the same time, the speaker—to more applause—condemned the policy of sending men back to work on the basis of separate company agreements.



UNION officials and shop stewards met management at Molins Machine Tools Ltd, Deptford, south-east London, yesterday to try to resolve the nine-week-old sit-in at the factory. The strike was called in support of the engineers claim for a 35-hour week and a £6 rise. Molins have offered average increases of £3.25

with grade differentials, but the 900 strikers have been holding out for £4 across the board. About 600 men at Molins' Saunderton, Bucks, have already returned to work and the settlement of the AUEW national claim was also expected to affect a decision of whether to accept management's latest offer.

Dockers disgusted by Jones' 'end picket' plea

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

DOCKERS at London's Midland Cold Store urged port stewards yesterday to hurl T&GWU leader Jack Jones' 'stop the picketing' plea back in his face.

'He's gone back on his word', said one angry picket. 'When the Jones-Aldington report came out he was still telling us to pile on the pressure. He only wants us to stop rocking the boat now because he's worried about getting another fine.'

The men said there was nothing Jones could do to discipline dockers' leaders who had called for the picketing and blacking to go on.

'We'll just ignore him', said ex-Pentonville prisoner Con Clancy.

Unofficial leaders are considering extending their blacking campaign to all ships using unregistered ports if the committee of inquiry set up by Jones-Aldington fails to bring them within the National Dock Labour Scheme on October 31.

'This fight is not over by a long chalk', pickets said. 'You be sure and print that there have been as many jobs lost in the past week as Jones said he had gained.'

About 140 men are to be

EAST COAST of Scotland dockers struck for the second day running yesterday over ships blacklisted during the recent national strike.

Several hundred dockers were out at Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen, Kirkcaldy and Burntisland. Strong pressure to join the action was expected at a meeting at Grangemouth.

About two dozen ships were blacklisted in the area for attempting to break the national strike by using unregistered ports.

Two of them have berthed at

Leith and Dundee. They are the 'Fastnet' and the 'Paris'.

Ernie Davidson, Aberdeen delegate to the unofficial East of Scotland strike committee which agreed the blacklist policy, told Workers Press yesterday that the employers were making a stand and seemed 'determined to provoke a conflict with the dockers'.

On Monday, Forth Stevedores Ltd at Leith rejected an offer to work the 13 other ships in port besides the 'Fastnet'. All the ships in port must be worked, the company insisted.

bunch of anarchists. The next thing will be the law down here turning us over.'

Other pickets added that Jones was bending over backwards to win the approval of transport workers and, whether through redundancies, disciplining or disenchantment with the union, seemed prepared to lose a large section of his dock membership.

They claimed that Jones' tactics following the collapse of the national dock strike have spread widespread confusion among dockers about the next step in their fight for jobs.

sacked from Borthwick's wharf, Deptford, and a further 84 from Nelson's wharf, Blackfriars. Jones promises.

As rumours swept dockland yesterday that men at individual wharfs were calling off the blacking on their own initiative, Midland picket Bob Moon told me there was a danger of those who wanted to go on with the campaign becoming isolated.

'Jones is taking advantage of the port employers' sacking threats to make out that the stewards in this division are a

WEATHER

A RIDGE of high pressure will persist over the British Isles from a high over west Norway.

Another dry day is expected and although cloudy at times, especially during the morning, in the eastern half of the country, most districts will have some sunny spells. Long periods of sunshine are likely in all western areas of Britain.

Overnight fog patches in east and northeast Scotland will clear during the morning.

Temperatures will be much the same as those of today.

AUGUST FUND £1,338.81 TWO DAYS TO GO

A GOOD post yesterday of £135.91 brought our total up to £1,338.81. Keep up this great last-minute effort—you are almost there.

But unemployment continues to rise and the Tories continue to step up their attacks.

Our paper must rally all those who are becoming even more determined to fight this Tory government. A clear lead and this Tory government can be made to resign.

Our Fund, therefore, is vital. We need all your support to help us improve and develop the Workers Press. This month we still need £411.19. We have two days left. Collect more wherever you can—if possible add something extra yourself. Rush all donations immediately to:

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

CIRCULATION

01-622 7029

NEWS DESK

01-720 2000

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), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Socialist Labour League FOUR LECTURES

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

given by G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)

1. Marxism as the theory of knowledge Tuesday September 5

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

3. Nature of the capitalist crisis Tuesday September 19

4. Historical materialism today Tuesday September 26

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