

What we think

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In fact, the Heath government may not only end—temporarily—the policy of internment to get the talks going, it might even let a couple of hundred go free. On the basis of this 'concession' Currie and his leader, Gerry Fitt, will find no difficulty in kissing anybody's backsides.

It is this type of manoeuvring which prompted Bernadette Devlin, MP, to speak out in Armagh last Saturday. She told a public meeting: 'Before a month has passed, you will be asking, "Where are the people who led the struggles and who demanded the unconditional release of all internees?"' Currie comes out of the civil rights movement. This protest movement which set out to achieve certain 'reforms' offered no political leadership on a principled class basis.

Now, two years after more than 200 people have been killed, it reveals its class collaborative role most clearly. The civil rights today become the people who assist in the betrayal of the struggle.

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But, he said, 37 per cent of the children of unskilled workers were living in these conditions. Clegg said that overcrowding was associated with two or three months' retardation in reading at the age of seven. He added that children who lived in homes without basic amenities were on average eight months behind.

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Sudan's dictator Jaafar Numairy has executed scores of communists and trade unionists since the military counter coup in July. His forces are still scouring the country hunting for Communist Party leaders with a price on their heads. The trade unions have been completely re-organized and brought under rigid state control to discipline the working class.

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The American advance party to prepare President Nixon's visit next month arrived in Peking yesterday. The message to Numairy signifies an open-house for communist-killers in Peking, and Nixon is the world's number one killer of communists.

The Chinese are not the only Stalinists to back up the Sudanese military regime. Last month the Rumanian government announced the resumption of diplomatic relations with the Sudan at ambassadorial level.

Rumania recently signed a three-year trade protocol with Numairy and exchanged youth and trade union delegations.

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President Cyrankiewicz of Poland sent greetings this week to the Sudanese dictator, as did Yugoslavia's President Tito, who even dispatched Klime Corbe, a member of secretariat of the presidium of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance as a fraternal delegate to the Khartoum conference of Numairy's so-called Arab Socialist Union.

In his message, Chou En-lai said that under Numairy's leadership the Sudan had made substantial efforts to maintain independence and a realistic economic and cultural progress.

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attempt to identify with imperialism the left-wing officers, trade unionists and Communist Party members who fought Numairy in July.

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INVESTIGATION BY PHILIP WADE

especially those who visit friends. 'I won't be able to see my son so often now. It is disgusting,' said pensioner Mrs Lillian Tunne.

Mr Tunne, who works at the tyre giant Firestone, said he would be putting in for a pay rise as soon as possible. Their 74p fares now cost them 10p each.

'This is absolutely ridiculous. My fare to Edgware has gone up 33 per cent from 15p to 20p,' Joe Wood, a reporter for BBC's '24 Hours' told us. His cheap-day-return from Epping to St Paul's had leaped from 45p to 55p. A ticket collector at Brixton tube confirmed the angry scenes that had taken place. 'People were cussing and swearing as they came through,' was the way he put it.

Some fares had gone from 5p to 10p—a 100 per cent jump, he told us.

• PAGE FOUR COL 7

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Treacherous pit talks by Gormley

BY DAVID MAUDE

NCB chief Derek Ezra (l) meeting the NUM's Joe Gormley (r) for pre-lunch drinks yesterday. Both later bowed their heads as this grace was spoken: 'The Lord be thanked for all his blessings. God preserve the Queen, the church and this honourable assembly and grant us peace. Amen.'

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'We don't want a strike if it can be avoided. I say this on behalf of every member of the national executive.'

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If miners stopped work and won a high settlement this might persuade members that strike action was the way to secure big increases and the only way to settle disputes, he said. 'That is not the way for British society today.'

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the country must be harnessed' to the post-war recovery and the restoration of business confidence.

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It comments: 'The editorial board of "The Docker's Voice" fully support this call and urge all dockers to demand the endorsement of it by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.'

'We fully support the campaign being planned by the Irish Young Socialists and Young Socialists in Britain to defend the most basic right of all workers... the Right to Work.'

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Workers Press interviews

Press attention has been focused on Bernadette Devlin's political role in N Ireland since her election in 1969 as the Westminster MP for Mid-Ulster. Today we publish the first part of an interview with Sarah Hannigan who questions her on her estimate of the Civil Rights Movement in Ulster and what the campaign for reforms in N Ireland has achieved.

Part one: The Civil Rights Movement

'Our role should never have been submerged into it'

SH: WHAT reforms do you think the Civil Rights Movement achieved?

BD: I DON'T think it achieved anything in the sense of real reform and this I believe was only to be expected from its history. Many people forget it was not just a spontaneous movement that came from nowhere. As far back as 1964-1965 you had the formation of the Civil Rights Association. This was done in the typically reformist manner of coming together and 'sink all our differences'.

The idea was put forward by the Republicans and the Communist Party in Ireland. They mooted the idea among anti-



Eamonn McCann

Unionist groups and the original Civil Rights Association was made up of delegates of every party. In the original stages it included a member of the Unionist Party who believed in the need for reform. Its major aim was to get rid of discrimination against Catholics which is a worthwhile demand. But it is not a demand that anyone with any understanding of the class situation in N Ireland would put forward.

To say the only thing we want changed is discrimination against Catholics did not appear to the civil rights people as a sectarian demand. But every single member of the Protestant working class saw it as a sectarian demand. They saw it as such on one simple basis. At the time you had 7 per cent unemployment in N Ireland. But the Association at no time raised even the demand to increase the amount of employment available. By saying only that it was going to end discrimination against Catholics, the Protestant workers saw it as attacking the marginal privileges they held.

The Association went through all the usual liberal gestures—protest to the governor, MPs, etc., and got nowhere. So finally, like everyone else—it said OK we'll have a protest march. In 1968 they had their first protest march to Dungannon. The speakers on the platform included members of almost every political organization—Erskine Holmes of the N Ireland Labour Party, Gerry Fitt of the Republican Labour Party—and they spoke with the nationalists and the Communist Party.

It was then they realized the force that they had unleashed. Over 1,000 people turned out and sat at the bottom of the platform. While the platform tried to get them to sing 'We Shall Overcome', the crowd sang 'The Soldiers Song' (the national anthem of the Republican movement)—that was the politics, they could have got up and said anything. The discontent of the mass of the people which was—we are discriminated against, we don't like this country. They were, in the main, nationalists.

Then you got the famous October 5 demonstration which was attended by 300 people, mainly left-wing socialist groups, kids, students and teenagers. The Civil Rights Association attempted to call the march off because of the danger of going out onto the streets of a place like Derry. But people like Eamonn McCann of the Derry Young Socialists said they were marching anyway, so in the end the CRA decided to sponsor the march anyway.

The initiative had been taken by the left and the march was organized on the basis of clear class demands. The demand against discrimination was, in fact, not raised; the main points were, essentially, the right to work, the right to full employment. Most placards carried the Derry unemployment figures and the figure of Derry's homeless. After the march the main elements got together because of the violence that had come out of it and the left settled for unity and this has been our biggest failure right throughout the movement.

