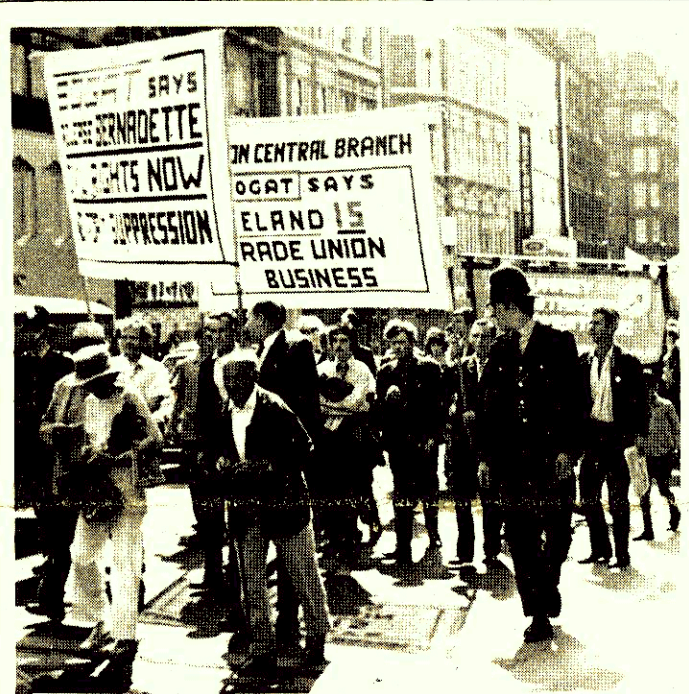


All trade unionists must give Full support to dockers

THE TILBURY dockers' decision to go ahead with the strike today is a clear sign of their immovable determination and undaunted temper.



A section of Sunday's march

BRITISH TROOPS IN ULSTER

'Impartial' pogroms - C.P. and I.S. demand

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Together with contingents from civil rights groups and supporters of the revisionist journal 'Militant', they made up the bulk of the 1,000 people who took part in the demonstration.

But with the lack of principle that we have come to expect from these revisionists, both International Socialism and the 'Militant' group fell in completely with the entirely reformist, pro-imperialist policy put forward by the Stalinists at the head of the Connolly Association.

The march provided one more clear indication that the revisionists support the presence of British troops in N Ireland, whether under a Tory or a Labour government.

The aim of the demonstration, in fact, to judge from the official leaflet advertising the march, was to demand 'action from Britain's new government'.

As one Connolly Association supporter said: 'We would put pressure on Hitler if he were in the government here.'

No objection

The Stalinists and their allies at Trafalgar Square, it appears, had no objection to Tory 'law and order'—provided it is applied 'impartially'. In the words of a resolution passed unanimously by the rally which followed the march, measures must be taken 'to ensure that soldiers, police and the administration of the law, such as it is, are placed in impartial hands'.

As is well known, the law in N Ireland 'such as it is' includes the Special Powers

Regardless of whatever agreement is cooked up between Jones and Tonge—and until the delegate conference is reconvened—they are willing to fight the employers, the Tory government and its middle-class backers to the end.

Just as in 1911 when the dockers and stevedores rejected the agreements between their leaders and the employers and successfully defied Churchill to send 25,000 troops into dockland while paralyzing the whole of London, so too today the dockers are flexing their muscles for what promises to be the fiercest showdown with Toryism since 1926.

We admire this spirit of cool intemperance and massive solidarity, which puts their leaders to shame.

If these things alone could win the battle against the employers, the victory of the dockers would be a foregone conclusion.

But this is not 1911 or 1926. This is 1970 and Britain and the whole of world imperialism is in the throes of an unprecedented crisis which has sharply reduced profit rates, created a galloping inflation, depreciated paper currencies and now threatens to pull the stock exchanges of the world into the inferno of a world depression.

There is little or no room for manoeuvre.

The Tories realize that it is the actions of workers, principally the dockers, which have considerably reduced the amount of surplus value in profits extracted by the employers in the process of production.

Hinge

They also know that without a significant defeat of workers in a strategic sector, such as docks, there is little use in passing anti-union laws or trying to put value back into shares.

Everything hinges on the coming showdown with the dockers.

The labour officer of 'The Times', Inis Macbeath, spoke for the whole ruling class when he stated recently: 'As things stand, no government and no employer, public or private, can take the demand for an increase of nearly 9% a week on the basic rate as a serious possibility at this time.'

Mr Macbeath might not take it seriously, but for thousands of dockers who have to sweat their guts out in the holds and quaysides to earn a modest £30 for a 40 hour week, it certainly seems a 'serious possibility' well worth the sacrifice.

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'Strike must go on', say Royal dockers

WHEN dockers from London's Royal group of docks met yesterday morning to hear reports from their stewards there was a feeling that the strike must go on.

Stewards' committee chairman Buck Baker, who recently resigned from the T&GWU's Lay No. 1 docks group committee over its proposal to implement the Devlin scheme unilaterally, told the meeting that Phase Two was in limbo because of the £20 national claim.

