

## YET ANOTHER UNION RETREAT NUM FALLS IN WITH TORY TUC PAY PLAN

President Joe Gormley



BY DAVID MAUDE

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Senior Tory Ministers—in Blackpool for their Party conference—had cause for celebration. They have already reacted with pleasure to the TUC General Council's proposals for an 'alternative' to premier Heath's £2 limit on pay rises and will see yesterday's move as further confirmation that union chiefs are toeing their line.

At its annual conference in July, the NUM set its sights on rises of £5.50 to £7 and a shorter working week. The union also decided to ask the National Coal Board for changes in existing differentials.

Earlier this month union secretary Lawrence Daly said that the Heath plan would not affect union pay negotiators' recommendation to yesterday's executive meeting.

And as executive members dispersed yesterday morning, president Joe Gormley insisted that the government plan had not entered into their considerations. But he added: 'I have no doubt that the talks with the TUC and the government are bound to colour people's minds at the end of the exercise.'

Gormley claimed that the reason for delaying detailed formulation and presentation of the claim was lack of information. The executive had to take into account all the resolutions passed at the conference, he said. It might well have to have a composite claim covering all the issues raised in July.

This would be decided at next month's executive meeting, and negotiations with the NCB would start in December.

Gormley was asked about a pledge given last month to Industry Minister Tom Boardman, that in the event of disagreement full consideration would be given to the use of arbitration 'so as to avoid industrial action if possible'.

He complained that it was difficult to persuade his union members to trust arbitration when both the government and the TUC were introducing figures into the discussion.

Arbitration, of which Gormley is a keen advocate, is another key element in the Tories' state pay plan. Already the government industrial workers' claim has been sent there as part of the backstage deal between Heath and the TUC at Chequers.

The miners' present pay deal with the Coal Board does not expire until February, enabling the right wing of the union executive to argue that there is no rush to submit their claim.

But the Wilberforce report which formed the basis of the last deal specified that pay negotiations could be put back to their traditional time of November if either party wished.

And with at least 2 million workers in the pay queue alongside the miners, power men and government industrial workers, yesterday's decision was clearly a key one for the Tory campaign.

Yet Gormley was able to announce after the meeting that the decision to defer the claim has been unanimous. In other words, it had been supported not only by the right wing but also by the Communist Party faction on the executive.

With the Tories and their friends in Europe stepping up pressure daily for a fully-fledged system of state regulation of wages, this is an abandonment of the CP miners' leaders responsibility to the working class as a whole.

Whatever the technical arguments brought forward by the right wing, the predominant question for every trade unionist

today must be the need to fight the Tory state pay plan.

Figures for the last quarter show that the annual rate of price increases is now 7 per cent. The Tories' phoney call for retail price increases to be limited to 5 per cent cannot contain this basic movement.

And whatever the union leaders agree behind the scenes with the Tories cannot contain the movement of the working class to defend its rapidly-eroding standard of living.

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Yesterday Communist Party members on the NUM executive, strengthened the hand of the right wing in this betrayal.



### Depot threat

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● See page 12.

### Rolls men to strike over delay

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The strike will involve about 250 foremen and 50 service engineers. Their protest has received support from the 1,000 indirect workers at the plant who have given 14 days strike notice.

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This was the second highest 'visible' deficit since the £222m of August 1970—also caused by a dock strike. Imports were at a peak; they totalled a colossal £968m as against exports of £832m, the highest ever.



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# workers press

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The International Commission in US War Crimes, sitting in Copenhagen, claims that Haiphong and Nam Dinh have been largely destroyed by bombing like that seen right. 'The aim seems to have been the total destruction of all forms of life and buildings in these towns,' it says.

## Arrest of Basque part of Europe's repression

THE FRENCH police have arrested 22-year-old Basque, Michel Euba as part of a campaign to implement Minister of the Interior, Marcellin's decree outlawing the Basque separatist movement in France.

A policeman claims that he saw two Basques who had been expelled from France in Euba's car on Sunday.

Under the decree, the leaders of the dissolved organization have a month to wind up their affairs. Anyone who is under the slightest suspicion of helping Basques can, like Euba, be committed to jail on the flimsiest of evidence.

Any newspaper which publishes the communiqués of the Basque separatist movement or gives the latter any favourable publicity will be prosecuted by the police.

The legal formulas used by the government are the same as those with which the French government illegalized socialist organizations after the May-June events in 1968.

This sinister co-operation between Franco and Pompidou is part of the net of repression against left-wing opposition being spread throughout the Common Market which German Social Democrat Willy Brandt is favouring in his crackdown on the organizations of Arab immigrants.

Prime mover of the anti-communist repression in Spain, Blas Pinar, member of Franco's Council of Ministers, told a rally of 1,200 blue-shirted fascists in Madrid on Monday that separatists threatened the unity of Spain. Those governments which gave Basques political asylum should hand them over at once to the Spanish authorities.

Pinar is also behind the present purge in the Spanish universities. The Ministry of Education's refusal to renew the contracts of eight teachers in Valencia University led to the resignation on Tuesday of the university rector, two vice-rectors and five deans. The list of those to be dismissed in Madrid University—said to include 50 to 100 teachers has not yet been disclosed.

Fascist officials in both Madrid and Barcelona have expressed concern that if the universities are opened for the new term they will soon have to be closed because of strikes.

It has just been announced that the first course in the new 'Degree at Home' scheme will start in Barcelona in January.

Government operated, it will be organized through correspondence and will avoid large conglomerations of students.

# Hit on embassy brings indignation Commission reveals US bombing tactics

AS PRESIDENT Nixon's special adviser Henry Kissinger prolonged his talks in Paris with North Vietnamese Politburo member Le Duc Tho, French officials waxed indignant at the US bombing of their Hanoi mission.

A main aim of the North Vietnamese has been to get rid of President Nguyen Van Thieu in the south. The stumbling block to a peace deal seems to be the composition of the government in Saigon. The National Liberation Front has so far refused to join a coalition government.

President Thieu has again expressed his opposition to the three-part government proposed by the NLF. This would consist of the present Saigon regime without Thieu, representatives of the NLF and of a neutral group. Purpose of the government would be to hold elections in the south.

Thieu says he will fight to the end against such a government and is mobilizing his supporters in the capital.

The bombers which hit the French legation in Hanoi were aiming at railway yards only a few miles away. Even 'The Times', not an outspoken critic of US raids in the past when only Vietnamese peasants and workers were killed now heads its editorial 'A Crime and a Blunder'.

It hints that, as the Lavelle case showed, the US military are carrying out unauthorized raids. Official claims that bombing has been confined to military targets is exposed by the International Commission into US War Crimes sitting in Copenhagen.

The report of the Commission's team says that the cities of Haiphong and Nam Dinh have been largely destroyed while some other towns have been razed to the ground.

It adds: 'The aim seems to have been the total destruction of all forms of life and building in these towns. No regard seems to have been paid to the lives of civilians, or to the protection of hospitals or places of religious worship. It was simply indiscriminate mass bombing to kill and destroy.'

Or as a US air force general once put it in a franker moment: 'We will bomb them back to the stone age.'

The Commission also reported that dykes and dams had been deliberately bombed and that there had been large-scale use of perforating and fragmentation anti-personnel bombs over the north.

Former US Attorney-General Ramsey Clark, who was one of the team which visited the north, said he saw many victims of these bombs which had plastic casing which could not be detected by X-ray when they entered the body.

'The movement of the body will cause it to cut and cause pain, but a doctor will have great difficulty in finding it,' he said.

The Commission is holding further hearings in Copenhagen this week and further revela-



Henry Kissinger

tions after the style of the 'Pentagon Papers' have been promised by Anthony Russo, jointly charged with Daniel Ellsberg in connection with the leaking of these documents to the press.

A French engineer, Daniel Mandelbaum, visited dykes and sluices in the Red River delta in August and reported that they had been bombed in a deliberate and specific manner.

The US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations staff has produced a report which shows that bombing has been of no effect in wringing concessions from North Vietnam.

Nor has it prevented Hanoi from meeting the needs of the forces in the south, it reported.

'Compared to the damage to US prestige and the internal division created by the bombing policy, its meagre gains must be seriously questioned.'

## Tighter laws in Yugoslavia

THE YUGOSLAV government is to introduce urgent changes in justice administration following complaints from Communist Party officials that some criminal law regulations seemed to have been drafted by people 'drunk from democracy'.

A newly-formed government group will draw up the changes by the end of the month, according to an official statement reported by the news agency Tanjug. The changes will be aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of judicial organs in carrying out their tasks, the statement said.

The new group will review the application so far as the criminal code, the code of criminal procedure, the code of economic violations and the code of petty offences are concerned.

Party officials have said that legislation has been compiled too much on western lines. The work of judicial cadres has been described in certain instances as 'totally formalistic'.

The Tito bureaucracy wants to strengthen its hand against both left and right. It is staging a series of trials of Croat nationalists and has also imprisoned a number of left-wing opponents and critics, including three Belgrade students accused of 'Trotskyism'.

Three prominent Croat intellectuals were imprisoned on Wednesday for 'espionage and criminal acts against the people and state'.

They were said to have collaborated with extreme right-wing émigré organizations. Dragutin Scukanek, described as an old-age pensioner, was given four years' jail for espionage.

The trial also opened on Wednesday of Professor Miljenko Foretic, editor of the now defunct magazine 'Dubrovnik'. He is charged with issuing hostile propaganda, publishing articles of a nationalist, separatist and counter-revolutionary nature and organizing lectures and debates with nationalist speakers.

# Strongman takes office in Malagasy

GENERAL Gabriel Ramanantsoa, the new strongman ruler of the island republic of Malagasy in the Indian Ocean, took office yesterday for a five-year term following the resignation of president Philibert Tsiranana.

Tsiranana resigned after a referendum had given a 96 per cent vote to the general, who was

appointed premier at the end of May after widespread riots and demonstrations against Tsiranana's rule.

The outgoing president used to be known as 'Mr 100 per cent' because he always got at least 99 per cent of the votes at elections. His electoral prowess appears to have deserted him entirely since the May days.

Tsiranana had gone through the motions of opposing Ramanantsoa's request for absolute

powers on the grounds that a vote for the general would mean five years of military dictatorship.

This is what it does mean. The new dictator will undoubtedly continue the existing policy of rapprochement with South Africa and extreme anti-communism, though he may well make some gestures towards the popular feeling that ties with France are too close.

However, the basic problems which sparked the mass demon-

strations in May remain: over 450,000 youth are unemployed on an island of 6½ million people; prices of the country's staple products are falling and the average family income is at starvation level.

Ramanantsoa no doubt hopes that five years of military rule will enable him to crush the militancy that emerged in May. But his honeymoon with the people of Malagasy is likely to be brief.

## The battle of the estates

# Councillors leave door open for retreat, but Camden is London's sole rent rebel

BY PHILIP WADE

CAMDEN'S LABOUR-CONTROLLED council in north London will continue to refuse to implement the Tory 'fair rents' Act—at least for the time being. But Salford Labourites in the north-west have capitulated and will now put up the rents. The decision by Camden—which leaves them the only Labour council in the whole of London still resisting the Act—became clear in the early hours of yesterday morning at the end of the October council meeting.

