

## JONES HAS NO MANDATE FOR TALKS OR FINES

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Last Thursday's docks delegates' conference called for a national ports strike—not a fresh round of secret dealings with the port employers.

Instead of rushing off to meet Aldington, Jones should be mobilizing the mighty forces of his union, the biggest in the country, to remove the government which has jailed his members, fined his union £55,000 and now threatens to confiscate its entire funds.

With Britain's ports at a complete standstill, every single dockworker knows that he is in a fight to the finish—a fight to decide whether he has a future livelihood.

Having rightly rejected the Jones-Aldington report with its hollow jobs promises, the dockers have engaged the Tory government head-on.

It is impossible to separate the fight for the right to work from the fight to bring down the Tories. Full employment in docks and transport will be ensured only through nationalization of these industries under workers' control. That can only be done by forcing the Tories to resign and returning a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

But as this showdown begins, the T&GWU has no policy to win the strike, no policy to unite its members.

Such a dangerous position can only be remedied by the immediate recall of the union's biennial conference. Members of the T&GWU in every section of industry must flood Transport House with this demand at once.

This is the crisis in the T&GWU today:

● While the docks delegates reject the Jones-Aldington deal and call for strike action, Jones goes off—without any authority from his members—to talk with the employers.

● While the dockers need the support and unity of all union members in a common fight, lorry drivers have been thrown into competition for jobs with dockers because of the refusal of the union to fight containerization and the Devlin scheme.

● While his members boycott the court and are prepared to go to jail to defend their basic rights, Jones is preparing to again pay fines amounting to £55,000 to the NIR, along with £25,000 costs.

● While Jones calls for the recall of the TUC to construct policies to fight the Act, he stays silent about recalling his own conference to defend his own docks members.

● What is Jones telling its sponsored Labour MPs to do in the present crisis? Not a whisper of support has come from these MPs. Most of them are grabbing any time or space in the capitalist media to tell dockers to accept the revised Jones-Aldington formula due out later this week.

They must be instructed to lead a fight to stop parliament from going into its nine-week recess on August 9. The Tories want to use the parliamentary vacation to rule by state of emergency regulations and decrees from the Privy Council.

**For all these reasons the immediate recall of the T&GWU biennial conference is the burning demand.**

If Jones and engineering union leader Hugh Scanlon were calling for joint

industrial action against the Bill in March 18, 1971,—the TUC special conference at Croydon—what's to stop them now? The question is certainly posed more clearly today than it was 18 months ago.

The Tories are in deep crisis; they are weak. But they are conscious of their weakness and are waiting for the first opportunity to lash out at the working class.

The working class is strong enough to make them resign, but is held back by its leadership from realizing this strength.

**Now is the time to defeat the Tories!**

**Mobilize every ounce of strength behind the dockers!**

**Victory to the dockers!**

**Force the Tories to resign!**

**Recall immediately the conference of the Transport and General Workers' Union!**

The dockers will win their strike only on the policy put forward by the Socialist Labour League:

**No sackings of dockers, lorry drivers or container-workers!**

**Immediate shorter working week.**

**Guaranteed full pay for all dockers!**

**Registration of all non-scheme ports!**

**Abolition of the unattached register!**

This policy, together with a T&GWU decision to fight for the whole trade union movement to organize to force the Tories to resign and return a Labour government, would win the support of the whole working class.

## Mersey dockers determined to tackle jobs and Tories

**MERSEYSIDE dockers yesterday voted unanimously to continue their strike until their demands for docks jobs are met.**

A packed 45-minute meeting at Liverpool Boxing Stadium heard Jim

Nolan, a shop steward who sits on the port modernization committee, warn that the Jones-Aldington report paved the way for a loss of 8,000 jobs nationally.

A total of 2,500 of these would be in Liverpool, he said. With 53,000 workers



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The Pentonville Five had been released, he said, but the Industrial Relations Act and the Tory government remained.

A further Liverpool meeting will be held at

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DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

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# What we think

## PLAYING FOR TIME

ON MAY 12 the President of the National Industrial Relations Court, Sir John Donaldson, passed his historic judgement calling on union leaders to discipline and dismiss shop stewards who fail to carry out the court's rulings.

Answering the charge that this would worsen industrial relations, Donaldson declared in his inimitable way:

'These dangers are obvious, but they are short-term dangers. They must be faced in order that in the longer term we may have an orderly system of industrial relations of which we can be proud.'

In other words the Tory court made clear it was prepared for a national docks strike in its bid to crush shop stewards and militants.

Last week the House of Lords, the highest court in the land, came to the same conclusion. It found that it was the unions' responsibility to discipline its shop stewards—or risk huge fines and confiscation of their assets.

Edward Heath made a special appearance on national television last week to welcome the Lords' verdict.

Heath said the Act was working 'extremely well'. It had been 'completely justified and vindicated' by the Lords' decision, he added.

These statements are clear enough. They spell class war. And that—as Workers Press has persistently pointed out—is what this Heath government is all about.

This being the case, what on earth is Victor Feather of the TUC up to? Tomorrow he rejoins the Tory government and the big businessmen's 'TUC', the Confederation of British Industry, in talks about wages, inflation, conciliation and arbitration etc.

These soirées at No. 10 Downing Street can produce nothing for the working class. They are deadly dangerous because they form a deliberate part of the Tories' present strategy of time-wasting.

The government wants to spin out discussions with the union leaders while they build up their counter-attack. In particular they want to stave off their offensive until after parliament goes into recess at the end of this week.

With parliament out of the way the Tories can wield enormous and unaccountable powers through the Privy Council.

Under state of emergency regulations they can call in troops and slam the labour press with sedition orders.

Ever since the miners' strike, Feather has been beating a path in and out of Heath's bullet-proof front door.

In doing so he has been creating illusions that the Tories are reasonable men seeking fair play. This mythology was resoundingly destroyed when five dockers were jailed.

Absolute proof of the character of this government was shown last Friday when another 4,000 troops were despatched to Ulster.

The TUC rank and file did not give Feather a mandate to reel around these Tory corridors. All talks with the Tories must be immediately broken off.

The TUC leadership should be seeking a recalled congress to formulate a policy to fight the Industrial Relations Act to force the Tory government to resign.

# Liberation troops head for Hué

NORTH VIETNAMESE troops are moving in force towards the ancient capital of Hué, south of the demilitarized zone, despite concentrated bombing from American B52 planes.

The North Vietnamese have turned the flank of puppet forces who were attacking the strongly-held provincial capital Quang Tri. This town has been held by liberation force since the end of April.

The focus of the battle has now shifted as liberation troops press eastwards towards Hué from the A Shau valley. They have already forced puppet troops to abandon the key Fire-base Bastogne, punching a hole in the defensive arc around Hué.

The Americans dropped more than 600 tons of bombs on one location 15 miles south west of Hué, using seven waves of B52s. They claim to have made contact with three North Vietnamese regiments moving towards the city.

Liberation troops are also moving across the demilitarized zone (DMZ) to reinforce the garrison at Quang Tri. The South Vietnamese yesterday admitted that the garrison's supply lines had never been cut during

the attempt to retake the city.

North Vietnam yesterday replied contemptuously to President Nixon's latest attempt to whitewash the bombing of the north. Nixon had said 'we are trying to avoid civilian casualties, not to cause them'.

In view of the type of bombs being used by the US over North Vietnam, this is a particularly barefaced lie. These weapons include the BLU 24/26 guava bomblets, each holding 260-300 pellets and 50 grams of explosives. They can be fused to explode on impact, in the air or with time delay and spray small but lethal pellets in a 360° pattern.

The CBU28 'dragontooth' mine is camouflaged to blend in with the ground. Thousands are dropped every month. They are designed specifically to blow the foot off any person who steps on them, or the hand off anyone who picks them up.

The 'gravel' mine, a three-inch cloth bag containing explosive powder and two plastic pellets, has a similar purpose. Neither of these mines will destroy a truck tyre if rolled over by one.

They are exclusively anti-personnel weapons and in the case of the 'gravel' mine the pellets are invisible on x-ray photographs, necessitating exploratory surgery.

# Gold at highest price

THE DOLLAR price of gold is now at its highest-ever point on the West European bullion markets, reaching \$68.25 an ounce in London on Friday.

Similar high levels were reached on other markets—in Paris, \$68.59; and in Zurich \$67.75-\$68.25. The London price rose \$1.55 an ounce in 24 hours.

Dealers are confidently predicting that the price will be over \$70 an ounce well before the end of the year. The increased gold price is a consequence of complete lack of confidence in paper currency.

This has been increased by the latest American balance-of-trade figures—which show a \$3,342.8m deficit for the first six months of 1972—and by the mounting British crisis which has further weakened the 'floating' pound.

A full-scale currency crisis was narrowly averted only a month ago after the Tories floated sterling. There was heavy selling of dollars in all European centres and the French, German, Swiss, Belgian and Dutch central banks were forced to apply Draconian exchange controls.

None of the basic issues involved in this crisis has been resolved, though the US Federal

Reserve Bank bought a certain amount of time by intervening in the market to support the dollar for the first time since last August.

The breakdown of important trade talks between Japan and the United States just a month before President Nixon's scheduled meeting with premier Kakuei Tanaka is an indication of the extreme tension in relations between the main capitalist nations.

The US was demanding sweeping trade concessions from the Japanese, who have already conceded a 16-per-cent revaluation, making their goods more expensive on American markets.

The US is now threatening wholesale protectionism directed against the Japanese employers. Similar threats are being made against the Common Market countries.

The political upheavals in class relationships sparked by Nixon's measures a year ago are driving forward the international monetary crisis which is now reaching its most critical stage.

# Jobs crunch nearer at UCS

TEXAN industrialist Wayne Harbin will visit Clydeside this weekend for talks about the jobs crisis at the Clydebank shipyard.

