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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

AS COMMON MARKET ENTRY NEARS TORIES FIGHT

BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

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Working with the full collaboration of the TUC, backed by the Labour and Stalinist leaders, they aim to impose state control over wages. The weapons for enforcing this policy are mass unemployment and the Industrial Relations Act.

The TUC's decision to participate in the National Industrial Relations Court takes them half-way along the road to the implementation of this state control of unions and wages.

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This is the meaning of the EEC ministers' discussions about compulsory incomes policy for the whole of Europe.

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With this and the National Industrial Relations Court they

CAV sit-in winning big support



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There is only one way to insure the political independence of the working class to fight the great battles which lie ahead.

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ing of this alternative leadership in the unions.

Such a leadership must fight for the winning of all economic struggles, for wages and against unemployment, but must above all organize the education in Marxist theory of workers' leaders who will expose in struggle the limitations of the purely economic struggle.

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BY STEPHEN JOHNS

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'It is not just a question of the closure at Thornycroft, it is a question involving the whole future of British-Leyland. Shop stewards, convenors and trade unionists throughout the whole combine must be wary and vigilant and make sure what happens to other multi-national corporations—redundancies, rationalization and closure—does not happen to British-Leyland.

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Collective punishment



TERROR the British press ignored: This car with a family of seven inside was flattened by an Israeli tank when the Zionists occupied southern Lebanon last month.

THE SOCIAL - democratic government of Willy Brandt in West Germany has already expelled over 200 Palestinians and its police forces are organizing systematic raids on the homes of those that remain.

This action is being taken as part of a massive anti-Arab witch-hunt whipped up by the West German government following the Munich airport shootout. Two Palestinian organizations, the General Union of Palestinian Students and the General Union of Palestinian Workers, have been outlawed by government decree.

The West German action is completely in accord with the wishes of the Zionist Israeli government, headed by Brandt's fellow social-democrat Mrs Golda Meir.

It creates a major precedent for the wholesale hounding of foreign militants within the Common Market and no doubt has the full backing of Harold Wilson, who called for similar action in Britain.

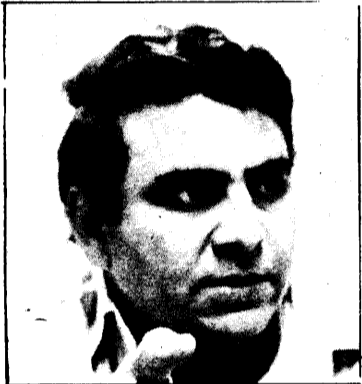
Mr Said Hammami, representative of the Palestinian Liberation Organization in London, told Workers Press that the attack on the Arab workers and students in Germany was an attack on all militants. Already not only had Palestinians been expelled, but also Libyans, Syrians and some Egyptians, he said.

'In the coming two months if the expulsions continue, all our students will be outside Germany. This is disaster for the Palestinians. The PLO has no money to pay for their studies elsewhere. And even if it had, where can they go now that they are expelled from Germany?'

The West Germans' action was exactly the same as what Israel was doing to the Palestinians in the occupied territories.

'They are using the technique of collective punishment. We believe this is the result of a conspiracy with the Israeli government.'

Israeli government spokesmen



PLO envoy describes treatment of Arabs to John Spencer

have recently emphasized their intention of taking action against 'terrorists' not only in the Middle East, but in other parts of the world. At the time of the Munich shootout, Israeli General Herzog said the country's Intelligence Service should organize for a clandestine war in which 'the hunters would become the hunted'.

Arab students who were interrogated by the German police prior to being expelled from the country reported that some of their interrogators spoke fluent Arabic.

'They could only have learned to speak it that well if they had spent years in the Middle East. We believe they are Israeli intelligence men working with the German authorities,' Mr Hammami said.

The expelled Arabs are being rushed across the German border without trial simply for belonging to one of the banned organizations or possessing pro-Palestinian literature.

'Day after day Palestinians in Germany find that some of their friends are missing. They have been expelled by the police,' Mr Hammami said.

He said the West German government claimed to have raided 24 'offices' of the GUPS.

'But these are just the places where students live. The GUPS has only about 250 members in Germany. It cannot possibly afford 24 offices,' Mr Hammami said.

The PLO representative in Germany was arrested at six in the morning and expelled at

noon. He was put on an aircraft and forced to go to Algeria. Since his counterpart left Germany, Mr Hammami has been unable to discover in detail the fate of the hundreds of Palestinian workers in West Germany, though he is certain many have already been ordered to leave.

Mr Hammami said the Germans' policy, allegedly directed against 'terrorism', was certain to produce more recruits for the ranks of the real terrorist organizations.

'What can you expect a student to do—a medical student for example expelled on the eve of his final examinations?'

'He will find it almost impossible to get a place at another university to finish his studies. The Germans have branded him as a "terrorist". In this case the world can expect anything. It will turn all these students into terrorists.'

Mr Hammami pointed out that the western press, which had raised such a hue and cry over Munich, was totally silent about the anti-Palestinian witch-hunt in Germany. And he slammed Wilson's demand that he should be forced to leave this country:

'I don't know why Wilson wants me out when there are 17 Zionist organizations in Britain which he is quite prepared to tolerate. Even the Herut, the ultra-right Israeli party, has a branch in Britain,' he said.

Palestinian students in Britain are holding a picket outside the West German Embassy in Kensington today starting at 11.00 a.m.

What we think

LIARS AND THEIR LIES AT UCS

IN AN article that hardly contains a single fact, the Glasgow correspondent of the 'Morning Star', Arthur Milligan, claimed yesterday that the Socialist Labour League lined up with the Tories in attacking the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders' (UCS) work-in policy.

'Throughout the work-in,' Milligan raved, 'these despicable Trots were accusing the shop stewards of "betrayal".'

Let us examine the statements of Milligan and the 'Star' point by point.

'Morning Star' (Friday October 13, 1972): 'The announcement of final victory came around 11.40 a.m. last Monday . . . the historic UCS work-in was over—the workers had won. They had fought for some 450 days and achieved their original objective of saving all four yards and all jobs—one of the greatest working-class victories ever known.'

FACT ONE: Since UCS went into liquidation last July, 2,500 men have left the yards. A few have given up their trades, found other jobs and taken a cut in their standard of living. Others have had to separate from their families and leave the area. Most have joined Glasgow's ever-lengthening dole queues.

The workers' 'original objective' was to fight for the right to work against the Tory government's efforts to destroy it.

But their leading shop stewards, under the influence of the Communist Party, strove to confine the rank and file to a reformist campaign which appealed to the Tory government to 'save jobs'.

Their formula was: the four yards together and all the labour force. Today the yards have been broken up and 30 per cent of the labour force has gone down the road.

'Morning Star': 'The militancy and ingenuity of these men in giving the movement the patent of the "work-in" as a weapon, not merely of defence but also attack in the battle against the crudities of capitalist economics has changed the whole course of labour struggles.'

FACT TWO: From the outset, the work-in was admitted by its Stalinist advocates to be strictly defensive. They deliberately rejected the attacking strategy of an occupation behind the demand that the Tories resign and that a Labour government nationalize the yards under workers' control.

As James Reid told west of Scotland shop stewards in July 21, 1971: 'Many of us think nationalization is the answer. Some might say bring down the government. Well if shipbuilding on the Clyde is not saved this might have to happen.'

'But we are not in business at this stage to bring down the government or indulge in political demagoguery from the right or the left. We are here to preserve shipbuilding on the Clyde.'

In so far as the UCS work-in has influenced the course of struggles against unemployment, therefore, its influence has been to leave workers entirely at the mercy of the world economic crisis of capitalism, and the

capitalist General Staff in the Tory government.

Since Reid spoke, the Tories have been allowed to consign another 12,000 Scottish workers to the ranks of the hard-core unemployed. Hundreds more redundancies are announced each week. Had UCS been made a base for the fight to force the Tories to resign last July hundreds of thousands of workers could have been mobilized to stop this.

'Morning Star': 'The UCS leaders were always one step ahead in tactics. Heath, Davies and company played every card they had . . . but the UCS men held the final ace—solidarity.'

FACT THREE: The policies of Reid, his fellow-Stalinist James Airlie and the other UCS stewards' leaders in fact split the yards.

When boilermakers at Govan refused to sign a separate deal with the Tory-created rump company Govan Shipbuilders Ltd, Reid accused them of joining the 'rat race'. Two weeks later he was back asking them for a 50p levy to support a work-in against a new threat of redundancies at his own Clydebank yard.

Yet it was the policies of Reid and Airlie themselves which produced the split.

Milligan remains silent about the deal Reid signed with the Texas oil-rig builders Marathon Manufacturing which virtually outlaws strikes.

And he does not mention that, at Govan, Airlie promised to stop 'unconstitutional disputes'.

'Morning Star': 'The ability of the UCS workers to keep coming back when seemingly on the ropes won the increasing admiration of almost everyone except the Tories and the political pygmies of the ultra-left fringe.'

FACT FOUR: It is not the first time the 'Star' has claimed victory at UCS. On July 1, 1972, an editorial announced: 'The government announcement of financial support for Govan Shipbuilders Ltd puts the seal of victory on the campaign for the right to work waged by the UCS workers.'

The Tory cash brought praise from Airlie for their 'statesman-like' decision. Said Reid: 'In our opinion they have lived up to their responsibility for this industry in the upper reaches of the Clyde . . . we congratulate them.'

On the strength of praise like this the Tories have every reason to admire Reid, Airlie and their supporters.

'The Times' (Tuesday, October 10, 1972) welcomed the settlement at Clydebank as deserving 'an honourable place in the unique history of labour on the Clyde'.

It was an 'act of self-rehabilitation by the workers', this leading Tory paper claimed.

They have other grounds for this admiration. Over the last 15 months the Stalinists have helped defuse a jobs crisis on the Clyde which could have contributed mightily to a campaign to bring the government down.

At Govan they have agreed repressive conditions for 4,000 men in a market on the verge of collapse, while at Clydebank the outlook is even more speculative.

The balance-sheet of the upper Clyde is this:

2,500 jobs have gone. Many more are in jeopardy. Meanwhile those who remain at work have been subjected to no-strike pledges which in principle are in line with the Industrial Relations Act.

The Stalinists who signed these agreements have allowed the Tory government to use the spectre of unemployment to enforce these conditions.

Far from a 'final victory' as the 'Star' claims, the Tory government has in fact emerged strengthened as a direct result of the reformist policies pursued by Airlie—and covered up for by Milligan.

African miners strike over explosion danger

MORE than 200 miners at the Wankie Colliery, Rhodesia, refused to go underground yesterday because of the danger of an explosion.

The strike, mainly of African workers, began when they heard evidence given to the commission of inquiry into 300 deaths at the colliery four months ago.

The report quoted Dr Leslie Willett, deputy director of mining for the British National Coal Board, who is in Salisbury for the inquiry. He said an explosion at No. 3 colliery—next to the disaster pit—was imminent.

A colliery spokesman said the strike had seriously affected pro-

duction, but he expected a full return to work by yesterday afternoon.

The Anglo-American Company claimed 'inaccurate reporting' of Willett's evidence led to the miners refusing to descend.

Dr Willett later went on the radio to say that safety measures introduced since the disaster ensured that there was no danger of an explosion in No. 3 colliery.

Anglo-American's London spokesman said that since Ian Smith's unilateral declaration of independence the London office had had no contacts with the Rhodesian subsidiary.