It had been because they did not want anything to interfere with the scheme that the employers had continually refused to negotiate on the claim over the last year, he said.

The union had operated Clause 20 of the National Dock Labour Board agreement and followed full constitutional procedure throughout in pressing the claim.

Reporting back from last Thursday's Transport House delegate conference, T&GWU steward Ernie Rice warned that the employers wanted to use the £11 15 8d basic rate as a lever for introducing productivity deals.

He criticized national docks officer Tim O'Leary's view that sporadic action was a better way of fighting the employers and stressed that the Tories would use the army and the state machine against a strike.

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phasized press conference following weekend talks with Tory foreign minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home, seemed far from happy with the Tories' plans to resume arms sales to S Africa.

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Payments

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Power station men appeal for aid

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ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE National Docks Conference

LIVERPOOL, Saturday July 12, 2 p.m. Central Hall, Renshaw St. Scrap Devlin Phase Two! Fight the Tories! For a £20 basic wage and nationalization under workers' control!

TALKS RESUME

PORT EMPLOYERS and union leaders returned to the Department of Employment and Productivity at 4 p.m. yesterday.

The situation, according to Trades Union Congress general secretary Victor Feather, was 'a case of fingers crossed at the moment'.

Neither had consideration been given to calling for a deferment of the strike pending the outcome of the talks.

The executive of the 'Blue' National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers was also meeting in London last night to consider their position. Mass meetings of the union's members have been called for this morning.

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Gollan: Answer demand from jail

LEADERS of the Communist Party have now received a direct challenge to speak out against the persecution of opponents of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, from inside a Russian prison camp.

It takes the form of an appeal to the Communist Parties of the West from Yuri Galanskov. This 31-year-old writer was tried in 1968, along with three other young opponents of the bureaucracy, and given seven years' hard labour.

His letter, smuggled out of the prison camp, calls on the CP leaders to press the Soviet chiefs for an end to their repressive measures against the opposition.

He says that 'ordinary people in the West' think the CP's aim is to set up the same type of system as exists in Russia.

The Western CPs deny this, says Galanskov, but people ask: 'Why do we have to believe you? ... Can you demonstrate that Stalinism and Maoism are not a necessary part of Communist practice? How can you prove that your Italian, French and English Communism would not be a national tragedy for the Italian, French and English peoples?'

'Reform'

Western Communists, says Galanskov, declare that the suppression of democracy in the Soviet Union was only the result of 'difficulties and mistakes', and that it is possible to reform the Soviet CP.

He therefore demands that they take up with the Soviet leaders:

● The granting of a complete amnesty to all people imprisoned in the USSR for their political or religious beliefs, and

● The reform of Russian policy of suppression of political and religious opposition. If they do not respond to this appeal, says Galanskov, the CPs will be acquiescing in the suppression of democratic freedoms in the Soviet Union.

Galanskov says of western intellectuals: 'During the years of Stalin's dictatorship, they spent more time being surprised at it than opposing it. They lacked principles and made political compromises.'

On the spot

Galanskov's letter puts Gollan and company directly on the spot.

They must be forced to answer these demands from behind Brezhnev's barbed wire. While the CP moves further to the right, making a great show of 'independence' and 'democratic' respectability, they remain silent on the key questions of the actions of the Soviet bureaucracy and its history.

● PAGE FOUR COL. 4

Reform and Revolution

Some pages from the history of the British working class
BY PETER JEFFRIES

in Britain

9 SYNDICALISM AND THE 'LABOUR UNREST'

OUR LAST two articles in this series will be concerned with the years immediately before the First World War, the years of the great 'labour unrest', as the capitalist class came to call it, and the lessons which it contains for the struggles of today.

Out of all the tendencies which in the 1920-1921 period came together to form the British Communist Party (CPGB), the strongest was undoubtedly the syndicalist tendency which had its origins in the period after 1910 in the British trade union movement.

The early battles of the Communist International with the leaders of the CPGB were largely against the limitations in the ideas and methods of syndicalism.

Syndicalism was a body of ideas imported largely from France and America in this period, and, if it did not attain the status of a definite philosophy or systematic body of thought, it was based in general upon a growing opposition to the opportunism and class collaboration of the official leaders of the movement.

It counterposed against reliance on such leaders the development of strong rank-and-file action with the aim of creating new industrial unions which could link workers together regardless of their skill and break down the old craft barriers which had originated in the period from the 1850s onwards.

POWER

At its highest level syndicalism involved the notion that out of these industrial unions the working class in the course of larger and larger strikes would be able to take power from the capitalists by taking over the means of production.

There is no doubt that one of the main stimulants to the growth of such ideas was the disillusionment with the performance and record of the Labour Party at Westminster. MacDonald and company, in the period after 1906, once the Trades Disputes Act had redressed the situation created by the Taff Vale judgement five years earlier, were quite content to play a tame second fiddle to the Liberals in parliament.

But perhaps more important was the increasing servility of the established trade union leaders towards the employers and the capitalist state.