## ...and Salford caves in

JUST a few hours before the Camden decision, the only major defiant council left in the north-west, Salford, reversed policy and capitulated to the Tory government by 27 votes to 20.

All 35 Labour members had been given a free vote and the implementation decision was only carried because a number of Labourites voted with the Tories.

Now that the original pledge to oppose the Act has fallen, 16,000 Salford tenants will face rent increases of £1.08 from mid-November under the Tories' plans.

Labour group leader Leslie Hough said afterwards:

'There will be no recriminations against any member, however he or she voted. The decision on this was taken at a meeting prior to the city council.'

This apology for the right wing will not help the tenants in the least. And now only Eccles in the whole greater Manchester area remains determined to fight the Tory attack on housing.

## Change of flag—but the same plastic spoons

AT 9 a.m. last Monday workers at the Lucas factory at Fazakerley in Liverpool began their sit-in strike against the threatened closure of their factory.

At about the same time at CAV's plant at Acton, West London there was a comically different activity going on.

The Red Flag of the People's Republic of China was flying over the building. No, Reg Birch and the Maoists were not engaged in sympathy action. It was to mark the official visit of a Chinese trade delegation.

The visitors were given full honours: red sugar bowls and red plastic spoons for their cups. Leading shop stewards met them and shook hands. There was talk of a £1m order for diesel fuel equipment. Not to be outdone by this the Soviet Union is sending its delegation today.

By today, of course, the Chinese red flag with golden stars will be stowed away and the Russian version, with hammer and sickle, will be brought out of mothballs.

With this generous hospitality to the 'red peril' the right-wing elements in the factory are being driven to distraction!

Despite long negotiations with the Tories over small concessions in the Act, the major policy committee had carefully phrased their report to the council meeting.

Led by committee chairman Peter Best, they said they could make no recommendation at all to councillors. This frustrated Tory attempts to move an amendment calling for implementation.

All the Tories could do was move a reference back which failed 27 to 15 with five Labour abstentions. The council's August decision not to implement (carried 30 to 26) remained Camden official policy.

Because a straight vote was avoided, the Tories accused the Labourites of being afraid, just in case the pro-implementers and abstainers carried the day on the Act. There probably was some measure of truth in that.

Now at the end of the second week of the 'fair rents' Act, Camden has lost £26,000 in potential increased rents. At a rate of £13,000 a week it is a mighty sum for which the 30 non-implementers can eventually be surcharged. But the Labour group is leaving its escape route free.

'If we had implemented the Act it would have destroyed what the government is trying to persuade the TUC to do—fight inflation,' said Cllr Philip Turner weakly.

Cllr Brian Loughran welcomed the 'changes brought in by the government' 85p increases instead of £1 and rebate allowances of up to £10 instead of £8.

As far as he was concerned, and Loughran leads the non-implementers, the 'time to reconsider' implementation was when the 'Minister agrees to cut the principle of the Act' in relation to the criteria for 'fair rents'.

But the calculation of council rents on a market basis, as if they were private tenancies, is the central point of the Act. It must be obvious to all Camden councillors that the Tories will never—and indeed, cannot—destroy the whole basis of their legislation.

It was hard to see what Cllr Loughran was getting at.

To defeat the Act requires the defeat and resignation of the Tories and he mentioned nothing about that.

Only one councillor, Paddy O'Connor, made a firm stand: 'This is a class attack by the Tories,' he said. 'They have only one idea and that is to screw more rent from the working class.'

'To hell with the concessions! I'm not interested in whether the rent is 85p or 100p. Whatever the government does, we will not accept a vote for implementation.'

Camden tenants are already finding it impossible to pay existing rent—rent arrears now amount to a staggering £426,000, or over 8 per cent of all potential revenue.

## The Act is law, says Kaufman: We can't risk our livelihoods

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

MANCHESTER Labour MP Gerald Kaufman has pledged he will personally stand by any tenant facing eviction. The member for Ardwick gave this pledge to tenants after being repeatedly asked what kind of help the Labour Party was prepared to give to families facing eviction because of the rent strike.

Kaufman—who was given the Ardwick seat after serving as Harold Wilson's press secretary at 10 Downing St between 1964 and 1970—said: 'I will be at the House of Commons, but if I hear of any eviction I will come down and they will have to evict me as well.'

But Kaufman and the two local councillors on the platform at a Labour Party public meeting on Wednesday night made it clear that this was the only kind of help they could expect from the Labour Party.

The MP refused to say whether Manchester

Labour councillors had been right to implement the Housing Finance Act against the mandate from Manchester Labour Party.

'What is absolutely sure is that whether the councillors implemented it or not, the tenants would have to pay it,' said Kaufman.

At this point he was drowned out by cries of 'rent strike' and 'get Heath out'. He continued above the din: 'Nothing that you say can change the fact that the Act is law.'

Eventually Kaufman got down to the real reason for Labour's collapse. One could not expect, he argued, councillors to risk their livelihoods and careers by breaking the law.

As for himself: 'My burden finished the day the Queen put her name to this Act. That day my responsibility to you as an MP ended. I

am not going to ask councillors to carry a burden I don't carry,' he said.

The two local councillors, Anthony Goldstone and Hugh Barratt, put up a performance typical of Manchester's Labour group.

A row developed when they were asked why they had both refused to speak at tenants' meetings.

At first they said insufficient notice had been given. Then when documentary evidence was produced proving this was untrue, they changed their excuses to the pressure of other engagements, holidays or an unwillingness to attend meetings where 'outside influences' were present.

Kaufman ended the meeting with an appeal for tenants to re-elect a Labour government.

One man asked how an early election could be forced on the Tories. 'I honestly do not know,' he said.



Tenants lobby Camden council meeting on Wednesday which went on until the early hours.

## How Labour has betrayed us

A LIVERPOOL tenants' leader has accused the Labour Party of a conspiracy to smash resistance by tenants against the Tory rent increases.

Mike McGurgan (46), chairman of the Liverpool north-west Amalgamated Tenants' Association and leader of the resistance in Bootle, says Labour councillors, MPs and the national executive of the Party all pledged to resist the Act, knowing full well that they would eventually implement it.

'Their main concern was the elections coming up under the new local government structure. They wanted to get in once more and protect their careers. Councillors will be paid under the new regulations, don't forget', he said.

He claims that the Labour Party made a pretence of resis-

### By a long-time rents campaigner

tance to maintain support from tenants and then abandoned them at the last minute.

To support his argument he points to the collapse in Bootle. 'The council decided to implement the Act on August 23. On August 24, 11,000 tenants in Bootle were told about the increase and were threatened with notices to quit if they did not pay.

'In all, five forms were sent out that day and they were all printed by local firms. It is obvious to my mind that this could not have been done unless there had been prior collusion between the Labour group and the housing department.

'These kind of blows were dealt to tenants all over the country. If councillors had gone round and told tenants they were sticking to their pledge the resistance would have been 90 per cent amongst tenants.

'As it is, I believe the movement has been dealt a crippling blow.

'If you look at the campaign nationally you had Labour councillors saying they would defy the Act, knowing full well the implications of such a stand. The collapse was very sudden. It would be inept if we did not suspect a deliberate strategy by the Labour Party NEC.'

Mr McGurgan, who lives on an estate on the outskirts of Bootle, is a veteran tenants' campaigner.

'I have been on platforms with people like Frank Allaun in the early days of the struggle and he promised a campaign of civil disobedience against the Act.

'Last week we had the spectacle of Mr Allaun lending his stamp of respectability to the big collapse and saying they could not help councillors in trouble.

'It is my opinion that the real campaign should be directed to clearing these people out of the Labour Party.

'It was the Labour Party anyway which put the seeds of the Housing Finance Act into the minds of the Tories. The Francis Report on housing talked about subsidizing people and not bricks and mortar. This was set up by Labour and it became the essence of the Tory Act.

'There is a section of the Labour Party—the grass roots—that should be preserved. These people are the cream. All the rest are completely corrupt. We need a completely new leadership.'

Mr McGurgan said that the tenants' movement should be involved in politics.

'It is impossible to avoid this. After experiencing what has happened in the Labour Party we should be in there kicking these people.'



# THE JAY LOVESTONE STORY

From Stalinism . . . to the CIA. By Charles Parkins. Part Six

## THE PROTEGE IS PURGED

When Jay Lovestone headed a three-man delegation to Moscow in 1929 to discuss the deepening split inside the American Communist Party, the 'American Commission' of the Communist International denounced him more openly than before as a 'rightist'.

It accused him of adopting a factional attitude not only towards his Party opponents, but towards the Comintern Executive. His removal from Party leadership was clearly coming. The delegation drafted a cable to trusted lieutenants back in the USA. The instruction was to complete preparations for the transfer of Party premises and other property to their supporters and to take charge of all mailing lists.

On May 17, 1929, the Comintern Political Secretariat decided to remove Lovestone, Gitlow and Wolfe from all leading positions in the American Party, to purge the Political Committee and to warn Lovestone that it would be a breach of discipline for him to attempt to leave Russia.

On May 20, following disclosures by Walter Duranty in the 'New York Times', the 'Daily Worker' published the Comintern's Address to the American Party and the decision of the Party's Central Committee to endorse it. Two days later, the 'Daily Worker' began publishing telegrams repudiating Lovestone and company and pledging support for the Comintern.

The first to come in were from four district organizers formerly identified with Lovestone and Gitlow. In the following weeks, there was a steady stream of such messages.

In Moscow, Gitlow was offered a job with the GPU. Welsh, another member of the American delegation was offered a holiday in the Crimea, followed by an extended stay in the Soviet Union to lecture on American Negro problems. Wolfe was offered a long rest at Sochi, the Black Sea resort, or a job for the Comintern in Korea, or work for the GPU.

But the Americans did not want to remain in the Soviet Union, within reach of Stalin. Eventually they managed to get permission to leave, one at a time, Lovestone finally obtaining permission to return to America for two weeks for personal affairs.

His old supporters in the American Party were deserting him, the instructions on transferring property had been ignored, and on June 4, the new Stalinist leadership sent a cable to Moscow disclosing his attempts to prepare a split and asking that his return to America be delayed.

On June 11, 1929, Lovestone took a plane for Danzig, without telling the Comintern, and made his way back to America. His expulsion was announced in the 'Daily Worker' on June 27.

As a last gesture, Lovestone,



Above: a group of the Minneapolis Defendants, revolutionists who were imprisoned during the Second World War. Seated centre is James Cannon who fought alongside Trotsky for the formation of 'a new party and a new international'. Cannon challenged Lovestone to a debate over this question, while Lovestone still claimed that unity with the Stalinists was possible.

Gitlow and Wolfe sent an 'Appeal to the Comintern' asking it to re-examine the situation in the American Party. They were told the appeal would be heard provided Lovestone returned to Moscow. Otherwise his expulsion was final. He never returned.

In November 1929, Lovestone entered on a new phase of his career. With the first issue of a paper called 'Revolutionary Age', he and the supporters he had managed to retain launched themselves as a centrist movement in the American labour movement. They formed—with just 200 members—the 'Communist Party (Majority) group, later adopting the name Communist Party of the USA (Opposition) and then, as they moved closer to social democracy, the name Independent Labour League of America.