Harbin, whose firm Marathon Manufacturing is taking over the yard, will meet the UCS liquidator and Lord Strathallmond, head of Govan Shipbuilders.

They will be discussing the thousand men who will be left without work by the end of September when the liquidator's last two vessels will be cleared out of Clydebank and moved up river to the Govan yard controlled by Govan Shipbuilders.

About 450 Clydebank men will be transferred to complete this work and Marathon says it will be in a position to employ 500 to 550 by September 30.

But this leaves about 1,000 Clydebank men without job prospects.

There is also the further threat that the 450 in Govan will lose their jobs when the vessels—one of which is already launched—are finished. The labour force at Clydebank when UCS went into liquidation last June was 2,500.

Marathon originally pledged to employ 500 men immediately it took over. This was reduced to 151 and finally no one was taken on because of delays over the progress of a parliamentary Bill earmarking grants for Clydebank.

The 151 men fired by the liquidator reported back at Clydebank last Monday after the summer holidays and were told to join the 'work-in'.

Shop stewards admit they are facing a crisis over jobs. They

# Entire working

## Dockers to shield printers picket against police attack

BY JOHN SPENCER

WORKERS at Briant Colour Printers, the Southwark work-in factory, have already suffered two unprovoked police attacks and fear that a third attack may be planned for today.

At 4 p.m. outside the gates of Robert Horne's paper mill off the Old Kent Road, another attempt may be made to break the picket which has stood outside the gates since the work-in at Briant began five weeks ago.

Horne's is the chief creditor of Briant Colour Printing and the printers have been picketing the factory to obtain guarantees that their own plant will be reopened.

On Thursday night after more than a month of peaceful picketing, the 30 or so printers outside Horne's factory were brutally attacked by police.

The police arrived about 40 strong in transit vans and Rover squad cars. Pickets, including Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (SOGAT) mother of the chapel Christine Brazil, were slammed against a corrugated iron fence.

'They just got me by the shoulders and pushed. My arm still hurts from the police manhandling,' she said.

Pickets said one policeman in a Rover patrol car deliberately backed it into Society of Lithographic Artists, Designers and Engravers (SLADE) apprentice Roger Shill.

Norman Pennington, Briant's SOGAT father of the chapel, gave me the policeman's number and the number of his car.

'We will be making a complaint to the police—not that that makes much difference. They are judge and jury in their own case,' he said.

'When I asked this policeman what he thought he was doing he said: "Stand behind me and you'll find out".'

Pennington himself was grabbed by the police and frogmarched to a black maria. The police 'hammered' him in the back of the vehicle before his fellow-pickets rescued him, he said.

The next morning, SOGAT general secretary Vincent Flynn was handed a letter from Horne's boss Kenneth Horne threatening legal action unless the pickets were removed from the gate.

'As you know we do not consider that we are a party to this dispute,' Horne wrote. '... we must now consider obtaining the protection of the law.'

Police were out in force the following day and an appeal to dock strikers at their Tower Hill meeting produced reinforcements for the pickets as well. More than 500 printers and dockers stood outside Horne's gates facing a three-deep line of police as a team of negotiators headed by work-in leader Bill Freeman met the management inside.

The workers sought a pledge from Horne that his lorries would not cross the picket line while negotiations on the future of Briant Colour continued.

About 4 p.m., after talks lasting more than an hour, the workers' representatives were given what they regarded as a satisfactory pledge.

The delegation left the office and the pickets waited good-humouredly while the pledge was typed. But the document finally produced was radically different from Horne's verbal pledge. It read:

'Our lorries will not cross your picket lines before 4 p.m. on Monday, July 31, by which time you expect to have given us your proposals and we shall then decide whether it is possible to negotiate further.'

Commented Bill Freeman: 'This is not what he promised us upstairs. It is totally unacceptable.'

His version of the meeting with management was corroborated by Royal docks shop steward Ken Marks, who sat in on the talks with Horne as an observer from the dockers' pickets.

'Horne quite clearly said he was willing to sign a document

BY STEPHEN JOHNS

are asking Govan Shipbuilders, which operates three of the old UCS divisions, to see if it can absorb some of the Clydebank men.

But Govan Shipbuilders is facing a struggle for survival: with a full quota of workers already the company is unlikely to want the extra burden of 1,000 workers.

Despite this demoralizing horse-trading, there is still a substantial body of Clydebank men who want to fight against any further run-down in the labour force.

They have been considerably weakened by the formal division of a once-united labour force in the four-yard consortium between two capitalist concerns. The UCS struggle started last

June when the consortium went bankrupt.

Then the Communist Party-led shop stewards' committee began their famous 'work-in' which turned out to be a way of avoiding confrontation with the government, completing ships for the liquidator and trading over jobs and conditions.

These Stalinist manoeuvres caused hundreds of workers to leave the yards. When the company was liquidated there were 8,500 workers. Now there are a little over 6,000 at UCS and this figure will be down to 5,000 if the Clydebank men go.

Clydebank workers will stage a half-day strike today as part of the general protest in the West of Scotland called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions against the Industrial Relations Act.

Workers at the Govan, Scotstoun and Linthouse divisions are on their summer holidays.

# class must aid printers



Peaceful pickets are moved on by a well-prepared and large force of police outside Horne's

agreeing that no lorries would cross the picket until the negotiations were completed,' Ken Marks told me.

Horne refused to see the full delegation following rejection of his note, claiming he had been 'negotiating under duress'.

Meanwhile the picket lines started to thin out as some of the pickets drifted away.

While the police were readying their shock forces, Tory MP Geoffrey Finsberg was trying in the Commons to generate a 'red plot' atmosphere, charging that leaflets against the imprisonment of the five dockers were printed at Briant in June.

In fact, all Briant printing since the work-in began has carried the date when the occupation started. Finsberg's nonsensical charge was given headline treatment in the London 'Evening News'.

SOGAT and Communist Party member Mike Hicks proposed that the pickets disperse to 'show goodwill', but this proposal was unanimously rejected.

It was the moment the police had been waiting for. Their commissioner decided the pickets were causing an obstruction. He

began to walk towards the massed dockers and printers and suddenly a large body of police reinforcements appeared from a side-street.

Truncheons drawn, they drove the pickets onto the Old Kent Road, forcing them to back into a bus queue standing opposite the factory.

Women and children waiting for buses were driven against the wall as the police weighed into the pickets. Several were injured—and one picket had to have three stitches in his head.

Seven men were arrested and charged with threatening behaviour, obstruction and assault. They were remanded on bail of £10 to appear on October 10.

They are: Thomas Cottrell, a haulage contractor, charged with threatening behaviour; John Franks, machine operator, charged with obstruction; Robert Grant, driver, threatening behaviour; Alan Pink, stevedore, assault; Peter Willson, docker, obstruction and assault; Barry Holmes, tally clerk, assault and obstruction; Edward Davidson, printer, assault.

Friday's unprovoked attack on

the Briant picket has roused deep anger among the printers and dockers. They regard it as the new order decreed by the Tory government to break strikes and smash picket lines.

'The arrogant police attack on the Briant workers' picket line, the arrests and the police provocations are a concerted attempt to crush a group of workers fighting for the right to work.

The entire trade union movement must come to the assistance of the Briant workers and use its strength to answer the police provocations.

## British-Leyland shares scare

BRITISH-LEYLAND shares are expected to get a hammering when the markets open today following the weekend announcement of price increases.

Neither will the shares be helped by the comments of David Malbert, city editor of the London 'Evening Standard'.

In his column last Friday Malbert said: 'Now that the truth of Mr. Victor Feather's boast that nothing can be done to the trade unions that the unions don't like is being proved, I would avoid investment in companies with large and well-drilled labour forces. Like British-Leyland.

'So, if you want to sleep soundly,' he told the idlers who play the stock market, 'stay out of the market except for special situations and maybe the financial sector which is not dominated by the unions.'

The decision to raise prices from between 3 and 6 per cent from next Saturday is a panic measure by the Leyland board.

Six months ago the company broke the CBI prices 'freeze' and the new charges mean that Leyland is again exploding the myth of the price restraint of the country's big corporations.

A company statement said: 'As a result of constantly rising costs we have not found it possible to subscribe to the three-month extensions of the CBI's undertaking on prices.

'But we are undertaking to maintain them at this level until 1973 at the earliest—which is only five months away.

A Mini will cost £695 instead of £663; the 1100 £867 (£833); Morris Marina £949 (£913); Triumph 2000 £1,775 (£1,687), and Jaguar XJ6 £3,071 (£2,925).

The new charges will strengthen the sales drive currently being launched by Leyland's Japanese and European competitors.



Work-in committee chairman at Briant Colour, Bill Freeman, speaks to the picket at Horne's.

## No holiday at the NIRC

THE TWO-MONTH law vacation starts tomorrow—but not for the National Industrial Relations Court.

Court president, Sir John Donaldson, will take time off and plans to do some sailing in his 40-foot ketch.

Press Association said yesterday: 'Contrary to rumour, there

are no plans to have him winched from his yacht to a helicopter in the event of a national emergency.'

However, Donaldson will be in telephone and radio contact at all times. He and several 'lay' judges will be available to reconvene the court if the need arises.

## BBC 1

9.45 Mary, Mungo and Midge. 10.00 Casey Jones. 10.25 Animals. 10.50 Tin Tin. 10.55 Magic Roundabout. 11.25, 2.25 Cricket. 1.30 Pogles' Wood. 1.45 News, weather. 4.15 Play School. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Penelope Pitstop. 5.15 It's Your Word. 5.44 Sir Prancelot. 5.50 News, weather.

6.00 LONDON THIS WEEK. 6.20 ANIMALS AT HOME. 6.40 THE MOVIE QUIZ. 7.05 Z CARS. Loyalties. Part 1. 7.30 THE VIRGIN FELLAS. 7.55 THE OLYMPIANS. Emil Zatopek. 8.00 PANORAMA. The Price of Your Car. 9.00 NEWS, Weather. 9.20 DOOMWATCH. Flood. 10.10 AN HOUR WITH . . . JIMMY EDWARDS. 11.10 NEWS. 11.15 ATHLETE. Part 9. 11.40 Weather.

