

## AS POLICE AND TROOPS THREATEN DOCKERS PARLIAMENT ENDS IN COALITION MOOD

BY ALEX MITCHELL

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A government spokesman confirmed yesterday that emergency strike-breaking committees are now operating in all major ports and the troops are poised to go in 'as soon as the minister gives a decision'.

The government has been able to arm itself with these enormous powers due to the cowardly and treacherous policies of the leaders in the labour and trade union movement.

As parliament broke up and Tory ministers girded their loins to unleash their onslaught on the dockers, where were these so-called 'leaders'?

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It is only this collaboration at the top—Wilson supporting Heath over the dockers and over Ulster, Feather signing deals with the Tories and the CBI, Jones rephrasing documents with Aldington—which is keeping the Tories in office.

Yet no docker has been to the National Industrial Relations Court. No docker has paid any fines.

Nor has any building worker. And they have just steamrollered their union leadership into rejecting a paltry pay offer and demanded an immediate national strike.

The battle lines in this dual power situation are now clearly defined.

In this knife-edge situation the building of Councils of Action becomes imperative.

These councils, consisting of all tendencies and groups in the labour and trade union movement, must prepare to defend the working class from the Tory offensive and prepare for the General Strike to bring down the government.

● Support the dockers and building workers.

● End all talks with the Tories, CBI and port employers.

● Return a Labour government pledged to socialist policies including repeal of the Industrial Relations Act, nationalization of the docks and road transport, banks and basic industries.

### Ulster-style search of flying dock pickets



Hordes of police force a tanker through Keadby pickets

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After every charge dockers were arrested indiscriminately and dragged through the wharf gates.

One was pushed to the ground and assaulted by about eight or nine uniformed officers.

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shot right up to me and I couldn't get out of the way.

'They told the police it was on my foot, but they would not back off.'

Other dockers said they eventually had to push the van off. Some saw other police laughing at the incident. The number of the police van was LVL 215H.

The day of violence began when police from five counties launched an Ulster-style search operation against the flying pickets.

Roadblocks were thrown across the major route from the Humber ports and cars, men and coaches were searched. A police spokesman said the operation was designed to deprive the dockers of any offensive

weapons. He admitted that none so far had been used in the clashes which began on Monday.

I watched as men were bundled out of their vehicles and frisked.

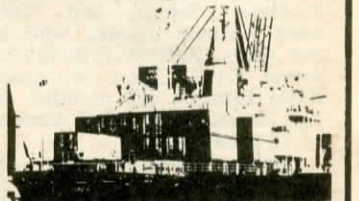
The car seats were then upturned and boots and engines examined. Teams of police officers also entered the few coaches dockers were able to hire. After one coach search dockers found an insulting note fixed on the back stating: 'You are a shower of illiterate bastards.'

By mid-afternoon 22 men had been arrested. Watching the police attacks, Mr Stanley Peck, Inspector of Constabulary for the region, said: 'I have had very encouraging reports of police behaviour.'

● More details of the attacks on pickets on page 12.

### CONTAINERS

The case for nationalizing the docks and transport industry.



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# workers press

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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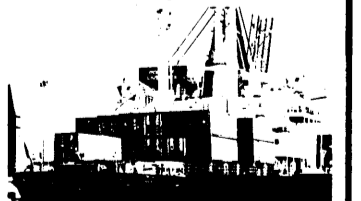
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# What we think

## 'MORNING STAR' DOUBLE-TALK

'A MOST unusual situation' is how yesterday's 'Morning Star' described the 'no-strike' sell-out at Clydebank.

There are, says the Stalinist daily, 'many discussions and speculations' about the blunt declaration by Boilermakers' president Dan McGarvey that the Marathon deal definitely involves a four-year no-strike pledge.

But there can be no doubt that McGarvey's statement is accurate. The relevant clause reads: 'The unions and management agree not to resort to strikes, work stoppages, lock-out or other industrial action either before or after arbitration.'

The 'Morning Star'—clearly under pressure from its readers—is now attempting to interpret this crystal-clear formula to mean that there might be 'confrontations' if arbitration were not agreed upon.

We say that the 'Morning Star' is deliberately misleading its readers. After last Friday's Clydebank meeting, James Reid declared:

'It is a good agreement . . . No one in their right senses wants a strike for the sake of a strike.' Reid is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party and speaks on its behalf.

'No strikes' is now the line of the Communist Party. And that is the essence of the Tory Industrial Relations Act.

As yesterday's Workers Press pointed out, Marathon workers will be subject to a system of procedure ending in binding arbitration and if they do not hold to that, they can lose six months' bonus.

And even the 'Morning Star' is forced to admit that the boilermakers' differential will go. This, again as we pointed out yesterday, destroys a vital weapon on Clydebank since it is the boilermakers' traditional militancy which forces up wages in the yards.

No amount of twisting and turning by the Stalinists can hide the fact that they have voluntarily accepted all the essentials of the Tory Industrial Relations Act. And this makes nonsense of the one-day strike against the Act called by the National Liaison Committee for Defence of Trade Unions.

Heath's government wants to use unemployment to destroy trade union rights—particularly

the most basic right of all, the right to strike, won over 200 years of labour struggle.

The Stalinists have already permitted the labour force at Clydebank to be slashed from 3,200 to 2,000 with further massive redundancies immediately ahead. In collaboration with the 'left' McGarvey, they have produced a situation in which a mere 500 men will work on—and will have virtually no trade union protection at all.

While the 'Morning Star' cheers on the dockers and builders, it covers up a total abandonment of workers' rights in practice. Workers Press warned against this from the start, while the revisionist 'Socialist Worker' declared that 'Militancy can win at UCS'.

Backed wholeheartedly by the revisionists, the Communist Party Stalinists isolated the UCS struggle and collaborated with the Tory strategy of dealing with the working class section by section.

Above all, the Stalinist fought bitterly to prevent the UCS conflict from developing into a united working-class struggle to bring down the Tory government.

They refused to demand that the TUC mobilize the working class in a General Strike to place in office a Labour government pledged to socialist policies (including nationalization of the shipbuilding and ancillary industries) as the only solution to unemployment.

Instead CP industrial organizer Bert Ramelson, Reid and James Airlie presented a capitalist millionaire as the answer to the problems of thousands of Clyde workers.

Now, as this crisis deepens, and the Heath government prepares to use its emergency powers against the rising militancy of the working class, only a fight to unite the working class against the Tories can bring victory.

The Tories now have the whole force of the state at their disposal without having to answer to parliament or anybody.

The working class is strong enough to beat them—but only through the building of a revolutionary leadership which will expose and challenge the Stalinists every single day.

# Asians have 90 days to go—Amin

UGANDAN president Idi Amin announced yesterday he was going ahead with plans to expel all British Asians from the country. The general also announced that nationals from India, Pakistan and Banga Desh would also be given 90 days to leave the country.

His statement followed talks with the British High Commissioner in Uganda, Richard Slater, the Indian and Pakistani envoys and leaders of the Asian community in Uganda.

General Amin said he had signed a decree yesterday revoking the entry and residence permits of non-citizen Asians in Uganda.

The only exceptions were doctors, dentists, lawyers, owners of agricultural and industrial enterprises and certain other categories of professional people.

About 60,000 people will be affected by General Amin's decision. He said it would be up to those concerned to make their own arrangements to be out of Uganda before the 90-day deadline was up.

Answering questions after making his statement, Amin said if they were not out of the country before the deadline: 'They will be sitting on a fire. They will be sitting very uncomfortably if they stay on.'

He declined to say exactly what he meant by this, but told a reporter:

'You wait and see.'

At least 20,000 of the people affected by Amin's edict are British citizens, but they are barred from Britain by the Tory government's racist immigration laws.

AMERICAN bombers carried out an 'extermination' raid yesterday on Hai Duong Town, about 30 miles east of Hanoi, the North Vietnamese News agency VNA said in a dispatch received in Paris yesterday. The agency said a one mile sector southwest of the town was bombed. It said bombs hit a medical school, a factory, and cafes, killing and wounding 'a large number of people'. One district of 100 homes was wiped out, the agency added.

# Developing countries lose trade

THE SO-CALLED developing countries are taking a declining share in world trade, according to a report submitted at the non-aligned Foreign Ministers' conference in Georgetown, Guyana.

Their share of total world trade has declined as has their trade amongst themselves as a percentage of world trade.

The report urges an increase in trade among the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and between regional groupings.

# Tokyo makes trade concessions to win Chinese market

PREPARATIONS are now well under way for the restoration of full diplomatic relations between Tokyo and Peking. The Japanese ruling Liberal Democratic Party yesterday approved a visit to China by prime minister Kakuei Tanaka to finalize the exchange of ambassadors.

The new Japanese government has already accepted that its present defence treaty with the Chinese Nationalists on Formosa will become null and void as soon as diplomatic agreement is reached with Peking. Tanaka has moved with extreme rapidity to establish diplomatic ties since he took over as premier a month ago.

He has already received the backing of almost all of Japan's biggest monopolies. The second-largest motor-car firm, Nissan, and the IHI shipbuilding company yesterday announced they would accept Peking's conditions for trade ties with China.

The conditions, announced by Chinese Premier Chou En-lai in 1970, bar any Japanese firm from trade with China if it invests in Taiwan or South Korea, assists in the continuation of war in Vietnam, or has close ties with the United States.

Nissan, which has not previously traded with China, said it hoped to send its representatives to Peking.

IHI said the firm's president, Renzo Taguchi, had accepted the Chinese conditions at a meeting this week between leaders of the Mitsui Industrial Group and Sun

Ping-hua, visiting deputy secretary-general of the China-Japan Friendship Association.

Nissan and IHI were the last two major Japanese firms to hold out against the Chinese conditions. Mitsui accepted the conditions last June.

Japan's capitalists are not turning towards Peking out of any love for communism. They are driven by the threat that their markets in the capitalist world will undergo a catastrophic reduction, precipitating a deep slump.

At the end of this month, Tanaka meets president Nixon for talks on Japanese-US relations.

Yesterday a leading member of Nixon's party, Senator Jacob Javits warned that failure by Japan to take fresh initiatives in narrowing its trade surplus with the US would undermine relations between the two countries and could lead to a further revaluation of the yen.

'Prime Minister Tanaka has indicated that such a revaluation is not acceptable to his government, yet we know that exigencies of the market can overtake even the most urgent political pledges,' he told the senate.

The senator warned that US-Japanese relations were now 'in a critical stage', adding: 'Japan today is at the crossroads—one road could lead to ever greater participation and leadership in the world, the other to old and tragic nationalism.'

'Let me bluntly state that a \$4,000m (£1,600m) deficit on the trade account with Japan is unacceptable in the United States.'

# Fear of working class behind

By John Spencer

PROFESSOR Jaroslav Sabata, former secretary of the Communist Party in Brno, Czechoslovakia, was sentenced on Tuesday to 6½ years' jail on charges of subversion.

Alfred Cerny, a former Central Committee member, was sentenced to three years and five other people were given sentences ranging up to five years on the same charges.

The five men sentenced with Professor Sabata and Cerny were Antonin Rusek, who got five years, Zdenek Prikryl (four years), Karel Cejka (two years), Karel Fridrich (18 months) and Jiri Zaoral (suspended sentence of 18 months).

Ceteka news agency, announcing the sentences, said the sentenced men formed an illegal anti-state group in 1970 which engaged in hostile activities until January 1972. Their aim was to overthrow the socialist state system.

It was the eighth in a series of 'subversion' trials directed against supporters of Alexandr Dubcek, the former Communist Party first secretary. A total of 38 people have now been convicted in the trials. There have been no acquittals so far.

