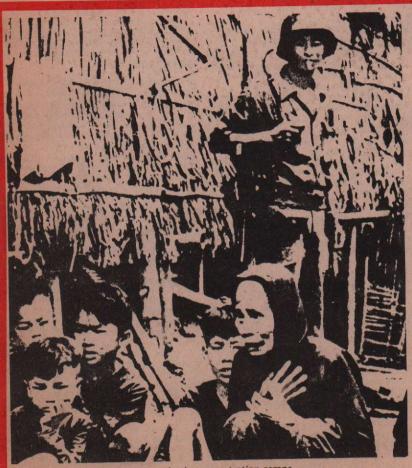
WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS



Young and old are held at gun point in concentration camps

# Vietnam: one last bloody fling by Nixon's outlaws

ON THE BRINK of total defeat in Vietnam, Nixon and the American war lords have launched one last, desperate attack on the North. The mining of North Vietnamese ports is an act of international aggression while the bombing of rail and supply lines will bring further death and destruction to the Vietnamese people.

Justifying his latest escalation of the war, Nixon hypocritically declared: 'There is only one way to stop the killing. That is to keep the weapons of war out of the hands of the international outlaws of North Vietnam.'

But the only outlaws at work in SE Asia are the troops of American imperialism and their puppet regime in Saigon. For Nixon to describe as 'outlaws'

people fighting to free their own country of foreign domination is to turn logic on its head.

The facts are irrefutable: the Vietnamese people have been fighting with incredible heroism for 30 years to kick out first the French and now the Americans. It was the Americans who sabotaged a united Vietnam after the French defeat and who organised one puppet regime after another in a frantic attempt to maintain their economic and political domination in Asia.

American involvement in SE Asia has meant a reign of terror in both North and South Vietnam. Three times as many bombs have been dropped on Vietnam as were used in the whole of World War II, while modern science has been geared to the production of horrific weapons like fragmentation

bombs, napalm and defoliation devices

8000 concentration campspolitely called 'strategic hamlets' -have been built in the South to house the people fighting back against American troops.

But despite the terror, despite the attempted destruction of the countryside upon which most of the people depend for a living, the Vietnamese battled on and brought the most powerful nation on earth to its knees.

### **Total rout**

The Saigon army, the shining example of Nixon's policy of 'Vietnamisation', is in total rout, both officers and ranks showing no stomach for a fight aimed at propping up the rotten and corrupt government that rules by of American decree capitalism.

And so Nixon is forced to tear away the smokescreen of 'withdrawal' American mount further raids on the North. The mining of the ports is a crude attempt to prevent the legitimate flow of arms to the Northern government and the National Liberation Front

# **Duty clear**

The mining is also a clear attempt to blackmail Russia into pressurising the North Vietnamese to bow to Nixon's terms. He is threatening to call off the summit talks on arms limitations unless the Russians dance to his

The duty of socialists and trade unionists is clear. We stand for the total defeat of US imperialism and for the right of the Vietnamese people to decide their own lives free from foreign domination.

We must condemn the latest exercise in military barbarism by the Nixon government and stand prepared to support demonstrations of solidarity with the Vietnamese in every part of Britain.

Their fight is our fight.

THE RUSH by the leaders of the trade union movement to surrender to the Tories' Industrial Relations Act has turned into a stampede. In two short weeks they have jettisoned the official TUC policy of non-co-operation with the law and the refusal to appear before the National Industrial Relations

Now they have made it clear that Sir John Donaldson, the Tory who sits as the judge in the NIRC, has only to give the word and they will run to obey. TUC general secretary Vic Feather has now issued a circular to the unions telling them that all they have to do before they appear before the NIRC is merely to inform him by telephone.

Jack Jones, leader of the 13/4m-strong Transport Workers Union, daily instructs his dockers to obey NIRC injunctions and to give up their fight to defend their jobs by blacking container lorries. And his union has paid the vicious £55,000 without

But the fight against the law remains as important as ever. It must be broken, defied and beaten if working people are to maintain their organisations to fight for better wages and conditions.

When the Tories brought in the law, they had one aim in view: they wanted to use legal judgements to force unions into a situation that would make it much harder for the rank and file to organise.

The key to the Tory policy was to give preferential treatment to unions that changed their rule books in order to win suffered from heavy fines.



Feather: no dust up

As The Economist, the house magazine of big business, put it last week: 'The original idea was that unions would be

pain of being deregistered again.'

As the Tories saw it, unions that were not registered would quickly be forced to do so as they lost out in competition for members to registered unions and as they

# Support the railwaymen

THE rail unions' decision to work to rule again is a recognition that industrial action the only way to wring wage increases from the Tories.

If the dispute goes on, the entire trade union movement must support the railmen and refute the slanders of the Tory press about 'robbery' and 'holding the country to ransom'. The railmen ARE a special case. Their wages have been whittled away by rising prices and rents and they are forced to work a basic 48-hour week to

acceptance by the new Registrar of Trade

driven by judgements into registering and that when they registered they would be required to operate in a respectable way on

earn a living wage.
It is vital this time that the rail unions refuse to accept a further government-imposed 'cooling-off' period and demand full backing from the TUC for action in defiance of the law.

of full-time national officers who are often elected for life and pay scant regard to rank and file feelings.

The result would be a trade union movement much less able or likely to resist Tory policies on unemployment, low wages and productivity bargaining.

resist Tory policies on unemployment, low wages and productivity bargaining.

These plans could not work if the unions stood united in their determination to fight the law. If unions refuse to appear before the NIRC and the tribunals, there is no way in which the government can interfere with their internal decision-

# SWEPT ASIDE

That is why the sudden surrender of official policy by the TUC is so serious. Now the unions say they will appeal to the Tory judge for friendly treatment, rather than rely on their ability to organise and lead their members.

Yet if the union leaders were to call on

their members to use their industrial might there is no doubt that the call would be answered and the law swept aside.

The Tories did not use the Act against the miners because they knew they would ignore it and effectively destroy its power to frighten other sections. The Tories did use the Act against the railmen because they knew that leaders like Sir Sidney Greene would shy away from a fight.

If the Transport Workers had organised direct industrial action among its most powerful sections, the impact on the economy would have forced the NIRC to The Tories did not use the Act against

its injunctions and fines.
ad the union leaders have

abandoned the fight. They run away with even greater speed than the South Vietnamese Army from Quang Tri.

The retreat threatens to turn into a rout. Today they say they will appear before the NIRC in 'defensive' actions. The logic of that position is then to register to strengthen the case they can present to the court.

And once they have registered they will justify every sacrifice of their members' rights to remain on the register and will warn against militant action

Only the rank and file can stop a total capitulation. Militants in every union must fight at every level to stop the retreat and

return to a clear-cut policy of total non-co-

operation with the law.

When union leaders say we must respect the law of the land, we must reply: WHOSE LAW? It is legislation devised for the tiny minority who own and control 80 per cent of the wealth of this country and who will use the law to stop us taking a fraction of that wealth from them.

In every union militants must organise to demand that:

The TGWU give official backing to the dockers blacking containers and refuse to

pay further fines.

The TUC be recalled immediately to

BALANCE SHEET ON UCS: CENTRE PAGES

government-imposed daily fines of 250 dollars (£100) each if they had continued the strike, they had voted

overwhelmingly that same day to

stay out-but union leaders ordered

To understand this magnificent gesture of rank and file defiance it is necessary to see how Quebec workers have moved sharply to the left in recent months.

At the roots of the move are the same

At the roots of the move are the same problems facing workers in Britain as Western capitalism lurches into crisis. Unemployment in some Quebec towns ranges from 10 to 50 per cent—depending on the source of your figures.

There have been isolated revolts in those towns for two years now. In 1970, for instance, townsfolk in Cabano blew up bridges and blocked roads leading to a forestry concession owned by multimillionaire K C Irving. When he failed to provide a promised plant and jobs, they burnt his buildings and threatened to do the same to his forest.

Spark

Meanwhile a study group set up by the Quebec Federation of Labour (QFL) unearthed scandal after scandal as the extent of the Liberal government support for their business friends became apparent. A typical case: the government gave Chemcell 497,888 dollars (£200,000) without strings to create just 15 jobs—and at the same time Chemcell laid off 421 workers at another plant.

But the real spark was last year's La

Presse affair.

In July more than 300 employees of one of the most prestigious Montreal newspapers were locked out. The issue: automation versus job security.

La Presse bosses wanted to introduce a computerised printing process which would eliminate most of the jobs.

Quebec trade unions finally called for a massive demonstration on 29 October in solidarity with the strikers. Mayor Drapeau

solidarity with the strikers. Mayor Drapeau

of Montreal banned the demonstration under a notorious bye-law declared illegal by the Quebec Superior Court.

But Quebec Premier Bourassa announced that the bye-law was still in effect because the decision was under

appeal.

The demonstrators went ahead anyway.

More than 15,000 gathered at the La Presse offices that night. Union leaders at the head of the march offered themselves for

The police refused—and then rioted. Clubs swung, fights flared. At the end of it all a young woman, Michele Gauthier, lay

workers at another plant.

them back.

# WURLINEWS

# £20 million fine threat

#### BIGGEST strike in kills strike Canadian history-bigger even than the legendary Winnipeg strike of 1919-ended on 22 April as 200,000 public service workers in Quebec drifted

FROM PAUL O'FLINN IN CANADA

sullenly back to their jobs. dead and hundreds were injured. Although they would have faced

Organised labour in Quebec emerged from the La Presse affair united in anger as it had never been before. The two major blocks, the QFL and the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU) ended rivalry which in the past weakened the struggle.
They formed a common front with the

Quebec Teachers Federation.

Quebec Teachers Federation.

It was launched at the Montreal
Forum four days after the La Presse
demonstration. From platform leaders
there was lots of hollow rhetoric about
overthrowing capitalism, but the anger of
the 14,000 workers who showed up at the
Forum at 24 hours notice was genuine

It was in this context that the Common Front began planning the public service workers' strike.

In the same context Pierre Vallieres came out of hiding a few weeks later. Vallieres was chief theoretician of the

Quebec Liberation Front (FLQ).

The FLQ is a largely underground organisation demanding a socialist Quebec separated from the Canadian federation. FLQ relies heavily on terrorist tactics to achieve this

These tactics culminated in the assassination of Quebec Labour Minister Pierre Laporte in October 1970.

But the tactics backfired. The Laporte killing was the gesture of frustrated men therefore without hope of achieving the revolutionary changes in Quebec they genuinely wanted.

And the assassination and the surrounding press hysteria had given Canadian Federal Prime Minister Trudeau a popular mandate for launching his own counter-revolution-the War Measures Act, the state of emergency, the hundreds of

Vallieres had been in hiding ever since, wanted on 10 charges of kidnapping and murder. But three months ago he broke with the FLQ, surrendered to the police and is now out on bail.

#### Demand

In a new book and a series of letters to the Montreal press he has made it clear that the new militancy of the Quebec workers was a major factor in his decision to reject the terrorist road and turn back to action in the workers' movement.

to action in the workers movement.

The 200,000-strong strike began on 11 April. The demand was for a three-year contract with annual eight per cent pay increases to match galloping cost of living increases. The Quebec Liberal government offered a cynical five per cent—in effect a

Once the strike started it backed its offer with a battery of repressive moves. When hospital workers ignored court injunctions to stay on the job, 18 union leaders were packed off to prison.

leaders were packed off to prison.

The Quebec Legislative Assembly also sat all night on 20 April to deprive public service employees of the right to strike, a 'right' they had only won in 1965.

Lastly there were the fines—up to 250 dollars (£100) a day on each worker if the strike went on, up to 50,000 dollars (£20,000) a day on each union—a ludicrous daily total of 50 million dollars (£20 million) if they had all been collected. Union leaders hesitated briefly and then climbed down, in spite of a renewed climbed down, in spite of a renewed mandate from the rank and file to continue the struggle.

#### Century

This battle has been lost, but the anger, the militancy and the war go on. There is talk of a general strike soon.

The lessons for Quebec workers are

Like any workers, they have discovered that they have no rights under capitalism. that they have no rights under capitalism. Everything they have fought for and won in a century of struggle—the 'rights' to demonstrate, strike and picket—can and have been whisked away overnight as governments and bosses manipulate courts and legislatures in the defence of profits. The Quebec workers will only have what

they are prepared to fight for.

Grand Old Duke of York tactics have been tried in Quebec, as they have been tried in Britain and elsewhere, and have failed. The workers have been marched up to a confrontation with bosses and govern-

ment-and then marched down again.

They will always be marched down into defeat and disillusion until they are armed with an organisation that is not committed to maintaining the system but THE APPEAL by Spanish revolutionary organisations for a general strike on 28 April (May Day is a public holiday) was only partly successful. But on May Day were demonstrations in Madrid, Barcelona and elsewhere in Catalonia.

Demonstrators waved red flags, stopped traffic and shouted anti-government slogans. In Madrid police cars were attacked by helmeted demonstrators with iron bars.

