### Compromise harder, moans Gormley

# Backing for miners grows

Feather of the TUC,

miners' president Joe

Gormley admitted that the

attitude of his men was

more difficult from now on,'

that the strike would be felt within days instead of weeks.

in London the key Associated Society of Locomotive Engin-

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decided yesterday to pledge '100 per cent support and

solidarity' with the miners.

Members will be instructed

After the Feather-Gromley

not to move any coal or to

talks yesterday, miners were still angry that the TUC was

not offering any leadership in the pay fight against the

There was also a luke-

Jones said: 'Clearly, no

to any abnormal movement of

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day what Jones meant by 'abnormal'; they wanted him

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movement of coal and other

From Mansfield in Notting-hamshire, PHILIP WADE re-

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE min-

ers are mounting a 24-hour picket around three key power stations in the area.

Already there is no coal

moving into the giant North Notts power station at Marn-

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'Our aim is to stop all coal

moving into the power stations and get solidarity

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Thoresby miners, who supply most of the coal at

they won't get anything them-

Meanwhile at nearby Har-

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previous decision to ban all

Asked by Workers Press if

the decision was taken in the face of threats by the NCB,

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They say this is an unpro-

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From Cardiff in Wales, IAN

YEATS reports: IN WALES train drivers

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Pickets were out at 5.30

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Lodge officials were meet-

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Miners were asking yester-

try and break the strike.'

warm response to a statement

by Jack Jones, leader of Britain's largest union, the

cross picket lines.

Transport

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After an executive meeting

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### What we think

#### The 'Star' covers up

THE RETREAT of the engineers' union leaders on a national strike from their national pay claim is a shameless abdication of responsibility and an invitation to strike-breaking on an unprecedented scale by the employers and their government.

That they should do this when the miners are engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the government is an accurate measure of their acquiescence in the policies of the government as well as of their fear of the militant ranks.

Union president Scanlon summed up this reformist outlook succinctly at Mon-day's meeting when he said there was 'no sign of a compromise or a fresh offer and it seems useless to carry on discussions with employers on the national claim'.

If it is 'useless' to negotiate further or take action on a national claim, as Scanlon alleges, then what hope is there that the employers will be any less uncompromising at factory

f the Coventry toolroom dispute meant anything it was that the employers were as determined on a local level as they were on a national

This is because, first, there is a recession in engineering which is steadily deepening and, secondly, because in many factories piecework systems have been replaced by productivity agreements which have led to redundancy.

Those who mistakenly favour the kind of plant bargaining envisaged by Scanlon would do well to ponder the Ford strike in February-March

this strike the union leaders—Scanlon and Jones -intervened at the crucial point and foisted a secret ballot and a no-strike pledge on the workers and undermined their confidence in this type of bargaining

Today, however, the situation is much, much worse.

After February the employers
will be armed with the

powers contained in the Industrial Relations Act and there will be a formidable drop in investment and an increase in unemployment in engineering. They intend to turn all this

to good account by forcing new procedures in plant bargaining and smashing shop-floor organization in order to introduce the most vicious productivity deals.

While there is little doubt that engineers will fight at plant level as tenaciously as ever there is no doubt at all that the reformist oneat-a-time strategy of the union leaders is the greatest encouragement that the employers have got since the wretched retreat on the last package deal in November

The Communist Party is just as responsible for this

retreat as Scanlon.
That is why the 'Morning Star' covers up the unprecedented retreat of the engineers' national com-mittee with the fraudulent title 'Engineers break off

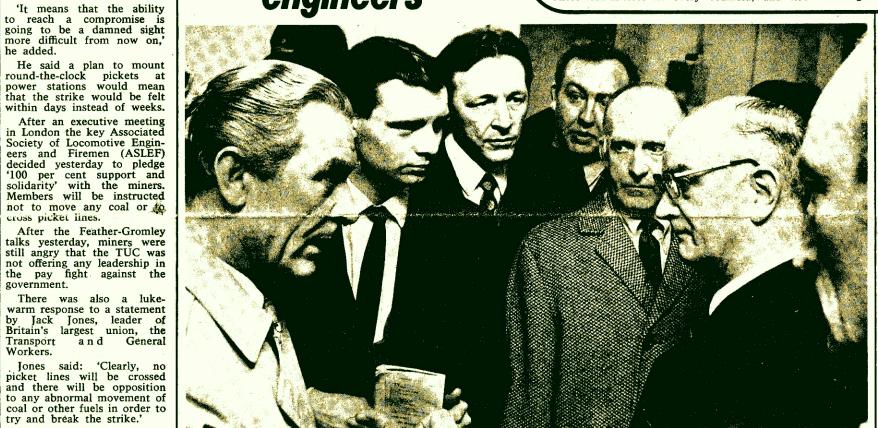
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PAGE FOUR COL. 1

SOLIDARITY with the striking miners spread throughout the country yesterday as organized pickets began their first day of action.

### 'We've let you down In London after a two-hour meeting with Victor miners' engineers



Kraft strikers lobbying engineers' president Hugh Scanlon at Peckham yesterday.

#### BY AN INDUSTRIAL CORRESPONDENT

MERSEYSIDE engineers in London to lobby their union leadership over the Kraft victimization strike, hit out yesterday against the decision to abandon the national pay claim. Kraft shop steward Les Black told Workers Press: 'The fact that the union backed down has made the miners weaker. But Scanlon shook me when he backed

Marnham, turned away several lorries driven by T&GWU members yesterday morning. 'It's a silent victory for the Police turned up but left Tory government. We can't allow the miners' strike to Power workers at Marn-ham, Cottham and W Burton become another Post Office strike.

stations met yesterday to discuss their own pay claim. 'Engineers and mineworkers could have had a mini General strike and shaken the Tories 'They should come out in support of us now. They've got to come out eventually If the Tories kick us to death,

Dave Martin, convenor of CAV, Fazakerley said: I was disappointed. We were looking for a strike to show the government we meant business. 'We have shown our weaknesses and let down the

Another CAV steward, Mike Jones, described the move as 'the same old step-

He said: 'Individual action in plants is a dodgy thing. Strong plants will fight. Weaker plants can't fight on

'The national committee never took things to any test at all. It looks certain that the leadership will now back down over the Industrial Relations Act.'

Ray Reynolds, strike committee chairman and convenor at Lucas Industrial Equipment, said: 'I knew there'd be

no fight because that would be a political act and cause something like a General Strike.
'If the national committee

had really supported the cause of bringing down the Tory government then it would have had to support a Tory

### Union leaders bend in favour of strike

A LOBBY of workers from the Kraft cheese and margarine factory, Merseyside, met with limited success yesterday when they confronted members of their union executive at their London headquarters.

Depending on the outcome of crucial meetings this week, leaders of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers have decided 'to reconsider' the men's appli-

cation to have their nineweek strike made official. Yesterday 50 men from

Peckham headquarters in a bus to start a day-long lobby. The deputation included Kraft strikers, local shop stewards as well as four delegates from the Liverpool

district committee of AUEW. They managed to interview their union leader, Hugh Scanlon, before the council meeting began (see above).

Later, Kraft workers who had visited the headquarters on two previous occasions, seemed mildly optimistic. They arranged between national and local officials and the Kraft company.

At next Tuesday's EC the matter will be 'reconsidered'.

Previously, the EC has refused to put the Kraft dispute on the agenda. The strike started

weeks ago when the company sacked a man. Immediately 150 engineers walked out.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MINERS' SECTION STATEMENT the right-wing majority on the executive, will decide

Back the miners! Defeat Tories!

THE All Trades Unions Alliance calls ery single worker in Britain in solidarity with the miners

strike. The miners are in a fight to a finish with the National Coal Board.

Behind the NCB stands the Tory government, which has chosen to try and repeat 1926: to starve the miners out, smash them, make an example of them and then turn viciously on the rest of the

The Tories reckon that with 1 million unemployed and the Industrial Relations Act already passed they need to defeat one big strike in order to start wage-cutting and repression in earnest. To win the miners' strike means defeating the

Heath stakes everything on imposing the 7.5 per cent wage-increase norm; if the whole workingclass movement is mobilized against the common enemy, then the miners' strike can be won and the political conditions created for the holding of a General Election and the return of a Labour government. Such a government could be forced to implement the miners' demands and carry out

#### TUC running away

The TUC leaders are running away from this political fight, so they refuse to call together the transport unions for solidarity. But thousands of rank-and-file railwaymen, drivers, seamen, dockers and power workers will act in solidarity despite Strike committees elected at every pit will organize pickets and approach their fellow trade

These committees in every coalfield, and not

when the strike is won.

It is not enough for some Labour Party policy

committee to pledge mere verbal support for the miners' strike. What is needed is a political campaign of action by the whole labour movement to return a Labour government pledged to socialist Every miner knows that even more is involved

than the wage demand.

#### Like coal barons

It is a scandal that an industry nationalized 25 years ago, after generations of bitter struggle and sacrifice, cannot provide a living wage for

We have reached the point, 25 years after vesting day, where chairman Derek Ezra and the other NCB bosses are attacking the miners on behalf of a Tory government—just as the old coal barons

The miners do not intend to go back to work and continue with this situation, which will only get worse as the Tories rush into the Common

Nationalization was an advance under the Labour government of 1945. The Tories want to reverse all such advances; the health service, school milk and meals, social security and the like. We must go forward from nationalization, not back-

What is essential now is workers' control of the pits and the ending of compensation payments to the ex-owners.

