

# WORKERS PRESS

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY NOVEMBER 30, 1972 ● No. 934 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## NIRC seizes £6,000 from AUEW

# BLACK DAY FOR TRADE UNIONISM

BY ALEX MITCHELL

FOR THE second time in the 12-month history of the National Industrial Relations Court, the state has seized funds belonging to trade union members. Yesterday the bankers for the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Hill Samuel, delivered a cheque for £6,000—£5,000 fine plus £1,000 costs—to the NIRC in Chancery Lane.

## Use unions against 'fascist' Lynch law—MP

FROM IAN YEATS IN DUBLIN

HALF AN HOUR before yesterday's crucial debate in the Dail which many observers thought could bring down the Lynch government, Labour MP Dr John O'Connell called for the mobilization of the Irish labour movement unless the government resigned.

Dr O'Connell, who is on the Labour Party's left wing, described the Bill amending the Offences Against the State Act which MPs were debating yesterday afternoon as 'fascist'.

He told me at the Dail: 'It is a vicious piece of fascist legislation which can be used against anybody, although ostensibly it is aimed at the IRA.'

'It is very very dangerous to give any government such wide powers. There is growing disquiet among working people and particularly tenants who have recently staged a number of marches and this legislation could be used against them. I think that is the intention.'

'I believe Lynch will have to go to the country after today because with both the Labour Party and Fine Gael against it, a government victory could hang on one vote.'

The position of the Dail parties at present is—Fianna Fail, 70 deputies (including the Ceann Comhairle who does not vote except in the event of a tie); Fine Gael 50; Labour 17; Aontacht Eireann 1 and Independents 5.

All opposition parties and a number of Fianna Fail rebels were expected to vote against the gov-

TURN TO BACK PAGE

For trade unionists, however, it is not simply a question of the money. It is a question of the rights of trade unions to organize and to defend the standard of living of their millions of members.

The introduction of the Industrial Relations Act and the NIRC is a direct attack on these rights won during 200 years of trade union struggle.

The court's attacks on dockers, railwaymen and now the engineers exposes the falseness of those who said the Act could be ignored.

Every successive judgement has the effect of enormously strengthening its legal powers.

This was most strikingly seen in the cases against the Transport and General Workers' Union; the House of Lords appeal not only confirmed fines of £55,000 plus costs on the T&GWU, but it also upheld the court's power to demand that the official leadership must discipline its militant members.

From the dockers and engineers' judgements it can be confidently expected that more fines and sequestrations are on the way.

Already three transport companies, Heatons, Craddock's and Panalpina, are drawing up a massive compensation claim against the T&GWU and Lord Vestey's Midland Cold Storage has gone back to the court.

Could there be a more damning indictment of the trade union leaders?

They first of all mis-directed their members as to the implications of the Bill and how to fight it. And now they stand paralysed as the legal theft of their members' money takes place.

In the vital weeks leading up to the sequestration of the AUEW funds, these gentlemen were in game pie and wine discussions with Heath—the man behind the Act and the NIRC.

Since the Tories first came to power, the issues have been in the open. But the Communist Party and its revisionist hangers-on have been covering up for 'lefts' like Scanlon and Jones and arguing that 'pressure' can make the Tories change their mind.

The Socialist Labour League and Workers Press have been absolutely opposed to this reformist mythology. We said 'No' to these illusory policies.

Starting from the insoluble economic and political crisis of capitalism on a British and inter-

national scale, we have stated that there can be no possible compromise with Heath.

There is—and has been—only one way to deal with the situation: the industrial and political strength of the working class must be mobilized to force the Tories out of office.

Yesterday's seizure of AUEW funds must become the starting point of the biggest campaign since Chartism to re-establish the independence and basic rights of trade unions.

A major step in this direction is the building of Councils of Action in each area to defend trade unions and to prepare to defeat the Tories.

All talks with the Tories must be broken off at once.

We call upon every trade unionist to strengthen the political campaign which can meet the requirements of the day—force the Tories out!

● See comment p.3.

## IRELAND

Ian Yeats has written a ten-part series on

IRELAND

—A Crisis of leadership which continues today on page 4.

It follows his recent researches and interviews in the north and the south of the strife-torn country.

Cliff Slaughter's two-part article on

Irish Unity and the British working class starts today on page 8

## CEYLON

Starting next Monday

A new series of articles by Jack Gale dealing especially with the situation in Ceylon entitled

Renegades from Trotskyism

Order your copies now! Telephone: 01-622 7029.



## 'Increase grant' plea

STUDENTS yesterday picketed the Department of Education and Science in London to protest against the refusal of the government to provide decent grants for married women.

The National Union of Students is demanding a flat increase of 15 per cent to meet the soaring cost of living.

Married women students receive a maximum grant of £275 a year. The grant has stood at this level since 1965.

Those on the picket line said the grant system discriminated against women students and offered no encouragement for them to continue higher education studies after marriage.

A survey professionally conducted has shown that there will be 10,900 married women students next academic year.

A joint statement by the NUS and the University of London Institute of Education Students' Association declared: 'Grants are a right, not a privilege.'

● See Tories hounding NUS p. 11.



# workers press

INCORPORATING THE NEWSLETTER ● THURSDAY NOVEMBER 30, 1972 ● No. 934 ● 4p

DAILY ORGAN OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE

## NIRC seizes £6,000 from AUEW

# BLACK DAY FOR TRADE UNIONISM

BY ALEX MITCHELL

FOR THE second time in the 12-month history of the National Industrial Relations Court, the state has seized funds belonging to trade union members. Yesterday the bankers for the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Hill Samuel, delivered a cheque for £6,000—£5,000 fine plus £1,000 costs—to the NIRC in Chancery Lane.

## Use unions against 'fascist' Lynch law—MP

FROM IAN YEATS IN DUBLIN

HALF AN HOUR before yesterday's crucial debate in the Dail which many observers thought could bring down the Lynch government, Labour MP Dr John O'Connell called for the mobilization of the Irish labour movement unless the government resigned.

Dr O'Connell, who is on the Labour Party's left wing, described the Bill amending the Offences Against the State Act which MPs were debating yesterday afternoon as 'fascist'.

He told me at the Dail: 'It is a vicious piece of fascist legislation which can be used against anybody, although ostensibly it is aimed at the IRA.'

'It is very very dangerous to give any government such wide powers. There is growing disquiet among working people and particularly tenants who have recently staged a number of marches and this legislation could be used against them. I think that is the intention.'

'I believe Lynch will have to go to the country after today because with both the Labour Party and Fine Gael against it, a government victory could hang on one vote.'

The position of the Dail parties at present is—Fianna Fail, 70 deputies (including the Ceann Comhairle who does not vote except in the event of a tie); Fine Gael 50; Labour 17; Aontacht Eireann 1 and Independents 5.

All opposition parties and a number of Fianna Fail rebels were expected to vote against the gov-

TURN TO BACK PAGE

For trade unionists, however, it is not simply a question of the money. It is a question of the rights of trade unions to organize and to defend the standard of living of their millions of members.

The introduction of the Industrial Relations Act and the NIRC is a direct attack on these rights won during 200 years of trade union struggle.

The court's attacks on dockers, railwaymen and now the engineers exposes the falseness of those who said the Act could be ignored.

Every successive judgement has the effect of enormously strengthening its legal powers.

This was most strikingly seen in the cases against the Transport and General Workers' Union; the House of Lords appeal not only confirmed fines of £55,000 plus costs on the T&GWU, but it also upheld the court's power to demand that the official leadership must discipline its militant members.

From the dockers and engineers' judgements it can be confidently expected that more fines and sequestrations are on the way.

Already three transport companies, Heaton's, Craddock's and Panalpina, are drawing up a massive compensation claim against the T&GWU and Lord Vestey's Midland Cold Storage has gone back to the court.

Could there be a more damning indictment of the trade union leaders?

They first of all misdirected their members as to the implications of the Bill and how to fight it. And now they stand paralysed as the legal theft of their members' money takes place.

In the vital weeks leading up to the sequestration of the AUEW funds, these gentlemen were in game pie and wine discussions with Heath—the man behind the Act and the NIRC.

Since the Tories first came to power, the issues have been in the open. But the Communist Party and its revisionist hangers-on have been covering up for 'lefts' like Scanlon and Jones and arguing that 'pressure' can make the Tories change their mind.

The Socialist Labour League and Workers Press have been absolutely opposed to this reformist mythology. We said 'No' to these illusory policies.

Starting from the insoluble economic and political crisis of capitalism on a British and inter-

national scale, we have stated that there can be no possible compromise with Heath.

There is—and has been—only one way to deal with the situation: the industrial and political strength of the working class must be mobilized to force the Tories out of office.

Yesterday's seizure of AUEW funds must become the starting point of the biggest campaign since Chartism to re-establish the independence and basic rights of trade unions.

A major step in this direction is the building of Councils of Action in each area to defend trade unions and to prepare to defeat the Tories.

All talks with the Tories must be broken off at once.

We call upon every trade unionist to strengthen the political campaign which can meet the requirements of the day—force the Tories out!

● See comment p.3.

## IRELAND

Ian Yeats has written a ten-part series on

IRELAND

—A Crisis of leadership which continues today on page 4.

It follows his recent researches and interviews in the north and the south of the strife-torn country.

Cliff Slaughter's two-part article on

Irish Unity and the British working class starts today on page 8

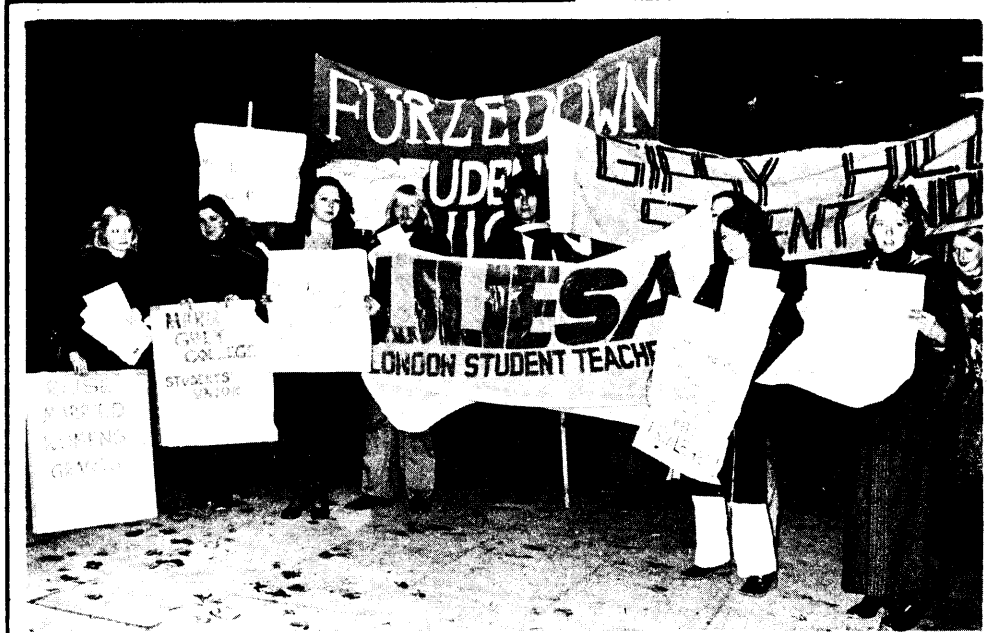
## CEYLON

Starting next Monday

A new series of articles by Jack Gale dealing especially with the situation in Ceylon entitled

Renegades from Trotskyism

Order your copies now!  
Telephone: 01-622 7029.



## 'Increase grant' plea

STUDENTS yesterday picketed the Department of Education and Science in London to protest against the refusal of the government to provide decent grants for married women.

The National Union of Students is demanding a flat increase of 15 per cent to meet the soaring cost of living.

Married women students receive a maximum grant of £275 a year. The grant has stood at this level since 1965.

Those on the picket line said the grant system discriminated against women students and offered no encouragement for them to continue higher education studies after marriage.

A survey professionally conducted has shown that there will be 10,900 married women students next academic year.

A joint statement by the NUS and the University of London Institute of Education Students' Association declared: 'Grants are a right, not a privilege.'

● See Tories hounding NUS p. 11.

## FOREIGN NEWS

## Fear for Vietnam PoWs

THE THREAT of a massacre of up to 200,000 civilian prisoners in South Vietnam is underlined in letters sent by Amnesty International to President Nixon and North Vietnam's premier Pham Van Dong.

