

WORKERS PRESS

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

NIRC acquires new powers

AUEW FINE



Sir John Donaldson



Goad

BY PHILIP WADE

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'It includes all the funds, whether they are capable or not of being used under the rules for industrial action,' he said. Sir John confirmed this view later.

Mr Southwell said the bankers were under a misapprehension when they argued that the duty of confidence to a customer was overriding. They were subject to requirements of law.

Replying for the banks Mr Thomas Bingham claimed that the writ of sequestration did oblige payment except as authorized by the customer.

'We will comply with any court order,' he added.

● Mr Goad's next branch meeting is this Friday. If he is refused entrance again he will be free to bring another action in the court.

TO BE SEIZED TODAY

Widespread opposition to Lynch's 'dictator' laws

FROM IAN YEATS
IN DUBLIN

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The 'red plot' accusation, made at a mass meeting by the divisional organizer for the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation Jim Drinkwater, was drowned by jeers and heckling.

Mr Walsh claimed Fianna Fail had resented RTE criticism of the government and that they had used the MacStiofain incident as the precedent for a major attack. He added that the government was almost certainly preparing to deal with an outbreak of extra-parliamentary activity throughout the Republic in the next few months.

'Extra-parliamentary activity is bound to grow because of dramatically growing unemployment, with nothing being done to stop it and the very serious problem of rising prices.'

Many trade unionists and Labour Party members are worried that the new legislation will be used against them to ban strikes and legislation which under the new law could be construed as injurious to the state.

But although both wings of the labour movement condemn the new legislation, there is little agreement on whether, together with the conviction of Sean MacStiofain and the attack on RTE, they mark a watershed in

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Extreme danger from the right Poll no guide to Italian crisis

THE OUTCOME of the local elections in Italy—the first test of opinion at the polls since Giulio Andreotti's government was elected in May—is being hailed as a set-back for the right.

The Socialist Party, which was part of the so-called centre-left coalition ousted by Andreotti in the formation of his right-wing cabinet, increased their share of the poll by over 3 per cent. At the same time, the liberals who form the right wing of the government, lost votes. The biggest losses, however, were sustained by the Communist Party and its allies, whose vote was down by 3.5 per cent.

On the extreme right, the fascist Italian Social Movement, which made substantial gains in May, lost ground, shedding 2 per cent of its votes. The results are being interpreted as an indication of support for the reconstitution of the old-style coalition between the Socialist Party and Andreotti's Christian Democrats.

This development could lead to a totally misplaced complacency about the political situation in Italy, which cannot be assessed simply by counting heads. The country is gripped by an extremely severe economic crisis, which is driving big sections of the employers to seek radical solutions through vicious attacks on the working class.

While the economy stagnates, inflation is causing huge rises in prices, giving rise to militant struggles for wages.

But the great fighting power of the working class is being dissipated in sectional and partial struggles by the leadership.

The Stalinists, who dominate the biggest trade union confederation and influence strongly the policies of the reformist confederations, denounce those who do fight the fascists as provocateurs.

They seek to present themselves as the defenders of the moribund Italian Republic and aim at eventually taking part in some form of national government with the Christian Democrats and the Socialists.



The nine Berliet workers outside the Lyons court where they face 'anti-riot' law charges.

Strike-break diners

MARSHAL Andrei Gretchko, Soviet Minister of Defence, had dinner last night with French Premier, Pierre Messmer as part of his official visit to France.

He arrived on Monday—the opening day of the trial of nine Berliet workers in Lyons—at the invitation of Minister of National Defence Michel, Debré.

Debré is the man who signed a military agreement between France and Franco's Spain in June 1970, expressing the view that 'there is no difference in political principle between our countries'.

Gretchko will tour French armaments factories and military installations and hold discussions with the top military in Pompidou's armed forces, including vice-admiral Brasseur-Kermade, who is commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean fleet.

This is the first full official visit to France by a Soviet Minister of Defence and gives the lie to right-wing claims that the French CP is preparing a Moscow-backed 'Bolshevik revolution' in the present electoral campaign.

The French CP called in Gretchko's host at last night's dinner party—Messmer—to end the 40-day potash miners strike in Alsace.

After their talks with Messmer in Strasbourg on Saturday, the Stalinist CGT and Social-Democratic CFDT trade-union leaders were able on Monday to persuade the miners to accept a miserly offer of 10 per cent over two years.

The increase is chopped up into small slices: 3.20 per cent from October 1 and 1 per cent from November 1; 2 per cent on January 1, 1 per cent on July 1 and 3 per cent on November 1, 1973.

Yet inflation is speeding ahead. Official government figures show an increase of prices of 0.9 per cent in October as compared to 0.6 per cent in September and 0.5 per cent in August.

The French CP is making every effort to maintain Pompidou in order to smooth the path for the plans for counter-revolution which are being developed by Moscow and European capitalism.

They limited the movement the first day of the trial of the Berliet trade unionists to a one-day protest strike in the Rhone valley.

But the response to the call is a clear indication of the powerful movement building up in the French working class.

Over 120,000 workers struck work and 20,000 demonstrated through Lyons to the Palace of Justice to welcome the nine trade-unionists on their arrival at the court. It was the biggest demonstration seen in the city since June 1968.

Today Gretchko will be in the Rhone valley—but not to convey solidarity to the Berliet workers. He will visit two factories. One where the latest Mirage jets are being manufactured and a training-centre for armoured car technicians.

Gretchko has no reason to complain of the unceasing loyalty of French CP led by Georges Marchais.

Marchais will be able, in turn, to share his experience in strike-breaking with John Gollan during his present fraternal visit to Britain, no doubt as an encouragement to get Gollan to join openly the European Stalinist campaign to 'democratize' the Common Market.

● See Séguy speech p.11

Oppositionist's parents want camp death explained

THE PARENTS of Yuri Galanskov, the Soviet oppositionist who died earlier this month in a forced-labour camp, have demanded a 'comprehensive and official explanation' from the government.

Unless they get it, the parents said, in a letter, 'we will insist that our son was killed in Establishment ZhKh 385', the number of the Mordovian prison camp. Galanskov (33), died on November 4 of peritonitis, nearly three weeks after an operation in the camp for a perforated ulcer.

His parents' letter was addressed to the Department of Supervision of Places of Confinement of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) and dated November 16. Western correspondents in Moscow were given copies on Monday.

Yuri Galanskov was arrested in January 1967. A year later he was tried and convicted of 'anti-Soviet activity'. The charges stemmed from an underground literary journal he edited called 'Phoenix' which defended the imprisoned writers Daniel and Sinyavsky.

In their letter, the parents stated that their son had suffered from an ulcer since 1961, a fact that his lawyer had made public in his final appeal at the trial.

The letter said the administration of the camp hospital 'proposed a number of times that he be operated on, but he refused' because a camp surgeon named Zaborovsky 'warned our son that because of his physical weakness and the clinic's lack of the necessary post-operative diet, he would not survive the operation'.

The parents said they



had frequently appealed to the camp administration to transfer their son to the prison hospital in Leningrad where the operation could be performed under appropriate conditions.

But Dr E. K. Shakh of the MVD had answered officially that she saw 'no necessity for a transfer since his condition was satisfactory and he needed no special diet'.

Smith tightens race laws

THE RHODESIAN government is rapidly tightening its apartheid-style race laws as the present session of the Salisbury parliament draws to a close. In addition to Identity Pass Legislation now well on its way to becoming law, the government has tabled new laws to enable it to keep unemployed Africans out of urban areas.

It is also planning a Bill to provide the basis for establishing separate provincial parliaments or assemblies for Africans on the South African model.

In addition the government has finally decided to make it illegal for Asian or coloureds (mixed race) to live or own property in white suburbs.

These moves come at a time when the US government is considering recognition for the Ian Smith government which has been under United Nations sanctions since UDI in 1965.

Clark MacGregor, one of President Nixon's advisers, hinted in a television broadcast yesterday that Smith's government may soon be recognized in Washington.

MacGregor said Americans did not like 'the restrictions that are now in existence by reason of diplomatic niceties respecting Rhodesians travelling to the United States'.

The present situation of sanctions was 'unnatural', he said, and could be changed 'sooner than most people realize'.

SOVIET premier Leonid Brezhnev cancelled a scheduled visit to a railway engine plant near Budapest yesterday in order to pursue political discussions with Hungary's leading Stalinist Janos

Magee is kicked out of trial

THE RUCHELL MAGEE trial in San Francisco has started stormily. Magee hit his own defence attorney and called the judge a 'stupid, dumb judge'.

He is charged with murder and kidnap following the attempted court break-out at Marin County almost two years ago.

In the escape bid Jonathan Jackson, younger brother of George Jackson, attempted to free a number of black prisoners and kidnap a judge. In the shooting which followed, the judge, Jackson and three other prisoners were killed. Magee was badly wounded, but survived.

He and Miss Angela Davis were jointly charged with being involved in the murder and kidnap plot. Miss Davis's trial was held separately earlier this year and she was acquitted.

Magee's trial has been subjected to deliberate and inordinate delays. He has severely criticized his own defence group and is insisting that he conducts his own defence.

Shortly after the trial opened Magee lunged at his court-appointed attorney, Robert Carrow, knocking him down. He swept his briefcase and papers onto the floor and shouted: 'Arrest this son of a bitch.'

Superior Court Judge Morton Colvin ordered police to take Magee to a holding cell at the rear of the courtroom. As he was bundled out Magee shouted abuse at the judge. He heard the rest of the day's evidence over a public address system in his cell. The case goes on.

Kadar.

This change was part of a complete reorganization of his official visit to allow maximum time for discussion on the steps towards European Security.

**YOUNG SOCIALISTS
XMAS BAZAAR**

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SWINDON**

Wednesday, December 13 8 pm

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SPECIAL SHOWING OF THE 'RIGHT TO WORK' FILM.
A film made by ACTT showing the five Right-to-Work marches from Glasgow, Liverpool, Swansea, Deal and Southampton to London, ending with a huge rally at Empire Pool, Wembley, on March 12, 1972.

Speaker: G. Healy, National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League.
Chairman: F. Willis, AEU steward at British Rail Engineering Workshop, Swindon (in a personal capacity).

- We demand the right to work!
- Make the Tory government resign!
- Build the revolutionary party!

Strategy discussed for delivering to cold stores

Minister sanctioned picket-breaking

BY DAVID MAUDE AND PHILIP WADE

LONDON lorry drivers' leaders claim that the meat importers are working hand-in-hand with the Tory government to launch an attack on the dockers.