The trade union bureaucracy more and more set its face against any determined struggle against the employers and was becoming increasingly enmeshed into the institutions of state.

This was particularly true with the Liberal victory of 1905.

It was in the period after this that a systematic policy

developed of providing jobs for trade union and labour officials in the growing number of administrative posts associated with the social reform policy of the Campbell-Bannermann-Asquith government.

Elie Halevy in his 'History of the English People' has given some idea of the extent and importance of this development.

He has estimated that the 1909 Trades Boards Acts created 800 posts with salaries in some cases of £1,000 per year; in 1910 Churchill created two posts at the Home Office, as Labour Advisers, one going to Shackleton of the textile workers and the other a Welsh miner, Tom Richards; in addition 30 posts were also created as sub-inspectors of mines and quarries, the jobs to be reserved for miners and quarrymen.

The 1911 National Insurance Act brought another large batch of similarly high paid Civil Service jobs to satisfy the growing appetite of the trade union officials.

Figures for 1912 reveal that over the previous six years places had been found at the Board of Trade for 117 active



Tom Mann

trade union workers at a total annual salary of over £25,000.

Over 120 jobs in the National Insurance Department had been created for ex-unionists at a cost of £34,000. The Home Office contained nearly 50 posts filled by recruits from the unions with over 80 posts in other departments.

And to complete the developing hostility towards a bureaucracy which was finding such well-paid state jobs, most of the leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party were union officials, this being almost inevitable in the days before MPs received a salary.

STERILIZED

Little wonder that A. P. Orage, a leader of the Guild Socialist movement could comment in 1914:

'It is not generally realized how successfully the present government has sterilized the Socialist and Labour movement by enlisting in the ranks of the bureaucracy energetic young Fabians as well as prominent political socialists and Labour leaders.'

But the strike wave after 1910, which affected nearly all industries, including the best organized and assuming near revolutionary proportion in the years 1913-1914, cannot be explained simply in terms of a

growing contempt for the Labour bureaucracy. This period saw new economic problems facing capitalism which had a deep impact upon the thinking of the working class.

In the first place, these years saw a strong tendency for prices to rise rapidly and constantly to outstrip wages.

In part, the bitter struggles of the period represent a determined effort by the rank-and-file in the unions to maintain its living standards in the face of such rising prices.

ENGINEERING

Its ability to do so was reinforced by the relatively low levels of unemployment which existed after 1909, in contrast with the earlier years of the decade.

Secondly, under the impact of growing foreign competition, the pace of technical change quickened in a number of industries.

Most notable here was the engineering industry which witnessed in these years a speeding up of those changes which first began to assume significance in the 1890s: the breaking up of the old crafts and the creation of a large number of semi-skilled jobs.

These developments had a deep impact upon the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE) which once more (in 1912) changed its constitution to open its membership to such layers.

But even these factors together, important though they were, cannot explain the violence of the eruption which occurred throughout the labour movement after 1910.

Of crucial importance was the growth of monopoly within the economy which, though less pronounced than in other capitalist countries, notably Germany, was beginning to effect a profound change throughout large sectors of the economy.

MONOPOLY

This trend towards monopoly, which brought with it a growth in the size of the typical industrial concern, was intimately linked to the growing intervention of the state into the economy.

Thus although technical change was comparatively slow in the coal industry, the miners were in the vanguard of the class struggle in this period and the ASE also saw important changes where technical development was perhaps most pronounced.

The ideas of syndicalism found a fertile ground amongst the most class-conscious workers, primarily because the growth of monopoly, and with it deep-going changes in the structure of industry and finance, posed a new generation of workers with new problems to which the existing institutions of the movement had little answer.

In some respects the 'labour unrest' reproduced many of the features associated with the 'new unionism' of the late 1880s and early 1890s, but on a higher scale.

Again the dockers and other previously unorganized sections were to the fore; like the earlier period this was one of comparative prosperity, in terms of the level of employment and the rate of industrial expansion and finally the two periods witnessed a rapid expansion in trade union membership.

The four years before the outbreak of war saw a phenomenal 60 per cent increase in trade union membership, concentrated particularly amongst seamen, labourers and dockers.

NEW FACTORS

But there were also profound differences, which indicate the presence of new factors in the situation. Right to the front of the struggles were the miners and the engineers, the former the base for the continuing support for liberalism in the working class during the 1880s and 1890s, the latter one of the earliest

of the conservative 'new model' unions established at the start of the mid-Victorian boom in the mid-19th century.

So general indeed was the crisis facing the trade unions that even the hitherto ultra-conservative metal trades of the Black Country saw a strike involving over 50,000 in the summer of 1913, to be followed a few months later at the start of 1914 by a general lock-out of London building workers, again a union which had provided many of the most conservative and opportunistic leaders of the 1870s and 1880s.

CRISIS

And like all pre-revolutionary periods, the years before 1914 saw not merely a series of political upheavals, but a profound governmental crisis, notably over the power of the House of Lords and the question of Irish Home Rule.

Nearly all the great struggles which occurred during the years of the 'labour unrest' had one common feature; they invariably started as unofficial actions, opposed by the trade union bureaucracy concerned.