Sabata was a leading member

# Czech frame-up trials

of Dubcek's entourage in 1968 and 1969. He was elected to the Central Committee at the Extraordinary Party Congress held in a factory outside Prague two days after the Warsaw Pact invasion. Cerny was co-opted onto the same committee in September 1968.

Both were later stripped of their posts and expelled from the Party during the purge conducted by the Stalinist Gustav Husak regime on Soviet instructions.

Sabata was arrested in November last year with his two sons, his daughter and his daughter-in-law.

His sons, Jan and Vaclav, have already been sent to prison for 2½ and two years respectively. The trial of his daughter and daughter-in-law is rumoured to be scheduled for this week.

Like most of the other defendants brought before the courts since the trials began on July 19, the Sabatas are thought to have been accused of circulating leaflets reminding voters of their constitutional right to abstain in the presidential election.

This charge is a cover for the imprisonment of leading members of the Dubcek tendency

who have already been deprived of all their political rights. The regime's claims that the trials have nothing to do with their opposition to the Warsaw Pact occupation do not bear examination.

The Prague and Brno trials have been under preparation for many months. They were made possible by a ruthless purge first of the Communist Party and then of the trade union organization, in which the workers were formally stripped of all the rights they had gained in 1968.

Before Husak and his Soviet masters could proceed to the stage of court-room frame-ups, they had to overcome the stubborn resistance of the Czechoslovak workers.

It was fear of the political revolution in Czechoslovakia which motivated the Warsaw Pact invasion. The Kremlin leaders and their co-thinkers in East Germany, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria moved in their tanks in order to prevent any independent movement of the working class.

The trials of Dubcek's supporters are intended as a warning to any section of the bureau-

cracy in Eastern Europe which may be tempted to try 'liberalizing' Stalinism.

The Kremlin feared Dubcek's reformist 'socialism with a human face' because it was a response to an upsurge of working-class hatred against Stalinism.

Dubcek and his supporters occupied a centrist position between the working class and the Kremlin, with a programme of bureaucratic reform.

Until the invasion, they made no real attempt to turn towards the working class, hoping instead to restrain the masses and thus make their reforms acceptable to the Soviet leaders.

The Soviet leaders, however, recognized that Dubcek's regime could only be a transitional stage in the awakening of the Czechoslovak working class which was beginning to form workers' councils and advance the slogans of political revolution.

Since the occupation, the Dubcek tendency appears to have confined itself largely to moral protests against Stalinist repression.

Dubcekism is in reality a blind-alley for the Czechoslovak

working class.

It has no international programme for struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy in unity with the workers of the capitalist states.

Instead it peddles the empty platitudes of 'polycentrism' elaborated by the right-wing theoreticians of the Italian CP leadership.

The British CP 'supported' Dubcek after the invasion only in order to curry favour with the middle class. Its protests carry minimum weight with the Stalinist puppets in Czechoslovakia who justifiably regard them with contempt.

The foreign Stalinists cannot defend the Prague frame-up victims because they themselves are utterly compromised by their entire past.

The repression in Czechoslovakia is directed against the workers who are next on the list of Husak's victims.

This repression cannot be halted by liberal protests. The struggle for the release of these frame-up victims involves a fight for alternative revolutionary leadership against Stalinism throughout the world.

# Stalinists unable to hold back all-out action

BY PHILIP WADE

ONLY A POWERFUL movement among rank-and-file building workers prevented their union leaders from signing a sell-out deal with employers this week.

On Tuesday, the executive of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians—with 200,000 members—failed to turn up for scheduled talks with the employers where they hoped to sign the agreement.

Instead they met earlier in the day and reversed a previous decision—taken on Thursday last week—to recommend acceptance of the employers' latest offer.

The sudden about-turn of the executive—led by TUC General Council chairman George Smith—was a reflection of the enormous upsurge in building workers' militancy as they learnt of the proposed sell-out of the claim for a £30, 35-hour week and another week's holiday.

The rank-and-file has abruptly ended the sham strategy of selective strikes which are now in their sixth week.

In Liverpool yesterday, shop stewards called an all-out strike from mid-day. It is expected 20,000 Merseyside building workers will now join the strike.

Mass meetings in Scotland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Bristol and Birmingham have been held in the last six days. Every one has voted for an all-out, indefinite strike.

At the same time resolutions and telegrams poured into UCATT head office in London demanding the resignation of the union executive for betraying the claim.

On Tuesday, 7,000 building workers from all over Britain gathered in London and marched to where the talks were to take place. But the union leaders—frightened in more ways than one of the rank and file—failed to show.

The employers' offer not only fell way short of the demands, but was in essence an anti-strike deal. For the payment of the new guaranteed bonus was to be conditional on an uninterrupted working week.

This reflected the hand of George Smith, who was one of the architects of the new 'conciliation' anti-strike deal reached between the TUC and the Confederation of British Industry.

The rising tide of militancy among building workers comes at a time when the working class as a whole—led by the dockers—is moving for a showdown with the Tory government.

Yet it is precisely at this point that the Communist Party tries



Three thousand Glasgow building workers marched through the city centre on Tuesday. Even though it was led by the 'Chartist' group, a mass rally, reflecting nationwide rank-and-file anger, un-animously voted for an indefinite strike for the full claim.

Only on the basis of the elimination of the private employers can decent wages be guaranteed, the 'lump' abolished and 100 per cent trade unionism ensured.

The nationalization of the industry can only be achieved by forcing the Tories to resign and electing a Labour government pledged by the mass movement to socialist policies.

A new political, revolutionary leadership has to be built throughout the UCATT and the T&GWU in opposition to the Stalinists who want to disarm workers as the fight develops, insisting the claim is only a wages issue with the employers.

A powerful unity of building workers and dockers has to be forged to lead the fight for the resignation of the Tory government. It is the only way forward for building workers.

## Powerful builders' movement forces leaders' retreat

again to hold back political development among building workers.

In fact London, where the CP is strongest, is the last major area not yet organized on an all-out strike basis.

Organized around the 'Charter' group, the Stalinists have tried to confine the struggle as an economic issue for higher wages.

And when the cry of 'Heath Out' was taken up by workers at Tuesday's lobby, the Stalinists, led by Peter Kavanagh, took over the microphone and began singing songs!

Every fight for wages today is a political fight with the Tory government. It is their declared

policy to hold down wages, while allowing prices to soar.

And with the Industrial Relations Act they stand four-square behind the reactionary building employers who are notorious for their attempts to weaken trade unionism on building sites.

The employers—backed by Heath—will not concede an immediate basic rate of £30 and a five-hour cut in the working week. They now say their offer of an immediate rise to £23 a week is final.

What is posed for building workers is the fight for the nationalization of the industry under workers' control and without compensation.

## Weak-kneed scare by building employers

THE BIG building employers yesterday continued their scare campaign in the Tory press claiming that their workers were being 'intimidated' by militants.

John Westacott, president of the National Federation of Building Trades Employers, began the campaign when he said militants were moving from site to site inciting workers to strike.

R. W. Campbell, a director of the Scottish employers' federation, yesterday supported Westacott's claim that selective strikes which have been going on for six weeks were sometimes provoked by militants touring building sites.

'I would say there are indications here and there. There is no doubt that not all of the people are out at the moment willingly.'

'It happened certainly in the Aberdeen area where certain sites were working quite happily until they got an invasion of chaps from other sites who persuaded them to come out. And the same sort of thing was happening in Glasgow yesterday.'

This is a rather weak-kneed attempt to whip up a scare. Builders have never made any secret about sending flying pickets around other sites seeking solidarity from workers who willingly join the action when they realize the extent of the employers' latest miserly pay offer.

# Liverpool: Mystery flare-up

BY IAN YEATS

WHILE POLICE, local government officials and social workers met for urgent discussions on gang riots at Liverpool the cause of the flare-up remained a mystery.

From Friday to Tuesday gangs of white and coloured youths rampaged through the Myrtle Gardens and Faulkner Street area of Toxteth, Liverpool.

Bricks, stones, bottles and at least one petrol-bomb were used in the riots and token barricades of paving stones were thrown up across roads into the area.

One policeman was rushed to hospital on Tuesday night with a suspected fractured skull after he was dragged clear from a vehicle which had been attacked by gangs throwing bricks through the windows.

Yesterday, while top-level discussions continued, a large force of police patrolled the streets Ulster-style in Land Rovers.

The riots were in one of Liverpool's worst slum districts. Although white and coloured families have lived peacefully together there for generations, a new housing scheme may figure as one of the causes of the week-end disturbances.

Faulkner Place, where the windows of all the houses are now protected by chicken wire screens, is comprised of new Corporation houses built after slum clearance.

Many families chose to be rehoused away from their old

## Nothing to do with race or housing say residents

neighbourhood. But of those who opted for the new homes a number were coloured and some local officials say they turned the streets into an enclave in the midst of a white population still living in the old pre-war tenements.

But this new view gains little support from local residents of any colour and the truth seems to lie much closer to the view that the outbreak of fighting was an extension of gang warfare.

Voluntary community councillor Barney Lunt said: 'Housing was not the trouble. This was just gangs fighting. We have always had all colours round here, black, white, pink and yellow.'

And Mrs Mary Evans of Myrtle Gardens added: 'They are trying to say we are jealous of the people in the new houses, but it's just not true.'

'The Corporation has just modernized our houses inside, so why should we be jealous of the new ones. I've been here for 30 years with white and coloured in the area and there has been no trouble at all.'

Mrs Sylvia Bouqdir, who runs a hostel for the homeless on the edge of the area, said:

'It's absolute rubbish to say it's anything to do with housing and I was furious when I heard the rumours. The trouble has been caused by gangs.'

closure of two community centres for the summer. A third closed when the troubles began.

Inter-gang warfare has raged at least since April, according to social workers. But now, with the use of petrol-bombs and the erection of barricades at the entrances to each other's streets, the conflict has taken a new and serious turn.

All the barricades were removed, but police claim they were 'stoned and abused' by white 'persons' in Windsor, one of the streets adjacent to Faulkner Street.

# THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY AND THE INTERNATIONAL

An international discussion article in six parts

## PART 4

### The Communist Internationalist Organization (OCI)

The International Committee of the Fourth International is the target of the attacks of all opportunists because of its principled position on the struggle in Bangla Desh. The political line up of the OCI with the Pabloites on Bangla Desh is not just an accidental or circumstantial fact. On the contrary, it is a manifestation of its move away from Trotskyism on breaking with the IC of the FI.

In the youth rally celebrated in Essen in July 1971, the OCI broke with the IC of the FI when it opposed an amendment supported by the majority of the IC (English, Irish, Ceylonese, Canadian and Greek sections) which stated that the FI is the only revolutionary international and that its parties are the only revolutionary parties.

Obviously, in their opposition to the amendment of the majority of the IC, they got the support of different centrist and opportunist groups like the Spanish POUM<sup>5</sup> or the right wing NSA (National Students' Association) in the USA, which took the opportunity to campaign for the slogan — supported by the Stalinists — of a 'Popular Treaty for peace in Vietnam'. This action constituted the real break with the IC and the attempt to transform the International into a centrist amalgam. The regroupment of the OCI with the centrists against the FI constitutes the basic question and not the Bolivian revolution or the Bolivian POR.

The amendment presented by the SLL and supported by the majority of the IC is clear enough: 'Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary party . . .'

When the OCI rejected the amendment, it opposed the FI being built on the basis of dialectical materialism, thus completing its opposition to the defence and the development of Marxist theory which it had already revealed some time before. The OCI, by refusing to understand and develop dialectical materialism as the theory of knowledge of Marxism, denies the essence of the struggle for the building of revolutionary parties and prevents sections of the FI from transforming the spontaneous consciousness of the working class into class-consciousness.

By adopting the position that only the programme constitutes the basis for the building of parties, it prepares the way for the liquidation of the party into centrism. As the IC of the FI declares: 'Only a fundamental struggle against all the enemies of Marxism, a struggle waged against the spontaneous consciousness of the working class can prepare the youth for the building of the FI.'