THE ARGENTINE military authorities have issued a statement telling anxious citizens how to spot urban guerillas. They are, it says, 'new neighbours, usually a couple, who've been living in your district for less than a year. They are young and don't mix with their neighbours. In most cases they are well behaved and polite. Their hair and clothes are normal, not hippy-style. hippy-style.

'Generally they are without children, or else have children under five. Older people don't visit them. No one knows their family or where they work.'

The statement ends by advising people 'not just to look'. In other words, if your next-door neighbour isn't behaving suspiciously, report-or shoot-him just in

TWO world-famous celebrities are breaking the entertainers' boycott of South Africa. Tapping their feet in front of segregated, one-race-only audiences are Margot Fonteyn and Eartha Kitt.

Dame Margot was given a send-off from London and a greeting in South Africa by

demonstrators demanding that she should refuse to 'dance to the apartheid tune'. As for Eartha, she says that her singing will convince the whites that blacks are human

The trouble is that some wonft even listen to her. She has been banned from performing at Bloemfontein City Hall, which is reserved for the use and hire of whites only. Apart from the principle of no blacks, the expense of providing separate toilet facilities for black Eartha would be

MORE TROUBLE for Allende. Last week 8000 workers at the Chiquicamata copper mine—the biggest in the world—staged a two-day strike over wages and conditions. This was the first full-scale strike at the mine since Allende nationalised it last

THE SOUTH AFRICAN Minister of Transport, Schoeman, has said that throughout his political career he has never come across such a 'descent to the sewers' as that of the extreme right-wing HNP, who in their latest publication printed a 'most shocking' photograph of the Prime Minister in which he was shown as a 'pitch black Bantu'. Schoeman said the HNP should be 'totally eliminated from public life in South Africa'.

THE FRENCH Communist Party has launched a new attack on leftists, in language which even the staid newspaper Le Monde describes as 'terms not belonging to the marxist vocabulary'. Leading Party member Roland Leroy describes demon-strating students as a 'mob of criminals', and says: 'This disorder does not represent the vanguard of society, but the putrescence of capitalism in decline'.'

THE NEW Icelandic government's policy of greater independence from NATO without actually leaving it is not proving radical enough for some of its supporters. US Secretary of State William Rogers, after having 'frank and useful' talks with the Icelandic government, was prevented from visiting an exhibition by 200 students. shouting anti-Vietnam War slogans.

THE PORTUGUESE colonialists in Mozambique are having difficulty in violating Tanzanian air space. Newly installed anti-aircraft batteries have shot down planes which before could cross the border at will, searching out and bombing African freedom fighters who use Tanzania as a base for guerilla operations in Mozambique.

It is said that 'the mere fact that their warplanes could be shot down came as a severe shock to Lisbon.'

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE flourishes in Russia. At least, it's still possible to make a quick profit.

A recent trial in Azerbaijan has discovered a scheme in which a group of men had sold artificial fruit juice as real fruit juice, then pocketed money for fruit supplies. The profit may have been about

STUDENT ACTIVITY is continuing in Greece, where 1300 Athens students are on strike. Meanwhile a Communist leader, Dimitrios Partsalidis, has been sentenced to life imprisonment. His crime—activities during the civil war which ended 23 years



Zambian workers on a protest demonstration: wages are being cut back.

# Thousands protest against Zambian anti-strike move

# Nicolai Bukharin:

SPECIAL OFFER TO IS MEMBERS

# Imperialism and **World Economy**

A marxist classic which has been unavailable in English for more than 30 years has now been reprinted by Merlin Press. They are selling it as a hardback at £2.00.

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THOUSANDS of workers boycotted Zambia's annual government-sponsored May Day rallies this year in protest against a new threat to the right to strike.

In the weeks before May Day, Labour Minister Wilson Chakulya several times urged employers and trade union officials to collaborate in identifying 'ringleaders' of unofficial strikes and have them sacked on the spot.

on the spot.

Technically all unofficial strikes are illegal in Zambia, but up till now workers have been able to ignore this. 24 workers have already been sacked under the 'Chakulya ultimatum', after a series of walkouts in support of pay claims and demanding improved safety in the copper mines.

Workers are particularly incensed as Chakulya was formerly general secretary of the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions.

The most militant response has come from miners on the Copperbelt, where more than 1000 workers staged an alternative May Day meeting. They refused to board buses laid on to take them to the official rally, and instead had a good time drinking beer and listening to speeches

from a correspondent in Lusaka

from unofficial leaders who attacked Chakulya's anti-working class policies.

At the government-staged rally a large section of the crowd sang songs depicting Chakulya as a 'traitor to the country'.

Trade union officials have been taken shock by the sank and fall and the sank and fall are the sank are the sank and fall are the sank are the s

aback by the rank-and-file revolt, and have had a day-long meeting with President Kaunda to discuss the crisis. They have remained silent, and have made no stand against the new hard line on strikes.

### Wealth

There are several factors forcing the Zambian state into a confrontation with the working class.

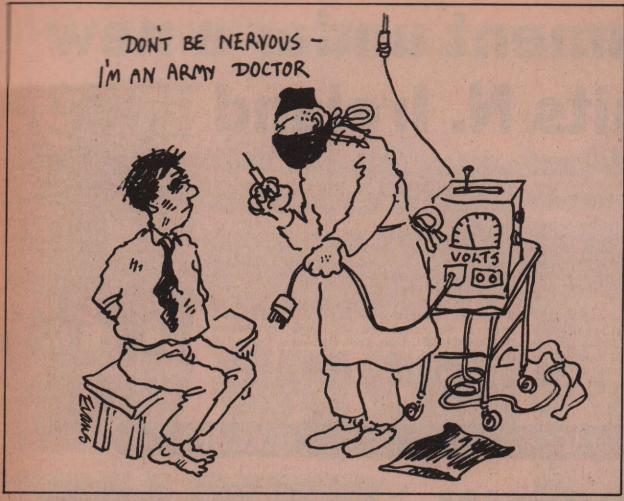
After independence in 1964 there was a boom in the world price of copper, and workers were able to force up their share of the wealth they created. In 1966, for example, 30,000 miners won a 20 per cent increase after three weeks on militancy and wages. Today wages in Zambia are 1½ times as high as those in surrounding countries such as Tanzania, Malawi and Rhodesia.

But recently copper prices have dropped by almost half, and wages are being cut back to pay for the anarchy of the world market.

Workers' living standards are also under attack from rising prices. Zambian agriculture is very backward, for colonialism deliberately destroyed traditional farming to force peasants off the land and into the mines, and also to protect the handful of European settler farmers. So a lot of the country's food is imported.

To encourage rural development, while avoiding massive subsidies to farmers, the ruling group has no alternative but to force urban workers to pay more for locallygrown produce.

For these reasons, Zambia's urban workers are placed in the cockpit of the struggle for development. The ruling elite, hemmed in by world imperialism, is putting the squeeze on the workers, while the workers are coming to realise they are the only class in society capable of challenging





# Beeb ban

THE BBC prides itself on its 'independence' and refusal to bow to political pressure from any quarter. Just how independent it really is can be seen from an internal circular sent out to all news and programme editors concerning the railway work to rule and the blacking of Liverpool

Referring to the decision of the National Industrial Relations Court, the circular says: 'There is a contempt risk if we publish anything which could be said to interfere with the function of the court.' It adds: 'Trade union leaders may be expected to have been warned of the legal hazards. Péople at shop steward level or below are unlikely to have been given legal advice-outspoken talk from them advocating lawbreaking should be handled with caution and advice obtained from the duty solicitor in any case of

Apparently the same attitude has been adopted by the commercial television stations. As a result both channels are scrutinising filmed interviews with shop stewards 'or below' and editing them to ribbons to cut out everything that might possibly be construed as in contempt of court.

Even this pussyfooting is likely to be replaced by an unwritten total ban on interviews with stewards and militants. Most television producers have caution where ordinary mortals have backbones and they will quickly bow to the political censorship of the NIRC and their own

The result: a further erosion of what little freedom exists in the mass media for the shop-floor voice to be heard.

MUCH concern was voiced by radio and telly commentators on the fouls and bad temper displayed during Saturday's lack-lustre Cup Final. Because such tactics bring the game





into disrepute and sully the good name of sportsmanship? Not quite. As the radio man said, it was rather unfortunate there were so many fouls... in front of the Queen.

# Shamrocked

AIR of desperation at the Irish Tourists Board as the strife-torn North gives a bad image to the whole island and holiday bookings from Britain have slumped disast-

The board is now feverishly thumbing through the London phone directory and is sending publicity material and a letter from director general Eamonn Ceannt to every Irish-sounding name they can find. One SW colleague received the goodies from Mr Ceannt, who asks imploringly: 'When were you last in Ireland? This is a question we are asking a lot of people with Irish

He assures our would-be holidaymaker that things in the old country are nothing near as bad as painted by the press in Britain and that life is unaffected by the troubles in the

Mr Ceannt asks our colleague to pass on the knowledge to friends and acquaintances to counteract press publicity and then goes on to outline the many cut-price package holidays that can be arranged-including one quaint novelty called 'Rent a Pushbike'.

Memo to Mr Ceannt: Laurie Flynn is a Scot.

# SSussed out

A NEW BOOK called Stories from the Dole Queue (published by Temple Smith, 95p) has some harrowing tales of what happens to people thrust on to the 'mercy' of the state and the puritanical pip squeaks who do their best to stop claimants getting their rightful benefits.

The most disgraceful tale con-cerns a Mr Farlingham, aged 71 and Miss Bailey, 52 who lived in an old people's flat in South Yorkshire.

Mr Farlingham had had 16 operations since 1934 but continued working until 1956 when he was declared medically unfit. Miss Bailey was a friend who helped him with his housework and became his unpaid housekeeper when he was unable to fend for himself. He was

then drawing retirement pension plus supplementary benefit and Miss Bailey was working full time.

Enter the Social Security, demanding to know why 'a woman' was living with him. Mr Farlingham told them to look at his medical record, which would answer their question. The SS pressed their case, suggesting that the two were cohabiting. They were told that Mr Farlingham was impotent-one result of his many operations was that sex was out of the question.

The intervention of Mr Farlingham's MP stopped the SS cutting off his benefit, but the officials hadn't finished yet. Miss Bailey's car caused somebody to write anonymously to the SS saying that Mr Farlingham wasn't entitled to benefit as he had a car. The SS decided to prosecute him and he had to call in the police before they stopped their harassment.

Then Miss Bailey became sick and was sacked from her job. After a year her unemployment benefit was slashed from £5 a week to 82p. When she applied to the SS for benefit they sent a 'visitor' round to investigate and the sordid questions of sexual immorality and charges of cohabitation were levelled again. Miss Bailey was refused benefit, a decision later reversed by an appeal tribunal.

A small victory? Hardly. The experience shattered both of them and Mr Farlingham died two months

BRIGHTON branch of the Union of Postal Workers has decided to affiliate to the local Labour Party. But a move to also affiliate to the Trades Council was rejected on the grounds that it is 'a political body'.

# Sweet talk

HOW the decimalisation swindle helped the profiteers can be seen from the annual report of the Rowntree Mackintosh sticky jaw combine. Pre-tax profits for the last year were £9.1 million against £6.4 million the year before. Chairman Donald Barron records that prior to decimalisation there was considerable consumer resistance to higher prices. This 'psychological barrier' came down when buyers had to tackle the difference between old and new money

Manufacturers were quick to cash in on the confusion that reigned between the two currencies. In many cases bars of chocolate were made bigger and the old 6d prices was changed to 5p, a proportionately much higher increase

# Socialist Worl

# **Tenants must force** Labour to honour pledge on rents

THE LABOUR PARTY captured control of most of the boroughs in last week's elections. Good. The question now is: What is it going to do with that control?

In some cases, Liverpool for example, Labour gained control on the basis of a specific pledge to refuse to operate the Housing Finance Act-the Tory 'Fair Rents' swindle. Other Labour councils have made the same promise-though in London there is furious back-peddling and a majority of Labour-controlled London boroughs have already caved in. Nonetheless some important councils are still committed to resistance in various parts of the country.

If they can be held to their pledges, the Tory plan to force through massive rent rises will suffer a real set-back. And, quite apart from the real and immediate benefit to tenants, this will be a serious blow to the whole Tory attack on working-class living standards.

The Tory government will, of course, use its whole propaganda machine against any resisters. What did they say when in opposition? They denounced 'Whitehall bureaucracy' and called for more independence for local government. Environment Minister Peter Walker, late of the multi-millionaire property speculating firm Slater-Walker, pledged that the Tories 'would look at all possible means of strengthening local government and reducing unnecessary interference by Whitehall'. The Housing Finance Act provides for 'interference by Whitehall' on a scale unprecedented in previous legislation up to and including the removal of council control of council housing and the imposition of a Whitehall gauleiter to enforce

# Do the dirty work

However, the Tories will not be at all keen to use these powers. To do so would be to make clear to every tenant just who was responsible for big and repeated rent rises. And if the opposition was on a big enough scale the government would find it politically impossible to proceed to displace the majority of councils by Whitehall 'commissioners'.