STRIKE

The rising cost of living and the failure to effectively tackle the problem of casualization found the dockers hardly any better off than in 1889.

Following a strike by seamen in June 1911 for a uniform scale to cover all ports, dockers and carters struck in Manchester in July and the Port of London was soon closed down by an even bigger strike than its famous predecessor of 1889.

The Port of London Authority under Lord Devonport, supported by the Liberal government, refused to budge and Home Secretary Winston Churchill threatened to dispatch 25,000 troops.

Tension mounted as daily demonstrations of dockers, sometimes as many as 100,000, marched through the city. In the face of this power, the government retreated and most of the original demands were conceded.

Similar developments took place in other ports, notably Liverpool where a 70,000-

strong general strike embracing dockers, seamen, carters, tramwaymen, and railwaymen, occurred.

Tom Mann was in the leadership of this struggle, which in this case actually saw the intervention of the troops and violent clashes in which two workers were shot.

The early months of 1912 saw a strike of Glasgow dockers and in May 100,000 dockers were out again in London against alleged breaches of the 1911 settlement and employment of non-union labour.

This time the London action met with little national response and eventually the Port Authority, backed by the government, was able to drive the men back to work defeated.

The summer of 1911 also brought the big rail strike which was to transform trade unionism in this sector and bring about the major move towards industrial unionism—part of the aim of the syndicalists as we noted above.

200,000 railwaymen were involved in this struggle, bringing determined opposition from the government, which once more, as in the first dockers' strike, retreated in the face of a grave international situation and the unions won *de facto* recognition from the employers.

TONYPANDY

The miners' struggle reached a climax after that of the railwaymen.

10,000 miners had been involved in strike action in the autumn of 1910 at the Cambrian combine over the payment of abnormal rates. Metropolitan police and troops were dispatched to Tonypandy and violent clashes occurred with the workers.

Similar clashes were to take place throughout the whole of South Wales during 1911.

So great was the pressure from the ranks for an effective struggle for a national minimum wage that the Miners' Federation leadership was forced to call a national strike

in the early months of 1912. It met with immediate response from the men and the strike received widespread support from the rest of the working class.

But once more the government intervened with an 'impartial' settlement, giving the form of victory to the men, the reality to the coal owners.

The Minimum Wage Bill, rushed into law by the end of March, merely prescribed machinery for the determination of district minima and a ballot favoured continuation of the struggle.

The leadership, however, took the men back to work, on the pretext that a two-thirds majority is necessary for the continuation of a strike.

TRICKERY

Commenting upon this typical piece of parliamentary trickery involved in the Minimum Wage Bill, Lenin wrote:

'But the lesson was too obvious. The interests of capital had conflicted too sharply for the gap to be covered by the appearance of concessions.'

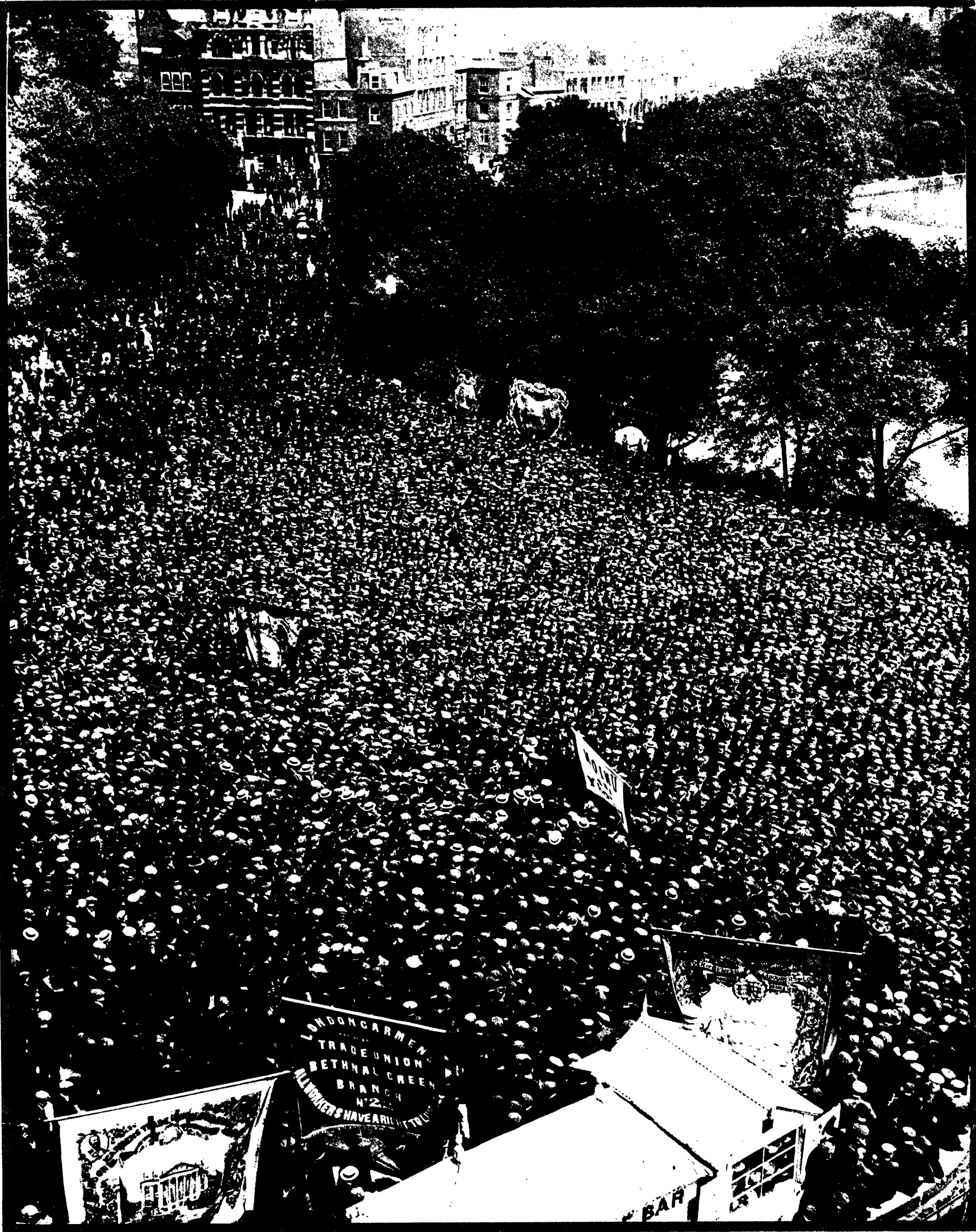
'It was clear whose interests the Liberals were defending.'