## ITV

11.35 Seven Seas. 12.25 Women. 12.60 Freud on Food. 1.15 Bellbird. 1.25 Enchanted House. 1.35 Skippy. 2.05 Castle Haven. 2.30 Good Afternoon. 3.00 Houseparty. 3.15 Film: 'The I Don't Care Girl'. 4.40 Cliff's Kids. 4.55 Clapperboard. 5.20 Treasure Island. 5.50 News.

6.00 YOU AND THE WORLD. Care—Part 1.

# TV

## BBC 2

11.00 Play School. 4.30 Cricket. 6.35 Open University. 7.30 NEWSROOM, Weather. 8.00 HIGH CHAPARRAL. The Little Indians. 8.50 MONTREUX 72. Comedy from Finland. 9.10 NOW AND THEN. With Robert Erskine. 9.20 HORIZON. The Surgery of Violence. History of psychosurgery. 10.10 THIRTY-MINUTE THEATRE. The Waiting-Room. 10.40 NEWS, Weather. 10.45 CRICKET. 4th Test highlights. 11.15 LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.

6.20 CROSSROADS. 6.40 THE DAVID NIXON SHOW. 7.30 CORONATION STREET. 8.00 WORLD IN ACTION. 8.30 LOLLIPOP. 9.00 MAN AT THE TOP. Don't Rock the Boat. 10.00 NEWS. 10.30 THE NAME OF THE GAME. One of the Girls in Research. 11.55 THE BISHOPS.



John Paul watches the Thames rise in tonight's 'Doomwatch' story on BBC 1.

## REGIONAL TV

All regions as BBC 1 except:

Wales: 1.30 Ar Lin Mam. 6.00 Wales Today. 6.20 Tarw O'r Enw Mariws. 6.45 Heddiw. 10.10 Cadwynau Yn y Meddwl. 10.45 Richard Wilson. 11.42 News.

Scotland: 6.00 Reporting Scotland. 11.15 Open to Question. 11.45 Athlete. 11.42 News, weather.

N Ireland: 6.00 Scene Around Six. 11.42 News, weather.

England: 6.00 Look North, Midlands Today, Look East, Points West, South Today, Spotlight South West. Weather. 11.42 News, weather.

CHANNEL: 2.50 Cliff's kids. 3.05 Puffin. 3.10 Yoga. 3.30 Film: 'The Floating Dutchman'. 4.55 London. 6.00 News, weather. What's on where? 6.15 Pursuers. 6.45 London. 11.55 Visages de France. 12.10 Weather.

WESTWARD. As Channel except: 2.40 Gus Honeybun. 3.05 News. 6.00 Diary. 6.20 Sports. 10.30 Format. 11.13 News, weather. 11.16 Name of the game. 12.35 Faith for life.

SOUTHERN: 12.55 News. 1.00 Tennis. 1.25 My three sons. 1.55 Cooking. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Let's face it. 3.30 Bird's eye view. 3.55 Houseparty. 4.10 Twizzle. 4.25 Lucy. 4.55 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 London. 10.30 Afloat. 11.00 News. 11.10 Marcus Welby. 12.05 Weather. Guideline.

HTV: 2.30 Cricket. 3.45 Women. 4.15 Tinkertainment. 4.25 Superman. 4.55 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.22 Report Wales. 6.45 London. 10.30 Film: 'The Heart Within'. 11.40 Scotland yard mysteries. 12.10 Weather.

HTV Wales as above except: 1.50 Sain Cerdd a Chan. 4.15 Cantamil. 6.01 Y Dydd.

HTV West as above except: 6.22 This is the West This Week. HTV Cymru/Wales as above except: 4.15 Cantamil. 6.01 Y Dydd.

ANGLIA: 11.25 Cricket. 1.40 World War I. 2.05 Arthur. 2.30 London. 3.15 Jokers. 3.45 Yoga. 4.10 News. 4.15 Cartoons. 4.25 Romper room. 4.55 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.45 London. 10.30 Brian Connell. 11.05 Spyforce.

ATV MIDLANDS: 2.25 Battle. 3.10 Good afternoon. 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Nanny. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Forest rangers. 5.20 London. 6.00 Today. 6.45 London. 10.30 Jokers. 11.00 Aquarius.

ULSTER: 4.00 Let's face it. 4.30 4.30 Romper room. 4.50 News. 4.55 London. 6.00 News. 6.10 Smith family. 6.35 Cartoon. 6.45 London. 10.30 Monday night. 10.35 Name of the game.

YORKSHIRE: 11.25, 3.45 Cricket. 1.35 Cartoon. 1.45 Bewitched. 2.15 Bellbird. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00, 4.10 Teesside Eisteddfod. 4.35 Calendar. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Arthur. 5.20 London. 6.00 Calendar. 6.05 Cartoon. 6.15 Shirley's world. 6.45 London. 11.55 Yesterdays. 12.25 Weather.

GRANADA: 11.25, 2.05 Cricket. 1.35 Yesterdays. 4.10 News. Peyton place. 4.40 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Journey. 6.40 London. 10.30 Crime and mystery.

SCOTTISH: 3.35 Horoscope. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Casebook. 4.40 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Dick Van Dyke. 6.45 London. 10.30 At odds. 11.10 Late call. 11.15 Frighteners.

GRAMPIAN: 3.37 News. 3.45 Women. 4.10 Yoga. 4.40 Cliff's kids. 4.55 Rumble jumble. 5.20 London. 6.00 News, weather. Farming. 6.15 Lucy. 6.45 London. 10.30 Watts.

# THE STORY OF A MAJOR TORY FRAUD

## THE ZINOVIEV LETTER

By Peter Jeffries. Part 1  
All Tory governments have been prepared to use secret spies to keep watch on workers' organizations. But they have also engaged in the crudest form of anti-communist propaganda in an attempt to frame labour and trade union leaders.

The most notorious example of Tories' lies and deceit this century is undoubtedly the 'Zinoviev Letter' of 1924, which played a crucial role in the downfall of the first-ever Labour government.

Largely through the 'red scare' which the Tory press whipped up in the campaign, Baldwin was returned with a big majority which then allowed the Tories to make direct plans to take on the working class which they were to do in the General Strike of the following year.

By producing a letter, purportedly from Zinoviev, President of the Communist International, to the Communist Party of Great Britain, urging them to make preparations for armed revolution and to start work for the creation of a British Red Army, the ruling class, operating through the Foreign Office, the Tory Party, British Intelligence and Fleet Street, was able to scare the middle class and stampede them into voting for Baldwin.

Despite the unquestionable loyalty of MacDonald and his friends to the capitalist system and all its institutions, there was still considerable opposition to the labour government from the ruling class.

To some sections it was no doubt still an 'unknown quantity', while there was general opposition to its diplomatic recognition of the USSR as well as its plans for the conclusion of a trading agreement with the Soviet state.

The government's downfall at the end of 1924 was directly connected with the build up of this 'red scare'. Dependent upon Liberal support, MacDonald's government fell over the famous 'Campbell case'. The offices of the 'Workers Weekly', organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain were raided in 1924 and its editor, J. R. Campbell, was charged under the Indictment to Mutiny Act of 1797 as author of an article urging the troops not to fire on their fellow workers.

After the Attorney-General, Sir Patrick Hastings, had admitted that the charges were to be pressed, they were eventually dropped on the grounds that they rested on no firm legal basis. The Tories let out a scream of anger. MacDonald and the Cabinet were 'soft on the Reds'.

The government was defeated on a Commons vote of confidence and MacDonald resigned.

But it was only now that the red scare really started to roll.

It reached crescendo with the Foreign Office release, five days before polling, of the letter allegedly sent by Zinoviev together with a stiff note of protest to the Soviet government, a move designed to



Right: Ramsay MacDonald, loyal to the capitalist system. Top: G. E. Zinoviev who was on holiday at the time. Above: Baldwin

authenticate the forgery.

For the Tory Press the letter, containing everything a professional anti-Bolshevik could desire, was just what they needed.

## ATTACKED

Just before the letter was released, the 'Daily Mail' had attacked the plans for a commercial treaty with Russia in terms which were to become familiar:

'It is a fact' declared Lord Rothermere's mouth-piece, 'that a British government . . . is preparing to use the British taxpayer's credit and cash for the purpose of financing a gang of thieves and murderers who repudiate all social and financial morality. The wrong is graver because this gang of alien criminals who have usurped power in Russia wish to destroy the British empire and our civilized system of credit.'

But strident though this was the 'Mail' was to improve still further with the publication of the letter.

'Moscow issues orders to the British Communists . . . British Communists in turn

give orders to the Socialist government which it tamely and humbly obeys', said its editorial on the day the letter was released.

And the following Monday it screamed in a seven decker headline.

**'THE ONLY THING LEFT TO DO IS VOTE CONSERVATIVE'**

The 'Daily Express', lacking the advantage of the 'Mail's' 'discovery' of the letter, was slower off the mark. But in the campaign it had showed itself in no way inferior when it came to vitriolic anti-communist propaganda.

'Imagine a little dark-skinned Indian Communist,' it said about Shapurji Saklatvala, 'harsh voiced, with a curious little "clip" in his accent, the fire of fanatic frenzy always leaping from queerly bright eyes, hatred of almost everything seeming to consume his nervously moving body, a great cataract of words always spouting, frothing, foaming from him in a never-ending stream.'

On election day the 'Express' splashed in red ink across every page **'DO NOT VOTE RED TODAY'**.