The Tories need Labour councillors to do their dirty work. Tenants need Labour councillors to do the job they were elected to do-to defend working-class interests. Every union branch, every trades council, every tenants' association, should demand that they do just that and refuse to operate the Act.

But don't leave it at that. As the collapse of resistance on the school milk issue proved, most Labour councils have very little stomach for a fight. With or without their support tenants need to be organised to refuse to pay the increase in October.

# **SOLIDARITY WITH** VIETNAM STRUGGLE

WHO WANTS TO DIE for President Thieu? Very few citizens of the 'Republic of Vietnam'. The events of the last weeks have proved to the hilt that the US puppet regime in South Vietnam enjoys no popular support. Even the army is demoralised.

In spite of the fact, rarely mentioned in our 'free' press, that the South Vietnamese Army has a substantial numerical superiority, in spite of total US control of the air, in spite of obliteration bombing, Thieu's forces stagger from defeat to

All of which is a serious embarrassment for Thieu's master. President Richard Nixon. Especially in an election year. And so a new escalation of US intervention is being planned.

The details are not known at the time of writing but one thing is sure. It will intensify still further the misery and destruction that the US government has been inflicting on the people of Vietnam, North and South, for the last ten years.

Thanks to the strength of the anti-war movement in the US itself the ultimate defeat of US imperialism is inevitable. It can be hastened and the agony of the Vietnamese people shortened by a new wave of demonstrations of solidarity. We owe it both to the people of Vietnam and to the millions of war-resisters in the USA to put our backs into this work.

# Cleaners start to mop up London's offices

campaign by London office cleaners for union rights and has had recognition encouraging successes lately. The women night cleaners on office blocks have linked up with the union representing the people who work in the offices during the day.

The latest example is that of the Civil Service Union in the Ministry of Defence building, where night cleaners have won increases of more than £3, bringing them up to £17.50 per week. The union is now negotiating for holiday and sick pay.

May Hobbs, their militant and

unpaid organiser, said another good point for the Civil Service Union is that they keep their members informed by letter at each stage of negotiations, while other unions seemed to prefer to keep the women in the dark.

The Civil Service Union has been keen to help the cleaning women. May says: 'As soon as only one or two girls have joined, the union will put in a pay claim. So other girls soon join the union.

cleaning contractors' usual excuse is that they will go broke if they have to pay the women more. But once a contractor realises he might be in danger of losing the contract, it's amazing how quickly he realises



May Hobbs: girls soon join he CAN afford to pay higher

May estimates that over the two years about a thousand women have been recruited into unions, mainly as the result of efforts by women from the Women's **Liberation Workshop and Socialist** Woman groups.

The cleaners' campaign is not only confined to London or to offices. Schools and colleges, council buildings and hospitals, post office depots and canteens, all employ numbers of cleaners.

The cleaners have not received great deal of help from the Transport Workers, although it is through this large union, and the possibility of organising women on all sorts of buildings, that their chance of real success lies.

The TGWU has now put in a daim for the cleaners on the enormous Shell-Mex complex and the women are waiting the

If the day-time workers are already organised, some cleaners might find an approach to that union a tempting tactic.

But in the long run what the women really want is a National Cleaners Branch within the TGWU, with their own organiser. And they hope they won't have to wait too long for this.

VALERIE CLARK

# Internment under a new name hits N. Ireland

THIRTY MEN were released from Long Kesh two weeks ago but at least 50 others were arrested. To date no internment orders have been signed by Whitelaw but my unverified information is that he has signed detention

There is no limit to the length of time that anyone can be held on detention, so it's internment under another title. If the 30-to-50 ratio continues, the Westminster government will need to build another camp as this one is bursting at the seams. It's very important that this situation is understood by IS and the Anti-Internment League.

I can notice a change of attitude in the people here in the Six Counties because they feel that internment is over. Internment is still with us as the 700-odd men in Long Kesh would testify to. The Special Powers Act is in daily use and now it would seem that the British Army has received orders to shoot on sight any wellknown Republicans on their wanted list.

Joe McCann, a revolutionary in the true sense, was cold-bloodedly murdered last week. We had the Widgery Whitewash but the people are tired and want 'peace' and the opportunist politicians like Fitt and Hume are trying hard to get the people back to the status quo

The Provisional Alliance are not helping the situation with their continued reckless bombing. They are being made to look as if they don't care how much the people in the ghetto areas suffer and also as if they don't want the internees released.

It is the objective of the establishment to isolate the Republican movement from the people and precipitous action at the present time could bring this about .-DENNIS CASSIN, Long Kesh Internment Centre, Co

This letter was sent in the first instance to a member of the International Socialists who corresponds with



A May Day greeting card produced by Long Kesh prisoners

# LIVELIEST LETTERS ON THE LEFT

# Role of the masses

CHRIS HARMAN's review of Broue and Temimes' The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain (22 April) is somewhat confused if not downright dishonest. After a short description of the significant events of the Spanish revolution he concludes that its weakness and ultimate failure lay in the absence of a genuine revolutionary working-class party, and infers from this the historical necessity for a party in all

revolutionary upheavals.

I use the word 'dishonest' because nowhere is it made clear that this is Harman's own conclusion and in direct contradiction with that of the book under review. Broue and Temimes' argument is that the weakness of the revolu-tion lay in the fact that the workers' committees 'ceased to be genuine revo-lutionary bodies because of their failure to change themselves into a direct ex-pression of the insurgent masses.

I have detected on a number of occasions in the material of IS a tendency to depict as the key of history the role (or lack of it) of the revolutionary party, rather than the self-activity of the working class. Hence the 'success' of 1917 is portrayed as due to the existence of a revolutionary party, and the 'failure' of the others-Spain 1936, France 1968, etc.-to the lack of one. I view this tendency as misleading and profoundly

As I see it, the only guarantee for a successful revolution lies in the complete transfer of power to the base and the building up from below rather than the transfer of power from bourgeois politicians to revolutionary politicians at the

The political power transferred during evolutionary upheaval should rest with factory committees and workers' councils federated at necessary levels, this power to be direct and not mediated by any political party, union apparatus or other bureaucracy. Hence, what is important, the key if you will, is not so much the party as the masses—their collective ability and desire to act autonomously and not rely on leaderships whether acting in their name or not. BOB DENT, London WC1.

CHRIS HARMAN comments: The confusion is Bob Dent's, For marxists the self-activity of the working class is not something that can be opposed to the creation and leading role of a true revolutionary party. Even in the greatest and most courageous sponteneous uprisings of workers, whole sections of the class remain confused by the various

uprisings of workers, whole sections of the class remain confused by the various ideological myths put over by the representatives of the old ruling class.

The most powerful of these myths is that the workers can change things for the better by leaving the existing state more or less as it is, while merely putting politicians from the various workers' parties at the top of it.

This confusion can only be overcome if there exists an organised party arguing the opposite case, that the workers have to smash the old state and replace it by a centralised power based upon their own direct control. The tragedy in Spain was that such a party did not exist to argue for the workers' committees to change themselves into a direct expression of the insurgent masses. insurgent masses.

of course there can be no success for any revolution if all that takes place is a transfer from bourgeois politicians to revolutionary politicians at the top. But the building of workers' power from below demands a continual struggle within the working class against the domination of middle-class ideas



SW's front page: not hard on Labour

# Don't let Labour off the hook

I MUST protest at the underlying reformist notions contained in your front page of 29 April. Phrases such as 'Kick out the Tories', 'Defeat this Tory government', 'Make this the last May Day under Tory rule', and 'The Tory Party—the political instrument of the capitalist class' do not demonstrate clearly the total opposition of IS to capitalism, a barbaric and inhumane social system and our support humane social system, and our support for a society based on workers' power.

In its propaganda, a revolutionary paper must attempt to combat workers' illusions in reformist ideas and the Labour Party. Unfortunately this article, like many of its predecessors in Socialist Worker, falls into the reformist trap.

The Labour Party is a capitalist party committed to upholding and defending the capitalist, big business system. Why isn't this made clear in the editorial? Why the virtual absence of criticism of the Labour Party?

Supporters of the Labour Party's parliamentary roadism will derive great comfort from such articles and will find little to disagree with. The paper should mercilessly attack both capitalist parties (Tory and Labour), 'the executive committees of the bourgeoisie'. An article explaining why revolutionary socialists unequivocally condemn capitalism is urgently required.

We must strive to build a mass revolutionary workers' party, not consolidate the hegemony of Labour Party ideology over working-class people. This article in no way assists this task.-BARRY WOODLING, Salford 6.

Kennedy whitewash: facts paint a blacker picture

B J BURDEN'S attempt to whitewash the role of Jack Kennedy in Vietnam (6 May) will not stand up to the facts. Any withdrawals Kennedy may have planned were of men he had sent there.

Under Kennedy US troops rose from 1,364 in 1961 to 15,500 in 1963. It was

1,364 in 1961 to 15,500 in 1963. It was Kennedy who appointed the first US military commander-in-chief for Vietnam (to replace earlier 'advisers').

It was Kennedy who pioneered the idea of 'counter-insurgency', Kennedy who said in 1963: 'for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam but Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there.' In 1962, under

South Vietnam but Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there. In 1962, under Kennedy, US planes flew 50,000 sorties over South Vietnam, scattering napalm and destroying nearly 1400 villages.

Kennedy's proposed troop withdrawals were not a sudden rebellion against Pentagon advice. In November 1963 the vicious South Vietnamese dictator Ngo Dinh Diem was overthrown by political rivals acting with direct US encouragement.

It was hoped the war could be ended with a more 'popular' government in Saigon—a first attempt at 'Vietnamisation'. It failed. If Kennedy had lived he would have had to do just the same as Johnson did.

Kennedy certainly had an intelligent

Kennedy certainly had an intelligent appreciation that reforms might be necessary to preserve imperialism. As he put it in his inaugural address: 'If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich.'

But when the crunch came he backed imperialism. Under Kennedy the US supported military coups against constitutional regimes in El Salvador, Argentina, Peru, Guatemala and Ecuador. Under Kennedy the squalid dictatorship in Paraguay received more aid per head than almost any other South American country.
Of course Kennedy clashed with the Pentagon. The interests of the ruling class

s a whole often conflict with the as a whole often conflict with the vested interests of military leaders. But to believe, as B J Burden does, that a 'liberal' leader can change the system is just the other side of the coin to the belief that assassinating a particularly unpleasant individual will improve matters:—IAN H BIRCHALL,

### Forget the fairy tales the CEGB and trade union leaders have told you about the efficiency of the electricity supply industry and the wonders of productivity deals. Here are the facts the bosses don't tell you-in a useful rank-and-file handbook in the fight for better wages and work-ing conditions and to save jobs. by Colin Barker 25p, plus 3p illustrations by 'rag' postage



**PLUTO PRESS** 

6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

WHILE Eamonn McCann's article (The Widgery Whitewash, 29 April) covers many of the major points, some of his arguments

are incomplete.

On the question of who fired first he On the question of who fired first he outlined the inconsistency of the army reports of nail bombs, but did not mention the evidence of Lieutenant N. who admitted lying on TV to save face for the army. He told the tribunal: 'I paused for a moment [faced with a crowd throwing stones] and then fired two aimed shots into the wall above their heads.' These shots he admits were not fired at a gunman and he 'had heard no shots that the! man, and he 'had heard no shots that [he]

Thus the first two shots could have been those fired by Lieutenant N.

The second point upon which McCann's thesis can be backed up in a somewhat revised form by incorporating more evidence is on the question of responsibility and any plan for the march on Bloody Sunday. The Sunday Times' Insight article backs up the impression that there were politicial moves to get the army to clamp

This raises two major questions: who had given the orders and why? The Sunday Times Insight team clearly states: 'The ministers included . . . the Secretary of State for Defence Lord Carrington', either in a routing meeting with jungar ministers. in a routine meeting with junior ministers or with the Northern Ireland Committee of the Cabinet. -CHRIS JONES, Bootle.



ONE feature of all the major industrial disputes over the past year has been constant: the behaviour of the Labour leaders.

In every case they have tried to do two things simultaneously-to give the impression that they oppose the Tory attack on legal rights, wages and conditions, AND to avoid any specific statement that they would themselves have done differently.

In the confrontations between the unions and the Industrial Relations Act, Labour spokesmen have seemed to come down on the side of the unions. Yet when a resolution came before the party national executive, it was carefully amended to avoid giving the impression that the Labour leaders supported defiance of the law.

Wilson, Callaghan, Prentice and the rest have been at pains to stress that although they oppose the law, it would be quite wrong for unions to break it. For the law.

wrong for unions to break it. For 'the law is the law'.