The drivers, who have told the meat importers that they will not cross dockers' picket lines, say strategy on the issue was discussed at a meeting last week with Joseph Godber, Minister of Agriculture.

Eric Rechnitz, chairman of the London drivers' shop stewards' committee, claims Godber then met the Department of Employment, who gave the go-ahead for a bid to break the picket.

On Monday afternoon, lorry drivers were informed for the first time that hauliers would give any driver the loads to go through the lines with.

Up to this point they had hedged, fearing a nationwide black by dockers of any firm that crossed the picket.

Alleges lorry drivers' steward

FROM the start of the drivers' counter-picketing campaign Workers Press fought for the position that 'unity of dockers and transport drivers against their common enemy — the employers — is a basic principle' (SLL Political Committee statement, July 21).

Responsibility for the scramble between these two sections of workers for a shrinking pool of jobs, we said, rested with the worthless reformist policies of the union leaders and their Stalinist hangers-

on in the Communist Party.

What was required was a policy for combined struggle. The T&GWU should be forced to fight for a policy of no redundancies among either section, maintenance of all workers on full pay and nationalization of the docks and transport industries without compensation and under workers' control.

This required the recall of the union's biennial delegate conference — not due to

meet until 1973 — to mobilize action to force the Tory government to resign.

When, that same day, the National Industrial Relations Court ordered the jailing of five London dockers for contempt of its orders to stop picketing Midland Cold Storage, drivers walked out in support of their fellow trade unionists.

But instead of seizing this opportunity to bring the warring factions of their membership together, the union

leaders sat silent.

T&GWU secretary Jack Jones continued his backstage discussions with Lord Aldington, chairman of the Port of London Authority and a close friend of Heath on proposals for continuing to slash the docks labour force... but quietly.

If Jones fails to call a meeting to hammer out a policy for struggle this week, it will prove he is in fact in favour of the split in his union's ranks.

Drivers' leaders turned the offer down flat. 'We're not willing to take part in a government-employer conspiracy against the dockers,' Eric Rechnitz told Workers Press.

'The employers also had the impertinence to tell us they wouldn't take our union to the

National Industrial Relations Court if we drove through the dockers' picket.

Drivers also said they were not prepared to be used 'by the Vestey group in their anti-docker machinations'.

Added Rechnitz: 'We have had talks this week with re-

gional officials of the Transport and General Workers Union on arranging a joint meeting with dockers.'

He hoped a meeting would take place before the end of the week.

Every trade unionist will welcome the drivers' stand.



Minister Joseph Godber

Women still demand own union

WOMEN and girls on strike now for almost five weeks at the Barbours' rainwear factory, South Shields, have voted unanimously at a mass meeting to stay out until their union is recognized.

A Department of Employment official had previously approached Barbours for an arbitration panel to decide whether or not the women should have recognition for a union of their choice.

But manager Mr. K. Charlton has refused categorically to have any dealings with the union—the Transport and General Workers' Union.

The women claim that the company would prefer them to join the smaller Garment Workers' Union because, they say, Barbours want a small union that they can manipulate.

Reports that company directors and their wives are working at night to put up parcels of goods in the factory have not yet been denied. Vehicles are reported to be entering the premises at all times of the night when the pickets are not on duty.

South Shields trades council has been sent a letter from the local Department of Health and Social Security justifying the police eviction of single girls claiming benefit on November 10.

Two weeks ago the DHSS chief apologized for the action.

● A mass rally of trade unionists in defence of the Barbours' strikers has been called for Saturday, December 9, in South Shields.

Further action on supervisor's sacking discussed today

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

TWENTY-EIGHT members TASS, the technical and supervisory section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, are mounting a picket outside a Letchworth engineering firm demanding the reinstatement of one of their members.

Les Wreford, a supervisor in the services department of Herbert Controls and Instruments, was sacked a week ago. He was dismissed on the spot. Immediately the sacking became known about 280 workers walked out the gate in protest.

Today a mass meeting will be held to decide on future action.

The management and the local Press have given the impression that Mr Wreford is a member of the management.

The local 'Evening Post' headlined his dismissal: '250 walk out after firm sacks manager'. The firm's managing director, Mr Derek Helps, told reporters:

'When we found we had too many chiefs and not enough Indians, I naturally thought he would not mind losing his job.'

This is a snide attack on Mr Wreford who has been complaining that he has not enough workers in his department to carry out the work-load efficiently. When he asked management for more men, Mr Wreford said that the firm suffered from 'too many chiefs and not enough Indians'.

Recently Mr Wreford was involved in the formation of a shop-floor committee to take over and run the factory in the event of mass redundancies or a collapse.

Mr Dave Gallard, dispute appeals treasurer of the Letchworth and District Trades Council, says that the stated reason



Supervisor Les Wreford

for Mr Wreford's dismissal—redundancy—'does not hold water'.

'This is a deliberate attempt to get rid of Les Wreford so that management can then proceed to further sackings among TASS and AUEW shop-floor workers.

'I base this on the fact that Les Wreford in his capacity as a trade unionist at shop floor, branch and trades council level, has always fought for the best interests of the working people in this district.

'In 1969 when the drawing office workshop at Herbert's faced 30 per cent redundancies, he successfully led those workers in the defence of their jobs and all the redundancy notices were subsequently withdrawn.

'Earlier this spring, when the Herbert group announced a £4m deficit and work within the group was made scarce, Mr Wreford was instrumental in setting up an emergency occupation committee.

'I see the action against him as the start of a campaign against those who have fought in the past for better wages, conditions and job security.

'This is a fight we must win, for if we lose, the consequences could be far-reaching not only for Herbert's workers, but for all trade unionists in the area.'

Junior doctors' leader pay up and register

THE JUNIOR doctors' leaders have temporarily abandoned their opposition to the General Medical Council.

Yesterday they paid their registration fee to the GMC pending the outcome of a government inquiry into the Council's function and composition.

The GMC were due to begin striking the doctors off the Medical Register on December 15 making it illegal for those involved to practice under the

National Health Service, sign death certificates and prescribe dangerous drugs.

Katherine Bradley, chairman of the Junior Hospital Doctors' Association, said: 'The payment of fees is being made pending the satisfactory conclusion of the inquiry.'

Meanwhile the Association has decided to celebrate its desire to become a 'trade union' by registering under the Industrial Relations Act and seeking an agency shop.

Writings of Leon Trotsky

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BOOKS ● PERIODICALS ● NEWSPAPERS

How successful have the policies of Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Army been since the first civil unrest in Ulster in 1968? IAN YEATS reports in a series of articles based on interviews with leading Republicans, revisionists and reformists on both sides of the border.

IRELAND THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

PART ONE THREE TROUBLED YEARS

Without a revolutionary theory, said Lenin, you cannot have a revolutionary movement. Nowhere is this truth more poignantly and graphically illustrated than in that well-known cemetery of every middle-class reformist, revisionist and nationalist 'theory' — present-day Ulster.

Despite three years of heroic sacrifice, courage, pathos and stubborn resistance by the Catholic working class, British imperialism has succeeded in holding onto this last outpost of Empire.

It has done so not because of its intrinsic strength, but because of the cynical betrayals of the right- and left-wing British Labour leaders and because of the crisis of leadership in the Irish working class — a crisis which has been compounded by the incurable weaknesses and fatal contradictions in the doctrine and methods of Republican terrorism.

The Provisional IRA policy of relying exclusively on the use of bomb and bullet and of concentrating everything against Stormont to the virtual exclusion of the counter-revolutionary role of the Dail has proved to be counter-productive.

In the end this policy, despite the undoubted heroism of the Provo leaders, has only succeeded in exacerbating the sectarianism of the Catholic and Protestant workers and has enabled British imperialism, in alliance with the Lynch regime, to outmanoeuvre the Provos politically.

The arrest of Sean MacStiofain and RTE features editor Kevin O'Kelly, the sacking of the staff of Irish television and the wholesale revision of the principles of an already truncated judicial code — following in the wake of the Darlington talks and the Green Paper — is a sombre warning to socialists and Republicans that the struggle against British imperialism is inseparably intertwined with the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist regime in the south and the creation of a united, democratic, secular and socialist Ireland. This means, above all, a joint struggle of British and Irish workers against their common enemy.

Sliced in two after the Ard-fheish at Dublin's Intercontinental Hotel in December 1969, both wings of the IRA seized on 'the trouble' as the vehicle through which the last great fight for a 32-county Ireland could be waged.

By January 1970, after more than two years of riots in Northern Ireland towns, brutally and sometimes bloodily suppressed by the

security forces of Stormont and Westminster, the role of the Provo guns looked secure.

By 1970 the housing and unemployed action committees which had sparked off the tide of protest marches in 1968 had come together under the umbrella of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) but, unlike the Officials, the Provos made no attempt to infiltrate the mass movement.

Instead they limited themselves to their traditional élitist role as a military force alongside but separate from the people, using their guns first for protection and second to win the united Ireland which eluded them in 1921.

Circumstances appeared to favour them. Apart from the brief lull in 1969 when many Catholics welcomed the British army as peacemakers, the violence which had built up from the security forces and loyalist extremists began to drive even moderates into the arms of the IRA.

From October 5, 1968, when People's Democracy organized the famous march from Belfast to Derry, the civil rights movement, backed by the Communist Party, brought more and more people onto the streets, inviting a storm of repression.

A section of the northern Protestants had been growing uneasy since about 1966 when Prime Minister Terence O'Neill began to move towards reforms to end discrimination.

As the economic crisis worsened, they began to feel themselves betrayed by the Unionist government and threatened by the beligerence of the civil righters. Led by Rev Ian Paisley and others, Protestant extremists stepped up their attacks on Catholics.

Within months of the troops arriving, Catholics found their batons turned against them instead of against the Unionists and the population of the ghetto areas fell back in fear and desperation behind the guns of the IRA.