## RESPECT

Despite the conditions of his removal from the CP and the Comintern, the 'little' bureaucrat Lovestone continued to show respect for the big bureaucrats in Moscow.

On March 5, 1934, some five years after his expulsion, and nearly a year after the tragedy brought by Stalinism to the German working class, Lovestone still spoke of 'unity' with the Stalinists.

The American Trotskyists had decided to challenge Lovestone to a public debate on that day. James Cannon made his theme 'For a new party and a new international'. Lovestone counterposed the programme 'Reform and Unify the Communist International'.

All that was needed to erase the record of Stalin's criminal policies was for the Comintern to accept Lovestone back into the fold!

Actually, it can be said that Lovestone's prolonged fawning before Stalinism at this time was not despite the conditions of his split but because of them. He had never really made a principled break with Stalinism. He had helped it develop and had gone along with it as long as he could. All that he required, in effect, was that in return for his uncritical support for Stalin's policies in the Soviet Union, he should be supported and given a free hand in the USA.

During the 1930s, Lovestone continued to insist, in opposition to the Trotskyists, that while the Comintern's international policies might be wrong, there was nothing wrong with Stalin's internal policies or with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We have said that Lovestone's support for 'socialism in one country' was the opposite of proletarian internationalism. It went hand in hand with his opportunist development in America, towards 'American Exceptionalism'. It was along this line of continuity that, having been ousted from the Comintern, the Lovestoneites were to become aligned in the later 1930s with the centrist parties affiliated to the London Bureau (like the SAP in Germany and the ILP in Britain), and were strenuously opposed, like these centrist parties, to the call for the formation of a new revolutionary International, the Fourth International.

They denounced this formation of an International 'from above'—because, of course, it would mean, 'above' Lovestone, Brockway, etc. They insisted on their 'independence' to pursue their own national brands of opportunism.

The centrist groupings could never really develop as an alternative leadership in the labour movement. For all their pose of 'independence', they continued in the long run to be subservient fellow-travellers of one or other of the main bureaucracies—social democratic, Stalinist, syndicalist, Stalinist, syndicalist. Lovestone ended up attached to a section of the trade union bureaucracy in the United States.

In 1937, he joined the staff of David Dubinsky, right-wing reformist leader of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union. It was as the protégé of Dubinsky that Lovestone, together with some of his followers, began to rise in the union bureaucracy.

The old-time union leaders needed some bright fellows with political ideas, because the American worker, under the impact of the 1930s, the slump, the international crisis, the rise of the CIO etc., was becoming political. They needed fellows who could fight communism. Who better than the old 'City College boys', the Lovestoneites who had learnt to fight communism when they were fighting the Left Opposition, had learnt all the bureaucratic tricks in the Stalin school, and besides, had a few scores to settle?

In the United Automobile

Workers, Homer Martin, the then leader, was facing a challenge from a combined opposition of social-democrats, Stalinists, and others, headed by Walter Reuther.

In May 1937, the union magazine attacked 'wildcat' strikes. In June, it began denouncing left-wing factions in the union. The following year, Martin began widespread dismissals of union officers who opposed him. He went on the radio to denounce the Communist Party's activities in the union.

Suspended officials were put on trial by the union in August 1938. At this trial, the defendants replied with the charge that 'the conspiracy that actually existed... was a conspiracy between Homer Martin and an irresponsible, disruptive, political adventurer and meddler, Jay Lovestone'.

In substantiation, they were able to produce correspondence, including a letter from Martin to Lovestone, assuring him that one of his supporters, Irving Brown, would be kept on the union payroll.

In fact, a whole number of Lovestone's supporters were disclosed to be holding posts in the union and undoubtedly the Lovestone forces were advising and influencing Martin.

(The latter eventually ended up, his union career finished, in the pay of the Ford Motor Co.)

Lovestone had clearly entered on the third phase of his political career, after Stalinism and centrism; professional anti-communism. He was on his way to the CIA.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



## ITALY: THE MONOPOLIES AND FASCISM

Regional development was high on the agenda of the recent talks between Edward Heath and the Italian premier Andreotti. The activities of the Italian monopoly Fiat are a good indication of this tendency in Europe which Heath and the Tories find so attractive.

At the beginning of 1969, the head of Fiat, Agnelli, revealed that they intended to invest substantially in the south. This was in line with their plans to intervene in the international market heralded by their agreement with Citroën, the French car manufacturers.

Fiat's turn to the south had much to offer the shareholders. There were healthy government grants for expansion of industry in the poverty-stricken countryside and huge pools of unemployed prepared to work for next to nothing.

### LOW PRICES

The struggle of trade-unionists in Fiat's plants in Rivalta and Mirafiori were another powerful argument for some redistribution of production: their strikes from 1968 have continuously held up and delayed production schedules.

The new factories are being built in towns where there is no industry and they provide work for 20,000 workers. Rather than establish one complex, the factories are spread in many different southern towns.

They are in towns close to railways and the government guarantees low prices to keep down transport costs. Fiat also has the contract for the restructuring of the railways to handle the containerized systems they favour.

Spain is another welcome haven for Fiat investment.

After the healthy profits recorded by the giant Seat plant in Barcelona, which is jointly owned by Fiat and the Spanish government, Agnelli has begun two more ventures in Franco's police state.

Seat and Citroën-Hispania have just signed an agreement for a car-components factory in Vigo in the north of Spain. Factory sales will be aimed as much at the export market as domestic consumption.

However, the big coup was



Top: Police attack workers and students demonstrating against Andreotti's visit to Sesto. Above left: Andreotti. Right: Fascist leader Almirante.

the contract signed on September 8 with Spain's National Rail Company (RENFE) for the design and construction of a new train for the Spanish rail network. Fiat and RENFE will share profits equally for the sale of the train to countries in Latin America which have the same width gauge as Spain.

While this side of Andreotti's Europe must have pleased premier Heath, he must also have been impressed by the firmness of the Italian police and their government against trade unionists.

A few days before Heath's arrival, Minister of the Interior, Rumor addressed a police training school on the war against 'violence and subversion'. He concluded: 'We shall never cease in our duty to pursue with maximum energy and seriousness any use of violence to create uncertainty or a lack of trust in public opinion.'

### PREPARATION

Action followed words. The night after this peroration, Rumor co-ordinated 'an extraordinary operation of control over criminals on all national territory' — almost 300,000 people were searched, 30,000 were fined and 385 arrested.

While Rumor was initiating this enormous police exercise, fascist leader Almirante addressed a school of 300 gunmen and youth in Montesilvano (Pescara) on the necessary preparations for the autumn struggles in the factories and the reopening of schools and universities.

With black-shirt rhetoric, he praised their 'virile appearance' and appealed to 'physical conflict', the 'old national princi-



ples of daring and strength in struggle.

'If the state does not function, then we are the state.'

If Rumor and Almirante can be so arrogant, this is entirely the responsibility of the Italian Communist Party and centrists who are embarking once more this autumn on a round of national one-day strikes. These can only dissipate the unquestionable militancy of the working class.

The fascists greet every appeal of the Stalinists to 'democracy' with daily terrorism against workers.

Recently, Andreotti was invited to Sesto by the CP to present an anti-fascist gold medal. During the presentation, helmeted police and CP stewards joined together against protesting students and workers. After Andreotti had left, fascists blew up the Sesto CP head-quarters.

This was the Stalinists' reward for inviting Andreotti and helping his forces of law and order.

After a week in which the offices of a liberal organization had been dynamited in Catania, in which the left-wing Feltrinelli bookshop was bombed, and the restaurant of a co-operative in Camst in Sicily was destroyed, Giulio Quercini, provincial secretary of the CP, called on the Minister of the Interior 'to operate the anti-fascist constitution'.

Fascist terrorism, law and order, a Communist Party guardian of democracy, exploitation of cheap labour—this is the Common Market which the leadership of the Labour Party refused to reject at their Blackpool conference.

# AMERICA PROVOKES A COFFEE DUMPING WAR

The most devastating effects of the international economic crisis are being felt by the ex-colonial and semi-colonial countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Industrial recession and synthetic substitutes have in many cases cut demand in the metropolitan countries for their staple agricultural and mineral exports and prices have collapsed on the international markets.

This has drastically reduced their reserves of foreign exchange and worsened the crisis caused by heavy 'aid' repayment debts to the main imperialist centres. What has happened is clearly shown by a look at the coffee market.

Coffee is the second largest commodity traded internationally, after petroleum, and it is almost all grown in poor countries: for the large-scale coffee producing countries of Latin America and Africa the crop is a matter of life or death.

Earnings from coffee exports make up more than 40 per cent of the foreign exchange earnings of Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala and Haiti. Other countries which rely heavily on the coffee crop include Angola, Cameroon, Ecuador, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic and Mexico.

Twenty years ago, coffee was selling at 80 cents a pound on international markets and was hailed as the economic salvation of the 'third world'. Now its price is around 45 cents a pound—and the dollar has been devalued.

But lacking the capital to diversify into other forms of industry, the coffee-producing countries are forced to continue their reliance on the beverage. In 1970 they exported a total of \$2,500m-worth in over 57 million 60-kilogramme bags.

For the past ten years the international coffee trade has been controlled by agreement between the producer and consumer countries. They signed an agreement in 1962 after a disastrous slump of over 50 per cent in the world coffee price.

The International Coffee

Agreement, supervised by a new body called the International Coffee Organization, was intended to stabilize the market by a combination of price control and quota-fixing.

The ICO fixes quotas for the 40-odd producer-countries and sets a range within which the prices of various coffee grades should fall. If the price should move out of this range, then the ICO will automatically cut (or increase) the quotas of the countries involved.

In practice the Organization has been dominated by the main coffee-consuming country, the United States, which takes by far the largest slice of world production. The US and the other major consumer countries have always had a vested interest in keeping down prices by setting quotas artificially high.

The ICO 'partnership' between the consumer-countries and the producers has always resembled that between a rider and his horse. The last straw came in December 1971, with the devaluation of the dollar, however.

The US and Canada firmly refused to make any concessions to the coffee-producing countries who saw their tenuous foreign exchange earnings slashed at a stroke of President Nixon's pen.

In a desperate attempt to overcome the crisis, the producer-countries met in Bogota, Colombia, earlier this year and decided to ignore any quota increases dictated by the ICO. They threatened to cut off supplies to consumer-countries which opposed them.

The Bogota meeting had a large element of bluster and bluff. But for a brief period it drove up the coffee price.

Then the US and its allies struck back. At the recent ICO gathering in Geneva, they have refused to accept the producers' demands—and clearly hope that desperation will cause some producers to break the united front.

The US is plainly hoping to provoke a dumping war between the producer-countries, which have no real powers of resistance to the American demands. It has called the producers' bluff and over the coming months the battle could have devastating effects.

## DUTCH OCCUPATION WINS SLIGHT REPRIEVE

The 1,350 workers at the Enka artificial fibres factory in Breda, Holland, have won a temporary reprieve from closure for their factory after an unprecedented two-week factory occupation. In mid-September the management of this multi-national concern announced 6,500 redundancies at five factories throughout Europe, including the complete closure of the Breda works.

Unemployment has been rising steadily in Holland and the workers decided they had no alternative but to occupy the factory. They barricaded the gates, locked out the management and called for

support from the other branches of the Enka empire and the rest of the trade union movement.

