FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 242 16 OCTOBER 1971 2½p

## Whatever happened to 'free speech'?

## **POLICE** CRACKDOWN ON LEFT **SPEAKERS**

SOUTHAMPTON:-Police arrested three members of the International Socialists and two Communist Party members last Saturday. They were speaking against the Tory government at a pub-

lic meeting in the town precinct.

Two weeks earlier, the Communist
Party had been warned against holding
public meetings in the precinct. In
alliance with Southampton IS, they decided to challenge police attempts to deny free speech to left-wing organis-

The police used a legal technicality to victimise the left. The precinct is experimental and is still classed as a 'public highway'. The speakers were

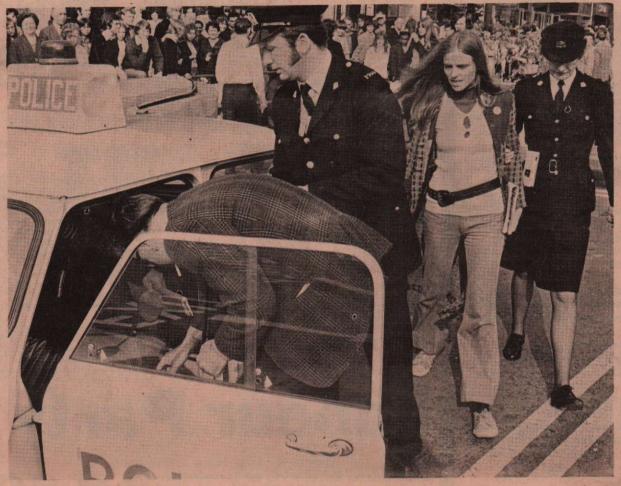
'public highway'. The speakers were charged with obstruction.

But the police have allowed brass bands and religious groups to use the area. On Sunday a crowd of Christians carrying 'Jesus Turns You On' placards were left alone by the police.

A spokesman for Southampton IS and the arrests were part of the growing structure of repression with trade

atmosphere of repression, with trade unionists and socialists under attack from the government and the Industrial Relations Act.

The defendants were due to appear



Two arrested speakers—an IS member on the right—being bundled into a police car

#### by -PAUL FOOT

**OLD MOTHER Hubbard Heath** has gone to the cupboard to find the delegates to the Tory Party Conference a bone. But when she got there the cupboard was bare.

Never since the war has a government managed in so short a time to break so many policies and achieve such widespread unpopularity among the country's working people.

It has achieved the highest postwar rate of inflation and the highest post-war rate of unemployment at the same time.

The Great Common Market public relations exercise has been a dismal failure. Some £2m has been spent by government and big business but the opinion polls still show a majority against British entry.

#### TIRED ISSUE

An increasing majority want British troops cleared out of Northern Ireland.
Still, this resourceful Mother Hubbard

managed to conjure a bone out of nothing. The first full session of the conference was given over to the tired old issue of

The Brighton air has been rent with the baying of hysterical reactionaries calling for the return of the hangman's rope. By allowing for debate an amendment specifically demanding the return of capital punishment, Heath and Maudling, both of

whom, in less troubled times, have voted against capital punishment in the House of Commons, have given their right wing an

undreamt-of concession.

None of this has anything to do with the facts. The rate of increase in violent crime, despite the massive increases in poverty, homelessness and unemployment, has been no higher in the past year than in most other years since the war.
In Scotland, in fact, the rate has de-

creased. The murder rate has been steady since capital punishment was abolished in 1965.

Nor did Maudling have the courage to remind the delegates of the ever-increasing number of convictions for murder which have been subject to anguished inquiry by his own Home Office officials. He is still 'investigating' the case of James Hanratty, hanged in 1962 for the A6 murder. 14 witnesses have come forward since Hanratty's trial to substantiate his claimed alibi that he was in Rhyl at the time of the murder.

The case of Dennis Stafford and Michael Luvaglio, currently serving life sentences for the murder of a fruit machine operator in County Durham in 1967, is also under investigation. Crucial new evidence has pointed to the obvious innocence of both

John Lovesay and Tony Peterson were acquitted of murder of a London jeweller on appeal last year-though only on a technicality on the judges' summing up. Both men are still serving sentences for robbery accompanying the murder.

If the suburban hysterics at Brighton had had their way, and if it had not been its citizens to poverty, and which encour-



Maudling: opportunist more

for the fluke of an incompetent judge in the Lovesay/Peterson case, all these men would have hanged, as Hanratty and Tim-othy Evans were for crimes they almost certainly did not commit.

Not one word of this passed the lips of the opportunist Maudling who is as anxious as his leader to distract his right-wing sup-porters, the press and the public from the realities of their policies.

#### CASH IN

All the facts are against the 'long sentence', flogging and hanging brigade. The roots of criminal behaviour lie not in the 'softness of the courts' but in the social system which condemns millions of ages get-rich-quick speculation on a vast-

The facts show, too, that long prison sentences create long-term criminals out of short-term ones. More than 70 per cent of criminals sentenced to more than five years in prison commit another crime within a short term of release, while the majority those put on probation never come before the courts again.

Perhaps the most disreputable aspect of

the Tories' campaign is their attempt to cash in on the recent murder of a police officer in Blackpool. In the past few weeks, the truth about the allegedly immutable principle of the British criminal law-that a man is innocent until he is proved guilty

 has been exposed to the full.
 Joseph Sewell was named as the murderer before he was even arrested. Other men and women were accused of harbour-ing Sewell who, according to the charge sheet, 'had murdered' the police officer.

It is a mark of the collapse of liberal-ism that the dreadful beating given to Sewell by the police after his arrest met with not a single protest, in or out of parliament. When Gunter Podola was simiarly arrested more than 10 years ago for a similar murder-and likewise beaten-there was a storm of protest from Labour MPs

and liberals.

The Blackpool murder has provided for emotional backthe Tories the necessary emotional back-ground for their scurrilous campaign. They hope to appeal to people's lowest instincts and thus provide a buffer to protect themselves against the indignation which their policies are creating. They do not stand a

## Miners face big wages battle

by Dick Williams

BRITAIN's 260,000 miners face the possibility of industrial action to win higher pay following the breakdown of talks on Tuesday

The National Union of Mineworkers rejected an offer of 7 per cent from the Coal Board that even right-wing president Joe Gormley described as 'appalling'. The union wants surface workers' basic rates increased from £18 to £26, underground workers on £19 to get £28 and those working under the power loading agreement to get £35 a week.

The Coal Board offer amounted to £1.80 more for surface workers and £1.75 for underground men. The 7 nerging the following th

£1.75 for underground men. The 7 per cent insult makes no pretence of even keeping pace with the rising cost of

living.

The breakdown in talks will be reported to a national delegate meeting of the union early next week. In the meantime, the Coal Board is likely to make an improved offer—but with dangerous productivity 'strings' that would reduce the number of jobs in the pits.

Vorkshire miners expect the Board to

Yorkshire miners expect the Board to make an offer that includes productivity make an offer that includes productivity bonuses for the most productive pits—a move designed to split the miners' ranks and appeal to the most right-wing sections, particularly the Nottinghamshire areas.

It is vital that the delegate conference rejects any productivity deals. It should call for a national strike ballot to fight for the full caller without strings.

the full claim without strings.

Following last year's militant and unofficial action over pay, the union voted to amend its rules in order that a 55 per cent majority was sufficient in a ballot to force the executive to take strike action.

But the delegates should not sit back and wait for a ballot to be held. They should prepare also for a massive national campaign throughout the pits to ensure maximum unity in what could be one of the most decisive wage battles of the coming winter.

## Revolutionaries released from iail in Poland

by Peter Hitchcock

IN AN apparent bid to win support on its IN AN apparent bid to will support of the Left, the Gierek regime has decided to release from prison two of the main critics of Stalinism in Poland.

The two men, Jacek Kuron and Karol

Modzelewski, both university lecturers, were first jailed in 1965 for publishing a blistering analysis of Poland's new burgany and the widening can between eaucracy and the wideni the elite and the working class.

Kuron and Modzelewski were let out in May and October 1967 respectively, but were then tried again in January 1969 and given 3½ year sentences for organis-ing demonstrations in March 1968 and 'having contacts with foreign Trotskyist groups'.

Both men know what they are talking about. They are sons of the party establishment. Modzelewski's father was the first foreign minister of 'People's

Now comes news that they were both let out on 17 September, a year before

Anti-Internment League Rally RELEASE ALL IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS! **BRITISH TROOPS OUT** OF IRELAND!

SUNDAY 31 OCTOBER Assemble Speakers Corner 3pm

Speakers include Bernadette Devlin, MP and Frank McManus, MP

Socialist Worker's big step forward -see 2 SUCIALIST WURKER 16 Uctober 19/1

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## 'Left turn' that leaves Wilson in control

'THERE IS NO ROOM in the British labour movement for those who support concentration camps.' So said a speaker at the Labour Party conference last week in the debate on a motion to end internment in Northern Ireland. He was proved wrong.

The conference went on to support concentration camps by rejecting the motion on a show of hands. The heroes of the trade union left did not even demand a card vote. This was not an incident that caught the headlines but it tells us more about the reality of the Labour Party's 'swing to the left' than all the sound and fury.

There has been a shift to the left. The 5 to 1 vote against supporting the Tory government on Common Market entry proves it. So does the adoption of quite extensive nationalisation demands. But it is a swing that leaves the party entirely within the strategy of 'reforming' British

The important resolution on economic questions was the one committeing the party to an incomes policy. It wasn't called that, of course, but that is what it meant. An incomes policy under capitalism inevitably means that the rich get rich and the rest of us stay as we are—if we are lucky. Again the heroes of the trade union left did not object. They actually supported the idea.

Consider foreign affairs. There was another largely unreported but very significant incident. Stan Newens, Tribune supporter, one of the leading 'left wingers', moved the withdrawal of Britain from the US-dominated war pact called NATO.