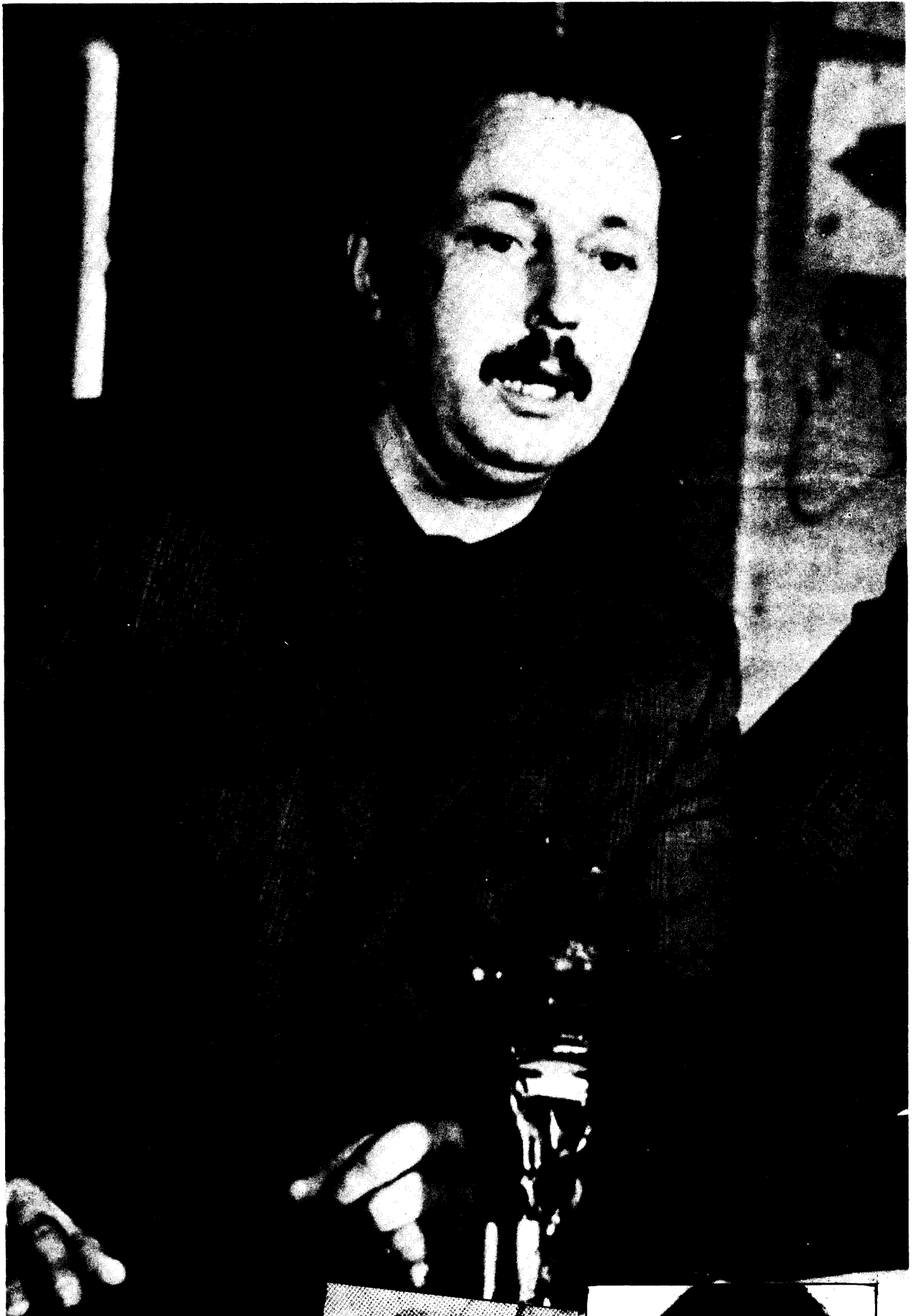
This relationship continued until 'Operation Motorman' this year. What snapped it was the prospect of peace held out by Westminster's political initiatives and the realization that the Provos' mass terror campaign could only deepen sectarian divisions, perhaps irrevocably.

CONFERENCE TABLE

Almost up to the eve of 'Motorman', Provo leaders believed that their base in the Catholic population could be used as a counter over which they could bargain with the British about the future of Ireland.

Another leading Provo, Rory O'Brady, makes this clear: He told the 'Belfast Telegraph' in summer 1971:

'I cannot imagine the IRA driving the British army into the sea, but I think it would be possible to force the British government to the conference table.'



When Belfast Provo leader Seamus Twomey and his friends flew to London by RAF jet during this year's June truce, they went as equals, as de facto rulers, only to discover that Whitehall still thought of them not only as serfs, but had no intention of freeing them.

The Officials broadly shared the Provos' overall objective of a united Ireland, but they went about it in an entirely different way, although ultimately with no less dismal results.

The Officials' position was set out by Chief-of-Staff Cathal Goulding in September 1969:

'For a number of years past the Republican movement has been committed to support of the moderate civil rights movement in the genuine hope that reforms obtained by constitutional agitation could provide a framework within which a peaceful settlement might be arrived at to the outstanding problems of our people.'

The change in tactics was closely related to the collapse of the 1956 military campaign which was followed by a period of intense soul-searching among sections of the Republican movement.

A statement by Sean Garland in May 1971 summed up the new approach.

'The grave error that was committed [in the past] was in separating the national question from the social questions of the people.'

'From the end of the Civil War until our day Republicans virtually neglected to organize the people who are



Left: Officials' Chief, Cathal Goulding. Right: Provo, Rory O'Brady. Above: Provisionals' Chief-of-Staff, Sean MacStiofain, now in prison.

ultimately going to make the revolution in their country — the workers.'

And a year later at his oration in Bodenstown, Garland said: 'If those who have preceded us have failed it was because, however courageous, however great, however self-sacrificing they were, the mass of the people of Ireland were not behind them.'

In the south in 1968-1969 the Officials launched themselves into campaigns as diverse as those for fishing rights and zebra crossings in between burning down German farms as a protest against foreign capital.

In the north the civil rights movement provided an ideal vehicle both for involvement in people's demands and for pushing those demands forward to include the vital call for a united Ireland.

A 'United Irishman' editorial said: 'The road to vic-

tory, the road to revolutionary republicanism, is to activate the unity of the largest possible mass of the Irish people to win our demands for democracy and for national sovereignty.'

And later: 'The strategy of the civil rights movement is simple. The pressure on the streets and from mass protest must be kept up until the British government is forced to yield the civil rights programme.'

At the end of 1972 after four long and bitter years of struggle and with nothing achieved the 'United Irishman' was still demanding 'Back to the streets' and 'Let the people unite once more in the mass movement for civil rights'.

Even after the limits of reformism have been reached it is impossible for reformists to transcend them without abandoning their reformism and becoming revolutionaries.

This the Officials, strongly influenced by the Communist Party, are not prepared to do. And their call along with NICRA for a bill of rights is being made to an empty theatre.

The demand for a bill of rights far from being progressive has now become a shield behind which all the reformists are hiding as a substitute for taking a genuinely revolutionary road.

The idealist tradition of separatism was another vital obstacle preventing the Officials taking this road and also from acknowledging that their demands were certain to be torpedoed by a factor which they steadfastly chose to ignore—recession.

Throughout the period since 1968 the more strident their demands for civil rights the worse the repression, first from Stormont and then, after direct rule, from Westminster.

Slump ensured that neither Unionists nor Tories could solve the problem of unemployment, inadequate housing, rocketing rents, fares and prices and low pay.

Although few believed it, both wings of the IRA vociferously pumped out the line that a united Ireland free of gombeen-men (money lenders) would take Catholics and Protestants alike into the Elysian Fields of equality and prosperity.

Today a battle-weary Catholic working class, deceived and disoriented by the argument that pressure could be made to work, are in the process of having a mess of paper rights foisted on them which slump will ensure remain nominal.

If the IRA somewhat cynically saw the use to which the civil rights movement could be put there was one group which genuinely believed in it—the People's Democracy (PD) group.

PD was a fundamentally radical, liberal group based on Queen's University, Belfast. Boasting that theory must never be allowed to replace action, its members joined with gusto in the early civil rights marches, becoming virtually liquidated into the NICRA by 1969.

The movement produced Miss Bernadette Devlin, the Cookstown girl selected by the nationalists and the 'left' as a compromise candidate in 1969 because she was likely to attract the most votes and therefore keep the Unionists out.

Miss Devlin claims she has drawn the political lessons from four fruitless years of struggle. The fact that the people of Ulster apparently have not, she says, is due to the Communist Party and the Official IRA deliberately holding down the level of political consciousness.

The Communist Party has certainly played an important role in the Northern Ireland struggle with its members often occupying positions in both the Officials and the NICRA.

The CP, the NICRA and the Officials all found agreement around the concept of a united struggle, first against Stormont and next against Westminster, to win democracy in the Six Counties as a prelude to building socialism throughout Ireland.

Their effort in obtaining civil rights may yet be successful, but on the question of what happens when, as they will, the new rights turn out to be hollow, the CP protégés are silent.

Mrs Edwina Stewart, NICRA secretary and a leading CP member, commented that it was 'unfortunate' that the voice of the left was so small in Ireland and that therefore workers could not be brought to understand that protest alone was not enough.

Thomas Macgiolla, President of the Officials, fell back on



Left: Belfast Provo leader, Seamus Twomey. Right: Civil Rights veteran campaigner, Bridget Bond. Above: 1968, repression in Derry.

the illusion of a united and free Ireland as the cure all for everything.

'FRIENDLY' SECURITY

And in Londonderry, where in many senses the civil rights movement was born, veteran campaigner Mrs Bridget Bond sighed resignedly and told me there was nothing to do but 'press on'.

None of these leaderships is one which a majority of Catholics will follow again.

And while the British army maintains high security, but with a 'friendly' low profile approach, the Provos will stay isolated.

Although they are starved of cash, guns and explosives, and in a sense betrayed by the sharp turn to politics by the leadership, rank-and-file Provos dotted about the Six Counties continue the mili-

tary battle as best they can, when they can—as the sporadic shootings and bombings suggest.

In Belfast security is so tight that, as one gunman told me, it's even risky leaving the house.

A frantic but limited campaign is being waged in border districts where groups of volunteers hide out in cottages 12 at a time in tiny rooms waiting for orders which increasingly never arrive.

LOSING SUPPORT

The 'political' leadership in the Provos has realized the danger of losing popular support and of a new federal structure embracing the north and they have hastily switched the emphasis from the bomb and bullet to the political programme in an attempt to har-

ness Protestants to Republicanism and win back Catholic support.

Even on the emotional issue of internment, popular support has fallen dramatically away from the single issue, reformist, Anti-Internment League, masterminded by men like Eamon McCann, Michael Farrell and supported by Bernadette Devlin.

Not only has the public support been withdrawn from the Provos, to the extent that 30 'officers' have been picked up in three weeks in Belfast with only token protests, but the majority of people are prepared to try 'peace' rather than marches to secure their demands, including the release of internees.