Food and bedding were passed over the gates by the men's families and plans were even laid for a helicopter airlift of provisions in case management tried to stop this.

The management, of course, denounced the occupation as illegal, but also revealed very clearly the growing trade war which is the real cause of unemployment.

In a statement to the press the managing director L. H. Meerburg said: 'Since 1966 we have made no mistakes and very little capital investment. It is only the unbridled expansion of other firms that has flooded the market and we are not responsible for that.'

'Unless this problem can be sorted out by a European investment policy, I can see the same thing happening in the polyester-fibre market.'



# THE PRESS VERSUS THE GENERAL STRIKERS

By Leslie Stuart  
**On May 3, 1926, two days before the General Strike began, Winston Churchill, then Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of the most ruthless members of a reactionary Conservative government, met with the members of the Newspapers Proprietors Association.**

They had a proposal to make to him. It was that they considered it 'advisable in the national interest that the government should print daily news bulletins giving essential news', since they themselves were going to be closed down by the striking newspaper workers.

They were willing to help the government to carry out the scheme.

Churchill leapt at the offer and suggested that the proprietors should form a committee to bring out the official Bulletin or Gazette; but there were 'so many shades of opinion' among them that it was decided to hand the business over to the Civil Service and the Stationery Office—thus exposing, incidentally, the old hypocrisy about the independence of the bureaucracy.

The premises of the right-wing 'Morning Post' were requisitioned, scab labour recruited, and on May 5, the first day of the strike, the first issue appeared. It cost 1d and ran to eight issues, usually of four pages.

The first issue carried a two-column article splashed on the front page. Like most of the editorial matter, it bears the marks of Churchill's hand.

'Nearly all the newspapers have been silenced by violent concerted action. And this great nation, on the whole the strongest community which civilization can show, is for the moment reduced in this respect to the level of African natives dependent only on the rumours which are carried from place to place. In a few days, if this were allowed to continue, rumours would poison the air, raise panic and disorder, inflame fears and passions together, and carry us all to depths which no sane man of any party would even care to contemplate.'

'The government has decided not only to use broadcasting for spreading information, but to bring out a paper of their own on a sufficient scale to carry full and timely news to all parts of the country.'

This is Churchill's pompous, inflated style. It shows him at the game he was to pursue all through the strike—the game of making the flesh of the middle-class creep. (It also casts an interesting light on the legend of the BBC's impartiality.)

Meanwhile the General Council of the TUC had its own plans. They were to use the premises of 'The Daily Herald' to publish 'The British Worker'.

The authorities were naturally not so helpful in its case. On the evening of May 5, when the presses were about to run, plain clothes police, led by a police inspector, raided the premises, while a strong force, including mounted police, formed a cordon outside the building to keep sympathetic workers out.

The situation brought General Council members to the spot. Meanwhile Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald got in touch with the government. As a result of this symptomatic piece of class-collaboration, the police were called off and the paper was launched.

There was no scab labour in its case. Printed by members of the printing unions and distributed by members of the distributive section of the Paper Workers' Union, it reached by its last number a circulation of over 700,000 copies.

The first number gave a clear message of what line the TUC intended to pursue.

'Message to All Workers' The General Council of the TUC wishes to emphasize the fact that this is an industrial dispute. It expects every member taking part to be exemplary in his conduct and not to give any opportunity for police interference. The outbreak of any disturbances would be very damaging to the prospects of a successful termination of the dispute.

'The Council asks pickets especially to avoid obstruction and to confine themselves strictly to their legitimate duties.'

The seeds of capitulation were already there. 'The British Worker' ran for eight issues. In not one of them is there any attempt to develop the political consciousness of the workers. There are reports of solidarity of 'a wonderful response to the call', of 'the machine working efficiently'. But what was it working for? Where was the driving belt and the transmission?

## WORKERS GROW MORE DETERMINED

There is never a word about political aims, no attempt to turn the immense response of the organized workers into the overthrow of the Tory government and the setting up of a socialist one. In fact the militancy of the workers was a positive embarrassment to the TUC.

'The workers are growing

more determined as the days pass. They are not "drifting back to work". On the contrary, the trouble is to keep those men at work who have not yet been ordered to strike.'

These reserves were never called out. The TUC was too frightened that it might 'violate law and order'. There was no revolutionary party to give a lead. What the TUC was concerned to organize was something else.

'In all districts where large numbers of workers are idle sports should be organized and entertainments arranged. This will keep a number of people busy and provide amusement for many more.'

Not political agitation, not the attempt to give the proletariat a 'subjective insight into the historical task posed by its objective situation', which Trotsky put forward as the aim of revolutionary activity, but police and the strikers—that is what the TUC wanted.

Meanwhile 'The British Gazette' was going through the face of pretending that the country was faced with Red Revolution. Prime Minister Baldwin wrote in the second issue:

'Constitutional government is being attacked. Stand behind the government, who are doing their part, confident that you will co-operate in the measures they have undertaken to preserve the liberties and privileges of the people of these islands. The laws of England are the people's birthright. You have made parliament their guardian. The General Strike is a challenge to parliament and is the road to anarchy and ruin.'

Not that there was anything to fear from the workers' parliamentary representatives. Witness the parliamentary retort in 'The British Gazette' on May 6.

'The House of Commons met this afternoon as though nothing untoward had happened. There was no excitement, no scene, no passion. Instead there was a wonderful exhibition of calm; confident calm and self-possession.'

'Everybody waited to see how the British House of Commons would comfort itself in an unprecedented situation and they were supplied with a spectacle probably no other parliament in the world could have furnished in similar circumstances. The little jokes were made and the little bursts of laughter came as they come every day in every session. Never was a body of men less "rattled". Never was the House of Commons more dignified or more assuring.'

In other words, although MacDonald might have 'a face of remarkable pallor', he and his colleagues were going to stick to the games of the club while outside the troops and



Top: Herbert Smith, A. J. Cook and W. P. Richardson arriving at Downing St during the strike. Above left: Police versus strikers' football teams. Right: P. M. Baldwin's message.

armoured cars were standing by in Hyde Park—just in case—and while militant workers in one place after another were fined and imprisoned for obstructing the police, for 'booming and insulting' scabs.

But then there was no 'menace to parliament', as Baldwin had alleged. The TUC spelt out to the ruling class how safe they were on May 6 in an editorial in 'The British Worker'. 'Mr Baldwin, who has fol-

## MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER: Constitutional Government is being attacked.

Let all good citizens whose livelihood and labour have thus been put in peril bear with fortitude and patience the hardships with which they have been so suddenly confronted.

Stand behind the Government who are doing their part

confident that you will co-operate in the measures they have undertaken to preserve the liberties and privileges of the people of these islands.

The Laws of England are the People's birthright.

The laws are in your keeping. You have made Parliament their guardian. The General Strike is a challenge to Parliament and is the road to anarchy and ruin.

STANLEY BALDWIN.

lowed from the beginning the dispute between the miners and the mineowners, is aware that it has been an industrial dispute throughout.

'No political issue has ever been mentioned or thought of

in connection with it. It began over wages and conditions; it has never been concerned with anything else . . . The General Strike is not a "menace to parliament". No attack is being made on constitutional government. We beg Mr Baldwin to believe that.'

To read these words is to have proof of the total bankruptcy of reformism. The payoff came on May 13 when 'The British Worker' in a banner headline announced: 'Great Strike Terminated: Trades Union Union Congress Satisfied That Mines Will Now Get a Fair Deal'.

The miners fought on alone until November and then had to accept defeat. The greatest mass action by the working class this century was smashed.

No Marxist can consider the reformist trade union leaders as even potentially a revolutionary force. What was decisive in the defeat of the General Strike was the inability of the young Communist Party of Great Britain to break with reformism and construct a genuinely alternative leadership. This meant that throughout the strike the CP's main demand was 'All power to the

General Council'.

Under Stalin's direction Soviet trade unions participated with the 'lefts' on the Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee which became a cover for the General Council's sell-out. Far from learning from the inequalities and treacheries of reformism, the Communist Party has misled generations of workers on this malignancy in the workers' movement.

## GATHERING IN STRENGTH

Less than a month after the collapse of the strike, Stalin said: 'It should be said that the CPGB is one of the best sections of the Communist International. It should be mentioned that throughout the General Strike in Britain its attitude was absolutely correct.'

For the cynics, for the impressionists, for the middle class, the 1926 General Strike marks a finite point in the struggle of the working class

against the ruling class. 'You see,' they say, 'it can't be done.'

Only the Trotskyist movement has completely analysed the General Strike, drawn the political and historical lessons and engaged in the fight to build the alternative revolutionary leadership in the workers' movement to carry forward the struggle to build socialism.

That is what makes Trotsky's book, 'Where Is Britain Going?', such a powerful and incisive polemic. In it he actually forecast the advent of the 1926 General Strike and went on to describe the rapidly-developing historical forces which would be the forging mill of the British revolution.

Britain's 'next 1926' will be a vastly different event. Capitalism is now riven with deeper contradictions. Britain, once the financial and industrial power house of the capitalist world, is the poor man of the party. It has lost its empire and with it the supremacy of its currency.

On the other hand, the working class has been gathering in strength. Better wages

and conditions have been won in struggle—in the course of which trade unions have been strengthened.

Marxists are not surprised to note that the bankrupt trade union leaders are rushing to the door of No 10 Downing Street before the struggles begin in earnest. Unlike 1926, today's union bureaucrats are brazenly capitulating in advance of the fight.

Only a few weeks ago at the TUC Congress at Brighton, George Smith of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians, returned to the ancient theme of his predecessors to warn members not to regard themselves as an alternative government. Stay away from politics, Smith was saying. It could have been Citrine himself!

Today's trade union leaders are prepared to come to a deal for state control over wages with the Tory government and over the anti-union Industrial Relations Act. But the working class isn't. And that's what we base our struggle on—the Marxist understanding of the revolutionary potential of the working class.



'Parliamentary reform' and the working class, by Jane Brown

# HOW THE WORKERS WON THE VOTE

## PART TWO

In 'Where is Britain Going?' Trotsky flays the ideological backwardness of the British labour leaders. By the 1920s it constituted the most effective barrier to the development of revolutionary consciousness in the working class, and thus to the overthrow of the decaying capitalist system.

In particular, Ramsay MacDonald and company had thoroughly absorbed the bourgeois interpretation of British history as one of progressive evolution, distinguished from that of other countries by its 'gradualness'.

In point of fact, Britain was no more immune to revolution, and the effects of revolutions elsewhere, than any other country. European revolutions of the 19th century profoundly affected the policies of British governments. And, as Trotsky acidly points out, the MacDonald who 'repudiates force' would scarce have become the first Labour Prime Minister in 1924 had it not been for the Russian Revolution!

But it is necessary to go further back into the past. 'In the final reckoning all the contemporary history of Britain developed from the revolution of the 17th century.' This is profoundly true of the history of the workers' fight for the parliamentary vote. For the English Revolution, by destroying royal absolutism in Britain, opened the way for middle-class commercial and industrial expansion, the great Industrial Revolution of the late 18th and early 19th century and the emergence of the modern working class.