Instead they advise us to wait until they are in government again, when, it seems, the law will be repealed and all will

be well for the unions.

In fact the last Labour government was as harsh on the unions, and in particular on the union rank and file, as the Tories

In March 1966 the Labour government under Harold Wilson was returned to power under Harold Wilson was returned to power with the massive parliamentary majority of 97—the second biggest in the history of the party. Those who believed that socialism could be introduced by parliamentary measures, or at a minimum that such measures could improve the lot of the working class, had a supreme opportunity to see their hopes realised. to see their hopes realised.

They wrote in glowing terms of the government's plans. Before the election, Tribune, the mouthpiece of the parliament-ary and trade union left, had written: 'The Labour manifesto is . . . in essence a socialist one. The answers are inescapably egalitarian.

'Socialism is right back on the agenda', it claimed after the election. But the euphoria did not last long.

# The strike

WITHIN four weeks the biggest industrial dispute for many years was to break out. A section of genuinely low-paid workers, earning as little as £15 a week for 56 hours work, were to push in for a modest wage rise of 60p and a cut in the working week to 40 hours.

The National Union of Seamen had traditionally been so corrupt and bureaucratic that even Harold Wilson had described it as 'little more than a company union'. But now it had been forced by the discontent of the rank and file and by years of careful and sustained organisation by a section of militants, to make a stand

# by Chris Harman

on behalf of its members.

It ordered them to strike as their ships docked in Britain from 16 May onwards. They responded to the call with enthusiasm.

The Labour government moved into The Labour government moved into action with rare unanimity. With their 'egalitarian' programme they had no difficulty at all in deciding who to support in a conflict between the £15 a week seamen and the opulent shipowners.

Harold Wilson made a special appearance on television to denounce the seamen for acting 'against the state, against the community'.

Naval officers were ordered to stand by to move ships as necessary. A motion was pushed through parliament giving the government emergency powers, including powers to break the strike. Not one of the so-called left Labour MPs, the Michael Foots, the Eric Heffers, the Stan Ormes, saw fit to divide the Commons over the

In an attempt to make its bitter hostility to the seamen seem reasonable, the government appointed a court of inquiry into the dispute under Lord Pearson. This made it easier for them to

act against the seamen.

When the seamen's union appealed to foreign unions to show solidarity by blacking British ships in foreign ports, it found not only the government, but the other union leaders on the other side.

'A major struggle began between the government-aided by the TUC-and the seamen's union to prevent a blockade of oil supplies', recalls Harold Wilson in his

The TUC leaders were to be even more openly opposed to the seamen once Pearson had reported, even though the report

IN THE CITY

offered—again according to Wilson—'only marginal improvements in pay'.

Wilson goes on to tell what followed:

'The seamen's executive rejected the court's report... Mr Vic Feather intervened and called the seamen's leaders to the TUC. More and more unions were concerned about the effects of the strike on their members' earnings... There was a move to block any approach by the seamen's union to foreign unions.'

Meanwhile, governmental scabbing

Meanwhile, governmental scabbing activities were stepped up further. RAF planes were used to move export orders.

# The 'plot'

THEN Wilson played what he considered his trump card. He resorted to crude 'red scare' McCarthyism by announcing in the House of Commons that the only reason the seamen would not settle was because 'a few individuals have brought pressure to bear on a select few of the executive council... who in truth have been able to dominate the majority of this otherwise sturdy union. Behind these pressures was 'a small group of politically-motivated men'.

In a later statement he elaborated on these hysterical charges by referring in detail to the movements of some members of the Communist Party. It seemed that three had had the effrontery to get elected to local strike committees and to discuss the tactics of the struggle with two members of the union executive.

Even the press and the Tory leadership

Under all these pressures, the seamen's executive began to bend. Those members who were genuine militants were isolated. Those who had put on a militant stance to safeguard their own bureaucratic positions from criticism by the rank and file now felt able to return to their more usual 'moderate' policies of collaborating with the employers and the government.

Yet in all this there is direct evidence that more affiliations.

that none of those pressurising the union to surrender, from Wilson to Jack Jones, actually accepted the 'red plot' story.

actually accepted the 'red plot' story.

Wilson certainly did not. He writes in his memoirs that the tactic of the 'group' (in other words the militants) at the meeting of the union executive that decided on a return to work, was to 'make their proposals for a ballot or a recall conference.'

Much of the manoeuvring of Wilson and others was to avoid this at all costs. The one thing they feared was a real expression.

one thing they feared was a real expression of what the seamen felt.

# The future

TODAY the official parliamentary and trade union left prefer not to talk of incidents like the seamen's strike. When they do, they give the impression that if only there had been other influences at work on Wilson other influences at work on Wilson, or if only there had been a few more leftists in the cabinet, things would have been different.

But such arguments ignore the real break the strike and why the whole trade union establishment, 'left' and right,

mark... Single handed he smashed a strike' Lord Wigg in his memoirs

conduct

reached

a high

water

The central belief of Labour Party politicians of all hues and of left and right-wing trade union leaders is the belief that society can be improved by parliamentary action, without direct mass action from the rank and file of the working

class.

The employing class accepts no such constraints on its activity. When Labour was returned to power in both 1964 and 1966 big business immediately moved to ensure that no measures, however meagre, would be taken to damage its interests.

In 1964 there was a massive movement of money overseas, which Wilson was only

of money overseas, which Wilson was only able to stop by abandoning all his election pledges. Faced with the same threats in 1966, he preferred to prove his absolute dedication to the least whims of the industrialists and bankers before any crisis set in

set in.

The next Labour government is certain to behave in exactly the same way towards the unions as Wilson did in 1966. Despite the fine words which they spin while in opposition, Labour politicians who want to change capitalism gradually are first forced to make the system work—and that means keeping happy those who own its means keeping happy those who own its wealth.

The only alternative, that of using the whole strength of the working class in direct action to smash the system, is an alternative rejected as much by the left of the Labour Party as by the right, as much by Foot as by Jenkins, by Jones and Scanlon as by Cooper and Chapple. That is why, when the chips are down, we can expect to see repeats

## were unimpressed by such flimsy evidence. helped him. of what happened in 1966.



GREAT was the rejoicing in the City recently when the government announced

'tapering' grants to shipbuilders. They were announced around the time of the Budget-probably in an attempt to disguise what was happening. The government said that it would give the shipyard owners a cash 'grant' equal to 10 per cent of the value of ship sales in 1972. In other words, for ships that already had been ordered, the builders would receive a gift.

In 1973 the figure was to be four per

cent and in 1974 three per cent. These gifts are in no way dependent on the number of jobs provided. The theory is that the yards will reduce the prices they are quoting by the amount of the grant and in this way attract orders and so provide jobs. But in the case of this year's ships the prices already take

account of world costs and are profitable or losses have been provided for. The government money is just a free bonus.

A bonus for the profiteers

Look at the example of Swan Hunter. This is the company that last year had so many strikes and 'excessive wage claims' that its managing director was quoted as saying of the workers:

'We will not be taken for a ride by anyone.

In the event the people taken for a ride are the workers and taxpayers. Swan Hunter recently announced profits of £2,880,000 for 1971, against a loss of more than £3 million in 1970.

This financial year is also expected to be good and in a period of about two weeks Swan Hunter shares have more than doubled on the stock exchange.

Now it will be clear that Swan Hunter's problems, after giving a measly

£1.38 rise in 1971 to 3000 fitters, were over before the government came along: the £2.88 million profit was made without grants.

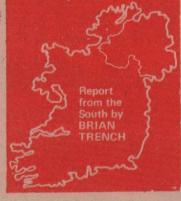
Swan Hunter's shipbuilding sales in 1972 will be around £60 million. So the government will be giving them £6 million. This is clear profit, a fact recognised by two other major firms, Appledore and Austin and Pickersgill, who have said that they will bring their grants straight in as profits.

Meanwhile back in the North East, the redundancies continue: at least 500 steel workers from shipyards alone are out of work.

So again the government has written out cheques to industrialists and share-holders. They call this a regional policy for tackling unemployment!

# Irish Labour—graveyard

# party for militants who want workers' republic...



IT'S HARD TO IMAGINE a worse monument to James Connolly than the Irish Labour Party. It is still occasionally referred to as 'Connolly's Party', in recollection of that great revolutionary's role in establishing an independent Irish labour movement. It was in 1912 that the Irish Trades Union Congress, for whose independence from the British TUC Connolly had fought, set up a political wing, the Irish Labour Party.

Eamonn De Valera, the South's senior statesman, used to invoke the memory of James Connolly in his earlier, more radical days. He then went on to use state force against the republicans and socialists. Any claim which the Irish Labour Party makes to Connolly's heritage is only marginally less insulting than De

The twists and turns over the past 50 years have now led the party to a situation where its various bits and pieces are only held together by a common opportunism and the dim prospect of participating in a coalition government with right-wing Fine

The Northern crisis, which has seriously affected every political grouping in Ireland, has had its traumatic effect on the Irish Labour Party, too.

On the one hand Conor Cruise O'Brien-England's favourite Irishman, and the Irish Labour Party's foreign affairs 'expert'-argues that the Protestants are a distinct nation, and that the violence of the IRA is the most divisive thing in Ireland today.

After Bloody Sunday, he played his tune slightly differently.

On the other hand, there are some in the party closer to traditional republicanism, advocating national unity as a target, and caring little how it is reached or what is its social content.

### **Embraced**

At the last party congress in February the two sides were reconciled in an incredible allthings-to-all-men resolution. O'Brien embraced traditional rural republican Sean Treacy (after attacking him bitterly) in one of those gestures which only underlines the hypocrisy of the party's

All of the recent history of the Irish Labour Party belongs in the context of middle-class politics, although the party saw a notable influx of workers during the 1960s. In its earlier days, it might have claimed to be a working-class

Today it does not even pretend to be such-even less a socialist party. Any of the commitments to working-class politics which younger members, and trade union militants, forced on it in the past have been ratted on with remarkable consistency.

The party was committed to calling a conference of socialist and republican groups. It did not

When the initiative was taken by some younger Labour Party members in 1971, they were expelled for their association with the Socialist Labour Alliance which formed at that conference.

One whole Dublin branch, consisting very largely of workers, was forcibly dissolved because it



O'Brien: England's favourite Irishman

refused to uphold decisions on expulsions.

The party was committed to opposing the idea of coalition with any of the two conservative parties—Fianna Fail or Fine Gael. Yet, just 15 months ago, a special conference agreed to the principle of coalition and 150 people walked out of the meeting.

The party is committed to opposing Irish entry into the Common Market. The referendum on that issue took place this week, yet only one leading Labour Party member continually spoke out against entry in public.

The party appointed a campaign committee, three of whose members are known supporters of Irish entry into the Common Market.

In the 1920s and the 1930s, the Irish Labour Party had the 'Workers' Republic' as its declared objective. In the 1940s it dropped that aim, under pressure from the Catholic Church.

### Incapable

In 1968 it re-affirmed that it was working for the establishment of socialism. At that time considerable numbers of younger people and workers came into the

Large trade unions, such as the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union ('Connolly's union') affiliated to the party. These developments reflected a general radicalisation of Irish politics which was caused by the growth of industry and of the towns.

Coming to the Labour Party under those conditions, workers were in general coming to a clearer awareness of their own independent class interests. But the party

was incapable of expressing those interests or of acting consistently in pursuit of them.

It still had much of its support from country areas. There had been a time when the Labour Party had more country MPs than town. The increased strength of the party among urban workers only affected its rural support

slightly.

It had little effect on the ideas of the more conservative rural MPs who have held on to their manors and paid little attention to the changing mood in the party as a whole. If they did pay attention, it was generally to indicate their

Current controversy in the Irish Labour Party-which has given rise to newspaper headlines such as 'Labour Faces its Biggest Crisis'revolves around Stephen Coughlan, MP for Limerick. When he was mayor of that town, he made the Maoists and the Jews the main targets for his attacks.

### Defeated

Although once censured for anti-Jewish remarks, he recently repeated similar ideas in an interview. A motion for his expulsion was moved at the party's administrative council, but was

meanwhile Coughlan had abandoned his bigoted and antisocialist stance momentarily and adopted a conciliatory tone, throwing sand in the eyes of his pursuers. We await the next act of the farce with interest.

Most of the younger, and more militant, people who came into the party during the past five or six years have now left again. Many of the workers who joined simply passed through, as the party had little to offer them.

There is still a Labour left of sorts, involving some of the better trade union elements, particularly those of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union. Their opposition to the party leadership is only partial.

The plans which they put forward are only more vigorously reformist than those of the leaders. Their hopes of turning the party left are hopes in vain.

### **Alternative**

Some of those who left the Labour Party have gone to Sinn Fein (Officials), a few to the Provisionals, some to the smaller revolutionary groups, others out of active politics. Socialists were right to take the

growth of the party's working-class membership seriously in the past. But it was necessary to build a socialist alternative in order to prevent the inevitable disillusionment from leading to total demoralisation.

