

# Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## BRITISH ARMY BACKS TERROR IN BELFAST



Catholic families from Lenadoon Avenue leaving for the South on Sunday: trigger-happy troops had forced them to leave

**THIS IS THE TRUTH** about Belfast, the truth you don't read in the press or see on television. The reason why hundreds of families have left the Lenadoon area for the South as British troops and Ulster Defence Association gunmen systematically shot and harassed the Catholic working people...

A UDA slogan 'Moon-UDA-Moon' has appeared on many Belfast walls in the last week or so. It is instructive, for Mr Moon, the UDA hero, is a Shankhill Protestant Loyalist who is charged with the murder of a middle-aged Catholic, Daniel Hayes, whose body was found off the Shankhill Road three weeks ago.

A man called Ralph Henry has been arrested and charged with murdering two men in a Catholic pub in Portadown on 12 July. Before Henry's arrest the Irish Times stated that the killers were well-known members of the UDA.

### GUNNED

A member of the Ulster Defence Regiment (the new B-Specials) has appeared in court on an attempted murder charge—one of the numerous cases where a Catholic was gunned down from a passing car. The UDR man, Mr James Farnam, was released on bail when it was stated that he had a licence for his gun.

Sixteen UDA men armed with shot guns and pistols were arrested by the British Army in the centre of Belfast on 12 July. In Lenadoon last week, the UDA stood behind the Army as they prevented Catholics from moving into new houses.

Some were seen to have guns. Protestant Loyalist gunmen have been operating from the Springmartin estate, shooting into the Catholic Ballymurphy estate where at least eight civilians have been shot dead in the last three weeks.

From the Shankhill side of the peace line, Loyalists shoot continuously into the Falls Road. Two weekends ago they kept up incessant fire into the Catholic Albert Street area until 2am on Sunday morning.

### MIKE MILLER: Belfast

In London four prominent Loyalists are in custody on a charge of attempting to procure £350,000 worth of guns. One of them, Mr Charles Smith, is the chairman of the UDA.

When his house was searched it was found to contain lists of released internees and the names and addresses and car numbers of known Republicans. These lists were described as being similar to British Army intelligence reports.

Yet in spite of all this Protestant Loyalist agitation, the British Army apparently has orders to avoid any direct confrontation with the UDA. William Whitelaw, Tory supremo in Northern Ireland, is not prepared to meet the backlash now that it has begun. And the British press prefers to ignore the fact that it has begun.

Whitelaw naively stated in parliament last week that the UDA was not armed. This is a flat contradiction of the UDA's own admissions that not only are they armed but fully prepared 'to massacre the rebel scum', which to them means all Catholics.

The half-dead Unionist Party has lined up behind William Craig and his call for civil war. This urges Protestant workers to fight and die so that Craig and the Unionist gang might return to their positions of corruption and unimpeded power.

It was knowledge of this UDA arms build-up and the increasing level of Loyalist military involvement, with no response from the Army, that led to the breakdown of the truce in Lenadoon. This is an area where the UDA is particularly strong, and where the IRA has a vital role to play as defenders of the Catholic section of the estate.

When 700 British troops rolled in and were billeted on the Catholic population, the purpose of the operation was to deal with the IRA alone. Whitelaw's statement that if the IRA got out, the Army too would withdraw is unrealistic. For without the IRA, the area would be left open to UDA attacks, and after the

housing incident two weeks ago, no Catholic family can feel safe.

The announcement by the IRA that they have in fact stopped offensive action against the Army may be related to the rumours here that another general truce is on the way. The IRA has suffered heavy losses with at least 10 men killed and 60 injured since the truce ended.

If they can get assurances from Whitelaw that he will take a more determined stand they may well be prepared to have another ceasefire. But verbal pledges from Whitelaw are no guarantee against physical terror from troops and UDA.

3000 people are homeless as a result of Army occupation of their homes and gardens. Trigger-happy soldiers shoot at anything that moves. One regiment opened fire on another at the weekend. In these conditions people had no alternative but to move out until the Army was removed.