I would like information about

THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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

Name

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The Stalinists review Joseph Losey's film on Trotsky

TOM KEMP EXAMINES IT

A NEW POLITICAL low in Stalinist evasion and distortion of history was achieved by yesterday's 'Morning Star' in its review of Joseph Losey's film 'The Assassination of Trotsky'.

The British Stalinists still stand by the Moscow Trials and purges of the 1930s which destroyed the Bolshevik Old Guard and 'proved' that Trotsky was an agent of imperialism.

They cannot dissociate themselves from Raymond Mercader, the highly-trained GPU agent who carried out the assassination on Stalin's orders and now lives comfortably under the protection of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Eastern Europe.

The reviewer, one Virginia Dignam, writes of 'the heavily-fortified villa, complete with watchtower' in which Trotsky lived in Mexico in 1940 following his exile in various other countries after his expulsion from the Soviet Union in 1929. She does not point out that these precautions were necessary because it was evident that Trotsky's life was in danger—as the raid organized by the Mexican Communist David Siqueiros showed.

Virginia Dignam objects to Alain Delon's portrayal

of the character as 'a neurotic Belgian, subject to fits of intransigence'. Does she want Stalin's hired assassin to be treated as a hero?

The Stalinists even try to pretend that Trotsky really wanted to die and therefore was careless about precautions.

As far as Trotsky and the rapidly-developing international Trotskyist movement are concerned, the Stalinists today are on the spot. They cannot repudiate the assassination without recanting their whole past and admitting that Trotsky was right. They cannot approve it without admitting that Trotsky was, after all, dangerous and that Stalin was right.

No longer able to express satisfaction at Trotsky's removal, their film reviewer treats a question of major historical importance in a superficial and

flippant way. The death scene, she writes, offers 'an opportunity for lashing upon lashing of tomato ketchup'.

The fact is that 'Jacson' (Mercader), a Spaniard by origin, had been selected and trained for the role with the utmost care. Whether Delon was credible on the screen, it is plain that the real-life 'Jacson' did his job with considerable skill.

After his arrest he was able to maintain the pretence that he was a disillusioned supporter of Trotsky—the role for which he was cast. It was many years before his real identity was established. The GPU covered its tracks well. But any doubts about the assassination have long since been removed.

Even in jail 'Jacson' was well-provided with funds by his employers. When he was released he was

rewarded with the Order of Lenin, welcomed in Prague and granted a pension for his services. A grateful bureaucracy thus acquitted itself of a heavy debt to the man who had removed their worst enemy.

By portraying Trotsky as 'an absent-minded, myopic professor, spending his dotage dictating anti-Soviet propaganda, idolizing his grandchild and feeding his pet rabbits', the film really removes the motives for the assassination.

If that is all Trotsky was, the GPU would not have devoted such enormous resources to his elimination. Nor would it have been able to recruit a dedicated Stalinist for the job who risked death at the hands of Trotsky's guards and a long term of imprisonment in any case (there was no death penalty in Mexico).

Raymond Mercader, alias

Jacson, was a product of the anti-Trotsky campaign which had been going on for years.

The frame-up Moscow Trials had tried to present Trotsky as an enemy of the Soviet Union in league with the Nazis. When the assassination took place, Stalin was Hitler's ally, supplying Nazi Germany with indispensable war materials!

The specialist in the anti-Trotsky campaign in Britain was none other than John Gollan, present CP general secretary. Of course, he operated with lies and slanders, but doubtless he would have been prepared to use a gun or even an ice-axe.

Stalin needed to remove his most dangerous enemy, who had relentlessly exposed every one of his crimes.

Even more, ten years' work in exile had enabled

Trotsky to launch the Fourth International, which was becoming a pole of attraction for many of those turning away from Stalinism.

The 'Morning Star' has to conceal all this from its readers. It thus demonstrates its solidarity with the assassin. It reveals its commitment to Stalinism and its complicity in all its crimes.

The film itself, of course, opens the way for this.

What could have been a searing indictment of the crimes of Stalinism and a vindication of Trotsky's fight is, in effect, an apology for the Moscow Trials and purges of the 1930s.

The 'Morning Star' lines up yet again with the counter-revolution.

● SEE ADVERT FOR SLL PUBLIC MEETING p. 12.



SLL members handing out leaflets containing the Workers Press review of 'The Assassination of Trotsky' when the film opened in London on Thursday night.

Run councils politically—to fight the Tories

INTERVIEW BY PHILIP WADE

ALTHOUGH CAMDEN'S Labour council this week made no change in its 'fair rents' non-implementation policy, it was made clear it was not a once-and-for-all decision. There was much talk by Labour councillors of the magnificent 'concessions' made by the Tories on the 'fair rents' Act, and of deputations to see the government.

One councillor, however, who remains firm in his determination to fight implementation whatever the concessions—or, for that matter, the consequences of surcharge—is Paddy O'Connor, Transport and General Workers' Union shop steward who also sits on the Greater London Council. He told me:

It seems to me that the whole movement, and in particular the Labour Party, has fallen flat on its face. Because so few councils are not implementing, an opportunity has been missed to take on the government in a campaign involving the trade unions and the political parties.

The performance of the leadership at the Labour Party conference was pathetic with Frank Allain's 'we can't give you any guarantees'. It was an invitation for the Tories to put the boot in.

They haven't given the lead because the Labour Party has acquired what is known as respectability. To begin from the assumption that you can't break the law is stupid.

If the law had not been broken we wouldn't have had the trade unions, the Labour Party or your newspaper. The law is not something abstract; the National

Says Camden fighter against rent rise



Paddy O'Connor: Labour Party on its back.

Industrial Relations Court has proved that.

Our revered leaders don't learn that a little militancy is worth a great deal of 'negotiations'.

There's no doubt that if a lead had been given the fight would have been different. Take, for example, the conference called by the Labour Party in London.

If any sort of militant lead had been given there the whole of London could have taken up the fight for non-implementation and shown the way forward for the rest of the country.

I don't see what some Camden councillors are getting at when they say the Tories have got to 'gut the Act' before they consider implementation. What is the point of this Act? It is to screw more rent out of the working class. If the Tories stop that they stop being a Tory Party.

There is no doubt that the Tories are in fact attacking the whole of local government, taking powers away from local councils. Any control over the health service is going and so is any authority over water and sewerage. Now it is

housing.

What the Tories are doing now is extending the means-test principle to local councils themselves. Subsidies on housing are being cut down and now rebates will have to be paid for out of local funds.

They're going to try and push council rents so high that the poorest workers will be kept out of them and instead will be forced into ghettos. If you are in a low rent-paying position you will be put in the worst council housing. And that's already happening in Camden.

It's the end of council housing as we know it and the end for working-class housing. Because, imperfect as it has been, it was the only possible way out for the workers.

The cutting down on local government is now so obvious that soon there won't be any point in having local councils.

It is impossible for the Tories to withdraw the Act. They cannot do that, just like they can't put the Industrial Relations Act 'on ice'. To me the demands are unrealistic.

Of course I agree we have to get rid of the Tories. And part of that process was to be a massive refusal of councillors to implement this Act. Even though that is now not the case, it doesn't make it any less important for us not to implement ourselves.

Now I think the Tory wage plan must open up a big political fight in the working class.

But, unfortunately, the

Labour Party is dominated by do-gooders like those on our council. Maybe I'm getting older, but it seems to be increasing.

It seems if you want to become a Labour MP you have to be a barrister, solicitor or a journalist.

At least the workers on the council—and there are few—see the problems of the working class and don't think it's a question of social work.

Councils should be run politically to fight the Tories wherever you can. What's needed now is for the Constituency Labour Parties to sort out those

who are not suitable, in the way Lincoln threw out Taverne.

Those councillors, county councillors and MPs, like the 69 who voted for the Tories on the Common Market, have to be thrown out. It would be an act of elementary democracy.

The next Labour government must nationalize urban land without compensation. Housing must be a social service. Interest charges must be abolished and money made available out of a central fund. Of course, you will, in the end, have to nationalize the banks and so on.

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THE JAY LOVESTONE STORY

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

TRUMAN FOUNDS THE CIA

It was on March 12, 1947, that US President Harry S. Truman, in a message to both Houses of Congress calling for support for the right-wing regime in Greece, attacked 'a militant minority', the communists.

He urged that it must be US policy to be 'willing to help free people to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes'.

The United States was taking on its position as the world's policeman. In the same year, the Marshall Aid plan was launched, to restore the economies of capitalist Europe. The National Association of Manufacturers laid down as policy that 'during the period of economic aid the participating countries should not undertake any further nationalization projects nor initiate projects which have the effect of destroying or impairing private competitive enterprises... aid should be extended to private competitive enterprises in the foreign countries...'

It was in the same year, again, 1947, that Truman instituted the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

As the United States emerged as the supreme imperialist power towards the end of and immediately after World War II there were tremendous advances made by the world's working class and the colonial peoples. The Red Army, forcing back the Nazis, swept across Europe. In Italy there were large-scale factory occupations along with the successes of the partisans, and in both Italy and France the emergence of strong communist parties. There were successful revolutions in Yugoslavia and China, the Civil War in Greece, and the emerging liberation struggle in Vietnam. India and Indonesia won independence.

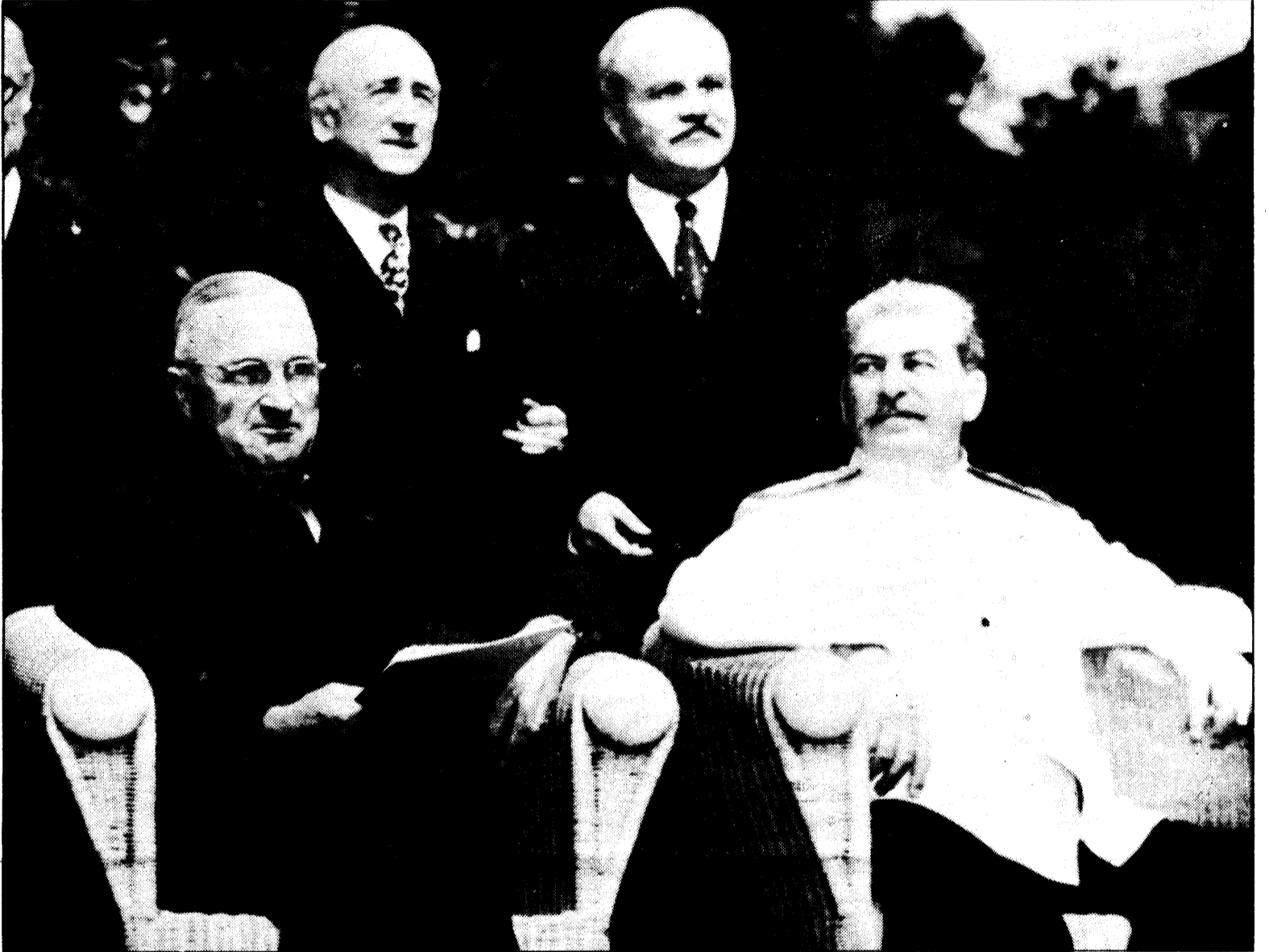
There was a big movement of the working class in Britain's African colonies, while in Britain itself and other western European countries the working class elected Labour governments.