In the face of these vicious attacks, MacDonald's reaction was typical of a Fabian. Although, as we shall see, the Foreign Office released the text of the letter and the accompanying protest note to the Soviet chargé d'affaires in London, Rakovsky, without MacDonald's permission, he continued to defend the Civil Servants as men of good faith. 'I make no complaints. . . . They honestly believed that the document was genuine and on that belief they acted,' he said after the event.

Although he doubted the letter's authenticity MacDonald also refused consistently to order any official inquiry into the conduct of the senior civil servants who handled the matter while he was out of London conducting his election campaign.

In fact there were such glaring contradictions in the form and content of the letter that the Foreign Office must have known it to have been the work of provocateurs.

Indeed many senior servants and police officers took the letter to be the forgery that it was, including the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police. But they kept their opinions to themselves.

In the first place no original copy of the letter was ever seen. Only a transcribed copy reached the British Secret Service, which they then passed to the Foreign Office and the 'Daily Mail'!

Second, nobody commented on the fact that, even if the Communist International had wished to give the British Party such ludicrous instruc-

tions, they would certainly have transmitted them not in letter form but via one of the many Party members who regularly visited Moscow.

But to an experienced eye the letter could be seen as a complete fraud; not only did it contain all the elements of a cheap spy thriller, which were simply too good to be true: there were innumerable textual inconsistencies and downright errors.

● The letter was headed 'Third Communist International'. Yet there was no such thing as a third Communist international.

● Zinoviev used the letters IKKI in the text of the letter instead of the usual English form ECCI for the Executive Committee of the International.

● MacManus, one of the letter's signatories, was wrongly spelt as McManus.

● Zinoviev signed himself 'Zinoviev' instead of his usual style 'G. Zinoviev'.

● Kuusinen signed himself 'Kuusinen' and not 'O. W. Kuusinen'.

● Kuusinen was not the Secretary of the International, as the letter claimed, but merely a member of its Secretariat.

● On September 15, 1924, the date of the letter, Zinoviev was actually holidaying in Kislovodsk and therefore could not possibly have signed any official letters.

All these points, made by Zinoviev and others at the time, fell on deaf ears as the Tories, pushing aside such trivial matters, rushed ahead with their witch-hunt.

CONTINUED MONDAY

# PITS CLOSURE BLACK- MAIL

BY DAVID MAUDE

Fear of a new round of pit closures laid its cold hand on miners last week after allegations from union leader Lawrence Daly that there had been secret talks on the subject between the government and the National Coal Board.

The allegations were quickly denied by NCB chairman Derek Ezra.

With consumption down, stocks up and a big new pay claim in the offing, however, the fear remains.

The Wilberforce report which ended this year's strike said ominously that there was no 'special magic' in the level at which the NCB has recently been trying to stabilize output—130-140 million tons a year.

And it suggested that 'contraction below that size, if it must come, would result in closure of the least efficient collieries and greater concentration on those operating at a profit'.

The report went on: 'We recognize the social and economic costs of closure, especially for the peripheral regions of the country in which unemployment is already high.

'Nevertheless, if government wishes to maintain employment in these areas and in the coalmining industry in particular, the specific costs of doing so should be identified and made plain.

'The cost of subsidizing employment should not be reflected in a relative depression of the wages of those who work in the industry.'

Most miners immediately recognized and determined not to accept the obvious tinge of anti-wage increase blackmail contained in this section of the report.

A right-wing argument at the National Union of Mineworkers' Morecambe conference earlier this month, however, was that if the Tories were pushed too hard on wages this year they might hit at jobs in two ways.

These were: hanging fire on writing off the industry's capital debt, and delaying the implementation of their new integrated energy policy.

While this line was roundly denounced by the left, one delegate to the conference warned that between 30 and 40 of the present 290 pits might still be in jeopardy.

And, according to NUM secretary Daly, recent reports that the NCB was preparing changes in the redundancy payments scheme for the industry indicated that a closures programme of this order might be under discussion.

Then came rumours that the NCB was having discussions with the government about closure of a number of pits without the knowledge of union.

So in Edinburgh last Tuesday, at a meeting of the Coal Industry National Consultative Council, Daly demanded some answers from NCB chairman Ezra.

'I said I wanted them to put their cards on the table', he told Workers Press later. 'I said we wanted full consultation as equal partners in the industry, with nothing concealed or brushed under the carpet.'

'I warned that if conciliation was not going to be full, open and meaningful, the feeling would once again grow up among the membership that we should withdraw from it.'

(The NUM withdrew from the conciliation procedure during the run-up to the recent strike.)

Ezra denied that any list of pit closures had been drafted. And he told the union chiefs that there had been no secret talks with the government on a programme of further cut-backs.



Wilberforce

The linchpin of his argument was that the NCB could not know in detail what its future plans were until it knew the extent of government assistance to the industry in the wake of the Wilberforce report.

This, of course, is a crucial reservation.

Wilberforce added something like £85m a year to the board's cost, and although it hopes to recoup about £56m of this through the 7½ per cent price rise for which the government has given it permission, its finances are still shaky.

Until last October, when the government and the NCB decided on a confrontation with the unions, and the latter began their pre-strike overtime ban, economists believed the board was heading for a £35m operating profit for the financial year to the end of March.

In the event, despite the £100m grant the Tories made to pay for the strike, the accounts when published in September are likely to show a very substantial loss. No one will be very surprised if this works out in the region of £100m.

The reason for the similarity between these two figures—the government grant and the expected loss—is simple.



Above: Daly, NUM secretary, wants full consultation as equal partners in the industry

Even in years where the industry achieves an operating profit, despite the partial and inadequate nature of the nationalization carried out in 1947, that profit is immediately wiped out by the crippling burden of interest foisted on it by successive right-wing Labour and Tory governments.

So in the financial year March 1970-March 1971, an operating profit of £34.1m was transformed into a meagre surplus of £500,000 by a huge interest bill of £33.6m.

Since over the last ten years the average burden of interest has been £37.5m each year, there is every reason to believe that had there been no strike the £35m operating profit expected last year would almost certainly have been turned by interest into a slight loss.

But if the industry is now in severe financial difficulties this is entirely attributable to the Tories' malicious and unsuccessful attempt to beat the miners into the ground.

It is the Tories, and not the miners, who must be made to pay for the industry's plight.

Other indicators of the industry's position also point to the inadequacies of the 1947 nationalization.

Output climbed back sharply after the strike, and is now running at just over 2.6 million tons a week. Productivity, measured in terms of output

per manshift (OMS), has reached the all-time high of over 46cwt overall. Absenteeism is down 10 per cent.

According to the Department of Trade and Industry, however, consumption is down in nearly every sector of the market.

Power stations, steelworks, general industry and the domestic user are all using less. The fall is about 10 per cent from that in the same period last year.

Ezra, the NCB chairman, attributes some of this shortfall to what he calls 'the ready availability of other fuels', while the South of Scotland Electricity Board says in its annual report that the strike robbed coal of its one market advantage—dependability.

We can, of course, expect both statements to be widely quoted at the miners' expense if the rumoured closures materialize. But there is no more real substance in them than there is in the threats contained in Wilberforce.

The 1947 nationalization gave massive compensation payments to the old coal-owners, many of whom promptly switched the capital thus released into competing sources of fuel.

At the same time mining machinery and coal-distribution were left in private hands, forcing the price of

both extraction and sale on the market. The big capitalist and state combines meanwhile, obtained their fuel dirt-cheap at source and transported it at concessionary rates on the nationalized railways.

The blackmail which is being practised by the NCB and the NUM right wing with the threat of pit closures is thus of the most cynical and despicable kind.

It is not the miners or their wage demands who are at fault, but the cowardly Labour traitors who allowed the employers who had ruthlessly robbed the miners for years to decamp with funds they subsequently deployed to attack their former employees' jobs.

Today these same Labour traitors keep the government of these robbers in power, allowing it to carry out further depredations against the men who formed the bedrock of the Labour Party.

If the spectre of pit closures once again stalks the coalfields, a socialist energy policy becomes a burning question, requiring the removal of the Tory government and its replacement with a socialist Labour government which will nationalize all sources of fuel, and all branches of fuel-distribution and its ancillary industries without compensation, placing them, with coal, under workers' control.

WANTED

A MINER CARRIES

A Lamp, Helmet, Snoplin, Self-Rescuer.

A Living Wage

HELL CARRY NO MORE

# HOW THE ARMY KEEPS THE 'PEACE' IN ULSTER

BY ALEX MITCHELL

One unreported aspect of life in Ulster today is the continuous harassment and intimidation of working-class families, particularly in the Catholic areas.

Despite Tory claims that the army was engaged in a 'cool-it' phase while truce discussions proceeded behind the scenes, the army has never let up in its terror campaign.

Indeed, as the Official and Provisional IRA have entered talks with the Tories, this has only served to strengthen the forces of reaction and expose the Catholics to even more sinister attacks.

In Divis Street, Belfast, the headquarters of the Association for Legal Justice has become the pooling point of thousands of sworn statements about army and police brutality.

Since the army occupation began almost three years ago, the Association has compiled a library of crimes committed by the Tory 'law-and-order' forces.

Workers Press today publishes some further excerpts from these massive files in order to reveal the real face of Tory policies in Ulster.

If Ulster is the testing ground for the ruling-class's attacks on the working class, we should know what they will attempt to try on here.

## CASE 1

Raymond Muldoon, 23-year-old porter, of Frere Street, Belfast, describes in his statement what happened to him on the way home:

On the night of Thursday, February 3, 1972, around 9.30 p.m. I was leaving the Legion of Mary Hostel in Divis Street on my way home in the company of a friend Francis McCrea. As we were passing St. Comgall's School the army jumped out on us. They took the two of us towards the Divis Flats and then they started beating us with the butts of their rifles. I could not say how many of them attacked us as there were so many of them.