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In every nationalized industry, workers' control

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In the privately-owned sector, where the factory-occupation movement is already spreading, nationalization under workers' control and without compensation—the only answer to closures and

unemployment! The employers are always telling us that workers cannot run the industry. But now they are screaming that without the workers they cannot even ensure safety!

We must have elected workers' committees controlling the managers at every pit; the businessmen and ex-officers must be cleared out of the NCB and replaced by miners.

To defeat the Tories and carry through the fight for a Labour government to carry out these policies, we must build in the NUM and throughout the Labour and trade union movement the

alternative leadership. The abandonment by the engineers' leaders emonstrates the urgency of this.

We call upon every miner to join the All Trades Unions Alliance and the Socialist Labour League, and to read and sell Workers Press as their main Solidarity action with the miners! Unite all

trade unionists in struggle against the Tories! Force the Tory government to resign! Bring in a Labour government which will legis-

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### Birthday cheer for Nixon ...from Tito!

YUGOSLAV President Tito is reported to have sent 'cordial birthday greetings' to Richard Nixon, while at home his party is striving to combat 'counter-revolution'.

grows to £291.36

AS WORKERS everywhere

begin to respond in strong solidarity action with the

miners, the TUC remain un-

affected by this magnificent response. Instead they

cringe even more before the Tory offensive. A firm stand taken by the union leaders would force the Tories back and lead the

Back us up all the way. Make a special effort this month for our Appeal Fund.

Let's press ahead as never

before. Send all your donations immediately to:

January Appeal Fund, 186a Clapham High Street, London SW4.

miners to victory.

Leaders of the Croatian | |||||||||||||||||| Communist Party, sacked on Tito's orders last month, may now face trial in the near future, according to reports from Zagreb.

The Croat party's new secretary, Josip Vrhovec, told students at the university on Monday that politicians who had adopted the ideas of emigré circles aimed at creating chaos and partitioning Yugoslavia would have to answer for their activity.

The Croat judiciary is also under attack.

Pero Pletikosa, Zagreb district secretary of the League of Communists, said at the weekend that four members of the municipal court, in-cluding its president, had been expelled from the party. Several others had been reprimanded.

Other party officials have attacked the personal enrichment of members of the bureaucracy taking advantage of the loosening of economic

Stane Dolanc, a member of the CP executive, said that the economic crisis had caused a series of political problems including nationalism.

He added that social inequalities, resulting from market relations had also emerged. He urged the energetic suppression of 'un-deserved enrichment, corruption, bribery and other illegal phenomena'. Dolanc's statement shows

that the workers in Yugoslavia are growing more and more angry at the privileges of the Stalinist bureaucracy, particularly as unemployment and prices continue to rise.

Tito's growing ties with imperialism - symbolized by his greetings to Nixon—make it impossible for him to fight the development of reaction by mobilizing the working class.

Every miner can now see that the Polish Stalinists are allied with the Tories against

stab in the back.

### workers press **EXCLUSIVE**



TOMORROW in Workers Press we publish an exclusive interview with the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Lawrence Daly.

He gives his views to staff reporter Stephen Johns on the strategy the miners must adopt to win their battle with the Tory government.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS

### Right-to work campaign begins

We will be marching from
GLASGOW FEBRUARY 5 — LIVERPOOL FEBRUARY 19
SWANSEA FEBRUARY 19 To a mass rally at EMPIRE POOL, WEMBLEY on MARCH 12

Loan of vehicles-road-worthy vans, cars

(reasonable hire will be considered)

WANTED URGENTLY

Accommodation	
Cooking equipment	
Tinned food	
Finance	
Brass/jazz bands	
Please tick box where applicable.	

Please complete above form and post to: Clive Norris, national secretary Right-to-Work campaign 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. Or phone 01-622 7029.

### Polish coal still being imported—miners' union

POLAND'S Stalinist government has no plans to stop the export of coal to Britain during the miners' strike.

A spokesman for the Polish Economic Commission in London said yesterday the Warsaw government's attitude was to 'wait and see'.

Meanwhile deliveries continue despite appeals from the National Union of Mine-The Commission spokesman

claimed that only 'small quan-tities' of Polish coal were entering Britain, but could not specify amounts.

Against this, the National Union of Mineworkers says Polish coal is coming into Britain in large amounts, disguised Holland. as imports from

'Imports of Dutch coal are far in excess of what the mines in Holland could supply,' an NUM spokesman told us yesterday.
'The Poles have been selling their coal cheaply in W

Europe for some years now. They probably want to obtain western currency. 'It would be reasonable to say that coal is coming in

BY JOHN SPENCER from Poland via Rotterdam in fairly sizeable quantities.'

The NUM has written to the Polish mineworkers' union asking them not to export coal. But the NUM said yesterday: 'We did the same when they were exporting coal to Spain during the Asturian miners' strike and got little

In another bid to break the import chain, the Mine-workers' International Federation has written to Dutch transport workers asking for a 'black' on coal to Britain. The coal is carried from Rotterdam in small coasters to ports all along the South

and East coasts. The biggest quantity of imported coal comes through London and Southampton.

On top of the 'concealed' Polish imports through Holland, the Polish government has a direct contract with Britain to supply nearly 100,000 tons of household coal.

The contract was signed after the Tory government had lifted the 12-year-old ban on coal imports following the 1970 unofficial miners' strike. A government press briefing at the time made it clear that the chief reason for lifting the ban was the likelihood of further 'industrial unrest'.

an invitation to visit Poland later this year—no doubt as a reward to the leadership of Edward Gierek for its actions against the miners. The Polish Communist

Party leaders aided the Spanish fascists to break two coalfield. The British Communist Party leaders and the 'Morning Star' kept their mouths firmly sealed about this scab action.

the miners' strike.

By their craven silence over Polish scabbing in Spain, the British Stalinists have pre pared a rod for the miners backs. Miners must demand that the many prominent CP members in the coalfields speak out against this Stalinist Edward Heath has accepted

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In this strike the union leaders—Scanlon and Jones -intervened at the crucial point and foisted a secret ballot and a no-strike pledge on the workers and under-mined their confidence in this type of bargaining irrevocably.

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Kraft strikers lobbying engineers' president Hugh Scanlon at Peckham yesterday.

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The deputation included Kraft strikers, local shop stewards as well as four delegates from the Liverpool committee of district AUEW. They managed to interview

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He added that social inequalities, resulting from market relations had also emerged. He urged the energetic suppression of 'un-deserved enrichment, corruption, bribery and other illegal phenomena'.

Dolanc's statement shows that the workers in Yugoslavia are growing more and more angry at the privileges of the Stalinist bureaucracy, particularly as unemployment and prices continue to rise.

Tito's growing ties with world imperialism — symbolized by his greetings to Nixon—make it impossible for him to fight the development of reaction by mobilizing the working class.

an invitation to visit Poland

## later this year—no doubt as a reward to the leadership of Edward Gierek for its actions

the miners' strike.

By their craven silence over olish scabbing in Spain, the backs. Miners must demand

### workers press **EXCLUSIVE**



### TOMORROW in Workers Press we publish

an exclusive interview with the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers. Lawrence Daly.

He gives his views to staff reporter Stephen Iohns on the strategy the miners must adopt to win their battle with the Tory government.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS

### Right-to work campaign begins

We will be marching from GLASGOW FEBRUARY 5 — LIVERPOOL FEBRUARY 19 SWANSEA FEBRUARY 19 To a mass rally at EMPIRE POOL, WEMBLEY on MARCH 12

### **WANTED URGENTLY**

(reasonable hire will be considered)
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Cooking equipment
Tinned food
Finance
Brass/jazz bands
Please tick box where applicable.
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ONE NUMBER
Please complete above form and post to:

Clive Norris, national secretary Right-to-Work campaign 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4. Or phone 01-622 7029.

### Polish coal still being imported—miners' union

POLAND'S Stalinist government has no plans to stop the export of coal to Britain during the miners' strike.

A spokesman for the Polish Economic Commission in London said yesterday the Warsaw government's attitude was to 'wait and see'.

Meanwhile deliveries continue despite appeals from the National Union of Mine-The Commission spokesman

tities' of Polish coal were entering Britain, but could not specify amounts.

Against this, the National Union of Mineworkers says **Polish** coal is coming into Britain in large amounts, dis-guised as imports from 'Imports of Dutch coal are

far in excess of what the mines in Holland could supply, an NUM spokesman us yesterday. 'The Poles have been selling their coal cheaply in W Europe for some years now.

They probably want to obtain western currency. 'It would be reasonable to

from Poland via Rotterdam in fairly sizeable quantities.' The NUM has written to

BY JOHN SPENCER

the Polish mineworkers' union asking them not to export coal. But the NUM said yesterday: 'We did the same when they were exporting coal to Spain during the Asturian miners' strike and got little response.

import chain, the Mine-workers' International Federation has written to Dutch transport workers asking for a 'black' on coal to Britain. The coal is carried from Rotterdam in small coasters say that coal is coming in to ports all along the South

and East coasts. The biggest quantity of imported coal comes through London and Southampton.