It was certainly not the fault of the working class, or of any lack of militancy or desire for change, that more was not made of this period to advance to socialism.

It was against this background that US imperialism launched its world-wide drive, through economic, military and political means, to restore the strength of the imperialist system, and of itself at the head.

But while forces such as the National Association of Manufacturers might determine policy aims, they alone would not be capable of shaping or carrying out the right tactics.

In 1948, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) held its convention in Portland, Oregon. The principal guest speaker at this conference of trade unionists was Justice William Douglas of the



Above: Truman with Stalin at the Potsdam conference in July, 1945. Two years later he was to institute the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

US Supreme Court.

He opened up a liberal capitalist perspective for the world, with America leading, then spoke of the widespread suspicions that America was an imperialist power which 'may be extending its power into Europe through cartels, banks and other powerful instruments of industry and finance'. He went on:

'Out of this arises the importance of the fact that American labour carried good credentials to western Europe. Doors tightly closed to all others may open at its knock. Words from American labour promise to find good acceptance. The conventional diplomat will fail miserably in these revolutionary days unless he understands the rise of the labour governments of the world and can evaluate the factors that have created and maintained them... It is in this precise respect that American labour can render a unique service.'

HOSTILITY

Thus the potential use of the trade union bureaucracy as an instrument of imperialist foreign policy and diplomacy was being recognized and the signal given for the co-option of trade union bureaucrats into the secret diplomacy and intrigues of US imperialism and the CIA.

This was not a simple and straightforward task. True, there was a tradition of class-collaboration and support for capitalism among union leaders, particularly in the older, more conservative American Federation of Labour (AFL) unions. But, on the other hand, in the CIO particularly, which had grown up in the bitter and often violent struggles of the 1930s,

there was also a tradition of hostility towards imperialism and colonialism, making it necessary for American imperialism to dress itself up as something different, to talk about the 'free world' and to pretend that it was really concerned with exporting the values of American freedom and democracy and helping other peoples liberate themselves from the tyranny of other powers.

Part of the importance of recruiting 'liberal' academics and trade union leaders to serve the CIA was to provide and sustain this sort of ideological cover for imperialist aggression.

The basis for American labour leaders' alignment with American government policy was laid during the Roosevelt administration in friendly relations fostered between the government and the unions and in the use of liberal intellectuals.

But credit for this successful use of class-collaboration belongs not only to Roosevelt and his liberal and reformist supporters, but also to the policies pursued by the Communist Party of the USA. Its members and sympathizers were to fall victim in the Cold War era to the very spirit of 'national unity' which they had helped to foster.

Following the requirements of Kremlin foreign policy, the Stalinists not only supported Roosevelt. But during World War II, with America and the Soviet Union allies, they had campaigned in the unions for full support for the war effort.

Leading CP members appeared on the same platforms as representatives of the capitalist class. At the same time trade unionists who tried to maintain union independence and fought for workers'

interests were denounced as 'fascists', as were opponents of US imperialism in Latin America.

As for Trotskyists, the CP fully supported their legal and political repression by the American government—thus helping to create a rod for their own witch-hunting later.

Towards the end of the war, the Stalinists' adaptation to social patriotism and 'American exceptionalism' went so far that the leadership was prepared to liquidate the Party altogether in favour of a 'Communist Educational Association'. Browder, the leader, was subsequently thrown out and denounced, but in reality, all he had done was to take the Party's policy to its logical and ideological conclusion.

The CP had gained a strong position in the CIO unions, with members and sympathizers in organizing posts and in the leadership of some unions.

Then in 1946, the witch-hunt began.

In response to attacks from the capitalist press, CIO leader Murray appointed a six-man committee to look into allegations of CP influence. The committee, which included Mike Quill of the transport workers and auto leader Walter Reuther, reported back with a unanimous resolution that the CIO 'resent and reject efforts of the Communist Party or any other political party and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO'.

This was endorsed by the CIO convention. Two delegates from the National Maritime Union opposed the motion, but withdrew their opposition after consulting with the CP faction.

The 'Daily Worker' explained 'There can be no doubt of the correctness of the

actions of the communists and all "lefts" in the convention or of their agreement to vote for the statement... The paper explained that this was 'how a united front works'.

EVASIONS

So, in the interests of this spurious 'united front' the Stalinists were even prepared, in return for a few conciliatory remarks and evasions from Murray, to accept a witch-hunt against themselves! Why? Presumably, the answer can be found in William Z. Foster's official Party history.

The veteran Stalinist leader makes no mention of the resolution against CP influence, nor of another one passed by the same convention which curtailed the right of state or local CIO councils to pass resolutions on other than state or local issues, or to contribute money to organizations other than those approved by the CIO.

Instead, he refers to the 'influence' of 'progressive-led unions' in keeping the CIO on a 'progressive' course and mentions only one resolution—that in favour of continued Big Three unity.

Stalin's diplomacy, and particularly the arrangements he had made with the Allied powers at Yalta, must predominate! The net result of this subordination to Stalinist diplomacy, supposedly in the interests of the Soviet Union, was that it helped the union bureaucracy take the CIO on to an anti-Soviet, anti-communist offensive, and helped open the door to McCarthyism. So when it came to the crunch, far from being able to defend the Soviet Union, the Communist Party could not defend itself.

CONTINUED ON MONDAY

COMRADES, IT'S COLD INSIDE

As the long East European winter closes in, the people of Warsaw are already shivering at the thought of how the state heating system — notoriously prone to major breakdowns — will function.

Every year the Polish capital's central heating network suffers failures, but this year officials are making even gloomier predictions, raising the spectre of cold homes and work-places.

Nearly all buildings are supplied with central heating from the miles of pipes which make up the vast network. The basic problem is that large sections of pipes need replacing urgently, while the two power stations cannot meet the growing demands of the city.

To make matters worse, the municipal heating company has difficulty in pumping hot water to the higher storeys of the big blocks of flats in which most of Warsaw's 1.3 million people live.

The outlook, groaned one leading Warsaw daily, recalled the fate of Sisyphus, the mythical Greek figure condemned forever to roll a stone to the top of a steep hill, only to see it roll down again forcing him to start the laborious task once more.

'Now all the errors committed in the construction of power stations and heating pipes are being revealed. It shows how disastrous are the consequences of using cut-price technology, materials and equipment,' declared the daily 'Slowo Powszechnie'.

As a result flats, hospitals and kindergartens will almost certainly be underheated again. Although the winter heating season has only just started, newspapers have received a flood of complaining letters from exasperated tenants.

The two-year-old regime of Communist Party leader Edward Gierek, who took over after workers' riots over food price increases, has already started building new heating plants but these will take at least another year to complete.

Meanwhile the company lays the blame at the door of the plants, which are short of stokers and equipment. Plant managers angrily retort that the company is the real villain since its pipes do not work properly.

The wide-bore pipes, mainly of concrete and asbestos, were laid down within the last five years and were hailed as the ideal solution at the time since they were considered cheap and efficient — a claim now universally scoffed at.

Even the anti-breakdown service broke down recently, complained the Communist Party daily 'Trybuna Ludu', adding that it was beyond understanding how 'properly checked equipment works for a mere two weeks' in Warsaw.

Failures are a serious headache for most householders who rely almost completely on hot water for heating in the winter.

Frequently they have to heat their bathwater in pots and pans.

In an attempt to rectify the problem, workers have pledged to carry out £204,000 worth of repairs without pay. But this would still represent only about 5 per cent of the work which still has to be done.

Reuter



Chilean President Salvador Allende (left) with a group of copper miners, on a tour for gaining election support.

ALLENDE STIRS UP NATIONALISM

BY JOHN SPENCER

Chilean President Salvador Allende is making the most of his dispute with the US-owned Kennecott Copper Company to enforce rigorous new economy measures on the country.

A French tribunal has ordered the seizure of Chilean copper imports into France following a law-suit by the corporation which was nationalized early in the life of Allende's Popular Unity coalition.

The US-owned copper companies are still in dispute with the Chilean government over compensation for the nationalization measures. Chile wants to cream off the excess profits which Kennecott and other firms have been making for years.

SMOKESCREEN

The dispute is still grinding its way through the Chilean legal system, but Kennecott's action in France has aroused considerable nationalist feeling against the US. Behind this smokescreen Allende hopes to impose further cuts to ease

the country's economic crisis.

Speaking in Valdivia last week the President said very hard times were ahead for Chile: 'First there was the fall in the price of copper, then the US banks cut our lines of credit, after that the international banks made trouble and now we face embargoes . . .'

Hard times have already arrived for many sections of workers—in the past nine months the cost of living has gone up by nearly 100 per cent. Allende claimed the government had made the mistake of not telling people about its problems:

'We were at fault because we did not say clearly to the people from the beginning that we could not satisfy all their needs on account of the defects in our infrastructure.

'In the past there was no shortage of food for the good reason that thousands of Chileans had no means of buying food to eat.' He accepted that wages must go up to compensate for inflation, but he added a significant warning:

'It will be necessary to introduce different economic policies, a harsh policy of war. Those who have always had enough will have to give more each time. What is needed above all is a mobilization of the masses.'

This statement reveals the

complete bankruptcy of the Popular Unity government—a coalition of social-democrats, Stalinists and liberals. The Allende government came to office in 1970 on the basis of promises to lead the country along the 'peaceful road' to socialism.

DOWNFALL

Instead a timid series of nationalization measures have only encouraged the Chilean employers to organize for its downfall, while the working class have got tired of living on promises for the future.