The letters, sent by Sean MacBride, chairman of Amnesty's executive committee, express concern at the failure to provide safeguards for the civilian prisoners in Indo-China in the current secret negotiations.

Dr Henry Kissinger,

President Nixon's special envoy, has said that the future of the detainees 'should be determined through negotiations between the South Vietnamese parties'.

Mr MacBride said that in his organization's view 'such an agreement would be entirely inadequate to safeguard the lives, safety and welfare of the some 200,000 civilian prisoners held in Indo-China'.

Amnesty has unconfirmed reports that some of the prisoners have already been killed in order to eliminate them

as potential political opponents. 'This has made us very uneasy,' a spokesman said yesterday. 'We are treating this as a matter of urgency.'

The letter from Mr MacBride points out that the Kissinger statement:

- Ignores the responsibility of the other parties to the conflict outside South Vietnam.
- Covers only South Vietnamese nationals.
- Leaves out prisoners held in other parts of Indo-China (e.g., Laos, Cambodia, etc.).

● Makes no provision for the medical treatment, rehabilitation and repatriation of the prisoners on release.

The North Vietnamese army newspaper 'Quan Doi Nhan Dan' said recently that 300,000 people are detained in South Vietnam in more than 1,000 public and secret prisons.

These include concentration camps like the notorious penal settlement on Poulou Condor Island, originally established by the French, where detainees are kept in underground concrete 'tiger

cages'.

The North Vietnamese article said detainees included old people, children, pregnant women and young mothers. Whether they were communist sympathizers or members of the opposition, they had been interrogated by most inhumane methods, the article said.

Methods of torture listed included 'electric shock and burning, slicing off flesh, tearing off finger nails with pincers and driving nails through the footsole, toes and finger nails'.

## Yugoslavs in EEC trade deal

YUGOSLAV negotiators are currently in Brussels discussing a new trade agreement with the Common Market which they hope will extend preferential terms to cover a number of products, particularly processed foods.

Yugoslavia's present trade agreement with the EEC expires in April next year. The existing deal is non-preferential—that is, any tariff reductions involved have to be extended to all members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The EEC is also negotiating a new trade deal with Egypt, which will bring it within the framework of the proposed Mediterranean trading area linked to the Common Market.

## MPs oppose Spain's EEC moves

TWO LABOUR MPs are circulating motions opposing Spain's proposed entry into the Common Market.

More than 30 MPs have signed one tabled by Michael English, Nottingham West, asking that it should be made plain to all Europe that Britain has never been ruled by a military dictator since the 17th century.

Britain has 'no intention of being so ruled now, even as to one-tenth of an influence by an authoritarian Spain in the EEC'.

A second motion, tabled by Mr Neil Kinnock, MP for Bedwellty, Monmouthshire, says that no circumstances can justify British support for a fascist regime which continues to violate the accepted principles of human freedom and maintains its boycott and harassment of Gibraltar.

## Plan revealed at IMF Washington meeting

## US balancing act

## Forced revaluation angers countries with trade surplus

DETAILS of plans for reshaping the international monetary system to favour American interests against the rest of the capitalist world have been revealed in Washington.

At the International Monetary Fund's group of 20 meeting, Treasury under-secretary for monetary affairs Paul A. Volcker, proposed a scheme for disciplining countries which accumulate too much foreign currency in their reserves.

The scheme is basically an elaboration of the position out-

lined by the US before the IMF annual meeting in September. Then, Treasury Secretary George Schultz called for a monetary system which would force countries to maintain their external payments accounts in balance.

The United States—with a trade deficit of \$5,280m for the first nine months of this year—wants other countries to shoulder the burden of the deficit by adjusting the parity of their own currency.

Under the Schultz-Volcker plan countries with a balance of payments surplus (e.g. Japan, West Germany) would have to revalue their currencies until their trade was brought into balance.

At the same time, deficit countries (primarily the United

States) would be allowed to devalue to make their products more competitive on international markets. The scheme is certain to meet great hostility from the Common Market and Japan.

Japan in particular has made it clear that it will fight any attempt to force a yen revaluation and warned that if the yen is forced upwards an all-out trade war will be unleashed. Japan's currency reserves are mounting rapidly towards \$20,000m.

The American plan is a direct challenge to the other main participants on the group of 20, which is supposedly negotiating a new international monetary system.

While the talks drag on in the various international forums, however, the situation is rapidly

deteriorating outside the conference doors.

C. Gordon Tether, writing in the Lombard column of the 'Financial Times' detects what he calls ominous signs that the bugbear of competitive devaluation is beginning to loom disconcertingly large on the international scene.

Not only is the South African government following a deliberate policy of undervaluing the Rand in order to give its exports an extra competitive edge, but the same policy is being followed by Britain in floating the pound downwards.

Italy is considering a similar move. And if the lira is devalued, Tether says, 'the effect will inevitably be to accentuate any tendency the fall in the pound has had to leave other currencies in a relatively overvalued position'.

A 'highly-explosive' situation is being created by the growing trend towards exchange-rate manipulation and the inability of the capitalist states to reach any agreement on a new international monetary system.

**YOUNG SOCIALISTS**  
**XMAS BAZAAR**



**SATURDAY DECEMBER 9**  
**Corn Exchange**  
**Leeds**

Doors open 12 noon Price 5p

## French Pabloites cover up Stalinists' treachery

THE FRENCH Communist Party daily 'L'Humanité' yesterday greeted the visit of the Soviet Minister of Defence, Marshal Gretchko, to France as a step forward towards European co-operation and security.

The French Stalinists quoted approvingly the speech made by Gretchko at a dinner offered by his French counter-part, Michel Debré, in which he claimed that 'concentrated efforts to normalise the situation in Europe are bearing fruit'.

In other words, the Moscow bureaucracy is proceeding as energetically as possible with its co-operation with the imperialist states in Europe in the preparation of counter-revolution.

There could be no more graphic confirmation of Trotsky's analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy as the main defence of bourgeois order in the proletariat. Gretchko banqueted with Debré the Franco-lover, head of the military defence of French capitalism, on the day that the French capitalist courts began to try nine workers on anti-riot charges.

Their real crime is that they organized a demonstration and issued a leaflet as part of their pursuit of normal trade-union negotiations.

These steps towards establishing a corporatist state in France in which trade unions are deprived of their freedom, are the prerequisite for the survival of French capital in the international trade war. They receive the sanction of the French CP, in line with the betrayal of the May-June 1968 General Strike.

The French CP then told the working class that revolution was not possible because the generals in the French forces would quickly crush such a development.

The CP breaks up the wages movement in France by dividing it into a series of short national strikes in different industries and putting forward as the main claim, a minimum wage of 1,000 francs and a 40-hour week.

The pretext is to avoid disruption of the electoral campaign on the programme of the Union of the Left: a General Strike, or a prolonged strike in one sector would damage the process of 'democracy'.

It should be no surprise that the French revisionist groups choose such a moment to move closer to the Stalinists.

'Rouge', the Pabloite weekly, carries an editorial this week which dwells on the militancy of the working class.

It states that the Pompidou government does not want to impose a wage freeze now, but

prefers to wait until after the elections.

With the example of increases won by workers in Brest and Nantes, 'Rouge' draws the conclusion that 'the proof is there that it is possible to make the employers and their state retreat'.

These 'retreats' are forced by the organization of workers behind 'strike-committees', which only require 'co-ordination' to get more concessions.

The Pabloites idealize the militancy of the working class and maintain a complete silence on the existence of the Stalinist leadership in the French trade unions which is operating full wage-control on behalf of the French bourgeoisie.

They even adopt the CP programme, in their praise of 'working-class militancy for the 1,000 francs and 40-hour week'.

At no point do the French Pabloites demand that the Communist Party and Socialist Party break from their alliance with the radicals and abandon their electoral programme of acceptance of the Common Market by putting forward a socialist policy of nationalization of the monopolies under workers' control.

The treacherous nature of the Pabloite revision of Trotskyism—that Stalinism has progressive features—can be seen in their latest 'left' cover-up for the French Stalinists acceptance of corporatist measures.

SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE  
PUBLIC MEETING

**SWINDON**

Wednesday, December 13 8 pm

**AEU HOUSE, FLEMING WAY, SWINDON**

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

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

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

# Fighting the Tories' rent Act

## Clay Cross's 11 councillors may have to foot £6,000 rents bill

CLAY CROSS Labour councillors have been told that the district auditor has found a net deficit of £6,985 on the housing account.

The 11 councillors who refuse to implement the Tories' Housing Finance Act have also been told by the auditor they may have some 'personal responsibility' for the missing

rent revenue.

What this means, in effect, is the auditor, who carried out his special examination of the accounts on orders from the Tory government, is considering the possibility of making the 11 councillors foot the bill.

If that happens they will each be faced with £635 to

pay. It would mean their automatic disqualification from the council, leaving Clay Cross workers without any elected representatives at all.

This is because under the Local Government Acts, the maximum a councillor can be surcharged and still keep his position is £500.

The auditor is returning to Clay Cross on December 7 and has informed the councillors they can make representations to him if they wish.

'Obviously we can't justify the missing money,' council leader Arthur Wellon told me yesterday.

'On the other hand, as far

as I'm concerned, we can't let it slip by as quietly as he wants. It has to be taken up by the whole labour movement now,' he added.

Councillors are holding a number of meetings with miners' leaders this week in a bid to enlist support for their fight against the Tories.

And on Sunday afternoon, a big demonstration is planned in the councillors' support, with tenants expected from all over Yorkshire and Derbyshire.

## Chrysler steward loses his credentials —by one vote

THE COVENTRY district committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has withdrawn credentials from John Worth, the Chrysler shop steward and deputy convenor.

One vote finally decided the issue at the end of a 3½-hour special meeting on Tuesday night. It was the casting vote of chairman Jim Griffin, right-wing president of the district committee who is also a member of the AUEW National Committee.

It is believed that Worth himself spoke for over an hour, refuting line by line the 22-page dossier produced by Chrysler.

The dossier purported to show in considerable detail verbatim reports of incidents involving Worth in the factory over a period of years. Compiled by management, it showed all the signs of a lengthy spying operation on Worth.



Jim Griffin: Casting vote

Worth brought written evidence to the meeting exposing the dossier. It had been signed by workers and a number of shop stewards at Chrysler's Stoke plant.

Statements were also taken from Duncan Simpson, chairman of the Chrysler shop stewards' committee, and Ray Wilde, AUEW convenor.

It is understood that district committee members who voted to withdraw Worth's credentials did so on the basis of statements made to the meeting by Simpson and Wilde.

They were said to have attacked Worth for allegedly causing disunity among workers in the factory.

But it is reported they made no statement confirming or denying the validity of the Chrysler dossier.

After the company first sacked Worth, over 4,000 workers at the plant staged a five-day strike. Chrysler then reinstated him but withdrew his stewards' credentials. This forced the district committee to make the investigation which took place on Tuesday.

Under AUEW rules, Worth has the right to appeal against the district committee decision to the executive council in London.

# National reaction to fines on AUEW Implacable opposition

Harry Shult, shop steward at the Otis Elevator factory, Kirkby:

'We mustn't begin from the fine, but from the Industrial Relations Act itself.

'National committee policy is no co-operation with the Act. My interpretation of that is that we must not take any part or heed of an Act which national committee has rejected.

'There must be no abiding by the Act in a backdoor fashion. It's the government we are fighting, of course.'

Tom Staples, secretary of Kirkby No 2 branch of the AUEW:

'What this proves is the need for more action on the part of the TUC against the Tory government, which put in the Industrial Relations Act under which this is being done.

'We must stand four square with the policy of our national committee: no co-operation of any kind with the Act or its institutions.

Ray Reynolds, convenor of the Lucas Industrial Equipment factory, laid off because of the CAV sit-in on the same site:

'The policy of national committee is clear. It says no co-operation and that means the executive has full authority to take whatever action it needs to carry this through. If this money is seized they could call a national strike.

'I don't think that because of the relatively small amount of money involved, people have woken up to the seriousness of the situation. But this is the consequence of not fighting the Bill, letting it become law in the first place. It must not be allowed to go any further.'

Jack Spriggs, AUEW convenor of the Clouhst radiator factory, formerly Fisher-Bendix:

'Industrial action is the only way this will be stopped from happening time and time again. Once you capitulate to the court and pay a fine like the Transport and General Workers' Union did, there's no end to it.