'The English workers had to recognize how important for them had become political organization, a political party. In England, where according to the old English proverb, "parliament can do anything except make a man out of a woman", the English workers have convinced themselves that in this all-powerful parliament they are nothing, despite their powerful economic organization.'

'The miners' strike positively represents a new epoch' wrote Lenin. 'Since the strike the British proletariat is no longer the same. The workers have learned to fight. They have discovered the path which will lead to victory.'

'They have realized their power... A change has taken place in the relation of social forces in England which cannot be expressed in figures, but which everyone feels.'

● Final article next Tuesday



The great transport strike of 1912.



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THE BLUE & THE ORANGE

SIR KNOX CUNNINGHAM, former Tory MP wrote a letter to 'The Times' on July 7 about the Orange marches. Boasting that he would be 'walking' again on July 12, he explains how different are the Orange Order's marches from other demonstrations.

'Those taking part,' he says, 'are intensely loyal to the Crown and the Constitution and demonstrate to maintain civil and religious liberty.'

The Loyal Orange Order, that strange combination of secret society, religious sect and political party, has dominated Ulster politics for many years.

Every member of the Stormont government, most of the Stormont Unionist MPs, and several of the Westminster Ulster Unionist Tories are prominent figures in the Orange Lodges.

The alliance of Orangeism with the Conservative Party does not date from the foundation of the Order.

When it was formed in 1795, the Orange Order was an organization of English settler farmers in Armagh.

At the start it was the poor farmers who were involved, fighting to stop their land being bought by Catholics. The Scots-Presbyterians were in general unsympathetic, and the bigger landowners disdainful.

Uprising

In 1798, the radical United Irishmen, led by the Dublin Protestant Wolfe Tone, attempted an uprising.

In the preceding years, their Jacobin principles attracted support from many Presbyterians, especially in Belfast.

The work of the Orangemen in helping to defeat the United Irishmen persuaded the Protestant landlords that there was a force they could use.

Orangeism evolved its peculiar view of Irish history which interprets every event in the universe as a conflict of Popery against the loyal supporters of the English monarch and his church. This claptrap forms their entire ideological capital.

Thus the battle of the Boyne, celebrated with such gusto each July 12, is presented as a victory of the Protestant King Billy over the Catholic James II.



Jim Larkin

The Orangemen will never recall that William had the enthusiastic backing of the Pope, whose enemy, Louis XIV, was James' ally.

When the news of the Boyne victory was received in Rome, Pope Alexander VIII ordered the illumination of the Vatican. Special masses were said in thanksgiving.

The Orange Order declined in the first part of the 19th century. Its fortunes began to change when Henry Cooke, a Presbyterian preacher and a Tory, joined forces with the Orangemen and the landlords in 1834.

Now began the sectarian riots in Belfast, stirred up

quite consciously to keep the masses divided, and the alliance of the Orange Order and Toryism was solidified.

Previously an Anglican body, the Order was now opened to all non-Catholics.

But the big development of this alliance took place in England in 1886.

In February of that year, Lord Randolph Churchill wrote his famous letter to the Irish Lord Chief Justice Fitzgibbon.

'I decided some time ago that if the GOM (Gladstone) went for Home Rule, the Orange card would be the one to play. Please God it may turn out to be the trump and not the two.'