The OCI had denied the theoretical gains of the IC and the whole experience of the struggle in the SWP to such an extent that it has had to break with the FI in order to

carry forward its opportunist conceptions.

The OCI tells us that we are in a period of 'imminent revolution' which 'proceeds through different stages and in different forms towards the International Republic of Soviets'. It is from this totally spontaneist conception of the struggle for socialism that the OCI works out its position to liquidate the FI. If there exists an 'objective process' towards the 'International Republic of Soviets' why do we need parties? Why do we need the International? Such is the logic which lies behind every spontaneist revision of Marxism.

Thus Pablo stated that the new relation of forces on a world scale after the war and the 'revolutionary processes' which would be generated would force the Stalinist parties and the reformist parties to carry through the revolution in a general way.

According to the OCI itself, parties and leaderships 'correspond' to this 'process'. This is a conscious refusal to fight against Stalinism and the other treacherous leaderships. It is by following these conceptions that the OCI has maintained that the FI and its sections must be 'flexible' organizations and has refused to accept that the FI is the only revolutionary International. All backed up by the argument that we must not be 'sectarian', 'ultimatist' or that we must remain 'linked to the masses'; in other words, the purest opportunism.

During the Algerian revolution, the OCI raised the bourgeois-nationalist movement to the level of the revolutionary party. Its support for the MNA<sup>6</sup> was in the following terms: 'The programme of the MNA is undeniably a revolutionary programme with a socialist content . . . Effectively, when we analyse the MNA we must consider that we have before us a revolutionary movement which is almost unique in its form, that we cannot define as a Marxist party, but which, because of its policy and character carries within it all the revolutionary hopes of the Algerian people.'

Such an analysis of the MNA, which is considered as 'revolutionary and socialist' without being Marxist and as a movement which is 'almost unique in its form', only leads to the rejection of the struggle to construct revolutionary parties which are independent, and to placing 'hopes of the people' in movements which in their 'natural or objective evolution' lead to socialism.

Logically, like Torres in Bolivia or the government of Allende or Velasco (which were to protect the workers' government in Bolivia) the MNA had nothing in common with socialism and rather rushed to the UN when the situation sharpened in Algeria.

Since they consider that there exists a 'natural process' towards socialism, the struggle for the independent leadership of the FI can be relegated to the background; in its place can be placed hollow phrases or empty formulas without any revolutionary content, but



The OCI abstained on the question of Bangla Desh while the International Committee came out in support of national liberation of the Bengali people.

which are accessible to the masses. The slogan of the United Workers' Front raised to the level of strategy and to which the whole struggle of the party is subordinated is a typical example of this. In opposition to the position of Lenin and Trotsky, the OCI maintains that the UWF is a strategy, a permanent slogan and the body where the party will be built and will win its leadership in the course of the spontaneous development.

For Lenin and Trotsky, the UWF was a slogan which the party could put forward in specific conditions with the aim of breaking the traditional leaderships and winning revolutionary leadership. For the OCI, on the other hand, the UWF is not subordinated to the struggle for independent leadership: it is carried through with the 'present leaderships' of the working-class movement and has as its final objective the 'leading' of the working class to government and the constitution of the 'party of the victorious proletarian revolution'.

The Bolshevik-Leninist posi-

tion and the opportunist position of the OCI are completely opposed. As the IC of the FI declares: the position of the OCI on the 'United Workers' Front' is transformed into a complete liquidation of the party and its subordination to the Stalinist and social-democratic parties and the union bureaucracies.

Total abstention in relation to the struggle in Bangla Desh is but the culmination of the anti-Marxist evolution of the OCI and its adherence to contemplative empiricism. Only with that conception which rejects the point of view of the transformation of the world and which breaks consequently with Marxism, is it possible to work out theories like those put forward by the OCI.

They have no other conclusion than the denial of all conscious revolutionary activity and the capitulation to so-called 'objective processes'.

The positions which the OCI has taken in relation to Bolivia, first of all denouncing the theses of the COB and later swallowing these positions

completely and even accepting the position of the 'anti-imperialist united front' cannot be understood except by examining the move away from Marxism by the OCI and its adherence each day to opportunism.

Serious and scientific analysis is replaced by a demagogic pose and propagandist activity. Thus, after refusing systematically to support the struggle of the Palestinian people against Zionist aggression, it pompously salutes the 'soviet of Irbid' as part of the 'process' which leads along different paths to the 'universal republic of Soviets'. The combination of the refusal to struggle against treacherous leaderships and demagogic poses are the result of the break of the OCI with the IC of the FI.

### CONTINUED TOMORROW

<sup>5</sup> POUM. Workers Party for Marxist Unification. A Spanish centrist party with which Trotsky broke when it entered the Stalinist Popular Front in the Spanish Civil War.

<sup>6</sup> MNA. The Algerian Nationalist Movement.



## BIRCHITE TO CARRY WALLACE BANNER

BY JOHN SPENCER

The right-wing American Independent Party has picked California representative John Schmitz as its presidential nominee after its founder, Alabama governor George Wallace, told delegates in an emotional telephone call that he would not stand this year.

Schmitz scored a first-ballot victory over Georgia governor Lester Maddox, publisher Tom Anderson, Richard Kay, a lawyer who defended My Lai murderer Lt William Calley, and Florida banker Allen Greer.

Schmitz is a fitting candidate to carry forward the Wallace banner. A 41-year-old philosophy teacher, he is one of the most active members of the John Birch Society and a lieutenant-colonel in the Marine reserves.

He has consistently been one of the most conservative members of Congress, criticizing President Nixon's visit to Peking and the admission of China to the United Nations.

He has introduced legislation to withdraw the United States from the UN. From 1957 to 1963 he ran an anti-communism course at California's El Toro marine corps air station.

At his first press conference after winning the nomination, Schmitz ran true to form. He said he believed Democratic candidate George McGovern had been 'set up by President Nixon' to lead America to socialism.

This he said, was part of a



Top: Wallace. Above: Bremer being arrested, later to get 63 years

'conspiracy of history'. He asked: 'Where did McGovern get his funds from?' and then strongly hinted that Nixon had channelled the funds to his chief opponent in the presidential race because McGovern was 'the weakest candidate'.

Schmitz gave another sample of his views when he told delegates that the Democratic convention had been 'a convention of perverts, abortionists, communists, bushy-haired racists, dope fiends and third generation welfare recipients'.

Much of Wallace's hard-core support in the past has come from the Birch Society, many of whose members believe in the 'conspiracy'

theory reminiscent of the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion'.

Wallace was always careful to keep them in the background, but since he was shot and paralysed at Upper Marlboro in Maryland, they appear to have come to the fore. News of the 63-year jail sentence imposed on his assailant Arthur Bremer drew cheers at the Independence Party convention.

Schulz's running-mate, elected at the convention, is Tom Anderson of Nashville, Tennessee, publisher of 'Ranch and Farm' magazine and also a Birchite. He defeated four other candidates, including a black supporter of the paralysed governor Wallace.

# PENTAGON'S ULTIMATE WEAPON—LASER GUNS

The American Defence Department once considered—but finally rejected—using laser beams as a weapon against liberation troops in Vietnam, according to syndicated columnist Jack Anderson.

He said Pentagon-sponsored research showed laser beams could explode the eyeball and blind the victim.

Research was carried out for the Aero-Space Medical Research laboratories at the Wright-Patterson air force base in Ohio and presented to a conference on laser technology in San Diego, California, in the 1960s, Anderson wrote.

The Defence Department said in a statement that a report on 'ocular hazards of laser radiation' was presented to a San Diego conference in 1963 by a company under contract from the Wright-Patterson medical centre.

It said the work was continuing at another air force base in Texas.

However, the Pentagon said: 'The Defence Department, as a matter of policy, does not comment on the possible use of lasers as weapons.'

It said the objective of the research 'is to determine the hazards of laser radiation and related techniques.'

'These have resulted in establishment of safety standards for air force and department of defence personnel using laser equipment and serve as a general standard for the entire laser industrial community.'

The report presented to the San Diego conference made no mention of a laser beam being developed that would 'explode eyeballs'.

'There was a reference to the possibility of retinal tissue

damage which could lead to blindness,' the statement said. 'The damage produced is like that which would be produced by looking at an arc welder or the sun without adequate eye protection.'

Jack Anderson, whose syndicated column appears in several hundred American newspapers and whose revelations often embarrass government and Congress, said the report presented at San Diego discussed laser beam experiments which '(were) used to bring rabbit and monkey eyes to boiling



Above: Jack Anderson

point, causing bleeding and an actual explosion in the eye.

This, the result of the experiments, is important in considering the anti-personnel weapons application of lasers,' Anderson quoted the report as saying. '... it would not matter upon which portion of the retina the image was formed because the resulting micro-explosion of the tissue would lead to blindness.'

The study also said protection against a laser beam blindness ray would be difficult because lasers can penetrate most protective filters, Anderson wrote.

remained stacked in NMPP's warehouses.

In the face of protests from non-Stalinist printworkers and journalists, the CGT blandly denies that any ban is in operation. 'We challenge the leaders of "Lutte Ouvrière" to show that their paper has been blacked,' the CGT district committee says.

But 'Lutte Ouvrière' has obtained copies of motions passed at CGT branch meetings in various parts of Paris, one of which reads: 'The workers of NMPP have decided... to stop handling the weekly "Lutte Ouvrière" from one week to the next until elements of "Lutte Ouvrière" put an end to their provocations outside the gates of the NMPP warehouses.'

'Lutte Ouvrière' has described the Stalinists' talk of 'provocations' as 'pure invention'. But they add that on June 6, a group of about 20 CP and CGT members beat up three youths selling the paper.

It is worth noting that the CGT's political blockade is exclusively directed at the left-wing press. The union chiefs have no intention of taking any action to prevent the distribution of extreme right-wing propaganda handled by the publishing agency.

## COMRADE CENSOR STRIKES

A particularly crude form of political censorship is being exercised by the French Communist Party against 'Lutte Ouvrière', paper of a small French revisionist group.

The paper, a weekly, is distributed through the Nouvelles Messageries de la Presse Parisienne, a commercial publisher which handles most French newspapers. 'Lutte Ouvrière' has some supporters working at the publisher's and they put out a cyclostyled bulletin among their fellow-workers.

Criticisms of the Communist Party's policy in this bulletin were not to the taste of the CGT, the Stalinist-led trade union which organizes the NMPP. In a bid to bring 'Lutte Ouvrière' to heel, they declared a 'black' on the paper and for several weeks bulk copies intended for newsstands and shops have

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

# THE BARONS OF THE CONTAINER WORLD

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

'We all recognize the force behind economies of scale. A balanced view is required. In the UK there are at present eight to ten major deep-sea ports, the number will probably be halved to four or five.' — Philip H. Shirley, deputy chairman of Cunard Steamship, at a container symposium, 1968.

The giants of the container world are the shipping lines. They dominate the ports, the road-haulage industry, the container bases and the stevedoring companies.

The container revolution and the 'through-transport' principle has shifted the emphasis inland and considerably reduced the importance of the port and its immediate hinterland.

The shipping lines have been forced to follow this development and buy a large stake in the land transport industry.

This has placed them in a position of power over the port authorities. They can choose which docks to use for their trade since they largely control the inland flow of container freight to the coast. Vastly-improved road and rail communications have also cut down the cost of land transport and therefore the need to minimize the land haul of cargo.

Britain's container ports, Tilbury, Liverpool, Southampton, Felixstowe and Hull now compete madly for the precious favours of the big operators. At the new £51m Seaforth container dock on Merseyside, for example, a substantial rebate on freight is offered to new container custom—the hefty investment must pay its way and attract new trade.