### BANKRUPT

With the growing demands for more severe military repression of Republicans coming from right-wing Unionists here and the Tory Party in Britain, Whitelaw is still searching for a more palatable solution to imperialism's problems in Ireland.

The Provisionals have shown their own political bankruptcy in their demand for the British Army to take military action against the Protestant workers. They imagine that British imperialism itself can somehow solve the problem of a divided working class.

It cannot. The only strategy that can be a clear revolutionary socialist perspective for all 32 counties of Ireland. And that is something the Provos sorely lack.

For socialists in Britain, the need to step up the campaign for the withdrawal of British troops is more urgent than ever.

*You cannot stand by while Irish workers are forced from their homes and shot in cold blood. Your action is crucial in the struggle to end British domination.*

[IS statement: page 12]

**PAUL  
FOOT:**

## Mr Maudling takes his pot of gold

'BRITAIN', said Mr Reginald Maudling, 'has lost some of her pride. We need a new sense of self-discipline based on a pride in oneself and responsibility and on the recognition of individual courage and achievement.'

Mr Maudling, Home Secretary, was speaking to the British Council for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled on 12 November 1970.

Now he is resigning as Home Secretary after the British press has at long last given some prominence to his business connections for three years and more with an American swindler and a bankrupt architect from Pontefract.

Almost at once there has been formed a British Council for the Rehabilitation of Reginald Maudling.

The chairman is James Callaghan, the Labour frontbench spokesman on home affairs, who has asked Heath not to accept Maudling's resignation.

### Remember...

The council's vice-presidents are the leader writers of the national press who have filled their columns with eulogies for the 'courageous and charming Reggie'.

Socialists will remember Mr Maudling quite differently. They will remember him as the architect of the racist Immigration Act.

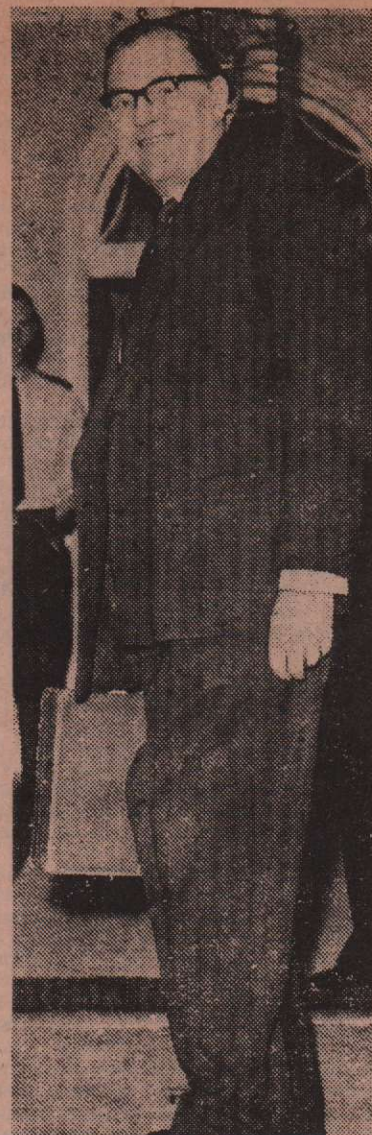
The persecutor of Rudi Dutschke.

The man who presided over the police at a time when the force was never more brutal or corrupt.

They will remember him as a Home Secretary who launched the savage assault on the Falls Road, Belfast in July 1970 and has maintained the attack ever since.

Forget all the adulatory praise and remember the single most crucial statement of Mr Reginald Maudling.

When Oliver Marriott of The Times asked him way back in



Maudling: Labour friends say stay

1969 why he had joined up with Jerome Hoffman of the Real Estate Fund of America, Maudling replied he was 'hoping to build up a little pot of money' for my old age'.

That was the ethic of Mr Maudling and his government. One cabinet minister is down. There are still 18 to go.