The Popular Unity government has turned viciously against peasants occupying the landlords' land and against 'illegal' factory take-overs by workers. The coalition has succeeded in confusing and disorientating sections of workers, while relying for support on the army and the police against the threat of genuine revolution.

Allende apparently feels that the Kennecott affair can give him a new lease of life. Only a few weeks ago he was talking darkly about the danger of civil war, while appeasing the middle class by saying he would never arm the workers.

Now his stand is endorsed on nationalistic grounds even by the right-wing Santiago press, including 'El Mercurio', the regime's most consistent critic from the right. The papers are full of cartoons denouncing American 'piracy' and praising Allende's position.

But it would be a dangerous deception to consider that the Kennecott affair has really staved off the threat of a right-wing coup. Allende's regime is a government of crisis, caught between world imperialism and its own working class.

The Chilean employers want a tough right-wing regime to discipline the workers—and the Allende government is now trying to prove that it can do the job just as well.

This is the real significance of the talk about austerity measures—the brunt will be borne in the factories and among the poor peasants. The real treachery of the Popular Unity government is that these measures will only strengthen the right and make more certain the eventual demise of the Allende regime.

The reactionary armed bands mobilized by the extreme right are waiting in the wings for their opportunity—and they plan to take a terrible revenge on the Chilean workers for the 'peaceful road' experiment embarked on by Allende and his Stalinist backers.

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF SIR JOHN DONALDSON

BY IAN YEATS PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARTIN MAYER

In the spring of 1958 most Britons were poised on the brink of a long, lazy boom-time summer not yet summed up in Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's famous election phrase, 'You've never had it so good'.

But there were those who, even then, believed the good times would not last for ever—among them a sharp witted young Tory lawyer winning his spurs at one of London's Inns of Court—John Donaldson.

While the public at large reacted to the Great Britain or Little England debate then sweeping the country with indifference, amusement or resignation, Donaldson was appalled.

After a brief post-war political career as an 'independent' on Croydon Borough Council, according to 'Labour Weekly's' Martin Linton:

'John Donaldson came off the council in 1952 and went in for a legal career. He soon became a leading light in the Inns of Court Conservative and Unionist Association.'

His change to the law was no academic or self-advancing whim.

Britain's ramshackle Victorian industry was falling behind in the post-war race for markets and in the trade unions faithful war-time right wingers who collaborated with Churchill's coalition like Deakin, Lawther, Carron and Williamson were being replaced by such 'fire-brands' as Frank Cousins.

At the same time working-class militancy, pent up by the war and the promises of the 1945 Labour government, found expression in unofficial strikes spurring Donaldson on to a detailed study of the legal relations between employers and their men.

According to Paul Ferris in his soon-to-be-published book 'The New Militants':

In the 1950s a group of anonymous Conservative lawyers had argued in a booklet called 'A Giant's Strength' for curbing trade union powers. One of the group was Sir John Donaldson, later the first president of the National Industrial Relations Court.

Since the pamphlet was anonymous, proof of Donaldson's part in it is hard to establish. But, says Martin Linton: 'Officials [of the Association] remember [Donaldson] as an active member at least up to 1966.'

By the comparatively comfortable standards of the time 'A Giant's Strength' contained views which were virulently right wing.

These views have now moved from the barely credible fringe of Butskellite Britain to the

very centre of Heath's attack on the working class.

Linton goes on: 'This pamphlet was the forerunner of the Inns of Court Conservative Association's evidence to the Donovan Commission which was rejected, but which, as Harold Wilson said recently, was the main inspiration of the Tory Industrial Relations Act.'

'So Sir John is not merely the interpreter of this law but he was to an important degree its procreator.'

The booklet set out a 13-point plan which made political strikes a criminal offence and recommended heavy penalties against those taking part in stoppages which breached a new code of industrial conduct.

Echoing a phrase of their president, Sir Winston Churchill, the lawyers' main concern was that the unions had come to be a great and powerful estate—entirely outside the law.

They went so far as to say that far from accommodating themselves within the framework of the British Constitution the unions were hell-bent to overturn it.

Examples were given. 'He said he would, the judge said he could, we said he could not and he did not—Market organizer T&GWU, Smithfield.'

Said the lawyers: 'The mere fact that such an arrogant expression of disrespect for the law can be made indicates that all is not well.'

This concern for the law was not, needless to say, motivated by any sense of high moral principle.

The real inspiration was plain for all to see in the booklet's introduction, which began:

'The Inns of Court Conservative and Unionist Society has written this pamphlet in the belief that a re-examination of the structure of trade unions is long overdue and that the old trade union laws should be revised in view of a certain uneasiness which is felt today.'

POWER

Who it was that felt this unease we can only guess. On the surface anxieties appeared fixed on the cold war and 'the Bomb', while public platforms and television screens were filled with the eldorado of full employment and the welfare state.

But, said the authors: 'In recent months Britain has been passing through a period of serious financial and economic difficulty and much thought has been given to the causes by those who wish to see this country flourish.'

It would be unrealistic to the point of dishonesty not to



acknowledge at the outset that the problem is one of power. 'One thing is certain. In the second half of the 20th century England faces very different economic problems from those that have prevailed hitherto and under which the trade unions have developed.

'No longer have we those foreign assets which for many years provided a large part of the national income. 'No longer are we able to cushion the effect of bad times by drawing on the accumulated wealth of the past.

'We have spent all in the defence of liberty and the welfare state. Now we are face to face with the brutal facts of economic life. 'We must face great and ever growing competition in the markets we have hitherto commanded. If we are to meet these challenges we cannot afford internal disputes or restrictions in industry for such things greatly hamper our power to overcome our difficulties.

'It must be clear to anyone who has seriously considered the economic conditions of post-war Britain that both the big strike and the unreason-

able restrictive practice are capable of gravely hindering the nations advance in trade and enterprise.'

THREAT

What was the answer to be? It was a new law to curb the power of the union bureaucracies and outlaw the 'dis-senters'.

As Marx and Engels say in the 'Communist Manifesto': 'Jurisprudence is but the will of one class made into law for all.'

The Tory lawyers' arguments phrased in such a way as to prove conclusively that the power of the unions threatened 'the rule of law' which, as every fair-minded person knew, was the slender 'shield' dividing the maintenance of individual freedom from the nihilistic forces of anarchy.

Use of the law to shackle the hot-heads in the unions seemed a shrewd move and the authors concluded sagely: 'A deep respect for law was a characteristic of the British people.'

They went on: 'The public declaration by a leading jurist



Top: printworkers stopped work and marched on July 22, 1972, in support of the five dockers jailed under the Industrial Relations Act for picketing. Here they pass the NIRC. Above: Sir John Donaldson, president of the Court.

that the General Strike of 1926 was illegal had a considerable effect in causing its leaders to end it.'

This quality of obedience to bourgeois law had been particularly marked in the trade

union bureaucracies.

The authors said: 'It is not perhaps generally realised in non-trade union circles how fortunate England was at that time (1926) that the officers of the unions who controlled the strike were not, when the point of no return was reached, prepared to smash the constitution by revolutionary means.'

In 1958 they were convinced that England was still fortunate—a gamble still to be completely lost. In his judgements, alongside his strictures on the seriousness of defying the rule of law, Donaldson has never abandoned the long-term perspective of inducing the union bureaucrats to participate in the machinery of the Industrial Relations Act and in doing so help administer it.

Aided by the Tory press this objective has been deliberately concealed behind a smoke-screen of high-minded concern to see fair play.

As the 'Daily Telegraph's' Rosemary Collins said on April 2, 1972:

'He's a military-looking man. Tough-looking. But he's very fair. You might almost say he has leaned over backwards on

this industrial job to see that unions know how to represent their case and get a fair hearing.'

Donaldson himself has played the game. During the Heaton case in May this year he said:

'The application appears to reveal a continued and more extensive disobedience of the court's orders.'

Did Donaldson lash the trade union leaders? Not a bit of it. He said:

'The court has given serious consideration to whether it should not exercise its power to require the attendance . . . of the principal officers of the unions.'

It is, however, aware that the relationship between the court and the trade union movement has been under intensive study during the last few days.

In the circumstances we are content at this stage to leave the question of representation of the union and attendance by its officers to their own sense of responsibility.'

The ultimate meaning, in Tory minds, of the word 'responsibility' was set out by Donaldson in the Cunningham

v Panalpa case when he said: 'Every union has its dissenters and they have a real contribution to make, but members who act in defiance of the union policy of obeying court orders are a liability which the unions could well do without.

'Parliament intends strong and responsible trade union and employers' associations to be able to bargain freely and settle disputes peacefully to their own great benefit and that of the community.'

The sort of bargaining the authors of the 1958 booklet had in mind approximates to what is now happening in the tripartite talks between the TUC, the CBI and Heath.

Fourteen years ago the Tory lawyers held that 'ideally' there should never be any strike over wages because 'theoretically' employers and unions should be able to weigh up what they will gain or lose by a strike and arrive at an optimum figure.

Indeed they would have liked to have banned strikes altogether, proving to their own satisfaction that there was no such thing as 'the right to strike'.

They wrote: 'The right to strike must be sharply differentiated from the individual's right to withdraw his labour. The latter is a fundamental civil liberty, for it is that which distinguished the free man from the serf.

'The right to strike is not of this nature, indeed, it frequently involves an infringement of individual liberty . . . the law's original (19th century) declaration that strikes were illegal is of the same kind as its subsequent declaration that they were permissible.

'Neither involve any fundamental right or liberty like the individual's right to withdraw his labour.

'In each case it is a question of the law responding to the political climate or economic expediency.'

DISGUISE

Although they chose to disguise it as a solution to the problem of unequal bargaining power between employers and their men, the author's decision not to ban economic strikes clearly reflected their

justifiable fear that this was something even right wingers in the union bureaucracies would not wear.

They confined themselves to recommending 'civil or criminal proceedings' and 'substantial fines' for any who took it upon themselves to transgress the new industrial code the pamphlet set out—a code remarkably similar to the current provisions of the anti-union law.

On political strikes they felt on safer ground and allowed themselves full rein.

'Civil liberty depends on the use of representative institutions; the constitution provides machinery whereby the executive is finally responsible to the electorate. A political strike introduces an element of political irresponsibility which is opposed to and even destructive of such an element.

'We give full weight to the argument that a General Strike is a revolutionary act and you cannot control a revolution by enacting a statute.

'We therefore consider that the political strike should be clearly pronounced illegal. By illegal in this context we mean a criminal offence.'

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

HOW THE WORKERS WON THE VOTE

PART THREE

Not even the Combination Acts could completely stamp out working-class organizations, nor the activities of a few middle-class radicals calling for parliamentary reform, during the 20 years of the French wars.

We have evidence from magistrates' records that secret trade unions were formed on a local basis and that strikes occurred.

The rapid spread of machinery, causing much unemployment, resulted in violent outbreaks of machine-breaking by the 'Luddites', a semi-organized force operating in the Midlands and north of England. Ned Ludd, who had been a stocking-maker's apprentice, sent out calls to action in Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire to such effect that troops had to be called in.

HANGED OR TRANSPORTED

In Lancashire, eight regiments of infantry and three of Horse Guards rounded up over 100 prisoners, who were hanged or transported. In January, 1813, 64 more were tried and 17 men were hanged at York.

Some Luddites called for the overthrow of the government. But the political field was dominated by radical journalists whom the government harassed and imprisoned, but dared not execute. Outstanding among them were Major Cartwright, who had been campaigning for universal suffrage ever since John Wilkes' days, and William Cobbett.