Then they started to question both of us asking us if we were IRA sympathizers. We told them we were doing charitable work in the men's hostel. They asked my mate Francis McCrea why he did this work and he replied for the love of God and his fellow men. One of the soldiers said: 'As I don't believe in God this kind of work would not interest me.' Then he put the boot in my friend Francis.

All they did most of the time was to keep striking us with batons, butts and boots until we both fell. This was kept up for at least ten to 15 minutes and they then made both of us lie on the ground. At this point they put the rifle to Francis McCrea's head and

told him to say his prayers as they were going to shoot him. Francis McCrea made an act of contrition and said to the soldiers 'go ahead and shoot me'.

Then they took my overcoat, inside jacket and shoes off and all they gave me back was my shoes. They then told me to get my shoes on and they made me put my hands behind my head. At this point a soldier grabbed me by the collar and rushed me over to the Saracen. All the time there was a soldier in front of me hitting me in the stomach with the butt of his rifle.

When they had both of us at the flats an officer was there and he told the soldiers to make sure and not strike us on the face.

They then threw me head first against the side of the Saracen. As my hands were behind my head all this time my head struck the Saracen and my head was split. At this point I blacked out. When I came round I was in the Saracen and the soldier inside the Saracen kept forcing me to the corner with the butt of his rifle. This lasted for five minutes or more.

At this point my friend Francis was thrown into the back of the Saracen. The soldier did the same to him with the butt of his rifle. The remainder of the soldiers got into the Saracen then and started asking us where we wanted to go. Sandy Row, Shankill Road or the Falls [Protestant areas]. At this point one of the soldiers asked whose turn it was to make the arrest this week. What seemed to me to be the senior in charge then said: 'We will have no arrest this week.' They then told us they would take us to the Shankill Road. All the time they were beating us they muffled our screams.

At the first stop they made one soldier get out. A couple of minutes later he came back. The driver asked 'what's the score, do they not want them here?' The soldier got in then and closed the door of the Saracen and we started off again.

The next time they stopped the same soldier got out again and returned a couple of minutes later. The back of the Saracen was open then and we were both thrown out in the street. At this point a crowd of about 30 to 40 men came out of a bar.

As the soldiers watched these men coming towards us they got ready to leave saying to one another: 'These are two fenians we have left you.' The crowd from the bar then started attacking us.

My friend Francis McCrea mentioned a couple of names of workmates who lived in this district and at this point they stopped attacking us. My friend Francis started explain-



ing to these men what the army had done to us. He also told this crowd of men what we had been doing when the army lifted us as it was for the good of both communities.

At this point I struggled over to a car that was parked for support as I was feeling very ill. Some of the crowd came over to me where I was standing and when they saw the blood running out of me they started to show a bit of compassion towards me.

My friend Francis was still talking to the crowd trying to appeal to their sympathy. He repeated again the work we both did and told the crowd that the army was no one's friend and that both of us had more in common with 'you people' than the army.

Francis then came over to me where I was standing against the car. He lifted me up and did his best to support me, complaining of his injuries, so he could only lend me a certain amount of support. We both were in a very bad shape and we left the crowd and started walking.

The crowd stood as we both walked away and then they all came after us and asked if we were Protestants or Catholics. My friend Francis answered

Catholic. They immediately started to beat us again. At this point we were separated. I saw Francis being taken from the body of the crowd and I was beaten to the ground.

One man appealed to the crowd to stop beating me. A couple of young girls also appealed to the crowd to stop beating me. Two men pushed their way through the crowd and picked me up saying they were taking me to the hospital. They lifted me to put me in a car with the probable intention of murdering me. At least this is what I thought they were going to do.

A soldier came on the scene, a Land Rover had just stopped and he took me and led me to the Land Rover. They put me in the Land Rover and the soldier said to get me off the road as the crowd were in a threatening mood and making towards the Land Rover. The Land Rover started off and moved away to avoid the crowd. The soldier in charge asked me for my name and address and then he rang for an ambulance.

## CASE 2

Mrs. Rosena Ferguson of Leeson Street, Belfast, gives

this account of what happened to her brother, Gerry Scott, after he was snatched by the army and interned in Long Kesh.

I had a visit in Long Kesh this morning and I saw my brother. He looked pale and his eyes were heavy looking as if he had not got much sleep, but he did get eight hours' sleep. He had a red mark above his left eyebrow and another on his cheek bone. I asked how he got this, he said he received it while he was being kicked from one side of the room to the other.

He told me he had four separate interrogations. The first one wasn't so bad. At the second one three young Special Branch men came in. These ones were the ones who put him between two chairs and kicked the stomach out of him, and he said: 'I got the pin treatment. They stuck pins in my bare feet.' I nearly died at this but he said: 'Don't worry about it, I'm all right now.' When I suggested getting a doctor he agreed very willingly, whereas I could not previously get him to go near a doctor about the rash on his feet. This was the worst.

His third interrogation was with Inspector T. He said he

was very nice to him and gave him a cigarette. He asked him questions about lads in the area. He tried to blame incidents that happened in the area on him. He asked him about arms dumps and said: 'Even if you can tell us where there is one gun that will be all right or even Provo dumps.' He chatted to him and told him that he was a Christian himself and so were all his family whereas the Officials are prone to communism. All in all they had a great chat about politics.

Inspector T. went on to explain that Joe McCann's death was an accident and had nothing to do with the Special Branch. He said that Joe was shot in the thigh and the bullet travelled up his spine. He said there were three other bullets in him but it was definitely an accident.

His last interrogation was with a man who was only interested in the policies of Republican Clubs. He asked especially about the Joe McKelvey and the Terence Perry Clubs, but he said they weren't active any more. He got the usual treatment before each interrogation of looking at the wall for hours on end without moving.

## CASE 3

This concerns a shooting incident at the Glen Road bus terminus on June 22. We reproduce the statements of witnesses:

First witness: Mrs E. Shaw, Belfast housewife, who lives opposite the terminal:

About midday today, June 22, 1972, I was cleaning my window which looks on to the Glen Road bus terminus. I saw two taxis parked there. I saw Jim Murray, Joe Smith and Hugh Kenny standing talking. I also saw Shiela McAree sitting in a taxi with a couple of others.

Then I saw a blue car with two men—driver and one in the back—either moving very slowly or possibly halted opposite Mrs Hassett's house. Then it moved down the Glen Road slowly. Next I saw the rear passenger window going down and a gun coming out of the window. I heard a volley of shots. I saw the three men fall and one of them bleeding. I stood petrified and screamed: 'Tommy (my husband). Get up, (he was still in bed). There's three men lying on the roundabout.'

I ran upstairs, on the way I

saw bullet holes in the walls at the landing. I saw through the open door of the bedroom where Tommy was that the mirror of the dressing table was shattered. I realized that Tommy must have been shot and I was afraid to go in.

I ran downstairs and on to the streets screaming: 'Somebody come quick I think Tommy is shot.' Mrs McGuinness and my son Brian ran up to Tommy. They found him shot in the leg.

Second witness: Mrs Mary Marley, Rosapenna Square, Belfast housewife: My son Thomas and my daughters Jean (12), Briega (8) and I were going up the steps from Bunbeg Park to the Glen Road terminus to get a taxi to go down town. We heard shooting beside us and pushed the small children back down the steps. We saw a blue car passing down Glen Road in the City direction at the same time. We didn't actually see a gun but we were quite certain that the shooting (two bursts) came from it.

When the shooting stopped, we ran up the steps and saw three wounded men and a girl (not wounded) lying screaming on the ground. There was a lot of people gathered at the time

and putting the wounded into taxis.

We heard no shots fired at the blue car either before or after the shooting. There was no sign of guns around the wounded men.

Third witness: Mrs Shiela McAree, Bunbeg Park, a Belfast housewife:

At 12.10 p.m. today, June 22, 1972, I was sitting in the back seat of a taxi at the bus terminus on Glen Road. There was another girl sitting in the front seat beside the driver. We were waiting for a full load.

There was another car parked in front of us. Jim Murray was standing, with two other men beside this car, talking.

I saw a blue car coming down Glen Road from the Hannahstown direction. I saw that there were at least two men in this car, the driver and a man in the back seat. The window beside him was open. The man in the back seat aimed a gun out of the car window and fired a volley of shots. I saw the three men at the car in front fall to the ground. The gunmen's car moved off from down Glen Road and kept firing.

I tried to get out but

couldn't. The taximan then opened the door for me and I ran screaming after the blue car but it disappeared out of sight.

I ran back and helped to get Joseph Smith and Jim Murray, who were wounded, into the taxi I had been in. I travelled in the back seat with the two wounded men to the RVH. We kept saying acts of contrition on the way. Jim Murray kept saying 'I'm going, I can feel myself going.'

At 4.45 p.m. I was in my home when I heard the report of the shooting of three men. It said that they were shot in a gun battle. I just couldn't believe my ears as there were no shots in our area before the blue car came along or after it sped away.

Later that day the British army issued a statement saying: 'Shortly after midday a mobile patrol wearing plainclothes and on surveillance duty was travelling eastwards on the Glen Road. A group of men standing at a bus turnabout opened fire on a patrol and shot through the rear window of the vehicle, narrowly missing a soldier. The patrol immediately fired back and the men were seen to fall.'



# LET HISTORY JUDGE STALINISM

The book by Roy Medvedev translated as 'Let History Judge: the Origins and Consequences of Stalinism' (Macmillan £5.75) is the first independent attempt in the Soviet Union to understand the Stalin era which has come out of that country. It is a damning indictment of Stalin and Stalinism which confirms everything which Trotsky wrote about the bureaucratic degeneration of the first workers' state. From the great tension under which it is written, its passion drawn from the sufferings of millions of people, is also a testimony to the fact that the conquests of the October 1917 Revolution have not been destroyed. Medvedev writes as a communist intellectual, an opponent who is harassed and persecuted for his struggle to tell the truth as he sees it. His book has great merits and deserves a careful study both for what it provides in the way of corroboration for the Trotskyist analysis and what it leaves out. On some crucial questions the book is fundamentally wrong. This series of articles submit Medvedev's book to detailed scrutiny with the aim of pursuing the struggle against Stalinism to the end. It will deal in particular with his errors and omissions and point the way for a more rounded analysis which must begin with the works of Trotsky which are cited in the footnotes.