Denis Healey rose to oppose Newens. Honest Stan pleaded for a compromise. He was content to refer the matter to the executivean executive, as he knows, that consists largely of dedicated supporters

We could go on, but it is hardly necessary. British capitalism needs an alternative to the Tories that is 'left' but safe. Big business much prefers the Tories of course but big business looks ahead. Mass unemployment, cuts in the social services, rising prices and repression in Ireland and all the rest will one day bring down Heath. That is where the Labour Party comes in.

Wilson and co are firmly in control of the party. They will make whatever 'left' noises they judge necessary in order to keep it that way.

The job of socialists is to create a socialist alternative. The Labour Party is not and never has been a socialist party. The 'lefts' who imagine that it can somehow be 'reformed' into becoming one are deceiving themselves and trying to deceive socialists. Whatever their intention, they are an obstacle in the way of the struggle for socialism. Of course we have to vote Labour. In spite of pretty massive cynicism, there are millions of workers who see the Labour Party as the only way out.

They have to be convinced in practice that it is a blind alley. But this tactic makes sense only if a viable socialist organisation is built in the meantime. The candyfloss oratory of the Brighton jamboree is over. The class struggle goes on. Our work goes on.

## **OUR BIG STEP FORWARD**

A YEAR AGO, Socialist Worker went from six to eight pages a week, a move made possible by the growth of the International Socialists and the increased circulation and support of the paper. Twelve months later, the membership has more than doubled and the sales of the paper are going up by several hundred copies each week. Last week we printed a record number of 18,700.

The impact of the Tory-employer offensive has produced more than just an increase in trade union militancy, important though that is. A small but steadily-growing number of working people are beginning to question the future not just of the present government but of the entire system that produces lengthening dole queues, poverty and slum housing for millions and enormous wealth for a tiny minority.

A paper that argues the case for revolutionary politics and the need to build a mass movement to replace the present system has a vital role to play in backing up and strengthening the present opposition to the Tories. While papers like Tribune and the Morning Star decline in circulation and impact because of their dedication to reforming capitalism and praising 'left leaders' in the Labour Party and trade unions, Socialist Worker has grown because of its relentless opposition to reformist ideas and those who peddle them in the labour movement.

As a result we can now announce that the paper will expand to 12 pages a week from 13 November. It is the biggest step forward the paper has made in its short history. It will enable us to give more space to analysing the present crisis of capitalism and the attacks on working people-not only in industry, but in every area of every day life: housing, rents, welfare, transport and schools.

There will be more space for news reports, for international coverage, for labour history (the most popular feature in the paper), for readers letters and for reviews of books, films and television. We plan to develop a more systematic coverage of developments in the trade unions to help guide and direct the work of militants. And there will be detailed reports of the activities of IS, nationally and locally, to mark its emergence as a serious and credible revolutionary organisation in the labour movement.

All who help to write and produce Socialist Worker are excited at the prospect of a bigger paper. The present limits on space are frustratingthey stop us doing as good a job as we would like. We hope that a 12page paper will excite all our readers, too, and will encourage you to sell more papers and ask your workmates and neighbours to buy it regularly.

A bigger paper and a bigger circulation means a better weapon for fighting the Tories and the bosses. We want to make Socialist Worker the undisputed leading socialist weekly, selling 20,000 copies a week and beyond. Will you help us to achieve that?

## IRAN JAMBOREE COVERS UP FOR SHAH'S BRUTAL REGIME

#### by Chris Harman

TOP PEOPLE from all over the world are congregating in Iran this week to enjoy one of the biggest and most expensive junkets of all time to celebrate 2500 years of the Persian monarchy.

Kings and crown princes, presidents and political leaders from every conceivable country are there. What-ever their other differences, they seem intent on grovelling to the Shah and living it up on the scale to which they are accustomed.

They are accustomed.

They are not likely to be disappointed.

Maxims of Paris are flying in 5000 bottles of wine, four tons of deep frozen delicacies, £500 worth of salami, 43 different sorts of vegetables, 18 kinds of cheese and 9½ pounds of quails' eggs, as well as 30 chefs to prepare the food. No one knows for certain how much the elaborate festivities will cost but The Feonomist magazine.

for certain how much the elaborate festivities will cost, but The Economist magazine has suggested a figure of between 50 million and 300 million dollars.

So Princess Anne, Vice-President Agnew The Duke of Edinburgh, President Podgorny of Russia, Kuo Mo-jo of China and the others should enjoy themselves. So too, should the Shah who must surely feel should the Shah, who must surely feel that the cost of the celebration is well worth while in terms of the massive and and favourable press coverage for his

And his sister, Ashraf, will have the opportunity of repaying some of the fine compliments she received in recent months from unlikely quarters, as when she made a state visit to China in April.

The gaity must, however, have a bitter taste for the people of Iran. While rulers



THE SHAH: wealth from oil

from every conceivable country toast their masters, they have to go on living in conditions of extreme poverty, subjected to crude dictatorial police repression.

A visitor to South Iran has given a

glimpse of what life is like outside the closed and carefully guarded confines with-in which the Shah's celebrations are taking

#### 'SKELETONS'

'I have witnessed appalling scenes of human misery. I have seen children and young people, men and women, slowly wasting away from lack of medicines and food because of hunger and deprivation. I know of families whose utmost desire is a bit of bread; I know of bashful girls and women who do not leave their homes for months at a time because they lack the months at a time because they lack the barest essentials of clothing. I know of children as skinny as skeletons who roll about in the dirt for years, naked as worms, and live on weeds and rotten

Even a US senator was moved to report a few years ago that 'In Tabriz [Iran's second largest city] we encountered such poverty as we had seen nowhere else in

the world up to then ... I visited a carpet factory employing 800 workers, 600 of them children between the ages of 6 and

The Shah's own government cannot conceal all the facts about the country. It admits that 85 per cent of the population admits that 85 per cent of the population cannot read or write. Its figures also reveal that infantile mortality is approaching 50 per cent (as opposed to between 2 and 4 per cent in Europe) and that the average life expectancy is only 30 years (as against 60 years in Europe).

Yet Iran is not a typically poor country. Enormous wealth exists in the form of oil but it flows into the pockets of the Shah and his friends.

and his friends.

The Shah has also made millions out of his monopoly of the opium plantations (his sister Ashraf was actually arrested in Geneva in 1960 because she had suitcases full of heroin with her). When the Shah travelled abroad recently he paid out 853 dollars a night on hotel accommodat-

of the secret.

Standing between the impoverished millions and the minority who live so luxuriously is the Shah's army and police, above all the notorious SAVAK, the secret police. Opponents of the regime can expect to be shot down in cold blood if they try

to be shot down in cold blood it they try
to demonstrate peacefully, to be kidnapped, imprisoned without trial, tortured, and
perhaps executed after rigged trials.

Those feasting at the Shah's expense
this week are not ignorant of such facts.
But they are indifferent to them. Some
employ such means in their own coun-

tries. Others feel they do not yet need to. But one thing unites them. They feel it is a profitable undertaking to love up to the Shah, ignoring the blood on his hands and the poverty beneath his feet. And so from the US and the USSR, from Britain and from Czechoslovakia, from China and from France, they join in the adulation of the Iranian despot.

### Labour Party needs THERE has been a growing move inside the a socialist International Socialists to ask the question: What happens after the Tories are brought down?

It seems to me that the perspective is unclear and confused. In the 2 October issue the editorial states that there must be a mass struggle to commit a future Labour government to 'certain definite proposals' and goes on

to name a few almost Tribunite demands, some of which it is quite likely the Labour Party may adopt.

But what happens if these watered down reforms are the backbone of the programme?

Have you forgotten the programme of 1945 and 1964? Do you understand why even these programmes could not be implemented or how the socialist policies mouthed by Labour leaders were reversed in times of crisis in British capitalism?

in times of crisis in British capitalism?

Surely the time has come to put forward real socialist demands to the Labour Party, starting with the nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies and major monopolies under democratic workers' control. This is the basis of the programme which socialists should be fighting for—not only outside but inside the Labour Party.

It is out of this struggle that a real socialist organisation can be built. The time is long overdue for an open debate on this question.—MARTIN WARD, Brighton, Sussex.

#### Wrong approach to **Ulster Protestants**

WE of the American International Social-ists involved in the Irish struggle have looked to Socialist Worker in these recent desperate weeks for valuable information and revolutionary socialist guidance. We have seldom been disappointed.

Unfortunately there was a fundamental underlying fault in the editorial of 21 August which needs correction. In correctly stating the marxist orientation to nationliberation struggles you obscure the most essential related factor

The Irish have developed over history into two peoples just as surely as the Cypriots. Fortunately, for the purposes of of class politics, they speak a common language unlike the Cypriots. We all know that the Ulster question is not a theological rivalry-as much of the capitalist press still insists-but neither is it a simple national



liberation question of 'natives' versus 'colons'. This is the Provo IRA thesis which is the erroneous assumption implicit in your editorial.

Over 300 years' continuous habitation in a country surely gives a people full and complete claim there. Though, and equally fundamental, this claim can never allow one nationality to deny national and democratic rights to another

Yes, the Protestants have been intimately associated with British imperialism but three centuries have created an incipient nation in its own right with an autonomous dynamic.

You demand that the Protestants sub-sume their own national identity and cultural orientation into a pan-Irish consciousness which they of themselves have reject-

You call, in effect, for class politics to win Protestant workers to the national liberation banner. I propose instead that class politics—and only if it faces up to, positively acknowledges the nationality within Ireland-can win Catholic workers and significant numbers of Protestants to a united, socialist struggle in which their historic differences no longer need be divisive.

It is a difficult, painful and ambiguous problem to confront. Ambiguous because the Ulster Protestants are an 'incipient' or incomplete' nation. Their middle classes remain basically British in political orient-ation while the working class and small farmers are crystallising their Ulster particularism into a (reactionary) nationalism.

Socialists should hope to deepen this class divide and to turn the workers in progressive directions. I obviously do not

## Smear on Labour MP

YOUR REPORT last week of what I did in relation to the Labour Committee Against Internment and my subsequent visit to Long Kesh is a lying distortion of my personal behaviour about which you could not possibly have any personal knowledge or first-hand acquaintance.

There are many who would advise me not to bother with you even when engaged in such miserable smear tactics. But I cannot accept even in a largely inconsequential paper read mostly only by Young Socialists—whom I respect—to have it appear that my word is unreliable.