Cobbett's social ideal—the rural England of the 18th century—was profoundly conservative. But his sharp awareness of the social changes caused by the Industrial Revolution forced him to the conclusion that a complete overhaul of the electoral system was necessary.

In his newspaper, 'The Political Register', he violently abused 'The Thing' (the existing system of political patronage and bribery). One issue criticizing the brutal discipline in the army, landed him in jail for two years.

When he emerged, he defiantly reduced the price of his paper from 1s 0½d to 2d, re-christening it 'Two-penny Trash'. In its new form it became a campaigning weapon for parliamentary reform among the working class, selling 50,000 copies a week. Cobbett himself travelled all over England to address political meetings.

It is not hard to see why the reformers found ready audiences. Numerically, the working class was growing at a phenomenal speed. They suffered all the hardships in

working and living conditions of men who have no strong organizations to defend them against capitalist greed.

The overall population of England rose from 6.5 million in 1760, to 8.25 million in 1801, to 10 million by 1815 and 14 million by 1820.

The growth of industrial towns was staggering. Between 1801 and 1831, Liverpool's population went from 82,000 to 202,000; Leeds from 53,000 to 123,000; Sheffield and Birmingham doubled; while London gained 250,000 extra citizens in a mere five years (1815-1820).

Writing in 1844, Engels assembled the most telling economic statistics. Raw cotton imports rose from £5m worth in 1770, to £54m in 1800, and £360m by 1836. Wool imports went from £7m in 1801 to £42m in 1835.

By 1835, 553,000 tons were being produced each year, compared with 17,000 tons in 1740.

The expansion of coal production he describes as 'incalculable'. While labour was increasingly abundant, it was cheap and easily replaceable for the manufacturers who participated in this jamboree of expansion and wealth. No wonder they did not pause to ponder on 'social problems', until the development of unity, militancy and class consciousness among their employees forced them to do so!

To add to the hardships of the working class the price of grain (the staple foodstuff) fluctuated wildly in the war years, rising from 43s a quarter in 1792 to a peak of 126s in 1812.

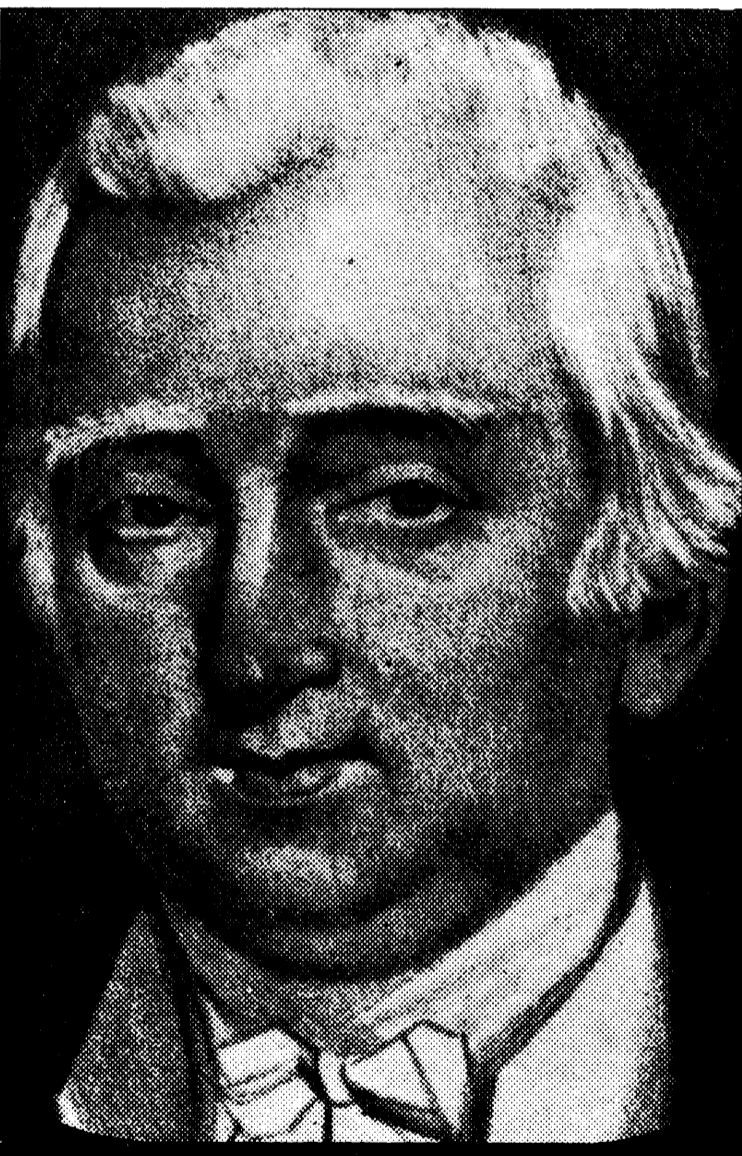
At the end of the war it fell back to 65s 7d. But the relief was short-lived. In less than a year the country was plunged into an economic crisis which the government did more to aggravate than alleviate. 300,000 demobilized soldiers flooded the labour market. Trade sagged badly, due partly to the mounting inflation set on foot by Pitt's decision in 1792 to print paper money 'off the gold standard'. There was no stability in prices—and no trade unions strong enough to enforce stability of real wages.

Only one commodity's price was regulated by government intervention. In order to protect the farmers' profits, the Corn Law of 1815 fixed a minimum price of 80s a quarter for the English grain which made up every worker's daily bread.

Only when English prices rose above 80s could cheaper foreign grain be imported. Another government measure which struck directly at workers was the abolition of income tax in 1816. To replace lost revenue, indirect taxes were increased on many items used by rich and poor alike.

The years 1815-1820 saw the largest reform demonstrations ever held.

Grievances were economic in origin, yet the political parliamentary reform movement dominated the platform at every meeting. Middle-class



Top: Pitt addressing the House of Commons. Above: William Cobbett, a campaigner for reform who produced the paper 'Two-penny Trash'.

radicals were eager to rally mass support for their campaign. But events were to prove that their real aim was often merely to admit their own kind to the privilege of parliamentary representation, and not at all to enfranchise hungry and unemployed workers. Among the latter, faith in parliamentary representation as a means to an end—cheap food and better living conditions—was strong.

In 1817, several hundred men set out to march to London and present a parliamentary reform petition to the Prince Regent in person—only to be dispersed by soldiers.

Huge, mainly peaceful, meetings of workers assembled to hear radicals such as 'Orator' Hunt at Spa Fields in London and at St Peter's Fields near Manchester. They listened to long speeches, signed petitions and voted on resolutions. It

was a big political advance from the anarchistic machine-breaking of earlier years.

INSTIGATED VIOLENCE

Yet violence was not absent. The Tory government, having experienced the resilience of the armies of the French revolution, were terrified of revolutionary outbreaks in Britain. They had no large standing army to depend on. The recently-demobilized soldiers were amongst the most discontented elements in society.

So the government resorted to underground methods of spying and set Bow Street Runners on the trail of 'agitators'. Through a system of agents provocateurs, the most famous of whom was Oliver the Spy, they instigated violence in the hope that

savage punishment (e.g. after the 1817 Derbyshire 'Pentridge' Rising) would 'set an example' to the rest of the population. The most notorious example of such government action was the Peterloo massacre of 1819.

A participant in this reform meeting at St Peter's Fields has left us an account of what happened.

'We had frequently been taunted by the press with our ragged dirty appearances at these assemblages; with the confusion of our proceedings, and the mob-like crowds in which our numbers were mustered; and we determined that, for once at least, these reflections should not be deserved—that we would disarm the bitterness of our opponents by a display of cleanliness, sobriety and decorum, such as we never beforehand exhibited. In short, we would deserve their respect by showing that we respected ourselves . . . peace on our parts was secured by a prohibition of all weapons of offence or defence, and by the strictest discipline . . .'

Over 10,000 men, women and children marched to the reform meeting, obedient to these orders on August 16, 1819. Speeches began, but soon 'a noise and strange murmur arose'. Cavalry soldiers were seen approaching.

'On the cavalry drawing up they were received with a shout of goodwill, as I understood it. They shouted again, waving their sabres over their heads; and then, slackening rein, they dashed forward and began cutting the people . . .'

The net result—11 dead and over 400 injured, plus a congratulatory telegram from the Prince Regent to the soldiers.

The fury aroused by this event and the subsequent discovery of the 'Cato Street Conspiracy' to murder the Cabinet, gave the government the pretext they needed to pass the Six Acts.

These laws prohibited any military drilling, the possession or carrying of firearms, and, most importantly, restricted public meetings to local inhabitants only—a deliberate blow against the developing national movement for reform. The repression was completed by new laws against 'seditious' pamphlets, and a high 4d tax on all newspapers, designed to put them beyond the financial reach of the working class.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

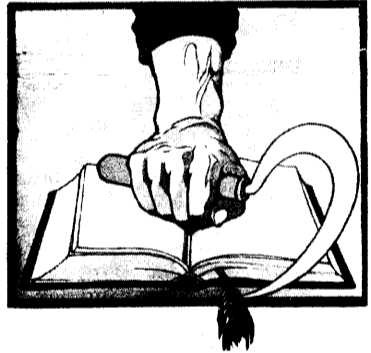


Above: Gil Robles (left) during a break in the military manoeuvres in Riosa in the Asturias in July 1935. Accompanying him is General Franco (third from left).

GIL ROBLES AND THE GENERALS

By Juan Garcia

BOOK REVIEW



'No fue posible la paz'. By Gil Robles. Published by Ariel. 1968.

For the leading right-wing politicians, the advent of the Spanish Republic in 1931 could only encourage the 'virus of rationalism' in the universities and 'working-class subversion'. Their task was preparation of counter-revolution. Their man for the moment, Gil Robles.

Robles in his autobiography, 'Peace was not possible', articulates the ruling-class hatred for the proletariat: 'For their part, the working masses, more and more isolated from elements which could be called conservative, and imbued with the principle of the class struggle, would be converted into powerful instruments of social subversion . . .

'Among these masses, there was an absolute absence of spiritual principles. The proletariat lived submerged in the most frightful moral poverty, derived mainly from their physical wretchedness.'

The Catholic lawyer Robles spent the first two years of the Republic establishing the CEDA as a national party and building up its youth movement, the Youth for Popular Action (JAP). This included visits to Italy and Germany to study the organization of the Nazi Party and Mussolini's black-shirts.

The presence of CEDA ministers in Lerroux' cabinet selected in October which provoked the insurrection in

the Asturias in 1934 was determined by the bourgeoisie's requirements.

Robles could use the legal framework of the state to prepare for civil war while the JAP provided a shock force of fascist youth to supplement a depleted army.

The JAP military units fused with the army whenever workers had to be fought or strikes could be broken.

Robles' memoirs reveal the seriousness of the conscious planning which went into the counter-revolution. This seriousness was lacking completely in the leadership of the Asturian working class and the Spanish working class generally dominated by the left rhetoric of syndicalists and politicians in the Grossi mould. (See yesterday's p. 9 review of Grossi's book written in jail after the failure of the 1934 uprising.)

At all costs a premature confrontation had to be avoided—no more abortive military coups like the one led by General Sanjurjo in 1932.

The generals were over-impetuous in their enthusiasm to remove the Republic in 1934. With Asturias under military occupation, the army wanted to press on with their conquests.