The left did not disagree with the reformist demands. The argument was that the demands did not go far enough. I said to myself at that time we were certainly wrong. We should have said—'Look Here are our demands, we see nothing wrong with yours, but they just cannot be won. You can't say here's the N Ireland system, we will get these reforms through and then when we have established the basis of democracy you socialists trot along and the rest of us will do nothing.'

So the civil rights reforms became articulated on the basis



1968: One of the civil rights marches with slogan that 'came to be tied up with sectarianism'.



Bernadette Devlin

of an end to discrimination in housing, one man one vote, and an end to the Special Powers Act. But they came to be tied up with sectarianism. For example, it is popularly believed that Catholics do not have the vote. But the demand for one man, one vote was a class issue. It was the non-property owners and the non-householders who did not have a vote.

On the question of real reform, the only thing that was achieved was the Downing St agreement and if you go through the points there is absolutely nothing in it. The Agreement said 'OK we'll have voted for everyone, but in the meantime we will have no elections'. The issue of the fair electoral boundaries is still unsettled. We had the disarming of the police force for a very brief period. We had the disbanding of the B-Special police and the creation of an Ulster Defence Regiment, which is worse.

This was the Labour government's doing. They decided that there would be a time when soldiers would have to be put into N Ireland, but that they could not stay there for ever. A native imperialist army would have to be created, like in most colonial states, and this could not be the Specials organized in local battalions by local forces.

All these things were sold as reforms by the government. But all you got from the Downing St agreement was a certain amount of respectability for the middle classes. In fact it's called the Magna Carta of the middle classes by militant and discontented workers in N Ireland now.

The Civil Rights Movement had never specified what reforms of the police they wanted because they had never specified what the role of the police in society ought to be, what, in fact, the present society was, and therefore what any change or reform was.

For quite some time the civil rights leaders tried to pass them off as reforms. You got Gerry Fitt on the television giving them a guarded welcome lest they appeared ungrateful. They never came out. We were accused of being wreckers and splitters because every time a reform was announced we said 'No good, we don't want it'.

Fitt, Hume and Currie always came out with a guarded welcome. For example, when Sir Arthur Young was sent to control the police, there was the idea that because he was a nice English liberal gentleman the police force were going to become pacifist gentlemen and maintain their proper function in society. But what you did get was the awakening of discontent among the masses. Despite this reformist movement, you got more and more people on the streets—solely the Catholic working class—being radicalized by involvement in struggle. The civil rights demands did not satisfy them any more. Many were more interested in full employment and state-owned industries under public ownership than they were in the question of fair housing.

So if we have achieved anything, it's been the awakening of the masses of the people. But I don't think honestly we've done a great deal in educating these people as to the real reason of their discontent. And this is the reason why you've got a situation at the moment of Provisionals and Officials (IRA) and as many groups as you have individuals and everybody tearing off looking for new theories, trying to decide whether or not the border is an issue. You don't just have the basic understanding which the movement should have brought out, should have articulated, and to a large extent it was our fault that it didn't.

SH: DO YOU not think that this perspective of 'reforms' led the Catholic working class into a trap because these reforms could not be achieved, except within the framework of the struggle to develop a socialist programme for the building of a revolutionary party which would unite both Protestant and Catholic workers for the taking of power?

BD: I THINK it certainly did. I don't think it led the Catholic working class into a trap. Because they broke out of the reformist nature of the Civil Rights Movement. But because of the nature of the movement and of its demands it effectively shut the door on the Protestant working class.

Once, shortly after I was elected, I addressed a major rally in Strabane—which is a big town in my constituency. Eamonn McCann and myself decided to make a stand of principle. Both of us spoke and we'd worked out the speeches beforehand. Both of us spoke on the nature of the Civil Rights Movement and the fact that you could not isolate the need for change in N Ireland from the demand for the right to work, for socialism. The basic message was that on this side of socialism there would be no reforms.

We were bodily pitched off the platform by the people standing around. In fact many of my own supporters saw it as wrecking the movement. But on that march I experienced one of the things that convinced me we had to take a stand. I recognized the chap marching alongside me. I realized I knew him but I couldn't place him. So I said to McCann, 'Who's that fellow?' and McCann told me he was the local Derry bailiff. This fellow was a Catholic, but his job was pitching the homeless out of their houses, pitching out non-rent payers and just evicting members of the working class.

But he saw no contradiction in the job he did and marching



Gerry Fitt

with the Civil Rights Movement, because he was a Catholic, and because what he was into, as far as he could understand, was not involved with people who couldn't pay rents to Rahnmanist landlords.

How do you march through the town, shouting to members of the working class, 'Come and join us, you know Fred here'? Anyone who had seen that march and had been evicted from their house would have said, 'Right. That's not for me.'

To be fair, when we eventually realized that this was the situation, attempts were made to break out. One of my arguments with People's Democracy, which has done some good work, is that it has tried to plod on. At that time there was a basis for clarifying the demands in the PD after we had intervened in the election on a basically socialist programme. Following the election the differences were sunk again and we fell into the stages theory and were carried away by the masses. That's the truth of the situation.

You got people like Michael Farrel, who for years had plodded along with a small socialist group, suddenly speaking to thousands and thousands of people. They were not exactly given what they wanted to hear, but what we wanted to say was tailored to be least offensive to the people who had to listen to it. And it just didn't work.

Looking back on it, I think it is time to say there is no substitute, even if it means we lose the masses. We have to go back, start again on a clear class line and plough on. So if John Hume got 6,000, we got ten, I think then we are making more progress with ten.

It was not that the Civil Rights Movement was wrong. It was bound to happen. But our role should never have been submerged into it. We should have always been a thorn in the flesh of the reformists, saying 'OK. Your demand is right, doesn't go far enough, is impossible inside the system.' We would not have been popular, but we would have been nearer building a revolutionary party than we are at the moment.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

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Who defends Bangla Desh?

Neutral Moles and 'Belligerent India'



AS THE prospect of war over Bangla Desh drew nearer, the sectarian abstentionism of 'Red Mole' grew more desperate. 'With the petty bourgeoisie,' remarked Trotsky, 'bewilderment, especially in the face of great events, is an inescapable and, so to speak, congenital condition.' ('In Defence of Marxism', p. 115.)

'Bewilderment', in the case of Tariq Ali is organically tied to his desire not to alienate the W Pakistan bourgeois-liberal opposition. That is why in 1968 and 1969 he opportunisticly supported the concept of Pakistan as a political entity—and why in 1971, he opposes in the most sectarian manner the popular intervention of the Indian army in Bengal.

(What, we might ask, will Ali do if the Irish Free State Army intervenes on the side of the Provisionals in Ulster?)