'From my point of view our executive's policy is quite correct. I don't know how the executive could physically stop the money being paid. If it is seized it's a fine on the whole movement and has got to be raised in the industrial sense.'

Len Brindle, convenor of Leyland Motors Limited, and a member of the AUEW national committee:

'I don't know all the legal ramifications, but if the funds are sequestered, our national committee has got to be recalled. The policy of implacable opposition to the Industrial Relations Act and its institutions must be held to even if it means a strike of the entire union.

'My personal opinion is that the whole business is a clear indication of how stupid in the extreme this Act can be.

'But this has knocked on the head the idea that this is not a political Act.'

Jack Lynch, AUEW convenor at the Joseph Lucas starter factory, Birmingham:

'This action should lead to the Tory government being thrown out. It should have been done long ago, not only because of this fine but for all the other attacks it has made on the workers.'

THE Liverpool district committee of the AUEW was meeting last night and was expected to discuss the collection of the £5,000 fine. Workers Press spoke to a number of engineering workers throughout Britain about their reactions.

Arnold Burrows, shop steward at the Rover company, Tyseley, Birmingham, AUEW district committee member and a Communist Party member:

'There should be full support from the members for any action that the executive council instruct. This fine is dictatorship. There should be token stoppages.'

John Worth, ex-deputy convenor Chrysler, Stoke, Coventry:

'There can be no retreat on union policy. The Executive Council should call all our members out if they touch any of the union money.'

Ivor Thomas, member of Coventry District Committee AUEW, tool-room shop steward at Chrysler, secretary of Coventry 74 AUEW branch:

'It was inevitable that this would happen. The T&GWU paid the £55,000 fine on advice from the TUC.

'If they do sequester our funds then we must have a recalled national committee to decide what action to take. It may result in a national stoppage. This should be done. We cannot mess about with these people—the Tories.'

Dan Mathews, AUEW convenor Industrial Mouldings, Warwick:

'My own personal opinion is that if an attempt is made to seize the money, there should be all-out strike action which is the only weapon left open to us.'

Mr Hall, AUEW convenor at British-Leyland Alvis factory, Coventry:

'There should be a call for action. But short of getting rid of the government there is nothing we can do. We will have to get a national strike. This question of a strike here and a strike there is useless. It's got no meat in it. You have got to get this government out and see that this kind of thing is not imposed on the unions.'

R. Booth, deputy convenor AUEW, Daniel Doncasters, Sheffield:

'If the government touch one penny of our funds or property then we shall insist that the Executive Council should use all possible methods to bring about a total stoppage of work. We should campaign throughout the district to bring about a total stoppage at the same time the TUC must be lobbied to continue with the original policy of non-

co-operation with the Act.

'They should break with the general council's reversal of policy. There must be a confrontation on this Act.'

John Dodsworth, shop steward-elect, at Arthur Lee's steelworks, Sheffield:

'This vicious Tory Act against the AUEW is forced on the Tories by the pressure of the capitalist crisis. They believe that they can smash the trade unions. They think the unions are based on finance. But it's not that. They are based on the solidarity of the working class.

'All trade unionists must press the leadership to withdraw labour in support of the AUEW as this is an attack on trade unions as a whole which can only be won by forcing out of office the Tory government and replacing it with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies.

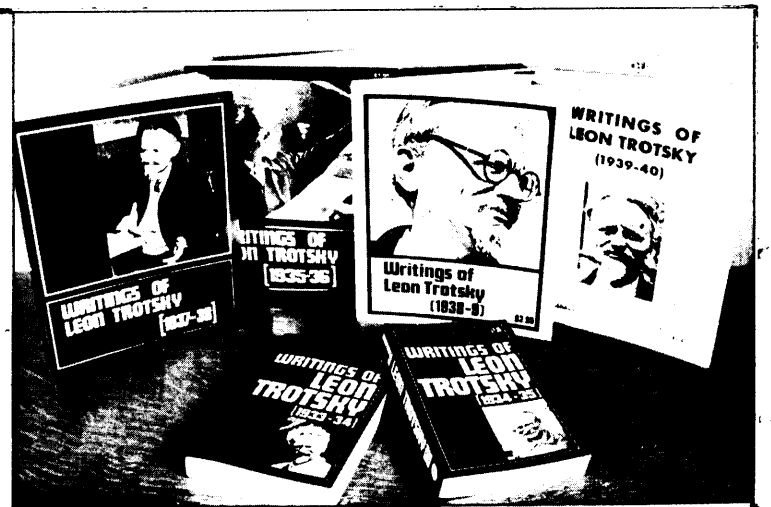
'To get this we must build Councils of Action to defend the working class.

'This is the same government which has pressurized the Eire government to impose a police state there that works hand in glove with the military state set up by the Tories in Northern Ireland.

'We are only a step away from them imposing the same conditions on the British working class because the same crisis of capitalism lies behind these acts.'

## Writings of Leon Trotsky

1933-1934 .....	£1.43
1934-1935 .....	£1.43
1935-1936 .....	£1.25
1937-1938 .....	£1.25
1938-1939 .....	£1.25
1939-1940 .....	£1.05



These extremely vital writings by Leon Trotsky between the years 1929 and 1940—his third and final exile from the Soviet Union—are now available in Britain from the Paperbacks Centre (see advert below).

## PAPERBACKS CENTRE

28 Charlotte St  
London W1



NOW OPEN  
Mon, Tues, Wed, Thurs  
9 a.m.—6 p.m.  
Fri 9 a.m.—7.30 p.m.  
Sat 9 a.m.—5 p.m.

BOOKS ● PERIODICALS ● NEWSPAPERS



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

# IRELAND THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

## PART TWO THE OFFICIAL IRA

Historically the IRA has neither been a Marxist nor even a working-class party. Although it has campaigned for an end to British imperialism, it has at no time stood for the overthrow of capitalism.

Its relationship to Marxist terminology has never been more than skin-deep and calculated to dress up traditional nationalism in a wrapping capable of enticing the working class behind Republican banners.

The reasons for the so-called turn to Marxism are to be found in the failure of the 1956 to 1962 campaign to win the Six Counties for Ireland.

In their pamphlet 'The IRA Speaks', four causes are given for the failure of the campaign: '1. The army had no solid political base among the people. '2. It had no clear cut ideology which could define to the people what the struggle was all about.

'3. The army had concentrated its attacks on the British Military Occupation of the Six Counties to the exclusion of direct assaults on:

- (a) The British Political Administration in the Six Counties.
- (b) The British Economic and Cultural penetration of both the Six and 26 Counties.

'4. Free Statism had been left free of both military, political and economic assaults and was merely attacked for its failure to take the Six Counties and for its coercion of Republicans.

'By 1963 the strategy of the future had taken shape. It was decided to organize for a revolution in the whole country against the forces of British imperialism and native gombeenism.

'Our objective was to be the reconquest of Ireland, not simply to place an Irish government in political control of the geographical entity of Ireland, but to place the mass of the people in actual control of the wealth and resources of the Irish nation and to give them a cultural identity.'

The key phrase in all this was the second which sought some ideology and means of making the traditional nationalist struggle relevant to the Irish people on both sides of the border.

The new ideology in theory and practice began to emerge very sharply after October 1968.

The Officials' fundamental problem was that at no time could they bring themselves to turn their backs on the romance of a United Ireland where all that was required to produce prosperity and freedom was the death of the

gombeen-men; in this case Jack Lynch and company.

Even today, after four years of agonizing, bloody, but always fruitless struggle, leading Officials are outraged at any suggestion that they should 'abandon the separatist tradition'.

The myth that a united socialist democratic Ireland could be economically viable even in the teeth of recession is deep rooted and has led broad sections of the leadership to adopt a posture of extreme reaction vis à vis the English working class.

Some Officials condemn English workers for being critical of the Aldershot massacre, for loading arms on ships bound for Ulster and, as conclusive proof of their hostility, for permitting—and even taking part in—Orange rallies in cities like Liverpool.

On the purely negative side Sinn Fein president Thomas MacGiolla said: 'If we are waiting for a revolutionary struggle in Britain we are going to be waiting a lot longer.'

The fact that workers across the Irish sea are facing struggles which could have momentous implications for workers in Ireland is not even acknowledged.

On one of the few occasions where British workers are conceded as having a role in the Irish struggle, it is only as a diversion from which Republicans can gain an advantage.

Officials' Chief-of-Staff Cathal Goulding said in August 1971: 'At the present time of crisis for the Tories in Britain, facing the revolt of the Clydeside workers and mass resistance on a national scale to the Industrial Relations Act, we have a unique opportunity to mobilize working-class opinion against parallel repression in the Six Counties.'

Unable to break from traditional nationalism in order to establish the mass base the Republican movement needed to don new revolutionary-looking clothes to appeal to the working class.

The possibilities for a genuine alternative Irish revolutionary movement were certainly there. Unemployment in the Republic, as well as in the north, was mounting and prices were rising to levels which were putting even necessities beyond working-class pockets.

Although the Republicans carried out campaigns in the south for fishing rights and against foreign farmers, most spontaneous working-class protests took shape first in the north.

The Republicans did two fateful things with these struggles.

Instead of mobilizing the working class against the class enemy and the governments at Stormont, Leinster House and Westminster, the Republicans abandoned the class struggle in favour of the unity of all classes against imperialism and native gombeenism by which they meant domination by Britain and its agents.

months from the date hereof.

19. This instrument shall be submitted forthwith by His Majesty's Government for the approval of Parliament and by the Irish signatories to a meeting summoned for the purpose of the members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and if approved shall be ratified by the necessary legislation.

1921

On behalf of the  
British Delegation  
A. Lloyd George  
Arthur Balfour

Birkenhead.

Winston Churchill  
Michael Collins

On behalf of the Irish  
Delegation  
Michael Collins  
Robert Emmet  
E. D. ...  
Sinn Féin ...



Michael Collins, military leader of the Republican forces, who signed the treaty which divided Ireland in 1921 and was later killed by Republicans who did not accept the settlement. Above: the 1921 treaty.

And instead of bringing the separate issues of jobs, houses, schools, pay and prices together within the perspective of genuine Marxist analysis and the class-based revolutionary party, the Republicans entered each issue separately and blamed them all on Unionism or the British—but not the imperatives of capital.

## CP TAKES ADVANTAGE

This did not prevent them, however, from dressing good, old-fashioned nationalism in some stylish new left clothes where words like imperialism, capitalism, exploitation, profiteers and peoples' ownership

were thrown about freely.

The Republicans' search for a new ideology brought them almost immediately into contact with Communist Party leaders who were soon able to take advantage of their theoretical confusion to infiltrate their own revolutionary-sounding but essentially reformist ideas.

Cathal Goulding was a prime initiator of the Republicans' new left face, but the vast bulk of policy documentation was left to a man new to the Republican movement, although not to the Communist Party, and who joined as education officer about 1962—Dr Roy Johnson.

Ultimately the Officials,

many of whom were leading civil righters, came round to the CP idea that the demand should be for democracy in the north which, once attained, would make the realization of Irish socialism throughout the 32 Counties that much more easy.

Once again the Republicans largely abandoned their activities in the south and in the north threw their weight behind the civil rights movement, greeting each repression with shrill cries for even more people to come out onto the streets.

This was fatal. Few people in the south related their economic problems to the cause of the fighting in the north and few Protestants saw the eventual Catholic fight for civil rights as their fight.

Especially after the Provisional terror campaign got under way in the winter of 1970 in the north the Republicans sank back into the role of a Catholic pressure group—a position they shared with the CP and the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA).

Their activities in the south had always borne the stamp of protest and pressure policies and when they linked their campaign in the north to a demand for pressure on Lynch to end the Ulster crisis they became virtually indistinguishable from the radical elements in Fianna Fail.

A 'United Irishman' editorial written in September 1968 set out the strategy which has basically never changed:

'Once partition is weakened, once the hold of the Unionist Party is made even a tiny bit more insecure, then the tasks

of Republicans in all other spheres will be made that much easier.

'What is needed and needed now is a national campaign throughout the whole of Ireland in support of the demand for democracy in the north.

'Such a campaign needs to be organized throughout the length and breadth of the 26 Counties as well where it would take the form of pressurizing the Dublin government to champion the cause of Six-County Catholics *vis à vis* Britain in the United Nations, at the Court of Human Rights and at whatever international forum the 26-County government has a voice.