On top of the 'concealed' Polish imports through Holland, the Polish government has a direct contract with Britain to supply nearly 100,000 tons of household The contract was signed

after the Tory government had lifted the 12-year-old ban A government press briefing t the time made 1970 unofficial miners' strike. that the chief reason for lifting the ban was the likelihood of further 'industrial unrest'. Edward Heath has accepted

In another bid to break the

### IRELAND: BACKGROUND

## PART TWO

JACK GALE continues the history of Irish workingclass struggle.

A FEW YEARS after the repeal of Poyning's law (1782) the Society of United Irishmen was formed in 1791. Driven underground by the British government, this society negotiated on equal terms with the Revolutionary Directory of France. In fact, the French dispatched several expeditions to assist the Irish but none was successfulthough one landed and, together with the United Irishmen, defeated a much superior British force at Castlebar.

The United Irishmen led national insurrection which required 30,000 British troops to suppress it in Wicklow and Wexford. In addition, the British suspended habeas corpus and instituted martial law. They also introduced 'Free Quarters for the Military'-that is, Irish civilians were forced to take British soldiers into their homes and provide them with free food and

A favourite method of dealing with the young Irishmen was to seize them, march them in chains to the various harbours, and forcibly enrol them as sailors on British men-of-war.

The well-known brutality in the British navy in the last years of the 18th century and the early 19th—when men often received hundreds of lashes for the most trivial offences—was in no small part due to the hatred felt for the officers by forced recruits, many of them Irish. In fact, in government records of the time 'ad-ministering the secret oath of the United Irishmen' is the most common offence, frequently puntransportation or bу

The founder of the United Irishmen was the revolutionist Theobald Wolfe Tone, and the developments which led to its formation were both internal and

In Ireland itself, the development of industry was drawing labour from the countryside into the towns and both Catholic and Protestant found themselves landless and jobless. The class question was more powerful than the religious question. The Protestant poor found that the landlord and the boss were more immediate dangers than the Pope of Rome and the Catholic poor discovered—in James Connolly's words—that 'the Catholic landthan the rent-roll'.

Internationally, the overthrow of the French aristocracy in 1789 had effects which reverberated throughout Europe—not least in Ireland and England.

Tone and his followers seized this time to try to unite Irishmen of all religions around the central demand for equal representation of all people in parliament. Their organization sought to be international, establishing links with the Jacobin Club in Paris, the Revolutionary Society and the Friends of the People in England, and the Committee for Reform in Scotland. The Manifesto of the United

\*See 'The Evolution of England',

Irishmen, written by Wolfe Tone and published in 1791 declared: "When the aristocracy come forward, the people fall backward; when the people come forward, the aristocracy, fearful of being left behind, insinuate themselves into our ranks and rise into timid leaders or treacherous auxiliaries. . . . The people must auxiliaries. . . The people must serve the party, or the party must emerge in the mightiness of the people . . . on the 14th of July, the day which shall ever commemorate the French Revolution, let this society pour out their first libation to European

The attempt to overcome reli-



Revolution replaced by reaction



Revolutionist, Theobald Wolfe Tone, was the founder of the 'United Irishman'.

class had perfected another instrument of class rule — paid

informers and spies. These pene-

trated into the highest levels of

the Irish movement. For example, Leonard McNally, the lawyer who defended the leaders of the

United Irishmen at their trials, was discovered later to have

been a paid informer, systemati-

cally denouncing to the government the very men he was defending in the courts!

Then there was Father Thomas Barry, Roman Catholic priest, who instructed men in the con-fessional to reveal their plans to

the military — and received a government pension of £100 a year, for the rest of his life as

The movement led by Emmet

rose in rebellion in 1802-two

years after the treacherous Irish parliament had been bribed into

voting for the Act of Union.

Huge forces of troops were required to suppress this move-

ment in Limerick, Waterford and

Tipperary.
The revolutionary nature of

this struggle was expressed in

'Provisional Government of Ire-

land'. The first article decrees

the wholesale confiscation of

church property and the second and third articles forbid and

declare void the transfer of all

landed property, bonds, debentures, and public securities until

the national (i.e. revolutionary)

government was established and

the 'national will' upon them

But the first years of the 19th century were years of unbridled reaction throughout Europe. The fear engendered in

the hearts of the ruling classes by the French Revolution caused

them to hunt down even the

mildest of reformers and to drive

underground every form of

the anti-trade union Combination

Acts (1799), the 1815 Corn Law

(which forced up the price of bread); the suspension of habeas corpus in 1816 (giving the

government power of imprison-ment without trial), the Game

seven years' transportation as

the punishment for possession

of a net which might be used

to catch rabbit); the Peterloo massacre of 1819 (when hundreds

of workers attending a political

meeting in Manchester were cut down by the military); and the

Six Acts of 1819 (which sought to prevent any expression of ideas opposed to the government—for

example, no political meetings could be held without permis-

the economic depression which

followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars. This was particularly severe in Ireland. During the war

agricultural prices had risen and rents had risen along with them.

\*See James Connolly 'Labour in

Added to these measures was

sion of the magistrates).

popular organization.

declared.

Emmet's proclamation for

blood money.

letarian section of the Volunteers (see previous article). A statement issued by the Liberty Corps (the working class section) of the Volunteers declared: 'We cannot but lament that (religious) distinctions, injurious

to both, have too long disgraced the name of Irishmen; and we most fervently wish that our animosities were entombed with the bones of our ancestors: and that we and our Roman Catholic brethren would unite like citizens, and claim the Rights of The 'Rights of Man' were

revolutionary demands at that time, and the title 'Citizen', as in the French Revolution, was a revolutionary name. This statement — dated 1791 — alone is proof that religious distinctions in Ireland have been foisted on the working class from without, precisely to kill the development of revolutionary class-conscious-

In fact, the Catholic masses in Ireland looked for deliverance to the revolutionaries of France, who had overthrown the Catholic church, executed many of its priests and enthroned Reason in Notre Dame!

The open rebellion led by the United Irishmen was put down savagely in 1798, but the struggle of the Irish workers was far from over. The defeat of 1798 was followed by what was known as 'the Emmet Conspiracy'. Emmet recruited his forces mainly from the industrial working class of the big towns and campaigned for a democratic

republic.

By this time, the British ruling

agricultural prices went down too — but rents stayed high. Unemployment grew in the cities, with the decline of the war industries, and large numbers of men came out of the armed forces to swell the ranks of the unemployed in the cities and the landless in the country-

After the war, demand fell and

this setting undeground trade unions and secret societies began to grow, but the Irish of their difficulties through political channels.

It was here, above all, that the treachery of the middle class

took place. In 1829 the Irish Catholic leader Daniel O'Connell was elected to the Westminster parliament. At this time 'open' voting was the system in Ireland. That is to say, every voter had to declare openly before the clerks, and before anyone else who chose to attend, how he was casting his vote. To vote against the landlord's nominee frequently meant eviction. Despite this-and despite the fact that the poorest tenants were disfranchised by a property qualification of 40s per vear—O'Connell was elected.

This victory forced the British government to pass the Act of Catholic Emancipation—that is, they had to drop the ban on Catholics sitting in the British House of Commons, being appointed judges or obtaining high posts in the civil and military services.

But, just as the electoral Reform Act of 1832 in England was a deliberate measure by the most far-seeing members of the ruling class to extend the franchise to the middle class as a bulwark against the workers, so Catholic Emancipation was used to benefit the Irish Catholic middle class against the workers -though in both cases the main contribution in the struggle for change had come from the work-

ers.

The professions were opened up for the middle class Catholics, but the landlords vented their fury on the poor by means of wholesale evictions.

The poor fought back through secret societies, mainly the famous 'Ribbon Society'.

Members of this society made midnight raids for arms upon the at night in large numbers and ploughed up the grasslands so they could not be used for graz-(the principal reason evictions was to turn arable land into more profitable graz-ing fields), filled up ditches, ing fields), filled up attenes, killed those who had entered the service of graziers or unpopular landlords, assassinated agents and sometimes fought openly against

the military.

But these desperate poor were abandoned by O'Connell and his middle class supporters who had used them to overthrow religious bigotry only to further their own preferment. The O'Connellites concentrated on a political campaign for the repeal of the Act of Union.

But the 'Repealers' as they

were known, hated their own working class. The leader of O'Connell's organization in Co Clare actually posted a public notice denouncing the unemployed and landless: 'Unless you desist, I denounce

you as traitors to the cause of the liberty of Ireland. . . . I leave you to the government and the fire and bayonets of the military. Your blood be upon your own souls.'\*

However, despite this treachery, the Irish workers and peasants continued to fight back tenaciously and even won some victories. They achieved, for example, the abolition of the tithes—a tax levied on all the people, irrespective of religion, for the upkeep of the Episcopalian Church (the 'official' church in Ireland).