This dependence was gloomily recognized by the National Ports Council when they commented on a decision by two of the container consortia to split up and pull out of a joint berth at Tilbury.

This development, said the NPC, '... underlines the degree to which the new-style

non-conference international shipping groups, in following their economic objectives, can, unlike the old conferences, form and reform and move from port to port. The port authorities' facilities, however, are not mobile and port authorities can no longer count so much as in the past on their immediate hinterlands providing continuing justification for particular levels of deep-sea activity.'

The ports get weaker and weaker as more cargo is containerized. Already a large proportion of the European, North Atlantic and Australian trade travels roll-on, roll-off or in containers. This year will see the containerization of the Far East trade and only primitive transport facilities in the Indian and African continent, prevents the completion of the process worldwide.

But the new methods are also a severe headache for the big shipowners. The immense capital investment involved in containerizing trade from source to destination has forced the lines into mammoth consortia.

One of them, Overseas Containers Ltd (OCL) spent £14m in development costs in the first two years of its container service to Australia. This year OCL hopes to break even on the Australia trade, but any surplus will be eclipsed by the cost of developing the Far East container service, which is just starting.

These costs are a great drain on the individual shipping lines. The pre-tax profits of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Co (P&O) slipped from £5.25m in 1969 to £1.45m last year because of its share of OCL's losses. The trading results of Cunard Steam Ship Co were £5m down on the 1969 results because of the share it bore in the losses of another consortium, Atlantic Containers Ltd (ACL).

If the deficits are so back-breaking, why do the shipowners bother with containerization?

One reason is, it does eventually offer the prospect of multi-million pound profits if the resistance of dock



Ships being loaded at a 'multi-user' container terminal at Tilbury which is used by shipping lines who do not have their own terminal. (Picture from Port of London Authority.)

workers can be smashed. But a more important factor is that they simply had no choice.

A capitalist can only invest or choose not to invest within certain limits. If an important new technique is adopted by powerful rivals, he must sooner or later get into the same field or go under. The system is not made, or completely controlled, by individual capitalists—it imposes its own rules.

This is the case with containerization. The British lines would like people to believe that their desire to containerize was prompted by a sense of duty to humanity—that it meant cheaper transport, therefore cheaper food, etc.

## FORCED

This, of course, is nonsense. The British lines ignored containerization for as long as possible. The Rochdale report on the ports commented: 'It is a regrettable fact that the British ports and possibly British shipowners have been less forward-looking than some overseas interests in developing carriage of cargo in containers.'

That was in 1962. It was not until 1967 that the British lines began their first deep-sea container run.

Even then the issue was forced by the Americans. Containerization in the United States began in 1955 with the first sailing on the White Pass and Yukon route. From then it spread throughout the US trade. Sealand, one of the world's biggest operators, began with a service from New York to Puerto Rico, then Matson started its West Coast-Hawaii run. By 1966, Sealand had 19 container ships and Matson 14.

The British and European lines were literally dragged into the business in 1965 when Sealand decided to enter the transatlantic trade. Immediately the British and European interests formed three consortia and began desperately converting their conventional vessels to take containers.

There was a repeat performance in the Pacific when the Japanese announced a massive container building programme. It was simply a question of investing or losing business to the vastly more efficient container lines.

For the first few years experimental runs were made across the oceans of the world. Associated Container Transportation (ACT) and OCL found they could shift an eight-ton containerized load from Wolverhampton to Melbourne at a cost of £467—the corresponding conventional cost was £507. They also managed door-to-door deliveries from Australia to the United States in 34 days instead of the conventional 57 days.

There was no going back now. The ports began building the container berths to handle up to 2 million tons of cargo a year, compared with an efficient conventional berth's 100,000 tons. Productivity studies revealed that 20 men could unload 6,000 tons in containers in ten hours, but that it would need 90 men for eight hours to unload 1,200 tons of conventional cargo.

(The capacity and productivity at the latest container berths is even more fantastic than this, as we shall show in part four.)

In 1966 the first United States Lines container service began on the Atlantic, a year later ACL began its first sailing to New York and in 1969 (after a 15-month container ban at Tilbury by dockers)

OCL sailing on the Atlantic began.

The role of the unions and the Labour government in encouraging this trade is the subject of a later article. Suffice to say these developments were accompanied by intense lobbying by the shipping interests to get necessary changes in customs regulations and transport laws—all of which were granted.

On the docks the Devlin report recommendations, which were urged on the dockers by the unions and Communist Party shop stewards like Jack Dash, dovetailed with the employers' requirements.

To keep the container berths busy, the shipping lines needed to control the flow of freight and they began to infiltrate and develop the inland transport network. The great era of containerbase building began in the late 1960s and early 1970s, haulage firms were bought out and new ones established.

The growth of P&O, the major shareholder of OCL, illustrates this greater concern with inland transport.

Their 1970 annual report states:

'In 1969 it was decided to establish a small sub-committee to review ancillary shipping and transport activities of the group. The survey covered approximately 60 group companies in the field which together contributed 5 per cent of the total revenue and 10 per cent of the group profit and showed some of the highest returns in capital invested in any group company.

'Clearly there was a case for some measure of rationalization and integration of these activities and it was decided to form a new holding company—P&O Transport Holdings.

'Development over the years of the P&O group's traditional shipping activities brought with it a need to pro-

vide associated [services of] forwarders, storage, packing and haulage for shippers in association with shipping operations.'

P&O own or control two international road hauliers, have a share in the giant container transporters Ferry-masters Ltd, Fleetway Containers and Anglo-Overseas Transport Ltd. Their subsidiary, Coast Lines, own eight haulage firms, including Jarvis Robinson Transport Ltd (which offers groupage) and Link Line Ltd.

OCL itself, with ACT, set up the Containerbase Federation, which has under its umbrella six of the largest inland clearance depots (ICDs) in the country where about 20 per cent of all groupage work is carried out. All but two of the bases employ non-registered dock labour—with the full agreement of the Transport and General Workers' Union.

Cunard (ACL) also has interests in London ICD Ltd, the Chobham Farm complex, scene of the first attempt to arrest dockers under the Industrial Relations Acts.

## CONTROL

Another major principal of OCL, Ocean Steam Ship, exemplifies the drive of the shipowners to get a direct grip on the employment of dockers. Ocean Steam own four large stevedoring firms, Ocean Port Services, Maritime Terminals (Liverpool) Metropolitan Terminals and Renfrew Stevedoring. They bought out William Cory & Son Ltd recently because they wanted Cory's stowage and stevedoring operations.

The merit of controlling dock operations directly is obvious. It gives the lines power to mould them to their diminishing requirements and

greater strength to demand higher productivity on the dock.

The container industry therefore has developed as a maze of interlocking interests with operators who vary from the giants like OCL and the back-street operator who stuffs and strips two or so containers at a time.

This unplanned development has led to profound contradictions. The consortia, for example, did not invest rationally, estimating total trade requirements and constructing their land-sea networks on this basis. Rather they rushed into the business out of fear of their overseas rivals.

The result was that the big lines found that there was 50 per cent over capacity on the North Atlantic trade last year. The problem, of course, was sharpened by the recession in world trade. The outcome was a vicious rate of war and the possibility of a number of bankruptcies.

A major crash was avoided when the Federal Maritime Commission stepped in. After a series of private discussions organized by Commission head, Helen Delich Bentley, the consortia were forced into a cartel agreement.

This carves up the North Atlantic trade. ACL took 20 per cent, Sealand 19 per cent, United States Lines 17 per cent, Hapag Lloyd 14 per cent, Seatrain 11 per cent, Dart 10 per cent and Container Marine 9 per cent.

Now the giants trend more warily. Several big container projects have been cancelled and OCL, together with German and Japanese interests, have already come to a pooling agreement over the 2 million tons of Far East trade they hope to ship out of Tilbury. They call their Far East service Trio Lines.

These latest moves destroy the capitalist myth that pro-

duction and new techniques can best be developed by private industry because the owners must provide the most efficient service or lose out to rivals.

The container industry has not been developed for the benefit of the consumer, but to suit the mutually antagonistic interests of the shipping monopolies.

Containerization demands massive forward investment. Its development therefore is continually threatened by fluctuations due to the slump in world trade—now intensified by the international monetary chaos which followed America's decision to go off the gold standard.

This uncertainty increases the fear within the international shipping community that the cartels might break up. Then another disastrous rate war would follow as the lines competed for shares in the shrinking volume of world cargo.

All this means that in private hands containerization can only develop so far—and then not to benefit the people who consume the cargo.

The McKinsey report on the future of trade commissioned by the British Transport Docks Board envisaged three or four ports, each serving the main trade routes. Freight could be conceived as travelling across the world via containers or other modern methods on huge 'conveyor belts' bringing a never-ending supply of goods to those who needed them.

Things have not turned out that way. Ports are not necessarily chosen on the basis of geographic merit or even the facilities offered. A cheap and docile labour force is a major factor to the capitalists who control trade—hence the development of places like Felixstowe and even the re-birth of tiny riverside wharves where non-registered labour can be employed on a casual basis.

The mad scramble into containerization produced over-capacity and now the cartels attempt to check and control the development of new transport methods.

Inland there has been an unnecessary and wasteful proliferation of depots simply because some employ cheaper labour than others or offer an inferior service.

Overall the slump in world trade—its direct result of the world capitalist production—jeopardizes all technical advance in freight movement.

Only a planned system of world trade and its movement could resolve these contradictions. Then the fullest advantages of containerization could be reaped to the benefit of all.

## THE OCTOPUS THAT STRANGLES THE DOCKER

In 1965-1966 most of the big British and European shipping lines formed into huge container consortiums to fight off the American threat on the North Atlantic.

Overseas Containers Ltd (OCL), Associated Container Transportation Ltd (ACT) and Atlantic Containers Ltd (ACL) virtually monopolize the container industry in Britain and Europe.

Each consortia charters ships from its shipowner members at rates which cover costs, including depreciation and allowance for remuneration on capital.

All three have lost money since they began operations and these are shared by the members of the consortium,

depending on the size of the stake they hold.

The losses, however, are inevitable because of the enormous capital outlay on developing container fleets and inland transport networks.

The consortia and their members stretch their tentacles into every corner of the container industry—shipping, haulage, container depots, insurance, container manufacture and even air freight.

There are also cross-holdings. For example Cunard Brocklebank are the main agents of ACL in the UK, but through its subsidiary companies Cunard also have a share of ACT.

The British members of the consortium are as follows:

Cunard-Brocklebank, Ellerman Lines and their subsidiaries. (foreign members include three Swedish, one French, one Dutch line).

Blue Star Line, Port Lines, Ellerman Lines, Ben Lines and J & J Harrison lines.

OCL owns, or has a stake in ten haulage firms, including the giant Ferrymasters Ltd, Fleetway Containers and Anglo-Overseas Transport. Other interests include 23 shipping and forwarding agents and hundreds of other companies connected with trade.

In 1970 P&O acquired Coast Lines which controls a major proportion of the container trade to Ireland. Coast Lines has seven subsidiary shipping lines, including Belfast Steamship, Burns and Laird Lines and Tyne and Tees Shipping.

It owns nine transport and unit-load operators and eight haulage firms including Jarvis Robinson and Link Line.

Furness Withy is 28 per cent of OCL and controls 12 shipping lines, including Manchester Liners which operates a deep-sea container service from Manchester docks. Other interests include six foreign stevedoring companies and the haulage firm of Thomas Crown.

Ocean Steam Ship increased its holding of OCL from 19 to 49 per cent when it decided to containerize its Far East trade and channel it through the consortium.

It plans to operate through Tilbury and Southampton and is completing a fleet of four containerhips which will be chartered to OCL for their lives. Initial losses are expected, but could begin to break even in 1973-1974 when trade builds up.