That has not been suggested before in my family circle or in the wider circles of the labour movement which I have belonged to for some time.—SID BIDWELL, ·MP, House of Commons, London SW1.

Empty abuse apart, Sid Bidwell doesn't refute our charge that, by going on an 'all-party' trip to Long Kesh with extreme right-wing Tories such as Colin Mitchell and William Deedes, he gave a gloss of respectability to internment and that he broke the demands of the LCAI for an independent investigation into the camp conducted by members of the trade union and labour movement.-EDITOR.

## IS SWEDEN THE MODEL?

I READ with interest the article on the Tribune left (9 October), but I cannot accept Anthony Arblaster's conclusion that the Labour Party 'should be written off and abandoned'

The ideal of social democrats has been in the past, and still is to some extent, Sweden, although we have our eyes open to the faults in the system operating there.

If such an egalitarian society as exists in

Sweden can be attained through demosweden can be attained infought can be cratic socialism I do not believe that it is hopelessly optimistic to hope for a left-ward swing in the British Labour Party, our name for social democracy.

The Tribune left should be actively encouraged, not written off, however disastrous a Labour government was from 1964 to 1970. – D W MUSGRAVE, London W5.

recognise the 'right of the Provos to fight for independence by their methods' which include indiscriminate attacks on civilians. 'Their' independence has only toleration for Protestants, and for many Provos not even that.

I do, however, support their right to protect their neighbourhoods from the terror of the army, police and Ulster Vol-unteer Force. But the same goes for the UVF if and when it acts in a truly defensive capacity. The Provos must be defeated by a socialist movement not by Whitehall or Paisley. The Official IRA has begun to take steps in this direction.—ROBERT ST-CYR, New York IS.

Socialist Worker will be replying to this

letter in next week's paper.

## Workers ready to fight plan to butcher steelworks

By JOHN FONTAINE and SARAH BENTON

THE bosses get the profit. The workers get the chop. This is rapidly becoming the Tories' standard treatment for industry.

The River Don steelworks in Sheffield is facing the same sort of treatment the Tories planned for Upper Clyde Shipbuilders. They want to 'hive off' the more profitable parts to a privately-owned company, Firth Brown, and sack 4500 men.

As one of the River Don works shop stewards said, the time to fight redundancies is while men are still employed. We spoke

to some members of the Joint Shop Stewards Committee about the crisis and the steps they are taking to protect the

The River Don works produces heavy forgings and castings over 75 tons—the only plant that does in Britain—and also

only plant that does in Britain—and also finished engineering products.

It has been part of the Tinsley Park steel complex, where during the 1960s all spare capital was put into the rolling mills. Management policy was to build these up until they were yielding a good return and then invest capital in the River Don works.

But in the reorganization of ternational.

But in the reorganisation after nationalisation the rolling mills were separated from the River Don works, so removing the expected source of capital.

Under the government's 'hiving off' policy, the River Don's profitable finished engineering sections are to be sold to Firth Brown. £850,000 of investment capital has been put into these sections, as well as a further  $\pounds 1$  million in machinery. Firth Brown will thus have the pick of the new machinery

#### SOLD OFF

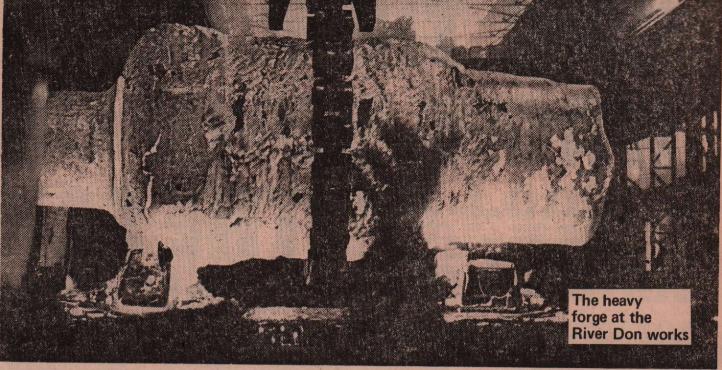
Yet only £40,000 has been invested in the bulk steel section-strangely enough the only part of the works Firth Brown has refused to take over. It is this section which has been declared 'non-viable' by the British Steel Corporation, and is due for closure.

for closure.

The shop stewards pointed out that all major investment and advertising by British Steel has been for the finished engineering side of the industry—which is being sold off to private enterprise.

The shop stewards estimate that about 9000 jobs will be lost as a result of the 'slimming down' of the River Don works, for it will hit supply and transport industries in Sheffield and 880 sackings are expected at the Grimethorpe works.

But the greatest shock of all was hinted



# THE BIG TORY STEEL GRA

management, who said that there were 'far too many people for the work available' in the drop forge and stamp shop, which Firth Brown are taking over as a going concern.

There are 27 unions in the River Don works, all represented on the Joint Shop Stewards Committee.

Although the committee represents a wide variety of political opinions, the common struggle against redundancies has drawn together many people who are not normally active in union politics. They know that, whereas two years ago a Sheffield steel or engineering variety and seed or engineering the steel or engineering th ield steel or engineering worker could find a new job in a few weeks, the sack now means long-term unemployment.

#### ACTION

At first, the River Don workers' oppo-sition took the form of fighting the take-over by Firth Browns. Now they are fighting any sackings as well.

The committee has produced a programme of action, and the workers have so far declared that they will not accept closure or loss of employment, and that

no orders and machinery are to be taken from River Don to Firth Brown.

The Joint Shop Stewards Committee have given them their full support at Firth Brown and agreed to back any action that

the River Don stewards take against closure.

The shop stewards stressed that the power to change the situation lies with the workers on the shop floor, and that it is essential to win the support of workers throughout South Yorkshire. The TUC has already handed out 10,000 leaflets against unemployment in South Yorkshire, but the amount of backing from official channels will depend on the amount of pressure

nels will depend on the amount of pressure workers are prepared to put on them.

The stewards' committee has so far presented its case to all 'the normal channels', including the South Yorkshire MPs, the TUC Steel Committee and the Sheffield Trades and Labour Council. They have spent over £1000 on publicity, and hoardings throughout working-class areas now carry huge posters publicising their fight.

A demonstration in Sheffield on 18 September showed by its numbers, which included many women and children, the strength of feeling over unemployment.

The slogans and placards, opposing unemployment and hiving off in all industries, showed how aware the stewards are of the need to link the fight at River Don with the whole unemployment crisis.

One of the first battles the River Don workers fought was greatered to be a support of the state of the stat

workers fought was over apprenticeship.
The management attempted to cut down the intake of apprentices to six, relying on a 'spirit of defeat' among the workers to get this through.

#### BANNED

Instead, the workers have banned all overtime and the AUEW District Committee responded to this by banning overtime in all firms where the normal apprentice intake has been cut. This determination to prevent the workforce being cut has led to an undertaking that 60 more youths will be taken on and trained in the

River Don training shop for whatever firm they will go on to.

The AUEW District Committee also stated on 6 October 'We have asked our shop stewards at River Don to pursue the line that redundant workers should hand their notices to their shop stewards and

keep on working as was done at UCS'

A leading shop steward on the committee made the point that the opposition to redundancy from inside UCS had created far more effective publicity for the workers' fight than any campaign carried

on from outside.

'We feel,' he said, 'that petitions and demonstrations are all very well if it's realised what they're worth. Demonstrations bring the problem home to the people and unite them behind a policy. But they wen't shift the Torice'.

won't shift the Tories.'

He said it was not enough for the TUC leaders to criticise the Tory party and its policy. More effective action must be taken by the trade union movement, which had been formed to fight for the working

#### **DISASTROUS**

He was in no doubt about Tory responsthe was in to do to a both Tory lesponsibility for the unemployment crisis, and referred to speeches made by Tory MPs before they came to office, in which they openly declared the desirability of a high level of unemployment to keep wages

down.

The shop stewards had no illusions about the effects of Britain joining the Common Market on British steel workers.

Market policy is that Britain Common Market policy is that Britain should produce 20 million tons of steel a

But last year the British Steel Corporation produced 24 million tons, and the private sector four million. The Corporation's plans had been to increase steel production to 36 million tons by 1980, disregarding what the private sector could

As constantly improving technology raises productivity automatically, the cutdown in production in the future will have disastrous consequences for all workers connected with the steel trade.

Is Sheffield to become another grey area? As one of the stewards said, 'the fight against sackings is while men are still employed.' The main purpose of the stewards' campaign has been just this—to involve all employed workers in the area in the common fight against unemploy-

## Backwoods battle against a union-basher

FEW people outside West Cumberland have heard of Cleator Moor—yet this village of 8000 inhabitants has become the scene of one of the first major battles against the Industrial Polations Act. trial Relations Act.

Though the act will not come into full operation until next year, the fact that it is on the statute book is an encouragement for every union-bashing employer to have a go at shop floor organisation.

organisation.

In June the management of S Brannan and Sons did just this by, 'promoting' seven workers to staff status at their Cleator Moor factory. These new mem-bers of the 'staff' continued to work on the tools, but now received up to £12 a week more than men working alongside them doing exactly the same job.

It was a deliberate attempt to divide the workforce, and it caused the com-pany's first strike in 58 years.

After one week the company sacked strikers who refused to return to work, and began to recruit scab labour, mainly from the relatives of supervisory

All attempts by officials of the strikers' union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, to negotiate with Brannans, met with a blank refusal. Within a fortnight the union declared the strike official and last month the membership of the union throughout the district agreed to pay a weekly levy to support the 80 members involved in the dis-

#### Struggle

But far more is now at stake than 80 jobs. Brannans was one of the few 100 per cent union-organised factories in an area where there has been a considerable influx of new industries. As an active trade unionist from a nearby factory remarked 'If Brannan gets away with this we're all unemployed.'

DAVE PEERS writes on one of the first skirmishes against the Industrial Relations Act



Pickets outside the factory. The line is manned 24 hours a day.