In the absence of any alternative leadership most Catholic families are prepared to give William Whitelaw, the Tories' Ulster 'supremo', and his Green Paper a chance. For the time being they see no other choice.

Many moderate Protestants feel the same way and both sides are settling into an uneasy peace guarded by their own defensive organizations—the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and now, on the Catholic side, the Catholic ex-Servicemen's Association (CSA).

These organizations could end up tearing each other apart, or they might be used temporarily by Westminster as vehicles for keeping the peace in the respective 'religious' camps.

Moderate Protestants and

Catholics alike—particularly trade unionists—see the need to work together if civil war is to be finally averted and a number of organizations and individuals on both sides have produced plans for a new Ulster.

Throughout 'the troubles' the position adopted by the trade union leaders has been the negative one of keeping out of them. Now the union bureaucrats, especially CP members like Andrew Barr, are pushing for peace in a consciously centrist way designed to head off further action.

But there are already signs that bread-and-butter issues will force workers to break through this tendency.

Shop-floor eruptions have taken place among Protestant workers who have discovered that loyalism means loyalty to the boss—definitely not in their interests.

On the Catholic side, faced with the complete lack of progress of the past four years, Republicans, particularly in Derry centred around the 'Starry Plough', are talking about the need to get down to class politics and the real causes of the 'troubles'.

This section of the Officials is perhaps the most advanced tendency in Ulster politics at this time. But there is, understandably, much confusion about the form of a new revolutionary party and its objectives and considerable pessimism about healing the split with Protestant workers.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



SUHARTO'S REIGN OF TERROR

By JOHN SPENCER

The Indonesian military dictator, General Suharto, is currently visiting European capitals in an effort to win more support for his extremely repressive anti-communist regime.

He was received with full state honours in France last week and has now moved on to make similar calls in Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Austria.

One of the main purposes of this tour is to boost the image of Indonesia as a country where foreign investors can reap vast profits with the assurance that their money will be safe.

In Paris, Suharto boasted to the Chamber of Commerce: 'It would be profitable for you businessmen, who are always looking out for new outlets wherever you can find them to take interests in the potential of Indonesia.'

Many foreign capitalists, particularly in the United

States and Japan, already do 'take an interest' in Indonesia. They have large investments in almost every sector of the country's economy.

Eighty per cent of Indonesian oil production, for example, is taken by the huge US petroleum monopoly Caltex. The remainder is split between other foreign firms—mainly Japanese—and the state owned Pertamina corporation.

Petroleum is by far the biggest export earner for Indonesia and in the past seven years there has been a mad scramble of overseas companies seeking to invest in it. Others have interests in industry, mining, coffee plantations and forestry.

The government's policy allows them to operate almost entirely without controls of any kind. It is formulated by a group of five economists, headed by professor Sadli, and known as the 'Berkeley Mafia'. These men are fanatics for free enterprise and play open

house to big business from all over the globe.

There are vast profits to be made in Indonesia, thanks to the 'Berkeley Mafia' and the military machine that stands behind them. To achieve this state of affairs over a million communists were slaughtered in 1965 and up to 200,000 political prisoners are rotting without trial in the army's prisons and concentration camps.

Over 20 million are unemployed out of a population of 48 million and the inrush of foreign capital has created only some 20,000 jobs. Illiteracy among people over ten is 41 per cent and this is likely to be increased with the smashing of free education over the past seven years.

Prior to Suharto's coup, school attendance was almost 100 per cent, but under the military regime schooling has once again become the sole preserve of the more wealthy, costing up to several hundred rupees a month.

Almost half the child population is thus currently deprived of any formal schooling because their parents cannot afford to pay the price.

At the same time the military leaders and the Indonesian bourgeoisie enjoy a life of enormous privilege, greased by the rampant corruption which pervades every sphere of official life.

Political parties exist only by courtesy of the army—the left wing parties are smashed and the trade unions destroyed. Since 1965 the reign of terror against any manifestation of discontent has never abated.

Suharto continues to raise the spectre of the 'red peril' at every available opportunity. Not a day goes by without an anti-communist tirade either from the general or from one of his henchmen.

Arrests are a daily occurrence, though the islands of Indonesia, thanks to the seven-year military repression, are completely calm. Open manifestations of political hostility to the regime are virtually unknown.

The army is everywhere, even in the most remote islands and villages. It acts like an army of occupation. And within the army itself there

are frequent purges designed to keep the rest of the officer cadre on its toes.

Suharto came to power in 1965 after crushing what he claimed was a coup d'etat masterminded by the powerful Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). Though there is evidence that some PKI officers were involved in a plot, the Party made no concerted attempt to seize the power.

The PKI under D. N. Aidit was one of the main props of President Sukarno, leader of the nationalist independence movement, who had dominated the post-war political scene in Indonesia.

It was completely tied to the preservation of capitalist rule in Indonesia through its alliance with the nationalists. Under the nose of the Sukarno government, the army leaders with American assistance were preparing to overthrow the regime and drown the Indonesian workers and peasants in blood.

The alleged PKI coup provided them with the pretext they needed. The army leaders immediately set in motion a terrible massacre. Egged on by the Moslem priests, squads of soldiers and lumpen bands scoured the country for PKI members, supporters, trade

unionists and anyone who had ever had any connection with it.

The rivers ran with blood. Nobody knows how many were murdered in the purge, but reliable estimates fix the figure between 500,000 and a million. The largest Communist Party in Asia, outside China, was physically wiped off the map.

Survivors of the massacre are still held in prisons and island concentration camps. No accurate figures are available, but there are thought to be as many as 150,000 of them.

All inquiries by international organizations like Amnesty International have been brushed aside. The prisoners are classed into three categories: A—communists considered likely to have been implicated in the alleged coup attempt; B—suspected communists; C—persons held on suspicion of being on the extreme left.

Virtually none of the prisoners has been brought to trial. In the seven years since the coup, only about 180 have appeared before the courts. Yet in October 1969, General Sugih Arto, the procurator, mentioned a figure of 69,000 prisoners (5,000 A, 11,000 B,

26,000 C and 27,000 others).

Another 47,000, he said, were held under conditions of 'conditional liberty'. Arto's figures give a total of 116,000. One year later Suharto mentioned a figure of 58,000 prisoners.

About the same time, Dr Finngeir Hiorth, on behalf of Amnesty International, concluded that there were at least 150,000 prisoners in Indonesia, with 30,000 on the main island, Java.

The liberal Hong Kong weekly, 'The Asian', this year published another estimated figure of just under 72,000 prisoners, which apparently does not include those in 'conditional liberty'. Indonesian political exiles put the figure at 200,000.

'The Asian' sent novelist Dom Moraes to one of the most notorious island concentration camps, at Buru, over 1,500 miles from Java.

Moraes' description of the camp is eloquent testimony to the terrible repression waged by the Suharto regime against the Indonesian working class: 'Buru is larger than Bali an immense sprawl of forested hills lying in the Banda Sea,' he wrote.

'Lazy voracious sharks cruise off its shores, but few

boats visit it. The dense forests contain wild boar, and the rivers are musky with crocodiles. . . Large parts of the island valleys are swamps where malarial mosquitoes proliferate in terrifying numbers. . .'

While they were there Moraes and other journalists met Pramudya Ananta Toer, one of Indonesia's best-known writers, who has been imprisoned since 1965. He told them: 'I cannot write. I am too tired. Professor Suprpto [a leading lawyer] and I are in the same camp, so are several writers I know, but we do not work in the same field and when we meet we are too tired to talk.

'So I do not write and I do not talk. . . In Buru I have no future. Conditions for me here are too difficult. I want to return to Java.'

Over 100,000 others are held without trial on similar camps and in Suharto's jails. They are the guarantee of the safety of foreign investment in Indonesia, along with up to a million unmarked graves.



President Suharto. Left: 1965; a PKI committee member is escorted to a military tribunal during the purges that followed the coup. Right: Sukarno, nationalist leader, ousted 1965.



GAULLISTS IN THE DRUG TRADE

BY TOM KEMP

When the Brazilian police picked up Christian David on October 21 on drug charges and later deported him to the US another episode was added to the sordid history of the relations between the Fifth French Republic and the underworld.

On his arrest David possessed a small armoury—a 9mm Browning pistol, a Beretta fitted with a silencer, a Smith and Wesson short-barrelled rifle and a quantity of ammunition.

It was almost seven years ago that a French police inspector carrying out an investigation in connection with the kidnapping of the Moroccan opposition leader Ben Barka, entered a bar in Paris looking for suspects. Instead he came across David—also known as 'le beau Serge'—who was wanted on a number of charges.

David pulled out of his pocket a tricolour card bearing the initials SAC—'Service d'Action Civique'—a militant and select wing of the Gaullist movement.

The police then allowed him to fetch his raincoat. Pulling a pistol from a pocket he shot dead one of the policemen and wounded two others. It is difficult to know for sure what happened to 'le beau Serge' after that.

What is certain is that a chain of contacts enabled him to get out of France and

establish himself in South America in the drug traffic as part of the 'French connection'. But it was also a Gaullist connection.

Many cases have come to light in recent years which show conclusively that the Gaullist movement, SAC has close connections with the underworld and particularly with the drug traffic.

The existence of such a political underworld is not exactly a novelty in France where gangsters and politicians have often worked hand-in-glove. This was so before the war in towns like Marseilles and during the war the Gestapo made use of criminals to hunt down political enemies.

The 'Service d'Action Civique' was formed during the final stages of the Algerian war to fight the Secret Army Organization (OAS), which was opposed to independence. It recruited a miscellaneous crew of strong-arm men, former Gestapo informers and agents, a variety of criminal types.

They formed the fighting elements in what was ostensibly a wing of the ruling party, supported by officialdom. The red, white and blue card was a useful asset for any practising criminal. On arrest he would flourish it and hope that it would give him immunity—it sometimes did.

SAC men who stewarded meetings addressed by Pompidou and other Gaullist leaders were sometimes recognized by policemen not in the know as wanted criminals. When Pompidou visited Grenoble in 1967 he was driven around by

a notorious brothel-keeper who was shot a year later by a rival gangster in what is known as 'a settling of accounts'.

Sensitive Gaullist politicians ordered a purge of the SAC about this time to turn out the more obvious gangsters. But it was far from complete. In December last year came the break-up of a blackmail ring organized by Charles Lascorz, known as 'Monsieur Charley'.