President Alcala Zamora's decision to amnesty the Catalan nationalist Perez Farras stirred up the military even more.

Before the October 18 decision was announced, generals Fanjul and Goded informed Robles that they wanted to see him urgently.

Their messenger, Candido Casanueva, was told to cool them down. After sounding out the mood in the barracks, they agreed and asked the CEDA, which was opposed to the amnesty, to make a compromise and stay in the government.

'Although it is necessary to give an amnesty to Perez Farras, don't resign, because the army is in no position to stop power from falling in the hands of the lefts, who would tear us apart very quickly.'

There could have been no better man to preside at the Ministry of War, which

Robles did in 1935. His main task was to reorganize and re-equip the Spanish armed forces. General Franco handed over a complete study of the needs of the army which required expenditure of over a thousand million pesetas. This was ratified by the Council of Ministers on July 30.

Although Robles insists in his memoirs that he was not in favour of a military coup, this can only be understood as rewriting of history for the benefit of the Spanish liberals and Communist Party leaders who now figure among the cohorts of 'democratic' Robles.

He militarized the munitions workforce to ensure that the left takeover would not be repeated and personally supervised army manoeuvres in the Asturias.

These were manoeuvres of a new unit he set up which was especially equipped to deal with the physical problems of fighting in the mining valleys against a 'fresh movement of sedition'.

In the good company of Generals Fanjul, Franco and Goded, he watched the troops cross the mining valleys and take up positions in the hills.

It was from October 1934 that the Spanish Military Union (UME), the right-wing conspiracy within the army, spread its tentacles from captains and colonels to generals Mola and Goded.

Although Robles had to make way for the strong man Francisco Franco, his participation in the Republican government provided two years of valuable preparation of the bourgeois counter-revolution.

The lesson of the insurrection in the Asturias and Robles' career is that the spontaneous militancy of the working class, far from automatically dislocating the bourgeois state, in fact leads this state to sharpen its knives against the working class and in defence of capital.

When the Workers' Alliance in the Asturias decided not to spread the insurrection nationally, they presented the generals with two years to prepare for the national uprising.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

HUSHED

The new Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Robert Mark, has been visiting various newspaper editors in Fleet Street explaining his policies. He has asked editors to pass on information to him personally if corruption against police officers is discovered.

While the editors seem to be accepting this diplomatic line from Mark, many of the reporters aren't.

They recall 'The Times' investigation which led to the conviction of two senior officers on corruption charges.

An internal examination of the case was undertaken. One of its findings was that had the complaint against the officers been investigated internally by the police, there was no reason to believe that it would have been impartial.

In other words the system of internal inquiries is less than satisfactory and the whole 'Times' case may have been hushed up.



THE TIMES

On Monday 'The Times' produced one of its grovelling supplements. This one was on Nigeria. The newspaper's chief reporter, Peter Hopkirk, announced that the first General Election for seven years was imminent. This rumour has been passed around for at least the past seven years.

The other articles went on to praise the monumental strides in building Nigeria under the benevolent despotism of General Gowon and the military rulers.

The paper did not carry, however, an event which took place the day before the supplement was published.

Ten men who robbed a passenger bus were publicly executed by an army firing squad.

This brought to 200 the number of robbers executed since capital punishment for thieving was introduced a year ago.

AMIN GOLD



Recently an 'Observer' reporter was arrested in Kampala and had his notebook of contacts confiscated. It contained a dozen names of prominent people who the reporter had been instructed to see by the paper's African 'expert', Colin Legum.

One of the men on the list was Mr Anil Clerk, secretary to the parliament which General Amin has abolished for five years.

Mr Clerk subsequently disappeared and is believed to have been murdered by the army authorities.

His death marks another chapter in the famous gold-smuggling case which involved Amin in 1966.

In that year Amin was suspended from the army after allegations were made in the House of Assembly that he had been involved in smuggling gold from the Congo. The court of inquiry set up by Dr Milton Obote spent three weeks investigating the allegations. The three learned judges filed the report, but Obote never published its findings.

During the inquiry the then Colonel Amin was represented by a local Kampala lawyer—Mr Anil Clerk.

BOOKS



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SATURDAY

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 10.10 Merrie Melodies. 10.35 Puffin. 10.40-11.30 Bonanza. 12.30 London. 5.10 Please Sir. 5.40 London. 7.00 Film: 'Information Received'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.45 Aquarius. 11.35 All our yesterdays. 12.00 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 9.15 Make a wish. 9.40 Merrie melodies. 10.05 Gus Honeybun. 11.00 London. 12.00 Faith for life. 12.05 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 9.05 London. 10.00 All our yesterdays. 10.25 Follyfoot. 10.57 Weather. 11.00 London. 5.10 Smith family. 5.40 London. 7.00 Film: 'Destination Gobi'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.45 Aquarius. 11.35 News. 11.45 Spyforce. 12.35 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.00 London. 9.50 Bugs Bunny. 10.00 Tomfoolery. 10.30 Follyfoot. 11.00 London. 5.10 UFO. 6.10 London. 7.00 McCloud. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Benny Hill. 10.30 London. 10.45 Aquarius. 11.35 Name of the game. 12.55 Weather.

HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as above except: 5.10-5.40 Dora. 5.40-6.10 Sion a sian.

ANGLIA: 9.00 London. 10.00 Bottom of the sea. 11.00 London. 5.10 Riptide. 6.10 London. 7.00 Film: 'The Crooked Web'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.30 Film: 'Alphabet Murders'.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.15 You and your golf. 9.45 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.10 Lord Mountbatten. 11.00 London. 5.10 It takes a thief. 6.10 London. 7.00 Film: 'The Girls of Pleasure Island'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.45 Aquarius. 11.35 Film: 'The Saint Valentine's Day Massacre'.

ULSTER: 10.30 Skippy. 11.00 London. 5.10 Flintstones. 5.40 Sportscast. 6.10 London. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.10 McMillan and Wife. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.45 Aquarius. 11.35 Journey to the unknown.

YORKSHIRE: 9.15 You and your golf. 9.40 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.05 Tomfoolery. 10.30 Follyfoot. 11.00 London. 5.10 Riptide. 6.10 London. 7.00 Film: 'Seven Ways From Sundown'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.45 Aquarius. 11.35 Mannix. 12.30 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.15 You and your golf. 9.40 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.10 Craftsmen. 10.35 Arthur. 11.00 London. 5.10 Big valley. 6.10 London. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.05 Film: 'Kung Fu'. 8.25 Variety. 9.25 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.45 Aquarius. 11.35 Film: 'Cat People'.

TYNE TEES: 9.15 You and your golf. 9.40 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.10 Tomfoolery. 10.35 Follyfoot. 11.05 London. 5.10 Riptide. 6.10 London. 7.00 Film: 'Ten Wanted Men'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.40 Aquarius. 11.35 Journey to the unknown. 12.25 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 9.15 You and your golf. 9.45 Collecting on a shoestring. 10.10 Cartoon. 10.35 Follyfoot. 11.05 London. 5.10 Bonanza. 6.10 London. 6.15 Film: 'Seven Days in May'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.45 Aquarius. 11.35 Late call. 11.40 Spyforce.

GRAMPIAN: 10.15 Beagan gaidhlig. 10.30 Rumble jumble. 11.00 London. 5.10 Batman. 5.40 Protectors. 6.10 London. 7.00 Film: 'Seven Ways from Sundown'. 8.30 Variety. 9.30 Villains. 10.30 London. 10.45 Aquarius. 11.35 Shirley's world.

REGIONAL TV

SUNDAY

CHANNEL: 11.00-12.25 London. 2.13 Weather. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Blackjack Ketchum Desperado'. 4.40 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Roman Holiday'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Avengers. 12.05 Epilogue. Weather.

WESTWARD: 9.30 London. 10.30 Let them live. 11.00 London. 12.25 Angling today. 12.55 Collecting on a shoestring. 1.20 Smith family. 1.45 Gus Honeybun. 1.50 Farm and country news. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Blackjack Ketchum Desperado'. 4.40 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Roman Holiday'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Avengers. 12.05 Faith for life. 12.10 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 9.15 Talking hands. 9.30 London. 10.30 Farm progress. 10.57 Weather. 11.00 London. 12.30 Bush boy. 1.00 Superman. 1.20 How. 1.50 Hogan's Heroes. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'The Ladies' Man'. 4.55 News. 5.05 Fenn Street gang. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Double Man'. 9.50 Cartoon. 10.00 London. 11.15 Strange report. 12.10 Frighteners. 12.35 Weather. Guideline.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 10.35 Time to remember. 11.00 London. 11.25 Talking hands. 12.45 Journey of a lifetime. 1.00 Let them live. 1.25 Love American style. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Run, Simon, Run'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'The River's Edge'. 9.30 Mr and Mrs. 10.00 London. 11.15 Villains. 12.15 Weather.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 10.30 Survival. 11.00 London. 12.30 Dr Simon Locke. 12.55 Cowboy in Africa. 1.50 Weather. 1.55 Farming. 2.30 Name of the game. 3.55 Match. 4.45 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Odongo'. 9.30 London. 11.15 Department S'.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. 10.30 All our yesterdays. 11.00 London. 12.30 Citizen's rights. 1.00 Champions. 2.00 Star soccer. 3.00 Film: 'Passionate Summer'. 4.45 London. 7.55 Film: 'The Long Duel'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Spyforce. 12.15 Stories worth telling. Weather.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 12.30 You and your golf. 1.00 Collecting on a shoestring. 1.30 HR Pufnstuf. 1.55 Women only. 2.15 London. 3.15 Film: 'Bottoms Up'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Breakthrough'. 9.30 London. 11.15 Department S'.

YORKSHIRE: 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 Let them live. 11.00 London. 12.30 On the buses. 1.00 Farming outlook. 1.25 Calendar. 1.55 Soccer. 2.50 Film: 'Where's Charley?'. 4.40 Cartoon. 4.45 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Valley of Mystery'. 9.30 London. 11.15 Strange report. 12.10 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 10.35 Time to remember. 11.00 London. 12.25 Merrie melodies. 1.00 Corwin. 1.50 Survival. 2.20 Football. 3.20 Film: 'Hey, Hey USA'. 4.40 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'To Trap A Spy'. 10.00 London. 11.15 Scotland Yard casebook.

TYNE TEES: 9.20 Chess masterpieces. 9.30 London. 10.30 Let them live. 11.00 London. 12.30 Laugh at lunchtime. 1.00 Farming outlook. 1.25 Something to sing about. 1.50 Where the jobs are. 1.55 Shoot. 2.50 Film: 'Sands of the Desert'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Valley of Mystery'. 9.30 London. 11.15 Challenge. 12.05 Epilogue.

SCOTTISH: 10.15 Master chefs. 10.30 Skilful rugby. 11.00 London. 12.30 No fellow travellers. 1.00 Randall and Hopkirk. 2.00 Scotsport. 3.25 Film: 'Valley of Song'. 4.45 London. 5.35 Elephant boy. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Valley of Mystery'. 9.30 London. 11.15 Late call. 11.20 Strange report.

GRAMPIAN: 11.00 London. 12.40 You and your golf. 11.00 Collecting on a shoestring. 1.30 Farm progress. 2.00 Scotsport. 3.25 Film: 'Watch It Sailor'. 4.40 London. 5.35 Black Beauty. 6.05 London. 7.55 Film: 'Carry On, Don't Lose Your Head'. 9.30 London. 11.15 Untouchables.