After 18 weeks both sides recognise this as a struggle which will decide the future of trade unionism in West Cumberland, and it is a struggle which will be repeated in every area of high unemployment. This is what Martin Brannan, Tory councillor and retired head of the com-pany, thinks of the situation. The authentic voice of class-conscious Toryism in

The lessons to be learnt from this exercise are, in the management's opin-ion, firstly that workers respect management when it stands up for what it believes to be right and when it refuses to be intimidated by trade union threats.

'Secondly, that there is a very real need for the Industrial Relations Bill in giving back to the worker a good deal of the freedom which appears lost in recent

Thirdly, that all good conscientious workers realise that it is the manage-ment's duty to manage and they cannot understand it when management abrogate this right and hand it over to shop stewards who are very rarely fitted for the managerial function.' (Article in Cumberland Review).

#### **Poisoning**

One freedom which Brannan wants to restore to his workers is the freedom to be poisoned by mercury without union interference. The Cleator Moor factory is the largest manufacturer of thermometers in the country, and the use of mer-cury poses a constant health hazard. Mercury is dangerous. It gives off a

vapour which cannot be detected by sight, smell or taste even in high concentrations. Mercury can also be absorbed

It will make your gums swell and your teeth fall out, then attack your nervous system causing a tremor and abnormal shyness. Prolonged exposure damages the kidneys. ages the kidneys.

Workers say that in parts of Brannans the normal atmosphere con-tains seven times the maximum permitted

level of mercury fumes.

At present the AUEW is fighting the cases of 12 Brannans workers affected by mercury poisoning and mercury absorption. If the union wins, the company will have to pay thousands of pounds in compensation, and this has given the Proposition of the Proposition given the Brannan family an additional reason for wishing to break trade unionism in their factory

### Resistance

When George Campbell was 12 months off work with acute mercury poisoning last year, Martin Brannan asked Mrs Campbell if the firm could buy back the mercury when the hospital had got it out of her husband!

If this cynical and reactionary employer succeeds in breaking the AUEW at Cleator Moor it will be a signal for other firms in the district to follow suit.

For the trade union movement Brannans is becoming a symbol of resistance to the Tories' offensive. On 1 October 300 workers from factories in Whitehaven, Workington and other parts Cumberland joined the picket line at

Brannans.
Scabs' cars were stoned and their windows shattered as they left the factory, and the strike committee are preparing an even larger demonstration for mid-

This is a struggle the trade unions can not afford to lose.

Donations, messages of support to Mrs M Hillon, 34 Greystone Place, Cleator Moor, Cumberland.

#### SPECIAL OFFER

Paul Mattick, Marx and Keynes: the Limits of the Mixed Economy is to be published in this country later this month by Merlin Press at £2.50. Pluto Press has a limited number of copies available immediately which are offered to IS members only at a . reduced rate in one of the following

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# HOW THEY KEEP WAGES DOWN ON

'WAGES MAY BE one of the factors,'he admitted reluctantly, 'but I think the real reason is our wretched educational system. We are giving people too much education. They all want to be white-collar workers. Young people today don't want to work hard.'

This remarkable explanation of why farmworkers are leaving the land was given by Mr James Christie, the Norfolk Secretary of the National Farmers' Union, Unfortunately for him, 300,000 farmworkers don't agree. They are currently demanding a substantial wage increase-

The present minimum wage is £14.80 a week. Women get even less-a shameful £11.84.

About 10 per cent of the men are on the minimum rate and according to Reg Bottini, General Secretary of the National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers Farmworkers on the minimum, with a wife and two kids, on the government's own basis, qualify for an income supplement of £2.10

In other words, they are paid below the officially defined poverty level. And the recent staggering rise in the cost of living has made this situation much worse.

THE International Socialists is a

democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who

accept its main principles and who

are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations.

working-class action for the abo-

lition of capitalism and its replace-

ment by a classless society with production for use and not for

ions of the working class and are

firmly committed to a policy of

giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no

allegiances except to themselves and the economic system they

has been formed for the sole pur-pose of increasing the trade and

profits of these multi-national

italism can only be overcome by

international action by the working

indefinitely survive unless workers

of other countries actively come to

its aid by extending the socialist

lutionary socialist organisation in

this country we also believe in the

necessity of forming a world revo-lutionary socialist international

independent of either Washington or Moscow. To this end we have

close relationships with a number of

other socialist organisations through-

In addition to building a revo-

The international power of cap-

single socialist state cannot

internationalism.

revolution

We work in the mass organisat-

Capitalism is international. The

In Europe, the Common Market

We believe in independent

THEFARM

... £14.80 a week and even if they get it they will still be among the lowest paid in the country.

The present minimum wage is

by ROGER ROSEWELL

Socialist Worker Industrial Correspondent

Farmworkers have to work excessive overtime in an effort to get the barest possible standard of living. Their average working week is 48.2 hours, yet this gives them, according to the Ministry of Agriculture, an average wage of only £18.41. This is about £10 a week less than industrial workers.

The present claim is for an £18 minimum wage and a five-day, 40hour week. It was first presented and turned down last year. Now

WHAT WE STAND FOR

We believe in the necessity to

unite socialist theory with the day-to-day struggles of working people

and therefore support all genuine demands that tend to improve the

position and self-confidence of the

For rank and file control of the

Against secret negotiations. We

For 100 per cent trade unionism

Against anti-trade union laws

trade unions and the regular election

believe that all settlements should

be agreed or rejected by mass

and the defence of shop stewards.

and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or

Against productivity deals and job evaluation and for militant trade

union unity and joint shop stew-

ards' committees both in the plant

For equal pay and a better deal

For a minimum wage of at least

Against unemployment, redun-

and on a combine basis.

for young workers.

£25 a week.

out the world.

working class. We fight:

meetings.

of all full-time officials.

the NFU has once again rejected

The Vice-President of the employers is Mr Richard Butler, the son of R A Butler, the former Tory deputy prime minister. And the NFU Director-General is none other than Mr George Cattell.

#### BOASTED

Before Cattell took this job he was the Personnel Director of

demand: Five days' work or five

seek to build militant groups within

timisation of black workers.

in their own defence.

the Warsaw Pact.

workers' control.

For all workers in struggle. We

Against racialism and police vic-

Against immigration restrictions.

For the right of coloured people

Against all nuclear weapons and

Against secret diplomacy. Against all forms of imperialism.

For the nationalisation of the

We are opposed to all ruling class

and all oppressed groups to organise

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

military alliances such as NATO and

We unconditionally give support to and solidarity with all genuine national liberation movements.

land, banks and major industries without compensation and under

policies and organisations. We work

to build a revolutionary workers'

party in Britain and to this end

support the unity of all revolution-

ary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the

central struggle of our time. Workers' power and a world based on human

solidarity, on the increasing of men's

power over nature, with the abolition

of the power of man over man, is

More than a century ago Karl Marx

wrote: 'The philosophers have merely

interpreted the world. The point is to change it.' If you want to help

us change the world and build

It is no use just talking about it.

certainly worth fighting for.

Chrysler in Coventry and the Director of Manpower in Mrs Castle's Department of Employment and Productivity in the Labour govern-

Last year he told how he forced the Measured Day Work system into Chrysler. With a satisfied smirk, he boasted to his audience that this system was a 'modern form of slavery'.

With a record like this, it is obvious that Cattell is well qualified to serve his new semi-feudal masters. One of the top farm bosses spoke to The Times in April and explained that wages were not that important to his

He said: 'It's almost like a big family. When things are going well and I buy a new car, all the men take pride in it, almost as if it were their own.

#### **HAZARDS**

Apart from having to work a standard 43 hour week with compulsory Saturday mornings, the conditions of farmworkers are as bad as their wages. They have no nationally enforceable agreement on sick pay and three weeks' holiday was only achieved this summ-

More than half of them live in 'tied' cottages owned by their employers and face the constant threat of eviction.

Life on the farm is extremely hazardous. Every year more than a hundred workers are killed and, with the growing use of chemical pesticides, the menace to health is increasing. The farmers refuse to supply protective clothing. Farmis the third most dangerous occupation in Britain.

Mr J Wilson, a district organiser of the Agricultural Workers' Union, recently condemned the conditions under which most farmworkers suffer and gave as an example: A man who worked on the same farm for 32 years was injured by a bull. A couple of weeks after he came out of hospital, his employer said to him "I'm fed up with seeing you hobbling around".

#### **OFFENSIVE**

'He gave him a week's noticealthough he was entitled to a

month-and evicted him. The spiteful attitude of the employers, whose income rose by 19 per cent last year compared to a rise in labour costs of only 9 per cent, is further illustrated by their treatment of the present pay claim. Not only have they refused to discuss it, but they have gone on to the offensive by demanding an increase in the rents of their often unsatisfactory and semi-slum tied cottages.

The wages of farmworkers are finally decided by a Wages Board. This consists of farmers, union representatives and some allegedly independent arbitrators who are

Hazardous conditions: farming is the third most dangerous occupation. Top picture shows a tractor without a shield for the driver. If the tractor rolls over he will be crushed. Grim conditions: middle picture shows farmworkers

Feudal conditions: a worker is evicted from his 'tied' cottage

challenge.

#### CONDEMN

The farmworkers' claim is a threat to this policy and it will be bitterly resisted.

miserable 62 pence.

movement mu

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At the Septe

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Relations Act.

The leaders

often not as independent as they claim.

The farmers have complained that the present claim for a £18 minimum wage and a 40-hour, five-day week is a demand for a 21 per cent rise. As such it will present both the union and the Trades Union Congress with a vital

The government has decided that pay increases should be restricted to only 8 per cent a year and have introduced anti-trade union legislation and encouraged the growth of unemployment in an effort to reinforce this driving down of wages while inciting the rise of prices and profits.