But the leadership of the struggle for Irish independence remained in the hands of the middle class who combined the campaign against the Union with England with a venomous hatred

\*See James Connolly 'Labour in Ireland'.

of the working class and the trade unions.
O'Connell placed far more

importance on parliamentary manoeuvres in England (offering his vote on all issues to this faction or to that in return for promises of support for repeal) than he did on the Irish masses. And the Catholic clergy in Ireland were O'Connellites almost to a man, vying with each other in their denunciations of the trade unions and secret organ-

izations of the Irish poor.
O'Connell, in fact, sat on the government benches in the mid-1830s, when the sufferings of the working class in England as well as in Ireland were almost beyond belief, and when the agricultural revolts in England (the 'Captain Swing' revolts) matched those in Ireland ('Captain Rock' and 'Captain Moon-

O'Connell, the great Irish 'patriot' was openly on the side of privilege in those days. Attacking the Irish trade unionists in the English parliament, he declared:

'There was no tyranny equal to that which was exercised by the trade unionists in Dublin over their fellow labourers. One rule of the workmen prescribed a minimum rate of wages, so that the best workman received no more than the worst. Another part of their system was directed towards depriving the masters of all freedom in their power of selecting workmen. O'Connell also defended

**CONTINUED TOMORROW** 

deliberately broke the law after the Factory Acts of 1833 had forbidden the employment of children under nine years old in certain industries and limited the working hours of children under 13 years of age to nine a O'Connell declared that the

parliament those employers who

factory reformers 'had legis-lated against the nature of things, and against the right of industry'. 'Let them not,' declared this Irish patriot, 'be guilty of this childish folly of regulating the labour of adults, and go about parading before the which would end by converting their manufacturers into beg-

No understanding of Irish politics is possible without grasping how the aspirations of ne workers and landless in Ireland have been revolutionary aspirations-and how these have been betrayed, again and again, by leaders who used the myth of a 'national', 'above-class' interest the sole purpose of which was to leave the oppressed masses of Ireland under the heel of the capitalist and the landlord.

tinued in the period from the famine of the 1840s to the Easter Rebellion. \*See Fay 'Life and Labour in the

will show how this betrayal con-

The next article in this series

Nineteenth Century.'



Above: Daniel O'Connell, elected to Westminster parliament in 1829. He placed importance on parliamentary manoeuvres and with middle-class support he abandoned the desperate poor. Below: 1844. O'Connell being welcomed outside the Bank of Ireland. Bottom: A Connacht family defies eviction. It was these poor peasants and workers who fought back through secret societies such as the famous 'Ribbon Society'.





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LETTER

**Another** 

view of

WITH A film as slight and

as enjoyable as 'Gumshoe'

one expects Workers Press

to ignore it or else commend

If Ian Yeats thinks that it is 'not just a comedy' but a pusher for the opiates of fantasy, he

should go on to discuss the source of the comedy and the

That the film is a comedy was

not obvious to all. 'Tribune', ever anxious to raise the cultural tone of its pages, allowed its critic to chastise this film

for failing to reconstitute the 'Weltanschauung' of the 1940s thrillers, related in some un-

specific way to 'early American seminars on Freud' and con-

cerned not with the real critics of time and space but the 'dark,

Wow! Not even the super-prigs of 'New Left Review' throw out idealist garbage of

It is true that they don't— and couldn't—make films like the 'Maltese Falcon' any more. Britain is irredeemably small-

time, in crime as in every other

Downtown America is not Liverpool. Finney is not Bogart. Realizing this, the makers of

'Gumshoe' have made all these

No thriller was ever 'more than just a thriller', but the few good ones are also good fiction, and the sombre thrillers produced between 1930 and 1950, especially by Chandler and Hampett de properly and the process of the source of the sour

mett, do powerfully evoke a world of shadows and betrayals

which, however, was not a product of 'the imagination' but of the sordid and political realities

No good writer invents a world of his own if he has enough imagination to tell us something important about the

real material world the rest of us have to live with. (Grahame

Greene has recently insisted that

his stories are set not in 'Green-land' but in London, Mexico and

Vietnam. That needed to be

The Chandler novels to which

the Albert Finney character is addicted combined unsentimental

observation with the romantic daydream that a pitiless, cynical

and profiteering society could occasionally be thwarted by a pitiless, cynical and quixotic

'Private Eye', as if to show that

the enemy, though they own everything else, do not have a

monopoly of toughness and

This attitude becomes danger-ous when a Ralph Nader tries to substitute it for politics. When individuals substitute it for life, by watching the 'Big Sleep', it is about as dangerous as a glass of beer

Ian Yeats was right to in-

spect this film for signs of a bourgeois conspiracy, but only because every film that gets mass

distribution is part of such a

In the book of the film, the hero of 'Gumshoe' expresses left-wing opinions, rather too

often and too explicitly for the good of the story. In the film

there is barely a hint of them.

Everyone agrees that the 'Maltese Falcon' was the best film thriller ever made. But no one is likely to distribute an honest film of 'Red Harvest', in which Dashiell Hammett, whose

communism was strong enough to resist the McCarthy witch-hunts, touched directly on the

as a glass of beer.

conspiracy.

class struggle.

London.

area of Free Enterprise.

sad city of the imagination'.

content of the fantasy.

Dear Editor,

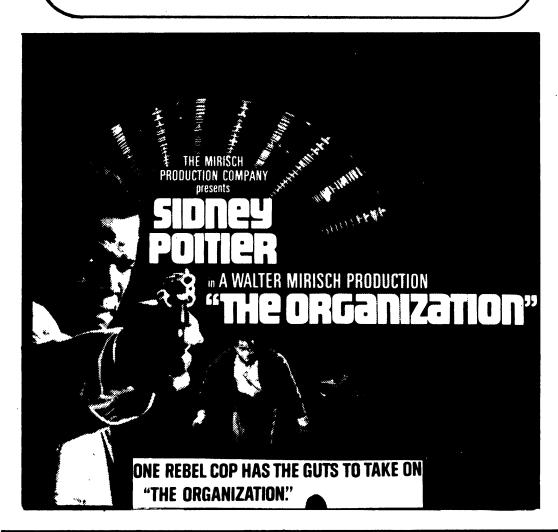
it briefly.

this quality.

laughter.

of real history.

## This week's FILM 'The Organization'



### Gosh, how super to be in Bangla Desh

'DEAR FRIENDS, By the time you receive this, Ellen will be in the States with Paul and her parents and Gordon will be safely home in England.

'Mike and John completed the tenth Omega mission on December 5. They had been in the Khulna district for ten days distributing 58 lungis, 340 saris, 340 dhotis, 570 blankets, some mixed clothing, 7,000 anti-dysentery pills and 10,000 vitamin tablets while assessing the needs of the

This is an excerpt from a recent bulletin of Operation
Omega, a group of bizarre
liberals and humanitarians
who organized themselves to
provide relief for Bangla Desh. Their relief hand-out, des-

### Crisis in

### jute: Dacca to **Dundee**

THE INDO-PAKISTAN war has brought short-time working and a serious threat of more closures to the Dundee jute industry.

Bangla Desh produces about 80 per cent of the world's jute and has a virtual monopoly of

the better qualities.
Since the war, however, supplies have been blocked in Chitagong and Khulna and Duntaken and Chitagong and Chulna and Duntaken and Chulna and Ch dee's stocks are running out.

Jute is Bangla Desh's economic lifeline, virtually the only export. Any difficulty in obtaining supplies or an increase in the

substitutes and further impoverish the peasants who depend upon it for cash income. In recent years the development of man-made fibres has made serious inroads into the

price could hasten the use of

markets for jute.

The present shortage is likely to speed up research into improving these substitutes. Even in Dundee manufacturers have

been turning over to polypropylene substitutes.
Mr Rezaul Karim of the Bangla Desh mission in London was cautious about the question of substitutes, claiming that there could hardly be a fully-

may be true for many uses at present.

He said that the Bangla Desh government would do its best to ensure the regularity of supplies ments of British customers would

satisfactory substitute - which

soon be satisfied. He made it clear that first priority would be given to the re-opening of the ports in which jute is stock-piled. Ships are already waiting to enter the ports, which are blocked by

The anxiety of Dundee jute manufacturers is shown by the despatch of a three-man mission to Bangla Desh to speed up ship-

After bitter bargaining the team has been able to drum up only 50,000 bales of Indian jute, equivalent to five and a half

weeks' supply.

It is certain, therefore, that the troubles of Dundee will remain—along with the troubles in Dacca.

cribed above, was distributed, remember, in a country of 72 million people!

language of their bulletins has not changed throughout the six-month campaign. It is reminiscent of the gosh, gee-whizzery of 'Boy's Own Annual'.

Reporting on a seminar held last month, the same bulletin

'Abut 40 people attended the seminar which questioned (a) Omega's future role in Bangla Desh, (b) possible other areas where its philosophy and practice may be relevant, (c) reconciliation of short-term and long-term objectives and (d) internal organization, structure and decision-making. Enclosed is a brief report on the seminar from notes by June, abridged by Richard.' (Who's Richard?)

Richard informs us that while Omega is 'so far from the scene, we can only make hypotheses and suggest pro-

The most likely projects

1. Returning with the refugees or one group of refugees, acting as a mobile force to alleviate the miseries of the long march home.

2. Spreading Omega volunteers into existing Gandhian [sic] organizations as a source of dynamism, ideas and a link with the outside world.

One or two small 'indepth' projects, not just re-building, but helping to create. The big agencies and particularly government aid may be too big to build with feeling. Perhaps by a small example Omega can show that feeling and build with beauty.