**Equal pay: special report centre pages**



# WORLD NEWS



The bosses: Nixon meets Kosygin and Brezhnev in Moscow

## East tells West: why don't we share the profits

by Peter Hitchcock

FOR some years now the Kremlin's bureaucrats and their East European friends in the appropriately named Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) have been anxiously contemplating the rise of the Common Market.

First they hoped it would just go away, or fall apart. Then, in the insaner moments of Nikita 'We will bury you' Khrushchev, they tried to push their miserably exploited workers to new heights of productive effort in the hope of outstripping the Common Market and the United States.

This year, in line with the new

'pragmatism' so warmly applauded by Nixon and Kissinger on their recent trip to Moscow, the Kremlin has decided that what it cannot beat, it had better join.

Last week the annual summit meeting of Comecon began in Moscow. Its job was to work out the best way the two giant economic bureaucracies can do business with each other.

The Soviet Union has shown itself increasingly willing to import whole factories from the West in its bid to boost production at any cost. Well known names in West German industry, like Krupp and Siemens, have been sending their sales representatives to jostle in the lobbies of the Ministry of Heavy Industry in Moscow.

With the discovery of the Tyumen oilfields and of copper deposits in Eastern Siberia, the Kremlin is turning to such friends of the earth as the Rio Tinto Zinc Corporation and Gulf Oil for help in exploiting them.

So eager has Moscow become that the White House can now happily hold back and demand that before any deals are reached the Soviet Union must pay back—with interest of course—the wartime aid which they foolishly thought the Americans were 'giving' them during the Nazi invasion.

At the other end of Eastern Europe, Romania and Yugoslavia now accept Western corporations as shareholders in joint companies.

### Disguised

Under a law passed last year, more favourable even than anything the Yugoslavs have produced, Romania does not stipulate that profits from these deals have to be reinvested. The Western firms can repatriate them under state guarantees.

If this is the extreme, it is scarcely more dramatic than the measures now being taken in the rest of Eastern Europe, where under the guise of industrial 'co-operation' and 'co-production' the regimes are opening the doors to agreements with Western capital.

The aim is simple. Faced by the fact that their locally-made industrial goods are uncompetitive and cannot sell in the West, and that there is a limit to the amount of agricultural products they can squeeze past the Common Market's Common Agricultural Policy, the bureaucrats have got to find another way to earn hard currency to pay for the imports of Western machinery which they need to 'modernise' their industry.

Wages in Eastern Europe are lower than in the West. Instead of trying to sell their industrial goods in competition with the

West, why should the bureaucrats not hire their workers to capitalist employers who then set up factories or lease them licences at home?

As the Confederation of British Industry put it in a recent pamphlet for businessmen: 'Industrial co-operation agreements can contribute to the profitability of British companies in two basic ways: by expanding the market opportunities for their products and by lowering unit production costs through the increased specialisation of both partners'. As any fluent speaker of Czech, Hungarian, or CBI officialese knows well, 'lowering unit production costs' means 'paying workers less'.

### Cut-price

The process can be seen at work in the Romanian agreement to set up a Renault assembly factory under licence. The French factory supplies many of the more complex parts while the local plant makes the simpler ones. In turn it helps to pay for the whole arrangement by exporting some of these parts back to France for use in the French Renault plant.

For the French management, besieged as it is already by militant workers at Billancourt, the deal provides obvious benefits in cost-cutting as well as opening new markets. The Romanian regime gets a factory at a reduced cost.

Well, it might be argued, if Romanian workers could get their Renaults cheaper, what's the fuss?

The trouble is that very few Romanians can afford the mere 70,000 lei (average industrial wage 1,200 lei a month) for which the Renault Dacia 1300 sells in Romania. So in classic neo-colonial fashion these Dacias are now being exported to Finland and anywhere else the Romanian bureaucrats can find a market.

The Romanian worker is simply being used as a cheap labour link in a chain of international corporate production.