It still requires the building of a genuine socialist, working-class movement to attract the few, healthy class conscious militants still in the party, or who give it some support.

Only such an organisation could convince them, in word and in deed, that there is no reformist solution to the problems of the Irish workers.

# A balance sheet on the'work-in'

IT BEGAN at 10.43am on Friday, 30 July last year, when a boilermakers shop steward said: 'By the authority of the shop stewards' committee and the co-ordinating committee of the trade union movement of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, the workers hereby take over this yard.'

And now it is almost over.

Last summer the whole future of the four UCS yards was grim. Their closure was likely, 6000 redundancies were threatened and the local town of Clydebank seemingly faced with the prospect of almost total social disaster.

The company had been formed in 1968, and after a series of financial crises, suddenly col-lapsed last June. The Tories

condemned it as a 'lame duck' and announced that 'nobody's interests would be served' by saving it. The workers thought differently.

Unemployment in and around Glasgow was already high. The June figures showed that more than 10 per cent of the male population was without work, that only two unfilled vacancies existed in the whole of Clydebank and that the situation was getting worse.

So the workers decided to act. On 30 July they declared a 'work-in', took control of the gates and announced sackings'.

# INSPIRED

Now, 10 months later, their struggle is coming to an end.

During those months they inspired whole sections of the working class to resist redundancies and were responsible for creating the growing movement of occupations and sit-ins.

The initial response to the work-in was incredible, money poured in and so did messages of support. In August 80,000 people marched through Glasgow and 200,000 stopped work in solidarity with the UCS workers.

Now with the sale of the Clydebank yard to the Americanowned Marathon Manufacturing Company and the new government backed Govan Shipbuilding group taking over Scotstoun, Linthouse and Govan, all four yards will remain open.

But not all the workers have kept their jobs.

During the struggle more than 1400 workers have left and it is expected that more sackings will shortly be announced. The total number of jobs planned in the new yards is only around 6300-2200 less than when the work-in began.

And that is not all. Vast, job-destroying increases in productivity have been agreed and solemn pledges outlawing unofficial strikes undertaken. Lower wages are to be negotiated and a possible long-term, fouryear pay deal accepted.

Roger Rosewell

on the

successes and

failures of the

first great

struggle over

redundancies

The UCS struggle has resulted in only a partial victory. Potentially it was capable of much more.

# REFUSED

The work-in meant that the production of ships was maintained while the workers dismissed refused to leave and carried on working. The shop stewards' committee-dominated by members of the Communist Party like Jimmy Reid and Jimmy Airlie-chose this tactic because:

'The problem facing the leaders of the UCS workers was to devise a new technique of struggle which would achieve their objectives, to prevent redundancies and closures, in what was bound to be a tough struggle. A strike could play into the hands of the employers when



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# FATAL FLAW 0



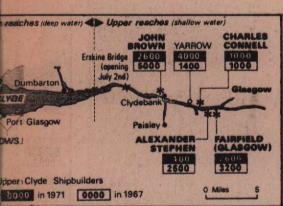
# **IRELAND's HISTORY** OF REPRESSION by JAMES WALKER

James Walker's highly-praised series in Socialist Worker has now been reprinted in handy pamphlet form. It is indispensable for socialists and trade unionists involved in the struggle to free Ireland from British

10p a copy including post from IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



The 'work-in' on the Clyde against the threat of closures and mass sackings won massive support from workers throughout **Britain** and sparked off the sit-in strikes and occupations across the land. But the exciting potential of the **UCS** struggle was fatally undermined by the politics of the leading stewards, their courting of 'public opinion' and their refusal to occupy the yards and use the ships and machinery as weapons in the fight against any sackings



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The postmen were beaten after a magnificent strike and the farmworkers still remain savagely underpaid. In a struggle between workers and the Tory government, it is not public opinion that is decisive.

The recent miners' victory was won because of their own militancy and the solidarity of other workers. That was the vital lesson of the dispute.

Throughout the UCS struggle, the trade union leaders man-oeuvred for a compromise arrangement. Instead of fighting for the nationalisation of the yards, they passed abstract resolutions about the need to nationalise the whole of the shipbuilding industry

# **ASSURED**

And then-without even a blush-they rushed off to meet any private businessman who showed the slightest interest in all or part of UCS.

And not only this. Over and over again, they assured the government that if the yards were kept open they would agree to 'meaningful discussions' regarding work practices and wages.



Jimmy Reid



Jimmy Airlie



Dan McGarvey



Wedgwood Benn

The two who led the 'work-in' . . . and the two who cashed in and helped head off a real confrontation with the Tories

Against a background of Tory Ministers condemning the high wages at UCS and complaining

about 'restrictive practices' this could mean only one thing.

The work-in tactic had many faults. The shop stewards never really took control of the yards.

Disciplinary sackings still took place, overtime was worked and one convenor has admitted that it was the best-known 'radicals' who were selected for the first redundancies.

The government-appointed liquidator managed the yards and all those ships built during the work-in were sold by him. The shop stewards' committee did not dramatically change working conditions.

They could have declared a 35 hour week. They could have extended holidays and introduced into the yards many things trade unionists have long been campaigning for.

But they did none of these things.

The reason for this was political. It flowed directly from the reformist policies of the Com-munist Party leadership. This was why the yards were not occupied, why the struggie was not spread and why no mass campaign

unemployment launched.

This failure to mobilise important sections of the working class was finally responsible for the present situation where nearly 1500 workers have already left UCS, a major new productivity deal is likely with new, tough curbs on the right to strike.

# COMPARED

In the months since 30 July last year, there have been a number of occupations.

At Plessey's in Alexandria workers sat in for the right to

And earlier this year the Fisher-Bendix factory in Kirkby Even now in St Helens,

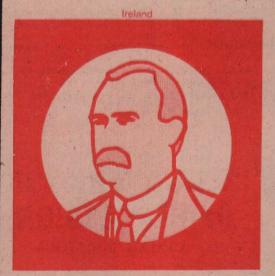
Fakenham and elsewhere workers have occupied in defence of their In Manchester engineers are

occupying more than 20 factories in support of higher wages. The UCS struggle inspired all of

As the final stage of the Clydeside battle comes to an end and militants begin to prepare for the fight against productivity deals and anti-strike agreements, the results of the struggle so far must be compared

millions looked to Scotland for a lead in the fight against the Tories. Now, as the working class faces the onslaught of unemployment with what it was potentially and the Industrial Relations Act, the lessons of UCS-its strengths
In the summer of last year, and its failures-must be learned.

# International Socialism 51



Ireland JOHN PALMER on how, despite the pretence of the Southern regime is fully ated into the British imperialist economy GERHARDT analyses the facts of sectarian discrimination in the North **BRIAN TRENCH** demolishes the 'two nations' propaganda that keeps the Protestant workers on the Unionist side EAMONN McCANN on on why the revolutionary left in the Six Counties had no success within the civil rights movement

20p per copy, subscription £1 per year, from: IS Journal, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

SEEKING RESPECTABILITY

# TORY JOY FOR LAND SHARKS AS ALL **CONTROLS ARE RIPPED UP** TORIES' latest housing

attack comes with their proposals to get rid of planning controls. They say that this is to release land for building and so bring house prices down.

But the fantastic 15 per cent rise in house prices of the last few months is a direct result of Tory policies and building specuactivities. The Housing Finance Bill is a deliberate attempt to revive the once stagnant private house building industry by pricing people out of council housing.

With industrial investment still sagging, huge amounts of investment is going into private housing, in mortgages for those who can afford them. This has made house prices rise, to the builders' delight.

# Blame

Many builders, anticipating further rises in house prices once the Housing Finance Act begins to bite, are holding back quantities of land, but blame planners' restrictions for the 'shortage' of

So the Tories have come up with a new policy: demolish the planning control system. Property developers won't have to submit detailed plans to local councils any more-they will simply put their proposals on a list for the local councils to scrutinise.

What's more, the Minister has promised the developers that if local councils do object to their schemes, he will use his powers to reverse the council's decisions. This brings us right back to the situation of the 1930s, of shoddy ribbon development and uncontrolled industrial building.

# Dump

It will probably mean unrestriced hotel and office development and a free licence to mining interests to excavate and scrap merchants to dump in any place they choose. Even under the existng planning control system, planners usually work in the nterests of property developers, but with the new proposals any effective control of developers activities will be wiped out.

We have already seen the demolition of regional planning controls under the Tories. These went at least some way towards shifting industrial development from the South East to 'development' areas.

Industrialists are now more or ess completely free to set up where they like, regardless of the effect of this on the housing situation.

The Tories have also killed the and Commission, in the interests of developers.

The Commission was a feeble attempt by the Labour government to provide land cheaply for public building, but at the very least it could have prevented some of the

It is quite clear that the existing planning system has done little to provide housing at a reasonable cost in a decent environment for

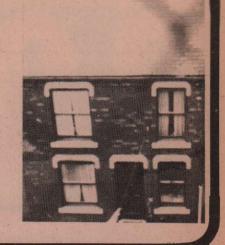
more blatant profiteering on land

development that has now been let

working people. This cannot be done without full nationalisation of the land and control over development in the interests of the

But this latest attack on the planning system will only make worse our housing and living situation. And the builders, property speculators and land sharks will be crying all the way to the

**IRENE BRUEGEL** 



# 'Inferior' blacks: this pernicious myth... by TROY LANGLEY

we often come up against the state-ment 'but scientists have proved that negroes are inferior'.

This type of nonsense is peddled regularly by the National Front and other racist groups who usually cite as their 'scientific' authorities Professor Arthur Jensen, an American psychologist, or more recently-in Britain-Professor Eysenck. It is important for socialists to know just what these 'authorities' have said and how to refute their ideas.

Jensen wrote a paper in 1968 published in the Harvard Educational Review, in which he claims to show from research (mainly on twins and brothers and sisters brought up apart) that the variability between childrens' performance on IQ tests is 80 per cent due to hereditary factors and only 20 per cent to environmental.

The implication is, in plain language, that if you score low on an IQ test it is overwhelmingly because you were born stupid. Black children as a group get lower scores on IQ tests than white children as a grouptherefore, so the argument goes, black children are born less intelligent than white children and there is nothing that can be done about it.

This, hedged around with the qualifications called for by 'scientific chieftrith' and acceptable representation of the control of the

objectivity' and academic respect- about books and poets and bother to ability, is the core of Jensen's answer them? They have no relevance argument, and certainly the only part to his life.
of it of which racist groups take any IQs are notice.

WHEN we argue against racialist ideas at many levels-showing that his statistics are questionable, that his research results do not in fact support his own conclusions, that his logic is faulty and so on.

Most of these arguments are of technical interest only, but one has wider implications. The research is based on IQ test results, and it is the meaning and validity of these tests which must be challenged.

Just what is it that they measure?

Test constructors are middle class white academics: their tests reflect their values, priorities and experience -if you share these then very likely you will score high on the tests.

### Advantage

Most black children certainly don't share them. Often test questions refer to a world of which they have no experience, that of white middle class society. How could they know the answers to questions about taxes, laws, marriage licences and 'bad company', concepts and customs that

are quite alien to them?

If you share the white middle class

tice. the obedient, conforming middle class
Other scientists have not been so child. What is tested is not intelligence ready to accept Jensen's claims at face as commonly understood but ability value. A series of counterpapers have to respond correctly to a certain set effectively demolished his argument of questions representing a few

specific narrowly defined skills. A person's IQ score tells us virtually nothing about him or her.

1. Why should we keep away from bad company?

Why does land in the city cost more than land in the country?

2. Why should people pay taxes?

Test your own i.q.

So we can see that black children set out with a disadvantage in terms of the content of the test and the motivation to do well at it.

They are likely to have many other disadvantages as well-to have been brought up in conditions that are totally unfavourable to the development of the child's potentialities-in overcrowded slums, with not enough to eat. With parents constantly worrying about eviction and unemployment, who do not have enough time to devote to talking and playing with their children. Without the toys and books that are vitally necessary to development, without nursery education and with the worst primary education in damp overcrowded ancient schools, often with teachers who do not care and neither expect nor encourage the child to explore and develop.

Jensen, Eysenck would have us believe that if the tests were not oriented towards middle class culture and all these fantastic disadvantages were removed. black children would still, somehow,



what the racialists will not be so quick to tell you is that these scientists have not only 'proved' the inferiority of black people on the basis of intelligence tests. They claim that since working class children that these scientists have not only 'proved' the inferiority of black people on the basis of intelligence tests. score lower on tests they have also proved the inborn inferiority of the This argument can of course, and often is, extended to any group in society, such as women, the Irish and criminals. In fact, deprive any section of society of resources and the means

not do so well as white children. There is no proof whatsoever of this, and plenty of counterproof.

to develop, oppress it and exploit it, apply to it a biased and unscientific test and, hey presto, it is shown to be inately inferior and thus the original deprivation, exploitation and oppression, if it is ever realised, is justified.