Ocean Steam's shipping subsidiaries include Blue Funnel Line, Elder Dempster Lines, Glen Line and Seaway Ferries. It controls many shipping insurance and forwarding agents and three property companies.

One of the direct consequences of the Far East move has been the threat of big cut-backs by the stevedoring subsidiary Ocean Port Services in Liverpool. OPS wants to shed about 600 of its 1,250 labour force because of the move to Southampton. Ocean Steam's other stevedoring firms include Maritime Terminals—also of Liverpool—Metropolitan Terminals and Renfrew Stevedoring.

It is an extremely profitable firm. In 1971 it achieved a pre-tax profit of £6,947,000—with a wage bill of £18,240,000 this is roughly a 33 per cent return on labour.

In May this year it won a prolonged take-over bid for William Cory & Sons Ltd which has six divisions in the fuel, shipping, wharfage, warehousing, finance and transport.

Cory's transport interests include East London Transport Ltd, Saunders Transport Ltd, Johnson and Grieve Co Ltd, Continental Express Ltd and Cory Storage and Distribution Services.

In its last annual report Cory stated that the storage and distribution division has 'lived up to the promise shown at the end of the last financial year and has regained its position as a major contributor to group profits (£3.9m in 1971)'. The firm recently took over Archibold's Storage, a northern transport and warehousing company.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



# FROM THE ARSENAL OF MARXISM

(Reprinted 'Fourth International' October 1941)

These three historical documents date back to the year 1926, a crucial year in the struggle of the Left Opposition against the bureaucratic degeneration of the party. They have not been published before in any language.

The first of these documents comprises extracts from Trotsky's diary, in which, in November 1926, he jotted down for future reference—in thesis form—a series of basic propositions concerning the development of the USSR. They provide additional irrefutable evidence that Trotsky never cherished any illusions about the meaning and gravity of the struggle against the bureaucratic tendencies which had then gained the ascendancy in the state apparatus, in the party, and in the country. These November 1926 theses were later expanded by Trotsky in a large number of speeches, articles and books.

Here, in the most generalized form, is Trotsky's analysis of the most complex historical problem, namely, the mechanics of class society as expressed in the oscillations between revolutionary epochs and events and those of reaction and counter-revolution. To young Bolsheviks these theses supply an object lesson in the method of

Marxism. Trotsky here applies the dialectic to explain how the struggle for the emancipation of the working class is conditioned and determined by vast social processes, their political ebbs and flows, their effects on the psychology of the masses and other phenomena in the superstructure. From this kind of analysis and synthesis is derived our programme which alone makes possible a conscious intervention in events. Above all, these theses teach the lesson that in our epoch the decisive struggle is the struggle for the correct inter-relationship between the party and the class.

The other two documents which likewise pertain to this same year (1926) cast a graphic light on the conditions under which Trotsky conducted this great struggle. The ideological leader of the rising bureaucracy was none other than Bukharin to whom these two personal letters are addressed.

In a certain sense, they constitute an appeal to Bukharin; at the same time they sound a warning about the disastrous consequences of the course on which Bukharin had embarked, and for which he paid with his own life, 12 years later, in the third of the Moscow frame-up trials.

THE EDITORS

## The Interrelationship Between Revolution and Counter-Revolution

November 26, 1926

1. Revolutions have always been followed by counter-revolutions in history. Counter-revolutions have always thrown society back, but never back as far as the starting point of the revolution. The succession of revolutions and counter-revolutions is the product of certain fundamental features in the mechanics of class society, the only society in which revolutions and counter-revolutions are possible.

2. Revolution is impossible without the participation of the masses. This participation is in its turn possible only in the event that the oppressed masses connect their hopes for a better future with the slogan of revolution. In this sense the hopes engendered by the revolution are always exaggerated. This is due to the mechanics of class society, the terrible plight of the overwhelming majority of the popular masses, the objective need of concentrating the greatest hopes and efforts in order to insure even the most modest progress, and so on.

3. But from these same conditions comes one of the most important—and moreover, one of the most common —

elements of the counter-revolution. The conquests gained in the struggle do not correspond with and in the nature of things cannot directly correspond with the expectations of the broad backward masses, who are awakened for the first time in the course of the revolution itself. The disillusionment of these masses, their return to routine and to futility is as much an integral part of the post-revolutionary period as the passage into the camp of 'law and order' of those 'satisfied' classes or layers of classes who had participated in the revolution. 4. Closely bound up with these processes, parallel processes of a different and, to a large measure, of an opposite character take place in the camp of the ruling classes. The awakening of broad backward masses upsets the ruling classes from their accustomed equilibrium, deprives them of direct support as well as confidence, and thus enables the revolution to seize a great deal more than it is later able to hold. 5. The disillusionment of a considerable section of the oppressed masses in the immediate conquests of the revolution and—directly connected with this—the decline of the political energy and activity of the revolutionary class engender an influx of confidence among counter-revolutionary classes—both among those overthrown by the revolution but not shattered completely, as well as among those which aided the revolution at a certain phase, but were thrown back into the camp of reaction by the further development of the revolution.

## The Conditions of the Rise of Stalinism

20. It would be wrong to ignore the fact that the proletariat today (1926) is considerably less receptive to revolutionary perspectives and to broad generalizations than was the case during the October overturn and in the ensuing few years. The revolutionary party cannot passively align itself in accordance with every shift in the moods of the masses. But it cannot ignore any alteration which is produced by causes of profound historical order.

21. The October revolution, to a greater extent than any other in history, aroused the greatest hopes and passions in the popular masses, first of all, the proletarian masses. After the maximum sufferings of 1917-1921, the proletarian masses improved their status considerably. They cherish this improvement, hopeful of its further development. But at the same time their own experience has shown them the extreme gradualness of this process of improvement which has only today reached the pre-war standard of living. This living experience is of incalculable significance to the masses, especially the older generation. They have grown more cautious, more sceptical, less directly responsive to revolutionary slogans, less receptive to major generalizations. These moods which unfolded after the ordeals of the civil war and after the successes of economic restoration, and which still remain undisturbed by new shifts of class forces—these moods constitute the basic political background of party life. These are the moods which bureaucratism—as an element of 'law and order' and 'tranquility'—banks on. The attempt of the opposition to pose new questions before the party ran up against precisely these moods.

22. The older generation of the working class, who made two revolutions, or the last one, beginning with 1917, is now nervous, exhausted, and, in large measure, fearful of all convulsions bound up with the perspectives of war, havoc, famine, epidemics and so on.

A bogey is being made out of the theory of the permanent

revolution precisely for the purpose of exploiting the psychology of a considerable section of the workers, who are not at all careerists, but who have put on weight, acquired families. The theory of the permanent revolution which is being utilized in this sense, is of course in no way related to old disputes, long relegated to the archives, but simply raises the phantom of new convulsions—heroic 'invasions', violations of 'law and order'; a threat to the conquests of the reconstruction period: a new zone of great efforts and sacrifices. Making a bogey out of the permanent revolution is, in essence, speculation upon the moods of that section of the working class, including Party members who have grown smug, fat and semi-conservative.

## The Interrelation Between the Party, the Youth and the Class

24. The young generation, only now growing up, lacks experience of the class struggle and the necessary revolutionary temper. It does not explore for itself, as did the older generation, but falls immediately into an environment of the most powerful party and governmental institutions, party tradition, authority, discipline, etcetera. For the time being this renders an independent role more difficult for the young generation. The question of the correct orientation of the young generation of the party and of the working class acquires a colossal importance.

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

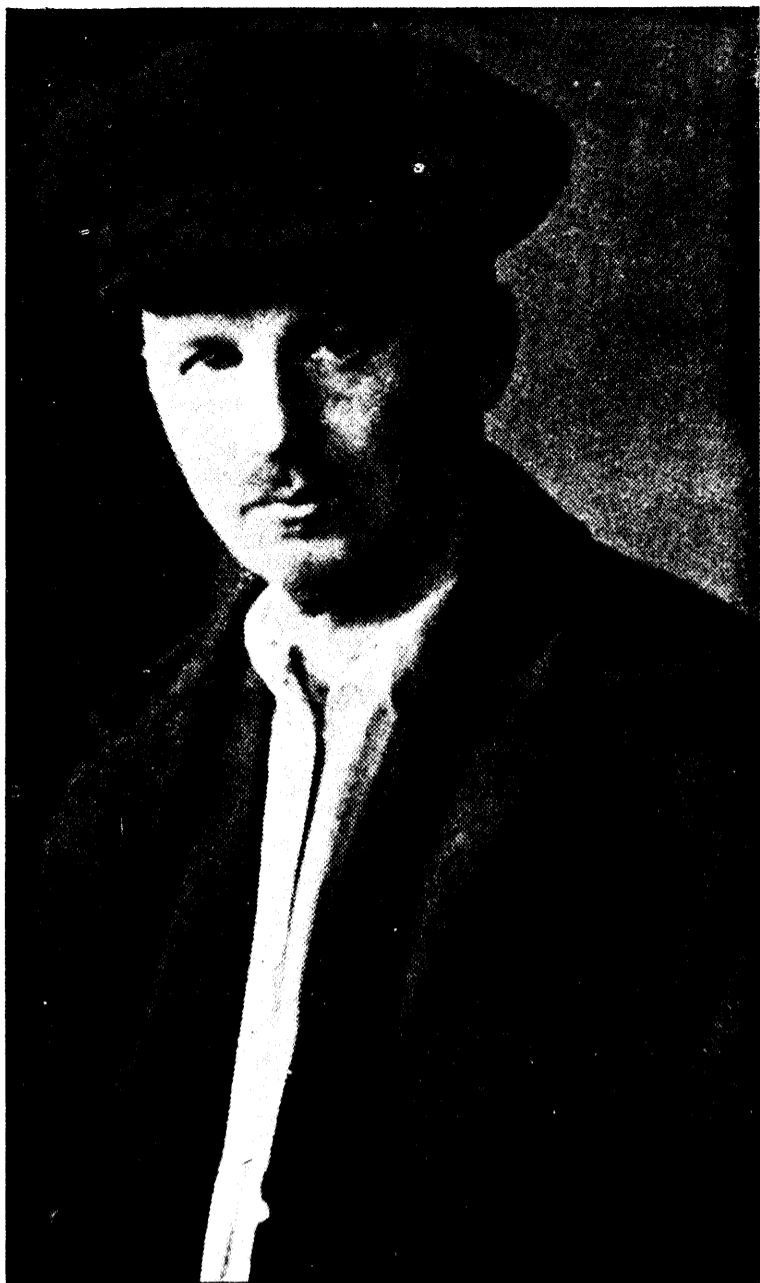
Such is the combination of circumstances which in the recent period of Party development has determined the change in the Party leadership and the shift of Party policy to the right.

## The Soviet Thermidor

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

27. The elements of bourgeois restoration lie in: a) the situation of the peasantry, who do not want the return of the landlords but are still not interested materially in socialism (hence flows the importance of political ties with the peasant poor); b) in the moods of considerable layers of the working class, in the lowering of revolutionary energy, in the fatigue of the older generation, in the increased specific weight of the conservative elements.





Bukharin in 1926 was the ideological leader of the rising bureaucracy.

## Two Letters to Bukharin

January 8, 1926

Nikolai Ivanovich:

You will perhaps recall that two years ago during a session of the Politbureau at my home I said that the mass of the Leningrad party<sup>1</sup> was muzzled more than was the case elsewhere. This expression (I confess, a very strong one) was used by me in an intimate circle, just as you used in your personal note the words: 'unconscionable demagoguery'.