In 1959 the minimum farm wage was a mere £8. In the last 11 years, it has increased only by £6.80 or an annual average of a

Any failure to win the current claim in full will condemn the farmworkers to an unenviable struggle for economic survival

#### dancy and lay offs. We support the socialism, join us. BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS: THERE ARE IS

Aberdeen/Dundee/Edinburgh/Fife/ Glasgow N/Glasgow S/Stirling

NORTH EAST Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/ Teesside (Middlesbrough and Redcar)

Barnsley/Bradford/Derby/Doncaster/ Grimsby/Huddersfield/Hull/Leeds York/Selby/Sheffield

ancaster/Manchester/Oldham Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan/

MIDLANDS Birmingham/Coventry/Leamington/ Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham/ Northampton/Redditch/Telford

WALES and SOUTH WEST Bath/Bristol/Cardiff/Exeter/ Gloucester/Mid-Devon/Plymouth/

Ashford/Brighton/Canterbury/ Crawley/Folkestone/Guildford/ Portsmouth/Southampton

Basildon/Cambridge/Harlow/Ipswich/ Lowestoft/Norwich/Colchester

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES Acton/Bletchley/Camden/Chertsey/ Croydon/Dagenham/Enfield/Erith/ Fulham/Greenford/Havering/Harrow/ Hemel Hempstead/Hornsey/Ilford/ Kilburn/Kingston/Lambeth/ Lewisham/Merton/Newham/Notting Hill/Reading/Richmond/Stoke Newington/Slough/South Ealing/ Tottenham/Walthamstow/ Wandsworth/Watford/Victoria

I would like more information about the International Socialists

Farmworkers' fight agains needs support of entireru







st support them. hip of the Agricult-Union is right wing.

nber TUC, General

Bottini declared on would register w Fory Industrial

the whole labour

industrial action and real solidarity from the TUC.

The next few months will reveal the determination of the union leaders to either fight or surrender to the Tory pay policy. The farmworkers' claim will be one of their first and most vital

claim can succeed is by the use of

wayn in which the

starvation pay nion movement

## A major publishing event: IAN BIRCHALL analyses a book that paints a vivid picture of post-revolutionary Russia

ALFRED ROSMER's Lenin's Moscow was first published in 1953. To understand the book's peculiar courage and relevance, it is necessary to recall the state of the world in that year. After launching a last frantic series of show-trials in

Eastern Europe, Stalin died.

His succession was fought over with the same squalid ruthlessness that Stalin himself had shown in grabbing Lenin's mantle; but as yet no one dared breathe a challenge to the orthodoxy that Stalin was, in every respect, Lenin's heir. In the United States, McCarthy was at the peak of his power; pitiful individuals who had broken their links with marxism 20 or more years ago were publicly reviled as accomplices of the 'communist world plot'.

In France, a series of right-wing pro-American governments were systematically attacking the

living standards and organisation of the working class. The Communist Party, blinkered by a dogmatic theory and the personality cult, was increasingly unable to mobilise against these attacks, and was launching dangerously adventuristic movements.

The cold war seemed to have led the working class-and with it the whole of humanity-into a dead end. The working class was not, however, so easily silenced. This was also the year of the East Berlin rising. In France, a strike—originally called by anarcho-syndicalists in the Bordeaux post office-spread to four million

#### Relevance

Rosmer's insistence-argued clearly, simply and with irrefutable docu-mentation-that Stalinism had no-thing whatsoever in common with Leninism or with the working class was of vital relevance to those struggling to free the working class from

the grip of bureaucracy.

But why translate and publish it in English in 1971? Much of what Rosmer wrote 18 years ago is now

commonplace.

Since Khrushchev's secret speech the world communist movement has had to face up to some of the truths of its own history. During the Lenin centenary of 1970 many bourgeois commentators were grudgingly ready to admit that Lenin was not only a human being, but a partially wellintentioned one.

In Budapest 1956, France 1968 and many other places, the working class has begun to go into action on its own account, without Stalinist or social democratic leadership. A new generation of militants has emerged, free of the illusions and obsessions that had paralysed the revolutionary movement for 40 years after Lenin's

#### Reward

But despite the developments of the last 18 years, any revolutionary or militant of the labour movement anxious to confront today's problems will be amply rewarded by reading Rosmer's book. As a historical source alone it is of great value. It contains many details and analyses of the early years of the Communist International, crucial material for the marxist history of the Third International still waiting to be written.

In particular, Rosmer was in an unparalleled position to provide information on the founding and early warrs of the Ped International of

years of the Red International of Labour Unions. His work is essential background reading for any historian concerned with the Minority Movement in Britain or the complex history of split unionism in Western Europe.

But the book is more than a source of factual information; it is a study world revolutionary movement from the Russian Revolution to Lenin's death. Rosmer shows how the economic criss of the post-war period, the traditions of the European labour movement and the qualities and weaknesses of individuals all interacted to produce the successes and the failure of the period.

#### Refutes

His account holds no comfort for those who cling to the neat stereo-types still too common on the left as well as on the right. On the thesis of continuity between Bolshevik auth-oritarianism and Stalinist authoritarianism no more need be said; every page that Rosmer wrote refutes it.

He notes himself that Stalin no-where figures in his narrative, until the very last pages. The same is true of Thorez, Pollitt, Thaelmann and many of the prominent leaders of the

Stalin period. Another associated myth argues that communism was something alien to the Western labour movement, imposed on the working class from outside by Russian agents and Russian money. Even for the rubber-stamp International of the Stalin period this is an over-simplification; national Red Moscow -with Lenin at the helm...



traditions and peculiarities still had a role to play-and for the French Party in particular Rosmer has much to say that helps explain that Party's

future history.

But for the period of the first four Congresses nothing could be more remote from the truth. The Third International brought together all that was best-and a great deal of what was worst-in the variegated spectrum of European labour in 1920.

But Rosmer was also aware of an opposite myth-generated in polemic

opposite myth-generated in polemic with Stalinsim-that idealises the early years of the International, and sees them as a textbook of 'correctness' to be imitated. Hence he underlines a sentence from Lenin's final speech to the International—'I have said that we have done a host of foolish things.' How few of those who claim to be Lenin's heirs have repeated this on their own account.

Rosmer shows how the seeds of counter-revolution were present within the Revolution from its beginning. It is not his aim in this book to produce the second of the second uce an analysis of the nature of Stalinist Russia, though he leaves no doubt that he considers it alien to

any kind of working-class power.

He gives considerable attention to the material conditions of the Revolution-famine, the civil war, economic backwardness. But he is far from the fatalism that puts all the blame on the material conditions. The defeat of the Revolution was a political defeat; hence the paramount importance that Lenin and Trotsky gave to fighting for their political line in the world labour movement.

#### **Tactic**

But Rosmer's work is not of interest only in relation to the 1920-24 period; it also brings out some general

the working-class movement today.
Firstly, the question of the united front. Rosmer shows that for Lenin and Trotsky the united front was more than a tactic dictated by particular historical conditions.

There was, of course, a shift in emphasis between the first two Congresses of the Communist International-which called for the creation of communist parties on a strictly principled basis (the 21 conditions, thereby necessarily entailing splits in the mass labour movement—and the line of the united front developed in

But this shift of emphasis, in response to the decline of the post-war upsurge, had nothing in common with the zigzags the International was later to go through.

For Lenin the struggles against

opportunism and against ultra-leftism were always inseparable. We see, through Rosmer's eyes, the rich selection of ultra-left tendencies that flourished in the post-war atmosphere.

Supporters of the 'revolutionary offensive', opponents of participation in parliament, 'pure syndicalists' hos-tile to the notion of a revolutionary party-all these positions have their counterparts today.

Lenin, with coat over shoulders, in Red Square, Moscow, in 1919.

And the answer to them is still the position presented by Rosmer: any attempt to take power by a short-cut, to by-pass the working class and the actual organisations that the working class is to be found in, is doomed to failure. And if these failures sometimes seem comic on the printed page, there is no doubt as to how tragic their efforts were.

Rosmer's account of the strategy of the RILU, and the clear distinction he makes between parties (which unite those who accept a programme) and unions (which unite all wage-earners), is as relevant today as when it was written.

#### Perspective

The question of the trade unions and their relation to revolutionary and their relation to revolutionary politics is the key problem today in many countries. Rosmer does not solve our problem for us; only a concrete study of class forces can do that. But he gives us an historical perspective; those who turn their backs on the organised labour movement because it is 'bureaucratic' do not even know what the problem is not even know what the problem is.

A second theme of relevance to the

present period is the question of the International. The growing sense of internationalism among radical youth on the one hand, the increasing international concentration of capitalism on the other, mean that socialists must again start thinking about international organisation.

What would such an organisation be like? The best model to date is the

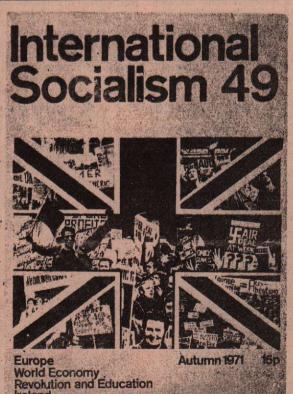
Third International.

The economic and diplomatic chaos of the post-war world meant that every country was intimately affected by events in every other. The French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 was only the most dramatic illustration of this.

But if the world situation meant that every party must be held respons-ible to its fellows for its actions, it did not mean any absence of debate. The International Rosmer paints for us was sometimes fraternal, sometimes impassioned; but always serious differences were being debated

Such an International can be created only on the basis of mass struggles; it cannot be regrouped around a banner held up by an isolated sect. And in these mass struggles, the present lines of demarcation may be replaced by fresh ones, just as the syndicalist-social-democratic split gave way to a different division after 1914.

Lenin's Moscow is published by Pluto Press, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 at £1.30.



New issue includes: Europe, Common Market, Ireland, Education

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International Socialism, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2

## N.Ireland: 'Orange backlash' threatens more sectarian strife

TALK of an 'Orange backlash' is widespread in Northern Ireland. There have been many confident predictions that largescale military action by hard-line Orangemen against Republicans and Catholics was on the way. Every further incident in the Provisional IRA's campaign has seemed likely to spark off the

Recently, the rumour ran around Protestant quarters in Belfast that a bomb had destroyed a clothing factory which employs workers from the Protestant Shankill Road area. Thousands of shipyard workers downed tools and prepared to march on the Catholic Falls Road area. Then the news came that the clothing factory was perfectly intact. A pogrom had been narrowly averted.

This illustrates the high tension that exists in Northern Ireland, particularly in Belfast. In a town of rumours and of secrecy it is difficult to know what the real strength of the militant Orange movement is.