As an independent Tory, Churchill, whose father had been the Viceroy of Ireland, quite cynically calculated that he would gain political advantage over his Liberal opponent by stirring up as much sectarian strife as possible in Ulster.

Speaking against Gladstone's Home Rule for Ireland Bill, he declared in Belfast: 'Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right.'

His real opinions of the Ulster Tories, which were quite contemptuous, he kept to himself.

In a few weeks, there was fighting all over N Ireland, and June saw the worst riots Belfast had experienced. The Orange Order went through a massive revival, enrolling many upper-class members.

Tens of people died in July and August 1886, but Churchill had succeeded in defeating Gladstone and soon was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

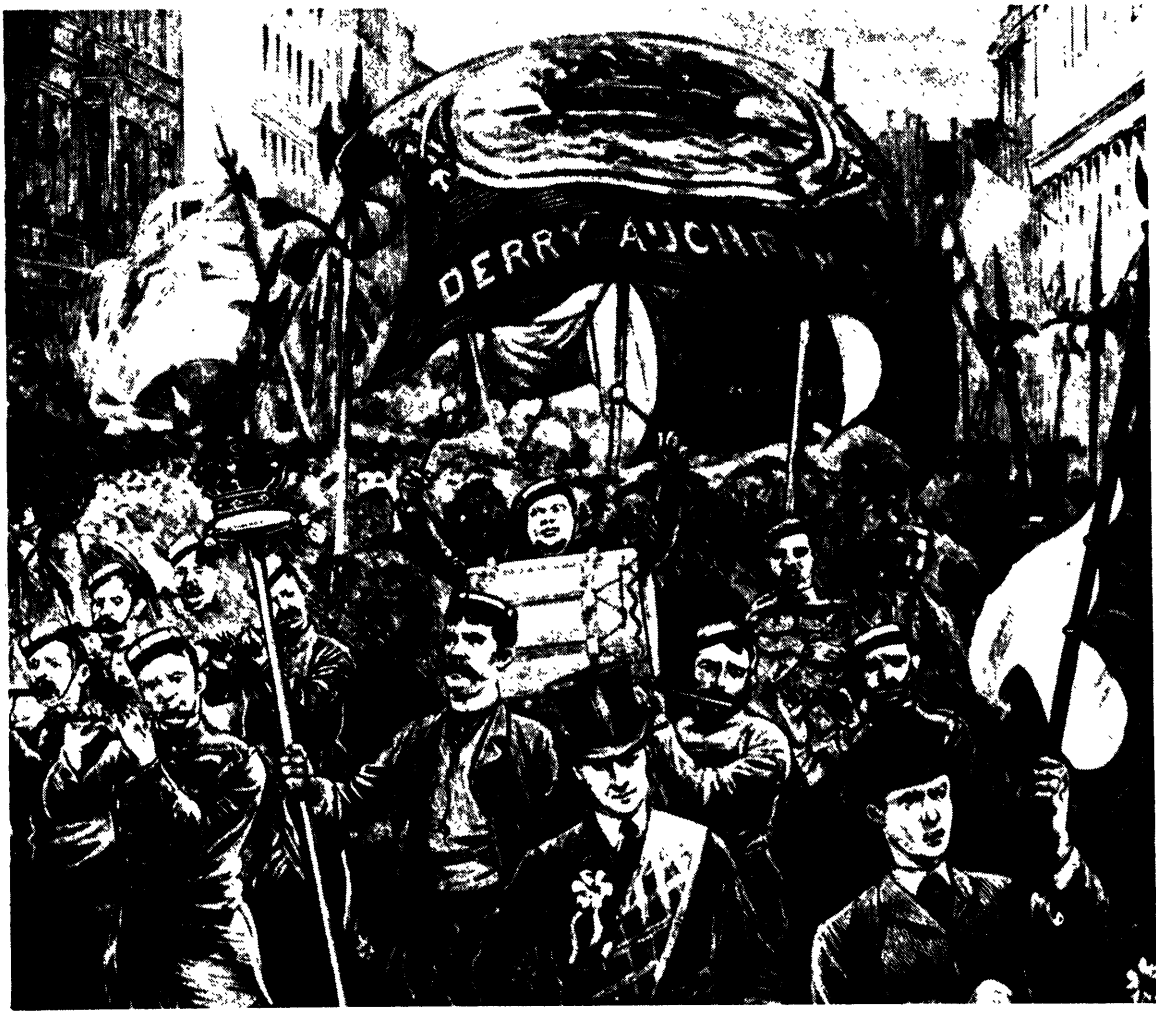
Twenty-five years later, the Liberal Party was still trying feebly to resolve the issue of Irish Home Rule. But Orangeism was now experienced enough to know it could always frighten them off.

Got ready

When a new Home Rule Bill was being prepared in 1912, the Ulster Tories, firmly backed by the leader of the Party, Bonar Law, got ready to stop it. They chose for their leader a former Solicitor General, Sir Edward Carson.

In 1911, he had reviewed 50,000 Orangemen at the mansion of James Craig, son of the whiskey millionaire.