BY TOM KEMP PART 4

## THE GREAT PURGE: THE PREPARATION

In his struggle against the Left Opposition, Stalin had made use of Bukharin, Rykov and the right wing of the Communist Party whose policy, in the framework of the New Economic Policy (NEP), was to conciliate the peasants.

The main emphasis was upon encouraging the stronger peasants to produce a grain surplus which could be obtained by the state in exchange for manufactured goods.

This policy placed the kulaks and the better off middle peasants in a strong bargaining position so that when manufactured goods were not available, they simply withheld grain from the market and waited for prices to rise. By the end of 1927 a serious shortage of grain had developed in the towns.

The agrarian crisis held back the development of industry and meant food shortages for the working class. It strengthened the position of the kulaks and NEPmen, who favoured a restoration of capitalism, and weakened the international position of the Soviet Union.

This position had been fore-



Top: Members of the opposition on their way to exile in 1928—seated left to right, L. Serebriakov, K. Radek, Trotsky, M. Boguslavsky, E. Preobrazhensky; standing, C. Rakovsky, Y. Drobnis, A. Beloborodov, Socnovsky. Above: Against the opposition, Bukharin

seen by Trotsky and the Left Opposition which had always emphasized the need to build up industry and to combat the growth of kulak domination of the agrarian sector. 'The Platform of the Left Opposition', drawn up in 1927, made out a powerful case for the stepping up of the tempo of industrialization and forging an alliance with the small and middle

peasants and rural workers against the kulaks.

While criticizing the mistakes and economic miscalculations of Stalin and his right-wing allies, Medvedev does not deal seriously with this alternative. But, as he does point out, only a few days after the 15th Congress which had expelled the Opposition, Stalin called for a drive to confiscate

the kulaks' grain surpluses and set in train a campaign which was to put an end to private farming—but only at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives and a dislocation of agriculture which was to last for decades.

The attempt to solve the grain crisis by a sudden move against the kulaks proved to be a failure. The peasants hid





Above: Peasants forced by Stalin into collective farms without preparation, undergo re-education

their surpluses and sowed less grain for the following year; in the winter of 1928-1929 the food situation worsened and extraordinary measures had again to be taken. As a result a breach opened up between Stalin and his right-wing allies.

At the 16th Party Conference in April, 1929, a decision was made to speed up collectivization which until then, was taking place at only a modest rate. Then, in December 1929, Stalin launched the campaign to 'liquidate the kulaks as a class'. Millions of peasants all over the Soviet Union were forced into collective farms without preparation and without machinery.

The countryside was plunged into chaos as millions were deported and kulaks and many other peasants slaughtered their cattle in retaliation. Collectivization was not a mass movement carried out with the support of the peasantry, but an empirical bureaucratic manoeuvre which stirred up widespread hostility and opposition to the regime.

Medvedev recognizes the disastrous consequences of collectivization carried out under these conditions, as well as Stalin's hypocrisy in trying to blame others for a situation which was his own direct responsibility. Under his instructions mass repressions were turned against local officials so that they could be made scapegoats for his own blunders. Even now the official historians try to conceal the magnitude of the disaster and the responsibility of Stalin and the Party leadership for it.

But, as Medvedev points out: 'Collectivization was not some sort of uncontrollable process, as the events following the publication of Stalin's "Dizzy With Success" showed [this was the famous article in which Stalin tried to push the blame for "excesses" onto over-zealous local officials]. Thus assertions of Stalin's responsibility are by no means "speculative"; they are based primarily on the fact that he was head of the Party in 1929-1930, that he was the one who sent the basic directives to local officials, orally as well as in writing. Local officials, unprepared for such rapid and wholesale collectivization, did many stupid things. But it was the job of leaders, in approaching the problem, to take into consideration the abilities and preparation of the officials who had to apply the solution.'

Stalin, who a few years before had denounced the Left Opposition for wishing to exact a surplus from the peasantry to build up industry, was now doing just that, but

by brutal means which they had never advocated. Stalin carried on open war not only against the kulaks but virtually against the entire peasantry. In doing so he placed the economy of the workers' state in great peril. Grain procurements fell in the period of the first Five-Year Plan and the number of cattle was reduced by one-third. This the official figures, especially those published since Stalin's death in 1953, reveal for all to see.

The Soviet Union is still paying the price for the brutal and senseless way in which agriculture was collectivized. Stalin's method, it should be repeated, because Medvedev confuses the issue, had nothing in common with the proposals of the Left Opposition for the speeding up of collectivization on a voluntary basis and with the support of the peasantry. They were completely at variance with the well-known writings of Engels and of Lenin on the peasant question.

With good reason, Medvedev is equally critical of the way in which Stalin undertook industrialization during the Five-Year Plans. It should be remembered, first of all, that Stalin had poured scorn on industrialization a few years before and undertook an industrialization policy on a purely empirical basis. For Stalin it was a panic measure taken in view of growing economic difficulties internally and a deteriorating international position. In a deformed and heavy-handed way he took over the Opposition's programme and tried to drive it through under intolerable pressure.

Grandiose projects were put in hand and spectacular targets set for the first Five-Year Plan, which could not be fulfilled. Heavy burdens were placed upon the masses. Millions flocked into the towns and suffered the hardships of overcrowding, food rationing and scarcity of consumer goods. The immediate benefits accrued principally to the Party and state officials, the plant managers and executives who made up the privileged bureaucracy devoted to Stalin.

The crushing of the Left Opposition and the expulsion of the Bukharinist right turned the Communist Party into the direct arm of the bureaucracy which looked to Stalin for its source of authority. Master of the apparatus and particularly of the vast and tentacular political police (the OGPU, later the NKVD), which became a law unto itself, Stalin ruled by command, supported by obedient henchmen

and by a hierarchy of little Stalins throughout the Soviet Union.

A lightning-rod was found for mass discontent by the selection of scapegoats held responsible for economic breakdowns and shortcomings. Already in 1930 trials of bourgeois specialists and the so-called 'Industrial Party' were held. There is no reason to believe, despite what the official histories maintain to this day, that these were any less frame-ups than the trials of the Old Bolsheviks of a few years later.

According to a survivor of one of these trials, the ex-Menshevik, whose lengthy deposition to the Procurator of the Soviet Union made in 1967 is quoted in full by Medvedev, the 1931 trial of the so-called 'Union Bureau of Mensheviks' was a complete frame-up organized by the OGPU. 'Confessions' were exacted by physical torture and the trial proceedings were prepared beforehand.

D. B. Riazanov, a leading Marxist scholar and founder of the Marx-Engels Institute, was arrested and imprisoned. After Trotsky's expulsion all his supporters who would not recant and swear allegiance to Stalin were arrested, imprisoned and in some cases killed. Real or suspected critics of Stalin in various intellectual fields were persecuted from the early 1930s. Stalin's yes-men took over and creative work in fields like economics, history and philosophy, came to an end.

This was the period in which the cult of Stalin took shape in a finished form. His 50th birthday in December 1929 was the occasion for immoderate praise; the lie that Stalin had been Lenin's right-hand man in 1917 was launched. From then on Stalin had done and could do no wrong. Former opponents like Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin and Radek humiliated themselves before him and joined in the paeans of praise.

Medvedev describes the development of the cult of Stalin vividly and in some detail. Rarely in history had such fulsome praise been lavished on a living person; the adulation became grotesque and, as Stalin could do no wrong, a scapegoat had to be found for every mishap, error or shortage. The opposite of the adulation of Stalin was the permanent repression which, after the genuine opposition had been liquidated, was turned against the bureaucracy and the Party itself.

CONTINUED MONDAY

# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## GETAWAY

Ideal for a quick getaway: President Thieu of South Vietnam is marrying his daughter to the son of the director of the national airline, Air Vietnam. He's keeping his escape routes in the family.

## COURTESY

The Federal German Republic is, of course, a parliamentary democracy. It even has a Social Democratic government at present—just.

In 'democratic' states, such as Britain and West Germany, the armed forces are subordinate to the civil state. Or so the story goes. The 'new' Germany's army and navy reflects this democratic spirit, we are told.

Ships of the West German navy recently paid a courtesy visit to the port of Vigo in fascist Spain. There were receptions and speeches to mark the occasion.

An interesting contribution to the gala proceedings was made by West Germany's Admiral Herbert Numm.

He said: 'I can tell you that Germany counts upon Spain when it is a question of defending Europe. We know the spirit of the men of Spain, as it was displayed in the heroic deeds of the Blue Division.'

The Spanish Blue Division was the force of fascist volunteers sent by Franco during World War II to fight alongside Hitler's Wehrmacht on the Eastern Front.

## RADIO TITO

As three Yugoslav students were on trial last week accused of involvement with Trotskyism, the Tito regime was showing that it knows which are its friends.

A news item on Radio Belgrade's international service on Thursday, July 20, announced that Tito had sent a warm message of congratulations to Haile Selassie, the ruler of Ethiopia, on the occasion of his 80th birthday. The birthday greeting paid tribute to the Ethiopian monarch's 'statesmanlike' role in Africa.

Ethiopia is known as the country where there are more political prisoners than secondary school pupils!



Selassie

One obscene thing about Radio Belgrade broadcasts is that they still use the opening bars of 'The Internationale' as an introductory call sign.

We must acknowledge, however, that they now have the decency not to play the whole music at the end of transmissions as they used to. Coming after a broadcast like last Thursday's that would have been too much for my blood pressure.



Franco

The 'spirit' it displayed and its 'heroic deeds' are no doubt remembered by thousands of Russians who were victims of the atrocities of these fascists.