Lascorz ran what appeared to be a prosperous industrial consulting firm. In fact it was a front behind which he exacted money from businessmen, some of whom had themselves engaged in shady deals. When the time was ripe he sent round a number of 'debt-collectors' who beat the victim until he paid up.

Lascorz always carried his SAC card when on business, so did his associates. One of his friends was an ex-Gaullist deputy, Pierre Lemarchand, who played an unexplained role in the notorious Ben Barka affair.

The real 'French connection' was revealed in April 1971 when US agents found about 100,000lb of heroin hidden in a minibus being unloaded at New York docks. It belonged to one Roger Delouette who claimed that he had belonged to a branch of the French secret service the 'Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage'.

Delouette told American police that he had been asked to collect the van and its contents by his former chief in Paris, Paul Fournier. He also



Ben Barka, kidnapped in 1966. Above: The 'Service d'Action Civique' (SAC), strong arm corps of the Gaullist party, in action against demonstrators in France.

claimed that he had been asked to pick up \$17,000 in counterfeit US money.

The French authorities have tried to hush up the affair as much as possible and deny that Fournier was implicated.

Another former SDECE agent, Andre Labay, was arrested in October 1971 as he was about to leave for the US with a car containing a quantity of pure heroin. He had once been involved in a business deal with the former Gaullist deputy André Rives-Henrys, accused of complicity in a big property fraud.

In the domain of French gangsterism, which flourishes on drugs, prostitution and the protection racket, SAC men continue to play a prominent part. One of the biggest Marseilles gangs, that of Antoine Guerini, was anti-Gaullist and worked at times with the Socialist Party, which is strong in the town. After

the death of Guerini and the imprisonment of his son, the SAC gangsters decided to force the Guerini clan to pay a 'tax'.

Last October, 'tax-gatherer' Constantin Tramini was shot dead in Berre, near Marseilles. There have been other 'settling of accounts' since then.

Lyons has its own full-scale scandal following the revelation during the summer that a number of policemen were running the town's brothels under the wing of a local Gaullist deputy. The SAC men in that town are known to have sheltered Christian David when he was in flight in 1966.

SAC men, or other gangsters enjoying protection in high places, organized the kidnapping of Ben Barka in 1966 with the support of sections of the French police and secret service.

A rich and powerful underworld flourishes in France with the support of its political friends. The SAC provides one of the important links. The criminals provide services for the politicians—and are obviously prepared to provide others.

Their fists and their guns are at the disposal of the men in power in dealing with working-class militants.

Among those who know a lot about the activities of the SAC and the links between the underworld and the political world of Gaullism, is Christian David, now in the hands of the American police. Many of his friends and protectors in France are afraid that he will not be restrained from telling the truth.

WORKERS NOTEBOOK

ICI CANNOT HIDE MONEY PROBLEMS

A special correspondent looks at the latest profit figures of ICI, Britain's fourth biggest company with an annual turnover of £1,500m a year.

ICI's pre-tax profits for the first nine months of this year were £97m—a drop of £10m from the comparable period in 1971, which was considered 'a bad year' by chairman Jack Callard.

The latest figures are inflated by a profit of £4m made entirely as a result of the change in sterling value of foreign funds due to the floating (downward) rate of the pound. City pundits and the financial Press will no doubt welcome these results as an improvement on the disastrous profits slump following Nixon's August 1971 measures to end the chronic US balance of payments deficit. But they by no means tell the whole story.

While sales have risen by £111m to £1,247m, ICI's trading profit as a percentage of sales slipped from 17.8 per cent to 16.6 per cent, despite increases in the price of fibres during June and the profit on currency exchange.

Old plant is being written off at a greater rate, taking an extra £15m of trading profit and reducing pre-tax profits from 9.4 per cent to 7.8 per cent of sales. It is this basic drop in the rate of profit that expresses most clearly the crisis of the British chemical industry. For the whole of 1971 ICI's return on capital was 8.6 per cent (8.5 per cent of total sales) compared with 12.4 per cent in 1969.

Overseas sales, at £669m, are higher than the £578m of UK sales, as they have been since 1967. But although both markets have increased by roughly the same ratio, production in ICI's overseas subsidiaries was 13.2 per cent higher than in the first nine months of 1971 while UK production went up by only 7.8 per cent.

Hope for survival

Clearly the older plants being written off in the UK are generating capital which is being used to increase capacity in the newer, more profitable plants abroad. In addition, a £20m plant to produce 'Melinex' polyester film—the basis of photographic film and recording tape—began production during 1972 in Hopewell, Virginia, USA.

The position for ICI workers immediately prior to entry into the Common Market looks grim and it is no secret that the board of directors consider the EEC as their only hope for survival in the trade war.

The success of the Common Market countries, according to Mr T. B. Owen of ICI central personnel: '... had been achieved by the creation of an essentially economic organization—a single labour market which enabled any worker to move from one country to another without a labour permit'.

Or, as chairman Callard put it even more forcefully: '... the inescapable conclusion that we have to draw from the trading results of the last two years ... is that only by running the business with fewer people, even in times of greater demand, can we compete against the rest of the world's chemical industry.'



Jack Callard, ICI chairman

Only by the most ruthless rationalization and reorganization on a European scale can ICI match America's du Pont (profits up 27 per cent) or West Germany's Bayer (up 16 per cent) and BASF (up 28 per cent).

During the boom period of the 1960s the increase in ICI's profits was led by the manufacture of artificial fibres to which they are so heavily committed. A £40m plant at Ardeen, Scotland, opened in 1969, can produce all the nylon salt required by two nylon polymer plants on Teesside and at Rozenburg, Holland, which supply nylon spinning works at Pontypool, Doncaster, Gloucester and Oestringen.

These factories are capable of manufacturing double the amount of nylon filament that ICI Fibres can sell. These are the stark facts of over-capacity. Now, after much hesitation, the go-ahead has been given for the full-scale production of new 'melded' fabrics such as Cambrelle. This new capital-intensive, labour-free process produces fabric so cheaply that firms using older methods—including most of ICI Fibres' customers for Terylene and Bri-nylon—will be pushed out of business overnight.

Because it is so capital-intensive, ICI must make it

either in vast quantities or not at all—hence the hesitation. The decision to push into the heat of the trade war is a fundamental departure from ICI's stated policy of non-domination of textiles anticipated by the acquisition of Viyella, Carrington Dewhurst and Qualitex. It is the beginning of the end of the traditional UK textile industry.

Knock-down price

Courtaulds, the old target of ICI's amalgamationist ambitions, has a large stake in the production of nylon, acrylic fibre, weaving and garment manufacture. With the development of Cambrelle, ICI will be in a position to bankrupt Courtaulds and acquire its assets at a knock-down price—giving them a UK textile base secure enough to stand up to EEC competition.

As workers at Skelmersdale and scientists at Pontypool will testify, the workers are the intended victims of this battle of the textile giants.

For the working class there is one, clear political answer to this boardroom anarchy. ICI and firms like it must be nationalized and placed under workers' control.

SECRECY

A great deal of money is being made in business circles in what is known as 'Insider Trading'. This consists of cheap buying of shares in companies after a quiet tip-off that it is likely to be the subject of a take-over bid.

A recent editorial in 'City Press', the weekly newspaper of the City of London, declared: 'Alas, there is substantial evidence that Insider Trading is widespread, and there is more speculative buying of probable take-over situations than of genuine cheap investment opportunities. Even in "City Press", in fairness to our readers, we have to use our columns to spotlight when shares are likely to jump on takeover hopes, and very often our readers make a great deal of money out of our disclosures of inside buying.'

There is, of course, a Take-Over Panel which is supposed to make sure that all dealings are above board. But—as 'City Press' points out—the Take-Over Panel is manned by stockbrokers and merchant bankers who themselves are employed as professional advisers by the take-over merchants who are responsible for Insider Trading.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Take-Over Panel has no powers to call for evidence when those in the know use their knowledge of take-over intentions to buy shares cheaply. And no one has yet been severely punished by the Take-Over Panel for leaking inside news to potential share-buyers.

One ardent defender of the Take-Over Panel is Lord Shawcross, the former Labour Attorney-General, who, again according to 'City Press', 'tries to maintain the sham that the Take-Over Panel wields the whip over anybody who wants to try his hand at insider dealing'.

Yet every day the financial papers carry reports of shares that have moved upward on take-over hopes.

But the reason for the secrecy is clear, as a final quote from 'City Press' will show: 'If the whole truth was known about insider dealing by individuals in shares, the reputation of many of the most respected establishments in the City would be shattered.'

'TRULY WELSH'

One of the great desires of that thoroughly petty-bourgeois group the Welsh Nationalists (supported ardently by the Welsh Communist Party) was for 'truly Welsh' institutions.

They were delighted, of course, when Sir Julian Hodge, the Welsh millionaire, who rules his empire from the second tallest building in Cardiff, announced he was setting up a Commercial Bank of Wales.

The worthy Hodge collected his board together. The list of directors included the ex-Labour Chancellor James Callaghan (an MP for Cardiff) and George Thomas the former Secretary of State for Wales, who distinguished himself during the last Labour government for his devotion to the leader Harold.

The shares were issued and this truly Welsh affair swung into action. At last the nation was pulling free for the iron grip of English capital. Alas the board appears to have swapped one master for another—of the 3 million shares issued a million have been bought by that monolith of US capitalism, the First National Bank of Chicago. Other subscribers include the good old British discount houses and merchant banks.

PINK HOT PANTS

The premier is in pink hot pants and the chief whip glides in in drag—a clip from some irreverent satire on parliamentary life? No it's government South Australia style under the Labour Party administration of Donald Dunstan.

It was Dunstan who set the trend when he walked into the house wearing 'hot pink' shorts, white shirt and knee length socks and shoes.

Not to be outdone the government chief whip, Gil Langley, the ex-cricketer, donned a floor length gown and walked the floor of Parliament House.

Later Langley modelled the gown in the parliamentary dining rooms, but said he did not feel he had matched the efforts of Donald Dunstan.

South Australia is the centre of rigid puritanism because of its strong Presbyterian tradition.

But perhaps it holds some sartorial tips for the Heath cabinet?