In Poland the best example is the new Fiat deal by which the country pays for up to three-quarters of the value of a licence to make Fiats by sending engines, gearboxes, differentials and some finished cars back to the West.

Last year co-operation deals worth £6 millions were started in Poland. This year will see more.

As the development accelerates, there are growing suspicions that Western corporations may be starting to look at 'co-operation' as a way of 'exporting pollution'.

The gap between Western and Eastern Europe is no more likely to be narrowed by this new method of exploiting the area's workers than has the gap between the leading capitalist centres and Latin America, India, and South-East Asia, where similar neo-colonial production arrangements have been tried.

## DENMARK: WORKERS SAY NO TO SIX

from Rasmus Rasmussen

AT SOME of Denmark's biggest workplaces left-wing shop stewards have taken the initiative in organising ballots among their workmates to see whether they favour entry to the Common Market or not.

So far they have all given an overwhelming No to the Market. In the most recent ballot—at the Copenhagen shipyard of Burmeister and Wain—95 per cent of the workers returned their ballot papers, more than have ever done so for any other issue, and 88 per cent said No.

These results would seem to make nonsense of the decision in favour of the Market taken at a recent special conference of Danish trade unions.

The main political opposition to the Market is a popular front style alliance, which includes the Communist Party, the Socialist People's Party, the Single Tax Party (followers of Henry George), a group of Social Democrats, a Maoist group and an assortment of extreme right-wing organisations. Their activity consists of meetings, forums, demonstrations and newspaper advertisements.

The campaign has taken a nationalistic form, mainly because of the basic politics of the groups involved.

The People's Party believes in a Nordic Union and in the possibility of achieving a demilitarised socialist Denmark by parliamentary means. The Communist Party believes much the same, and the anti-Market Social Democrats believe entry will hinder their attempts to reform away the evils of capitalism and carry on building the welfare state.

### ALLIANCE

The worst aspect of the campaign is the revival of anti-German propaganda. The Germans are often portrayed as militaristic by nature: jack-booted, steel-helmeted figures are shown waiting to storm over the border.

The two left-wing parties which do have real support in the workplaces—the Communists and the People's Party—cannot really mobilise workers against the Market for fear of alienating their middle-class friends in the popular front alliance.

Various small revolutionary groups are trying to combat this nationalistic propaganda and the myth that Danish capitalists are nicer or more democratic than foreign ones. They are also stressing the need for workers to link up internationally to fight the international companies.

They are explaining that factory closures and attempts to move production elsewhere can be fought. They illustrate this by quoting recent struggles in Britain.

Denmark's Social Democratic government supports the Market. So do the three parties who made up the previous government—the Liberals, Radical Liberals, and Conservatives. Despite this, the opinion polls indicate that opposition is growing, and if the referendum planned for October were to be held now the result would be No.

## Police claim to have broken the Left

by Vic Richards

PORTUGUESE revolutionaries blew up 13 army vehicles in Lisbon on 11 July. There are strong rumours that the bombs were planted by the ARA, a group which has close links with the Portuguese Communist Party and has a record of similar acts.

This follows a statement by the heads of the political police in which revolutionaries were denounced as 'deserters, far-left militants and political highwaymen', involved in 'the campaign of treason and slandering' of Portugal.

The political police claims to have arrested several revolutionaries, thereby breaking up left-wing groups and urban guerrilla cells. It also claims to have seized vast quantities of arms and literature, and to have a vast file on socialists, their sympathisers and sources of aid in Portugal abroad.

Thus the so-called 'hot summer campaign' is alleged to have been broken.

Spies, information, repression and torture are nothing new to the Portuguese left—this has gone on for the past 45 years. What did come as a surprise was the 'discovery' by the police that all left groups were acting according to a plan arrived at through 'meetings between the top leaders' and the mediation of political differences by a 'prominent political leader in exile'. (Surely he would have been named if he really existed!)

The bombings were intended as an

answer to the political police and a statement of the left's continued presence and ability to operate.