'Sceptics may ask what can be expected from the 26-County government. One may answer that if pressed sufficiently strongly and vigorously by an informed, indignant, public they may do something.'

The same tactics were to be used via the civil rights campaign in the north. A 'United Irishman' editorial said optimistically in November 1968:

'If enough pressure is put upon the British government, they may be forced to intervene and the Government of Ireland Act which established the Unionists in power may be turned into a weapon against them.'

The pressure was kept up, but at the end of the day what was in sight was not a united, socialist, Republican Ireland, but a federal Ireland ruled jointly by the Green and Blue Tories at Dublin and Westminster.

In 1968 the concept of mass pressure focused on the streets swept sections of the Republican leadership into a delirium. MacGiolla said rapturously:

'It now seems that direct action by the people is far more effective than a cap-in-hand approach.

'The notorious [Eire] Criminal Justice Bill can be defeated in the same way as the NICRA in the Six Counties forced the Unionist government to withdraw or amend the Special Powers Act—all who are opposed must come out on the streets and demonstrate their opposition.'

In the course of time it was to be shown very clearly that if the mass movement on the streets changed anything, it was only the forms not the essence of capitalist rule.

The Officials did not like these truths pointed out to them. At the 1971 Ard Feish MacGiolla stormed:

'No sooner had this great new weapon of the people been forged and proved on the streets of the north than some left-wing pseudo-revolutionaries began the task of the enemy and did everything in their power to weaken and destroy it and frustrate its objectives. They declared it to be a middle-class movement unfit for revolutionaries and socialists and they pronounced it sectarian.'

It was indeed all of these things, but since the Officials were not engaged in building an independent working-class party into which NICRA leaders could have been drawn, the Officials were forced to all but liquidate into the NICRA and tail-end spontaneity and reformism.

Once they had taken the decision to back the civil rights movement in its campaign to gain reforms by protest and pressure, other important decisions followed and it was these which alienated the men who, after December 1969, were to become known as the Provisional IRA.

It was one thing to decide that all forms of workers' struggle should be entered into in a bid to win them for Republicanism, but the hard-liners choked when they heard that the concept of constitutional pressure was to include taking seats in the partition parliaments.

A statement on December



IRA members and supporters make up the funeral cortege for one of their leaders shot by British troops in 1971 in Belfast

28, 1969, said: 'The decision to recognize the three regimes has been under active consideration since the armed campaign against the Six Counties ended in 1962.

'Sinn Fein will contest elections north and south and elected members will take their seats in parliament. This will mean taking the Oath of Allegiance to the Crown, but we will not feel ourselves bound by an oath taken under duress.

'Unsuccessful moves have been made since then [1962] to end our political isolation, but we feel the time is now ripe to make the decision.

'The movement is now made up of young radical left-wing realists who heavily outnumber the small but influential band of nationalists.'

Those who counted among these left-wing realists were of course in the Communist Party.

Under their tuition realism had come to mean turning one's back on the perspective of building a revolutionary party to seize power for the working class in favour of exerting pressure on the ruling class from the streets and from seats in parliament.

Cathal Goulding sums up the new approach finally crystallized after the split.

He said: 'We have been forced by circumstances to add new dimensions to our struggle for freedom, we have had to re-examine our goals in the light of today's conditions and we have concluded that an attack mounted on a broad front, across the economic, political and cultural fronts promises the best hope of success in the future.'

He went on: 'This is not any

longer a movement for dream-filled romantics who have been fed on Barry's "Guerrilla Days" and who have never taken the trouble to read McArdle's "Irish Republic" or Connolly's "Workers' Republic".'

'This movement has only room for revolutionaries, for radicals, men who will not be defeated and who will not be deceived.'

The introduction of the words 'realist' and 'radical' into the Republican vocabulary sums up fairly accurately the political tone of the movement.

## BRINK OF DISASTER

The Officials' line becomes blatantly CP when Goulding says: 'Our first objective was to involve ourselves in the everyday problems of our people, to organize them to demand better houses, better working conditions, better pay, better jobs, better education—to develop agitational activities along these lines.

'By doing this we felt we could involve the people, not so much in supporting the Republican movement for our political ends, but in supporting agitation so that they themselves would be part of a revolutionary force demanding what the present system just could not produce.'

According to the script at this point, the Republicans enter from the wings thumbing their chests. In reality they are being either escorted off or kept off the stage altogether by the British army in the north and Fianna Fail in the Republic.

By this summer, although they had learned nothing, some Officials at least saw the reality of the position. Commenting on the resistance in the north, Sean Garland said: 'We are not on the brink of victory, but on the brink of sectarian disaster and sell out.'

His advice? '... we can avoid the disaster, we can prevent the sell-out if we are constantly at work among the people. We must dig in deeply in the organization of the people and provide them with leadership at each stage of the crisis'—in other words the recipe as before.

The people of the north are sick of this recipe. They had been told at the height of internment:

'Now we should raise the cry of power to the people, power through the street committees and civil disobedience organizations. All Republicans and radicals should work conscientiously for the development and extension of such popular democracy.'

And this year: 'The return to the streets by the civil rights movement marks an important new move in the struggle for democracy. The civil disobedience campaign, through particularly the medium of the rent and rates strike has brought the north statelet to virtual bankruptcy.'

The Catholic population formed their alternative assemblies and took to the streets, but with not even the tip of one finger on the levers of ownership of the means of production, distribution or exchange, the forms were hollow and doomed to failure.

They could never have hoped for such control because the

people on the streets were Catholics engaged in a form of struggle which immediately alienated Protestants, first because they believed even if the border stayed to give Catholics rights would deprive them and secondly because they feared the removal of the border.

The only means of gaining control of the economic life in winning control of the state could only ever be done in unity with workers across the Irish Sea.

The Officials (and the Provisionals) had one further fundamental problem. Northern Catholics had no objection to their backing and, at various times, defence, but few, if any, believed that merely a united and even 'free' Ireland could solve the economic and social problem they faced.

This, of course, was the only programme offered by the Officials.

Even in February 1971—4 year after the split and with the manifest failure to develop the national front favoured by those who remained at the Intercontinental Hotel—MacGiolla was still saying:

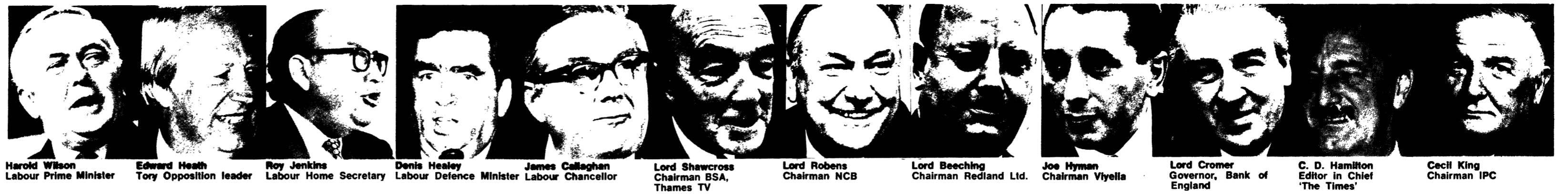
'I believe the programme on which [sectarian] unity can be achieved is a programme for the reconquest of Ireland set out as a series of economic, social and cultural demands.'

● Thomas MacGiolla, Belfast Republican leader Liam MacMillen, and Derry chief Malachy McGurran tell us in the next two parts of this series how they see the position.



# THE PLOT AGAINST PARLIAMENT

A Modern Melodrama  
In Two Acts  
By Alex Mitchell



## PROLOGUE

During the crisis-ridden years of the Wilson government there were repeated rumours that plans were afoot to install a National Government or some form of 'businessman's government'.

The gossip reached excitable proportions in the smoke rooms of the House of Commons, but little publicity ever fell on the substance of these rumours. It can now be understood why the capitalist Press did everything to suppress them. The stories were correct enough. But they were deeply embarrassing because at least one major newspaper proprietor was a key man at these secret discussions.

Cecil Harmsworth King was then chairman of the International Publishing Corporation (IPC), the largest newspaper publishing empire in the world. Apart from controlling dozens of other periodicals, King owned two major London daily newspapers, 'Daily Mirror' and the 'Sun', two Sunday newspapers, 'Sunday Mirror' and the 'People', and two Scottish papers, the 'Daily Record' and the 'Sunday Mail'.

He was obsessed by power. To groom himself for high office King took directorships with the Bank of England and the National Coal Board; he figured that places on these powerful agencies were a springboard to a top place in some Cabinet or other.

King began in 1964 as the most thunderous advocate of the Wilson government. His papers backed Labour's 'white hot, technological revolution' to the hilt. In the foreword to his diary, the newspaper tycoon says: 'We did everything for Wilson and the Labour Party we could think of.'

'I even drove about London in my office Rolls with a red flag on the bonnet saying "Vote Labour".' With his own notorious arrogance, King records in his diary: 'On settling into 10 Downing Street Mr Wilson asked me to lunch and told me I was his first luncheon guest.'

'He thanked me for winning

the election—as George Brown did later—and offered me a peerage.'

From the very beginning King took exception to the fact that Wilson had not included more businessmen in his ministry. He felt the outsiders who were brought in—Frank Cousins, Lord Bowden and C. P. Snow—were not up to the complex tasks of government.

King favoured the appointment of such people as Jock Campbell, now Lord Campbell of Eskan, who is one of the more ubiquitous figures in British business. Campbell is very much like that other eminence grise, Lord Goodman. He is chairman of Booker Brothers, the worldwide sugar and rum firm which has holdings in Africa and the West Indies, as well as being chairman of the 'New Statesman' (where else?).

But it was from his position at the court of the Bank of England that King acquired his keenest bitterness against the Labourites.

He began to see that the reformist policies of the government were not capable of resisting the threatened collapse of sterling and the coming trade war.

King could see that the task of either a Labour or a Tory government was to take on the working class and their trade unions. When Wilson failed, King fell into deep frustration and anger. Early in May 1968 he gave vent to his disappointments in a front page signed editorial in his mass-selling 'Mirror' entitled: 'Enough is enough.'

In it he called for Wilson's replacement as Prime Minister. It was an astonishing attack and one which caused great disquiet in ruling-class circles. After a series of meetings involving politicians and big business figures, the 13-man board of IPC asked unanimously for King's resignation. He left the next day.

From King's own diary—albeit an edited version—we can now get a fairly accurate picture of the type of discussion which was then going on among sections of the ruling class about possible government formations to replace Wilson.

## ACT ONE

The first mention of a possible National Government is raised in a conversation between Cecil King and another newspaper croney, Denis Hamilton of 'The Times' and 'The Sunday Times'.

August 13, 1966: 'Denis Hamilton came and talked politics—comparing notes on the future. He tells me that both Macmillan and Rab Butler foresee a National Government and assume that they will be invited to join it. I should imagine that any National Government that is

formed will be in haste to show it has no connection with such ineffective has-beens. There seems to be a current of opinion leading to a National Government of non-politicians rather than a government with a Labour PM and some non-politicians participating. Of course any development may well be in two moves (or more, for that matter).'

The next significant discussion took place on February 2, 1967, with Roy Jenkins: 'Roy Jenkins came to lunch—in good form as usual. After lunch I gave him one of my political forecasts: this government is too bad. Wilson is no PM, our political problems are not being solved, things cannot go on like this. I thought a break would necessarily come, or could be

created, after which there would have to be a fresh start, with new faces, some of them not politicians: Robens, Beeching, Shawcross and Sainsbury, for instance. It would be a National Government under some other name. He did not fancy the idea. Clearly he has no thought of including any Tories (though, in my opinion this may well come).'

On May 5, 1967, King gave a hint of the businessman's type of government in a 'strictly private and confidential' letter to the leader of the Opposition, Edward Heath: 'I doubt whether a government of ministers all from the House of Commons or of peers recently transferred from the Commons will do (to save our democratic institutions).

'Won't serious efforts have to be made to bring in people from outside who do command public respect? I am thinking perhaps of people with a scientific reputation (Medawars, no Snows!), or further injections of people like Beeching. With my good wishes always, Cecil King.'

In September that same year King lunched with Iain Macleod, the Tory shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer: 'We discussed possible successors to Wilson and he said he would accept Denis Healey as leader of a government of National Unity but doubted whether the Tufton Beamishes' of his party would. On the other hand Roy Jenkins who would personally be more acceptable might not be the right man in a crisis.'