The restoration of the monarchy in 1660, after the death of Cromwell, did not in any way dilute the importance of the social and political gains of the Revolution—as James II found to his cost in 1688, when his attempt to restore monarchical power led to his enforced abdication.

For all Cromwell's disrespectful treatment of his own parliaments when they jibbed at accepting his dictatorial proposals, he had established once and for all the principle of representative government and opened the door for the later development of democracy.

Democratic elements emerged, much to Cromwell's mistrust, among his own most fervent supporters. The doctrines of the 'Levellers' penetrated so far into the ranks of the New Model Army that he was obliged to debate the merits of their manifesto, 'The Agreement of the People', at meetings in Putney Church in November 1647. Thomas Rainsborough expressed the Levellers' beliefs as follows:

'I think the poorest He that is in England hath a life to live, as the greatest He; and therefore truly, sir, I think it's clear that that every man that is to live under a government ought first by his own consent to put himself under that government; and I do think that the poorest man in England is not all bound in a strict sense to that government that he hath not had a voice to put himself under...'

Though such doctrines were merely a logical extension of Cromwell's own Puritan faith in each man's direct responsibility to God, and although the Levellers protested that they were not 'communists' (unlike the small sect of 'Diggers' whose support was not great enough to worry Cromwell), he rejected 'The Agreement of the People', and later forcibly suppressed its followers.

Its suffrage proposals would tend towards 'anarchy'. They would undermine the discipline of army officers. Still more dangerously, there was the possibility that (as General Ireton put it): 'The poor would attack the wealthy', and all property rights would be undermined. This plain speaking on both sides in 1647 illustrates with exceptional clarity the obstacles which later 'parliamentary reformers' were to encounter.

It is not until 1760 that the demands for changes in the composition of parliament and the electorate again become prominent.

It is no coincidence that this date marks approximately the onset of the Industrial Revolution. In the intervening century Whig and Tory parties had emerged, but since both represented an oligarchy of wealth and property, and both wished to maintain the existing 'Constitutional Monarchy', the main political conflicts arose between personal cliques within the two parties rather than over questions of principle.

## BUYING THE ELECTORATE

Elections were infrequent and unexciting. For although the franchise (i.e. those allowed to vote) varied, it was in most cases limited enough to allow one of the great Whig or Tory candidates to 'buy up' the electorate and in the process 'buy off' all but the richest and most determined of opponents.

The Hanoverian kings, George I and George II, increasingly delegated their responsibilities to a chief or Prime Minister, who, of course, would use Crown patronage (in the form of sinecures or simple bribery) to strengthen his own support in parliament.

In the 1760s this state of affairs was abruptly shattered by the cry 'Wilkes and Liberty!'. John Wilkes, son of a wealthy manufacturer, launched a radical magazine, 'North Briton', which in edition Number 45 (1762) had



Above: Cromwell dissolving the Long Parliament in 1653. Despite this treatment of his own parliaments, Cromwell had established once and for all the principle of representative government.

the temerity to criticize George III's new choice of Prime Minister and openly attacked the terms on which he had concluded a recent war against France.

These 'terms' had included the handing back of several French colonies which might have been profitably exploited by families such as Wilkes' own. But by concealing this clear financial self-interest with veiled criticisms of the method in which the King had installed his new Minister, and of the rampant corruption within parliament generally, Wilkes was able to win a huge amount of popular support.

On the one hand he could appeal back to the traditions of 1688, against 'extension of the royal prerogative' and for 'representative government'. On the other hand, his case won the sympathy of traders whose pockets were affected by the war settlement. And, probably to his own surprise, Wilkes' arrest and trial for publishing 'Number 45' sent a wave of anger through the voteless mass of common people, who as yet had no other clear cause on which to focus their many grievances.

The 1762 trial resulted in Wilkes' expulsion from parliament. But after a period abroad as an outlaw, he returned to Britain determined to regain his position as a Member of Parliament.

Middlesex was a constituency with a comparatively large number of voters (40 shilling freeholders) and was near enough to London to attract the attention of the city's poorer inhabitants. When Wilkes got himself elected without opposition as MP for Middlesex, only to be immediately imprisoned, London workers demonstrated around his prison. Eleven 'rioters' were shot dead. Meanwhile parliament was persuaded by the King into expelling Wilkes from his new seat.

In 1769, while still in prison, Wilkes twice got himself re-elected, only to be ejected again. These expulsions provided him with a platform for statements of radical political principles which resounded through England:

'If ministers can once usurp the power of declaring who shall not be your representative, the next step is very easy and will follow speedily. It is that of telling you whom you shall send to parliament, and then the boasted constitution of England will be entirely torn up by the roots...'

At the next Middlesex election, the government succeeded in declaring their candidate elected (he received 296 votes, to Wilkes' 1,143 votes). Parliament was immediately inundated with petitions on every matter of poli-

tical reform, from extension of the franchise to abolition of bribery and permission for free public assemblies to be held. 60,000 signatures were collected in the provinces. In London, merchant seamen and silk weavers went on strike and a large body of coal-heavers marched on Westminster.

Wilkes founded a 'Society of the Supporters of the Bill of Rights' but, alarmed at the momentum of the protests he had been able to rouse, did little to extend its influence after his release from prison in 1770.

After a brief skirmish over newspaper reporting of parliamentary debates in 1771, he found himself a comfortable job as an alderman, and later Lord Mayor of the City of London. From this privileged bureaucratic position, he called in troops to deal with the 'Gordon riots' of 1780. Wilkes' later career is comparable to that of some of those men whom the mass reform movement of 1832 was to raise to power.

Yet Wilkes' personal loss of popularity was immaterial. The social forces which had made him famous continued to gather momentum and to seek a political outlet through the reform of parliament.

At this stage only the 'new rich', making fortunes from commerce and improved methods in agriculture and industry, had the funds and organization to put forward a clear programme.

The demands of the Association Movement (founded by Yorkshire gentry and freeholders in 1779) meant little to the urban poor whose support Wilkes had courted. They were a non-party movement. They wanted some extension of the franchise, but more than anything else they were concerned with limiting electoral and parliamentary corruption.

'The restoration of national morals' (Wyvill) was a far cry from 'Wilkes and Liberty!' The moderation of this movement's aims is proved by the fact that in 1782 Burke, later a bitter opponent of the French Revolution, sponsored a successful Act reducing the amount of money spent on pensions and sinecures.

When Pitt the Younger became Prime Minister in 1783, he too toyed with parliamentary reform, as a vote-catching method. His proposal for a £1m government fund to 'buy up' and redistribute 72 MPs to areas where new centres of population were springing up was defeated by a mere 20 votes. But ten years later, the same Prime Minister led Britain into a 21-year war against the governments of the French Revolution.

The French King's summoning of his parliament in 1789 was welcomed by most British MPs. For a brief spell they anticipated the emergence of a 'constitutional monarchy' which might prove a useful ally.

The 'reformers', such as the Whig Fox, were ecstatic; the latter hailed the storming of the Bastille as 'the greatest event and the best' in the history of the world! The Revolution did indeed give immense impetus to governmental reform in the long run. But after the execution of the French King and the 'Reign of Terror', the British reform movement was forcibly suppressed for three decades.

## POLITICAL REFORM

The Revolution tore down the barriers not merely of monarchical despotism, but of religion and 'private property' as well. The British bourgeoisie took fright.

Tom Paine's 'The Rights of Man' was said to have sold 200,000 copies in its English edition (1791). Literate artisans began to form societies to discuss political reform as a means to social reform (e.g. the London Corresponding Society, 1792), and even to exchange correspondence with revolutionary Jacobean clubs in Paris. After Britain's declaration of war in 1793, such activities were not merely subversive, but reasonable.

French connivance in Wolfe Tone's Irish rebellion of 1798 confirmed the government's worst fears on this score. There followed the notorious Combination Acts of 1799, which instantly illegalized every kind of political discussion group or trade union, revolutionary or otherwise. Within parliament, 'reform' became a dead issue.

Meanwhile, however, the war gave immense impetus to the mechanization of industry, the building of factories, the herding of workers from small villages into large towns.

The industrial proletariat was in the making. No amount of repressive legislation could prevent the accelerating consciousness of oppression amongst that class, deprived of all security and rights.

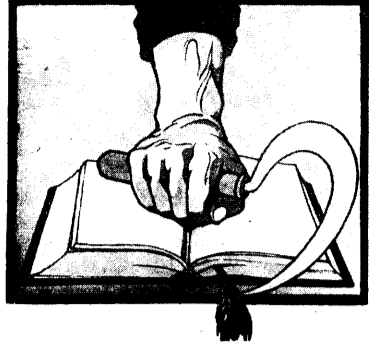
Nor could it erase the advice of Daniel Eaton, in the popular paper defiantly entitled 'Hog's Wash', 1793:

'Be ye therefore unceasingly employed in endeavouring to procure a fair and equal representation, in parliaments of a proper duration. When that is obtained your other grievances may soon be expected to cease...'

CONTINUED TOMORROW



## BOOK REVIEW



'L'insurrection des Asturies'. By Manuel Grossi. Published 1972 by EDI. First published by 'La Batalla', 1935, Barcelona.

## THE INSURRECTION IN ASTURIAS OCTOBER 1934

By Juan Garcia

Thirty-eight years ago, from October 4 to 18, 1934, civil war raged in the mining valleys and province of Asturias, in northern Spain. It raged because the Asturian miners saw the participation of Gil Robles' CEDA party in the Republican government as a step towards fascism.

Robles was a Catholic lawyer who spent the first two years of the Republic—set up in 1931—establishing the CEDA as a national party, with the emphasis on his fascist shock force—the Youth for Popular Action (JAP).

Manuel Grossi's account written in prison after the insurrection, is a grim warning to those who worship the spontaneous working-class movement against capital.

Grossi was a member of Maurin's Worker and Peasant Bloc (BOC) and later of the Marxist Party of Workers' Unity (POUM), which was the product of the fusion of the BOC with the group of 'socialist' Andrés Nin.

No one could be better qualified to narrate the events which gave birth to the United Workers' Front and Committees of Working-Class Alliance of the type idealized by the French revisionists of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste.

The Asturias insurrection was a foretaste of the 1936-1938 Spanish civil war—it followed on militant strikes and uprisings in Catalonia in 1932-1933.

All these experiences showed that without the conscious intervention of Marxists the working class learns nothing politically, however militant and radical its actions might be.

The day-by-day account by Grossi reflects the immediate problems in the Asturias, the organization of the insurrection, committees of production, militias . . . through the prism of romantic rhetoric:

'Nine o'clock at night. The news of the CEDA into the government is confirmed. Everybody is very agitated. We are close to battle. The red army is almost ready. The clock of revolution cannot wait anymore.'

Immediately the local committee of the Workers' Alliance, an amalgam of social-democrats and anarchists, gave the signal for the uprising. The Communist Party abandoned the final shreds of ultra-leftism and joined the movement.



Groups of Republican soldiers stand gossiping in the streets of Oviedo, surrounded by the bodies of the workers they have slaughtered.

Grossi set up a revolutionary committee in Mieres comprising two socialists, two anarchists, two Communist Party members. The programme was unity in struggle and it did not seem to matter to the BOC that this was a committee dominated entirely by opportunists.