BBC 2

9.05-10.00 Open University. 10.45 Conservative Party conference. 12.05-2.00 Open University. 3.00 Film: 'The Second Time Around'. 4.35 Play away. 5.00 Tales from Hoffnug. 5.05 Trans-African hovercraft. 5.55 Man alive.

6.45 TELEVISION DOCTOR.
7.00 NEWS, SPORT and weather.

7.35 RUGBY SPECIAL. Scotland and Ireland v England and Wales.

8.20 WAR AND PEACE. Skirmish at Schongraben.

9.05 FULL HOUSE. A live mixture of music, plays, poetry, prose, comedy films, the visual arts. Introduced by Joe Melia.

9.20 OBOADE.
9.25 EDWIN BROCK.

9.40 THE ROMANTIC PAINTINGS OF CASPAR DAVID FRIEDRICH.

10.00 HUMBLE PIE.

10.05 THE PUNISHMENT.

10.40 CATHY BERBERIAN.

11.00 NEWS ON 2 and weather.

11.05 FILM: 'LEAVE HER TO HEAVEN'. Gene Tierney, Cornel Wilde, Jeanne Crain. A psychopathically jealous wife will stop at nothing to keep her husband.

TV

BBC 1

9.35 Mod 72. 10.00 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.30 Aventura. 10.55 Weather. 11.00 Mr Benn and the big game hunter. 11.15 Harlem globetrotters: 11.35 Barrier reef. 12.00 Grandstand. 12.05, 2.10, 2.45, 4.15 Golf. 1.20, 3.15 Boxing. 1.50, 2.25, 2.55 Racing. 3.25 International rugby union. Scotland and Ireland v England and Wales. 5.00 Final score. 5.30 Goofy. 5.40 News, sport, weather. 5.55 Bruce Forsyth.

6.45 DIXON OF DOCK GREEN. Trial and Error.

7.35 THE TWO RONNIES. Ronnie Corbett and Ronnie Barker with guests Georgie Fame and Alan Price.

8.20 FILM: 'PANIC IN THE STREETS'. Richard Widmark, Paul Douglas. A Public Health Department official in New Orleans has to track down a crook who might have bubonic plague.

9.55 NEWS and weather.

10.05 MATCH OF THE DAY.

11.05 PARKINSON. Michael Parkinson with guest David Niven.
12.05 Weather.

ITV

9.00 Time off. 9.30 Collecting on a shoestring. 9.55 Osmonds. 10.20 Merrie melodies. 10.30 Return to Peyton Place. 11.00 Conservative Party conference. 12.05 Sport. 12.10 Australian rules football. 12.30 News. 12.35 On the ball. 1.05 Sports special. 1.20 ITV seven. 1.30, 2.00, 2.35 Racing from Catterick. 1.45, 2.20, 3.00 Racing from Newmarket. 3.10 Sports special. Cycling from Italy. 3.35 Wrestling. 3.55 Results, scores, news. 4.10 Racing from Newmarket. 4.20 Wrestling. 4.50 Results service. 5.10 Adventures of Black Beauty. 5.40 Sale of the century.

6.10 NEWS FROM ITN.

6.15 THE ROLF HARRIS SHOW. Guests Ken Dodd, Roy Orbison, Chelsea Brown.

7.00 McCLOUD. The Disposal Man. With Dennis Weaver.

8.20 COLUMBO. Murder by the Book. With Peter Falk.

9.30 KOPYKATS. Debbie Reynolds with guests Raymond Burr, Tony Curtis and Shecky Greene.

10.30 NEWS FROM ITN.

10.45 FILM: 'ALL THE WAY HOME'. Joanne Woodward, Richard Kiley. Story of the effects of a death on a Southern US family in 1915.

12.05 MUSIC MATTERS.
12.10 SPYFORCE. The Tunku.



Mal Zetterling has directed Michael Gough as Vincent Van Gogh in 'Vincent the Dutchman' on Omnibus on BBC 1 on Sunday. Harry Lime (Orson Welles, left) is alive and well in 'The Third Man' at 8.15 on the same channel.



BBC 1

9.00 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 9.30 Repondez s'il vous plait. 10.00 Aventura. 10.30 Family service. 11.35 A job worth doing? 12.00 Design by design. 12.25 Search for the ideal. 12.50 Farming. 1.15 Made in Britain. 1.30 Jimmy Young asks. 1.55 News and weather. 2.00 Chigley. 2.15 Ken Dodd. 2.25 Theatre. 2.50 Ask Aspel. 3.15 Where there's brass. 3.40 Tom and Jerry. 3.45 Film: 'Pride and Prejudice'. Laurence Olivier, Greer Garson, Mary Boland. 5.40 The hole in the wall.

6.05 NEWS and weather.

6.15 A CHANCE TO MEET.

6.50 MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE AND ALEC VIDLER. Appeal.

6.55 SONGS OF PRAISE.

7.25 THE ONEDIN LINE. Yellow Jack.

8.15 FILM: 'THE THIRD MAN'. Joseph Cotten, Orson Welles, Trevor Howard, Valli. Decay and corruption in post-war Vienna.

9.55 NEWS and weather.

10.10 OMNIBUS. Vincent the Dutchman.

11.10 MICHAEL MAC LIAMMOIR REMEMBERS. The famous Irish actor recalls his career.

ITV

9.30 Morning mass. 10.30 Return to Peyton Place. 11.00 Weekend world. 12.30 Forest rangers. 1.00 Tarzan. 1.50 Brian Connell interviews. 2.15 Big match. 3.15 Persuaders. 4.20 Golden shot. 5.15 Aquarius.

6.05 NEWS.

6.15 ADAM SMITH.

6.45 THY KINGDOM COME.

7.00 STARS ON SUNDAY.

7.25 THE FENN STREET GANG. The Crunch.

7.55 FILM: 'COSA NOSTRA—ARCH ENEMY OF THE FBI'. Walter Pidgeon, Efrim Zimbalist Jr, Celeste Holm, Telly Savalas, Susan Strasberg. Story of the Mafia.

9.30 THE STANLEY BAXTER PICTURE SHOW.

10.00 NEWS.

10.15 PLAY: 'WHEN THE WHEEL TURNS'. Michael Beint, Rosemary Leach, Michael Bates.

11.15 O'HARA US TREASURY. Customs: Operation Hi-Jack.

12.15 MUSIC MATTERS.

12.20 SIX DATES WITH BARKER. 1971: Come In and Lie Down.

BBC 2

9.00-12.30 Open University. 4.10 Man at work. 4.35 Money at work. 5.25 Horizon.

6.15 NEWS REVIEW.
6.50 NEWS and weather.

6.55 DOUBTS AND CERTAINTIES. Dr Erich Fromm, psychoanalyst, talks to Oliver Hunkin.

7.25 THE WORLD ABOUT US. Animals in Action.

8.15 MANTOVANI AND HIS CONCERT ORCHESTRA.

9.00 SCOOP. The Complete Traveller.

9.30 KENNETH MORE IN SIX FACES. Commonwealth of Malignants.

10.15 FILM: 'THE SEVEN YEAR ITCH'. Marilyn Monroe, Tom Ewell. Billy Wilder's comedy about a middle-aged man tempted by a beautiful blonde upstairs.
11.55 NEWS HEADLINES and weather.

At the Tory Party conference this week Home Secretary Robert Carr hinted that he is considering police flying squads to combat flying pickets. ALEX MITCHELL investigates.

Is Carr planning a British CRS?

WHEN THE riots broke out in France in May-June 1968 workers all over the world saw the emergence of General de Gaulle's special weapon for dealing with strikers and students.

These masked and heavily armed men belonged to the CRS—the Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité. It is a 15,000-strong group which is attached to the Police Nationale.

The CRS was set up just after the war by the Socialist Minister of the Interior, Jules Moch, as a para-military flying squad whose express duty was the suppression of 'national unrest'.

In the labour movement the CRS became a feared and hated body of men. But it was not until the May-June events that their vicious activities achieved international notoriety.

Tom Kemp, Central Committee member of the Socialist Labour League, was in Paris during the rioting and he made these comments in 'The Newsletter', the forerunner of Workers Press:

These forces do not act individually but are organized and operated in military formation and are highly armed and trained for street-fighting. They depend directly upon the Minister of the Interior. Like professional soldiers generally they are recruited from the families of peasants in the poorer agricultural districts and from the least class-conscious sections of the working class.

They are men without much education and no skills who would otherwise be condemned to the lower paid jobs, casual work or unemployment. Enlistment in the forces gives them security and a regular wage, a feeling of importance, a pension on retirement and the certainty of secure work in state employment or private employment.

Once released by the masters on a particular enemy, like a well-trained and faithful dog they pursue their prey with single-minded and ruthless purpose. For them the behaviour of striking workers or protesting students is incomprehensible. It can only be explained as the work of agitators and foreigners.

Once at grips with them, therefore, any feelings of humanity are completely suspended: they only know one law—to beat, beat and beat again regardless of the age, sex or condition of their victims.

The man who runs the CRS is Interior Minister Raymond Marcellin, who held a police appointment in the Vichy government. Asked about the ferocious beating and gassing of demonstrators, Marcellin said some months later:

'The trouble arose because we did not strike hard enough in May 1968. Nor quickly enough. The movement of May 1968 could have been liquidated in two days.'

In a more philosophic mood, Marcellin has said: 'History teaches us that there is no alternative to defeating revolutionaries or disappearing ourselves.'



Above: The brutal and universally hated CRS force in action against students at Nanterre University, near Paris, during the May-June 1968 days. Below: Harrogate Detective Chief Inspector Derek Sutcliffe, one of the increasing number of police involved in revolver training. The target? A human torso!



THE TORY government became dramatically appraised of the power of the working class in February this year during the miners' strike. The flash-point was Saltley Coke Depot, Birmingham.

For several days miners from as far away as Wales and Yorkshire had been joining forces to try to prevent the movement of coke at the depot.

The Midlands police had responded with a vengeance; there had been many arrests and numbers of miners had been discreetly kicked and punched once taken behind the police lines.

In response to the nightly scenes on television of unbridled

Chartists and other militant movements of working men. Peterloo may have been a military success, but its political repercussions were extremely dangerous for the ruling class.

Workers have never had any illusions about the nature of the police force; in strikes, at football grounds and on demonstrations the police clearly reveal their role.

Nevertheless, the ex-Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Sir John Waldron, was able to state in 1970:

'We do here what practically no other police force in the world does. We are non-provocative. We wear no protective clothing. We have no riot squads.'

But Waldron's words predated Saltley coke depot—and

police brutality, the local branch of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers called a one-day strike. The tens of thousands of engineers were invited to the picket line to support the struggle of the miners.

After a hushed but militant confrontation at the gates, the police superintendent marched his men away from the scene.

Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire NUM executive member, told the elated gathering of workers: 'With the solidarity of the trade union movement we have achieved our aim. This will go down in British trade union history.'

The Saltley incident had a

powerful effect on the Tory government. It immediately set in motion a series of secret studies to discover means of handling similar situations in the future.

As one civil servant told Workers Press: 'It was simple. It had been demonstrated beyond doubt that normal police methods could not work in these situations.'