Concern about Jenkins as a possible national government figure was also shared by Christopher Soames, the Tory MP, then UK Ambassador to France. In September 1967 Soames told King over lunch: 'Is he [Jenkins] the sort of man you would want to go tiger-shooting with? I wouldn't go mouse-hunting under a sofa with him!'

King was not the only foot-loose big businessman eyeing the political horizons. Joseph Hyman had recently sold his garment empire to ICI but had lost his job in the process. King received an urgent 'SOS' to have a discussion with Hyman and in his diary he records the following: 'He is a big bouncing Jew of 46, full of energy, ability and self-confidence. He now wants

to enter politics and has suggested himself to Ted Heath as chairman of the Conservative Party! The response was definitely chilly. He is now thinking of putting £1m into the Liberal Party and taking that over. He thinks it stands for nothing at the moment and therefore could be fitted out with whatever policies Hyman favours.'

'Hyman has great energy, great ability and great enthusiasm. It remains to be seen if these qualities can be diverted from a commercial into a political channel.'

Hyman's delusions of power knew no bounds. In another part of his diary King records Hyman's continuing plan to 'take over the Liberal Party'.

'He [Hyman] foresees a National Government, which

will not be a success, and thinks his best way to power is by constituting himself the Opposition to the National Government, using the Liberal Party as a platform.'

'I wished him well, while declining any idea of joining or sponsoring any group he may gather round him.'

On November 28, 1967: 'Alf Robens [Lord Robens, chairman of the National Coal Board] told Mike [Cecil King's son] last week that he thought a National Government inevitable, with Callaghan as PM. He didn't think any of the other candidates were runners.'

'Whitelaw, at lunch today, said he thought Callaghan would be more acceptable to the Tories than either Healey or Jenkins.'

November 29, 1967:

'Cromer to lunch. He is obviously contemptuous of the deflationary measures taken so far. I urged him to consider himself as a very possible "outside" minister to come in a National Government.'

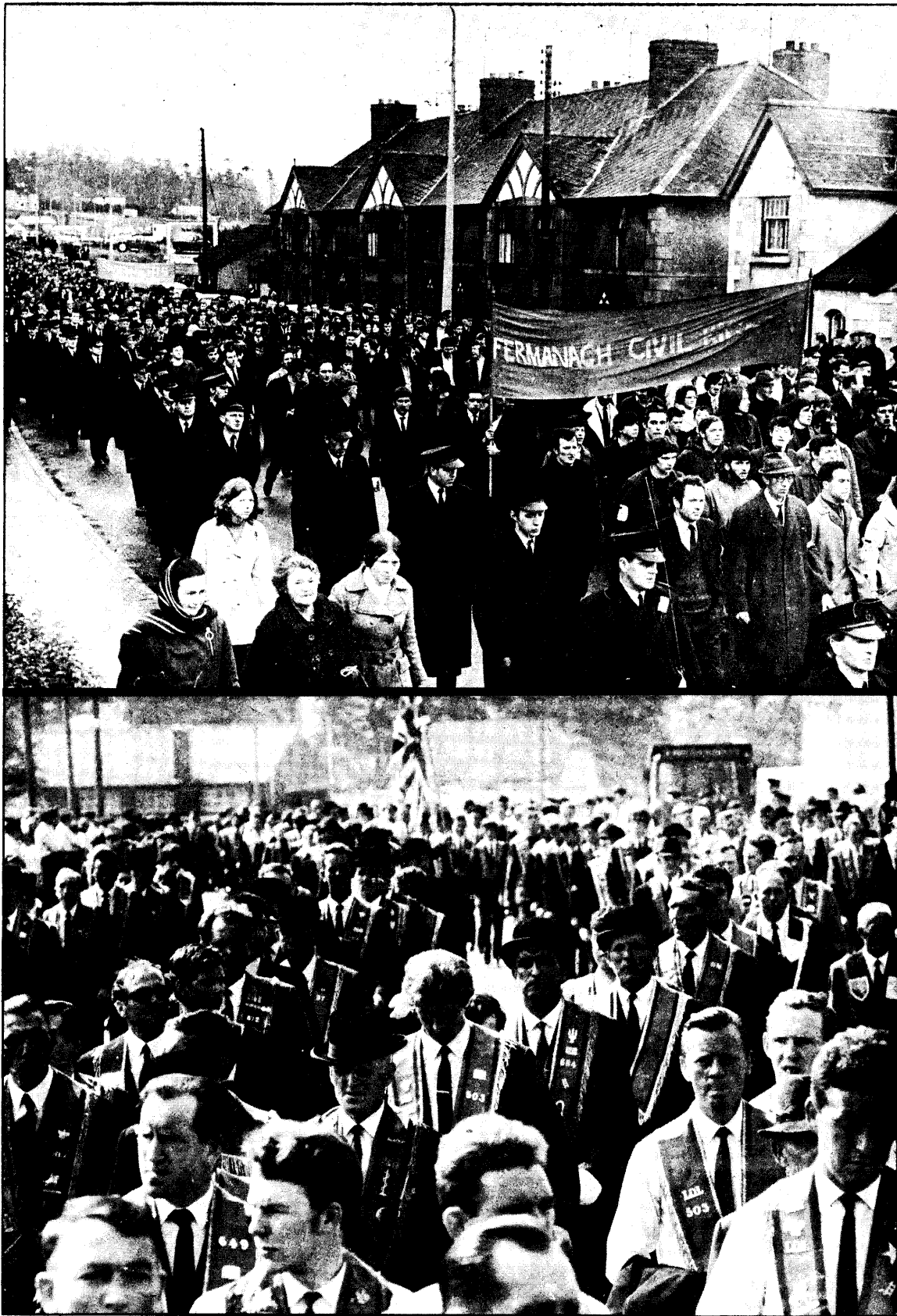
'He is evidently not very keen, but quite easily envisages a situation when it would be his patriotic duty to stand up and be counted. He will be seeing Oliver Poole for advice and Alf Robens as the most promising of all the possible "outside" ministers. He doesn't seem to be in touch with the Bank [of England], but sees quite a lot of Ted Heath.'

*An expression to describe the sort of backwoodsmen of the Tory Party who have names like Sir Tufton Beamish, MP for Lewes.*

CONTINUED TOMORROW







A Unionist march. Now Craig and Paisley attempt to refurbish Unionism to retain control over the Protestant working class. Above: Civil rights march against undemocratic restrictions on Catholic workers' rights.

## IRISH UNITY AND THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS

By Cliff Slaughter

### The sentence on MacStiofain

In the early hours of Sunday, November 19, police of the Republic of Eire arrested Sean MacStiofain. The charge against him was membership of an illegal organization, namely the 'Provisional' IRA of which he is said to be chief-of-staff.

MacStiofain immediately went on hunger strike, and protested that he was being held unlawfully, since there was no evidence found on his person or in his car.

In the past, prominent IRA men have been brought before courts on similar charges and their cases dismissed for lack of evidence. MacStiofain knew, however, that he was up against something quite different. And workers in Britain as well as in Ireland would do well to study immediately what is behind his arrest, conviction and sentence. His release must be strongly demanded throughout the Irish and British labour movement.

To the north, across the

border in Ulster, which is under 'direct rule' from the Tory government in Westminster, the members of MacStiofain's organization are in daily armed conflict with the security forces. Their methods are those of middle-class nationalism, not revolutionary socialism, but they create a big 'security' problem for British capitalist rule, because in the absence of alternative leadership they are sustained by popular support.

Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath has laid the law down with his fellow Tory, Dublin premier Jack Lynch. In preparation for joint entry into the Common Market and, above all, to strengthen their hands for the disciplining of the working class, Heath insisted that Lynch use the police and courts to undermine the IRA's operating base in the south. MacStiofain was the first victim.

### The Irish capitalist class and partition

For over 50 years the capitalist parties in Eire (Fianna Fail, now in office, and Fine Gael) have had a simple technique for retaining their political hold over the working

class. They have always claimed to be opponents of the imperialist-imposed partition between Ulster and Eire.

Lynch and other capitalist politicians will give plenty of speeches commiserating with the plight of the large Catholic minority in Ulster, but they have never had the slightest intention of doing anything about it. They speak once a year about the long-term aim of Irish unity, but they will never fight for it.

On the contrary, the Irish capitalists and their political parties are completely at one with the Tories and capitalists of Britain. A real fight for Irish unity, against British imperialism, of course, would bring the working class on the scene; this working class would deal not merely with imperialism, but with its Irish agents, north and south.

For this struggle, revolutionary socialist leadership, not nationalist leadership, is required.

The Irish bourgeoisie has not a shred of independence from British imperialism. Through partition it shares with British imperialism control over the Irish working class. At the time of World War I, the 1916 Easter Rising, and the subsequent Anglo-

Irish and Civil Wars, this bourgeoisie showed that it could not fight for Irish independence and unity.

Now, 50 years after, the Irish capitalists are completely committed to the strategy of the British and European imperialists. Already 70 per cent of Irish exports are to the United Kingdom. The European Common Market, alliance of big business against the working class, is their next step, just as it is Heath's next step. This is why Lynch, speaking at Oxford on November 23, opposed withdrawal of British troops from Ulster.

The preparedness of big business for the next round of class struggle associated with Common Market entry—that is the key to the Lynch government's agreement with the British Tories to enforce the law against the IRA.

### Changes in the Law of the Irish Republic

Since last May, political offenders (i.e. suspected IRA members) have been brought before the Special Criminal Courts, outside the ordinary course of law. Only in one case was 'membership of an illegal organization' proved, and most convictions have been for possessing firearms.

Now Justice Minister Desmond O'Malley is introducing with great haste certain amendments to the Offences Against the State Acts (1939-1940).

'The Times' had already warned (November 23, 1972): '... it is expected that the Bill will seek to put the onus on suspects to prove that they are not members of the IRA much more directly than under the present rules of evidence'. What does this mean, except that those prosecuted will be 'guilty until they are proved innocent'?

These proposals have now been published as the Offences against the State (Amendment) Bill, 1972. It envisages making illegal all statements, meetings, or processions which in the opinion of the authorities 'interfere with the course of justice'. Membership of an illegal organization with penalties of up to five years' jail, £5,000 fine or both, will be proved under the new Bill on a police officer's opinion that such is the case. The police are given wide-ranging new powers for questioning offenders, with two years' jail for anyone refusing to give personal details or accounts of their movements.

This law, used tomorrow as the instrument to force MacStiofain and the Provisionals into line, will be used the very next day against all socialist and working class forces.

Already the Irish ruling class is equipped with the Broadcasting Authority Act of 1960, invoked against TV and radio reporting of MacStiofain's statement before his arrest. Under this Act, the government called upon the Irish broadcasting authority 'to refrain from broadcasting any matter that could be calculated to promote the aims or activities of any organization which engages in, promotes, encourages, or advocates the attaining of any political objective by violent means'.

This law will be extended, if the Irish and British bourgeoisie have their way, against all political opposition, and particularly against the working class.

The next step in Ireland so far as Lynch and the main political parties there are concerned, is complete and open unity with British imperialism, equipped with their laws and with anti-union legislation—in Britain and in Eire. Under these circumstances, even the pretence of fighting for some future Irish unity must be dropped by the Irish bourgeoisie.

### Class struggle in the north

Whereas in the south the working class has been contained politically by the claim of the bourgeois parties to represent the struggle for Irish independence, in the north the working class has, since partition, remained under the sway of Unionism (Northern Irish Toryism).

But today Unionism is in an advanced state of disintegration. The reason for this is the profound change being wrought in the Irish working class Catholic and Protestant, by the crisis of international capitalism and its severe effects in Ulster.

Organizations like the Loyalist Workers' Association, the Ulster Defence Association, Vanguard and the Rev Ian Paisley's party, are all attempts to refurbish reactionary Unionism to retain control over the Protestant working class. Whatever their temporary clashes with the imperialist forces of law and order, these arise from differences about how to retain capitalist control.

But the break-up of Unionism, making it impossible any longer to entrust imperialist control to Stormont, is indicative of the approach of revolutionary struggles in Ireland.

The political crisis of the last few years was caused directly by the upsurge of the Roman Catholic workers (about 37 per cent of the total population) in the north.

They rose up against the totally undemocratic restrictions on their rights to housing, jobs, votes and all political freedoms. They were the principal victims—not of course the only ones, for the whole Irish working class were victims—of the defeat of the national liberation struggle of 1916-1921. They are the living evidence of the fact that only by going over to socialist revolution under working-class dictatorship can the demands of the national-democratic revolution be won.