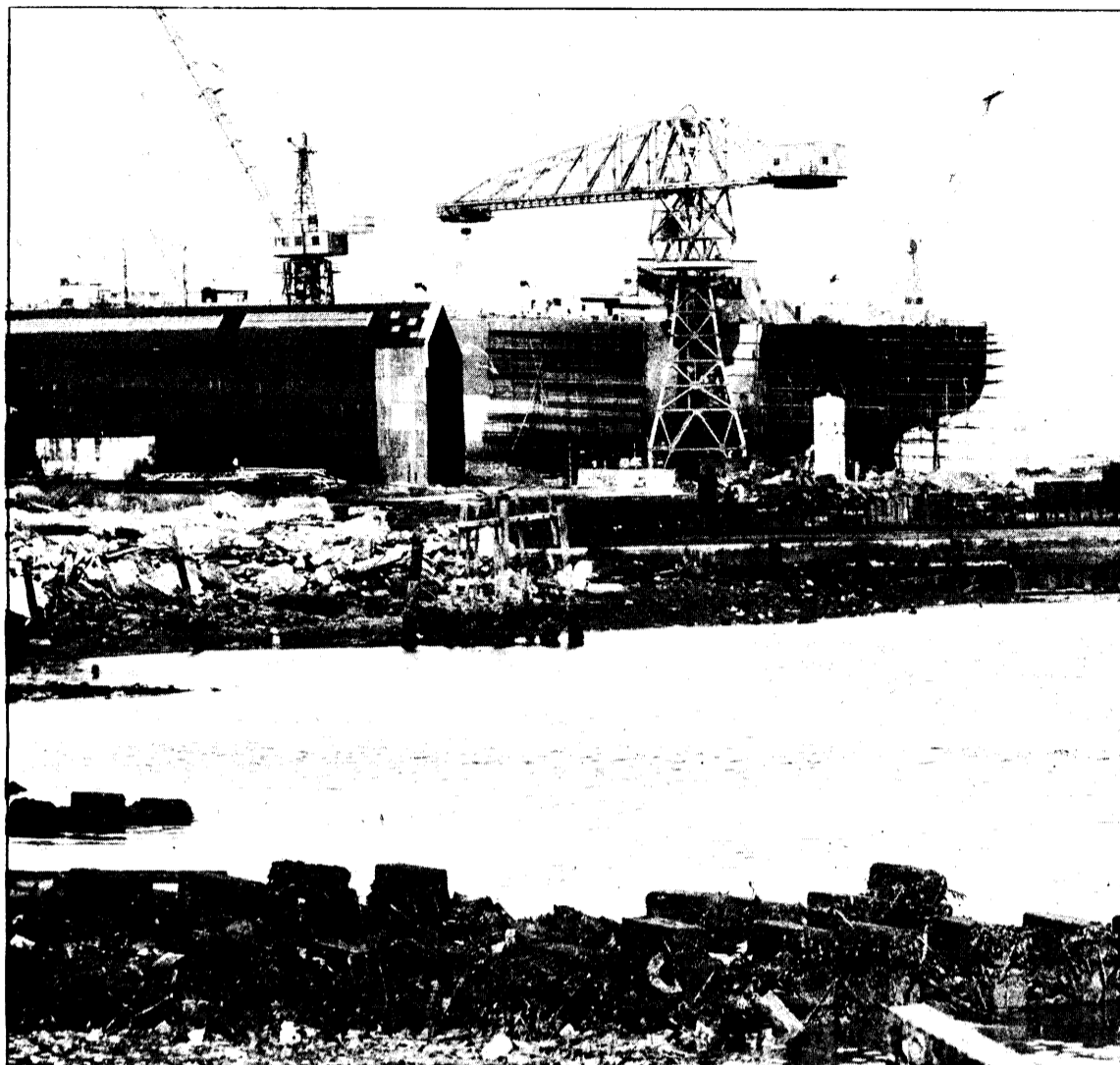
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# NUMBER OF NEW SHIP ORDERS FALL



Orders for new ships at Britain's shipyards fell by a third in the 12 months ended in June.

And many smaller British shipyards could be faced with laying off men, the Shipbuilders' and Repairers' National Association (SRNA) said last week.

But the Association is almost certainly understating the gravity of the recession in shipbuilding.

As news of the continuing slump broke, the Scott Lithgow Group on the lower reaches of the Clyde—hailed as one of shipbuilding's brightest hopes—said that despite bulging order books inflation had made a number of their current contracts unprofitable.

The SRNA said on Wednesday that the number of orders for new ships placed with UK yards had fallen from 128 last year to 90 in the year ended last June.

A spokesman said: 'Some of the shipyards building medium-sized and small vessels are urgently in need of orders if a run-down in their labour force is to be avoided.'

The chances of new orders are slim and the Association admits that the slump in trade has forced freight rates down to unprofitable levels, while uncertainty over currencies has deterred owners from placing new orders.

They added that some owners were staying their hands until the government decided whether to give them financial incentives to place new orders at British yards.

In these market circumstances the outlook for Govan Shipbuilders looks far from good. They, too, must be hit by slump on the one hand and inflation on the other.

Their situation can be little better than that of the 'smaller yards' referred to by the SRNA.

They have only six ships on the order book and the steel for two of these has had to be paid for by the government.

The width and depth of the upper Clyde dooms them to the small ships league—the very area of shipbuilding currently proving least profitable as owners turn to giant purpose-built container and tanker ships.

Govan shipbuilders have got off the ground with orders

Above: Scott Lithgow, Lower Clyde, old works.

for two 26,000-ton vessels. How close to a new disaster they are is shown by the fact that these orders alone saved 300 steelworkers being made redundant.

Ultimately Tory promises to pay losses on any future contracts are likely to be the only thing keeping Govan Shipbuilders afloat.

The gloomy prospects for the 4,300 men employed there are more than confirmed by the news that Scott Lithgow's are producing ships at a loss.

However, Lithgow's can weather the storm longer. They can build almost every type of vessel now in demand, ranging from submarines and fleet supply vessels to 250,000-ton tankers.

Versatility, plus the width and depth of the lower Clyde, is their strength.

The group has just completed a £6m expansion and they plan to expand the workforce from the present 8,500 to 10,000.

Of course these plans hinge entirely on what happens to world trade and currencies in the immediate future.



## MELCHETT TO AXE BIRCHLEY ROLLING MILL

Steel chief Lord Melchett has refused to confirm that Birchley Works Rolling Mill, Warley, Staffs, will shut down.

But he warned that Birchley, which employs 227 men, was one 'of the older type of mills due for replacement under modernization and rationalization plans'.

In a 'Birmingham Post' interview, Lord Melchett said: 'We are engaged in the process of modernization and concentrating the steel industry into viable and competitive units to face competition from Europe, the US and Japan.'

The local 'Keep Birchley Rolling' lobby cannot understand why the British Steel Corporation will not allow private firms to take over.

BSC claims buyers are queuing up.

Putting the record straight, Lord Melchett said: 'We are unable to do our task as a corporation if every time one of the smaller, older works has to close to bring the load onto the big modern plants it has to be sold at a very low price to somebody who could run it for a time at a very low capital cost.'

In other words there is more money to be made by shutting plants down and selling assets and land for a handsome profit.

Lord Melchett argued that the Corporation's big new plants needed a maximum workload and that this could only be achieved by transferring the order books of smaller, outdated works.

## BOOKS



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Above: General secretary of NUJ Ken Morgan. Tactics and confusion to avoid a fight

## REPORTERS GET ONLY 6.3% PAY DEAL

Although the right-wing leadership of the National Union of Journalists have narrowly escaped defeat in the secret ballot over the Newspaper Publishers' Association pay offer, their difficulties remain.

The 3,000 members working on national newspapers in London and Manchester will become increasingly disillusioned with the 6.3 per cent deal as inflation grows in the coming months, particularly as the extra cash negotiable through house agreements is turning out to be far less than anticipated.

### First time cut

No newspaper's journalists have so far managed to breach 10 per cent in their combined house and national awards despite the nearly 16-per-cent increase in the cost of living since the last journalists' agreement 18 months ago.

It means that newspapermen are facing a cut in their living standards for the first time in a very long while. Many of them were already aware of this, which led to the unprecedentedly close result on the officially recommended pay offer—accepted by only 1,061 votes to 961.

General secretary Ken Morgan and his National Executive Council colleagues used a variety of tactics to push the deal through and avoid a real fight with the employers.

First, without even consulting the membership and in order to cover their own weakness, they blamed journalists

for being unwilling to contemplate industrial action in support of the 20-per-cent claim.

Then they made sure that no different picture would emerge by forcing through the negotiating committee by a four to three vote the proposal for a secret ballot instead of mandatory chapel meetings. Only a few months previously, such chapel meetings had produced a majority vote for strike action during the provincial journalists' pay negotiations.

To get the offer accepted, the union leadership deliberately added to the confusion about what the split-up, 18-month deal was really worth. They excused the low offer by stressing the 'considerable achievement' of getting freedom for house agreements, although these had only been frozen in the first place as a result of the leadership's irresoluteness in the past.

Their calculation was that in the ballot the stronger chapels, which stood to gain from house agreements, could be played off against the weaker ones which cannot get much further under their own steam.

But thanks to a campaign by an unofficial committee of Fleet Street chapel officers, which pointed out the pitfalls of this deal, the plan almost backfired.

As it is, the ballot result has thrown grave doubts on the leadership's credibility and has particularly discredited their standard formula of 'the journalists won't fight and here's the secret ballot result on the offer to prove it'.

In the next few weeks as final negotiations are concluded at chapel level journalists will eventually realize how badly this deal will treat them.

Another vote of censure on Morgan is expected at the

next annual conference. This could lead to a change in the rule whereby once elected a man is general secretary for life.