Richard ends the minutes of the meeting with the comments of one Bernard Rivers-Moore. He writes:

brought up the question of the refugees and why they had fled to India. Bernard felt that India would prevent further refugees coming from Bangla Desh and would try to send the present refugees back. What would be the problems? What would the Bangla Desh government do, if anything? The war situation is a barrier—should Omega confront it?'

On this cliffhanging note, the reader is left to ponder the possibility of Omega and its 40-odd members in NWI launching their 'war conlaunching their

The latest bulletins end with a plea for more funds for the 'subsistence fund'. There is an impassioned statement about how various individuals have placed themselves in penury to alleviate the miseries of the Bengalis.

It points out that several people working fulltime 'are not happy to take money from Omega, which has been given specifically to help get relief supplies into Bangla Desh'.

This sounds like a very commendable stand to take.

But a glance of the Omega balance sheet for the first six months shows what a suprising amount of money hasn't been spent on relief supplies.

For example, of the thousands of pounds raised in advertisements, chiefly in 'The Guardian', £4,277 has been spent on 'fares to India and return'. These are largely air fares-seats in comfortable inter-continental jets.

Other items are 'food and subsistence in India' £739, 'cash paid to members before leaving' £840.

Under 'postage and telephone bills' appears the astonishing sum of £1,538.

Of the total money collected less than a sixth actually found its way to relief supplies!

## It's a fair cop

Or how I learned to drop my racial prejudice and love the police.

ladder which reaches up to the seventh floor of an office block, but the twist is that it turns out

that the gang who did the rob-

bery are really goodies. They just want to smash The Organiza-

tion, which seems to have a monopoly on drug smuggling and peddling in San Francisco.

IT IS a fair guess that most people will say that 'The Organization' is a pretty good, taut thriller. As the filmtrade papers say, the business prediction is good in all areas. The film is exciting and well acted, it is about crime, and has a lot of violence. It has already taken well over \$2.5m in the United States. It

will make a nice profit, and that is why it was made. It does not hold itself out as having any message, it's there for entertainment — murders and beatings up are fun. But the message is there all right and it is consistently repeated. It is that the honest cop is a good guy, and you should love him, and that everything is for the and that everything is for the best (if you love the cop and believe in law and order) in

that happy multi-racial family called the United States.

The film is about a policeman, and a robbery. He is a character appearing for the third time in recent films, Lieutenant Tibbs, a kind of San Erneigas Divers of kind of San Francisco Dixon of Dock Green. But, since things are more spectacular in the States than here, he gets involved in murder and the theft of \$4m worth of heroin, while Dixon does more mundane things, like chiding errant cyclists with defective rear lights.

#### Moral

Mind you, the moral is the same in both cases. Love your local policeman, even if he is a negro, like Tibbs. Not that the makes any overt point about him being a negro. It just shows him as being an ideal midshows him as being an ideal mid-dle class American, with a lovely wife, lovely children, lovely house, lovely car. You could almost smell his after shave, he is so acceptable. As good as white. We seemed to be intended to think he was a good man because he was in the man because he was in the police, and that the police force must be good, because he

The film, as I say, is also about a robbery. A subject that has fascinated film financiers, film makers, and apparently film fans since movies began. Films compete with each other to come up with the most exciting, intricate and ingenious robberies, and the audience apparently watch with admiration. And make no mistake, admiration for a tough job well done is what is intended. Capitalism is about the acquisition of capital.

Not many people who have to live under it have the chance of doing that. The requirements of censorship may demand that the screen robbers get caught or killed in the end, but the acquisition of a great deal of capital in a very short time is something intended to be admired. Just as honest businessmen should be admired for growing rich on the labour of others. The particular robbery here involves an enormous mechanical crane with an extending

The gang
They are an everyday lot of people, the gang, conveniently cosmopolitan in origin. There is a minister of religion (I hear they are all at it now), a law student, a champion girl athlete of Chinese origin, and so on. The kind of crowd you are likely to meet in any liberal American

thriller nowadays.

They need Tibbs' help, but are suspicious that the police do not want to catch the men at the top. This breath of corruption is too much for Tibbs, who is a man of honour, and he punches the man who suggests it. I guess Tibbs had missed the televised hearings of the commission into the New York police. Things are sorted out. Reason and good fellowship prevail. The gang and

Tibbs work together.

They have a formidable opponent in The Organization, however, which runs a group of sadistic killers as ever-present around town as parking meter attendants. The gang, being amateurs, and less vicious, suffer badly. The girl is tortured and killed (see—it really is an evening's funl), one of the men

is badly injured. Only the police is badly injured. Only the police can help them. That is what the film keeps telling us. You cannot manage without the police, and they, like God, are on your side. A view, it has to be said, which ignores the role of the police as one of the repressive agencies of the State.

#### **Business**

Still, we pricked up our ears at the mention of corruption in the force. Even poor Tibbs gets a bit concerned when one of the officers in the Narcotics Squad commits suicide. For a minute (but only a minute), it looked as if the film might be getting courageous. False alarm! It turns out that the officer had incurable leukaemia.

The Organization itself shown as working under the cover of very big business in very big office blocks, but the makers of the film make it very clear by implication that they intend no offence to big business. They certainly do not go into any discussion of robbery as a product of the competitive, pro-fit-seeking, inequitable society created by capitalism, either. Nor do they consider big business as being a product of the same

thing.

The film is gratuitously violent. The violence is part of the entertainment, and will probably help to sell the film. Mind you, well created as it is with Technicolor blood, it can't compare with what the forces of 'law and order' are doing in Ireland, or what the 'allies' are doing in Vietnam. They are really big productions — but how can you compete with budgets like that?

### BEN JONES



# Stalemate

American state of Panama over the canal which crosses its territory are entering a difficult

a quarter of its revenue-was seized by the US in 1903 when a révolution was organized to separate Panama from Colombia. Negotiations have been going on since 1967 for a revision of the treaty and the US has been using every form of pressure to get favourable terms.

At present there appears to be stalemate, with the US still having effective military control and drawing big fees from the

As the present canal is too narrow for use by big tankers and other ships the US wants to build a new sea-level canal, a draft plan for such a canal was presented to President Nixon last year.

It would cost at least \$2,800m. The US will stop at nothing to force its will on Panama, which has a population of less than 1½ million.

11.00 Scotsport. 11:30 Skating. 11.45 Late call. 11.50 Wrestl-

HARLECH: 10.20 For schools. 3.50 Katie Stewart cooks. 4.15 Tinkertainment. cooks. 4.15 Inkertainment.
4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London.
6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report
Wales. 6.30 Smith Family.
7.00 London. 8.00 Cade's
country. 9.00 London. 10.30
Wrestling. 11.00 Skating.
11.45 Weather.

HTV West as above except: 6.01-6.30 Report West.

HTV Wales as above except: 3.50-4.15 Hamdden. 6.01-6.15 Y Dydd.

HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV

GRAMPIAN: 11.00 For schools. 3.38 News. 3.40 Smith family. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Tuktu. 4.55 London. 6.00 Grampian news. 6.10 Grampian week. 6.35 London. 8.00 Department S. 8.55 Police news. 9.00 London. 10.30 Wrestling. 11.00 Skating. 11.45 Music of the high-landers. 12.00 Evening prayers.

6.35 London. 8.00 Strange report. 9.00 London. 10.30 Wrestling. 11.00 Skating.

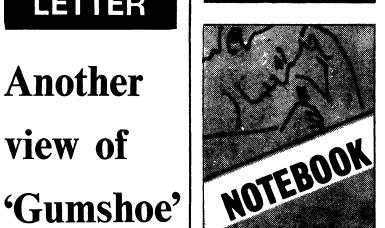
GRANADA: 10.18 Out of school. 3.40 Yoga. 4.05 News. Here's Lucy. 4.35 Rupert Bear. 4.55 London. 6.00 Newsday what's on? 6.25 Peyton place. 7.00 London. 8.00 Cade's country. 9.00 London. 10.30 Wrestling. 11.00 Skating. 11.40 What the papers say. papers say.

Ernest Broughton

YORKSHIRE: 10.20 For schools. 2.33 World in action. 3.00 Pied pipers. 3.05 House and garden. 3.35 Calendar news. 3.45 Women today. 4.15 Crossroads. 4.40 Rupert Bear. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 10.30 Wrestling. 11.00 Skating. 11.40 Weather.

CHANNEL: 10.20 Schools. 1.40 Schools. 4.05 Paulus. 4.20 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.25 Tea break. 4.55 London. 6.00 Channel news, weather. 6.10 Towards the year 2000. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Treasure hunt. 7.30 Coronation street. 8.00 Hawaii five-o. 9.00 London. 10.30 Weather. 10.32 Wrestling. 11.00 Skating. 11.40 Epilogue, news, weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun. 4.20 News. 6.00 Diary. 11.35 News. 11.38 Faith for life. 11.43 Weather.



### **Dashing off** to Eton

IT HAD to happen. Jack Dash—the man they couldn't gag—is off tub thumping again. The venue this time? Why, Eton, of course. Eton is the spawning ground of more upper class Tory twits than any other institution in the

What is Dash, a Communist Party member, doing there?