Not one of the nationalist tendencies offering 'leadership' to the Catholic workers in the north, not one of the Social Democratic groups nor the Stalinists, can offer a real alternative to the strategy of Heath, Whitelaw and Lynch.

This is why they all welcomed direct rule after the removal of Stormont and did not press forward the attack against the imperialists for whom Stormont had operated. This is why Fitt and his SDLP have now decided to enter talks with Whitelaw, just as the right-wing leaders of the Protestant Unionist organizations will.

### Ireland and the British working class

The sending of 20,000 troops to Northern Ireland, the arming of an unknown number of thousands of right-wing Protestant forces, the shooting on sight, the interrogation through torture, the massacre at Londonderry—all these must be understood by the British and Irish working-class movements as the reaction of British imperialism to the first wave of working class struggle in Britain and Ireland in response to the present international crisis.

If the British working class does not act against these military-police preparations of its own ruling class and against the sentences on MacStiofain and O'Kelly, it neglects its own future and brings nearer the day when these preparations will be turned against it in Glasgow, in Liverpool, in London and everywhere else.

The withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and the ending of partition are vital demands in the preparation of the British working class for its coming struggles.

CONTINUED TOMORROW



# WORKERS NOTEBOOK

## BULLFIGHTS



The Communist Party's 'Morning Star' carried a two-pronged attack on Spain on Monday.

Under the heading of 'Fight Franco brutality' foreign editor Sam Russell condemned Sir Alec Douglas-Home's visit to Spain, and accepted Spain's entry into the EEC:

'Spain's democratic opposition from the communists to the Catholics has made it clear that it is against any special consideration for Spain until Spain enjoys a democratic constitution.'

This celebration of the democratic possibilities within the EEC is a blow against the workers who are being repressed by Franco, for it is such repression that best guarantees fascist Spain's entry into the EEC.

The other prong of the Stalinist attack was the advertisement appearing just beneath Russell's article on behalf of that humanitarian body, 'The International Council Against Bull-fighting'.

By the side of the picture of a bull in its death throes, the advert. proclaimed: 'Bulls are sadistically tortured to death. Horses maimed, disembowelled. . .'

Then, we are told that these 'nauseating shows of terror are staged for the "once only" tourist who quickly turns away disgusted, but whose ticket money means that such shows are financially possible'.

Clearly, the boycotters of the 'cowardly killings of innocent animals' are not in favour of boycotting holidays in

Spain altogether—just the bull-fights?

Like that other assembly of cruelty to animals, the RSPCA, they are no doubt fully in favour of the savage repression of the rights of trade unionists.

It would seem also that someone, somewhere, thinks that 'Star' readers might be among the 'once only tourists'—perhaps on a Soviet cruise to the Canary Islands?

## QUICK CASH

On November 8 Tremletts acquired 39 per cent of the shares of a printing company, Sir Joseph Causton and Sons, from Minster Assets at 45p per share. On November 16 it sold these shares to Highcastle Securities for 50p per share. This meant a quick profit of £140,000 before gains tax—and this, of course, is untouched by Heath's 'freeze'.

The only people not consulted in these dealings were the 1,150 Causton employees. Their wages, of course, are subject to the Tory wage control Bill.

Information:  
Labour Research Department.

## £6,000 WINE

Working-class families may find it hard to make ends meet, but there's still plenty of cash around for wealthy gourmets to indulge their hobbies.

Italian Prince Mario Ruspoli last week set up a record for money paid for a jeroboam (six magnums, to the uninitiated) of wine. Bidding by telephone hook-up from Los Angeles, the Prince paid \$11,000 for the 1870 Chateau Mouton-Rothschild, being auctioned in Paris.

The previous record was \$9,200, paid in New York for 1929 Chateau Mouton-Rothschild in May.

A group of French chefs set a record for a single bottle of wine when they paid \$6,000 for a 1900 Chateau Ausone. The previous record for one bottle was \$5,000 paid last spring in New York for an 1846 Chateau Lafite.

# JAIL FOR PROFESSOR IN PENTAGON PAPERS CASE

BY JACK GALE

Professor Samuel L. Popkin of Harvard University was ordered by a federal judge last week to begin serving a sentence for contempt of a federal grand jury.

Professor Popkin, believed to be the first American scholar to be jailed for protecting sources of information, was cited for contempt on March 21, 1971, for refusing to answer certain questions put to him by a federal grand jury investigating the distribution of the once-secret Pentagon study on the origins of the Vietnam war.

He was ordered to the Dedham County Jail, south of Boston, after US District judge Arthur W. Garrity denied the last of a long series of motions seeking to overturn the contempt citation.

Popkin's defence pleaded the right of scholars to conduct research without government interference.

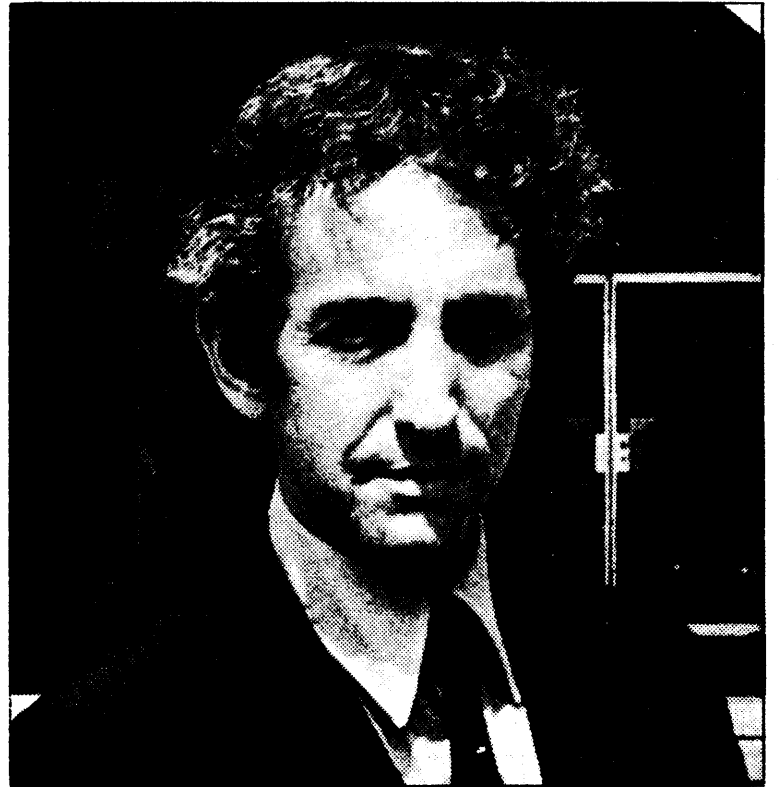
That right was specifically rejected by Assistant US Attorney Richard Bachman and by Judge Garrity.

In a statement read over television by his wife, Professor Popkin declared: 'If scholars are to be questioned without restriction about their sources, grand juries will become the government's instrument to limit the free flow of information about government to the public.'

Meanwhile, in Los Angeles defence lawyers in the Pentagon Papers case are demanding a new jury before the case resumes on the grounds that remarks by vice-President Spiro Agnew have prejudiced the jurors.

Attorneys for defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo have said they will seek dismissal of espionage, conspiracy and theft charges because of 'alleged government misconduct in connection with this trial'.

Referring to the bugging of the Democratic National Headquarters in Washington, Agnew



Agnew, whose statement on television has caused demands for a fresh jury. Above: Ellsberg—his case reopens on December 8.

said on a nationally televised show on October 29:

'If you are going to purloin documents, why is there a double standard about purloining re-election documents and purloining the Pentagon papers?'

The trial of Ellsberg and Russo is expected to resume on December 8.

The Supreme Court recently refused to hear a defence appeal on a wire-tapping issue that forced postponement of the case in August.

## NO ARMY CHARGES AGAINST LAVELLE

The US Air Force has dismissed charges against General John Lavelle and 23 other officers accused of carrying out illegal bombing strikes against North Vietnam.

The charges were filed on November 3 by Sergeant Lonnie Franks, the 23-year-old enlisted man, whose letter last March to Senator Harold Hughes of Iowa first called attention to unauthorized bombings in North Vietnam last winter.

Franks took his action after the Air Force announced that sacking Lavelle as commander of the Seventh Air Force in south-east Asia was enough.

The general was also demoted from four-star to two-star rank, but draws the retirement pay of a four-star general—\$27,000.



General Lavelle, who has admitted that he falsified records to cover the extra raids.

He admitted during a lengthy congressional investigation that he not only ordered the unauthorized attacks, but falsified Air Force records to cover his activities.

Sergeant Franks—now stationed at the Moody Air Force base in Florida said when he filed his charges, that he would take the case to a federal court if the Air Force did not take 'appropriate action'.

## SENATOR CONVICTED ON BRIBERY CHARGE

Former Democratic Senator Daniel B. Brewster—one-time 'golden boy' of Maryland politics—has just become the first man in over 60 years to be convicted of a crime while serving as a US senator.

It took a jury seven hours to decide that Brewster was guilty of accepting a \$14,500 bribe from Washington lobbyist Cyrus T. Anderson. The bribe was said to be a pay-off on behalf of a Chicago mail-order firm seeking to kill a postal-rate increase.

Brewster claimed the money was a campaign contribution.

Sentence has not yet been passed, but the possible maximum is \$60,000 in fines and 45 years in jail for Anderson, and \$30,000 and six years for Brewster.

## BOOKS



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

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



**SLL LECTURES**

**OXFORD**

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

**LONDON**

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

**BARNESLEY**

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

**LEEDS**

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

**LIVERPOOL**

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

**SHEFFIELD**

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

**TODMORDEN**

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

**TV**

**BBC 1**

9.42 Schools. 12.10-12.25 Boomph with Becker. 12.30 Disc a dawn. 12.55 News. 1.00 Pebble Mill at one. 1.30 Pogles' wood. 1.45 Dressmaking. 2.05-2.25 Schools. 2.50 Nurses in training. 3.15 Jimmy Young asks. 3.40 The singing bird. 4.10 Play school 4.35 Magic round-about. 4.40 Jackanory. 4.55 Blue Peter. 5.20 John Craven's news-round. 5.30 Yogi bear. 5.45 News. Weather.

6.00 **NATIONWIDE.**  
 6.50 **TOM AND JERRY.**  
 7.00 **TOMORROW'S WORLD.**  
 7.25 **TOP OF THE POPS.**  
 8.00 **SYKES.** Marriage.  
 8.30 **THREE FACES OF ST. ANDREW.** On Scotland's National Day, Scottish, Greek and Russian artists meet to celebrate their Patron Saint.  
 9.00 **NINE O'CLOCK NEWS.** Weather.  
 9.25 **COLDITZ.** Lord, Didn't It Rain.  
 10.15 **MONTY PYTHON'S FLYING CIRCUS.**  
 10.45 **MIDWEEK.**  
 11.30 **LATE NIGHT NEWS.**  
 11.35 **ANIMAL DESIGN.** Whales—Return to the Sea.  
 12.00 Weather.

**ITV**

9.30 Schools. 10.30 Yoga. 11.00 Schools. 12.05 Rainbow. 12.25 Diane's panda party. 12.40 First report. 1.00 Jokers wild. 1.30 Crown court. 2.00 General hospital. 2.30 Good afternoon. 3.00 Out of town. 3.25 The mind of Mr. J. G. Reeder. 4.25 Voyage to the bottom of the sea. 5.20 Pebbles and bamm bamm. 5.50 News.

6.00 **TODAY.**  
 6.30 **CROSSROADS.**  
 6.55 **DES.** Des O'Connor.  
 7.25 **FILM: 'GENGHIS KHAN'.** Omar Sharif, Stephen Boyd, James Mason. A young Mongolian seeks vengeance upon the chieftain who killed his father.  
 9.30 **THIS WEEK.**  
 10.00 **NEWS AT TEN.**  
 10.30 **CINEMA.**  
 11.00 **SOMETHING TO SAY.** The Problem of Nationalism.  
 12.00 **WHAT THE PAPERS SAY.**  
 12.15 **EDUCATION FOR WHAT?**



Horizon on BBC 2 tonight deals with 'Fire' and probes the reason for it and what can be done about it.