#### Divorced from Faulkner regime

There may be an element of bluff in the repeated statements of Orange militants that 'We've got the guns,' and that 'When the Protestants do fight, there will be an end of it all.' But it is certain that an increasing number of Protestants, especially Protestant workers, are divorced from the Faulkner regime, mistrustful of the British military, and prepared to take the 'suppression of terrorism', and the maintenance of the present regime into their own hands.

The demands have intensified for the revival of the 'B-Specials'—the completely Protestant and anti-Catholic militia disbanded in 1969. 5000 ex-'Specials' have volunteered their services to a new force of this kind.

Government ministers have echoed the call for a 'third force', and Ian Paisley has called for a 'civil defence corps'. When a Scottish Orangeman recently asked an assembly of loyalists in Belfast how their Scots brethren could help them, the answer came: 'Guns' came: 'Guns'.

But the registers of volunteers continue to circulate among Ulster loyalists and the build-up of arms goes on. Guns are being manufactured in Belfast engineering works where all the employees are Protestants.

Some businessmen are reported to have given money to buy arms. There are, in any case, just over 100,000 licensed guns in Northern Ireland, of which a large proportion are certainly in the hands of extreme Protestants. The weap-ons include 7000 high-velocity rifles and 45 heavy machine guns.

Some of these guns have seen action recently. In the days following the introduction of internment, snipers were firing into Catholic areas. There were several attacks by the Ulster Volunteer Forcean illegal organisation whose existence and whose activity the authorities deny. The British troops did nothing to prevent this. In fact they gave supporting

But if the Orangemen are preparing to fight, what will they fight for? In the words of an 'Ulster Covenant' which has been signed by nearly 500,000 people in the past few weeks, they are defending their civil and religious freedom, their material well-being and their 'cherished position of citizenship of the United Kingdom'.

#### Loss of privileges

In reality, they would be fighting to preserve the privileges in housing and jobs they have enjoyed in the past from the Tory unionist regime. They fear that any granting of equal rights to Catholics will mean the end of those privileges.

This fear is expressed in different ways. There is the racialist streak of the infamous 'Orange-Loyalist Songs', in which it is baldly stated that 'Taigues [Catholics] are made for killing.' Catholics must be made to leave 'their' territory, and, if they will not go, then the Orangemen will 'put an end to this Roman Catholic nonsense here.

There is the rather more elaborate view of Arvo Manhattan—a writer for Paisley's paper, the Protestant Telegraph—that 'behind the IRA, the Dublin government, the civil rights mobs, and the Irish lobby in Westminster, there was, of course, the Catholic Church, the inspirer of the whole tragedy.

The traditional Unionist notion of Ulster as a Protestant state has been deeply implanted in the minds of Protestants over many decades by the rulers of Britain and Northern Ireland. More recently these rulers have been forced to try and reform Northern Irish politicschiefly because of the closer integration of the whole Irish economy into British



Protestant discontent: O'Neill went and Chichester-Clark followed. How long for Faulkner?

# **Protestants and Unionists** -the gap widens

ponse to them of the civil rights and re-publican movements have created the situation in which the 'backlash' is immi-

The gap between the leaders of the Unionist Party and the Protestant rank and file widens daily. On the political front, it is expressed in the recent formation of the Democratic Unionist Party which is led by Paisley and Desmond Boal, a lawyer and MP for the Shankill.

The opposition to the leadership within the ruling Unionist Party itself is also increasing. Constituency associations opposed to Faulkner's policies met last week, and agreed to stay within the party, but to make their opposition clear.

They want tighter 'security'-a tougher clampdown on the IRA and the recreation of the B-Specials. They oppose the talks between Faulkner, Lynch and

Faulkner's agreement to the talks was seen by them as a 'sell-out' to Dublin. It led to the resignation of Boal and of John McQuade, MP for Woodvale, another working-class district of Belfast.

#### Class lines

Unionist councillors in Belfast, and other towns have also resigned on the same grounds. Immediately after his resigantion from the Unionist Party, McQuade was elected to the Belfast Corporation,

receiving 92 per cent of the votes cast.

The widening gap within the Unionist camp has distinct class lines. The great majority of the middle class recognise that there is no future for traditional sectarian rule, although they are not satisfied with the present security policies. There is considerable support among the Catholic and Protestant professional and commercial classes for reforming Union-ist organisations such as the Alliance



PAISLEY: formed a new party

Party and the new Ulster Movement. But the Protestant rank and file-workers, unemployed, small traders and farmers—feel betrayed by their leaders. They are lining up behind men like Paisley in the belief that he can restore

the pre-1968 situation.
Shop stewards and trade union officials speak on the same platform as Pais-ley blaming 'the Catholics' for social grievances. But there is no economic base for this movement, and no political perspective.

For the moment there is growing sup-port for extreme Orangeism and of sec-tarian strife. It is a tragic perspective for the Irish working class.

Protracted conflict between Catholic

rotracted conflict between Catholic and Protestant workers would not be a heightening of the national struggle. It would be a grave set-back for the Irish working class. Those struggling for a socialist republic have no interest in this hannening happening.

There are some within the Republican movement who are aiming at civil war, in the hope that this would lead to direct rule from Westminster and a massive confrontation between British forces and Irish 'national' forces, including the state

army of the south.

Such ideas are a blind and automatic response to the discrimination and repression of the Northern regime and the British Army. But if there is sectarian strife and civil war, the main responsibility will not be that of any section of the Republican movement, but of the Tory-Unionist regimes who have fostered

religious hatred.

The only thorough response to this is the development of socialist policies and a socialist organisation to lead the whole Irish working class.

Socialists need to make it clear to

Protestant workers that they do not intend to force any section of the working class into a united republic. They need, too, to make clear their opposition to Catholic middle-class control in the Counties and in areas of the Six Counties. They need to emphasise that a socialist republic would not be religious, that church and state would be separated

To prevent further entrenchment of Protestant workers in extreme Orangeism and to take advantage of the developing economic crisis, the struggle in the South becomes all important. The essential and difficult task of Irish revolutionaries is to link that struggle with the continuing fight against the Unionist regime and military repression in the North

In Britain, the threat of a backlash should not weaken the pressure for the withdrawal of British troops. The way in which the military has been used has done much to create the present situation.

Their presence does not prevent the backlash. The longer they are there, the more vicious that backlash will be. The British labour movement must also mount pressure for an end to internment and to repressive legislation in the Six Counties and the disarming of sectarian militias.

**BRIAN TRENCH** 





Irish workers in which they are involved. During a three-day stay with a unit stationed in Belfast, I talked with many soldiers and found that most honestly believe the troubles to be caused by a

natural belligerence peculiar to the Irish.

There was a complete ignorance of the political nature of the struggle. Most of them accept the lies churned out daily by the capitalist press.

The official line that religion is the

true cause was repeated time and time again. The real evils of high unemploy-ment, bad housing and discrimination— exploited by Westminster and both Irish governments to divide the workers-had completely escaped everyone's notice.

Soldiers accept the Army's presence in Northern Ireland without question. They actually see themselves in the role of 'peace-keepers' between Catholic and Protestant workers.

The Army's real role as agents of British imperialism, upholding the bloody rule of capital in Ulster, remains hidden from those who do the bosses'

dirty work.

It was frightening to find that many soldiers—mostly those who are young and unmarried—dislike service in Northern Ireland only because their freedom to attack the locals was restricted.

#### Less delicacy

This unit had previously carried out 'internal security' operations—ie cracked down on workers fighting for their rights—in British Guiana, Hong Kong and Borneo, where less delicacy was expected from the troops.

Indeed, on a previous visit to Belfast, an officer told me that things were simpler in Hong Kong-troops broke up riots by 'just' shooting the 'ringleaders'.

And I was told that the violence in Ulster had resulted in increased recruitment-which shows the kind of frustration felt by many who are attracted to Service life.

Unemployed? Homeless? Well, join the army and terrorise people in the same

I did not hear a whisper about atrocities, but it was freely admitted that the British press has been playing down the situation and the Army's activities all

along.
With soldiers kept deliberately ignorant of the real Irish situation—and whose hero seems to be Enoch Powell—no wonder the bosses feel confident of being able to continue their brazen assault on workers' rights, in Northern Iraland.

TOM MAITLAND

## Gas man Frank comes out fighting

FRANK ROCHE, formerly a docker in Dublin, created quite a stir last year when he gave members of the House of Commons a whiff of CS

The authorities have justified the use of the gas against working-class families in the Bogside and Bally-murphy on the grounds that it is 'completely harmless'. But when they were given a small dose of the 'harmless' treatment themselves they considered the matter so serious that they sent Frank Roche to prison for 18 months.

Frank was released last week and he joined other speakers in addressing open air anti-internment meetings in different parts of London

He spoke of his reason for throwing the CS cannister in the Commons. had experienced the gas myself in Ballymurphy. It's ferocious stuff, like hot bits of sand or glass inside your eyelids. The inside of your nose and throat burns, right down into your lungs. Some people vomit from it, some collapse. I vomited the next

'When the cannister hit the floor of the House of Commons the minis-ters and MPs sat there staring, mesmerised by it. The first two out were Harold Wilson and Barbara Castle, who moved like greyhounds. Then all hell broke loose

#### Not forgotte n

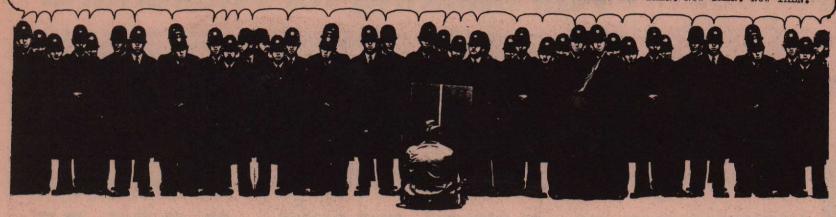
'The main value of throwing it from my point of view was that it said to the people of Northern Ire-land that we had not forgotten them. It also brought the attention of the public to CS gas. That seemed to work for a while. A fortnight before my trial they stopped using the stuff, and did not start again for several months. I don't regret having done it one iota.