He told the 'Daily Express'. (Yes, he talks to the Beaverbrook press!): 'Although my own education was different from Eton, I am not nervous about speaking there.

'In my time I'm sure I have andled much tougher audi-

The invitation to Dash was extended by the Keynes Society. Which is appropriate enough; after all, the British Communist Party has never taken any real objection to the doctrines of Lord Milton Keynes.

The jester who sent the invitation was little Robbie Lyle who is the nephew of millionaire Labourite, Woodrow

#### **Embarrassing** echoes

SELSDON (Working) Man ran into a spot of bother last week. The venue chosen by the engineers'-union executive for a three-day private meeting is described in its publicity as '500 feet up on the Surrey hills'.

It also turned out to be just two minutes from the nearest Woolworth's, and within bussing distance of New Addington, which is one of the largest working-class housing estates in the country and has an un-employment rate twice the

Union chiefs who on arrival still imagined they could escape the echoes of the class struggle by removing themselves to the Selsdon Park Hotel were in for some further shocks.

The staff of this historic pile part of the present building dates back to the 15th century)
—apparently used to more refined company—insisted in referring to them as 'Who? Oh, Hugh Scanlon's crowd!'

What's more, there were all those embarrassing reminders of the famous Tory council of war there in January 1970. Some of those attending said the place was chosen so Hugh Scanlon could practise his golf.

#### Mr Cadbury's dream house

PETER CADBURY, controversial head of Westward Television, is something of a big-spender.

He already has some pretty conspicuous acquisitions: oceangoing yachts, thoroughbred racehorses, private helicopters and a pair of his-and-hers Rolls Royces. Now he has bought a 1,500-acre plot on the Berkshire countryside where he plans to build 'dream house'.

'What I plan is a modest Georgian house with four bedrooms,' he said. 'Nothing lavish.' (!)

### Where will

Jenkins be?

ROY JENKINS continues his manoeuvres around the Common Market issue.

It was Jenkins and his rightwing followers who enabled the Tories to win their majority on the EEC vote in the House of

Commons last October 28. The next crucial vote comes on January 20.

But—surprise, surprise—Jen-kins won't be at Westminster. He has suddenly taken a

No one can recall Jenkins

deep interest in the affairs of Bangla Desh and will be visiting Dacca on the day of the vote on the fishing limits.

expressing much interest in the Bangla Desh struggle until now.

#### 'Bernard Rivers-Moore then BBC 1

9.15 For Schools. 10.45 Boomph with Becker. 11.05 For Schools. 12.25 Nai Zindagi Naya Jeevan. 12.55 Disc a Dawn. 1.30 Chigley. 1.45 News, weather. 2.05 For Schools. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 The Tinderbox. 5.20 Soper at Large. 5.44 Magic

Roundabout. 5.50 News, weather.
6.00 NATIONWIDE.
6.50 TOM AND JERRY.
7.00 OWEN MD.

STAR TREK. SOFTLY, SOFTLY: TASK FORCE.

9.00 NEWS, weather. 9.20 SPORTSNIGHT WITH COLEMAN.

11.25 Weather.

**BBC 2** 11.00 Play School. 6.35 Open University.

MAN IN HIS PLACE. 7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather,

TIMES REMEMBERED: Professor Hyman Levy.

Part 1: Childhood.

8.10 MAN ALIVE. Could Do Better—1, Dyslexic Children.

9.00 LOOK STRANGER. Forestry in the Cotswolds.

9.20 'I WAS HAPPY HERE'. Film starring Sarah Miles, Cyril 10.50 NEWS, Weather. 10.55 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

ITV

10.20 For Schools. 2.32 Garden Indoors. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.10 Tea Break. 3.40 Edgar Wallace. 4.40 Paulus. 4.55 Get This! 5.20 Tottering Towers. 5.50 News. 6.00 TODAY.

6.35 CROSSROADS.

7.00 THIS IS YOUR LIFE. 7.30 CORONATION STREET.

THE SAINT. FAMILY AT WAR.

TREASURES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.
EUROPEAN FIGURE SKATING CHAMPIONSHIPS.
PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING.

12.10 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY. 12.25 THE GEORDIE BIBLE.

Paul Connett, a leading figure in Operation Omega. His wife Ellen was arrested by the Pakistan army when she illegally entered Bangla Desh 'to distribute saris to the

# on the canal

NEGOTIATIONS between the United States and the central

The canal zone running through Panama and providing

After a long history of disputes there was a popular uprising in 1964 which led to open

confrontation with US troops. A compromise was arranged which gave Panama some rights of sovereignty over the zone, but the US continued to have bases and to enjoy a privileged posi-

BBC 1: 8.10 Softly, Softly: Task Force.

### REGIONAL ITV

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Mrs. Muir. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 Skippy. 5.20 Tottering towers. 5.50 News. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 10.30 Wrestling. 11.00 Ice skating.

SOUTHERN: 3.35 Horoscope.

3.40 Tea break. 4.10 House-party. 4.23 Cartoon. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Get this!

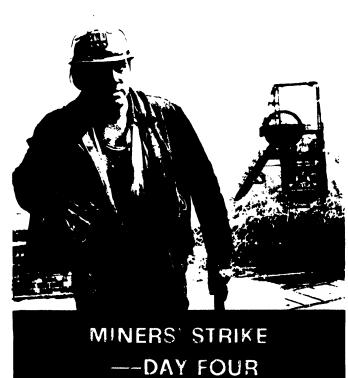
News. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 8.00 Jason King. 9.00 London. 10.30 Wrestling.

11.00 Skating. 11.45 South news. 11.55 Weather. ANGLIA: 3.55 Newsroom. 4.00 Romper room. 4.25 Tea break. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 Tottering towers. 5.50 News. 9.00 London. 12.10 Music.

SCOTTISH: 10.20 Schools. 1.40 Schools. 3.30 Winter of

enchantment. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Dateline: early. 4.55 Get this. 5.20 Tottering towers. 5.50 News. 6.00 Dateline: Wednesday. 6.20 Popeye. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 8.00 Department S. 9.00 London. 10.30 McQueen.

**ULSTER: 10.20 Schools. 1.40** Schools. 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 UTV reports. 6.15 What's on.



### 'It's now or never'

CHARLIE THOMPSON (55) works at S Kirkby colliery and has been in the industry since 1930. He is chairman of the housing committee on the Labour - controlled Hemsworth Urban District Council, Yorkshire.

He started down the mines at the age of 14, working a three-day week for 2s 11d per

Shifts lasted from 6 a.m. to 1.30 p.m.—seven-an-a-half hours for less than three bob. 'I remember my first week,' he says. 'I took a short cut home across a field and found the farmer and a policeman waiting for me. I finished up in court and got fined 10s. 'That was my first wage

gone and more. **MEANS TEST** 

'That seems funny now, but there wasn't much to laugh at in those days. 'My wages went up as I got older, but my father was an

unemployed miner on the means test. Every time I got a rise, he got a corresponding

'The boss was right on top when I started. 'He was king in the pit and king in the mining village; he controlled men's lives.

'We worked under the contract-wage system, which put man against man. We had the butty system, with one man paying out 20 or 30 men under him. The men never knew what he got: the less he could get the men to work for the more there was for

district

Nationalization smashed all

that, Charlie says. But he points out that the Tories are now trying to put management as existed then. What's involved here is more

Covers up

tiations through district committees and shop stewards with individual

employers on the under-

acceptable to district com-mittees and the members

in the Stalinist strategy of

atomizing the working class

and opening the door to

wage-cutting by the em-

Workers Press condemns this

policy unequivocally.
The engineers' wage claim

must be seen as an integral

part of the general political struggle to defeat the

Tories and elect a Labour government which will nationalize the engineering

industry under workers' control and without com-

We urge all engineers to oppose this retreat and

begin the construction of a

new leadership based on

the policies outlined in the

draft manifesto of the All Trades Unions Alliance.

**LATENEWS** 

concerned.'

plovers.

pensation.

• FROM PAGE ONE

Charlie Thompson has been involved in many strikes, but the one he remembers best lasted only one day.

'It was in the early years of the war, at Monckton No 3

'I was a pit-pony driver and we were provided with oil lamps as the only means of lighting. We would go in front of a pony pulling four or five tubs containing 10 cwt of coal

'Those lights were always going out.

'If you were on an up incline you shouted "Whoa"! and the pony usually stopped. But if you were on a down incline you were literally running in front of the pony and that load on roadways much worse than anything today.

'There used to be a channel about four feet deep between the lines that the tubs ran on and the pony ran down that with us in front.

'If the light went out, you were suddenly plunged into pitch darkness. All you could do was jump over and lie down on the side and hope the lot went past you.

'So we asked for electric lamps, but we never got them till we went on strike. We got them after one day.'

Charlie is convinced the present strike is just and

'There are men coming home from a week's work on the pit top with £14 or £15 after stoppages. And remember it's still dangerous, unhealthy and hard in this industry. When I'm on the day shift, I have to get out of bed at

'The claim is just and should go for the lot. 'But I'll tell you this, if we don't get the support of other workers, we stand a good

chance of losing. 'This is it for the miners: it's now or never.