But it is a dangerous and mistaken course of action, even against a dictatorship as brutal as Portugal's. Unfortunately many, even among Portuguese workers, have been fooled by the minute improvements since Salazar's death.

The political orientation of revolutionaries has led them away from taking part in the workers' struggles, so they are unable to counteract government propaganda.

The Portuguese dictatorship is looking for an excuse to smash the whole of the left in order to stop the discontent over Portugal's wars in Africa, low wages, unemployment and appalling misery, from rising to the surface.

In deciding to wage a violent campaign against the dictatorship all by themselves the Portuguese left will be entering a blind alley—and one that suits the political police. They will use the illusions sown by President Caetano to channel workers' frustrations against the socialists, and talk of 'violence and anarchy' to justify the most cruel repression.

The hope is that revolutionaries will change their course and avoid being added to the growing list of guerrilla campaign tragedies, as in Bengal, Uruguay and Brazil. They must recognise that a socialist revolution will be made by the mass of workers taking political action, not by small groups engaging in military action.

## BRIEFING

THE JAPANESE seamen's strike, which ended last week, had remained solid for more than 13 weeks. At first the Japanese bosses welcomed the strike, as it was a chance to run down surplus stocks of imported goods while the owners of the ships were able to save a little pay.

But after three months, with four per cent of the world's shipping idle and clogging the ports, the strike began to bite. The 160,000 seamen were asking for a £4.60 a week increase and improved conditions—for example, no fewer than 20 ports are virtually without fire-fighting facilities.

The down-turn in the Japanese economy is likely to lead to more and more fierce struggles of this type.

THERE HAS BEEN much talk in the French press recently of an unpublished plan to relax France's medieval restrictions on contraception—but not in France itself, only in the 'overseas departments', the French colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique in the Caribbean and Reunion in the Indian Ocean.

In these places girls over 15 will be able to obtain all contraceptive devices freely

from any chemist without parental consent. A brave and progressive step. But the reason given for this move is significant: the rising birth-rate in the West Indies and Reunion, the 'precociousness of fertility, the peculiar family structures and the high number of illegitimate children', as one report expressed it.

These are frankly racist arguments clearly aiming to prove that the poverty of the French colonies is in no way the fault of the French government's inability to provide jobs but of the 'irresponsibility' of the inhabitants. So the French government proposes to dole out contraceptives with no medical supervision.

The move has aroused massive opposition from the church, the nationalists and the local Communist Party. But not for the sort of reasons mentioned above.

The church and the Party are united in their opposition to... the weakening of parental authority.

ONE PROPOSAL for dealing with high unemployment in the United States is to redefine 'full employment' as five per cent instead of four per cent unemployed (thus coming closer to the present unemployment figure of 5.9 per cent).

Secretary of the Treasury, J.B. Connolly,

justifying this, said that since more women and young people were coming into the workforce it was only to be expected that unemployment figures would be higher.

DESPITE opposition from the Australian government, more and more sections of workers are winning the demand for a 35-hour week. This demand has gained force since unemployment began to rise last year.

Coalminers won the 35-hour week last year, and in May dockers also got an agreement. Now oil workers are demanding the same, and construction workers in Victoria have been dismissed after refusing to work a 40-hour week.

Robert Hawke, president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, has predicted that in five years' time the 35-hour week will be standard practice in Australia.

TWENTY-FIVE thousand students demonstrated in Lima, the capital of Peru, on 7 July, in solidarity with students killed by police during disturbances in Southern Peru.

The students also demanded the

nationalisation without compensation of the American-owned copper mines, and the release of trade union militants imprisoned since last winter's strikes.

The following day diplomatic relations between Cuba and Peru were officially re-established.

ALTHOUGH it is nearly 20 years since the Korean War ended, the regime in South Korea still survives by maintaining a climate of anti-Communist hysteria. In 1969, for example, a manufacturer of 'Picasso crayons' was investigated under a law forbidding praise for Communists.