The militia from Mieres entered the first battle in Manzaneda. From Manzaneda to Oviedo where the workers were 'passive': which was irksome for the romantics who hoped they would conform to some ideal revolutionary state of mind.

However, the insurrection stumbled on. The munitions factories in Trubia and Mieres worked night and day to provide material for the red army fighting on several fronts against government assault guards and troops. Thousands of workers and youth volunteered to join the life-and-death struggle against fascism.

It was only on October 8 that the leadership began to think about the key to the success of the movement—its extension throughout Spain.

The body of united opportunists centred its discussion on two possibilities for extending the front of struggle: a march on Madrid and the use of the Oviedo radio station which was under their control.

The march was rejected as an adventure. Incredibly, the use of the radio was as well:

'At this meeting, we had a long debate on the question of the radio. The station in Oviedo had fallen into our hands . . . After a long discussion it was decided not to use it. The decision was based on the following reasoning: if we use the radio, this must be to encourage the workers throughout Spain in struggle, to tell them of the triumph of the revolution.

'The mere fact of knowing that we were victorious could determine the workers in the rest of the peninsula not to give us support.'

Here already were the seeds of defeat: behind the banal verbiage about victory in Asturias lay the fear of mobilizing the working class which would pose the defeat of the Republic and the taking of power by the working class.

Revolutionary rhetoric was strictly for the speeches to the mass meetings of militia men and trade unionists.

The diary of events is a tribute to the heroism of the working class, the tireless production of arms, fighting with dynamite, guerrilla warfare. This activity was matched by a leadership which took pride in its carelessness.

Grossi's method is constantly to idealize this 'self-activity of the masses', as the modern revisionist would call it, in order to avoid drawing conclusions about leadership, a mere organizational addendum to this activity:

'In fact, no serious preparation had been made with a view to preparing revolutionary activity. Everything was more or less improvised during the insurrection.'

The Republican government acted systematically. First, came their planes to bomb the rebels and then the most savage battalions from Morocco, the foreign legion and regular troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Yague and the general guidance of Francisco Franco.

'In the Mieres committee, there was no longer any divergence on this matter. The failure of our insurrection is due to the abstention in the struggle of the proletariat throughout the rest of Spain, to the shameful capitulation of the Generalidad in Catalonia, and to our lack of munitions.'

The leadership of the insurrection soon decided to call for a truce since Asturias had not been followed by the rest of the Spanish working class—and that was the fault of the working class as far as the Workers' Alliance was concerned.

The fighting continued until the 18th. The workers knew what kind of truce the Moroccan detachments were in favour of!

Hundreds of workers were shot or arrested for their part in the insurrection. Grossi concluded from prison as a 'Marxist, a Leninist affiliated to the Peasant and Worker Bloc', that the Spanish working class was to blame, although, in contrast he said:

'Our relations with the Republicans had not been bad at any moment, for despite there being big ideological differences they supported us in a completely disinterested way.'

Two years before Franco's uprising, the Popular Front was already in being as the instrument for containing and defeating the struggle of the working class.

In contrast to the lack of preparation for the revolution, Gil Robles, at the centre of state power, consciously planned the counter-revolution with his generals.

● TOMORROW: Gil Robles autobiography reviewed.

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## WHAT GOES ON

Three members of the Monday Club, the right-wing Tory group, attended a youth meeting of the fascist Italian Social Movement when in Italy recently.

One of those who went was Neil Hamilton (23), until recently vice-chairman of the Federation of Conservative Students. 'We went to find out what went on in Italy,' he said on his return.

Air fares and all expenses were paid for by the MSI. Readers will remember the Monday Club meeting recently for which the National Front provided stewards.

## SNOBPOOL

The most popular working-class resort in Britain has been, almost, since time immemorial, Blackpool. When party conferences started to be held there it was with great irritation that the bureaucrats of both parties travelled there.

They found the boarding houses inadequate, the meals disgusting and the entertainment garish. Now there is a complete change of heart. Blackpool is described as 'quaint', the accommodation is 'so earthy', the fish and chips stands on the promenade are 'divine' and the bingo halls are 'super'.

These snobs can afford to extravagantly praise Blackpool. They spend their holidays in idyllic cottages in Greece and Malta.

## 'WORLD CAR'

Carworkers should note with alarm the plans by General Motors and Chrysler to build a 'world car'.

Both firms are engaged in a race to produce the new model which will be built and marketed on an international basis.

Chrysler is apparently aiming to launch its new model, the Valiant, in 1975. Assembly works are planned in Britain, the United States, Australia and, perhaps, Latin America. The danger of this operation

was magnificently expressed in a recently published Economist Intelligence Report: 'Standardization of many components, as well as flexibility in the face of labour troubles, are expected to lead to substantial savings in cost.'

Britain's entry into the Common Market will further facilitate the swift transfer of production and investment to meet the requirements of the car empires.

The Geneva-based International Metalworkers' Federation has sent a report to car unions informing them of these developments. The Federation is asking the unions to 'give urgent attention to the implications' of the Chrysler and GM moves.

## DILIGENT

A diligent young police officer in one of the home counties recently went to the home of a senior police officer who works at Scotland Yard. He informed the officer that his neighbour was an unsavoury character who was under suspicion for a number of local crimes. Next day the young officer was transferred to another district.

## UCS

This item is strictly for those who want to appreciate the politics of Harold Wilson: the politics of the possible.

So the story goes a Minister presented Wilson in 1968 with the news that the Fairfield's shipyard scheme was about to collapse.

What, might you suppose, was Wilson's reaction?

He called for his personal secretary and asked for a map of the Clydebank area complete with all the constituencies. He then got a breakdown of the Labour and Tory seats in the area and the voting figures at the last two General Elections.

After pondering the possible loss of seats if UCS was axed, Wilson announced he would resurrect the yards until the next election. Thus Upper Clyde Shipbuilders was born.

# BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:  
Germany 1931/1932  
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Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.05  
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186a Clapham High Street,  
London SW4 7UG.



# ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

**BARNSELY: Friday October 13, 7.30 p.m.** Community Hall, Laithes Crescent. 'The rents struggle and the ATUA conference.' Speakers: Robbie Roberts (Dodworth miner), Chris Stones (chairman, Athersley tenants), Ray Jaxon (South Yorks YS).

**CENTRAL LONDON (Entertainments and press branch): Sunday October 15, 7 p.m.** London School of Film Technique, 24 Shelton Street, WC2. Speaker: Royston Bull, industrial correspondent of 'The Scotsman' (in a personal capacity).

**ACTON: Monday October 16, 8 p.m.** Co-op Hall, High Street, W3. 'ATUA conference'.

**CROYDON: Monday October 16, 8 p.m.** Ruskin House, Coombe Road (near South Croydon Stn). 'ATUA conference'.

**EAST LONDON: Tuesday October 17, 8 p.m.** Festival Inn, Grundy St, Crisp St Market, E14. 'ATUA conference'.

**DAGENHAM: Tuesday October 17, 8 p.m.** Co-op Hall, Fanshawe Avenue, Barking. 'Force the Tories to resign.'

**KENT: Thursday October 19, 8 p.m.** 'The Legion', Burgess Road, Aylesham. 'Reinstate William Griffiths fitters. Prepare the ATUA conference.' Speakers: A Griffiths' striker and leading Kent miner (both in a personal capacity).

**Socialist Labour League**

## Leeds

### LECTURES THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM

Given by  
Cliff Slaughter (SLL Central  
Committee member)

**The nature of capitalism**  
Monday October 16

**Historical materialism today**  
Monday October 23

**Building the revolutionary party**  
Monday October 30

**PEEL HOTEL**  
Boar Lane, 8 p.m.

# TV

## BBC 1

9.38 Schools. 11.45 International golf. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble mill at one. 1.30 Joe. 1.45-2.00 Craftsmen. 2.05 Schools. 2.25 International golf. 4.00 Clangers. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Magic roundabout. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Help. 5.15 Michael BenTine time. 5.45 News and weather.

### 6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 **BARNEY BEAR.** The Impossible Possum.

6.55 **THE PINK PANTHER SHOW.**

7.15 **THE VIRGINIAN.** Men from Shiloh. The West versus Colonel Mackenzie.

8.30 **DAD'S ARMY.** Keep Young and Beautiful.

9.00 **NINE O'CLOCK NEWS.** Weather.

9.25 **INTERNATIONAL SHOW JUMPING.**

10.45 **FRIDAY NIGHT NEWS.**

11.35 **A MAN CALLED IRON-SIDE.**

12.25 **Weather.**

## ITV

9.30 Schools. 12.00 Happy house. 12.15 Conservative Party conference. 1.00 Freud on food. 1.25 Dan. 1.40 Bush boy. 2.05 Castle haven. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Racing from Newmarket. 3.50 Conservative Party conference. 4.20 Adventures of Gulliver. 4.50 Magpie. 5.20 Nanny and the professor. 5.50 News.

6.00 **TODAY.**

6.35 **CROSSROADS.**

7.00 **THE PROTECTORS.** The Quick Brown Fox.

7.30 **HAWAII FIVE-O.** The Clock Struck Twelve.

8.30 **DORA.** Dinner at Eight.

9.00 **NEW SCOTLAND YARD.** Nothing to Live For.

10.00 **NEWS AT TEN.**

10.30 **POLICE FIVE.**

10.40 **VILLAINS.** Billy Boy.

11.40 **MUSIC MATTERS.**

11.45 **FILM: 'AUTUMN LEAVES.'** Joan Crawford, Cliff Robertson. An elderly spinster marries a younger man.



François Truffaut made Julie Christie look like anybody but Julie Christie for her dual role of Linda and Clarissa in 'Fahrenheit 451' World Cinema's presentation on BBC 2. This is the first of three Truffaut films to be seen in this series.

## BBC 2

9.30 Conservative Party conference. 11.00 Play school. 11.25 Conservative Party conference. 4.30 International golf.

6.05 **OPEN UNIVERSITY.**

6.35 **IRELAND.** The Land for the People.

7.05 **OPEN UNIVERSITY.**

7.30 **NEWSROOM, CONFERENCE REPORT.** Weather.

8.10 **MONEY AT WORK.** The Housing Question.

9.00 **GARDENERS' WORLD.** Planting for Spring.

9.25 **INTRODUCTION TO TRUFFAUT SEASON.** Profile of French film director Francois Truffaut.

9.35 **FILM: 'FAHRENHEIT 451.'** First of three films directed by Francois Truffaut. With Oskar Werner, Julie Christie.

11.20 **FILM NIGHT.** Robert Shaw and his films.

11.50 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.

## REGIONAL TV

**CHANNEL:** 9.30-12.00 London. 1.45 Racing. 3.45 Puffin. 3.55 Jimmy Stewart. 4.25 Pebbles and Bamm Bamm. 4.50 London. 5.20 Alexander the greatest. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Report. 6.35 London. 7.30 FBI. 8.30 London. 10.35 Film: 'House of Dracula'. 12.20 News, weather.

**WESTWARD. As Channel except:** 12.00 London. 12.15 Gus Honeybun. 12.25-1.00 London. 1.45 Racing. 3.45 Slender span. 3.53 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.25 Sport. 10.32 News. 12.20 Epilogue.