I asked Frank what he thought of statements put out by some members of the Provisional IRA to the effect that they would consider planting bombs in Britain as part of the Irish

'I don't agree at all with the blowing up of buildings in Britain. In fact only one group of the Provisionals said that. The main body denied it. In any case, what was said was that any acts of that kind would be carried out only if there was a 'doomsday' situation, an all out war of survival.

Throwing the CS cannister was to bring certain things to public attention. But for British socialists the most important thing is to inform their workmates on the shop floor what is happening, to dispel the smokescreen of misrepresentation that is being erected in the press, to bring Northern Ireland matters into discussion in trade union branches and working-class political organisations, and to engage in whatever solidarity action they can.

NOW THEN! NOW THEN!



# Monty P-funnier on the small screen

EIGHTY-EIGHT minutes of Monty Python's Flying Circus in colour on the big screen sounds too good to be true to those addicts who are still sitting through the third repeat of the television series. But before they all go leaping along to see the Python team in their new film 'And Now For Something Completely Different' (Columbia), I think I'd better warn them that, if they're expecting something completely different, then they are in for a disappointment, because all the material used in the film, including Terry Gilliams' graphics, originated from the TV programmes.

#### Chuckle

Not that it's impossible to laugh yet again at some of their antics: the report by a TV sociology pseud on the Hell's Grannies, a gang of leather-jacketed old ladies who ride around on bikes beating up teenagers; the upper-class twit of the year show; the army instructor teaching a class in the art of defence against a banana; the man-eating cars.

Well, I need only mention the sketch, and you might start to chuckle, but inevitably I could think of many other funny items from the television series which would have been my preference for a filmed collection of Python

Something has been lost of the original in the film version. The sketches benefited I think from the studio atmosphere and audience. The cinema has recently seen film versions of several successful television series, Dad's Army, Up Pompei, to name a few, and none of them have come off very well on the larger screen.

#### Savage

There's nothing worse than watching a comedy film in a huge, bleak 1920s picture palace, while a few nervous titters break out from time to time.

Monty Python isn't epoch-making stuff. The blend of surrealistic and under-graduate humour isn't likely to prove very subversive.

It has become a part of the pop-Goon Show never did, the latter programme being much more savage

in its comedy. John Cleese and Co have managed

to be something of a cult, despite the attempts of BBC programme planners, and now, following early doubts, maximum capital is about to be wrung out of Monty Python, which I fear is to put an end to its creativity. It's a familiar story: first neglect, and then over-exposure.

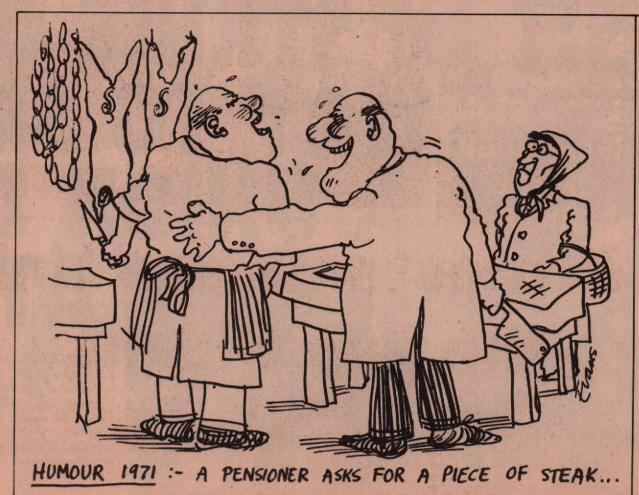
Let's hope the Epilogue doesn't catch on.

### John Finn

#### THE STRUGGLE FOR BANGLA DESH

Nigel Harris outlines the background to the events of the last eight bitter months and suggests what action can be taken by the socialist and labour movements of the West to au the Bengali liberation movement.

15p a copy plus 3p post from PLUTO PRESS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.



TO SCREECHES of delight from the floggem brigade, Reggie Maudling announced this week to the Tory Party conference that he may introduce legislation to make crooks pay compensation to their victims.

The words were scarcely dry on the Home Sec's lips when four million American citizens decided to take him at his word. They are suing the Real Estate Fund for £12 million-the money they lost when they invested in the crooked 'off-shore' property outfit.

The investors claim they were encouraged to invest by the guarantees of honesty they received from Real Estate's ex-president, the Right Hon Reginald Maudling.

Will Reggie pay up? Or was he just talking about small-time crooks at Brighton!

TORY PARTY chairman Peter Thomas on the radio on Sunday. puffing up the Prime Minister: 'At least he doesn't keep going on television, exposing himself'. For this relief, much thanks.

## Bright spark

CONVERSATION between the son of Frank Chapple and the big man himself, gensec of the Electricians

Daddy, I though you always told me that Communists were wicked people who led strikes and made relations difficult with the nice employers?

That's right, son.' But it says in the paper that you're lifting the ban on them standing for office in the union? Doesn't that mean they could be elected as

Do you think I'm daft, son? There are no elections for officials in the ETU. The executive appoints them-and we won't be appointing



ally III, between 19-30 and 5'8" or over.

FROM a police recruiting ad. If the two on the left are 5'8" or over, the poor bugger crouching down must be at least 11'3".

any bleedin' reds, I can tell you.'
'But you do elect the president,

dad, and they could put someone up for that post now that Uncle Les has gone to the Big Construction Site in

'Yeah, they could-except that if I get my way we'll be abolishing the

post of president.'
'So if they can't actually stand for any office, why are you lifting the ban?'

Because I want to merge with the Engineers and Hughie Scanlon won't have us if we have any bans on Communists. And I can't register the union under the Industrial Relations Act, until I pretend to lift the ban, because the Act says a union mustn't restrict any members from enjoying their full rights.

'So, dad, your "conversion to

democracy" is just a load of cods-wallop, sheer opportunism and

expediencey? "Ere, what are you, a bleedin' Trotskyite or somethin'? Clear off, or I'll put your feet in a bowl of water and make you put a new light

### Jones the froth

MOST EMBARRASSING of all the bad and appalling speeches at the Labour Party conference last week came from Transport Workers' chief Jack Jones. Pounding the rostrum in mock fury, he worked himself into a sweaty lather over the plight of the Old Age Pensioners, calling yet again for a 'campaign' on the subject that commits neither the party nor the TUC to any positive action, and certainly avoids any mention of

industrial action. Meanwhile, back at the grass roots, the TGWU Record announces that, to back up Jack's fine words, the union has made a donation of £500 to the National Old Age Pensioners' Association. Funds of the TGWU amount to £22 million. Well, if you believe in mouthing empty words, you might as well throw in an empty gesture.

THE VERY LAST WORD on the Labour conference-from a delegate who had suffered the sledgehammer chairmanship of Ian Mikardo for a week: 'He's not as nice as he looks.'

## **Badly Malled**

PRINCE PHILIP, president of the Wild Life Preservation Society, led a party that killed 440 partridges and pheasants last week in the first shoot of the season on the Sandringham estate. When it comes to hypocrisy, you have to admit that the Royals have got the rest of us beaten.

## How the press lies on **Ireland**

Believe anything until you read it in the papers' is an old socialist adage. And if proof were needed of its truth, Eamonn McCann's newly published pamphlet The British Press and Northern Ireland provides 24 fact-packed pages of

Tracing the record of Northern Ireland reporting from the intervention of British troops onward, a pattern of sycophantic grovelling to Stormont, to the British government and in particular the army authorities, emerges on the part of popular and heavy papers alike

McCann's method is simple but effective. Taking a number of events as described in one or other of our 'free press' he peels away the comfortable phrases which journalists use to suggest that a series of distortions, half-truths and straightforward lies are based on factual, objective reporting.

#### HYSTERICAL

In March, for instance, Mirror reporter Edward Vale made the startling discovery that Scotland Yard was investigating the 'execution' of 29 men by the IRA during the preceding 16 months. An ideal opportunity for the Mirror to indulge in hysterical headlines and rabid denunciations

Not a shred of evidence was produced to substantiate the allegation. It has warranted no mention since. Mr Vale, the Mirror and the IRA have all vanished from the scene of the

This is not an isolated incident but one of dozens in which the IRA has been pilloried without evidence, in which every unarmed and innocent civilian shot becomes a 'terrorist' and 'IRA gunman', and every statement from the

army press office, uninvestigated and unattributed, is taken as fact.
You probably know the press lies. Just how and why this pamphlet will help you discover.

From Belfast itself, an up-todate and informed account of the events leading up to and immediately following the introduction of internment, The Battle of Belfast, provides us with exactly the sort of information the press prefer to ignore.

#### REALITIES

How the barricades went up after the first internment swoops, and the people organised to fight back. How the British Army steal dustbin lids to prevent them being used as a warning system. How the rubber bullet and the rifle butt are the everyday experience of ghetto Catholics.

And how the British Army stand by while armed Orange extremists evict Catholic and Protestant workers' families from their homes in the 'no man's land' around the ghettos. These are the realities which so conveniently escape the 'men on the spot'

To find out what it's like, read this pamphlet. But remember what it does not make explicit: that the Battle of Belfast can finally be won only if it is carried on to the streets of Dublin and London.

The British Press and Northern Ireland, Eamonn McCann. Published by the Northern Ireland Socialist Research Centre, price

12p.
The Battle of Belfast, Published by Clann na hEireann,

Both available from IS Books, 6 Cottons Gdns London E2 8DN.

Mike Heym

## **Full backing for Alexandria**

WORKERS' representatives from Plessey plants throughout Britain met in Man-chester last weekend and gave unanimous backing to the occupation of the com-bine's plant at Alexandria, Dunbarton-

The Scottish workers started their sit-in in defiance of management plans to close the plant completely and move the expensive machinery to Ilford. Stewards at the Ilford works have already declared that they will 'black' the transfer of

machines.
The Manchester meeting was the first-

**SW Reporter** 

ever combine get-together of Plessey workers. Areas represented were: Sun-derland, Northampton, Beeston, Bath-gate, Alexandria, Ilford and Swindon.

Ilford convenor Kath Kelly said the meeting was well-attended and that a further one will take place at Queen's Hall, Manchester on 6 November. Following that, she said, it was hoped to have regular, combine meetings on a three regular combine meetings on a threemonthly basis. Ilford steward Charles Plaistow was elected combine chairman.