To be sure, this did not prevent my remark concerning the muzzling of the party mass by the Leningrad party apparatus from being broadcast through meetings and through the press. But this is a special item and—I hope—not a precedent... But doesn't this mean that I did see the actual state of things? However in contrast to certain comrades, I saw it a year and a half, and two and three years ago. At that time, during the same session I remarked that everything in Leningrad goes splendidly (100 per cent) five minutes before things get very bad. This is possible only under a super-apparatus regime. Why then do you say that I did not see the actual state of things? True, I did not consider that Leningrad was separated from the rest of the country by an impenetrable barrier. The theory of a 'sick Leningrad' and a 'healthy country' which was held in high respect under Kerensky was never my theory. I said and I repeat now that the traits of apparatus bureaucratism, peculiar to the whole party, have been brought to their extreme expression in the regime of the Leningrad party. I must however add that in these two and a half years (i.e. since the autumn of 1923) the apparatus-bureaucratic tendencies have grown in the extreme not only in Leningrad but throughout the entire party.

Consider for a moment this fact: Moscow<sup>2</sup> and Leningrad,<sup>3</sup> two main proletarian centres, adopt **simultaneously** and **furthermore unanimously** (think of it: **unanimously!**) at their district party conferences two resolutions aimed against each other. And consider also this, that our official Party

mind, represented by the press, does not even dwell on this truly shocking fact.

What are those special (?) social (!) conditions in Leningrad and Moscow which permit such a drastic and 'unanimous' polar opposition? No one seeks for them, no one asks himself about them. What then is the explanation? Simply this, that everybody silently says to himself: **The 100 per cent opposition of Leningrad to Moscow is the work of the apparatus.** This, N. I., is the gist of the 'genuine state of things'.

But Leningrad does not stand alone as regards 'day-to-day routine'. In the past year we had on the one hand, the Chita business, and on the other, that in Kherson. Naturally you and I understand that the Chita and Kherson abominations<sup>4</sup> are exceptions precisely because of their excesses. But these exceptions are **symptomatic**. Could the things that happened in Chita have occurred had there not been among the Chita summits a special, binding, mutual amnesty, with independence from the rank and file as its basis? Did you read the report of Schlichter's investigating committee on Khersonovism? The document is instructive to the highest degree—not only because it characterizes some of the Khersonovist personnel, but also because it characterizes certain aspects of the Party regime as a whole. To the question why all the local communists, who had known of the crimes of the responsible workers, kept quiet, apparently for a period of two-three years, Schlichter received the answer: 'Just try to speak up—you will lose your job, you'll get kicked into a village, etc., etc.' I quote, of course, from memory, but this is the gist of it. And Schlichter exclaims apropos of this: 'What! Up to now only oppositionists have told us that for this or that opinion they have been **allegedly** (!) removed from posts, kicked into a village, etc., etc. But now we hear from Party members that they do not protest against **criminal actions** of leading comrades for fear of being removed, thrown into a

village, expelled from the party, etc.' I cite again from memory.

I know that certain comrades, possibly you among them, have been carrying out until recent times a plan somewhat as follows: give the workers in the nuclei the possibility of criticizing factory, guild and regional matters, and at the same time, crack down resolutely on every 'opposition' emanating from the upper ranks of the Party. In this way, the apparatus-regime as a whole was to be preserved by providing it with a broader base. But **this experiment was not at all successful.** The methods and habits of the apparatus-regime inevitably seep down from the top. If every criticism of the Central Committee and even criticism inside the Central Committee is equated, under all conditions, to a factional struggle for power, with all the ensuing consequences; then the Leningrad Committee will carry out the self-same policy in relation to those who criticize it in the sphere of its plenipotentiary powers, and under the Leningrad Committee there are districts and sub-districts.

When in 1923 the opposition arose in Moscow (without the aid of the local apparatus, and against its resistance) the central and local apparatus brought the bludgeon down on Moscow's skull under the slogan: 'Shut up! You do not recognize the peasantry.' In the same apparatus-way you are now bludgeoning the Leningrad organization, and crying, 'Shut up! You don't recognize the middle peasant.' You are thus terrorizing in the two main centres of proletarian dictatorship the best proletarian elements, re-educating them from expressing aloud not only their views, correct or erroneous alike, but also their alarm concerning the general questions of the revolution and socialism. And meanwhile, the democratic rights granted to the rural areas are unquestionably being strengthened and entrenched.

Can't you see all the dangers that flow from this?

March 4, 1926  
Personal

N(ikolai) Ivanovich,

I write this letter in long-hand (although I have grown unaccustomed to it) in as much as it is embarrassing to dictate to a stenographer what I have to say.

You are of course aware that in accordance with the Uglanov<sup>5</sup> line there is being conducted against me in Moscow a half-concealed struggle with all sorts of sallies and insinuations which I refrain from characterizing here as they deserve.

By all sorts of machinations—in part and wholly unworthy of and degrading to our organization—I am not permitted to speak at workers' meetings. At the same time rumours are being spread systematically through the workers' nuclei that I give lectures 'for the bourgeoisie' and refuse to speak to workers. Now just listen to what luxuriates on this soil, and this, once again, not at all accidentally. I cite verbatim from a letter of a worker party member.

'In our nucleus the question has been posed why you arrange to give paid reports. The prices of admission to these reports are very high and the workers cannot afford them. Consequently only the bourgeoisie attends. The secretary of our nucleus explains to us in his talks that for these reports you charge fees, percentages for your own benefit. He tells us that for every one of your articles and for your by-line you also take a fee, that you have a big family and, says he, you run shy of funds. Does a member of the Politbureau really have to sell his by-line? etc., etc. You will ask: isn't this silly nonsense? No, to our sorrow, it is not nonsense. I

have verified it. At first it was decided to write a letter to the Central Control Commission (or Central Committee), signed by several members of the nucleus, but then they decided not to, saying: "They will drive us out of the factory, and we have families." ...

In this way a fear has seized the worker-Party member that if he tries to verify the most infamous slander against a member of the Politbureau, he, a Party member, can be driven from the factory, for following Party procedure. And you know, were he to ask me, I could not in all sincerity say that this would not happen. The same secretary of the same nucleus says—and again **not at all accidentally**: 'In the Politbureau the sheenies are running wild.' And again no one dared to say anything about it to anyone—for the self-same openly formulated reason: they will drive us out of the factory.

Another item. The author of the letter which I cited above, is a Jewish worker. He, too, did not dare to write about the 'sheenies who agitate against Leninism'. The motive is as follows: 'If the others, the non-Jews, keep quiet, it would be awkward for me...' And this worker—who wrote me to ask whether it is true that I sell my speeches and my by-line to the bourgeoisie—is now also expecting that he will be driven any hour from the factory. This is a fact. Another fact is that I am not at all sure that this won't happen—if not immediately, then a month from now; there are plenty of pretexts. And everybody in the nucleus knows 'that's how it was, that's how it will be'—and they hang their heads.

In other words: **members of the Communist Party are afraid to report to the Party organs about Black-Hundred agitation, thinking that it is they who will be driven out and not the Black-Hundred gangster.**

You will say: Exaggeration! I, too, would like to think so. Therefore I have a proposal to make: **Let us both take a trip to the nucleus and check up on it.** I think that you and I—two members of the Politbureau—have after all a few things in common, enough to calmly and conscientiously verify: whether it is true, whether it is possible that **in our party, in Moscow, in a workers' nucleus**, propaganda is being conducted with impunity which is vile and slanderous, on the one hand, and anti-Semitic, on the other; and that honest workers are afraid to question or to verify or try to refute any stupidity, lest they be driven into the street with their families. Of course you can refer me to the 'proper bodies'. But this would signify only closing the vicious circle.

I want to hope that you will not do this; and it is precisely this hope which prompts this letter.

Yours,  
L. TROTSKY.

### CONTINUED TOMORROW

<sup>1</sup> Controlled by Zinoviev-Kamenev allied in 1924 with Stalin.

<sup>2</sup> Controlled at the time (1926) by the right wing of Bukharin-Rykov-Uglanov in a bloc with Stalin.

<sup>3</sup> Controlled at the time (1926) by Zinoviev and Kamenev who had broken with Stalin and entered into a bloc with the Left Opposition.

<sup>4</sup> In 1925-1926 numerous cases were laid bare of criminal abuse of power by ranking provincial bureaucrats. The Chita and Kherson affairs were the most notorious instances at the time of corruption, grafting, terrorization of the Party membership and of the populace, and other crimes.

<sup>5</sup> Uglanov was one of the right-wing leaders of the inquisitions and purges against the Left Opposition during the period of the Right-Centre Bloc (1925-1929).

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## REFUGE

Things are not going too well for the Tories up in Scotland. With top civil servants being suspended and Labour MP Willie Hamilton calling for police investigations into the activities of others, they have now been accused of jobs for the boys.

Rear Admiral Dunbar-Nasmith was given a job on the Highlands and Islands Development Board without even an interview with the Secretary of State, it was alleged in the Commons.

Ayrshire Labour MP Mr James Sillars described this as 'a scandalous and disgraceful way to handle an extremely important public appointment'.

And Mr Harry Ewing (Labour, Stirling and Falkirk) said the feeling was growing north of the border that what was going on in Scotland was 'jobs for the boys'. He said there was also disquiet about the appointment of the chairman of the countryside commission.

And shadow Secretary of State Mr William Ross said: 'The Highlands and Islands Development Board is rapidly becoming known as the Inverness harbour of refuge.'

Defending the appointments Tory Secretary of State Mr Gordon Campbell said they were made because the 51-year-old ex-Rear Admiral was the best possible person for the job.

With regard to the chairman of the countryside commission, he said simply that the appointment had been successful. She was a lady and a very popular one.

## AMIN



If General Idi Amin, the boxing champion turned president of Uganda, makes good his threat to expel all Asians, he could find himself in some considerable difficulties.

The Asians are the most important economic community in the country.

If they are forced to leave they will withdraw all their cash which could cause serious disruptions to the local economy.

Take the Madhvani family. In the Kampala telephone directory they fill just over a page in home and business telephone numbers. At the main hotel, the Apollo named after Apollo Milton Obote) almost everything you eat, drink or sit on comes from Madhvani companies.

For instance, the beer, the cigarettes, the matches, the linen on the table, the sugar, the coffee and the furniture are from Madhvani's.

Amin doesn't want to nationalize this vast monopoly for the benefit of the workers and peasants. He simply wants to transfer ownership to Africans, presumably some of his own officers.

## Security benefits 'reviewed' by Tories

THE TORIES have begun their campaign to demolish security benefits for strikers and their families. Building tycoon Sir Keith Joseph, the Minister for Social Security, has told the Commons he is reviewing the position.

With a national dock strike now in its third week and a national building workers' strike threatened, what Joseph is contemplating is of survival interest to thousands of working-class families.

The same campaign against Social Security was launched during the miners' strike earlier this year.

The Tories involved in the attack on the security system include Jock Bruce-Gardyne, MP for South Angus, and Mrs Jill Knight, MP for Edgbaston, Birmingham.

Replying in the House this week Joseph said:

'I think Mr Bruce-Gardyne's disquiet is entirely justified and that, while it is necessary to keep this whole subject in proportion, it is nevertheless entirely right for the government to try and get the right balances between the interests of the public as a whole and the interests of the families of those who have voluntarily withdrawn their labour.'

Replying to Mrs Jill Knight who supported Bruce-Gardyne's comments, Joseph said:

'I have expressed my sympathy with the worry expressed by Mr Bruce-Gardyne and yourself. But we have to get the balance of decision right and I hope the whole House will understand that solutions which may often appear relatively simple do not always stand up to close examination.'

# Barnsley rent strike call

BY OUR OWN REPORTER

LABOUR COUNCILLORS, who have overwhelming control of the Barnsley council, Yorkshire, are preparing to implement the Tories' 'fair rent' Act.

For months Labour Group members have been telling tenants that they were opposed to the Act, but at their last meeting they decided to prepare for implementation by advertising for six extra staff in the 'Barnsley Chronicle'.