**SOUTHERN:** 9.30 London. 1.00 News, weather. 1.05 Wildlife theatre. 1.30 Beverly Hillbillies. 2.00 Freud on food. 2.25 Racing. 3.45 Conservative Party. 4.10 Houseparty. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene SE. 6.35 Out of town. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. Scene SE. 6.35 Out of town. 7.05 Sky's the limit. 7.35 FBI. 8.30 London. 10.30 Weekend. 10.35 Film: 'Seconds'. 12.30 News. 12.40 Weather.

**HARLECH:** 9.30 London. 1.00 Battle over the Atlantic. 1.45 A place of her own. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 Racing. 3.45 Conservative Party. 4.10 Tinkertainment. 4.25 Rovers. 4.50 London. 5.20 Gustavus. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report Wales. 6.35 Bonanza. 7.30 Film: 'Witness to Murder'. 9.00 London. 10.30 Dora. 11.00 Now it's your say. 11.30 Candidate for murder. 12.30 Weather.

**HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as above except:** 4.10-4.25 Cantamil. 6.01-6.18 Y dydd. 10.30 Outlook. 11.00 Sports arena. 11.30 UFO. 12.30 Weather.

**HTV West as above except:** 6.18-6.35 Report West.

**ANGLIA:** 9.30 London. 1.45 Racing. 3.45 Conservative Party. 3.55 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 Skippy. 4.50 London. 5.20 Primus. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sale of the century. 7.30 O'Hara. 8.30 London. 10.30 Probe. 11.00 Film: 'Take Her, She's Mine'.

**ATV MIDLANDS:** 9.30-1.00 London. 1.45 Racing. 3.15 Horoscope. 3.20 Good afternoon. 3.50 London. 4.20 Forest rangers. 4.50 London. 5.20 Flintstones. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 London. 8.00 Adventurer. 8.30 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Young Lions'.

**ULSTER:** 10.30-1.00 London. 1.30 News. 1.32 Cartoon. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Racing. 3.45 Johnny Neal. 4.00 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 Funky phantom. 4.50 London. 5.20 Merry melodies. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 UFO. 8.30 London. 10.30 Spectrum. 11.00 Film: 'How Awful About Allan'.

**YORKSHIRE:** 9.30 London. 1.00 Danger man. 1.55 Racing. 3.50 London. 4.25 Merrie melodies. 4.50 London. 5.20 Elephant boy. 5.50 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Cade's county. 8.30 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Haunting'. 12.30 Weather.

**GRANADA:** 9.30 London. 1.00 Galloping gourmet. 1.30 Stingray. 1.55 Racing. 3.40 Conservative Party. 4.20 News. Funky phantom. 4.50 London. 5.15 Crossroads. 5.45 Felix. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.20 Sylvester. 6.35 Kick off. 7.00 Riptide. 8.00 Protectors. 8.30 London. 10.30 Film: 'B. F.'s Daughter'.

**TYNE TEES:** 9.30 London. 1.00 Dangerman. 1.55 Racing. 2.15 Yoga. 2.45 News. 2.46 Racing. 3.50 London. 4.25 Merry melodies. 4.50 London. 5.20 Elephant boy. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Cade's county. 8.30 London. 10.30 Film: 'Hitler'. 12.20 News. 12.35 Epilogue.

**SCOTTISH:** 9.30 London. 1.00 Love American style. 1.45 Racing. 3.15 Dateline. 3.45 Conservative Party. 4.25 Merrie melodies. 4.50 London. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 Shirley's world. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 London. 10.30 Friday night. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Film: 'The Fiend Without A Face'.

**GRAMPIAN:** 10.58 London. 1.00 UFO. 1.38 Schools. 2.40 Cartoon. 2.57 News. 3.04 Racing. 3.45 Conservative Party. 4.20 Funky phantom. 4.50 London. 5.20 Ivanhoe. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Thompson. 6.35 London. 7.00 Sky's the limit. 7.30 Hogan's heroes. 8.00 McCue's music. 8.30 London. 10.30 Points North. 11.00 Job look. 11.10 Film: 'Young Fury'. 12.30 Epilogue.

## Post Office help set up police data bank

PLANS ARE far advanced for the introduction of a national police data bank to come into operation in 1974.

Assisting the establishment of the bank, the largest file of private information on citizens ever compiled by the state authorities, is the Post Office Data Processing Service.

This month's issue of the Post Office journal, 'Courier', says: 'A team of PO computer communications experts have been closely involved with the setting up of a rapid access computer system for the police based on the Police National Computer Centre at Hendon in London.'

The newspaper quoted Mr Jeff Warley, who has been working on the system since 1967, as saying:

'The computer is the key to referring speedily to facts on file at a records office. The system has been something of a pipe-dream for many years; now it will soon be a reality and Post

Office know-how has made a major contribution.'

Every police headquarters in the country will be equipped with a terminal for the system and in some areas there will be additional terminals at divisional level.

Under the scheme police will be able to dial into the computer and extract information on the lives of private citizens.

No private citizen knows what is on his police file and there is no way of erasing anything which is untrue.

Earlier this week Workers Press revealed that the police are also preparing to introduce two subsidiary banks—one for people connected with drugs and one covering all immigrants living in this country.

As the economic crisis worsens the state is preparing for large-scale repression of the working class. The development of these massive surveillance techniques is a crucial stage in this repression.

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# Students spread take-over

By Sarah Hannigan

STUDENTS OCCUPYING two buildings of the North London Polytechnic were yesterday discussing plans to broaden their fight with the college authorities against victimization and the freezing of their union funds.

For over a week students at the Camden Town Poly's department of business studies have been occupying their premises in protest against the proposed sacking of their head of department, Mr W. J. Jenkins.

On Tuesday they were joined by students at the Ladbroke House science department who took over administration of their block.

Yesterday's discussions were on proposals to extend further the occupation and 'disruption' of administration of the Poly's various buildings by preparing to get students at the main building in Holloway Road to back them.

Trouble first flared at the college last year when the announcement of the proposed director for the new North London Poly—Terence Miller—was first made.

Students and staff opposed the appointment of Miller who, they said, had a long history of close association with Ian Smith's racist regime in Rhodesia.

They were also angry at the heavy-handed way in which the new director had been chosen without any reference to either staff or students.

Following his appointment, Miller's first moves confirmed the

fears expressed after his appointment announcement.

The foremost of these was an amendment to the students' union constitution which proposed that any further rule changes would have to be ratified by the Board of Governors. This was overwhelmingly rejected by the majority of students.

Later in January 1972 the students' union passed two amendments to its constitution with the requisite majority. Following this move, the students' union funds were frozen and still have not been paid to date.

The total outstanding now

amounts to over £45,000 for the last three terms.

In July this year the head of department of the business studies school, Mr Jenkins, a leading member of the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions and a consistent opponent of Miller's methods, was informed by the director that he was suspended from duty until an immediate inquiry into the running of the department was carried out.

Since then it has been agreed that Mr Jenkins' union, the ATTI, conducts an inquiry into the list

of 12 charges levelled against him by Miller.

The students, however, have opposed this. The present occupation was started after a 500-strong emergency students' union meeting endorsed their executive's proposal for immediate occupation of the business college last week.

They demanded Jenkins' reinstatement, return of their union funds and an end to Miller's programme of running down non-degree courses in line with his proposals to transform the Polytechnic into a 'second-class' university.



The festooned entrance hall to the Polytechnic.

## Beckton builders still out

NEWHAM council's sewerage site at Beckton, east London, which is reputed to be the biggest in Europe, is still at a standstill four weeks after the ending of the national building strike.

The 300 Beckton men, one of the last groups to be called out for the £30, 35-hour week claim, have been locked in dispute with contractors W. C. French over the firm's claimed attempt to slash bonus rates.

Earlier this week a mass meeting rejected union officials who put a return-to-work proposal based on management's offer of a return to the *status quo* before the strike and negotiations on 'labour relations'.

Site convenor Fred Levinsky rejected the proposal on the basis that management made no mention of the bonus dispute.

The men were made more determined by the fact that management had attempted to bypass the works committee and negotiate with full-time officials who had played a leading part in imposing the national claim.

Only a letter granting *status quo* on bonus — allegedly cut from 85p to 15p an hour—and no abrogation of procedure in discussions with site representatives will ensure a return to work, the men say.

## Jones's union returns to NIRC

THE TRANSPORT and General Workers' Union is today once more faced with action by an employer at the National Industrial Relations Court.

A Bootle transport firm will seek to reopen a case against the union which involves the blacking of its lorries by Liverpool dockers.

The firm, Howitt Transport of Bootle, sacked two drivers on August 1 when they laid off their men during the dock strike.

One driver, a steward, then went to see Liverpool shop

stewards and claimed he was dismissed because he supported their fight.

When the dock strike finished and Howitt's took back everyone except the two men, dock shop stewards imposed the black.

On September 19, Howitt opened an action in the NIRC. Both sides agreed to adjourn the action and try to negotiate an agreement. Since then talks have failed to produce a settlement.

At the first hearing the T&GWU drew further into open collaboration with the Industrial Relations Act when they sent a full-time official, legal man Alfred Blyghton, to represent the union at the NIRC.

Even court president Sir John Donaldson went out of his way to welcome the obvious co-operation of the union with the NIRC.

On that basis it is almost certain that the T&GWU will again put in an appearance today when the hearing resumes.

## Barber to enforce pay plan

### with an attack on militants



Barber: Tough talk

TORY CHANCELLOR of the Exchequer, Anthony Barber, yesterday summoned the Tory Party to steel itself for the coming pay fights with the working class.

Replying to the economic debate at the Blackpool conference, Barber returned to the 'One Nation' theme which has dominated Tory speeches since the start of the Heath plan for state control over wages.

The aim of this strategy is to embrace the Labour and trade union leaders, win the support of the middle class and leave the working class wide open for attack.

Barber told his conference: 'What I think is important is that the overwhelming majority of the British people know that the proposals put forward by the Prime Minister are fair. The whole country rightly demands that the control of inflation must be our overriding consideration. It will be.'

He said that what was at stake was not just the rate of inflation but 'our whole system of parliamentary democracy, our whole free democratic way of life'.

He went on: 'There are those — not many, not the responsible union leaders, but powerful men nevertheless—in this country and in other countries who are quite prepared, indeed determined, to use the weapons of industrial strength and inflation in an attempt to degrade and defeat the elected government, Conser-

vative or Labour, in order to smash the system and to enable them to impose their own sort of society.'

The most revealing feature of this comment is the way in which Barber makes pacifying noises towards the Labour and trade union leaders.

Having beaten them over the head as 'wreckers' on previous occasions (e.g. the rail dispute) Barber now shows that the Tories are desperately depending on their assistance to isolate the wages struggles of the working class.

In all yesterday's speeches there was a recognition of the unavoidable combat which lies in front.

Ian Gow, of Eastbourne, attacked the union leaders for attempting to get the Industrial Relations Act put 'on ice'.

'I do not believe that item ought even to be allowed to get on to the agenda of the resumed Chequers talks.'

Angus Maude, MP, said: 'We are in a situation where economic

laws have virtually ceased to operate. In a mad world it may be that only the absurd can have a hope of success. If it does not work we want tough action to deal with strikers, whether violent or not.'