Last December a state of emergency was declared. However, in a recent—promptly banned—magazine article Professor Kim Tong Gil questioned whether the South Korean ruling class was really facing an emergency situation:

'Golf courses are doing booming business as before, the high-class restaurants are full. Is this an emergency? Golf hardly seems a suitable pastime given the circumstances of Korea. Certainly the healthiness of this activity is not in doubt. But if for keeping fit such movement is necessary, then better they sweep the streets of Seoul.'



# Socialist Worker

For Workers Control and International Socialism, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2 8DN

## Conciliation equals class collaboration

AS THE CRUNCH nears for the expulsion of the eighteen unions that have refused or failed to de-register under the infamous Industrial Relations Act, the voices of 'caution' and 'moderation' are being raised. The need for unity is being stressed, the dangers of 'splitting the movement' are deplored.

Now unity is of first rate importance and splits in the trade union movement generally benefit the employer. But it is real unity that counts, unity to defend the unions against the employers and the government.

A 'unity' that allows Frank Chapple to defy the decision to de-register, allows him to co-operate with the government in the operation of anti-working class legislation is no unity at all. Those leaders hell-bent on collaborating with the law must be expelled. As for the threat by officers of the NIRC that expulsions may themselves be 'illegal', it should be treated as a piece of insolence and ignored. A trade union movement that allows the government and its courts to decide who shall and shall not be affiliated is committing suicide.

Expulsion is not enough. The unions concerned have more than a million members. They include the electricians, the steelworkers, the journalists and the allegedly 'left' ASTMS, as well as the seamen. Their members must not be abandoned. The TUC should make it clear that those leaders who persist in defying the decision will not only lose the protection of the Bridlington agreement (now illegal, according to the Industrial Relations Act), they will face active attempts to organise genuine independent unions in opposition to any 'registered', state-regulated unions.

Those who are concerned about 'precedents' should remember that the TUC decided to do exactly this with respect to the seamen, after the NUS leadership scabbed on the General Strike of 1926 and that the threat brought the NUS leadership to heel.

Of course the General Council itself has gone a long way to wrecking any moral authority it might have had by agreeing to a TUC-CBI 'Conciliation Service'. This piece of class collaboration is intended to come into operation in September. Congress must reject it.

It is not the job of the TUC to 'conciliate'. It is the job of the TUC to organise support and solidarity for unions in dispute. Instead of co-operating in spurious 'conciliation' with the employers, the TUC should get down to the urgent jobs that face it.

● **Fight the law**, support the dockers and all other workers threatened by the law.

● **Organise the unorganised**. Only 40 per cent of all workers are in unions. Make it 100 per cent.

● **Organise solidarity** with workers struggling to maintain their living standards in face of runaway price increases. No more sell-outs such as the TUC inflicted on the postmen.

● **Protect the pensioners** with a massive campaign to force a big increase in pensions and an 'escalator' to protect them from inflation.

● **Support the low-paid workers** with a real fight for a minimum wage of £25.

These are the jobs Vic Feather and Co need to tackle. They won't, of course, if left to their own devices. They must not be. All trade unionists have a vital interest in compelling the TUC to stop 'conciliating' and to get down to defending the interests of working people.

## EXPEL THIS MAN!

MR ALBERT ROBERTS, NUM-sponsored Labour MP for Normanton, complains that he is being 'witchhunted' by the press. He admits to having been paid £11,508, a tidy sum, for his 'services' to the firm of the bankrupt architect Poulson but 'sees no reason why anyone should "bother him" about the matter'. Apparently the money was paid, in fact, in return for using his 'influence' with the Spanish and Portuguese governments on behalf of Poulson. And the man is a so-called Labour MP!

The government of Spain is a fascist dictatorship which came to power, with the help of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, by smashing the Spanish labour movement in a three-year civil war. Since Franco's victory all independent organisations of the Spanish workers, unions as well as parties, have been murderously repressed. Innumerable working class activists, social democrats as well as communists and anarchists, have been imprisoned. Large numbers have been shot.