As usual the revisionists are joined in this exercise by their inveterate allies—the 'state capitalists' of the International Socialism grouping. These reformists in the past distinguished themselves by proclaiming a complete loss of confidence in the ability of the Bangla Desh movement to survive—leave alone win.

Pessimism

Now that the Pakistanis have been defeated the so-called 'Socialist Worker'—their weekly paper—has had to change its tune. But the lyric, predictably, remains the same: the futility of the Bangla Desh struggle. The morbid pessimism and defeatism of the state capitalists reflects, most clearly, the complete political impotence and lack of a viable historical perspective of the metropolitan petty-bourgeoisie.

Every colonial struggle is seen

BY MICHAEL BANDA
Part two of a three part series examining the bankruptcy of revisionist policies on Bangla Desh.

by these reformists as a refraction of the 'great power' struggle between US imperialism and Stalinist 'imperialism'.

Their anti-communism, sooner or later, breaks through and leads them to oppose—with radical phrases of course—the struggles of the colonial peoples. Thus nobody should be surprised at their bankrupt statement:

Snared

'Nothing now checks Indian domination of S Asia. Given Indian dependence on Russian arms, that means the Soviet Union has a powerful dominating role in the Indian Ocean... For India, the policy of non-alignment is dead... Dependence upon Russia has now become very great, and the

Indian government is likely to find itself in the unenviable position of Egypt, snared in the web of Russian interests.' (Our emphasis.) ('Socialist Worker' December 24, 1971—'Independence for Bengalis postponed by India victory' by John Ashdown.)

This is the logical end of revisionist politics. But Marxists cannot stop there, because the positions expressed by Ali and his theoretical mentors in the revisionist Unified Secretariat raise theoretical and political questions of fundamental importance to Marxists.

To the formalist and impressionist the question is exclusively simple and straightforward. There are two sides. They are both reactionary bourgeois. The war is an inter-bourgeois war. Bangla Desh is a pawn. Ergo, we oppose both sides and turn the war into a civil war. QED!

Or as the Unified Secretariat statement concludes:

'These bankrupt classes have no right to and no possibility of taking upon themselves the solution of the problems of the Bengal people or of any other ethnic minority.' (Our emphasis.) No statement could possibly expose the reactionary nature of the revisionist Secretariat than this reference to the colonial bourgeoisie.

Arming

Marxists recognize that the weak and stunted Indian and Pakistani bourgeoisie are reactionary and cannot carry through the democratic revolution to unite India. For this reason Marxists in India would not vote confidence in the central government's plans to defeat Pakistan. They would oppose the anti-strike laws of the government, they would oppose the compulsory purchase of Defence Bonds and would raise the demand for the arming of the masses as the only guarantee of

defeating the Pakistani army and uniting India.

But neither would they obstruct the invading Indian government forces going into Bangla Desh, nor would they dissuade Bengali militants from fighting, on terms of equality, with the Indians against Yahya Khan.

Sophistry

Unlike the revisionists, we do not say that the Indian capitalists 'have no right' to solve the national question. This is sophistry, not dialectics, and has nothing in common with the permanent revolution of Trotsky.

Marxists neither over-estimate the political capacity of the native bourgeoisie to solve democratic tasks nor do they underestimate their counter-revolutionary politics. But we do not for a single moment deny the native capitalists the right to solve this problem. That would be reactionary. And that is exactly what the Secretariat does in its statement.

We know, for example, that the Egyptian bourgeoisie cannot carry through a democratic revolution, but would European Marxists have used such a correct generalization to deny the late Nasser the right to nationalize the Suez canal, to attack Israel or to send troops to the Yemen against the Royalists?

No ritual

History would indeed be relatively easy to make if the capitalists in the colonial countries were so absolutely bankrupt and reactionary that they could not even attempt to carry through such a struggle.

Real life—the cloud-cuckoo land which surrounds Ali—proceeds dialectically and not in accordance with the metaphysical and syllogistic ritual proclaimed by the Secretariat.

The real life of colonial nations shows us every day that despite its reactionary character and its unwillingness to fight imperialism, the native capitalist class is forced into conflict with imperialism and sometimes—with great caution and apprehension—summons the masses to its support and, at the same time, tries to drive the very same masses back and ahead them.

The revisionists reject such a scientific theoretical understanding of the colonial bourgeoisie. That is why in Ireland their attitude to the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie is one of complete prostration, summarized in their slogan 'Support the IRA'. And in Bangla Desh it is one of callow abstention and absolute opposition to the Indian bourgeoisie.

They are two sides of the same coin.

CONTINUED TOMORROW

Social Security

by Philip Wade

ATTACKS on the social services by the Tory government have cost some 10 million workers about £155m in only 18 months.

Measures like the abolition of free school milk and the ending of free welfare milk have cut the wages of workers earning between £1,000 and £2,000 by an estimated £15 a year.

And the number of persons in poverty in Britain, including unemployed, pensioners and the sick and disabled, has risen by over 10 per cent since the Tories came to power in June 1970. These are, of course, simply hard, cold statistics. Behind them lies the misery and degradation of millions of workers. For despite all the cuts, in services and the destruction of basic rights, the sick and the unemployed still have to find the resources, somehow, to carry on.

It may mean borrowing money from friends or the loss of dignity involved in having a means test. Or, as we have seen, it might be that snoopers from the social security office will follow you and prey deep into your personal life.

And to this confirmed cut in living standards must be added the effect of an 11 per cent increase in food prices over the period, effectively a wage-cut of 10p in the £.

Brian Meacher, Labour MP for Oldham W, recently showed in 'The Times' how, for example, the abolition from last April of free school milk for the over-sevens and the increase in dental and prescription charges have brought in £66m for the Tory government.

Another piece of Tory legislation, the National Insurance Act 1971, has meant workers paying another £316m in contributions to finance the miserable increases in pensions and industrial injury benefits.

The abolition of unemployment, sickness and industrial injury benefits for the first three days after lay-off has cost the working class another £11m under the Social Security Act of May this year.

The Tories have been boastful about alleged achievements on behalf of Britain's poorest families. Social Security Minister Sir Keith Joseph has been presented as some tiger with a humane heart. The Tory propaganda machine has been working overtime on this dramatic picture. 'The Guardian', pathetic and grovelling as always, had this to say about Joseph on December 7:

'There is no doubt about Sir Keith's concern with the most hard-pressed in society,' wrote Ann Lapping following an interview with Joseph. One wonders whether the Minister includes himself in the hard pressed? He is soon to get a pay increase of £4,500, taking him on to £13,000 a year.

About 8 million workers in Britain earn less than £1,000 a year. According to figures, they are £1 a week better off as a result of Tory measures. Most of the people falling into this category are old-age pensioners. It has been proved over and over again that the rise in the cost of living has more than eaten away the rise they got in September. The National Old People's Welfare Council has already stated the £1 increase would be eaten away by Christmas.