# Privileged

Now we can see the preposterous and pernicious nature of this type of 'scientific research'.

Its function in our society is clear: to maintain a privileged elite at the expense of the majority of people, justifying this by the idea that they deserve to be at the top, 'after all they're the best people'.

As for the rest of us, if we were born not quite having what it takes, that's hard luck—we must spend our lives cleaning the street or sweating over machines as this is the only contribution we are capable of making

At the same time it plays the divide and rule game: we can always take out our frustrations on a section who are worse off, the black people, and comfort outselves with the idea that at least we're better than them.

Accept this attitude, it is hoped, and working people will blame them-selves or 'the luck of the draw' for their situation, or attacking the blacks, while the real cause and culprit, the capitalist system, continues unscathed.



THE LATE Isaac Deutscher, author of two fine volumes of Trotsky's biography (and a disappointing third volume), found it impossible for much of his life to relate to practical political involvement.

As he says in an interview published here: 'I was a heterodox communist; I was a Trotskyist. I was seeking a way out of the impasse into which reaction and Stalinism had driven us, and I could not find one.

'Then I gave up direct party-political activity, in order to devote myself to theoretical and scientific-literary work.'

This phase of withdrawal lasted from 1939 to around 1960, and produced several fine books—as well as some tedious Kremlinology in Sunday newspaper type journalism.

But as the student New Left gathered strength in Britain and the United States, Deutscher found a role as a marxist teacher for young radicals without previous contact with marxism. Many of the essays gathered in this posthumous book convey this passionately-played role, in which Deutscher, often in simple and telling language, conveys

# A PROPHET

MARXISM IN OUR TIME by Isaac Deutscher, Cape £2.95

old lessons to new audiences.

He writes on the necessity of revolutionary He writes on the necessity of revolutionary violence—but that must never be made into a virtue; on the urgency of socialist internationalism—but the bankruptcy of the Fourth International, and, most passionately of all, of the indispensibility of a working-class orientation in politics.

'Your working class remains the most decisive agency of socialism . . You may smash your head against goodness knows how many iron walls if you ignore your

working class . . . Your only salvation is in carrying back the idea of socialism to the working class and coming back with the

working class and coming back with the working class to storm—to storm, yes to storm—the bastions of capitalism.'

The American Left ignored Deutscher's warnings, to its own destruction shortly afterwards in hysterical student factionalism. Fortunately others in the US, such as the News And Letters group, Soldier And Worker, and the International Socialists (USA), share this essential working-class perspective.

There are many other interesting essays here, some of them popular and casual in their approach to knotty problems such as the nature of the bureaucracy under capitalism and in the USSR.

Here too is one of Deutscher's most

intense and moving pieces, The Tragedy Of Polish Communism Between The Wars, and his greatly perceptive essay The Poet And The Revolution, which has been until now

The introduction, by Tamara Deutscher, is apt and vivid. Mrs Deutscher, a researcher and co-worker with her husband throughout his literary career, has only since his death emerged as a profound and sensitive revolutionary writer.

Her writing is lucid and, one feels, both more radical and less constricted than that of her husband.

her husband.
More than any other book by Deutscher,
Marxism In Our Time deserves paperback
circulation as an educational text for the
thousands of recent recruits to marxism who need its sober experience.

PETER SEDGWICK



# Gay Lib: fighting again

oppression

THE recently published manifesto of the Gay Liberation Front is essential reading for all socialists. It opens by saying:

'Throughout recorded history, oppressed groups have organised to claim their rights and obtain their needs. Homosexuals, who have been oppressed by physical violence and by ideological and psychological attacks at every level of social interaction, are at last becoming angry.'

becoming angry.'

The manifesto then follows through the ways in which homosexuals are oppressed in every area of life.

It is not generally known that many

homosexuals are thrown into concentration camps in Cuba and are suffering in prisons and psychiatric 'hospitals' throughout the world, from Russia to the United States.

Homosexuals, the same as black people, have 'a chip on their shoulder'. We do suffer from a 'persecution compley'

This is because we are oppressed. It is not simply about personal problems in social life. Homosexuals are evicted from social life. Homosexuals are evicted from their homes, sacked from their jobs, imprisoned, subjected to electric shock treatment, beaten, robbed and despised, In September 1969 a homosexual was

attacked by a group of working class youths from an estate near Wimbledon ommon and literally battered to death

with clubs and boots.

Afterwards, a boy from the same estate said: 'When you're hitting a queer, you don't think you're doing wrong. You think you're doing good. If you want money off a queer, you can get it off him—there's nothing to be scared of from the law, cause you know they won't go to the law.' (Sunday Times 7 February 1971).

Of course, assaults on gay people do not usually end in death. Death or serious injury merely bring them to public

attention.

For obvious reasons gay people live in as much fear of the law as they do of 'queer bashers'. There is simply no way of telling how widespread such attacks

The general oppression of homosexual people is felt most strongly by transsexuals and transvestites. People who identify completely with members of the opposite sex or people who wish to dress as members of the opposite sex are the most persecuted of all gay people.

# Persecuted

The GLF declares its complete solidarity with trans-sexuals and transvestites, though they are not necessarily

The clear understanding of the way all gay people are oppressed set out in the manifesto has led the writers to question why homosexuals are oppressed and often persecuted. It is in the answers to this question by the Gay Liberation Front that makes clear the link between gay liberation and the struggle for socialism.

The manifesto says: 'But gay liberation does not just mean reforms. It means a revolutionary change in our whole society . . . Reforms may make things better for a while: changes in the less hostile, a little more tolerant—but reforms cannot change the deep-down attitude of most people that homo-sexuality is at best inferior to their own way of life, at worst a sickening

perversion.
'It will take more than reforms to change this attitude, because it is rooted in our society's most basic institution—the man-dominated family.'

Because this manifesto clearly explains the connection between the movement of women against male domination and the movement of homosexuals against oppression and persecution its significance for the socialist movement is undeniable.

by quoting a conservative American psychiatrist, Dr Fred Brown: 'Our values in Western civilisation are found The manifesto drives home its point Western civilisation are founded upon the sanctity of the family, the right to property, and the worthwhileness of 'getting ahead'. The family can be established only through heterosexual intercourse, and this gives the women a high value.' (Dr Brown refers to women as a form of property with 'high value'.)

# Denial

'Property acquisition and worldly success are viewed as distinctly masculine aims. The individual who is outwardly masculine but appears to fall into the feminine class by reason . . . of his preference for other men denies these values of our civilisation.

'In denying them he belittles those

goals which carry weight and much emotional colouring in our society and thereby earns the hostility of those to whom these values are of great impor-

The great weakness of the manifesto is its inability to see any way forward. It presents an updated version of 'hippy' solutions, alternative 'life styles' and

other escape routes from the realities of capitalist society.

Of course, experimentation with different ways of living now is vital. but those new life-styles will inevitably be distorted and isolated within capitalist society. The clear understanding in the manifesto of how and why homosexuals are oppressed is not linked to any strategy

capable of ending capitalism.

This is because the entire labour movement oppresses homosexuals almost as much as the right-wing. Of course, in theory most socialists support homosexual equality. But their behaviour often denies this.

Many socialists merely reflect the low

Many socialists merely reflect the low level of understanding and anti-gay attitudes that are present throughout capitalist society.

The majority of homosexuals are workers and probably half are industrial workers. Revolutionary socialists who

their practice-stop oppressing or per-secuting homosexual workers and

The labour movement must be won over to support of the GLF's basic demand—for total acceptance of homosexuality in women and men as a good and natural way of loving.

Gay Liberation Front Manifesto, 10p from GLF, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.

DON MILLIGAN

# Coming soon: PLANET

AFTER nine months work, the **CAST film Planet Of The Mugs** 

THE MUGS

is nearly finished. What originally started out as a single idea has quickly developed into an operation involving more than 30 people. Professional and amateur. Writers, film technicians, actors and animators.

All working for nothing. And paying their own expenses. Simply because they wanted to do it.

The considerable sum of money needed was given by friends. Who wanted to see it

Whatever the critics may say when the film reaches the screen, these things alone make Planet of the Mugs a remarkable film.

The story of the film is simple. Earth has a strange visitor. He lands and puts to the British government an unusual proposition. Which is immediately accepted.

But as he looks around he realises there is a lot he does not understand. And nobody will give him the right answers.

Finally, disillusioned and very angry, he realises he has made a mistake. But it just isn't that easy to put right.

The film is an attempt at a popular excursion through the major social problems facing the working class in their attempts to build socialism.

It is a 16mm black and white one-reel 50-minute film with animated sequences in colour and will be shown at union meetings, socials and political functions and student

Our picture shows some of the Unity Theatre actors who take part in the film during a rehearsal. On the right is Red Saunders, who plays the visitor. The other leading part, that of the prime minister, is taken by David Hatton.

cratic 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

We believe in independent working-class action for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a classless society with production for use and not

We work in the mass organisations of the working class and are firmly committed to a policy of internationalism.

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the economic system

In Europe, the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist inter national independent of either Washington or Moscow. To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world.

We believe in the necessity to unite socialist theory with the day-to-day struggles of working people and there-fore support all genuine demands that tend to improve the position and selfconfidence of the working class.

For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials.

Against secret negotiations. We believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

Against anti-trade union laws and any

the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'

Against productivity deals and job evaluation and for militant trade union unity and joint shop stewards committees both in the plant and on a combine

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

For a minimum wage of at least £25 a

Against unemployment redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

For all workers in struggle. We seek to build militant groups within industry.

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

For the right of coloured people and all oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the

Against secret diplomacy.

Against all forms of imperialism. We unconditionally give support to and solidarity with all genuine national

For the nationalisation of the land, banks and major industries without compensation and under workers'

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary 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 man's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth

It is no use just talking about it. 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 socialism, join us.

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

SCOTLAND Aberdeen Edinburgh Glasgow N Glasgow S Stirling St Andrews

NORTH EAST Durham upon Tyne Spennymoor Teesside (Middlesbrough & Redcar)

NORTH Bradford Grimsby Huddersfield Hull Mid-Derbyshire Ossett Scarborough Selby Sheffield

NORTH WEST Blackburn Bolton Kirkby Lancaster Manchester Merseyside Preston St Helens Wrexham

MIDLANDS Birmingham Coventry Leamington Leicester Northampton Nottingham Oxford Redditch Rugby Wolverhampton

WALES and SOUTH WEST Bath Bristol Cardiff Exeter Gloucester

Lowestoft Norwich Peterborough GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES Acton Camden Chertsey

Ipswich

Plymouth

SOUTH Brighton Canterbury Crawley Folkestone Portsmouth Southampton

EAST Basildon Cambridge Colchester

East London Enfield Erith Fulham Greenford Hackney & Islington Havering Hemel Hempstead Hornsey Hounslow Ilford Lambeth Lewisham Merton Newham Paddington Reading St Albans Slough South Ealing Tottenham Walthamstow Watford

Woolwich

# WHAT WE Lame shareholders

LAST WEEK the government announced what the press has presented as a give-away bumper prize to the suffering people of Belfast. More than £35 million is to be poured into the shipyard of Harland and Wolff.

The aim, they say, is to create 4000 new jobs in the next three years. But workers in Northern Ireland would do well to examine what lies beneath the glossy wrapping paper before rejoicing too much.

The present workforce of the yard is just under 10,000. So the government money being poured in averages about £3000 for every worker at present employed there. But of course it's not going to them, but to the company that employs them.

However much happiness there was in Belfast after the government announcement, there was much more in the city of London. Harland and Wolff shares, a year ago worth only 12p,

have now shot up to 60p.

The company seemed to be on its last legs in March 1971.

Although the governments of Britain and Northern Ireland had given it more than £20 million, it had made immense losses and the total market value of its shares was a mere £1,200,000.

When the company received further aid last July, when the government bought 49 per cent of the shares at a grossly inflated price, even the Guardian felt bound to comment:

'The Northern Ireland rescue operation on Harland and Wolff is really a case of baling out lame shareholders. The government is committing £6 million to £7 million of public funds to save Belfast's shipyards, yet it could have bought the entire company on the stock exchange for less than £1,250,000.

### Pay losses

The biggest shareholder in the company is Greek shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis, who owns 26 per cent of the private shares. Over 12 months these have grown in value from around £600,000 to £2-3 million. So the Tories of Northern Ireland and Westminster between them have handed him a cool £2 million or so. But that will not be the chief cause of

fair chunk of Harland and Wolff's aid will go to pay off losses on 'fixed price contracts'. These involve ship orders which grossly underestimated the rising costs of production—chiefly of materials,

which are four-fifths of total costs-so that they end up making a loss.

One of the biggest of the yard's such orders has been from Onassis himself, for

two tankers. He pays the yard £14½ million for them. But their value to him, completed, will be around £28 million.