**BBC 2**

11.00-11.25 Play school. Gielgud talks about Gladys Cooper and Gertrude Lawrence.  
 6.35-7.00 **ROSLA AND AFTER.**  
 7.30 **NEWSROOM.** Weather.  
 8.00 **EUROPA.** When purchasers pinch. . . Shoplifting.  
 8.30 **WAR AND PEACE.** Madness.  
 9.15 **BACKSTAGE.** Sir John  
 9.25 **HORIZON.** Fire. What would you do in a fire?  
 10.10 **NEWS ON 2.** Weather.  
 10.15 **FACE THE MUSIC.**  
 10.45 **DAVID BUSKIN.** In concert.  
 11.30 **LATE NIGHT LINE-UP.**

**REGIONAL TV**

**CHANNEL:** 9.30-12.00 London. 1.15 News. 1.30 London. 2.30 Women today. 3.00 London. 4.20 Lottery. 4.25 Skippy. 4.50 Elephant boy. 5.20 Dave Cash. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.15 Sports roundup. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'One of Our Spies is Missing'. 8.25 This is your life. 9.00 Des. 9.30 London. 10.30 Smith family. 11.02 Cinema. 11.35 Frighteners.  
**WESTWARD. As Channel except:** 12.05 London. 6.00 Diary. 10.30 Report. 12.00 Faith for life.  
**SOUTHERN:** 9.30 London. 12.00 News. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 London. 4.15 Land of the giants. 5.20 Cartoon. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Day by day. 6.45 Junkin. 7.15 Film: 'The Spy in the Green Hat'. 9.00 Des. 9.30 London. 11.00 News. 11.10 Guideline. 11.15 Film: 'Flend Without A Face'. 12.35 Weather.  
**HARLECH:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 1.00 London. 4.25 Merry melodies. 4.50 Elephant boy. 5.20 Chuckleheads. 5.25 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.01 Report West. 6.15 Report Wales. 6.30 Sky's the limit. 7.00 Des. 7.30 Film: '36 Hours'. 9.30 London. 10.30 Return to Rhymney. 11.15 Spyforce. 12.15 Weather.  
**HTV Cymru/Wales 7 and 41 as above except:** 2.30-3.00 Hamdden. 4.25 Miri mawr. 4.35-4.50 Cantamil. 6.01-6.15 Y dydd.  
**HTV West as above except:** 6.15-6.30 Sport West. 10.30 The Governor. 11.00 Spy force.  
**ANGLIA:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 London. 4.25 News. 4.30 Land of the giants. 5.20 Dave Cash. 5.50 London. 6.00 About Anglia. 6.20 Arena. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Protectors. 7.30 Film: 'Troubled Waters'. 9.00 Des. 9.30 London. 11.00 Baron.  
**ATV MIDLANDS:** 9.30 London. 12.00 Today. 12.05 London. 2.30 Women only. 3.00 London. 4.25 Land of the giants. 5.20 Dave Cash. 5.50 London. .00 Today. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'One Spy Too Many'. 8.45 Cartoon. 9.00 Des. 9.30 London. 11.00 Gardening today. 11.30 Film: 'You Must Be Joking'. Weather.  
**ULSTER:** 11.00 London. 1.30 News. 1.40 Schools. 2.40 Romper room. 3.00 London. 3.25 Women today. 3.55 Harriet's back in town. 4.23 News. 4.25 Rovers. 4.50 Phoenix five. 5.20 General hospital. 5.50 London. 6.00 Reports. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Protectors. 7.30 Film: 'All the Young Men'. 9.00 Des. 9.30 London. 11.00 What's it all about. 11.20 Champions.  
**YORKSHIRE:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Farmhouse kitchen. 3.00 London. 4.25 Charlie Brown. 4.50 Junior showtime. 5.20 Please sir. 5.50 London. 6.00 Calendar. Weather. 6.35 Crossroads. 7.00 Film: 'The Opposite Sex'. 9.00 Des. 10.00 London. 10.30 Sport. 11.00 Cinema. 11.35 Place in the country. 12.05 Blue light. 12.35 Weather.  
**GRANADA:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Yoga. 2.55 London. 4.20 Lone Ranger. 4.55 Rainbow country. 5.15 Dave Cash. 5.50 London. 6.00 News. 6.30 Crown court. 7.00 Cartoon. 7.05 Film: 'Incident in San Francisco'. 9.00 Des. 9.30 London. 11.00 On the line. 11.35 Dick Van Dyke.  
**SCOTTISH:** 9.30 London. 2.30 Dateline. 3.00 London. 4.25 Lost in space. 5.20 Crossroads. 5.50 London. 6.00 Today. 6.30 A place of her own. 7.00 Theatre. 8.00 Andy Stewart special. 9.00 Des. 9.30 London. 11.00 Late call. 11.05 Journey to the unknown.

**Subscribe!**  
*workers press*

The daily paper that leads the fight against the Tories.

£20.28 for 12 months (312 issues)  
 £10.14 for 6 months (156 issues)  
 £5.07 for 3 months (78 issues)

If you want to take Workers Press twice a week the rates are:  
 £1.56 for 3 months (24 issues)  
 £6.24 for 12 months (96 issues)

Fill in the form below NOW and send to:

Circulation Dept., Workers Press, 186a Clapham High St., London, SW4 7UG.

I would like to take out a subscription to Workers Press.  
 Days required MONDAY THURSDAY  
 (Please tick) TUESDAY FRIDAY  
 WEDNESDAY SATURDAY

Or Full subscription (six days) for ..... months.

Name .....  
 Address .....

Amount enclosed £

**ALL TRADES UNIONS ALLIANCE MEETINGS**

Fight Rising Prices Force the Tories to Resign

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

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

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

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

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

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

I would like information about

**THE SOCIALIST LABOUR LEAGUE**

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

Name.....  
 Address.....



# Darts thrown at junior Minister Tories hounding students' union

MR JOHN STOKES, right-wing Tory MP, yesterday demanded the disbandment of the National Union of Students.

He was protesting against the angry demonstration at the North London Polytechnic against the new junior Education Minister, Mr Norman St John Stevas. Stokes, MP for Oldbury and Halesowen, said there had been 'disgraceful scenes' when St John Stevas spoke at a designation ceremony at the college on Tuesday night.

The new minister was howled down by students who chanted 'Tories Out' and threw paper darts. Stokes said the demonstration highlighted the unsatisfactory state of discipline in

higher education establishments.

The NUS must take its share of blame, he said, and 'the sooner this self-important body is disbanded the better'.

Vice-chancellors were also to blame for not being sufficiently firm with unruly students.

After the demonstration the polytechnic's director, Mr Terence Miller, said: 'This is part of life in 1972. It's a war of attrition.'

Miller, former principal of University College, Rhodesia, said 98 per cent of the students were working happily and the protest came from a minority.

Those involved in higher education, he said, were in 'a battle for nothing less than civilization', but now 'mere anarchy is loosed upon our world'.

St John Stevas's appointment to the Tory ministry is a provocation to students. Until re-

## But CP president dines with Margaret Thatcher

cently he was chairman of the Conservative Students' Association and was a strong advocate of NUS registration under state law. This would end any independence of action which the NUS now enjoys.



Jacks: Wining and dining

In this atmosphere of big Tory attacks on the NUS it is unforgivable that NUS president Digby Jacks recently wined and dined with Education Secretary Mrs Margaret Thatcher at the expensive Mirabelle's restaurant in Mayfair.

The NUS paid the bill. Jacks is a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

## Hang 'em CID chief resigns

DEPUTY assistant commissioner Richard Chitty leaves Scotland Yard this week. He joins a long list of senior officers who have left the force this year.

Before retiring Chitty was head of the CID, the operational controller of London's 2,000 detectives. There has been big trouble in his ranks in recent months.

Early this year the head of the Flying Squad, Commander Ken Drury, resigned and this was followed by the suspension of Detective Chief Inspector Victor Kelaher, head of the Drugs Squad.

Kelaher is now facing summonses on charges of conspiracy.

Chitty was involved in an investigation into the activities of Kelaher.

Chitty's name sprang into the headlines last year when he and deputy commissioner Peter Brodie gave a secret interview to 'The Times' about morale in the Metropolitan police.

They called for the reintroduction of the death penalty and tougher prison sentencing. The article caused an enormous stir and it was later revealed that Chitty and Brodie were the authors.

Publication of the article was seen as a last-ditch stand by the 'hard-liners' to stop the appointment of the Home Office candidate for commissioner, Robert Mark.

Immediately Mark took over, Brodie prematurely resigned. He has now been joined in retirement by Chitty.

## Funerals halt inquiry at Stirling

CHARGES against students involved in the disturbances when the Queen visited Stirling University last month were being heard by a disciplinary committee on the campus yesterday.

But the committee will not sit today or tomorrow following the deaths in a road accident of Jack Carter (19), Students' Association treasurer—who was due to be called before the committee—and Finlay Binning (29), a former technician at the university.

Binning will be cremated at Falkirk today and Carter's funeral is on Friday at Guildford, Surrey. The university flag will be flown at half mast on both days.

As hearings involving five students began yesterday, eight students picketed in drenching rain outside the administrative building and carried placards calling for the charges to be dropped.

It is understood that the students will be informed by the committee whether the accusations against them have been upheld, but they will not be told of any penalty until all the cases have been heard.

One of the pickets said they will demonstrate each day the committee sits and will be calling for support from other universities.

The second student involved in the crash at Wigan, 18-year-old Joan Adam of Northumberland, is off the danger list in Wigan Hospital. She is suffering from a fractured arm and fractured legs.

## Job black removed

THE NATIONAL Union of Teachers said yesterday it had withdrawn its support for a deputy headmaster who lost his post when his school went comprehensive.

The union told its members they could apply for the job formerly held by 44-year-old Joe Faye at the Sacred Heart School, at Redcar, Yorkshire.

Eighteen of the 35 teachers at the school went on strike last month in support of Mr Faye, and the NUT agreed to 'black' the vacant post at the request of another teachers' union, the National Association of Schoolmasters.

The NUT complains that Mr Faye has 'flatly refused' to apply for any other job at the school and that the NAS demanded nothing but his reinstatement as deputy head.

# Strikes boom

By OUR OWN REPORTERS

THE HEATH regime has done more to push up stoppages of work in industrial disputes than any other government since 1960, a report out today shows.

Nearly 11 million man-days were lost in strikes in 1970 and over 13½ million in 1971. In the whole decade prior to 1970 losses ranged from 1.7 to 6.8 million man-days.

The report produced by the Government Statistical Office details trends over the ten years to 1971 and aims to 'bring together some of the more significant statistical series relating to social policies and conditions'.

Main headings covered in tracing the pattern of social change are: crime, population, immigration, incomes, education, housing, sickness and strikes.

On incomes, the report says that between 1961 and 1971 average weekly household incomes jumped by 94 per cent—from £19.84 to £38.48.

This mainly reflected the increase in the numbers of earners per household—particularly reflecting the growing importance

of wives' earnings. In the same period retail prices rose by 57 per cent.

According to the report the most significant change in the make-up of the working population has been the steady increase in the number of married women at work.

Another 'interesting' change in working patterns, it says, has been the growth of paid annual holidays.

In 1960 only about 3 per cent of full-time manual workers were entitled to more than two weeks. By 1972, about 92 per cent were entitled to more than two weeks and 75 per cent to at least three weeks.

Even in 1971 only 21 per cent of 17-year-olds still stayed on at school. Yet this figure had doubled in the ten years previously.

On housing the report says that at the end of 1971 there were 200,000 homes short. This was allowing for 'second homes and vacant housing' in the 19 million dwellings in Britain.

## Lonrho goes into Ghana gold

THE SCANDAL and strife-torn Lonrho group is negotiating a valuable management contract to run Ghana's state-owned gold mines.

The company, headed by right-wing Tory MP Duncan Sandys, controls the country's most important gold mine, the Ashanti. Under the deal being negotiated between Lonrho and the military government, Ghana should get a further chunk of the Ashanti equity—it already has 20 per cent.

In return Lonrho will come in as managers of the Ghana gold-mining industry for a huge fee. The success of the Ghana operation could mean an end to Lonrho's financial troubles.

After a series of big losses the company brought in City accountants, Peat Marwick Mitchell, to investigate.

Following the report a boardroom reshuffle took place. Sandys

became chairman and Roland 'Tiny' Rowlands became managing director. Tory MP and 1922 Committee chairman Edward du Cann's banking house, Keyser Ullmann, became financial advisers.

In the midst of these changes the company was hit by the arrest of several prominent South African directors on fraud charges.