In any case increases have only restored the purchasing power of pensions in a retrospective manner and they are never backdated. As for the rest of the poor, the Tories decided shortly after June 1970 to shelve plans for universal family allowances. The stringency of the Family Income Supplements scheme. A stringent six-monthly means test ensures that little money seeps through to those in direct need. And less than half of the 160,000 families who are estimated to qualify for FIS have bothered to apply for it.

But the Minister is not finished yet. A departmental committee will report next summer on the prevention and detection of 'abuses' in relation to social security benefits. This can only mean that the right to health and social services will be further planned and a veritable army of spies will be hired and pressed up to follow workers who want to claim what is by right theirs, having paid for it over and over again.

The British ruling class has had a real bonanza out of the money taken by the Tories from the

What the cuts cost

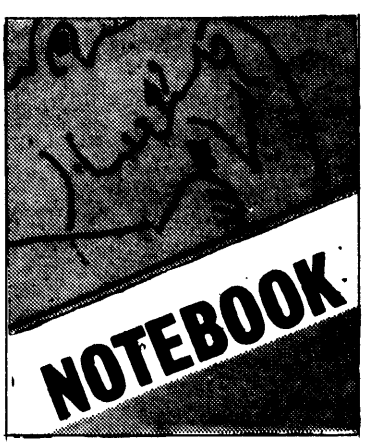


Sir Keith Joseph: no cuts for him

working class by one measure after another. Those 1.2 per cent of the population earning £5,000 and over have gained an estimated £335m from Tory tax reliefs. Each person in this group is about £1,258 better off each year. Cuts in income tax, corporation tax, increased earned income relief, abolition of capital gains tax on death and lower estate duty, have brought them a real windfall.

While the entire working class became poorer and poorer these gentlemen of leisure grew richer and richer. That is why Oliver Jessel, head of investment giant Jessel Securities, recently awarded himself a 50 per cent increase in salary taking him up to £30,000. At the same time workers are offered a miserable 7 per cent by the Tory government, far below the increase in the cost of living.

This continuing impoverishment of the working class can only be answered in one way. The Tories must be forced to resign and a Labour government returned pledged to socialist policies, including the restoration of every single cut made in the social services and the welfare state.



Star Czech

HEARD about the latest birth-control methods from Czechoslovakia? It's all done by astrology, with a claimed 98 per cent effectiveness.

The system relies on the position of the sun and moon at the woman's birth to predict the fertile periods during her life.

An individual reading, called a cosmogram, includes vital information to guard against miscarriages, the incidence of malformed babies and other problems of pregnancy.

The beauty of the method is, of course, that since no drugs are used, there can be no possible side effects. Except pregnancy.

There is no truth in the rumour that babies born as a result of reliance on this method are greeted at birth with the words 'Welcome to the 12th century'.

Up, up and away

WRITING in the medical magazine 'AMA Update', in Dallas, Dr David G. Hubbard reported the results of tests he had made on some 40 people imprisoned for attempting to hijack aircraft.

It seems, according to Dr Hubbard, that the typical American hijacker is a man with little or no sex life, has fantasies concerning space and motion and gravity, and has a childhood history of fleeing from a violent father to a mother who was a religious nut.

If the hi-jacker had any sex experience at all, it was probably because the woman took the initiative.

Few hi-jackers are motivated by strong political convictions, said Hubbard, and called their flight to another country a replication of their childhood strategy of fleeing to the protection of one parent from a hostile one.

Numerous other theories have been advanced as to the mental state of hi-jackers—like because of unsatisfactory sex lives they are attracted by the phallic shapes of the aircraft—which led one worker at Chicago's O'Hare airport to opine: 'If you ask me some of these guys just want to steal planes.'

The company Nixon keeps

'TIME' magazine's 'Man of the Year' is Richard Nixon, who is commended for his services to peace and humanity.

Is it too cynical of us to point out that Nixon is facing a presidential election in a few months' time and needs all the boosting he can possibly get in the capitalist press?

Nixon is in splendid company in winning the 'Time' award.

Two-times winner was that great humanitarian Joseph Stalin. And the winner in 1938 was none other than legendary freedom fighter... Adolf Hitler!

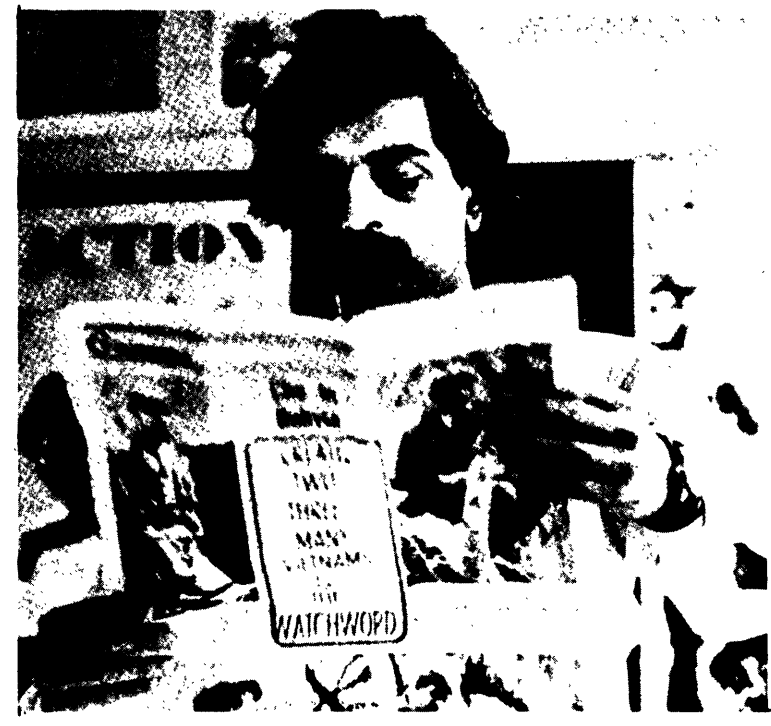
America, the tasteful

THE LATEST hand-to-hand combat manual to be issued to the US armed forces specifically states that in future army recruits will no longer be taught to shout 'Kill Kill!' as they charge the enemy in bayonet training.

I quote: 'The shouting of indiscreet slogans and responses is not permitted.'

Also it would help, states the manual, if bayonet thrusts were 'instinctive, rather than carefully aimed at some vital part of the body'.

At Fort Monroe, Virginia, an army training expert said: 'We're trying to keep things modern and in good taste.'



Tariq Ali: bewilderment of the petty bourgeoisie

TODAY'S PROGRAMMES

BBC 1

12.35 Crossroads. 1.30 Andy Pandy. 1.45 News. 4.15 Play school. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Vision on. 5.20 Harlem globetrotters. 5.44 Magic roundabout. 5.50 News.

6.00 NATIONWIDE.

6.45 TRANSWORLD TOP TEAM. United Kingdom v USA.

7.05 TOMORROW'S WORLD.

7.30 FILM: 'RAIDERS OF THE SEVEN SEAS'. John Payne, Donna Reed. Legendary exploits of Barbarossa 17th century Prince of Buccaneers.