### Miners' wives YORKSHIRE stand firm with strike

MAUREEN CARR YORKSHIRE miners' wives are deterhas been married to an underground worker at Wheldale colliery for nearly 13 years. She and her husband Geoff, a member of the pit's strike children, three girls and two boys.

'It's no use me saying he shouldn't go down the pit. 'If Geoff thinks it's right to strike for more money I'll support him. In any case, we can't survive on £23 a week. 'We've got five children and the money is just not enough, what with the cost of living. now have to pay 30p a lb

**FOOD** 'I've £1.75 to pay for school

dinners. Then there is £3.50 rent. I can't really afford the kids' dinners.

'There is just nothing left of the wages before we start:

milk, insurance, food, rent and school dinners—it's all gone by Friday. I need to spend £10 on food alone. And that's basic stuff, not things like bacon and meat.
'I don't think it should just be a miners' strike. It should

be for everybody, to bring down the cost of living and give us a chance to live,' said

'For my money, it wants a General Strike to put the country back on its feet. The working class should stand together-I've always thought

'Anyone who knows anything knows this is a political 'The Labour Party should be backing the miners and Harold Wilson should have

stepped in, but he hasn't.' **CRUCIFY** 

Maureen warned that the Tories would now try and put the public against the miners. They did it to the power men and the postmen, and they'll do it with us,' she told 'Already they're rationing coal although they say they've

plenty left. 'If we go under here they'll put the working class back 50 years; they'll crucify the working man. The whole country has to stand behind

the miners.

'If the miners stand alone we'll lose. As it is they've got no leadership—the men know that.'

Maureen thought the Tories could be brought down, but was concerned that the leaders of the Labour Party wouldn't do much for the miners if they got back in.

"What they should do is fetch us out of the Common Market, bring down the cost of living, make full employment and put value back into every pound. But will they do it? I don't know.

'But you can tell everyone from me that the miners wives are behind their husbands, make no mistake about it. We've got to be.'

### Saigon pulls its troops out

standing that settlement may be concluded on all OR PART of the claim which is SOUTH VIETNAM has withdrawn its troops from a joint anti-communist operation with Cambodian This represents the ultimate forces in E Cambodia.

> The shock move, reflecting Saigon's fears for its own territory in the face of a determined National Libera-Front offensive, sent thousands of refugees scurrying towards the S Vietnamese

> The decision to withdraw from the joint operation in the Krek region of E Cambodia was another blow to the shaky alliance between Cambodia and its neighbour. Well-informed sources in Svey Ring, the chief border province town, said Cambodian commanders had been given no advance warning of the S Vietnamese move. Military observers said the 4,000 S Vietnamese soldiers had probably gone to rein-

during the Lunar New Year (Tet) when the NLF usually steps up its offensive.

The S Vietnamese advanced

into Cambodia two months

against NLF sanctuaries.
Their offensive aroused hostility in Cambodia and drew frequent reports of looting and atrocities in the press. The operation failed in its announced objectives.

Cambodian commanders in Svey Ring said the sanctuaries had hardly been damaged and the S Vietnamese were apparently preoccupied with keeping the NLF away from their own border.

Another South Vietnamese operation against the Chup rubber plantation—one of the piggest NLF strongholds—also

fizzled out.
This left Saigon troops active in only one area of Cambodia, guarding Route One running between Phnom Penh and Saigon.

All Regions as BBC-1 except: **NEWS DESK** Wales: 4.55-5.15 Cadi Ha. Vales: 4.55-5.15 Cadi Ha. 5.15-5.20 Adventures of Parsley. 6.00-6.50 Wales Today: News, weather, Nation wide. 6.50-7.10 Heddiw. 7.10-7.40 Tresarn. 7.40-8.10 Ryan and Ronnie. 01-720 2000 **CIRCULATION** 01-622 7029

Scotland: 10.20-10.25 Schools. 10.25-10.40 Around Scotland. 2.25-2.30 Schools. 2.30-2.50 Modern Studies. 6.00-6.50 Reporting Scotland: News Nationwide 11.27 Late Call.

land: News, Nationwide. 11.27 News, weather.

Ireland: 10.25-10.45 Schools. 6.00-6.50 Scene Around Six: News, weather, Nationwide. 11.27 News,

weather.
England: 6.00-6.50 Nationwide: Look North, Mid-lands Today, Look East, Points West, South Today, Spotlight South West. Weather. 11.27 Weather.

WEATHER DEPRESSION off NW All districts will have showers

more frequent in the W. Eastern and central parts of England will have clear or sunny intervals, especially at first and in the evening, but elsewhere it will be mostly

The showers will be prolonged at first over N Scotland and also in N Ireland, Wales and SW England later in the day in the day.

It will be mild in all areas.

Outlook for Thursday and Friday: Continuing generally mild and cloudy with showers or longer periods of rain.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.
Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4

gutter press divide them from their husbands' strike. There are inspired rumours of a so-

mined not to let the Tories and their

called sex strike in Wakefield, but an investigation revealed that all they consist of is an anonymous letter in committee, have five the Tory-owned 'Yorkshire Post'.

Usual newspaper practice is that all

They must

win out'

MARRIED for 12 years,

Pat Lavery now has two

young children. She felt

very strongly about the

Her husband is a leading member of the Wheldale

strike committee.
'I think this strike should

have been started years ago,'

this day and age like we are.
'You can only just get a living wage if you live at the

pit, working seven days a week. When you've children

your husband has to live down there.

'For us to have a holiday,

Brian has to work seven days a week: one week on days, another on afternoons and the

RENT UP

On a five-day week her husband brought home £20 a

week. If he worked the whole

working some double shifts,'

'Our rent is going up another £1. At the moment we pay £3.35 a week.
'The strike is entirely justified.

Strike to get the government

out. All workers have to come out and support the

miners and have a proper General Strike and not give

There should be a General

'But that would mean his

week it might come to £30.

third on nights.'

We shouldn't be living in

miners' rights.

Pat said.

letters have to be signed. Miners are rightly asking exactly who wrote the letter; they seem to recall a similar one during last year's strike.

In Castleford — in many ways the centre of militancy in Yorkshire-PHILIP WADE spoke to two miners' wives whose husbands are deeply involved in the strike.

Maureen and Geoff Carr with their two children.



soaped by the union leaders who will try and sell it out. The leaders have to do this, because if the miners win it will damage the Tories and they can't let that happen.'

What should a Labour government do if they come

'They should give us what we want—but will they?' asked Pat. 'Harold Wilson is also good at soft-soaping. 'Miners should get more believe for the believe for holidays, fewer hours, higher wages and better safety

Then, with great feeling, Pat told us how she really hated the pits and the way in way at all.
'Miners must not be soft-

which they dominated the lives of the families who worked in them 'I don't think men should

go down a pit and work. They should be employed elsewhere. It's degrading. 'We're supposed to be progressing, yet men are still going down there when machines could do the work. 'It's a terrible life for a miner's wife, really. I'm in a rut and I've no money to do

anything else.
'I like photography but it's too expensive. And natural things like going to the hairdresser and buying clothes I can only do if Brian lives at

the pit. Even then I do things by myself. 'All factories should be run

by workers and not by businessmen, and workers 'There should be no such thing as workers. We should all be one class of people.'

How will the strike go? 'If miners win their wage increase everyone else will win theirs. But the only way

they'll win is by kicking the Tories out. 'It doesn't bother me how long they stop out. I shall manage—as long as they win.'

### Union chiefs' retreat weakens fight for jobs

BY ALEX MITCHELL

THE BIG jobs 'shakeout' in industry promoted by the Heath cent. government has axed almost half a million iobs in the past year.

The worst-hit sectors are engineering, where 96,000 men have lost their jobs,

and textiles (where sackings have reached 52,000). The so-called 'shake-out'

forms a central part of the Tories' policy of creating mass unemployment as a weapon against the working In speeches throughout the

general election and after, Heath stressed that he wanted to take the 'flabbiness' out of British industry. He was NOT, however, referring to the opulent boardrooms with their leather-

upholstered chairs, oak tables and whisky-cabinets.

Heath campaigned through
the Confederation of British Industry to get industrialists to shed labour as a means of intimidating the working

Meanwhile he set about, for example, his Common Market policy and introduc-tion of the hated Industrial Relations Act. Now figures just released by

the Department of Employ-ment show the extent of Heath's 'policy on jobs'. In the past year, more than 450,000 jobs have been lost in manufacturing indus-

● Total employment—varying around the 8.7 million mark in the 1960s—is now below 8.3 million.

What is important to understand is that the jobs losses are not simply a seasonal symptom; the experts say that most of the jobs have gone permanently.

### 'Recognize' union' -CIR report

THE Commission on Industrial Relations yesterday published its first report since becoming a statutory body under the Industrial Relations Act.
The report recommends that

the engineers' union be given full recognition for the manual workers at the Gloucestershire metal-refining plant of Engelhard Industries. The CIR is to work as a tool of the new Industrial Relations Court established by

In reporting the devastating THE TORY jobs 'shake-out', or how almost 500,000 loss of jobs, 'The Times' says: 'Individual industries have been reducing their manpower requirements at an annual rate of just over 5 per

'Labour-shedding has been widely spread, yielding important gains in productivity

One of the hardest-hit industries is engineering, where 96,000 jobs (8 per cent) were cut last year. Steel jobs are also under

fire, with three more closures announced by the British Steel Corporation: NEWPORT Tube Works in Monmouthshire, Wales, 1,120 jobs will be lost by

the closure of the works; APPLEBY-Frodingham works, Scunthorpe, with the sacking of 270;

COOKLEY rolling mills, Brierley Hill, Staffordshire, which now employs 170. During the present financial year, which began in April 1971, the BSC's closure programme has affected 50 plants. And a total of 19,000 men

been thrown out of Of this total, some 13,000 of the cuts are permanent, while the other 6,000 are claimed to have been laid off because of the recession in the steel trade.