The new management has been stepping up its activities in Arab countries. Important deals have been concluded in the Sudan and Libya.

Some commentators are forecasting that the new-style Lonrho will 'silence its critics' next month by announcing a profit for the year of a record £18m.

COLES CRANES, part of the Sunderland-based steel group, is to pay off 400 workers tomorrow. Four months ago they received the Queen's Award to Industry for the third time. The award was made for an increase in export sales of 70 per cent during 1971. Alan Waistell, Labour councillor, chairman of the Labour Party's general purposes committee, told Workers Press: 'I was given an assurance a

few months ago when the take-over was announced that there would be no redundancies and now this rationalization comes along.' Coles was taken over earlier this year by Acrow, the construction and civil engineering combine. Both factory and office staff will be affected by the redundancies. No consultation with the unions took place and the redundancies take effect immediately.

## More stoppages since the Tories came to power

Socialist Labour League

CELEBRATE  
3RD ANNIVERSARY  
OF WORKERS  
PRESS  
BUILD THE  
REVOLUTIONARY  
PARTY

SUNDAY  
DECEMBER 3  
7 p.m.  
Everyman Theatre  
LIVERPOOL

Speakers:

MIKE BANDA  
(SLL Central Committee)

DAVE KIRBY  
(CAV. Fazakerley, shop steward.)

CONNIE FAHEY  
(Wilmslow tenants' leader)

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

### NEWCASTLE

SUNDAY DECEMBER 10, 7 p.m.  
County Hotel

Speakers:

MIKE BANDA (SLL Central committee)

DAVID JONES (YS national committee)

BOB MAINS (Unemployed)

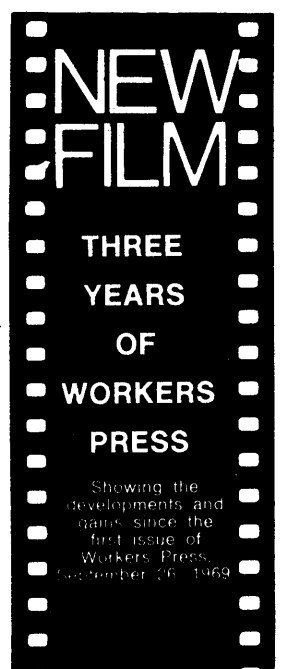
VINCENT FOY (secretary Jar-row Trades Council. In personal capacity.)

### BIRMINGHAM

SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 7 p.m.  
Assembly Hall

Digbeth Civic Hall

Speakers:



### GLASGOW

SUNDAY DECEMBER 17, 2 p.m.  
Woodside Halls

St George's Cross

Speakers:

MIKE BANDA (SLL Central committee)

JOHN BARRIE (YS national committee)

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

G. HEALY (SLL National Secretary)

WILLIE AITKIN (YS national committee)

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



## TWO DAYS TO GO—£283.65 STILL TO RAISE

### Workers Press MONTHLY APPEAL FUND

WE ARE still a long way off. Two more days to raise £283.65 to complete our £1,750 total. Will we do it? Let's make an all-out effort and make sure we raise our target by Friday.

Yesterday's post included £20 from students at Cambridge; Wandsworth readers raised another £55; supporters in Leeds sent £14; and from Newcastle our supporters sent £10. In Glasgow £15.85 was collected; Aberdeen readers sent £5; and Sunderland supporters raised £20.

All over the country money is pouring in to support our Fund.

We know you will not let us down. Go into action today. Collect everything you can for a massive last-minute effort. Raise our target and, if possible try and push it over the top. Rush your donations to us straight away. Post them immediately to:

Workers Press  
November Appeal Fund  
186a Clapham High Street  
London SW4 7UG.

## No EEC split with CP—Marchais

BY JOHN SPENCER

IN LONDON for talks with leaders of the British Communist Party and Labour MPs, George Marchais, acting general secretary of the French Communist Party, yesterday denied that there were 'divergencies' between the two Parties on the Common Market.

The French CP, together with their allies in the Common Front of Left Parties, (the Socialist Party and the Left Radicals) favoured participation in the EEC's institutions in order to 'democratize' them.

The British CP is formally opposed to British entry. Marchais admitted that there were differences between the French and British CPs and claimed that these arose from the different situations in the two countries.

Marchais claimed that a Common Front government could not simply leave the Common Market without adversely affecting the French economy.

'That is why we have agreed with our socialist allies to act within the Common Market to democratize it and defend the interests of the workers,' he said.

'We quite understand the struggle that is led here by the Communist Party, the trade unions and the Labour Party against the Common Market.'

The French Stalinists' leader appealed to the socialist parties of Europe to establish contacts to enable them jointly to review what action is needed against the domination of multi-national companies and for the relaxation of tension in Europe.

On Tuesday night he had talks with a number of Labour MPs which he described as 'a very interesting exchange of views from my standpoint.'



French CP secretary George Marchais at his London Press conference yesterday.

## Tripartite talks plea

PRESIDENT of the CBI Mr Michael Clapham yesterday called for a fresh round of tripartite talks to find 'a lasting solution' to inflation.

He told a regional council meeting at Nottingham that he hoped the TUC would agree to try again. He said inflation would remain Britain's No. 1 preoccupation in 1973.

It was an evil which threatened Britain's future welfare and 'had to be stamped out'.

Clapham's statement signals the start of the Tory and big business campaign to launch Phase Two of the Heath state pay plan.

But whereas the Tories have previously shed crocodile tears about the lower paid and the problem of rising prices, Phase Two is aimed quite clearly at all wage-earners.

Clapham, who is also a top ICI director, went out of his way to rest blame for inflation directly on the working class.

Inflation was due 'in overwhelming part' to wage increases over the past two and a half years, he said. And these increases had been won 'far in excess of new wealth produced'.

Thus the lines of thinking of big business can be understood:

wages must be held down and productivity stepped up.

Clapham pleaded that company profitability was at 'a dangerously low level'. Some industries were not even able to replace assets, let alone invest for growth.

Industry's profits had been in decline over the whole of the last decade, he added. Clapham's remarks about the depression hitting British industry is nothing new.

The lesson to be drawn is the clear notion that the working class must resolve the crisis of capitalism by working harder for less wages and thus see their standard of living drop away.

### CORRECTION

IN THE first article of Ian Yeats' series on Ireland printed in yesterday's Workers Press, it was stated that the People's Democracy group organized their famous march from Belfast to Derry on October 5, 1968. The 'long march' in fact took place over the Xmas/New Year period of 1968/1969. People's Democracy was, however, formed as a direct result of the brutality displayed by the RUC on the civil rights march through Derry on October 5, 1968.

## Mobilize unions against 'fascist' Lynch law

FROM PAGE ONE

ernment in yesterday afternoon's vote.

Dr O'Connell told me that if the government won through, 'there will have to be a general mobilization of the trade union movement for national demonstrations against the Bill'.

Yesterday afternoon the government Information Service claimed IRA Chief-of-Staff Sean MacStiofain was being given 'appropriate treatment' at the Curragh camp.

But Dr O'Connell told me all the signs were that MacStiofain had had a heart attack and he

SEAN MACSTIOFAIN yesterday asked to see Cathal Goulding, Chief-of-Staff of the Official IRA. Since the split between the two sections of the Republican movement in 1969 both men have had little if any contact with each other. Now Provisionals chief MacStiofain has told a priest to fix up a meeting with Goulding. Both men served in prison together following an arms raid in Essex in 1953.

said he should be moved to a hospital intensive care unit immediately and given intravenous injections to save his life.

He said he had asked for the Provisional IRA not to attempt to free MacStiofain if he was moved.

The IRA planned a public meeting for last night to demand MacStiofain's release to be fol-

lowed by a march to the Dail.

In a statement the Official Sinn Fein condemned the arrest of 66 of their members on Monday night for what they described as a peaceful picket of MPs' and judges' homes.

A spokesman said: 'We were protesting about the proposed extradition to the north of Michael Willis and others and the extension of fascism under the Bill to amend the Offences Against the State Act.

Gardiner Place (Sinn Fein)

supporters picketed the Dail in protest against the new repressive legislation all day yesterday.

The Association of Irish Priests and the Association for Legal Justice both condemned the Bill for its 'disgraceful disregard of everyman's right to a fair trial'.

Two hundred students from Bolton Street Polytechnic marched to the Dail for the second successive day yesterday to lodge a protest against the Bill.

THE SOLDIER who died in Londonderry yesterday was the 100th soldier to be killed this year.

It brings the Ulster toll, since the trouble began in 1969, to 644.

This year's toll is now 433—297 civilians, 100 soldiers, 21 members of the Ulster Defence Regiment, 12 police and three police reservists. Last year the toll was 173. In 1970 it reached 25 and in 1969 it was 13.

## London sparks oppose Bill

ELECTRICIANS and plumbers from an east London branch have passed a resolution demanding the immediate release of Provisional IRA leader Sean MacStiofain.

The resolution said: 'This meeting of Tower Hamlets branch of the EPTU condemns the proposed legislation of the Lynch government. We are of the opinion that this Bill is the first step to dictatorship and goes hand in hand with the requirements of British Toryism. We express our solidarity with the Irish TV and radio workers and call for the immediate release of Sean MacStiofain, Kevin O'Kelly and all political prisoners in Eire and Northern Ireland.

'While we have basic differences with the Provisionals, we are of the opinion these measures will be used against the working class tomorrow.'

The resolution will be sent to the local Trades Council and the head office of the electricians' union.

Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Published by Workers Press, 186a Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.

Printed by Plough Press Ltd. (TU), 180b Clapham High Street, London, SW4 7UG.



# What we think Chrysler steward: Dangerous retreat

THE DECISION by Coventry Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers' district committee to withdraw credentials from Chrysler shop steward and deputy convenor John Worth is a most dangerous retreat not only for the trade union movement in Coventry, but throughout Britain.

It can only aid Chrysler in their efforts to step up Measured-Day Work and will give comfort to the Tory government in their offensive against the democratic rights of the trade union movement.

Why was Worth sacked by Chrysler and then reinstated but with the company withdrawing recognition of him as a shop steward?

Worth is in no doubt that the attack came as part and parcel of Chrysler's plans to intensify the operation of their hated Measured-Day Work scheme in the Stoke plant.

As he told workers Press: 'Our section usually gives a lead in the plant which the company seems determined to stamp out. I voted against accepting MDW in the first place. MDW puts a ceiling on wages and earnings and gives the management the absolute right to determine line speed and amounts of labour on the line.'

His case took a more sinister turn when Chrysler produced a 22-page dossier. It is understood that no less than 32 alleged incidents and stoppages are recorded in detail and alleged remarks made by Worth quoted verbatim.

On this point alone, Worth should have been defended. If virtual spying activities have been carried out on him, presumably similar situations apply with many other leading stewards, including those who have rushed to attack Worth instead of demanding a halt to the company's activities.

Yet Worth, a militant and a fighter against productivity

and speed-up has now lost his shop stewards' credentials through the action of the AUEW district committee.

What was the response of the AUEW leadership in the area to the attack on Worth? The chairman of the committee and AUEW national committee member Jim Griffin actually decided the issue by using his chairman's casting vote against Worth.

Andy Boyle, district secretary, could only say the committee 'were most reluctant to withdraw his credentials'.

The fact remains they have however done so. It represents virtual collaboration with Chrysler's, determined as they are to get rid of stewards who, in the company's words, 'do not act as mediators'.

It also, in effect, assists the Tory government who are embarked on the strategy of trying to destroy the trade union movement and who will thus welcome the fact that Worth is no longer a shop steward.

There is a strong possibility that Worth will still receive the backing of the workers on his section who still want him as steward. If he is re-elected, the case would go before the district committee once more.

The campaign now has to begin throughout the Coventry area to see that the district committee's decision to call in Worth's credentials is reversed at the earliest possible opportunity.

Branches of the AUEW must bombard the district committee and mandate their district committee delegates with resolutions condemning their decision and demanding Worth's credentials be returned to him.

The abandonment of John Worth by Coventry officials means they are making a rod for their own backs now that the Tory government's assault on their own union, the AUEW, reaches its sharpest point with the sequestration of the £5,000 fine yesterday.

Socialist Labour League Public Meeting

## FREE SEAN MacSTIOFAIN

Friday December 1, 7.30 p.m.

CONWAY HALL, RED LION SQUARE  
(near Holborn Tube)

Speaker:

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