9.00 NEWS and weather.

9.20 DOCUMENTARY: LEE KUAN YEW OF SINGAPORE.

10.10 FILM 1972.

10.40 24 HOURS.

11.15 REFLECTION.

BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 8.05 Open University. 8.30 Sounds of Music. Professor Charles Taylor.

7.30 NEWSROOM.

8.00 INTERNATIONAL TENNIS. The Masters Tournament.

8.50 COLLECTOR'S WORLD.

9.20 BIOGRAPHY: ALEXANDER FLEMING.

10.30 NEWS.

10.55 THE OLD GREY WHISTLE TEST.



ITV 4.55 p.m. Sooty, 'A Life on the Ocean Waves'.

ITV

1.25 Neville Mendham—Agronomist. 1.50 Trade Winds to Tahiti. 2.35 Toolbox. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Tea break. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 Dr Simon Locke. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 Sooty. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News.

6.00 TODAY.

6.30 CROSSROADS.

6.55 MIKE AND BERNIE.

7.25 FILM: 'CARRY ON CONSTABLE'. Sid James, Kenneth Williams.

9.00 SUSPICION.

10.00 NEWS.

10.30 FEVER OF THE DEEP.

11.20 DRIVE-IN.

11.50 THE FUTURE OF THE FAMILY.

REGIONAL ITV

CHANNEL: 4.10 Pingwings. 4.20 Puffin's birthday. 4.25 Dr Simon Locke. 4.55 Sooty show. 5.20 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Police file. 6.15 Lookaround. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Gideon of Scotland Yard'. 8.30 Mike and Bernie. 9.00 London. 10.30 Weather. 10.32 Fever of the Deep. 11.20 Gazette. 11.25 News. 11.50 News.

WESTWARD as Channel except: 3.55 Gus Honeybun show. 4.20 News. 4.22 Dr Simon Locke. 6.00 Diary. 11.20 News. 11.23 Faith for life. 11.28 Weather.

SOUTHERN: 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.40 Tea break. 4.10 Houseparty. 4.23 Cartoon. 4.30 Houseparty. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.30 Fern St gang. 7.00 Film: 'Thunder in the Sky'. 8.30 Mike and Bernie. 9.00 London. 11.20 News. 11.30 Farm progress. 12.00 Weather.

British Museum. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.30 Crossroads. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.18 Report East. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Nebraskan'. 8.30 Mike and Bernie. 9.00 London. 11.50 Weather. HTV West as above except: 6.01-6.35 Report West. HTV Wales as above except: 6.01-6.18 Y Dydd. HTV Cymru/Wales as HTV Wales plus: 11.20 Dan Sylw.

ANGLIA: 3.40 Newsroom. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Enchanted house. 4.25 Sooty. 5.20 Magpie. 5.50 News. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Ballad of Andy Crocker'. 8.30 Mike and Bernie. 9.00 London.

ATV MIDLANDS: 3.10 Yoga. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women today. 4.10 Room 222. 4.40 London. 6.00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'Alaska Seas'. 8.30 Mike and Bernie. 9.00 London. 11.20 Who knows?

YORKSHIRE: 3.00 Pied pipers. 3.05 Matinee. 3.30 News. 3.35 Women today. 4.05 Crossroads. 4.40 Enchanted house. 4.55 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.30 Dr Simon Locke. 6.55 Film: 'The Dangerous Days of Klowa Jones'. 8.30 Mike and Bernie. 9.00 London. 11.20 Communicators. 11.50 Weather.

GRANADA: 3.40 All our yesterdays. 4.05 News. Here's Lucy. 4.40 Origami. 4.55 London. 6.00 Newsday. Put it in writing. 6.25 Peyton place. 7.00 Film: 'Carter's Army'. 8.20 Sylvester. 8.30 Mike and Bernie. 9.00 London. 11.20 Moviemen.

SCOTTISH: 3.30 Foo Foo. 3.45 Crossroads. 4.10 Datinine. 4.55 Sooty. 5.15 Magpie. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Crossroads. 6.20 News heroes. 6.50 Film: 'Forerunner'. 8.30 Mike and Bernie. 9.00 London. 11.20 Late call.

GRAMPIAN: 3.38 News. 3.40 Nanny and the professor. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Once upon a time. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.05 Survival. 6.35 Crossroads. 6.55 Film: 'Crack in the World'. 8.30 Mike and Bernie. 9.00 London. 11.20 Epilogue.

United Socialist States of the Balkans

With reference to the article on the Balkans (Workers Press, December 28, 29 and 30) it must be pointed out that Kosovo-Metohija is an 'autonomous region' of Yugoslavia. The great majority of its population of 963,988 are Albanian Moslems.

This region has been the subject of dispute for a long time. It was included in Yugoslavia by

the Treaty of London (1913). After partition in 1941, it was incorporated in Albania (of which it is rightfully part), but restored to Yugoslavia in 1945.

It is one of the most fertile regions in the Balkans.

The annexation of Kosovo-Metohija has been a major cause of the animosity and distrust between Albania and Yugoslavia.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF



REVISIONISM



This seven part series by MICHAEL BANDA which appeared in the Workers Press is now available as a pamphlet. Order from New Park Publications, 198a Clapham High Street, London SW4. Price 18p including postage.

THE MOOD of miners in the Castleford area of the Yorkshire coalfield is determined, but wary. They've been sold out twice in the last two years and they know very well that the right-wing/Stalinist leadership of the National Union of Mineworkers has no stomach for a fight against the government.

The Workers Press call for large strike committees in every pit is seen here as an essential step to stop a sell-out. Direct links with members of other unions and no reliance on the soft words of their national leaders is also uppermost in the minds of these militants.

They know that the sell-out of the postmen's strike last year is typical of the reformist trade union leaders' stance in the face of the Tories—and they also know that the Tories are determined this time.

The total lack of preparation by the NUM leaders, nationally and locally, is a danger sign that has not gone unnoticed. The comments printed here, from well-known militant miners and members of the All Trades Unions Alliance in the Castleford area, are typical of the views of many other men in the area, whose opinions will be featured regularly in Workers Press during the struggle.

PETER BALDERSON
Glasshoughton Colliery

THE NUM leaders are always on about a 'substantial offer', but not about winning the full claim. They are implying that they are going to back down even before we go into battle. I think they'll try to introduce a productivity deal during the strike to try to break it.

If they accept a deal like that, it will lead to more pit closures, more unemployment and a subsequent lowering of our standard of living, not a rise. The right wing of the union wants this, but I believe that the Tories want to smash us outright. I don't think the Tories want a deal; they'll only introduce a deal if they think they can't win.

We'll have to get every union behind us. The miners have no chance on their own. The miners stuck it out for nine months on their own in 1926, and got beat. We are not going to let that happen to us again.