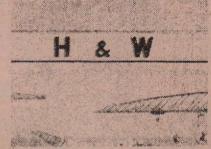
One of British politicians' most cherished myths is that money is poured by the British exchequer into Northern Ireland to boost the living standards of the workers there. In fact, it is quite clear that at least £16 million has been poured in during the last year to boost the living standards of multi-millionaires.

The press is prophesying that expansion of the yards will lead to an increase in the number of jobs. But the increase, about 1000 jobs a year, will in reality do little to

ease the growing unemployment.

In a series of expensive advertisements in the business press last month, the Ministry of Commerce for Northern bailed out in Belfast

# From aspecial correspondent



Ireland boasted that last year '7000 new manufacturing jobs were negotiated in Northern Ireland.' Unemployment figures released eight days later revealed that unemployment had shot up by 8000 in a year, and 1800 in one month alone.

One of the key factors behind the lengthening dole queues has been the fantastic rise in productivity—last year by 6.7 per cent.

6.7 per cent.

Another is the workers' resistance to Another is the workers resistance to such changes has been much less than in Britain. Even in the shipyards, which have traditionally been the most militant section of industry, wages are up to 30 per cent less than on Clydeside.

The extra money being poured into the shipyards will be used deliberately to accentuate this trend

The long-term aim of the manager Hoppe is to double productivity. It is now 60 man-hours per finished ton. But management know they cannot sell such a change to the men all at once.

So initially they are to introduce two-shift working and take on extra men.

Productivity will then enable production to double while the labour force only rises by a third. In the process, many of the traditional ways in which workers have protected their work conditions will be undermined.

But the present high demand for the yard's big tankers is not going to last. Certainly in four years' time there is not going to be a demand for twice as many as now, though the capacity of the yard

Long before the labour force in Belfast has grown by 4000, there will be pressures on workers to accept further productivity concessions, further rationalisation and further reductions in the labour force, to persuade the shipowners to give them new orders. So there will be little real growth in employment.

The Harland and Wolff shareholders

will benefit from increased profitability. The ship owners and oil companies will benefit from cheaper ships. But there is no guarantee whatever that the Belfast workers will gain.

The overwhelming majority of the ship-yard workers-up to 95 per cent-are Protestants. Many originally obtained their jobs through their close contacts with the sectarian Orange order, to which many foremen and stewards belong.

### Frittered away

It seems likely that the company and the British government will try to present its drive for 'productivity' as against sectarianism. The resistance of the yard's workers could all too easily be frittered away in a fight by Protestants to ensure that men of their religion continue to

The tragedy is that there does not exist any real political force in Northern Ireland putting forward the alternative of united class action to the Protestant workers. Despite all their rhetoric about being non-sectarian, the republican organisations that are so strong among sections of the Catholic working class have made no effort to point out to the Protestants how they are being conned.

Yet the fact remains that the Protestant worker feed with the elements of the

worker, faced with the alternative of the dole queue or the massive productivity deal, is as much the victim of British and international business interests as is the

Catholic worker.

The only way forward for any of them is through the development of a united working-class movement, dedicated to using the wealth of the whole of Ireland for the benefit of the population of the whole of Ireland.

# WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive first post Monday or phoned Monday morning. Notices are charged at 5p per line. Semi-display 10p per line. Cash with copy. No insertions without payment—invoices cannot be sent.

# MEETINGS

LONDON IS ATTI Fraction meeting: Tues 23 May, 8pm, place to be announced.

HARINGEY TRADES COUNCIL
public meeting
THE FIGHT AGAINST THE
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT
Speakers:
Kevin Halpin, liaison committee for
the defence of trade unions
Roger Rosewell, industrial correspondent
of Socialist Worker
Tottenham Trade Hall, Bruce Grove, N17
Thurs 18 May, 7.30pm

IS YOUNG WORKERS AND APPRENTICES MEETING: Sat 20 May, 10.30am-5pm, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham. Further details from branch secretaries.

SWANSEA IS: An IS council tenant asks: 'Fair Rents for whom?' Public meeting at AEU House, Thursday 25 May, 7.30pm.

WALTHAMSTOW IS public meeting: The Industrial Relations Act And How To Fight It. Speaker: Tony Cliff, Thurs 18 May, 8pm, Trades Hall, 17 Hoe St, Walthamstow, E17 (near The Bell).

WOMEN'S SUB-COMMITTEE: 13 May, 7pm in London, Extended meeting open to all interested IS members, Details from your branch women's convenor.

FULHAM AND HAMMERSMITH IS Social: Fri 12 May, King's Head, Fulham Broadway (above tube). Extension applied for. Tickets 30p from any branch.

IS PSYCHOLOGY GROUP
Sun 14 May, 3.30pm
12 Montague Rd, London E8
Discussion on film Family Lifethe importance for marxists
of the issues raised
Suggested future topics:
Freud, Reich, Piaget
Further information from
Alan Phipps, tel: 01-226 5625

Education in capitalist society
'The role of the Socialist teacher'
Saturday 13 May 10.30 am to 5pm
and Sunday 10.30pm to 5pm
Council Chamber, Aston University
Union, Birmingham.
Accommodation and details:
Colin Falconer, 25 Beechwood Rd,
Birmingham B43 6JN.

POST OFFICE WORKER
paper for the rank and file
in Post Office trade unions
Latest issue now out
price 3p, from
Tom Dredge, 3 Godric Crescent,
New Addington, Croydon, Surrey.

IS MIDLAND CONFERENCE
Sunday 14 May. 10.30am-5pm
Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham
Lecture Room 1
Morning session—fraction meetings
Afternoon session—national
conference perspectives
Conference fee—10p

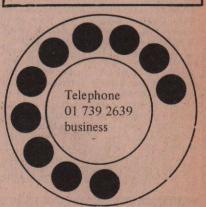
LUTTE OUVRIERE FETE, near Paris, 20-22 May, combining politics and entertainment. Anyone wishing to attend or wanting more information, write to International Sub-Committee, dept K, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

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UNFREE CITIZEN The revolutionary socialist weekly of THE PEOPLES DEMOCRACY
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# **Dubious** army role in killings

by Mike Miller

BELFAST:-A new pattern of violence has been establishing itself in recent weeks, although you will find hardly a mention of it in the British press.

There has been a spate of incidents in which individual Catholics have been gunned down while in the streets near their homes. The killers have then sped off in

cars to the safety of Protestant areas.

The role of the British army in some of these shootings has been extremely suspicious. Soldiers were seen talking to the attacker after at least one incident. The police, unable to blame the IRA, have morely put the mysters down as merely put the murders down as 'mysteries'.

But the authorities are playing one

But the authorities are playing one very direct role in the incidents.

By combing the Catholic areas for weapons they are doing much to prevent the Catholics defending themselves.

Meanwhile, the army itself admits that 103,000 guns are legally held by Protestants. The number of illegally held guns is anyone's guess, but the tip of the iceberg has been revealed in recent weeks.

17 Protestants have been charged with attempting to smuggle arms and gelignite into the province, including a well known member of the police and a former Belfast councillor for Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party.

### Anger

The police revealed their own partiality again last week when they complained at being forced to clear Protestant tartan

gangs off the streets.

There seems no clear purpose or direction to the Protestant violence. It seems to be reactive violence, the result of frustration and anger, rather than part of any planned political campaign. The Protestant frustrations are not being

eased by some of the tactics of the Provisional IRA. Bombings like that of the Courtauld's factory last week make it easier for the union-splitting Loyalist Association of Workers to argue that the IRA, not big business, is responsible for redundancy and that therefore Catholics should be sacked first. This also means that big businessmen like Lord Kearton can present themselves. like Lord Kearton can present themselves as public benefactors when they deem it profitable to keep a factory open despite

the bombings.

Despite the apparent militancy of the bombing tactic, it is making it easier for British interests to maintain their ideological domination over many sections of workers.

### Another union off

# the register

A THOUSAND delegates voted overwhelmingly to deregister under the Industrial Relations Act at the annual conference of the Civil and Public Services Association in Margate earlier this week. But a motion from the executive was carried that the union should appear before the Industrial Relations Court when it was considered necessary.

it was considered necessary.

This vote, although a defeat, was opposed by a significant minority, chiefly from the Post and Telecommunications Group, and was encouragingly large.

# DON'T BE FOOLED BY TORIES TRICKERY

LABOUR MPs hailed a major retreat by the government on the rents issue following a Commons statement by Housing Minister Julian Amery on Monday.

He said he was giving some councils discretion in the implementation of the 'Fair Rents Act' which could mean that tenants would have to pay 35p more this autumn instead of the expected

Pressure was put on the government by Tory councils before last week's local elections to soften the blow of the increase in an unsuccessful bid to stave off defeat.

One authority, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, had pointed out that if £1 were added to its rents in October then all but 216 households of a total 39,000 would go way above even the Tories' idea of a 'fair' rent. This would involve the council in substantial rebates.

BATTLE

A similar situation could confront councils in London, Birmingham, Bristol and Plymouth where tenants are already paying particularly high rents.

It is likely that the Tories' main worry is not the financial jiggling forced upon councils but the massive, growing opposition to the 'Fair Rents' Act on council estates throughout Britain.

heels of Labour's sweeping election victories last week, could be an attempt to encourage Labourcontrolled authorities to back down on their pledges to refuse to put the Act into effect by saying the increases are not as bad as expected.

Once the election dust has settled, the Tories might quickly plug up the loophole in the law and demand the full £1 in October.

#### **PRESSURE**

It is essential that tenants' associations maintain the pressure on Labour councils and demand no increases-35p or £1-and that the pressure is backed by commitments to rents strikes and local industrial action. Labour councils will get off the hook if they can and only powerful organisation among tenants and trade unionists will stop

# Labour: promises, promises?

THE Labour landslide in the council elections last week opens a new stage in the fight against the Tory rent rises. Many Labour councils are pledged to fight the increases. Some, such as the London Borough of Camden, are already defying the government

More and more tenants are themselves taking the initiative. Thousands are now on partial rent strike, refusing to pay the

In CRAWLEY more than half of the tenants are witholding the 50p increase imposed in April. More than 300 people stopped work for an afternoon last week

for a rally in protest against the increases.

The rally called on the Labour group on the local council not to implement the increases.

## Pledged

In HEMEL HEMPSTEAD more than a thousand stopped work on May Day for a demonstration organised by the tenants' association outside the offices of the Commission for New Towns, which owns most of the town's housing. Hundreds of tenants are refusing to pay the rises.

The Labour group on the council.

The Labour group on the council, which won control in the elections last week, is pledged to withdraw the rent rises.

In LLANTRISSANT, South Wales, more than three-quarters of the tenants are refusing to pay the increase and last week held a bonfire of rent rebate forms. The miners' strike committee has been transformed into the nucleus of a tenants' association.

More than 300 workers and tenants marched through ST HELENS on Saturday in protest against the Rents Bill. The march

Camden council is convinced that the government's 'fair rents' policy will lead to massive rent increases for both council and private tenants.

So the council won't impose 'fair rents' and it won't put up council rents this year by £1 a week either as the government is expected to require. And, what's more, it won't be making any of the necessary preparations for these steps to be taken.

London Borough of Camden, Town Hall, Euston Road NWI

Part of an advertisement placed in the London Evening Standard this week.

was organised by the St Helens Workers
Action Committee, a group of trade
unionists and socialists fighting on the
rents, unemployment, welfare cuts and
industrial fronts. Among the marchers was
a delegation from the two-month-old St a delegation from the two-month-old St Helens Plastics occupation.

Earlier in the week there was a lobby of the local Labour-controlled council, where Labour, Liberal and Tory councillors had joined to defeat a move by Independent Socialist councillor John Potter to boycott the Rents Bill com-pletely. Only two councillors voted with

In WANDSWORTH, London, the Labour group has split over the rent increases. The Labour-controlled council originally agreed to fight the increases, then reversed its decision—and its leaders

resigned.

Last week Wandsworth Trades Council organised a liaison meeting of all local organisations fighting the Bill. There was anger at the Labour about-turn, and an action committee has been formed for a massive campaign of leaflets, meetings and lobbying of councillors. There were calls for industrial action to back the claim.

The next council meeting is to be met by a protest meeting for which the action committee is planning to mobilise

implement it.

implement it.

This was one of a series of protest meetings called by the United Tenants' Action Campaign in different parts of the borough, where the mood is one of militancy. Most of the tenants have supported the local Labour Party over many years and are now angry at the betrayal by local councillors who have already voted to implement the Bill.

A local bulletin is planned to provide tenants with up-to-the-minute news of the struggle throughout West London.

### Reverse

Two tenants' groups have started in CAMBRIDGE with the help of the local IS branch. In Cherry Hinton last week a meeting of 60 tenants received a pledge from the local Labour group that they would reverse the rent rises if they won the elections. Already 580 tenants on the Cherry Hinton estate have applied to join Cherry Hinton estate have applied to join

the association.

A tenants' association has been set up in BECCLES to fight rent rises. The tenants are organising a rent strike in

The tenants' association in CHEADLE has been organising a partial rent strike since April. The association claims that the vast majority of tenants are witholding the rent rice.