'If we just accepted the situation people would rightly say, "Look, they let the unions get away with anything". We couldn't say that—that would be political suicide. We therefore had to come up with some plans for much tougher techniques. What we needed was a special heavy mob.'

the arrival of the Tory government.

Driven by the crisis of its parasitic system, the British ruling class must prepare for large-scale repression. As a matter of tactics, it is unwise for them to call on the British army. Soldiers may do the job in Kenya, Malaya, and Cyprus—and even Ulster. But it is a different question in Britain where bitterness against the army and militarism runs very deep.

In this desperate situation the Tories are looking to re-organize the police. Or should we say, a new kind of police. An élite force of police—even if it means throwing away the tradition of the 'English bobby' which has splendidly served the ruling class for more than a century.

him, do not like the drift towards para-military bodies such as those in France, West Germany, Italy and the United States.

Another police officer explained his objection: 'If we get a heavy mob to travel around the country sorting out pickets it will have a disastrous effect on our relations with the local community. Imagine trying to work

in a town after the heavy mob had been through it. Even if it was an outside squad, we'd all be accused of being involved.'

'As far as I'm concerned any attempt to start an anti-picket force is very dangerous. It would end up like Ulster where, because of the B-Specials, everyone lost confidence in the police.'

Well-meaning though these sentiments may be, they take no account of the political realities in Britain today.

And against these 'liberal' comments of some officers must be posed the hard-line approach of other senior police officers.

IN JUNE this year Mr J. H. Waghorn, the former chief superintendent of the Warwickshire and Coventry Constabulary, wrote in the 'Scotsman' that there should be a nationalized police force to handle major disorders.

He said: 'Though confidence in the strength of Britain's social fabric remains unshaken, recent events in Northern Ireland and other United Kingdom trouble-spots warn that in the homeland there is no natural immunity from disruptive influences. Indeed, the dangers of internal subversion and civil anarchy begin to justify consideration of closer police-military ties involving joint studies and training in, and organization of national security.'

Waghorn even had an answer for men like Reg Gale:

'Fears that a nationalized police would grow away from the people are unjustified, for service responsibilities would continue to include not only the prevention and detection of crime and the management of traffic, but also certain peace-keeping and social activities essential to good order, especially where other organizations could not provide them equally well.'

There is no doubt that while the Press debate about the 'changing role of the police' goes on, the plans are well advanced for a specially-trained body of police to meet the new political situation.

At Hendon Police College in north London the training course now includes much more emphasis on what is politely called 'crowd control'. Cadets are used as mock demonstrators in simulated battles and new weapons including gas and water cannon form part of normal training.

Just one aspect of this more intensified training is worth detailing.

In the sand pits at Hensall, just out of sight of the Knottingley-Goole Road, Yorkshire, is a police firing range. The officer in charge is Chief Inspector Colin Greenwood who is claimed to be one of the country's leading fire-arms experts.

The time may come, he believes, when all Britain's police will have to be permanently armed—'when the system of law and order is on the verge of breaking down.'

'If that time does come there should be no moralizing, no moaning.'

Greenwood trains thousands of policemen each year in the art of using firearms. They use targets in the shape of a man's torso.

'There is no point in them being any other shape. It's all a policeman will ever shoot at.'

With massive wages struggles being threatened in the next six months, the Heath government is clearly preparing to launch its new task force of policemen.

How long would it take to set up such an organization?

'With a stroke of the pen at the Home Office,' one policeman said. 'We're ready to go into operation soon as the politicians give the go-ahead.'

REG GALE, the president of the Police Federation, is described by all who meet him as 'a hard case'. Gale is no liberal. Far from it. He fervently advocates stiffer jail sentences, harsher conditions in prisons, the re-introduction of the death penalty for certain capital offences and tighter

laws on drugs.

But Gale is opposed to the concept of an élite flying squad to smash picket lines. 'We don't want this,' he told Workers Press. 'We don't want the development of CRS-type forces. You can do if you want to, of course, but you end up with a situation like Northern Ireland.'

Gale, and many officers like

Sack at cold store

BY IAN YEATS

TWENTY-SEVEN men were given a week's notice at Midland Cold Storage, Hackney, yesterday—half the total workforce of office staff and men.

The move by owners, the Vestey family, is a clear attempt to induce docks shop stewards to call off their five-month picket of the store or face losing the jobs for good.

In a prepared statement, Edmund Vestey, joint head of the firm, said the depot was losing £4,000 a week and that Transport and General Workers' general secretary Jack Jones had told him that the picket was 'unauthorized' and that 'members of the union must not take part'.

Vestey said: 'I very much hope that all those concerned; customers, road hauliers and drivers; will cease to fear the threats of this unauthorized picket so that our business may start to return to normal in which case we shall be able to review the notices which have been so reluctantly given.'

Dockers' pickets said after the announcement that it was never their intention that any of the cold store workers should lose their jobs. They wanted registered dockers taken on in addition to the existing labour force, since jobs had been lost from the docks when the store was opened.

The owners had held out the prospect of increasing the present single shift to two.

They said the claim that dockers could not be employed there because no more workers were needed was a ploy to avoid taking on registered dock labour.

The Royal group of docks shop stewards'

committee is expected to meet to discuss the new situation.

Vestey claimed: 'Our employees at Midland are, after all, losing their livelihood purely as a result of the action of an irresponsible minority of dock workers and a few fellow-travellers.'

'This is in spite of the fact that all dock workers now have full-time employment since the ending of the temporary unattached register last month.'

Dockers' pickets said that though the temporary unattached register (TUR) had ended, men were being made redundant faster than

new jobs were being created — Borthwick's wharf, Deptford, had already shut and Nelson's wharf, Southwark, would close in November.

At the Vestey-owned Nelson wharf, 87 men who have been working to rule for two months have now been told their wages will be cut.

The men, all registered dockers, began their go-slow after reading in the press that the south bank cold store, near London's Blackfriars Bridge, would be shut down by November.

Management initially retaliated by halting all shipments out of the

store. They claimed it was too expensive to move unless the men worked normally.

Now they have told workers that because they are not shipping the daily tonnage required under the terms of the National Dock Labour Scheme — 40 tons per day per nine-man gang—they must accept a wage-cut.

Average pay packets have dropped from over £32 to about £15.

The Vestey organization has made no formal announcement about the fate of the depot, which they have described as 'obsolete'.



Cold store workers paying their union subscriptions yesterday.

Base taken

VIETNAMESE liberation forces overran the former US Green Beret camp of Ben Het in the Central Highlands overnight yesterday after levelling it with a massive shelling attack. The base was manned by 400-500 Montagnard mercenaries paid by the Saigon government.

Saigon military sources said the base was attacked by a regiment-sized force from the North Vietnamese 320th 'steel' division. The base was guarding infiltration routes leading from the Central Highlands towards the city of Kontum. It was the only base guarding the border which did not fall during the May liberation offensive.

Briefly . . .

PRINTERS at Southwark Offset, south London, were yesterday threatened with the sack after a dispute over the printing of 'Motor' magazine. Management issued notices to composing and machine-room workers and talks on the dispute between management and union representatives were in progress yesterday afternoon.

GIVE OUR FUND A BOOST THIS WEEKEND

THIS WEEKEND is a great opportunity to give a boost to our October Fund which stands at £306.58. Make sure you raise all you can. Keep our paper out in front by expanding sales in every direction.

The main prop behind the TUC's decision to accept state control of wages has been the 'left' trade union leaders. Such leaders, who betray the thousands of workers who face huge rent increases and escalating prices, must be exposed.

Workers Press alone speaks out. An alternative leadership to these reformists must be built and to the Communist Party Stalinists who support them in the trade union movement.

Our Fund, therefore, is vital. Help us raise everything you can this weekend. Our target is £1,750. Let's pull all stops out to raise it. Post every donation immediately to:

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

Firm seeks order

A LIVERPOOL transport firm yesterday sought an order against the Transport and General Workers' Union for the lifting of blacking imposed on their lorries by Merseyside dockers.

The firm, Howitt Bros, a subsidiary of Howitt Transport, told the National Industrial Relations Court that the blacking started after a driver was dismissed by the company.

After discussions in camera had failed to produce any satisfaction, Sir John Donaldson announced the court would deliver judgement on the application next Tuesday morning at 10.30 a.m.

Alfred Blyghton, T&GWU legal officer, appeared for the union and opposed the order. He told the court that the driver had been sacked in breach of procedure.

'We are quite prepared to con-

Docks union at NIRC

tinue negotiations in spite of the feeling here that we have an answer in this case', he said.

On August 1, during the official national docks strike, the firm laid off four men for lack of work.

At the same time two other men, James Jones, a shop steward, and Brian Dean, were dismissed without notice, the firm claiming they were incompetent.

Just before that, said Miss Caroline Alton for Howitts, a union official had come down and said 'There would be trouble' if any of the drivers were laid off.

'After he was dismissed Jones picketed the depot gates and approached dock stewards saying he had been sacked because he came out on strike over the Midland Cold Storage case,' said Miss Alton.

She claimed that dock stewards were then told by a union

official to impose the black on the firm. This took effect at the end of the docks strike.

Meanwhile two Liverpool commercial section T&GWU officials, Mathew Tickle and John Thomas, had come to the conclusion that Jones and Dean were 'trouble-makers' and had no case.

An offer by the firm to make up the men's wages to three months' pay had been rejected.

'The final straw was when the joint committee of road haulage workers and dockers, asked by the commercial section for support, agreed to continue and press for blacking,' added Miss Alton.

Although the blacking was lifted for one day on September 29, it was reimposed on October 3.

Miss Alton alleged that Jones was sacked because he could not drive a heavy goods vehicle as he had claimed.

And Dean, who had worked satisfactorily until the day before the lay-off, had been dismissed following a heated argument. Management had accused him of drinking when he should have been working.

'Terrific response' to rent strike policy

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

THE LEADERS of tenants' action committees were yesterday picketing the rent offices in St Peter's Square, Manchester. Mrs Kathleen Burns, member of the Clayton Action Committee, told me:

'We have just formed this committee and have got terrific response for our strike policy. The biggest part of the tenants are certainly with us.'

'In our family we get £30 a week. With tax, insurance and other deductions we have £24 clear.'

'We just cannot afford this

rent increase and we must stand up for our rights.'

Kathleen Lanburjoh, a member of the Moss Side district Tenants' Association told me:

'The Tories are moving further to the right. I saw it on television last night. There are shades of fascism in what they're doing. They call for a stronger government. This in fact means dictatorship.'

Powell's policy on economics means ten men for one job. One third of the Tory Party delegates support Powell, if not on immigration then on economics.

The Tories mean to make money out of the corporation tenants. If we don't do something soon we will have shanty towns here as they have to move out.

We have to get rid of the big lions. That is, get rid of the Tories. We must nationalize the land. Then we'll tackle the Labour leaders. They only talk of socialism out of office. Millionaires in the Labour Party! That's laughable.

The people in council houses are trade unionists. We must be with them for action on every front; that means strikes to force the Tories and right-wing trade unionists out.

● See Camden interview p. 3.

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

CENTRAL LONDON (Entertainment 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, Christ 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.

Socialist Labour League
PUBLIC MEETING

Behind the Assassination of Trotsky

A reply to Joseph Losey's film

Tuesday October 24, 8 p.m.

CONWAY HALL
RED LION SQUARE
LONDON WC2J
(Nearest tube Holborn)

Speaker: G. Healy
(SLL national secretary)

Admission 10p

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