Apart from organizing a



Orangemen escort Lord Randolph Churchill through Belfast in 1886.

behind THE NEWS

petition against home rule, the Unionists began to form the Ulster Volunteer Force. Ten thousand men drilled with wooden rifles, but arms were being imported all the time.

The Carsonites also demonstrated their support among the Army officers. The King was known to sympathize with them.

As Lenin commented: 'Lord Carson has threatened rebellion, and has organized gangs of reactionary armed thugs for the purpose. An empty threat, of course. There can be no question of a rebellion by a handful of hoodlums.'

It is simply a question of the reactionary landlords trying to scare the Liberals.' (Collected Works, Vol. 20, p. 150.)

What forced the pace for the Unionists was a new factor.

For five years, James Larkin and James Connolly had been building the trade unions among the Belfast workers and had begun to break down the old antagonisms between Protestants and Catholics on a class basis.

So Orange riots in 1912-1913 had the function of breaking up the class unity which Protestant and Catholic employers found so dangerous.

The Carson 'rebellion' opened the way for the partition of Ireland to be imposed by British imperialism, which was carried out with the help of the Nationalist leaders in 1920.

Orangeism then had the task

of maintaining the split in the working class. By keeping a section of the Belfast workers under the control of the employing class, it played and still plays an important part in strengthening the power of the Tories in Britain.

Today, as in 1912, the ruling class must use every trick it knows to divide the workers.

But the Irish crisis is now part of the crisis of British imperialism.

Paisley in Ulster and Powell in England each seek ways of tying sections of the working class to Toryism, so as to smash the workers' movement.

The fight for the Irish section of the Fourth International is vital to stop the 'Orange card' being played by the ruling class again.

tv column

Forget it

Frank Cartwright reviews 'A Place Beyond Time'— part three in Wednesday's BBC1 series 'He who dares'

THE MOST revolutionary art is that which shows the world as it is.

A poem or a play, a documentary or a painting can be concerned with any aspect of reality its author chooses; what we ask of it and how we judge its quality is that it shall truly represent to us that part of the world or man's experience of it with which it is concerned.

This criterion does nothing to limit content or to prescribe form; it in no way inhibits the artist from any area of experience, but it does make an unequivocal demand for truth.

LITTLE PRAISE

By this standard, how long is it since I could last praise a television programme? Literally, it is months.

And yet each week there is a super-abundance of programmes that could be written about for their lies, for their distortions and omissions that should be taken up. Indeed there are scores of falsehoods and half-truths every week.

In each such broadcast all the seeds of an active critique of capitalist society and its ideology are to be found. Whether it's a police series or a schools programme, the news or an art film, we face a constant barrage of bourgeois propaganda.

Sometimes it comes straight, more often it's disguised.

One of last week's choice offerings of (thinly) disguised mischief was number three in the series 'He Who Dares' (BBC 1, Wednesday).

Described as 'Six true stories

of people who survived against all odds' the series is made jointly by the BBC and its counterpart the Australian Broadcasting Commission.

Its financial impoverishment has forced the BBC into more and more such joint productions in recent years and this series is not one of the most encouraging results.

The film shown on July 8 was a so-called re-enactment by a Czech of his experiences in the Stalinist persecutions, imprisonments and torture of the late 1940s and early 1950s.

FEARS CONFIRMED

Its title, 'A Place Beyond Time', made clear that we could expect little historical precision; its content and form confirmed even worse fears.

We were given a simple juxtaposition: the Czech man in his solitary confinement as an innocent victim of 'Communism' at home and as a sad exile now living abroad, walk-

ing through 'free' England's green and pleasant land.

A genuine and deeply suffering victim clearly; of that there is no doubt.

During the war as a child he lived in England, on a farm in Berkshire. We were given not one clue about his family and this precaution went far beyond the real need to protect his relatives still living in Czechoslovakia.

Many leading members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party lived and worked in Britain during the war, including most of the victims of the great purges which followed it.

Returning home to form the government set up by the 1948 military coup they were quickly singled out as scapegoats for the failing Czech economy under its Moscow distortions.

Their dealings with western sources in UNRRA and elsewhere whilst abroad were linked in the fabrications at

BBC 1

1.00-1.25 p.m. Dyna wall. 1.30 Watch with mother. 1.45-1.53 News and weather. 4.20 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Animal magic. 5.20 Shazzan! 5.44 Abbott and Costello. 5.50 News and weather. 6.00 LONDON. 6.20 THE ICE SHOW. 6.45 Z CARS. 7.10 LAUGH PARADE. 'It Started With A Kiss'. With Glenn Ford and Debbie Reynolds. An Air Force sergeant marries a show girl. 8.50 NEWS and weather. 9.10 'THE SUGAR DISEASE'. Problems of diabetics. 10.00 24 HOURS. 10.35 E. M. FORSTER 1879-1970. An appreciation. 11.05 THE SKY AT NIGHT. 11.20 POSTSCRIPT. 11.25 Weather.