We must have no productivity deals, no arbitration and no independent inquiries. We know what happened to the Post Office workers last year. They said they wouldn't accept arbitration, but most of the officials let themselves be persuaded to accept an inquiry and the men went back to work not a penny better off after a bitter strike.

We've got to watch our right wing for the same sort of thing. They are openly in favour of productivity deals and bonuses.

Productivity deals mean differentials from pit to pit. They set man against man and area against area. Under both Labour and Tory governments, the NCB used this to split the miners. And both 'left' and right NUM leaders have collaborated with the NCB. This mustn't happen again, but it will if we don't stop it.

Miners must fight in the mass meetings against any sell-out. We are raising the demand for strike committees at every pit. The branch officials are trying to fob this off. But whether they'll be able to do it is another question.

WATCH YOUR LEADERS!

Yorkshire miners' warning

TREVOR PARSONS
Glasshoughton Colliery

THE GENERAL feeling round here is that the leaders will go for a deal. This is the biggest one since the General Strike, and we've got to remember how the miners were sold out then. Also both the last two strikes—in 1970 and 1971—could have been won. It wasn't just the right wing that sold that out, it was the left and especially the Communist Party in Scotland and S Wales, as well as up here.

After last year's strike the government started to import coal. That just shows we were on the verge of winning. But it also shows that the government started then to make preparations for taking us on.

A lot of miners know that the government doesn't want to avoid a clash this time. We need support from the other unions—and it's no good leaving it to the officials of the Transport and General Workers' Union to make sure no coal is moving. We need the backing of power-stations and the yards because the government will try to use non-union labour to move the coal.

What is important to stress is that the leadership is making no preparations for this strike. The only

information we've had from the NEC is what benefits we're entitled to. But we've had no plans from them, nothing is organized, no demonstrations have been arranged. Glasshoughton branch is having a mass meeting next weekend, but we've had no initiative from the leadership at all.

SID HINCHCLIFFE
Glasshoughton Colliery

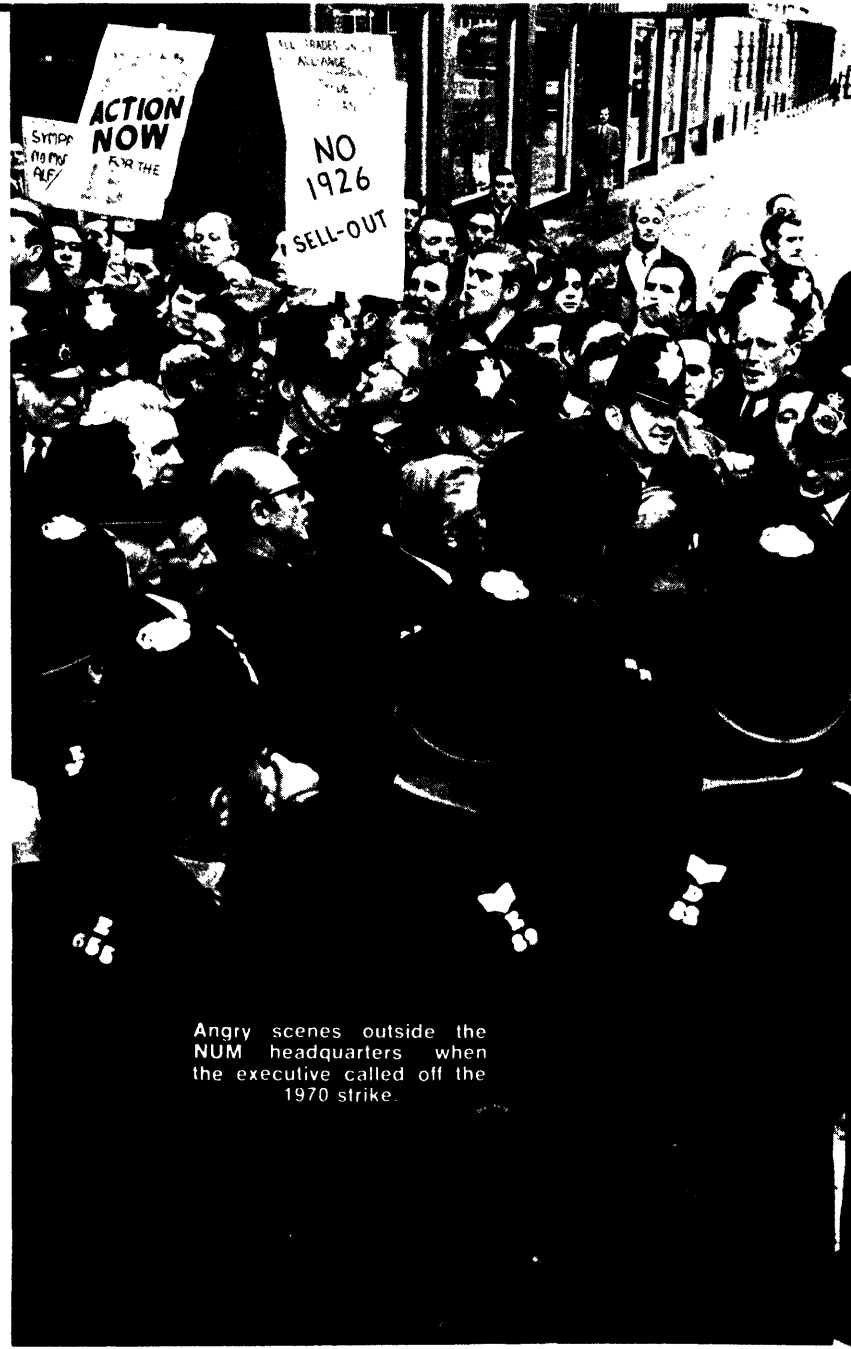
THE LEADERS will try for a productivity deal. The right wing will use the 13-8 majority they got to meet the Board, to try to get a deal of that sort. I think they'll try to get a post-ponement.

Although we're not regis-

tered under the Industrial Relations Act, they will try for a post-ponement—in effect, accepting a 60-day 'cooling-off' period. We've already had that, in practice, with the work-to-rule.

It's safe to say that the rank and file are determined to go ahead with the strike. But it's a political strike. It's purely political—against the government's 7 per cent norm. So it's a fight to force the government to resign and replace it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

This could be the crunch.



Angry scenes outside the NUM headquarters when the executive called off the 1970 strike

BRIAN LAVERY
Wheldale Colliery

We've got to get the support of the engineers and dockers. We've got to stop the coal—both overseas and inland.

I wouldn't be surprised if the Polish Stalinists tried to send coal here, like they did to Spain during the Spanish miners' strike. Another thing, the government will try to use private contractors to move the coal. We'll have to use mass pickets to stop that because if we lose it's a set-back for the entire working class.

It's not enough just to have a ban from the top on moving coal. We've got to make sure they can't move it. The branch and union officials know they're in for a fight, but they're trying to restrict it to a trade union level, instead of a political fight against the Tories.