In SWANSEA, five tenants' associations have linked to form a Swansea Federation of Tenants. Several associations are organising for a rent strike in October when they will be faced with a rent rise imposed by Swansea's Labour Council.

A hundred and fifty IS members, tenants and trade unionists met in Birmingham at the weekend to discuss the fight against the Rent Bill. The reports of delegates on the tenants struggle in Scotland, Wales and all over England, they are the movement is growing in showed that the movement is growing in strength and militancy in every part of the

country.

Jim Kincaid spoke on the Glasgow Rent Strike of 1915, and the struggles in Birmingham 1938-9 and London 1968-9. Hugh Kerr, speaking on the strategy to defeat the rent rises, predicted that the movement would grow rapidly towards October when millions would face a rent rise of £1.

John Phillips reported that most IS branches were involved in the tenants' struggle and in many cases had started tenants' associations. The Socialist Worker pamphlet was reported to be selling well.

The conference passed a resolution opposing the Housing Finance Bill and calling for a fight on four points.

- 1. The building of a militant tenants' organisation to fight rent increases by direct action including total and partial rent strikes.
- 2. A call on Labour councils not to implement rent rises, or to co-operate with housing commissioners, and to give full backing to tenants organisations.
- 3. The maximum involvement of the trade union movement in the struggle and the use of industrial action to support tenants.
- 4. The call for a national tenants' conference to discuss national action in

# Move to tone down TASS policies

SCARBOROUGH: - The feature of the conference of TASS, the supervisory and technicians section of the engineering union, last week was the attempt by members of the Communist Party to moderate the policies of the union while increasing their own control

Delegates voted last year against even discussing the check-off system of deducting union dues from wages. This year they accepted it if certain conditions were met. When a member of the executive, Dick Jones, speaking as an individual member, opposed the check-off, a leading Communist Party member, Roy Newson, argued that it was an organisational detail and attacked Jones for his remarks. On Ireland, resolutions calling for

radical measures were opposed on the grounds that some of the 1600 Protestant members in the north might leave the union in protest otherwise. As one delegate

remarked: 'Thank goodness we don't have any members in South Africa.' Harry Smith, editor of the union journal, made the memorable statement that it was incorrect to support the independence of Ireland on principle, since if socialism were established in Britain, and

Britain had given up control of Ireland, then the spread of socialism would be

These retreats were all justified by talk of the need to 'preserve the union'. With them went an effort to isolate the revolutionary left, which had its biggest-ever number of conference delegates. The right-wing vote was harnessed to defeat left-wing resolutions on the Labour Party, Eurore and unemployment, as well as the check-off and Ireland.

### **Vicious**

But the real left fought hard. In his presidential address, Mike Cooley said the union had in the past acted as a catalyst for the rest of the trade union movement in the struggle against incomes policies and anti-union legislation. In the face of the most vicious ruling class offensive for

many years, the policies of the union assumed even greater significance.

Come what may, every effort had to be made to ensure that the leadership treats these policies not as a series of left gestures, but as an expression of its determination to maintain a principled fight in opposition to the employers, their government and their courts of law.

# No court boycott, Jenkins tells ASTMS conference

by Roger Rosewell

BY FEWER than 1000 votes the annual conference of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs just failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority needed to de-register the union last weekend.

Although the union executive supported the move to de-register they had not campaigned for it in the union and did little to ensure its success. Clive Jenkins, the general secretary of ASTMS, said the union would not boycott the Industrial Relations Act and intended to 'defend' its members before the National Industrial Relations Court.

This acceptance of the Act, with the refusal to fight it by industrial action, played into the hands of those delegates who wanted to remain registered.

The conference also saw the standing orders committee unsuccessfully recommend that a militant resolution should not be debated on the grounds that it urged a 'conspiracy to defy the laws of the land.'

The executive of ASTMS tried to repeat its ban of last year on Roger Rosewell attending the conference, but was forced to back down forced to back forced to back down after concerted pressure by the journalists' union.

	information about
the I	nternational Socialists
Name	
Address	
Address	

Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Liverpool

docks: centre

of the

storm...

# Italian election charade

THE ITALIAN general election earlier this week has not solved any of the problems facing that country's rulers. The main governmental party, the Christian Democrats, once again failed to get an overall majority. As in the to get an overall majority. As in the past it is going to have to rule in coalition with other parties.

But the party groupings of the 'left centre' coalitions of the past 10 years are less and less workable. They have not produced significant reforms to keep

the workers happy, and they have failed utterly to come to terms with the prob-lems of stagnation and increased international competition that face Italian big business.

Before the election all the big parties tried to swing voters into line by talk of the 'communist threat' and the 'fascist menace'. But the results show how exaggerated such talk was.

Although the neo-fascists did increase their vote, they are not a significant force, while the Communist Party has lost ground. The Christian Democrats will probably now try to form a coalition with the parties on the right.

That would mean increased repress in the factories and the universities. But the decisive battle will be in the autumn when the labour contracts of four million workers come up for renegotiation. The future shape of Italian politics will be determined by that struggle, not by the shuffling of parties in parliament.

# 250 out at sweet firm

YORK:-250 fitters-members of the engineering union-walked out at Rowntree's sweet factory last Friday. They are demanding parity with fitters at Mackintosh's Halifax works where takehome pay is more than £4 a week above that

The fitters learned of the difference after Rowntree-Mackintosh rank and file

combine committee was set up.

Management refused to budge unless the fitters agree to a productivity scheme already accepted by the rest of the workforce. The fitters and sheet-metal workers have resisted this scheme for five years.

KIRKBY:-The struggle is growing at the factory of Wingrove and Rogers, occupied by workers demanding the 35-hour week and higher pay. When management disconnected the telephone, the men retaliated by cutting off heating and lighting to the management block.

Messages of support and donations should be sent to Jim Baxter, 14 Heronhall

GLASGOW:—The 1400 workers at the Caterpillar engineering factory voted their strike into its third week on Friday. Only three hands went up in favour of the American company's latest 'improved' offer-£4.50 across the board immediately, a day extra holiday and the deal to last 15 instead of 16 months.

Spirits on the picket line are high. Clerical and staff workers are not in dispute, and the pickets are allowing through only those who can show a union card-so giving union membership a

SOUTHAMPTON:-Workers Construction in Eastleigh have now been locked out for seven weeks. The lock-out followed an official one-day strike by the 24 members of the Constructional Engineering Union for recognition.

Messages of support and donations should be sent to George Hendry, 101 Meredith Towers, Thorne Hill,

SHEFFIELD:-Engineers in many factories are on work-to-rule or overtime ban in pushing for the pay and hours claim and a few are on strike. The bosses have tried lock-outs at several factories.

The best settlement so far has been a poor £4.50 at AEI, with only two days extra holiday and a vague promise of shorter hours. Several other factories have settled for cash-only deals.

LONDON:—The first of a regular bulletin produced for Hoover's factory on the Western Avenue, Perivale, by Greenford International Socialists proved to be dynamite. The bulletin drew attention to well-founded rumours predicting closure within 18 months and one section storped. within 18 months, and one section stopped work completely while it was read and

The management were given seven hours to reply. The reply denied the allegations, but the management are refusing to meet the stewards to discuss the situation.

# DOCKERS TELL TORIES THE CRUNCH IS NEAR

by BOB LIGHT, Royal Docks TGWU

FLASH POINT is near in the docks industry. As the blacking of containers spreads across the country, a national docks conference last week voted to give the employers 28 days' notice of an official strike. By 2 June, all Britain's ports could grind to a halt.

Container berths are at the centre of the storm. The employers are using new methods such as bulk containers in a bid to divert cargo away from ports to inland depots

not covered by registered dock labour.

The result is clear: while trade increases month after month, dockers' jobs are being slashed to the bone, dow from 65,000 in 1967 to 44,000 today. The official strik backed by the Transport Workers, has been called t assert the right of the registered dockers to carry out wor traditionally regarded as theirs and to stop the savag decrease in their numbers.

But the strike decision is not as clear cut as it migh seem. Seven days' notice would have been sufficien 28 days will give the employers time to make emergenc

plans.

And the central issue of containers he been confused by two extra demands: a increase in national fall-back pay an improved holidays. Both are importatissues, but both are secondary to the seco question of containers.

Their inclusion could be a move to hea off the lead given by the rank and fit body, the national port shop steward committee, who have taken up the employers' challenge in recent month while the Transport Workers Union has officially done little.

# DEFIANCE

The union has been forced to take stand because of the groundswell of action at the grass roots and the officials are no desperately trying to regain control. The are fears that the TGWU has made t strike official in order to give its nation officials the power to call it off.

They will find it difficult. The nation

port stewards met last Friday, one dafter the docks delegate conference, as decided to maintain and extend the blac ing of containers.

This decision puts the TGWU right the spot where the Industrial Relatio Act is concerned. The blacking is in opdefiance of the ruling of the NIRC.

The union has dithered over the Act. expresses total opposition to the law b Queen's Counsel are appearing for it at t NIRC and general secretary Jack Jones h appealed to dockers to 'work normally' as stop blacking.

# The dockers of Merseyside are leading rank and file opposition to the Industrial Relations Court with their blacking of container lorries. Last week the docks came to a complete standstill when the dockers joined a May Day march. Press silence over engineers' struggle

by John Deason

Shop steward in the occupied Ruston Paxman factory

MANCHESTER:—It is now eight weeks since the first of the engineering sit-ins. Eight weeks in which tens of thousands of Manchester engineers have been taking the lead in the vital struggle for higher wages, a shorter working week, longer holidays and

Twenty factories are occupied, eight locked out and five are on strike.

Yet despite the size and strength of the struggle, the national press is doing its best

to ignore it. The big newspapers have been only too happy to publicise the failure of the national leaders of the engineers to organise a real fight on the claim, but when 20 factories are occupied, the press falls silent.

Every tactic has been tried in an attempt to beat the sit-ins. The national employers federation has poured millions of pounds in to back its Manchester members. The bosses have even enjoyed some success in forcing the weaker, isolated

factories to settle for cash-only settlements. But most factories are sticking to the demand for the 35-hour week. It is clear that if the national union leaders were to organise a nationwide fight for the claim the only possible result would be a com-plete victory in the first major struggle for the seven-hour day. That would also be a decisive blow against the whole strategy of the Tory government.

The first steps were taken last week to begin to overcome the isolation within Manchester by forming a joint committee between the occupied factories. Stewards from four factories have agreed to sponsor a first meeting of all factories in dispute this week.

The response has been encouraging and it looks as if most occupied factories will be brought together in a committee that can demand the sort of national rank-andfile support that was given to the UCS

### **Thousands**

The long delay in forming such an organisation, a delay due mainly to the resistance of local union officials, means that the committee needs to begin its work immediately, to forge a working unity across the district with the strong assisting

the weak, to step up the pressure on the engineering bosses.

To succeed, the Manchester engineers need the help of organised workers throughout the country. Collections for them must be started now. Thousands of pounds are needed. Other engineers must press for sympathy strikes and demonstrations as soon as nossible.

soon as possible.
(John Deason is acting secretary of the new committee of occupied factories. Any messages of support or donations sent c/o Socialist Worker will be forwarded to the committee, and we will publish the address of its treasurer next week.)

# NOTICE

But the blacking goes on. NIRC ovelord Sir John Donaldson has made it cle that Jones should withdraw the steward credentials, otherwise the union faces mo fines in the region of £50,000 or the seizure of its entire funds.

That is why Jones is desperate to find compromise through talks with Emploment Minister Macmillan. And that is what 28 days' notice has been allowed—to give Jones more time.

The only principled way out for the union would be to stop the retreat, support the stand of the port shop stewards at throw the full weight of the union behing an all-out fight against the NIRC and the union the standard of the union behing an all-out fight against the NIRC and the union the standard of the union behing a standard of the union behing the union that the union behing the union that the uni Act itself.

# Militants cal COVENTRY: 500 stewards and branc

officials of the Transport Workers Unio demanded at a meeting on Monday the reconvening of the union's two-year delegate conference to discuss the union response to the use of the Industria

They also called for the union to leave the TUC unless it stands firm on a aspects of opposition to the Act. The agreed to meet again to decide on what direct action to take if there is an attempt to fine the union again.

Militants are now pushing for the confederation of engineering unions to ca a similar meeting of stewards and to make sure that local right-wing officials do not be supported to the confederation of the confederation of

Published by the International Socialist 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2. Printed ISW (Litho) Printers Ltd [TU all depts Registered with the Post Office.



Sit-in after

sackings threat

DUBLIN: Forty-three workers in a furniture factory in Navan, Co Meath,

occupied their factory after they were sacked at the beginning of last week. They are getting official support from the three unions to which they belong and a good deal of local backing in a town which has had a spate of redundancies in the recent

Last year redundancies increased overall by 120 per cent in Southern Ireland. The Navan workers are the first to really