At a recent tenants' meeting Brian Seton, secretary of the Athersley South Estate Tenants' Association, called for a rent strike to begin on August 14 and to continue until the Labour council refused to implement the Tory Act. Although the motion was amended on that occasion to a canvass of the estate on the question of paying the increase, Mr Seton is confident that most tenants would support a strike.

'We intend to raise the question of a rent strike again at our next meeting on August 10 [tonight] which we hope will be more representative of the whole estate,' he said.

'We have all the machinery ready to begin the strike on August 14 and we expect support from all the trade union branches in the area.'

'We particularly want Arthur Scargill [recently elected area compensation agent for the National Union of Mineworkers] to back up

his verbal opposition to the Bill by organizing the miners behind the tenants' fight.'

Mrs Carol Walker, a committee member of the tenants' association, said: 'I'm disgusted with the attitude of the Labour Group. We need a rent strike to make them oppose the increase. If they go ahead and implement the Act, it'll be no good just refusing to pay the increase, we should withhold the lot.'

'If we let the Tories get away with this, there'll soon be something else. We really



Brian Seton, secretary of Athersley South Tenants' Association and his wife Susan

need to get this government out.'

Mrs Exley, another committee member, said:

'The unions could get the Tories out if they went about it the right way. They've been nearly kicked out twice, by the miners and the dockers.'

'I'm all for a Council of Action, to unite all tenants and unions in a fight against the Tories.'

'I think the unions, especially the miners, would come out if the council tried to evict anyone for not paying the increase.'

Mr Seton, who has been fighting to set up a Council of Action, added:

'I think there has to be a Council of Action built in Barnsley. The tenants cannot win on their own, what they need is the strength of the unions behind them.'

'The men on this estate are used to fighting through a strong union, and they see the tenants as loosely organized.'

'It's only by building a determined leadership through a Council of Action that we'll waken the tenants up to what they can do.'

## Printing union put in big pay claim

BIG PAY rises for the 27,000 printworkers on national newspapers in Fleet Street and Manchester were demanded by union leaders yesterday when they met representatives of the Newspaper Publishers' Association.

Details of the claim were worked out last week at a meeting of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation. The unions have given collective notice to terminate their current pay agreement from September 30.

One of the unions involved, the National Society of Operative Printers, Graphical and Media Personnel (NATSOPA), says its executive wants a substantial increase.

The July issue of the NATSOPA 'Journal and Graphic Review' said:

'The cost of living in general terms has rocketed for our members during the period of the agreement, and the monetary valuation of the standing wages, plus the last increase, are melting away week by week.'

'We hold the government responsible for the pace of inflation.'

## £350,000 of our money to celebrate EEC entry

THE GOVERNMENT has agreed to make up to £100,000 available as a further contribution to next year's celebrations to mark Britain's entry into the European Economic Community.

Education Secretary, Margaret Thatcher, told John E. B. Hill (C. Norfolk S) in a Commons written reply that this was in addition to the £250,000 already set aside for activities for the celebrations.

Thatcher added that more than 150 events had been planned, details of which would be announced shortly.

## Stonehouse chairs new Bengali bank

A BANGLA DESH Bank has been formed with John Stonehouse, MP, as the inaugural chairman.

Stonehouse, a right wing Labourite and former minister in the Wilson government, has other close business connections with the new republic.

The new bank will provide merchant banking services to British companies trading or wanting to trade with Bangla Desh.

Headquarters of the bank will be in fashionable Dover Street in Mayfair and the doors will open for business in late autumn.

It will begin life with capital amounting to £500,000. It will issue cheques, offer savings accounts to Bengalis in this country, plus financial advice on mortgages etc.

Stonehouse says that the bank will put British companies 'on the inside track' in getting supply contracts for Bangla Desh.

These would include contracts for bridge building, petrochemical complexes and tourist developments.

Another director will be K. B. Ahmed, a wealthy Bengali businessman.

## Twenty-six shipyard pickets face trial

TWENTY-SIX shipyard strikers from Greenock, near Glasgow, have now been arrested for alleged breaches of the peace while on picket duty.

About 750 engineers from the Ferguson yard, Greenock, a subsidiary of the Scott-Lithgow group, have been on strike for eight weeks over their union's national pay claim.

About 220 other workers from the yard have been laid off by the strike.

Yesterday seven pickets were arrested when they sat down in front of a Strathclyde Transport lorry attempting to take steel rods into the yard. Already 19 pickets are due to appear in court on October 10.

Last Thursday, 15 strikers were arrested while trying to prevent a contractor's lorry breaching their picket-line. Four more were arrested two days later trying to stop a lorry driven, the strike committee claims, by the yard's managing director.

A demonstration through the

town when the men appeared in court on Tuesday to hear a date set for their trial drew contingents from UCS, Chrysler, Babcock and Wilcox, Plessey and several other factories.

Striking dockers also joined the march along with men from Kincaid's heavy engineering plant, Greenock, which has been on strike over the engineers' claim for six weeks.

Sean Fisher, secretary of the strike committee at the Ferguson yard, is extremely critical of the way union leaders have conducted the fight for the claim.

'The only way we can win this fight is by linking up with other sections of workers in struggle,' he says. 'What we need is a General Strike for the claim, in support of the dockers, the builders and the other battles which are going on.'

Although the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers is paying strike pay, other unions are not and the local Social Security offices have clamped down hard on payment to strikers' families.

Some strikers say they have not had 1p benefit for six weeks.

## 4 1/2 million backing for Australian teachers

REPRESENTATIVES of 4 1/2 million teachers in 85 countries have backed 35,000 Australian teachers in their dispute with the New South Wales government over the replacement of absent teachers.

David Hunt, president of the Australian Teachers' Federation, said his delegation was 'extremely heartened' but the support from the London assembly of the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession.

The 700 delegates meeting in London expressed grave concern

at the situation in New South Wales.

The teachers there were demanding immediate relief when another teacher was absent instead of the present three-day waiting period. Some who had refused to take extra classes had been fined for refusing to obey a lawful directive.

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# TV

## BBC 1

9.45 Along the Seashore. 10.00 Flashing Blade. 10.25 If You Were Me. 10.50 Noggin. 11.25, 2.18 Cricket. 1.30 Herbs. 1.45 News. 1.53 Eisteddfod. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Deputy Dawg. 4.45 Jackanory. 5.00 Globetrotters. 5.20 Barrier Reef. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News, weather.

6.00 **NATIONWIDE.** Your Region tonight.

6.55 **HE SAID, SHE SAID.** Panel game.

7.25 **TOP OF THE POPS.**

8.00 **THE DICK EMERY SHOW.**

8.30 **HAVING A LOVELY TIME.** Ronald Fraser.

9.00 **NEWS.** Weather.

9.25 **PLAY: 'THE PIANO'.** Comedy by Julia Jones.

10.30 **THEM.**

11.00 **KENNETH HARRIS INTERVIEWS LORD MELCHETT.**

11.50 **NEWS.**

11.55 **Weather.**

## BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 2.30 Eisteddfod. 4.30 Cricket. 6.35 Open University.

7.30 **NEWSROOM.** Weather.

8.00 **SONS OF THE BLOOD. 2:** You can't miss a man at 800 yards . . . !

8.30 **EMMA.** Part 4.

9.15 **INDUSTRIAL GRAND TOUR. 3:** Dinorwic Slate Quarry.

9.25 **SHOW OF THE WEEK.** Keith Michell.

10.15 **CRICKET.** 5th Test.

10.45 **NEWS.** Weather.

10.50 **WORLD CINEMA: 'MISE A SAC'** (Midnight Raid). Attempt to loot an entire town.

## ITV

11.30 Purpose. 12.25 Women. 12.50 Cook Book. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.30 Zingalong. 1.40 Arthur. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Jokers. 3.45 Marcus Welby. 4.40 Nuts and Bones. 4.55 Atom Ant. 5.20 How. 5.50 News.

6.00 **WRECKERS AT DEAD-EYE.** 6: Shivering Sands.

6.30 **CARTOON TIME.**

6.35 **CROSSROADS.**

7.00 **FILM: 'RELENTLESS'.** Robert Young, Marguerite Chapman. Western.

8.45 **MAX BYGRAVES AT THE ROYALTY.** With Russell Hunter.

9.15 **THE DEAD END LADS.** The Young Unemployed.

10.00 **NEWS.**

10.30 **CINEMA.** Clive James interviews Burt Lancaster.

11.00 **THE AVENGERS.** Super Secret Cypher Snatch.

12.00 **OFT IN DANGER.**

## REGIONAL TV

**SOUTHERN:** 12.55 News. 1.00 Afloat. 1.25 Hogan's heroes. 1.50 Cook book. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Man from uncle. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 Dithers. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Stingray. 5.20 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 On the buses. 7.15 Film: 'Circle of Danger'. 8.45 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Film: 'The Colossus of New York'. 12.20 Weather. Guideline.

**HARLECH:** 3.20 Common Market cook book. 3.45 Dr Simon Locke. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Joe 90. 5.20 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Dick Van Dyke. 7.10 Film: 'Imitation General'. 8.45 Max Bygraves. 9.15 Dead end lads. 10.00 London. 10.30 The governor. 11.00 Spyforce. 12.00 Weather.

**ANGLIA:** 1.40 Remember. 2.05 Joe 90. 2.30 London. 3.15 Ran-



Russell Hunter does his Lonely bit for Max Bygraves on independent channels tonight

dall and Hopkirk. 4.10 News. 4.15 Jimmy Stewart. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sale. 7.30 Film: 'A Woman Possessed'. 8.45 London.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 3.05 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Family affair. 4.35 Nuts and bones. 4.50 Pretenders. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Sale of the century. 7.30 Film: 'Ride the High Iron'. 8.45 Max Bygraves. 9.15 Dead end lads. 10.00 London. 10.30 Cinema. 11.00 Marcus Welby MD. 12.00 Stories worth telling. Weather.

**ULSTER:** 4.10 Gourmet. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 Rovers. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Partners. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Their kind of music. 7.30 Film: 'The Fake'. 8.45 London. 11.00 Champions.

**YORKSHIRE:** 12.55 Men and women of Yorkshire. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Sound of . . . 3.15 Corwin. 4.10 Calendar. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Funky phantom. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.05 It takes a thief. 7.00 Film: 'Sea Devils'. 8.45 London. 11.00 Mannix. 11.55 Something to sing about. 12.25 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 2.25 Freud on food. 2.45 Wonderful world. 3.40 Casebook. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Lidsville. 5.15 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Kreskin. 6.30 UFO. 7.25 Film: 'Two for the Money'. 8.45 London. 11.00 Police file. 11.05 Avengers.

**TYNE TEES:** 10.55, 3.00 Cricket. 1.45 Mysteries. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 4.10 News. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Woobinda. 5.20 London. 6.00

News. 6.05 Perils of Pauline. 6.30 Coronet blue. 7.25 Film: 'The Love War'. 8.45 London. 10.30 Sport. 11.00 Cinema. 11.30 Police call. 11.35 Short story. 12.05 News. 12.20 Revolving chair.

**SCOTTISH:** 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Animaland. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Funky phantom. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Randall and Hopkirk. 7.10 Film: 'Something to Live For'. 8.45 London. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 As others see us. 11.35 On the buses.

**GRAMPIAN:** 3.31 News. 3.35 Job. 3.40 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Nuts and bones. 4.55 Pippi. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Top team. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.55 Film: 'The Gun That Won the West'. 8.15 Police news. 8.20 In for a penny. 8.45 London. 11.00 Young view. 11.30 Avengers.

## Peugeot price rise above CBI ceiling

PEUGEOT has joined other European car manufacturers in raising the price of its current models.