The overtime ban, in my opinion, was not entirely aimed at the Coal Board. The leaders know some men lost from £10 to £15 a week during the overtime ban and they hope that will weaken them so that they will accept a few bob. They'll try to come up with some deal, possibly this week.

We have got to stop them and then we've got to unite with other workers like the engineers and railway workers to make sure we win.

WHELDALE colliery branch is determined to fight this struggle to the finish. We are fully aware of the political struggle involved against the Tory government.

We also are aware of the right-wing majority on the executive and we will fight to make sure that they do not control the strike in order to sell it out to the Tory government.

We've got to insist that more clear-cut and determined support is forthcoming from the Transport and General Workers' Union on the question of coal stocks. Jack Jones claims to be a left winger, but we must remember his role in the first big strike after the Tories got in—the dockers' strike of 1970.

'Support' has got to mean more than vague resolutions and a bit of cash. We need a complete ban on all coal movements and joint action to make sure non-unionists don't move any.

The call from Workers Press for mass strike committees in each pit is the only way to stop a sell-out. We remember 1970 and 1971.

In this strike the political consciousness of miners can develop by leaps and bounds. That's why it's very good that the Young Socialists' 'Right-to-Work' march will be coming through our area next month. That's the way to win our fight, and we must be the liberators' forces' next march when it passes through the Yorkshire coalfield.

JOHN BURKHILL
Wheldale Colliery

THIS IS a political fight against the Tory government. It's not the Coal Board; they can only offer what the Tories say. The government policy is a 7 per cent limit on wage rises, so if we get 12 per cent, every other union is going to follow and theirs' them beaten. It's a political fight all the way.

And we have got to win it. There are surface workers taking home £13 a week during this ban on overtime, and even face workers taking home no more than £24. But a man with £13 has to pay the same for a loaf of bread and at the butcher's as anybody else, so we've got to put a stop to it.

There is nobody in the union leadership who will face up to this. We've seen the right wing and the Communist Party act. What they did before they'll try to do again. They'll try to postpone it this week, but I think the Tories want to have a go at us. So the union leaders will probably let it run about a month and then come and say: 'We've done all we can.'

If we let them do that, life won't be worth living in the pits. The militants would stay out for ever. But we've got to prevent the militant areas from being left out on their own again.

The militants would stop a sell-out—that's the way to win. But if we win, we've beaten the Tory government and we've beaten the union leaders as well.

1,500 telegraphists to go? UPW chiefs stand by as jobs-cut is planned

BY DAVID MAUDE

FIRST STEPS towards cutting out 1,500 overseas telegraphists' jobs will be taken by the Post Office during the next two months.

Now Tito turns on Serbs

HARD ON the heels of measures against the separatist upsurge in Croatia, five Serbians have been arrested in Belgrade for printing and distributing nationalist leaflets.

Last week police seized hundreds of leaflets when they arrested the president of the Serbian Chamber of Lawyers Slobodan Subotic.

Some of the leaflets called on Serb communists to return to their nation, deprived of its rights and exposed to terror in Croatia, Kosovo and Montenegro.

The raids form part of President Tito's general clamp-down on separatists.

Meanwhile a Zagreb town committee meeting has said they will appreciate the strength of 'counter-revolutionary, nationalist forces' in the town.

A report says: 'A fair number of members of the League of Communists, for one need or another, had adopted an alliance with forces which were class opponents.'

Through Croatia the purge of officials suspected of separatist activities and sympathies in newspapers, broadcasting, cultural and other government and party offices and organizations continues.

Long Cheng nearly over-run

THE KEY pro-government base of Long Cheng in N Laos was in serious danger of being overrun by N Vietnamese troops, a government spokesman said, in Vientiane yesterday.

Heavy artillery attacks over the weekend had destroyed the entire ammunition dump at the camp, the spokesman said.

The base, 82 miles NE of Vientiane, has been under intensive bombardment since last Friday and is believed to be the liberation forces' next main objective on their drive into Laos.

Long Cheng is the headquarters of Gen Vang Pao's Meo guerrilla army trained and financed by the American Central Intelligence Agency. Infantry troops on the base have already been evacuated to neighbouring villages, the spokesman said.

Only auxiliary units were left on the base, he said. The Long Cheng air strip was vulnerable and the spokesman said only helicopters could get in and out with any safety.

It was hazardous for bigger planes as the N Vietnamese gunners were most accurate, he said.

Long Cheng's ammunition dump which went up in smoke, supplied the whole second military region of Laos. The base had only recently been resupplied.

The spokesman said two artillery positions at Sam Thong and Thambung, seven and ten miles respectively NE of Long Cheng, had also come under heavy rocket and artillery attacks.

Fares

FROM PAGE ONE

Out in the streets, the story was the same for bus travellers.

Mrs Joan Skeet, a housewife with two young daughters, one still at school, had only just found out about the increases.

'I will have to find another 40p a week to pay for my daughter's full fare to and from school.'

The most angry and definitive reaction came from another housewife, Mrs F. Peplow, who also has a cleaning job in the mornings.

'She didn't know about the increases and when we told her the fares had gone up the day before she turned round to us and said: 'God them. What a liberty—I'll think I'll walk now.'

She left the queue and marched off.

'Patients' to repeat hunger strike

TWO OPPOSITIONISTS in Leningrad's special psychiatric clinic will repeat the 80-day hunger strike they staged last spring in protest against their imprisonment.

Last March Viktor Fainberg and Vladimir Borisov demanded to be allowed to consult lawyers and take their cases to court, but the authorities have taken no action.

The two men slammed the 'shameful practice' of imprisoning political dissidents in 'special psychiatric hospitals' and conducting 'refined tortures' to change people's political convictions.

The hunger strike ended after promises that their cases would be taken to court and conditions at the hospital improved.

Fainberg (38) is a philologist who demonstrated in Red Square on August 25, 1968, against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

He was sentenced for 'lying inventions, denigrating the Soviet state and social order' and was diagnosed as a schizophrenic.

There are no details of Borisov's identity because there are two prisoners of the same name at the hospital.

Conditions are reported to have grown worse after three men, including a former Soviet army captain, attempted to escape last September.

And the authorities' attitude toughened after the abuse of psychiatric science in the USSR was raised at a recent international conference in Mexico.

Obstacles were also put in the path of lawyers attempting to open court cases.

Inmates claim they have been beaten up by orderlies and given injections or drugs which cause mental and physical suffering.

Three former prisoners at the hospital have offered to give evidence at the trial of Moscow oppositionist Vladimir Bukovsky, who has given the most detailed account so far of conditions there.

Right to Work Committees
SHEFFIELD
Wednesday, January 5
7.30 p.m.
YS premises, Portobello
(Nr Jessop Hospital)
HUDDERSFIELD
Thursday, January 6
7.30 p.m.
Zetland Hotel

workers press

READERS' MEETINGS

Meet Editorial Board speakers. Discuss your ideas for the expanded paper

COVENTRY
Sunday January 9
7.30 p.m.
Angel Hotel, Folehill Rd
Speaker: Alex Mitchell

LEICESTER
Wednesday January 12
8 p.m.
Queen's Hotel, Rutland St
Speaker: Ian Yeats

NEWCASTLE
Thursday January 13
7.30 p.m.