BOOKS



LEON TROTSKY:
Germany 1931/1932
Paperback £1.25—cloth £1.87;
Where Is Britain Going?
Paperback 37½p
Revolution Betrayed
Paperback 62½p—cloth £1.05
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Paperback £1.12½—cloth £1.87½
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Results and Prospects
Paperback 75p
In Defence of Marxism
Paperback 75p
Lessons of October
Paperback 60p

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

SLL LECTURES

LIVERPOOL

Wednesday November 29
Stalinism 1932-1938
 Wednesday December 6
Trotskyism and the founding of the Fourth International
COMMON HALL
HACKINS HEY
 off Dale Street, 7.30 p.m.
 Lectures given by
 Tom Kemp (SLL Central Committee)

OXFORD

Thursday November 30
Marxism—the science of perspective
SOUTH OXFORD
COMMUNITY CENTRE
 Lake Street, 8 p.m.
 Lectures given by
 G. Healy
 SLL national secretary

LONDON

Sunday December 3
A theory of knowledge
 Sunday December 10
Opponents of Marxism
BEAVER HALL
 at Mansion House tube
 7.30 p.m.
 Lectures given by
 G. Healy
 SLL national secretary

BARNESLEY

Sunday December 3
Capitalism and the crisis
 Sunday December 10
The struggle for power
 Sunday December 17
Revolutionary theory and the Marxist Party
RED LION HOTEL
 (Worsborough) 8 p.m.
 Lectures given
 by Cliff Slaughter
 (SLL Central Committee)

LEEDS

Monday December 4
The struggle for power
 Monday December 11
Revolutionary theory and the Marxist Party
PEEL HOTEL
 Boar Lane, Leeds 4
 8 p. m.

SHEFFIELD

Monday December 11
Stalinism and Trotskyism
 Monday January 8
Marxism and the revolutionary party
FORRESTERS HALL
 Trippett Lane, 7.30 p.m.

TODMORDEN

Monday December 11
'Dialectical materialism'
 Monday January 8
'The economic crisis'
 Monday January 22
'Stalinism'
 Monday February 5
'Trotskyism'
THE WEAVERS' INSTITUTE, Burnley Road,
 7.30 p.m.

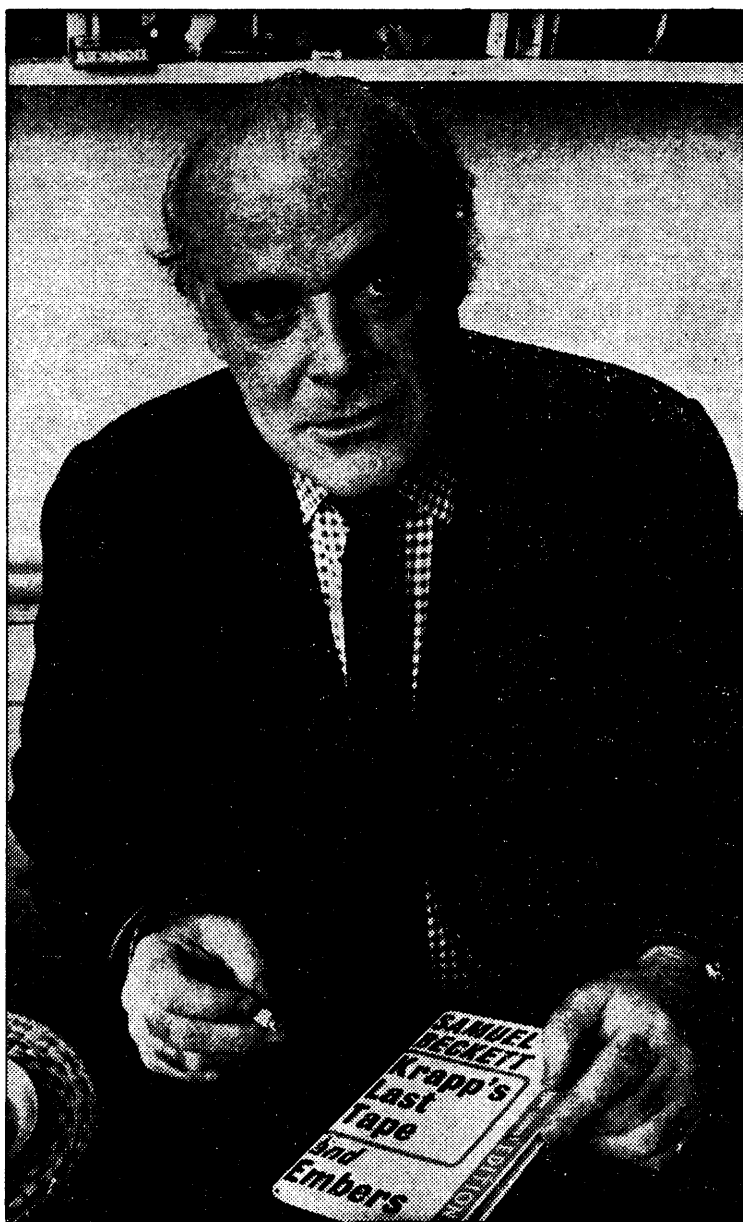
TV

BBC 1

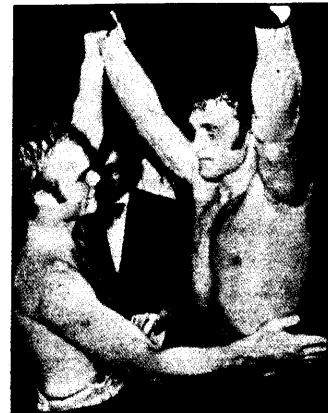
9.15 Schools. 12.30 Nai zindagi naya jeevan. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 1.45 Made in Britain. 2.05 Schools. 2.55 A chance to meet. 3.30 Mastermind. 4.00 The mole. 4.10 Play school. 4.35 Magic roundabout. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 The aeronauts. 5.20 Search. 5.45 News, Weather.
 6.00 NATIONWIDE.
 6.50 TOM AND JERRY
 7.00 WILDLIFE SAFARI. To The Argentine. The Pampas.
 7.25 MISSION IMPOSSIBLE. Stone Pillow.
 8.10 SOFTLY, SOFTLY: TASK FORCE. Justice.
 9.00 NINE O'CLOCK NEWS. Weather.
 9.25 SPORTSNIGHT. England v Ireland amateur boxing international.
 10.00 LABOUR PARTY POLITICAL BROADCAST.
 10.10 SPORTSNIGHT. European soccer.
 10.55 MIDWEEK.
 11.40 LATE NIGHT NEWS.
 11.45 BELLAMY ON BOTANY. Where have all the trees gone?
 12.10 Weather.

ITV

9.30 Schools. 10.30 Yoga for health. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Adventures of Rupert Bear. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Scotch corner. 2.00 Harriett's back in town. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Looks familiar. 3.30 Danger man. 4.25 Lift off with Ayshea. 4.50 Ace of wands. 5.20 University challenge. 5.50 News.
 6.00 TODAY.
 6.35 CROSSROADS.
 7.00 THIS IS YOUR LIFE.
 7.30 CORONATION STREET.
 8.00 INTERNATIONAL BOXING HIGHLIGHTS. Joe Bugner v Dante Cane.
 9.00 PUBLIC EYE. Many a Slip.
 10.00 LABOUR PARTY POLITICAL BROADCAST.
 10.10 NEWS.
 10.40 A PLACE IN THE COUNTRY. Plas-yn-Rhiw.
 11.10 LATE NIGHT THEATRE. Field Work. Donald Churchill, Alison Key, Jenny Quayle.
 11.45 DELTA. Stresspoint.
 12.45 EDUCATION FOR WHAT?



Above: Patrick Magee recreates the role of Krapp in Samuel Beckett's TV adaptation of his play 'Krapp's Last Tape' for tonight's Thirty Minute Theatre on BBC2. Donald McWhinnie, who directs tonight's presentation, directed Magee in the play's first performance in 1958. Right: Independent television visits Nottingham Ice Stadium at 8.00 to catch highlights of the Joe Bugner-Dante Cane fight. Bugner is seen with Jurgen Blin, his last opponent.



BBC 2

11.00-11.25 Play school.
 7.05 MAN AT WORK. In at the Deep End.
 7.30 NEWSROOM. Weather.
 8.00 TIMES REMEMBERED.
 8.10 ROYAL CONCERT. Craig Sheppard with the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic Orchestra perform Rossini's William Tell Overture and Rachmaninov's Piano Concerto No 3, in D minor.
 9.10 MAN ALIVE. A Job is Not Enough. Leonard Elmhirst brought industry to Dart-

ington, Devon in 1925.
 10.00 LABOUR PARTY POLITICAL BROADCAST.
 10.10 IN PRAISE OF WATER-COLOUR. Points of View.
 10.25 THIRTY MINUTE THEATRE: 'KRAPP'S LAST TAPE'. By Samuel Beckett. With Patrick Magee as the old man alone with his memories.
 11.00 THE EDWARDIAN AFFAIR. Things Fall Apart.
 11.25 NEWS ON 2. Weather.
 11.30 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

REGIONAL TV

CHANNEL: 9.30-11.55 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Helen McArthur show. 3.00 London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Linkup. 6.35 London. 7.00 Treasure hunt. 7.30 London. 10.00 Life in France. 10.10 London. 10.40 Tony Bennett. 11.10 London. 11.45 News and weather in French. Epilogue. Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel Except: 12.05 London. 12.37 Gus Honeybun. 12.40 London. 12.57 News. 1.00 London. 6.00 Diary. 11.42 News. 11.45 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 London. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 11.45 What the papers say. 12.00 News. 12.10 Guideline. 12.15 Shirley's world. 12.40 Weather.

HARLECH: 9.30 London. 2.30 party. 3.00 London. 3.25 Saint. 4.25 London. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.30 Jimmy Stewart show. 7.00 London. 10.40 Dick Van Dyke. 11.00 London. 11.45 Cinema. 12.15 Weather.

ANGLIA: 9.30 London. 2.30 Houseparty. 3.00 Looks familiar. 3.30 Odd couple. 3.55 Romper room. 4.20 News. 4.25 London. 5.00 About Anglia. 6.35 London. 11.45 UFO.

ATV MIDLANDS: 9.30 London. London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 5.00 Today. 6.35 London. 10.40 Julia. 11.10 London. 11.45 Stories worth telling. 11.50 O'Hara US Treasury.

ULSTER: 11.00 London. 1.32 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women today. 3.55 Harriett's back in town. 4.23 News. 4.25 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 London. 11.50 World War I.

YORKSHIRE: 9.30 London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 5.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.00 London. 10.40 North country. 11.05 London. 11.40 Spyforce. 12.45 Weather.