REGIONAL BBC

All regions as BBC 1 except: Midlands and E Anglia: 6.00-6.20 Midlands today. Look East, weather. 10.35-11.05 Contact. E. M. Forster 1879-1970. 11.27 News, weather. North of England: 6.00-6.20 Look North, weather. 11.27 News, weather. Wales: 5.20-5.50 Teletel. 6.00-6.20 Wales today. 6.45-7.10 Heald. 10.35-11.05 Z cars. Scotland: 6.00-6.20 Reporting Scotland. 11.20-11.50 Portrait of a moderator. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Hugh O. Douglas. 11.50 News, weather. N Ireland: 6.00-6.20 Scene around six, weather. 11.27 News headlines and weather. South and West: 6.00-6.20 Points West. South today. Spotlight South-West, weather. 11.27 News, weather.

BBC 2

11.00-11.20 a.m. PLAY SCHOOL. 7.30 p.m. NEWS and weather. 8.00 SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE'S SHERLOCK HOLMES. 'The Hound of the Baskervilles', part two. 8.50 LOOK, STRANGER. 'Rivers of Pearl'. 9.10 PREMIERE. 'Any Second Now'. With Stewart Granger. A wealthy wife threatens to divorce her husband. 10.45 PARIS REDISCOVERED. A view of Europe's most beautiful city. 11.05 NEWS and weather. 11.10 LINE-UP.

ITV

2.00-4.10 p.m. Great Yorkshire show. Keith Macklin reports from Harrogate, featuring the Blue Circle Badsword Stakes. 4.17 Enchanted house. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 Sooty Show. 5.20 Country boy. 5.50 News. 6.02 MOVIE. 6.30 NANNY AND THE PROFESSOR. 6.55 FILM: 'A Matter of Who'. With Terry Thomas, Sonja Ziemann, Alex Nicol, Richard Briers and Honor Blackman. Adventure comedy. 8.30 HIS AND HERS. 9.00 A FAMILY AT WAR. 10.00 NEWS. 10.30 'MARINAI A LITTLE PLACE IN THE SUN'. How much money do you need to live in luxury on the French Riviera. 11.15 WORLD OF CRIME. 11.45 NOT SO ENCLOSED.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 4.27 Puffin's birthday greetings. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Movie: 'Who's Minding the Store?'. With Jerry Lewis. 8.30 London. 11.10 Gazette. 11.15 Les français chez vous. 11.30 Weather. WESTWARD. As Channel except: 4.25 News. 4.27 Gus Honeybun. 6.00 Diary. 11.15 Faith for life. 11.20 Weather. SOUTHERN: 2.00-3.10 London. 4.00 Houseparty. 4.15 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.40 Film: 'The Safecracker'. With Ray Milland. A safecracker is offered his freedom in return for taking part in a mission behind Nazi lines. 8.30 London. 11.15 News. 11.25 Weather. Action 70.



their trials with their so-called 'Zionism' and, of course, their 'Trotskyite wrecking activities'.

With Masaryk and others already disposed of in different ways, the 1952 trial of Slansky, Clementis, Loebel and 11 more carefully chosen victims was only the climax of the massive purges being conducted.

HARD LABOUR

We got none of this in the programme.

Only a boy who returned to Prague after the war as a drama student and was sentenced to 20 years' hard labour.

After two years at this he was subjected to nine months of solitary confinement, physical degradation and merciless interrogation and humiliation.

At no point did the programme tell us of what this innocent victim was even accused, why he was singled out, what was happening in E Europe and the rest of the world at the time.

Simple, we were meant to see him as 'a man', isolated from his period, his social and political understanding and everything else except his 'humanity'.

Certainly the film captured some sense of the horror of his incarceration, a horror absolutely confirmed in other accounts coming out of Stalin's prisons since.

No speech except interrogation, a light always on in his tiny cell, being forced to sleep facing the peep hole in the door with his hands showing above the blankets, no view of the outside world and constant threats about measures to be taken against his old father.

Forced into dreaming, both asleep and awake, he came to fear for his sanity and re-

treated into longing memories of his childhood in England.

From scenes of him in his cell, on the way to being broken, we cut to him walking through this haven called England, a haven increasingly open only to those who may in some way be used, however unwittingly, in the fight against communism.

This 'free' England where immigrant workers are so necessary and their degradation so urgent in the attempt to confuse and divide the international working class.

This sceptred isle where such programmes are so welcome to those who control the output of the great ideological machine called television.

The man was brought to a point where he gladly signed anything and after five years in prison was released. He is now trying to forget.

And there's the key to it: the producer of the film, Lawrence Gordon Clark, was clearly anxious to help in this impossible and destructive task — but only up to a point.

UNDERSTANDING

Forget what's happened, why it happened, how it happened; forget anything which may cast light and bring understanding, however painful. Forget history, forget fact. Remember only that this is 'communism' and that England isn't like that.

It's been said that a man who does not understand his own history is bound to wander forever in its re-runs.

That's just where capitalism would like to keep the working class too — ignorant and lost.

But it will take more than BBC men to do it, men who pride themselves on their liberality and yet whose objective role can only ensure the triumph of barbarism.