'Bayhams' Westgate Rd
Speaker: Alex Mitchell

LEEDS
Sunday January 16
9 p.m.
Quarry Hill Flats
Speaker: Stephen Johns

SHEFFIELD
Sunday January 16
7.30 p.m.
YS Premises Westgate Works, Portobello
Speaker: Stephen Johns

GLASGOW
Monday January 17
7.30 p.m.
Room 1 Partick Burgh Lesser Hall (Nr Merikland St Tube Stn.)
Speaker: Stephen Johns

ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS

Make the Tory government resign!
Return a Labour government pledged to restore full employment and repeal all laws against the unions!

BIRKENHEAD: Tuesday January 4, 8 p.m. Music Hall Hotel, 'Right-to-Work' campaign.

SW LONDON: Tuesday January 4, 8 p.m. Small Hall, Clapham Manor Baths, Clapham Manor St, SW4. Tory government conspiracy.

W LONDON: Tuesday January 4, 8 p.m. 'Prince Albert', Wharfedale Rd. Make the Tories resign.

CROYDON: Thursday January 12, 8 p.m. Rusk House, Coombe Rd, E Croydon. Right-to-Work campaign.

DONCASTER: Sunday January 9, 7 p.m. Woodlands Hotel, Great North Rd, Woodlands. The miners' strike and the Tory government.

OXFORD: (Joint meeting with Young Socialists) Sunday January 9, 7.30 p.m. 'Cape of Good Hope', The Plain. 'Right-to-Work' campaign.

ATLDESSEN: Monday January 10, 8 p.m. Trades and Labour Hall, High Rd. Support the miners.

BRACKNELL: Tuesday January 11, 7.30 p.m. 'Red Lion', High St. Discuss ATUA Manifesto.

BEXLEYHEATH: Tuesday January 11, 8 p.m. 'The Upton', Crook Log. Trade unions and basic rights.

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

Record bankruptcies hit traders

THE TIDE of bankruptcies among small shopkeepers and builders reached record proportions in 1971.

At 1,416, receiving orders in the High Court which deals with bankrupts living in SE England, were 30 per cent up on the 1970 total of 1,103.

The fall-off in new building mirrors the effects of the slump on trade and incomes.

Small shopkeepers have been besieged both by worsening trading conditions and pressure from the giant supermarket monopolies.

A major factor in last year's figures was the chain reaction set up by the crashes of big companies, according

to Frank Stansil, a City chartered accountant who specializes in bankruptcy and liquidation work.

He said: 'The collapse of Rolls-Royce and other large groups undoubtedly influenced last year's figures.'

Though City businessmen are looking for an improvement in 1972, statistics over the past decade show a remorseless upward trend.

In 1969 there were 913, in 1964, 678. Seven years earlier the number was down at 463.

BRIEFLY...

● MILITARY aircraft work at British Aircraft Corporation's three Lancashire factories came to a standstill yesterday. About 3,750 workers in eight unions were staging the first of a threatening series of one-day lightening strikes in support of a 12-per-cent pay claim. The company is offering a productivity deal which it claims incorporates a substantial pay increase. Aircraft affected are the Anglo-French Jaguar, Provost and Strikemaster fighters and Canberra bombers. The factories also make parts for Concorde's engine casings.

● BRITISH TRANSPORT Docks Board white-collar staff at Southampton yesterday went on strike over pay. The Transport Salaried Staffs' Association called the strike of 300 because the docks board headquarters have not approved a pay and productivity scheme negotiated for more than a year. Members of other unions, including

quay-side shed clerks and supervisors, also came out in support.

● COMPLAINT against Lord Snowden by photographer Ray Bellisario, who takes informal pictures of royalty, is to be reconsidered by the National Union of Journalists. Bellisario (38), has appealed against the union's finding that Snowden was not to blame because Bellisario was refused press passes to the Badminton horse trials.

● LEEDS engineering firm of Oddy's—part of the Guest, Keen and Nettlefold's group—is to close at the end of March throwing 60 employees out of work. GKN recently announced the closure of one of its major plants in Cwmbran in Wales. The GKN company gave the Tory Party its largest single donation—£30,000—before the last General Election.

● CAR PRODUCTION in November was down by 6 per cent on the same period in 1970, the Department of Trade said yesterday. The average production rate in the four weeks ending November 27 was 36,350 cars a week. Commercial vehicle production, at 9,300 a week, was 18 per cent down. Losses caused by industrial disputes were probably higher than in November 1970. But the car production rate for the 47 weeks to November 27 was 6 per cent up on 1970 with an average of 33,250 cars a week. The commercial vehicle rate of 8,850 a week was less than 1 per cent higher.

Wales and S England will be mainly dry and cloudy with mist or fog patches night and morning. Scotland and N England will be cloudy with some rain or drizzle, mainly in the E, and with bright periods in the W. N Ireland will be cloudy but mostly dry. It will be rather cold with night frosts in the S, but there will be near normal temperatures in the N. Outlook for Wednesday and Thursday: Little general change but becoming milder in the W with freshening southerly winds.

Now for weekend jailing

MAGISTRATES in London are proposing Saturday afternoon jailing as a means of dealing with young offenders.

This is the main recommendation of a working party of magistrates which reported to Home Secretary Reginald Maudling yesterday.

The group's chairman, Michael Wolff, said in a separate letter that Saturday afternoon jailing centres should be set up in every large city and town throughout the country.

The centres, an alternative to full prison custody, are operating now in London and Manchester for two hours on Saturday afternoons for 17- to 21-year-old youths.

The working party recommends greater use of the centres by courts for 'anti-social offences', especially breaches of the peace, some traffic offences and failure to pay fines.

'If this extension of the senior attendance system proves a success, then it might well be further extended to deal with offenders over the age of 21, and that could open up entirely new opportunities for the treatment of offenders outside prison,' Wolff said.

LORD HEREFORD, the premier viscount of England, has been badly affected by rising prices. He has been forced to sell his 2,000 acre estate near Leominster, Herefordshire, for £600,000 all because of mounting costs. Included in the sale to an undisclosed buyer—is his 100-room mansion with its 30 bedrooms and ten bathrooms. The new owner is due to take over on June 30.

LATE NEWS

NEWS DESK
01-720 2000
CIRCULATION
01-822 7029

RAILMEN throughout Britain, fearful of increasing redundancies among workshop staff, were refusing to keep the wagons moving yesterday. The men's protest, which began at midnight last night, stems from an ultimatum issued by the National Union of Railwaymen to the railway board. The union threatened that if British Rail did not stop farming out wagons needing repair to private enterprise, railwaymen would refuse to move them.

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WEATHER