### Industrial action

Some chapels are considering industrial action to force management's hand in the house negotiations. And if they do go ahead, the leadership will be put on trial again to see how they lead the struggle. People are already fearing the worst.

Such a situation would give further opportunities for the more determined elements in the NUJ again to argue for principled positions to be adopted in the struggle.

Such an attitude is already gaining ground within the union as a result of the strong fight that has been put up to defeat the right wing on the question of registration, and the fight to get an NUJ member expelled from the union for joining the National Industrial Relations Court as a lay judge. (He was on the bench when the five London dockers were sent down.)

Journalists will be increasingly forced into taking their stand along with the rest of the working class as the pressures of the world crisis of capitalism press harder and harder on Britain's economy. Further newspaper closures and real wage-cuts are inevitable and will have to be fought.

On top of this, the political crisis that Britain is entering will mean that more and more attempts to shackle the already limited freedom of the press and television will be made. In the struggle to prevent this, the NUJ will be forced finally to turn to political struggle.

# PROTESTERS IN TEACHING

## BY OUR EDUCATION CORRESPONDENT

'Rank and File', the journal for National Union of Teachers' members, brought out in close association with the International Socialist group, has announced its own political execution. A recent issue of 'Teacher' quotes from a public statement:

"'Rank and File', although clearly demonstrating its left-wing socialist position, retains—like the NUT— independence of all political or religious parties or factions." (Our emphasis.)

By this statement 'Rank and File' reveals its method and that of its 'state capitalist' mentors—the reduction of left-wing teachers' activities to individual protest, of socialist 'positions'.

The immediate origin of the assertion of so-called political independence 'like the NUT', is the closure of the Liverpool Young Teachers' section and a witch-hunt of local 'Rank and File' supporters.

The local NUT branch leaders attacked young teachers for their support of the schools students movement and attempted to smear them with allegations of 'subversive activities'. They linked them with 'Rank and File' and the International Socialists.

Now the NUT Executive has given its official stamp to this attack on the democratic

rights of young teachers by a decision to 'dissociate the union from all "Rank and File" activities—and propaganda'. Furthermore regional officials are warned they must prevent 'Rank and File' from using union conferences and meetings for advertising facilities.

The agenda of the coming annual conference of the Young Teachers' Sections shows a growing dissatisfaction with the passivity and sell-out of the leadership.

Class size, the basic scale, school conditions and milk and meal cuts—not one of these issues can be separated from the necessity to campaign against the Tory government and force it to resign. This is precisely what the NUT leadership refuses to do.

It is at this decisive point that the protesters of 'Rank and File' dive straight for the independence... of the confessional. ('We are only honest-to-God teachers after all... like you we have our 'views'... but no affiliations...')

By this unprincipled opportunism 'Rank and File' endangers the right of not only socialist teachers but of all teachers involved in a fight to defend their conditions against the collaboration of the Stalinists and right wing in the teachers' leadership with the Tories.

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## Rejigged Jones— Aldington would not stop strike

FROM DAVID MAUDE, Our Industrial Correspondent

**DOCKERS may be urged to continue their strike unofficially this week, even if Transport and General Workers' Union delegates accept a re-jig of the Jones-Aldington committee report.**

Unless the committee goes a long way towards satisfying four far-reaching demands, a shop stewards' meeting immediately after the expected delegate conference will issue a call to strike on.

A delegation of two shop stewards from each port will take this message today to Jack Jones, T&GWU general secretary and the committee's joint chairman.

The four demands, reiterated at a meeting of the national ports shop stewards' committee in Birmingham on Saturday, are:

- No redundancies.
- Maintenance of the present register of dock workers, currently about 41,000 strong.
- Retention of the National Dock Labour Scheme and its extension to cover all ports registered under it.
- Groupage containers, those filled with part loads at depots rather than completely at source to be dockers' work.

These originally formed part of a more extensive nine-point programme, including reduction of the working week and nationalization of the ports under workers' control.

A strong bid by Liverpool shop stewards at Saturday's meeting to re-instate the points—shelved on the insistence of the London stewards a month ago—was defeated.

The Londoners' argument was that it would be unwise to 'change policy' with the rank and file in the middle of a struggle.

Some stewards wanted a 'strike-on' call to go out immediately from Saturday's meeting.

This was also defeated after Bernie Steer, the committee's secretary and one of the five dockers released from jail last week, argued that the decision had to be taken after the delegate conference.

One Liverpool move that was successful was that there should be another mass lobby of the T&GWU docks delegates whenever their conference was called.

It was felt that last Thursday's had a decisive effect in forcing many delegates to vote for a national strike. The London stewards promised to raise a large delegation.

Many London stewards also joined a majority from the northern ports in heavy criticism of Jones' role in the present situation.

I understand that at a meeting of the London stewards on Friday

### Dock stewards planning to continue action

there was unanimous condemnation on behalf of his five jailed members. This is a significant change. In the past particularly London Communist Party members on the docks have been the main bulwark on Jones' support.

Jones will not be pleased to see the stewards' delegation today.

For one thing he has a meeting with Lord Aldington, Tory chairman of the Port of London Authority, and the rest of the joint committee inquiring into the dock crisis.

The stewards' delegation will be demanding that two shop stewards' from each port are represented on the committee—so constituting a majority.

One Liverpool steward thought that if this demand were not granted, the two existing rank-and-file members should be pulled out. But this was not accepted.

Even more important, however, if the stewards do decide to strike in defiance of the delegates' decision, after last week's Law Lords decision, the union will be held responsible anyway.

Even if the Jones-Aldington re-jig was enough to convince both the docks delegates and the majority of stewards, it is likely that Hull would remain out on strike on the demand that unregistered ports are brought within the Dock Labour Scheme.

They made an uncompromising statement to the shop stewards' meeting. The implication was that even if the delegates and the stewards recommended a return, Hull would stay out on this demand and attempt to turn the action once again into a national strike.

**SECURICOR** Limited, Britain's largest private police force, now has a total of 1,500 personnel at Heathrow Airport.

And the 50-strong special security squad from the Metropolitan Police is to be withdrawn.

## ULSTER—No-go areas next target

# Paras ready to pounce

BY IAN YEATS

**THE BRITISH army intends to inflict a bloody massacre on IRA members and civilians in the Catholic no-go areas of Londonderry within a matter of days—possibly hours.**

The political and military preparations culminating in Ulster supremo William Whitelaw's Dublin ultimatum that all barricades—Protestant and Catholic—must come down are as complete as they can be.

Over past weeks, as Protestant no-go areas have appeared and Ulster Defence Association (UDA) units have drilled openly in the streets, Catholics and Protestants have made the final moves out of each others' areas and

the siege mentality has returned to the ghettos.

While the IRA has made it plain it will make no concessions to the Tories, the leaders of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) have been coaxed into condemning them.

Meanwhile the UDA and the Vanguard movement have insisted that their barricades would be taken down if the army dealt with Catholic no-go areas.

Their wish is about to be granted.

In anticipation, the Protestant organizations have called on their members to dismantle their barricades so as to leave the army a clear path to the IRA-controlled districts. They have also postponed their rent and rates strike.

Having done everything possible to isolate the IRA, new facts revealed yesterday suggest that the army may have deliberately connived at Belfast's Bloody Friday, in which 13 died and over 100 were wounded, as a means of whipping up outrage at Provo-planned explosions.

The daily log kept by the Public Protection Agency—set up by Whitelaw to handle complaints about sectarian intimidation—shows that the IRA gave over an hour's warning of some of the bomb blasts.

There were 22 explosions that afternoon and the PPA and the Samaritans Organization logged a total of 21 advance warnings.

These were immediately passed on to the security forces. According to the army they received none at all and only eight during the bombing spell itself.

If IRA claims are correct, the holocaust which took place at Cavehill shopping centre and Oxford Street bus station could have been avoided.

Public telephone services to the security forces were overloaded that afternoon and evidence points to frantic IRA calls direct to the security forces once they realized no steps were being taken to clear civilians away from the bomb-blast areas.

While the army denies they were tipped off, the police simply say it would have been impossible to check all the bomb warnings, including hoaxes, which at the moment average 30 to 40 a day.

Since Bloody Friday—July 21—army forays against gunmen have been markedly few and subdued, throwing into high relief IRA attacks.

Yesterday all-night riots by rival mobs of 'hooligans' in Lurgan, Co Armagh, were left largely to take their own course, although barricades went up, bombs were thrown and a factory set on fire.

But the army has not been idle. Last week 133 people were arrested. Troops and police found 7,500 rounds of ammunition, 1,165lb of explosives, 22 rifles, 20 pistols, one anti-tank gun, one sub-machine gun and five shot-guns.

With the army portrayed in as favourable light as possible, with the 'law-abiding' SDLP politicians cut off from the IRA, with a stringent crack-down on arms supplies and with extremist Protestant organizations calmed by the prospect of imminent action against the IRA, the Tory army is ready to pounce.

Four thousand extra troops have been moved into the province from Britain and Germany, including two paratroop regiments—the paras were responsible for Derry's Bloody Sunday six months ago in which 13 people died.

The troops were accompanied by about a dozen converted Centurion tanks which will be used to force a path through Catholic barricades.

The vehicles have a gun for their protection and are heavily armoured to withstand attack from high-velocity weapons.

Tory survival rests on their ability to bring the phenomenon of dual power—as much in evidence in working-class rejection of the Industrial Relations Act and its court as in the no-go areas of Ulster—to an abrupt end.



### LATE NEWS

### WEATHER

**EASTERN** districts of Britain will be cloudy at first with some rain in places, but brighter, drier weather with sunny spells will spread from the west.

Western Scotland, Northern Ireland, Wales and western counties of England will have sunny spells and showers.

Temperatures will be near or a little below normal.

**Outlook for Tuesday and Wednesday:** Some rain or showers at times, but also sunny spells. Temperatures near normal.

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