Since the industry was nationalized four years ago, 31,000 jobs have been slashed the new board led by Labour - appointee Lord

jobs were axed in the year ending October 1971.

INDUSTRY	FORCE	JOBS CUT	FAL
Food, drink, tobacco	834,300	32,300	3.7
Chemicals & allied	455,700	16,500	3.5
Metal manufacturing	547,500	45,100	7.6
Mechanical engineering	1,104,400	96,100	8.0
Instrument engineering	148,000	7.100	3.8
Electrical engineering	855,800	46,900	5.2
Vehicles	793,000	40,700	4.5
Textiles	601,000	52,600	8.0
Clothing	468,900	6.000	1.3
Building materials	320,200	16,000	4.7
Paper, publishing	620,200	29,700	4.6
Construction	1,242,400	53,000	4.3
Public utilities & mining	715,100	17,100	2.3

Melchett is the former Julian Edward Alfred Mond, and his family hold the largest private stake in Imperial nemical Industries, Britain's

fourth largest company.
What has been the trade response to massive attacks on their jobs? Monday's decision by the national committee of the Amalgamated Union of En-

gineering Workers gives a clear indication. The policymaking committee decided to abandon the national pay claim. Instead, the union will now negotiate at plant and district committee level. This abdication of a fight against the Tories and their pay 'norm' shows up the trade union bureaucracy in all its cowardice.

#### Triumph men back strike

CAR WORKERS at Triumph's Liverpool plants yesterday voted to back the strike there by 350 bodysection men.

The body section stopped work last Thursday in protest against the dismissal of two men for refusing to obey a foreman's order involving transfer of work.

A shop steward told the meeting management had refused to reverse the sackings and claimed the company was trying to introduce a new form of authority for foremen. Because of the dispute, Triumph has laid off 2,100 men at its two Liverpool plants and 1,260 at Coventry. The Liverpool men meet again tomorrow.

### Take-over plan at tools

BY AN INDUSTRIAL REPORTER

WORKERS at the Alfred Herbert machine-tool subsidiary near Manchester are considering a plan to stage an occupation if management goes ahead

with its closure. About 1,100 men will be thrown out of work by the proposed close-down of Churchill Machine Tools at Broadheath, Altrincham. Churchill is a member of the giant Alfred Herbert com-

bine, the largest tool-making

group in Europe. Its esti-

mated losses during the past vear are £2m due to a chronic decline in orders. Figures released by the Department of Trade and Industry last month show that new orders for the first nine months of 1971 were 43 per

cent below those for the same period in 1970. Relations Court established by the Act. It can impose compulsory procedure agreements.

A spokesman for the Churchill company said that the Altrincham plant would

close by the end of this year—as 'a further development in the rationalization of the group'. Since the beginning of last

force by 3,000 men. The Altrincham factory makes two types of grinding machine used by steel mills and paper manufacturers. Its annual sales are worth £5m.

year, the Herbert group has slashed its 11,000-strong work

The statement said the company intends transferring the location of the Churchill plant to Coventry in the Midlands.

#### LESS JOBS

Mr H. N. Raine, the managing director, said Altrincham employees would be offered alternative jobs in Coventry, but he admitted that the relocation would lessen the number of jobs available.

The chairman, Sir Richard Young, was even more frank. He declared that further redundancies in the group were on the cards as part of the policy to 'streamline

### plant

Sir Richard's own over-heads are thought to be untouched by these plans. He lives in a luxurious manor house at Stratford-on-Avon and combines his chairmanship of Herbert's with well-paid directorships of Rugby Portland Cement Co, Ingersoll Milling Machine Co USA) and the Commonwealth Finance Development Corpor-

Shop stewards at Altrincham have given a warning that they will oppose the closure 'by every political and industrial means'.

ation.

Already there is agreement among the work force that they will not co-operate with the running down of the factory and the transfer of

machinery.
Full consideration will also be given to a possible occupation to prevent the removal the machinery valued at hundreds of thousands pounds.

# Mujib begins his diplomacy

BY A FOREIGN CORRESPONDENT

SHEIKH MUIIBUR RAHMAN'S tearful but triumphant return to Dacca after 9½ months' imprisonment is over, but the awful legacy of British and Pakistani rule remains.

The Sheikh, representing the stunted capitalist class of E Bengal and balancing between the insurgent Bengali masses and imperialism, is well aware of

He used every rhetorical device to conceal the bank-ruptcy of the Awami League from the cheering millions who welcomed him at the To the workers and peasants

he said: 'Socialism, democracy and secularism will be the national policy of Bangla

But since there is no pro-vision in the Awami League programme for the nationalization of land and annul-ment of rural debt the peasants will believe this piece of demagogy when the see it.

#### **GIVEN HELP**

To the imperialists he said that Bangla Desh should be recognized, given 'human-itarian help' and a seat in the United Nations. But the imperialists are

waiting to see what kind of home and foreign policy the sheikh will adopt before they give him their recognition. Diplomatic recognition will obviously be used as a condition for pressurizing Bangla Desh not to expropriate foreign capital.

Knowing the Sheikh's anticommunist proclivities there seems little basis for the imperialists to suffer any qualms on this account. To the Pakistanis he warned

that his country would have no links with W Pakistan and hat those guilty of genocide would be tried under 'international supervision'. He accused Yahya Khan of massacring 3 million Bengalis and of denuding the national

exchequer but concluded: Even then I do not harbour

any hatred against you.

The Sheikh's words can only mean that he recognizes the need for solidarity with Bhutto against the developing mass movement in W Pakistan as well as in Bangla Desh.

On the vexed question of Indian troops the Awami League leader remained equivocal: They will be withdrawn the day we want it. I had discussions with Indian Prime

Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi. I know her. I have high regard Conscious of the explosive situation in the rural areas, where the defeat of Khan's army has roused the peasantry to take up arms against the system of usury and landlord-ism, the Sheikh values the Indian presence as the most powerful guarantee of the

decrepit capitalist system. At the same time the Sheikh will, no doubt, try to use the mass movement as a counterweight to prevent the Indian army from annexing

the territory.
1972 could well prove to be an even more decisive year for the Bengali people than 1971.

### Leeds police inquiry starts

TWO POLICE chiefs yester-day began a special inspection into the Leeds City police

Sir John McKay, the Chief Inspector of Constabulary, and Mr James Starritt, Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, travelled to Leeds to prepare for the investigation which will last

about a month.

In the past few years 12 Leeds officers have been convicted of various offences and pressure for an inquiry into the city's force has built up steadily.

workers press

#### READERS' MEETINGS

Meet Editorial Board speakers. Discuss your ideas for the expanded

**LEICESTER** 

Wednesday January 12 Queen's Hotel

Speaker:

NEWCASTLE Thursday January 13 7.30 p.m. 'Bayhorse', Westgate Rd

Speaker:

Alex Mitchell

**Quarry Hill Flats** Speaker: Stephen Johns SHEFFIELD Sunday January 16 7.30 p.m.

Sunday January 16

Western Works, Portobello Speaker: Stephen Johns **GLASGOW** Monday January 17 7.30 pm

Room 1

Partick Burgh

Lesser Hall

(Nr Merkland St Tube Stn.)

Speaker:

Stephen Johns

N LONDON: Thursday January 13, 8pm. Town Hall, Edmonton. Miners'

SE LONDON: Thursday

January 13, 8pm. Deptford Engineers' Club (opposite New Cross Station). Support

pay struggle.

the miners.

**YS Premises** 

#### ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE **MEETINGS**

Make the Tory government resign! Hallows Hall, Devons Rd, Poplar. Support the

DAGENHAM: Wednesday January 12, 8 p.m. Room 11, East Ham Town Hall. The struggle for socialism in Bangla Desh.

LUTON: Thursday January

ment pledged to restore full employment and repeal all

laws against the unions!

13, 8pm. Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Rd. Support CORBY: Wednesday January 19, 8pm. Civic Centre. The 'Right-to-Work'

campaign. E LONDON: Tuesday January 11, 8pm. All SW LONDON: Tuesday January 18, 8pm. Small Hall, Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4. 'Right-to-Work' campaign.

CROYDON: Thursday January 20, 8pm. Ruskin House, Coombe Rd, E Croydon. Support the

Socialist Labour League Special course of lectures

In line with decision of ATUA November 6 conference to build revolutionary party.

> **TUESDAY JANUARY 18 Essential Marxism**

**TUESDAY JANUARY 25 Economics and Politics** 

**TUESDAY FEBRUARY 1** Historical Materialism today Lecture Room 1 Digbeth Hall, Digbeth BIRMINGHAM, 8 p.m.

given by G. HEALY (SLL national secretary)