But the across-the-board Peugeot increase is 8 per cent, well above the CBI ceiling and above those recently announced by its competitors.

A spokesman for the French company said the rises are the result of a 3-per-cent increase in factory prices plus a 5-per-cent

rise to cover the cost of the downward floating of sterling.

M. Bernard Terquem, announcing the new charges, said he was pleased with Peugeot's performance in Britain. The company had sold 7,200 cars and vans up to the end of July and expects to meet its target of 12,000 for the year.

This shows an increase of 160 per cent on the first seven months of last year.

## Rail survey

A STUDY of British Railways to identify those services which can be run commercially, and those which cannot, is being carried out by the Minister for Transport Industries, John Peyton, said the Environment Under-Secretary, Eldon Griffiths, in answer to Commons questions.

'In the light of the studies he will consider what action needs to be taken about those services which are not strictly commercial,' he said.

## Firearms licences

THERE WERE 190,649 firearm certificates in force in England and Wales at the end of last year and 715,453 shotgun certificates (excluding visitors' shotgun certificates).

These figures were given by the Minister of State of the Home Office, Mark Carlisle, in a Commons written reply to William Hamling (Lab Woolwich W.)

Carlisle said that both types of certificate might relate to more than one weapon.

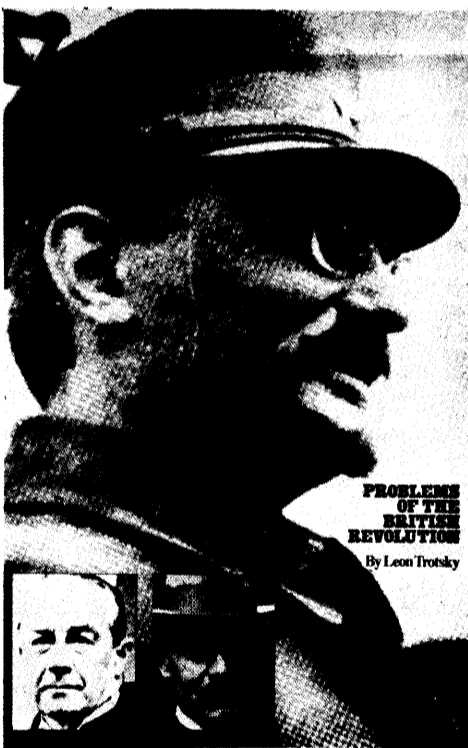
## Car insurance stopped

NORWICH UNION has stopped accepting private car motor insurance in the Republic of Ireland, following a refusal by the Irish Minister of Transport to allow an increase in motor insurance rates.

A spokesman said this was an interim measure, applying only in the Republic, until it could be seen if there was any prospect of motor insurance returning to profitability.

A FURNITURE factory in the Republic of Ireland, which went into liquidation three months ago, has gone back into production. The necessary capital has been raised by workers and townspeople and the factory has orders for about two months. The factory, Crannac Furniture at Navan, Co. Meath, employed 40 workers before liquidation. When the move was announced they staged a sit-in. Then they began raising money to start up again.

FIVE factories in Hammersmith and Richmond stopped yesterday in support of eight workers, including a shop steward, sacked from Surrey Steel Components Ltd, Fulham.



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

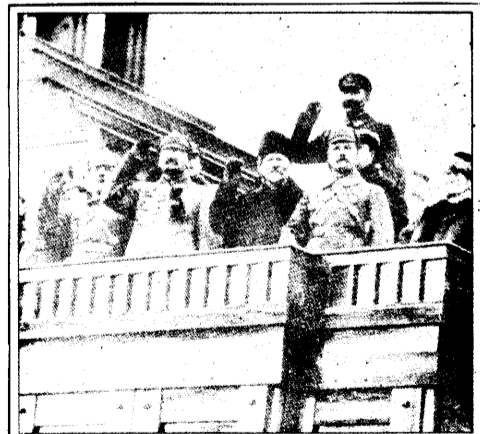
This collection of articles was penned by Trotsky in reply to various critics of his then recently-published 'Where is Britain Going?' They appeared in the Soviet press of the time and constitute a necessary corollary and sequel to that work. Trotsky here dissects the arguments of all the brands of opponents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

64 pp price 35p (postage extra)

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

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

108 pp price 65p (postage extra)



The New Course 1923  
BY LEON TROTSKY

## Committee puts ball in port bosses' court

BY DAVID MAUDE

WHETHER or not a docks delegate conference is called next week now appears largely to rest with the chairman of the port authorities.

The Jones-Aldington committee, it is believed, is hoping to persuade the chairmen to back up section B (vii) of its interim report, which calls on them to 'consider how they might help in ensuring that all groupage containers brought into their ports are stuffed and stripped under proper conditions of work'.

In other words, it wants the authorities to pressure container firms into giving registered dockers more work at their inland depots.

The committee's joint chairmen put a brave face on things after a three-hour meeting yesterday.

'Quite definite advances' had been made, claimed Jack Jones, Transport and General Workers' Union secretary. 'We now have agreement as to how negotiations with other interests should go forward,' Lord Aldington, chairman of the Port of London Authority, commented.

They then went off to report progress to Employment Secretary Maurice Macmillan.

But whatever pressure the port authorities mount, the committee is incapable of producing a solution to the jobs crisis in the ports.

There are at the maximum 2,000 container jobs available nationally, while the committee itself accepts the employers' estimate that almost 6,000 dockers are surplus to requirements.

If dockers won all 2,000 an equal number of unregistered workers, many of them members of Jones's union, would have to be displaced.

Jones made much of a claim yesterday that 175 dockers in the London area are already involved in container work.

'If there are as many as this, why can't there be more?' he asked.

He did not comment on the fact that in the week before the strike there were over 1,500 dockers registered as temporarily unattached.

## Cunningham should resign

ANDREW CUNNINGHAM, North East regional officer of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, who was named in the Poulson bankruptcy case, should resign from all his public posts, a Newcastle councillor Kenneth Buckingham said yesterday.

Cunningham and his wife had taken a £256 holiday in Estoril, Portugal, paid for by Poulson.

Mrs Cunningham, an ex-school teacher, had worked in Poulson's Newcastle office as a consultant during 1969-1970.

Buckingham said the G&MWU official should resign as chairman of the Durham police authority, chairman of the airport authority, the Tyneside passenger transport authority and the Labour Party's northern regional council.

## WEATHER

THERE will be occasional showers over the northern half of Scotland, otherwise it will be mostly dry with sunny intervals in all parts.

Outlook for Friday and Saturday: Rain at times. Rather cool. Dry at first in the East with normal temperatures.

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## Three-day battle of Scunthorpe--Massive police blockade

# Picket is nearly throttled

From STEPHEN JOHNS at Keadby, near Scunthorpe

FLASHPOINT of police attacks on dockers' pickets has been at the Neap House Wharf on the River Trent at Gunness, near Scunthorpe. During the past three days more than 30 dockers have been arrested while others have been manhandled by the massive police contingents.

Dockers from Hull, Goole, Grimsby and Immingham have been picketing the wharf operators, LSD Transport, because of its use of unregistered labour.

Yesterday's events marked the most violent clashes yet at the timber wharf.

All the lorries got past the pickets because of superior police strength.

But one driver had his windscreen smashed when he attacked a docker with an iron bar.

The pickets taunted the drivers with shouts of 'Scab' and 'Have you killed any miners today?'

There are a total of about 12 private wharves on the Ouse and Trent Rivers and Hull dockers have launched a determined drive to stop them handling cargo during the strike and to get them registered.

The Tory newspapers have concentrated exclusively on police injuries, but scores of dockers have been cut, kicked and in one case nearly throttled on the picket line.

Gordon Riby, a Hull docker and a St John Ambulance Brigadier member, is the first aid man for the dockers. He told me: 'I treated 14 dockers on Monday for cuts, bruises and gashed heads.'

'The worse case was a man who was knocked down in the rush. When I bent over to help, a copper came up and hit me. The lad was described in the papers as being "in a state of near collapse". In fact he had been nearly throttled by the police.'

'This was a peaceful



picket. Trouble started on Monday when some of the drivers started waving pieces of timber at us from behind the police lines.'

Another docker, Len Milne, a shop steward from Grimsby, also witnessed the 'strangulation' incident.

'He was just standing in the middle of the road having a smoke when he was picked on by about five coppers.'

Len's mate, Pete Cox, explained the issues behind the picket:

'People like Ben Tillet fought all their lives for

conditions and wages on the docks. Now they are being eroded by employers like this. We don't want to take jobs off the men in these wharves. They are being exploited by the employers.'

'We want them registered so they can earn wages and conditions like us.'

Roy Garmston, deputy chairman of the Hull shop stewards' committee, has been arrested and charged with breach of the peace. This prevents Workers Press from telling his

version of the events.

But he told me this about the dockers' action: 'What is happening here is quite simple. There are about 100 lorry drivers in this wharf and they are supposed to be protecting other lorry drivers. There are hundreds of police as well stopping us carrying out our right to picket.'

'There is only one word for this — professional strike-breaking. This picketing has been going on for months. They have obviously decided to take us on.'

'Police in several counties are being used and they clearly want a confrontation. But this picket will not be lifted. I hope it will be the most active police force in the country.'

Another docker, who must remain anonymous, told me how he was arrested and charged. He says the police seized him and threw him into the Black Maria. He and his friend say they overheard one Leicestershire inspector say to other constables: 'Right lads, he's in our territory now.'

**AUGUST FUND  
£304.66 —  
SPECIAL  
EFFORT  
NEEDED**

**THIS MONTH, more than ever before, we need a great campaign for our Appeal Fund to keep Workers Press right out in front.**

**While the Tories, with the emergency powers behind them, use the most brutal attacks by the police against the dockers, the whole trade union movement must be mobilized into action. The dockers must be defended and the Tory government be made to resign.**

**Our paper, alone, shows the way forward. We must not leave the raising of our Fund to chance. Help us collect the necessary finances to immediately begin our new circulation drive.**

**In this political situation, it is urgent that new readers are won in every district.**

**At the moment, we need another £1,445.34 by the end of August. Make a special effort now, and we will raise this amount in time. Post all your donations immediately to:**

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

## Combine-wide Leyland strike against closure

BRITISH - LEYLAND shop stewards yesterday called a one-day strike throughout the combine on August 28 against the feared closure of Thornycroft's heavy - transmission factory, Basingstoke.

Next Monday delegations from most Leyland plants will stage a demonstration outside the factory in support of the workers' fight against the sack.

In June union officials were told that the 1,100-strong factory had been sold to the Eaton Corporation of Ohio. The 50-acre site

on which the factory stands had been sold to a property company. 350 workers would be sacked.

Closure fears arise from the fact that Eaton's, the firm which closed ENV, North London, after a long strike in 1967, have only taken a three-year lease on the factory from the property company.

Yesterday's strike call was the unanimous decision of a 150-strong meeting of Leyland senior stewards in Birmingham. One steward acidly told leaders of the combine's trade union committee, who supported the BMC-Leyland merger in 1968, that after six years the chickens were coming home to roost.

**SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE**

**PUBLIC MEETING**

**CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE  
LONDON, WC1.**

**Thursday August 10, 7.30 p.m.**

**END THE TUC TALKS WITH HEATH**

**VICTORY TO THE DOCKERS**

**NATIONALIZE DOCKS AND TRANSPORT INDUSTRIES**

**MAKE THE TORIES RESIGN**

**Speakers:**

**Larry Cavanagh, dock worker  
G. Healy, SLL national secretary**

## Stanton strike

ABOUT 900 workers in the Dale and 18-foot spun pipes plant at Stanton Ironworks, Ilkeston, Derbyshire, were on strike yesterday over holiday pay and pay rates. This does not involve the 1,500 men threatened with redundancy in the blast furnace section.