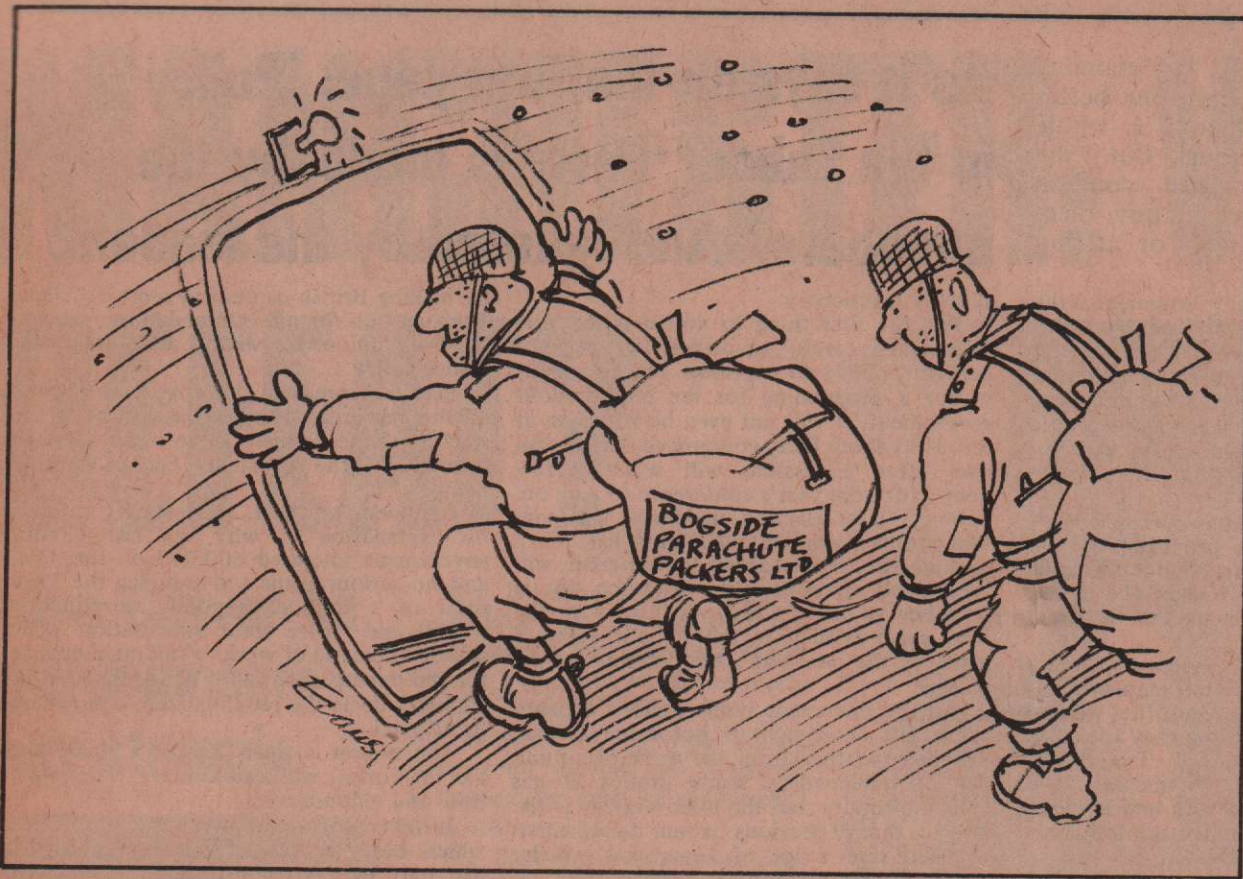
The Labour Party is affiliated to a body called the Socialist International. Its Spanish affiliate, the Socialist Party of Spain, is one of the organisations persecuted by the Franco terror. And 'Labour MP' Roberts is on the best of terms with Franco and his gang of murderers.