The delegates agreed unanimously to support the blacking of Alexandria machines. This means that the management will be unable to move the plant to any of their factories in Britain.

The Scots workers, who began their occupation on 3 September, are considered to be 'ex-employees' by Plessey. Donations are urgently required and should be sent to Eddie McLafferty, Plessey Works, Alexandria, Dunbarton-

## **PSF** strike wards off sackings

SW Reporter
BIRMINGHAM:- 921 redundancy notices were withdrawn on Monday following a week-long strike by the 1700 workers at Pressed Steel Fisherpart of British Leyland.

The strike committee chairman told me that the redundancies were the result of the deliberate policy of British Leyland's management to concentrate production in a few plants and sack the rest of the

The redundancies were first announced last December with the decision to phase out production of the ¼ ton van. But stewards explained that a significant proportion of the redundancies arose because of the introduction of a productivity deal

It is expected that 220 workers will be transferred to Austin Longbridge and a further 150 will go to the adjoining fac-tory of Tractors and Transmissions. This leaves 550 workers who will again be

declared redundant.

The stewards said that action would be taken when this happened but that it would be difficult to follow the example of the Plesiey workers and occupy the works because the machinerywas outdated and the management had no further use

The need for a strong BLMC combine

The need for a strong BLMC combine organisation to counteract the management tactic of picking off the workforce factory by factory has been demonstrated to the stewards at PSF.

Next January the remaining workforce at PSF is to be integrated with Tractors and Transmissions under one management. Workers at PSF should join with T&T workers and fight the management from a wider base.

rressure should be applied by all BLMC workers to form an effective combine committee which is prepared to act on the principle 'An injury to one is an injury to all'. Pressure should be applied by all BLMC

## BSA: 3000 to go

A HEADLINE in the Financial Times last Friday summed up the way in which profits are put before people in present-day society. It announced 'Plan to save BSA: 3000 redundancies'.

Two-thirds of the workers in the motor-like workers in the motor-like the same than the Birmingham.

bike plant in Small Heath, Birmingham, will be thrown out of their jobs. They will be joining 30,000 other workers in the West Midlands area who have been made redundant so far this year. Few of the newcomers to the Labour Exchange have much hope of getting any alternative employment.

Even the management at BSA admit that they have been to blame for this crisis, not the workforce. Yet the workers carry the can and are given their cards while large chunks of the plant are sold off to boost profits.

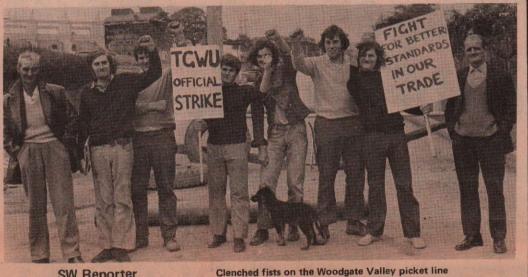
The only hope for the BSA workers lies in resisting attempts to close down whole sections of the factory and transfer

work elsewhere.

I enclose £....

# GETS TOUGH ON THE

# SIT-IN STRIKE ONLY BIRMINGHAM A TOUGH UNIOND



SW Reporter

'LUMP'

THE STRUGGLE against the 'lump'labour-only contracting used by the build-ing bosses to prevent trade union organisation-has taken another step forward

in the Birmingham area.

Last week a large demonstration of building workers from 16 different sites demanded an end to the lump,£1 an hour for the 35-hour week, four weeks' paid holiday, an end to the bonus system and

a closed shop on all Birmingham sites.
Only one day after the march action was taken to begin fighting for these demands. 150 men walked off a multimillion pound contract at the Woodgate

The contractor, Bryant, is one of a number of firms notorious for its use of the lump. Birmingham Corporation accepts tenders from such firms. They seem cheap to the council, yet in fact

the work done is extremely shoddy.

One bricklayer on the site said he had to spend the last eight weeks putting

right work done by lump labour.

Bryant sacked the men who came out, but the union has made the strike official. Pickets have stopped lorries from

The 150 men who came out can produce pay slips showing a take-home pay of only £20 for 56 hours work. They are getting help from other sites, and, as Gerry Kelly, the labourers' steward points out, they see the fight as one that has to be won in order to build up the newly-merged Builders Union and improve pay and conditions throughout the whole

## BR plan to chop 5000 jobs in key

rail workshops

by John Field

RAILWAY WORKSHOPS are to bear the brunt of British Rail's latest policy for staff cut-backs. This is the news from Monday's meeting between the board and union

British Rail says it will sack 5000 engineering employees in the next five years. First BR workshops to be hit will be the Ashford Works in Kent and the Barassie

Ashford Works in Kent and the Barassie Works near Glasgow.

The total workforce in the two shops is 1700. Not a single job will be saved, according to BR.

Workshop staff have been bamboozled in the past by promises of security in exchange for productivity. They have accepted the infamous 'Pay and Efficiency' agreement, and they have accepted massive redundancies and closures in the last 20 years—all in the name of future security of job tenure. This is now shown up to ity of job tenure. This is now shown up to be the fraud that it really is.

Glasgow is already an area of high un-employment and the decision to close Barassie can only aggravate the situation. But what about Ashford in 'Sunny Kent'?

Already many towns in Kent have unemployment figures of more than double the national average-towns such as Deal, Dover, Folkestone and Thanet. Ashford until now was one of the few areas where jobs were to some extent available. Now, together with the Tories' policy of continued mine closures, the east Kent area may well end up a total backwater.

The union leaders declared a fortnight ago their determination to fight any redundancies. Now that the official statements have been released, railway shop-men want to know what the union's strategy is going to be.

#### 500 at IS debate

MORE THAN 500 people attended a de-bate in Brighton last Thursday between the International Socialists and Tribune. Speakers for IS were Paul Foot and John Palmer and Labour MPs Norman Atkinson and Stan Orme were the Tribune spokes-

## NOTICES-

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS London Region Aggregate. IS and the Way Forward 2pm 23rd October, New Merlins Cave, Margery Street, WC1. Members only.

KINGSTON IS Public mtg: The Fight Against the Tories: The Socialist Altern-ative. Spkr. Duncan Hallas, IS National Secretary, Congregational Church Hall, Eden St, Kingston. Friday 22 October 8pm

KILBURN IS Public mtg: The Struggle in Ireland. 8pm Tuesday 19 October. Anson Hall, York Room, Chichele Rd, NW2.

PETERBOROUGH IS Public mtg: Tony Cliff on Unemployment, 10.20am Sat 30 October, The New Inn, New Road, Peterborough.

HALIFAX IS Public mtg: Val Clark on The Attack on the Welfare State, Sun 24 October. The Upper George, Cheapside 7.30pm

HUDDERSFIELD IS Public mtg: Val Clark on The Attack on the Welfare State, Frid 22 Oct at The Plough, Westgate, 7.30pm.

IS Womens Newsletter No 5 now available price 5p post free. Orders to M Renn, 76 Gillespie Rd, N5-money with orders. Available also at Skegness rally.

IS member (or sympathetic) required to share IS flat (own single room £6) near Surbiton station. Phone 739 1878 daytime (weekend, evgs 390 0437).

Comrade wanted to share flat in East London. Own room. Write to Box ORI, Socialist Worker.

International Socialists need voluntary help weekdays: phone 739 2639.

ANTI-INTERNMENT LEAGUE Public meeting, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq.,WC1. Friday 15 October 8pm. Socialists and the crisis in Ireland. Spkrs Michael Farrell (recently released internee, member of Peoples' Democracy, Irish socialist) also Eamonn McCann (Derry Labour Party).

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At present Govan Shipbuilders consists of the Govan and Linthouse yards with a 'feasibility study' being carried out at Scotstoun.

by PETER BAIN GLASGOW:- The UCS crisis is coming to a head.

Pressure from the government, the board of

Govan Shipbuilders-the skeleton outfit which would take over from UCS-and now Boiler-

makers' leader Dan McGarvey, has forced the workers into a dangerous situation that could

The failure of the 'work-in' to challenge the government has given the Tories and employers more confidence. It has also smoothed the path for McGarvey's

intervention and his weight has been behind the govern-

ment in trying to get the stewards to accept Govan

jeopardise several thousand jobs.

If Scotstoun is included, there will be jobs for 3600 out of 8500 UCS workersin an area of 10.6 per cent male unemployment. And the entire Govan Shipbuilders' project depends on union acceptance of 'changes in working practices' and achieving 'competitive wage rates'

#### NO-STRIKE CLAUSE

On Wednesday the stewards stuck to their policy of 'no redundancy, no closures', and demanded that all four yards-including Clydebank-are discussed together. They are also demanding that the government provides financial guarantees for four ships due to be started for the Irish Shipping Line

McGarvey's tactic has been to try to get stewards committed to talking about conditions in Govan Shipbuilders while confining discussion about Clydebank to the realm of hopeful speculation. He has also invited Hugh Stenhouse,

He has also invited Hugh Stenhouse, multi-millionaire Tory chairman of Govan Shipbuilders, to seek a 'no strike' agreement from the UCS workers. He has shoved double-day shift working down John Davies' throat so often that even the Tory minister must be getting tired of it.

Despite the much boosted 'work-in', despite the fact that the shop stewards.

despite the fact that the shop stewards have torn the government's case for butch-ering UCS to shreds, the Tories are pushing ahead with their plans. The reason for this is simple: no amount of sweet talk or of acting 'responsibly' will budge the Tories.

#### RADICAL CHANGE

Only the power of the trades union movement can shift this reactionary govern-

But this would mean a radical change in line by the UCS Shop Stewards' Co-ordinating Committee. It would mean the adoption of a programme along the follow-

End the work-in-start a sit-in strike

and occupation.

2. No ship to be handed over until all jobs are guaranteed. The tugmen have said that nothing will be moved without the stewards' permission.

3. A conference of shop stewards from every industry should be called immediately to discuss the struggle at UCS, and

the fight against unemployment. 4. The yards should be nationalised under workers' control.

Only the UCS workers, backed financially and physically by mass support from other workers, can change the Tories' policy.

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