GRANADA: 9.30 London. 3.25 Ugliest girl in town. 3.50 Cartoon. 4.00 Crossroads. 4.25 London. 5.00 News. 6.30 Crown court. 7.00 London. 11.40 What the papers say.

SCOTTISH: 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 3.30 Saint. 4.25 London. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 University challenge. 7.00 London. 10.40 Days gone by. 11.10 London. 11.45 What the papers say. 12.00 Late call. 12.05 Love American style.

GRAMPIAN: 10.58 London. 1.38 Schools. 2.50 News. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women today. 3.55 Harriett's back in town. 4.25 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Grampian week. 6.35 London. 11.45 Frontiers in science. 12.00 Meditation.

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ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Fight Rising Prices
 Force the Tories to Resign

HULL: Monday December 11, 8 p.m. 'White Hart', Alfred Chelder Street, near Drypool bridge. 'No state control of wages.'

LUTON: Wednesday November 29, 8 p.m. The Recreation Centre, Old Bedford Road. 'The Tory Pay Law'.

PRESTON: (Please note date change), Thursday November 30, 7.30 p.m. Waterloo Hotel, Friargate.

SHEFFIELD: Thursday November 30, 7.30 p.m. The Grapes, Trippett Lane. 'The sell-out at Arthur Lee's and the fight against the pay laws.'

SWANSEA: Thursday November 30, 7.30 p.m. Council of Social Services, Mount Pleasant Hill.

BASINGSTOKE: Sunday December 3, 7.30 p.m. 'The Hop Leaf', Church Street.

BRACKNELL: Monday December 4, 8.00 p.m. Priestwood Community Centre.

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THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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

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Gift-wrapped Christmas price rise

MANUFACTURERS are changing the packaging of Christmas goods to dodge the freeze, it was alleged yesterday by consumer activists.

National Consumer Protection have found a dozen cases where prices have been increased to pay for gift wrappings.

An assurance has been made by the minister in

charge of consumer affairs Sir Geoffrey Howe that modifications to wrapping would not mean a commodity escaped the freeze.

But Mrs Regina Dollar, national organizer of the NCP, challenged the Minister yesterday. She said: 'If Sir Geoffrey is referring to the whole range of Christmas goods we feel it a bit late to make such a

statement.

'Even if the announcement had been made two or three months ago I doubt it would have been in time. Manufacturers work well in advance. Some of their stuff has been in the shops since the end of October and early November,' she said.

A spokesman for Yardley, cosmetics and perfume makers

—one of the companies mentioned by NCP—commented: 'Christmas packaging is an expensive business. We are in the hands of the suppliers. We are not making any profit. All our plans are made in advance. Even if we wanted we could not reduce our prices.'

Consumer Minister
Sir Geoffrey Howe



The dividend 'freeze' fraud

More loop-holes than in a string vest—city view

THE SO-CALLED 'dividend freeze' in Heath's state pay legislation is a complete fraud. It is a sop to the trade unions; in reality it is completely meaningless.

This is the cynical conclusion of City businessmen who have now had time to study both the legislation and the special guidance bulletins issued by the Treasury and the CBI.

They believe that there are more loopholes than in a string vest in the section on dividends to let companies do what they like.

After a survey of opinion in the City these are views being expressed:

● The majority of companies are welcoming the 90-day 'freeze' on dividends. It is privately supported by the CBI. The reason is simple.

In times of economic recession big companies dislike having to pay out

dividends to shareholders. They would rather use the money for getting their company into shape to meet the turbulent times ahead.

Therefore the trade union leaders' statement that the dividend 'freeze' is a 'victory' is rather hollow.

Hefty rise

● Under the legislation dividends are not to be paid or increased during the 90 days from Royal Assent. But the legislation does not bar companies from proposing increased final dividends.

This means that a company can announce that at the end of the freeze it will be paying a hefty increase—which is a considerable

BY ALEX MITCHELL

incentive to buy the company's shares.

All in all, the 'freeze' on dividends will not inhibit interest in the Stock Exchange and depress the market, it will intensify speculation and thereby the profits of share speculators.

This is completely in line with Tory Party policy which is to throw open the Stock Exchange for greater participation.

Next year's changes in the Corporation Tax are deliberately designed to increase the amount of public speculation in the share markets and there will be tax advantages for those in the share scramble.

It is clear, therefore,

that the initial 'freeze' on dividends is having not the slightest effect on big business. On the contrary, many of them are enjoying it.

The legislation also grants specific exemptions in the field of prices. Those goods whose prices are free to go up include fruit, vegetables, meat and fish.

Bulletins

The government has started to issue weekly bulletins inviting retailers to increase the prices of these basic commodities.

The legislation has special machinery for allowing increases in the

prices of manufactured goods.

Already the government is processing more than 100 applications for exemption from the legislation. Nor does the legislation cover profiteering from property speculation.

In summary, therefore, it can be stated that Heath's measures allow the following items to go up:

- Dividends
- Food prices
- Manufactured goods
- Land and housing

On the other hand, the working class is being 'blamed' for inflation! Workers' wages are to be controlled by the state.

If trade unions or

groups of trade unionists defy the law they face prosecution in the criminal courts. If convicted they face unlimited fines and the possibility of jail.

Even more dangerous is the notion that this legislation is only a short-term measure.

It is only Phase One of the Tory plan. Already they have advanced plans for introducing Phase Two which will be an even tighter stranglehold on the wages of the working class.

Mislead

Those trade union leaders who are saying that at the end of the 90 days wages will automatically be 'unfrozen' are deliberately misleading their members.

The Tories have much more vicious corporatist-style legislation up their sleeve. Those who capitulate to the present legislation are opening up the door for bigger attacks on the standard of living of the working class early in the New Year.

Don't upset elections plea from Seguy

GEORGES Séguy, Stalinist secretary of the CGT trade union federation, spoke out at the annual Press dinner given by his union on Monday against another May-June 1968.

'But the uncompromising attitude of the employers and the government make us think that some people would not be unhappy to see the development of a situation similar to that in June 1968,' he said.

'Those people have got the wrong idea. The forces whose behaviour was exploited at that time against the working class have today a much weaker audience.'

'We are conscious of our responsibilities as citizens and democrats, we do not want deliberately to upset the normal development of the elections, nor let a climate be created which could favour any manoeuvre.'

According to Séguy, then, the 1968 general strike of 10 million workers and anyone who now

raises the demand for a General Strike is in the pay of Pompidou and big business.

Séguy and the CP are to press ahead with the policies of peaceful co-existence and counter-revolution which led to their betrayal of 1968.

They intend to mount no challenge to the government anti-riot laws passed after the General Strike which are now being used against trade unionists for the first time (see p.2).

However, the CGT is far from having absolute control over the working class, as was shown in the militant potash miners' strike in Alsace, which ended last Monday.

Séguy is now threatened by developments in the docks where stevedores, dockers and technicians have been operating an overtime ban and an embargo on night-working for some days in France's main ports.

The portworkers who signed an agreement in April for a 6.5 per cent increase in 1972 are now demanding a 10 per cent increase in line with the rise in

the cost of living.

Their actions are backed by a go-slow of dockers who are demanding improvements on the agreement which was only signed on November 14.

Ship-owners have already been threatened by a general strike in the ports when an attempt was made to use scab-labour to work cranes in Rouen.

Philippe Poirier d'Orsay, leader of the Central Committee of French ship-owners, has accused workers of wanting 'to murder our ports'.

The government and employers are taking a hard line, since concessions in the ports would give immediate encouragement to workers in gas and electricity, postmen and railway workers who are involved in negotiations at the present.

The CGT, in line with the needs of Moscow, has broken up the movement in the national sector, called different sectors on one-day national strikes, while preparing sell-outs like the one perpetrated in Alsace with the help of premier Pierre Messmer.

Wheelchair protest at No 10

TWO PROTESTORS in wheelchairs yesterday met Tory premier Edward Heath and the Secretary for Social Services, Sir Keith Joseph, at Downing Street for talks on disablement pensions.

Miss Mary Greaves (65), director of the Disablement Income Group, led the deputation. The

CRAFTSMEN at the giant BP oil refinery site at Llandarcy, South Wales, are in their fourth week of dispute over a claim for a £4.50 wage rise. The 280 men are refusing to work overtime and doing safety work only. They have rejected a request for talks from the management.

group is demanding a right to a pension for permanently disabled people and more aid for the disabled housewife and parents with disabled children.

With her was Peter Large (41), who will take over her post as director when she retires in January.

Miss Greaves explained outside No. 10: 'If a man becomes disabled before he is 65, he has to wait until he is 65 to get a pension.'

'A man's family would be better off if he died.'

She added: 'We think there should be a pension at least six months after permanent disablement.'

Firm moves to Wales

A LONDON firm established in 1780 is to move its production and administration to South Wales. Smith Kendon Ltd. of Borough High Street Southwark, manufacturers of confectionary, diabetic foods and pharmaceuticals, will take over a government-built factory on an industrial estate at Bridgend. The company exports over 50 per cent of its output and the move is expected to enable it to expand production and employ up to 180 people.

Socialist Labour League

CELEBRATE
3RD ANNIVERSARY
OF WORKERS
PRESS

BUILD THE
REVOLUTIONARY
PARTY

SUNDAY
DECEMBER 3
7 p.m.

Everyman Theatre

LIVERPOOL

Speakers:

MIKE BANDA
(SLL Central Committee)

DAVE KIRBY
(CAV, Fazakerley, shop steward.)

CONNIE FAHEY
(Wilmslow tenants' leader)

ALAN PEERS
(Young Socialists' national committee)
(Union and tenant speakers in a personal capacity.)
Details of other provincial meetings see p. 12.

NEWCASTLE

SUNDAY DECEMBER 10, 7 p.m.
County Hotel

Speakers:

MIKE BANDA (SLL Central committee)

DAVID JONES (YS national committee)

BOB MAINS (Unemployed)

VINCENT FOY (secretary Jar-row Trades Council. In personal capacity.)

BIRMINGHAM

SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 7 p.m.
Assembly Hall
Digbeth Civic Hall

Speakers:

GLASGOW

SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 2 p.m.
Woodside Halls
St George's Cross

Speakers:

MIKE BANDA (SLL Central committee)

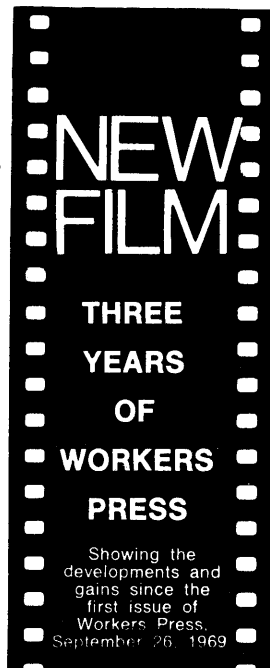
JOHN BARRIE (YS national committee)

WILLIE DOCHERTY (chairman Paisley Tenants' Action Committee. In personal capacity.)