R. T. Glenny, former chairman of the Greater London Area Conservative Association, said Tories should support measures to control the unions and their 'blackmailing wage claims'.

And they should not 'moan when personally inconvenienced by tough government action'.

Sir George Young, an economist representing Acton Conservative Association, said: 'People are fed up with rising prices. They simply want it stopped quickly and are prepared to accept an element of rough justice to achieve that.'

During a short debate on agriculture James Prior, the party's deputy chairman, called for support for the state pay plan.

Inflation had forced up food prices, he said, and 'that is why everybody should support wage moderation'.

## ATUA CONFERENCE

The way forward for all trade unionists

SUNDAY OCTOBER 22  
10-30 a.m.  
TOWN HALL, BIRMINGHAM

Send for delegates' and observers' credentials from: Conference Secretary, R. Goldstein, 103 Lewis Flats, Dalston Lane, London E8

SPECIAL TRAIN FROM BUSTON, LONDON, £1.50. COACHES FROM OTHER AREAS

Union.....  
Branch.....  
Names, addresses and No of delegates/observers.....

I enclose £ as delegates fees Signature of secretary

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## THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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

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Address .....



## Vestey's threaten to sack depot workers

# Bid to break cold store picketing

THE 27 MEN at the powerful Vestey family's Midland Cold Store, Hackney, east London will be sacked today unless haulage operators defy dockers' pickets and begin using the depot again.

It is understood that a meeting of drivers in the Transport and General Workers' Union No. 1 branch has voted unanimously to break the picket.

Cold store workers' shop steward Roy Ruff told me: 'We have been expecting a lorry every day this week. The men have voted for it. But I think the owners are afraid.'

Dockers from London's Royal

Group have been picketing at the Midland for five months as part of their campaign to force container depot and cold store operators to employ registered labour.

Following dockers' leaders' acceptance of the Jones-Aldington proposals, which put an end to the Temporary Unattached Register, the number of men willing to picket the cold store has been dwindling. And there have

been denied reports that Royal Group shop stewards will eventually call off the black.

Two dockers' pickets at the cold store yesterday said they were as determined as ever to carry on the fight for jobs.

Workers inside the store claimed Jones - Aldington had ended the immediate prospect of unemployment in dockland and they called on stewards to withdraw the picket in a last-minute

bid to stop them being sacked today.

Said Roy Ruff: 'They have got what they wanted. The TUR has gone, but now we're all going to lose our jobs.'

The men said they felt no hostility to the dockers, but they claimed that the blacking campaign had no chance of solving the mounting problem of unemployment in east London.

Ed Raven told me: 'Instead of having working man against working man, why don't they try and work along with us. There should be a joint committee of dockers, drivers and cold store workers. If they call off the picket, I think there would still be a good chance of negotiation.'

'We came out on strike when they jailed the five dockers. We supported them, but they won't support us.'

Cold store workers, drivers and the majority of dockers all belong to the T&GWU. But so far union officials and the docks stewards' leaders have made no attempt to fight for the one thing which could unite the two groups — nationalization of the entire port transport industry under workers' control.

## Briefly . . .

LUCAS workers in Birmingham are now affected by a strike of 230 maintenance electricians in support of their pay claim. The electricians struck work on Monday after rejecting a management £4.25-a-week pay offer.

CONSTRUCTION workers yesterday ended their strike at the site of the M5 bridge at Avonmouth, Bristol. The 500 men walked out on Tuesday demanding provision of a first aid attendant on the Somerset side of the Avon. Contractors Fairfield-Mabey Ltd have agreed. The bridge, to carry the Birmingham-Bristol motorway into Somerset, may open two years late because of industrial trouble and hold-ups due to safety and pollution investigations.

BRIGADIER Babafemi Olanunde Ogunpige, the Nigerian High Commissioner in Britain from 1966-1970, who died in London last November, aged 47, left estate in England and Wales valued at £101,643 gross, £90,098 net (duty £20,498). He left his property to his wife Elizabeth and other relatives.

DART VALLEY Railway Company is to take over responsibility for running passenger services on the 6½ mile Paignton-Kingswear line in Devon from British Rail on October 28.

YUGOSLAVIA yesterday signed a £6½m contract with British Rail and Metro-Cammell for the supply of 800 wagons. British Rail said that the order, from Croatian Railways, was one of the largest placed with a British firm. The wagons will be built at British Rail Engineering's Ashford, Kent, works for delivery between next July and the middle of 1974.

THE SHIPBUILDERS and Repairers National Association yesterday elected as President Mr T. A. Greenwell, joint managing director of Doxford and Sunderland. Mr T. McIver, managing director of the Swan Hunter Group, was elected vice-President.

BP LLANDARCY oil - refinery near Swansea, South Wales is to run down after seven-day strike notice was given on Wednesday night by 1,000 of its 2,000 workers. The strike notice expires at midnight next Tuesday and local management claim they are aiming to make the refinery safe by then. These moves follow the breakdown of pay talks between transport union officials and the company.

STIRLING University students yesterday staged a 400-strong sit-in protest at the expense of a four-hour visit by the Queen to the campus. They took over the foyer of the MacRobert theatre-restaurant-bar complex and as the Queen unveiled a plaque and made a short speech naming a courtyard outside the building, singing and shouting could be heard. A student spokesman, Miss Linda Quinn, claimed that for the past month students' welfare had been ignored while the university authorities went about preparing for the visit. She said they had been told the visit expenses would be about £1,200, but they suspected it would be a lot more. She added that the protest was 'over the general farce of the thing'.

## 16,000 Leyland men may strike to back sit-in

TALKS were held in York yesterday between British-Leyland, Eaton's and union officials to try and settle the dispute at Leyland's Basingstoke subsidiary.

The Thornycroft heavy gearbox factory in Hampshire has been occupied since August 15 to prevent a hiving-off operation which will lead to the loss of

hundreds of jobs and eventual closure.

If no satisfactory outcome is achieved before next Wednesday, shop stewards representing 16,000 workers in the bus and truck division at Leyland, Lancs, have threatened to stage an all-out strike.

The £5m Thornycroft deal should have gone through on October 1, with the buyer, the Eaton Corporation of

Ohio, taking over control.

But the 700 men sitting in have refused to move until the deal is unscrambled and all their jobs guaranteed. They say Eaton's only have a three-year lease on the plant and are already planning to move some production to their Bolton, Lancs, plant.

An Eaton's offer of 15 months' work 'subject

to market conditions' with guarantees of no industrial action, has been turned down flat by Thornycroft leaders.

Their sit-in has severely crippled the flow of gearboxes and back axle units to Leyland's bus and truck factories.

Production at Leyland has almost come to a halt and 3,000 AEC, Southall, workers were laid off yesterday.

## Why Anna Mendelson changed her name

A DEFENDANT at the Old Bailey 'Angry Brigade' trial yesterday admitted using a false name early in January 1971 because she feared she might be raided after Ian Purdie and Jake Prescott, whom she knew, had been arrested by the police.

Anna Mendelson (24) told Mr John Mathew, prosecuting, that

she thought the police might want to see her because she knew Purdie. Mathew asked if she had thought the police might be interested in her 'in respect of' the bombing of the home of the then Employment Secretary, Robert Carr.

She replied: 'No, they are interested in everybody who are friends of people they are interested in. That is the way they work.'

Anna Mendelson, three other women and four men deny charges of conspiring to cause explosions.

In December last year Jake Prescott (27) was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment after being convicted of 'conspiring'

to cause explosions in London and other British cities.

He was acquitted of causing explosions at Carr's home and at the Employment Ministry's offices.

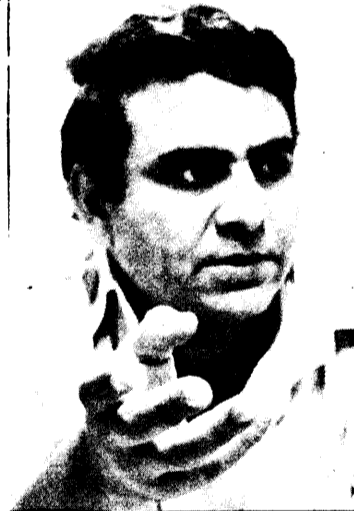
Ian Purdie (24) was acquitted of conspiring to cause explosions.

Earlier Anna Mendelson told the court she had written the names of Old Bailey judges on a piece of paper because she 'wanted to find out what their specific jobs were'.

Prosecutor Mathew asked her whether she could not have given a 'better answer' as to why she had written the names.

She replied that she had been doing research into Britain's judiciary and how it worked.

## Wholesale expulsions feared—PLO



PLO envoy Said Hammami

PALESTINIAN and Arab students and workers are being expelled from Germany wholesale in a purge following the Munich airport shoot-out.

Mr Said Hammami, London representative of the Palestinian Liberation Organization estimates that more than 220 students and large numbers of workers had been expelled since the Brandt government banned the General Union of Palestinian Students and the General Union of Palestinian Workers.

'Within two months there will be no more Palestinian students in Germany if the expulsions continue as they are going at the moment.'

He pointed out that the British press had remained silent about the purge.

'The German government is doing exactly what the Israelis do in the occupied territories.'

This action is directed against all militants. It is a disaster for the Palestinians because once these students have been expelled they will find it almost impossible to continue their education elsewhere, he said.

## Ford strike goes on

ENGINE PLANT workers at Ford's Dagenham plant yesterday decided to continue their strike against management attempts to increase the speed of their production line.

The 500 workers, on the overhead camshaft line, decided to stay out until management agrees

a compromise formula put forward by union officials, under which the line would be run at the higher speed, but only the same number of jobs as at present actually worked.

They decided not to meet again until next week. 500 other engine plant workers have now been laid off by the dispute.

## Thalidomide injunction

THE TORY Attorney-General Sir Peter Rawlinson, is to apply to the High Court for an injunction against 'The Sunday Times' to

stop publication of a 12,000-word article on the thalidomide scandal.

The case is expected to be heard in the High Court before the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Widgery, next Wednesday.

'The Sunday Times' will defend the action.

Rawlinson's intervention follows communications with the marketers of thalidomide in Britain, the multi-million pound whisky empire, Distillers Limited.

'The Sunday Times' sent the article, written by journalist Philip Knightley, to the chairman of Distillers, Sir Alexander Glen, inviting any 'comments, objections or representations'.

After consultation with the Attorney-General the paper was informed that an injunction was being sought.

## OCTOBER

FUND £270.48

THERE IS still a slow response for our October Fund, which is disappointing.

Just at a time when the TUC, completely backed up by the Stalinists, support the Tories' plan of state control of wages, all our energies must be turned to explaining to workers everywhere why a revolutionary alternative must be built.

Workers Press is vital. Our paper should be used clearly to explain these issues to trade unionists everywhere. We must provide the leadership for all those in this fight against the Toy government.

There is not a moment to lose in the fight for our Fund this month. Everything you can raise will help keep our paper out in front. Let's go into action immediately. Post all your donations to:

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Socialist Labour League  
PUBLIC MEETING

Behind the  
Assassination  
of Trotsky

A reply to  
Joseph Losey's  
film

Tuesday October 24, 8 p.m.

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Speaker: G. Healy  
(SLL national secretary)

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