G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary)

WILLIE AITKIN (YS national committee)

PETER SMITH (Rover shop steward. In personal capacity.)



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reaches us each day that has maintained and developed Workers Press over the last three years.

Help us now go from strength to strength. In this political situation hundreds of new readers can and must be won. Send us your donation today. If possible, add something extra. Make a great last-minute fight to complete this month's target. Rush your donations immediately to:

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186a Clapham High Street
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B52s bomb wrong
village—19 dead

UNITED STATES warplanes bombed a South Vietnamese village near Da Nang yesterday, killing 19 civilians and wounding 29. A US spokesman said that the bombing was 'accidental' and that there would be a full investigation.

Gunners and infantry of the North Vietnamese National Liberation Front launched a fierce attack on enemy divisions which were moving towards the demilitarized zone.

Meanwhile, South Vietnamese envoy Nguyen Phu Duc prepared for his talks with President Nixon today.

They are the latest manoeuvre in the grim charade of 'peace' negotiations, to which the Stalinists have lent so much credibility.

Complaints
over AUEW
ballot

ENGINEERS' union secretary Jim Conway, just re-elected by a 73,000-vote majority, complained yesterday that the union had been 'fighting the Industrial Relations Act and not concentrating on building up membership'.

Once the union had got over problems with the Act, membership would go up again, he said.

Mr Conway, a pro-Common Market and Labour Party right-winger, defeated assistant general secretary Ernie Roberts in the election. Roberts received 96,206 votes as against Conway's 169,806.

Branches in several areas of the country have complained about the conduct of the ballot—for instance against the fact that Conway's name appeared several times as sitting general secretary.

Mr Roberts said after the announcement of the ballot result that he was giving 'careful consideration' to a letter from the union executive replying to a list of complaints he had submitted.

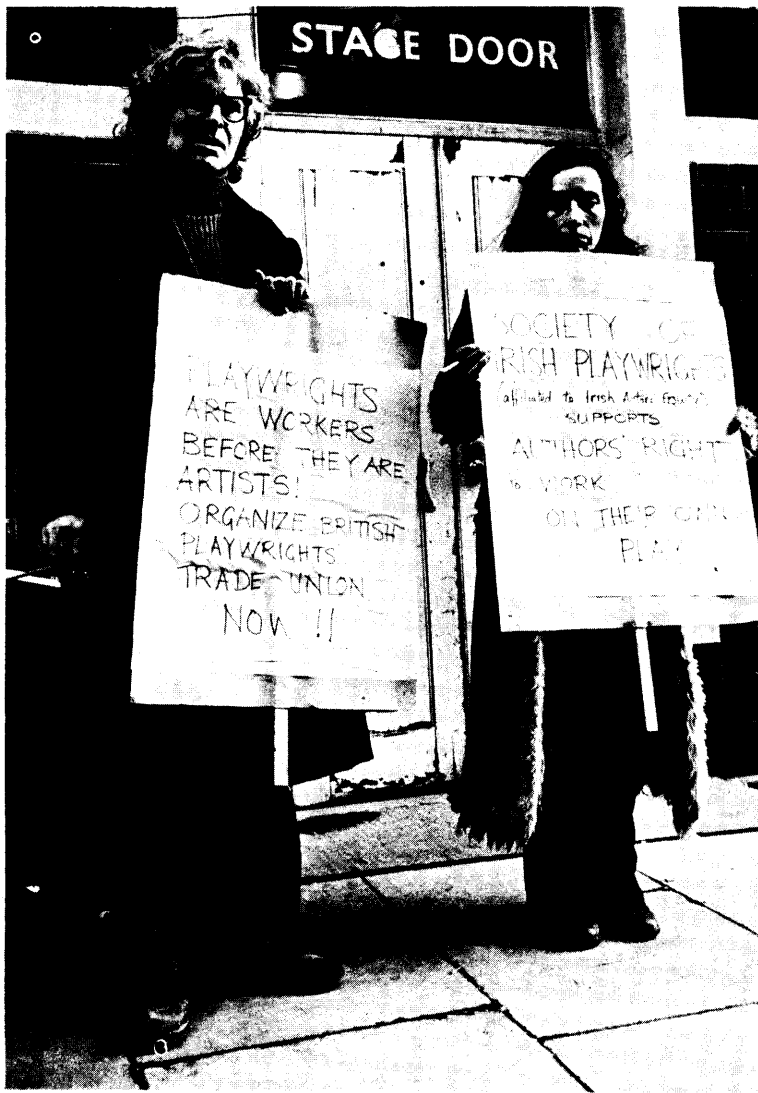
RAILWAY-union leaders are to submit a joint claim to the Railways Board for substantial pay increases for nearly 300,000 workers on British Railways.

'ANGRY BRIGADE' trial jury are to retire on Monday to consider verdicts on the four men and four women facing a total of nine charges. The trial began on May 30.

CORRECTION: In Monday's Workers Press report on the National Union of Students' conference it was incorrectly stated that the Southampton delegation withdrew its name from motions endorsed by a union meeting. It has been brought to our notice that the motions were in fact endorsed by a delegation meeting at the conference.

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Playwrights protest
at the Aldwych

PLAYWRIGHTS John Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy yesterday picketed the Aldwych Theatre, London, demanding a meeting of the full cast and production staff of their play 'Island of the Mighty'.

They claim the meaning of the play had been distorted by the director, David Jones.

'Island of the Mighty'—based on the Arthurian legends—was written as a comment on British imperialism in Ireland. The authors say it has now become completely pro-imperialist.

Yesterday Trevor Nunn, artistic director of the Royal Shakespeare Company, said: John Arden had been at rehearsals for six weeks until last Monday and approved all aspects of the production.

'With only a few days of rehearsals left the company voted by an overwhelming majority against discussing with John Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy any radical alteration of the work previously rehearsed.'

Dictator laws

FROM PAGE ONE

the Lynch government's attitude to the working class.

The deputy head of the Irish Labour Party, Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien, said the party was vehemently opposed to the legislation, and he warned that in the future it could be used against what he termed 'ginger groups' in the trade unions.

He added that the party also condemned the arbitrary sacking of the nine-man controlling body of RTE, but he said the government would find controls short of outright censorship difficult to impose.

Together with all Dublin's principle trade union leaders, Dr O'Brien said they supported the arrest and conviction of the IRA Chief-of-Staff and the government's efforts to stamp out terrorism in the Republic.

Professor W. T. Moody, a leading member of the sacked RTE authority, described their

dismissal as 'reprehensible', and as 'a serious threat to liberty'.

But he too stressed that the real problems lie in bringing about a ceasefire in the north and eliminating the 'terrorists'.

Commenting on MacStiofain's conviction and hunger strike, the general secretary of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, Rory Roberts, said Irish trade unions had no role to play in politics, although they had taken initiatives to bring about 'community peace' in the north.

He said they would not consider calling for MacStiofain's release, but added that they would be looking hard at the government's action over RTE and the new legislation, which he said would be 'resisted' if it interfered with the exercise of the traditional rights of the trade unions.

A stormy debate on the legislation was expected in the Dail yesterday afternoon.

Army road blocks around

MacStiofain

ALL ROADS into the army camp at Curragh, Co Kildare, where MacStiofain is in hospital, were sealed off yesterday in a big security clamp-down.

An army spokesman said permanent barriers were being erected on at least 20 roads into the training camp.

MacStiofain, who has been on hunger and thirst strike for ten days, is being treated at the general military hospital 30 miles from Dublin by Lt Col Cyril Joyce, commanding officer of the hospital.

In the first official statement since MacStiofain was airlifted from the Mater hospital, Dublin, the Department of Defence described his condition as 'mentally alert and lucid' and

said that his physical condition was unchanged.

Myles Shevlin, MacStiofain's solicitor, agreed after a 20-minute meeting at the hospital that he was in 'astonishingly good mental condition and exceptionally lucid'.

Shevlin said there had been armed guards present throughout their legal consultations, within sight but not within earshot.

There were no plans for an appeal at the moment against his six-month sentence and MacStiofain would be continuing his hunger and thirst strike.

Arrests, raids and
meetings over Ireland

THIRTEEN members of Sinn Fein, the IRA's political wing, appeared at Mansion House court in London yesterday on charges after incidents at the London offices of 'The Irish Times'.

The 13—including two women—were remanded on bail until January 10 accused of assaulting security officer John Henry Williams occasioning actual bodily harm at 'The Times' building in Printing House Square.

THE IRA yesterday launched a series of attacks across the border into Northern Ireland. In one rocket attack a policeman was killed when his border post was shelled.

The first rocket attack was made on the Belleek police station, County Fermanagh, from across the border in County Donegal.

At the same time bullets raked the building. British troops rushed to the police post and soldiers of the republic's army also arrived on the scene.

Belleek is three miles from the County Donegal town of Ballyshannon where the police station was besieged for several hours recently after IRA men had been arrested on arms charges.

A short time later two shells were fired at the RUC headquarters at Strabane, County Tyrone. The shells ripped chunks of masonry from the walls. There were no injuries. The rockets were aimed from across the border.

Two borderside customs posts near Londonderry also came under attack.

No casualties were reported in either incident—on the road to Buncrana, across the frontier, and between Londonderry and Muff in County Donegal.

A number of shots were fired at each post.

On the Buncrana Road, raiders set fire to a lorry. More concentrated shooting went on during the second raid.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC and Labour Party leaders yesterday met Ulster Secretary William Whitelaw for talks on the Tories' plans for the province's future.

The meeting, which was attended by party leaders Gerry Fitt and Paddy Devlin, is believed to have discussed the issue of security.

Nationalist and Republican Labour politicians have refused to take part in the talks.

Earlier, Whitelaw met Protestant Archbishop the Very Rev Dr George Sims.



Socialist Labour League Public Meeting

FREE SEAN MacSTIOFAIN

Friday December 1, 7.30 p.m.

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE
(near Holborn Tube)

Speaker:

Gerry Healy (national secretary of the Socialist Labour League)
Other speakers to be announced.