Roberts also enjoys excellent relations with the right-wing dictatorship of Portugal which also outlaws the workers' movement and is carrying on a genocidal colonial war against the peoples of Angola and Mozambique.

It goes without saying that any party with any serious pretensions to be a workers' party, or even a democratic party, would expel Roberts without further ado. Friends and toadies of fascist thugs have no place and no rights in the workers' movement. What is the Labour Party going to do?

Has it degenerated so far as to tolerate fascist sympathisers in its ranks? And what are the Labour lefts going to do? Is Mr Eric Heffer, MP, who wrote in last Friday's Morning Star that 'the party has moved left and continues to move left', content to allow Roberts to sit on the Labour benches?

And is the NUM content to sponsor a friend of the regime that deprives Spanish miners of elementary democratic rights? Let us see some prompt action from those MPs and NUM executive members who claim to be 'left wingers'. No one with any self respect can be content until the labour movement has been cleansed of Roberts and his ilk.



# NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH

## Nark it

APOLOGISTS for the national press claim that its freedom and independence of the state and government make it a vital watchdog for the people, a defender of their rights and freedoms.

In reality the press is as independent of the state as a maggot is of mouldy cheese. And just how staunchly it fights for our freedom can be seen from events in both the High Court and the Industrial Relations Court last week.

Counsel for Midland Cold Storage told the NIRC, as we reported last week, that the firm had employed private detectives to spy on dockers picketing its East London depot. The affair took an even more sinister turn last week when the case reached the High Court.

Mr Alan Campbell, QC, counsel for Midland, said that the firm had infiltrated the dockers' shop stewards' committee and that one of its members was in fact a spy who reported the dockers' plans to the employers. Campbell was at pains to stress that he couldn't name the spy, just as he had refused to name the man allegedly threatened with a beating by the pickets during the NIRC hearing.

There was an embarrassed silence in the High Court when Campbell inadvertently let slip the name of the spy on the stewards' committee. Recovering quickly, Campbell asked the press not to report the man's name, a request repeated by Mr Justice Megarry.

What did the fearless guardians of our freedom do? They complied with the request (repeat: request *not* instruction) and deleted the spy's name from their reports. So this employer's nark—if he exists—continues his dirty work and the press, by its silence, condones these police-state practices.

Can watchdogs with rubber teeth apply for new dentures on the health service?

WHEN Mrs Madeline Pleasance went to put flowers on her husband's grave two months after his death she found it had not been filled in and just had planks over it. When she complained



HEFFER: on the move

to her local MP, a spokesman for the cemetery in Nottingham explained that the coffin had been placed in a public grave because Mrs Pleasance could not afford a private plot.

'The grave is being kept open to take other coffins', he said. 'It could be two weeks before it is filled in.' Lame ducks, dead ducks... they all get the same treatment in our charitable society.

## Bristol clipper

LATEST fares increase on Bristol's far from perfect bus service brought forth howls of protest from many quarters, including the local Trades Council. Imagine the astonishment of the council when its July meeting was confronted by a delegation of Bristol busmen, led by their chief spokesman Jack Hodge, a member of the regional executive of the Transport Workers Union.

Jack came armed with powerful socialist arguments. 'By opposing the fares increase you are trying to defeat our wage claim', he raged.

And he backed up his remarks with a threat to disaffiliate the TGWU from the Trades Council if it made such complaints again. The platform quickly did their sums, worked out how much bunce they would lose if the TGWU closed its coffers and agreed never again to make ludicrous remarks in defence of the travelling public (believed to include some members of the trade union movement).

## Rising Star

IT looks as if Labour MPs who belong to the 'Tribune group' are having to look elsewhere than their weekly paper to write their soggy articles. Tribune, reviewing the new Labour Party manifesto, was for once not taken in by its empty pledges and was criticised sharply by editor Dick Clements in a piece headed 'One swallow does not make a socialist summer'.

This did not fit in with the picture of the party coming more and more under the control of the Tribunites and the trade unions that some Labour 'lefts' have been pathetically painting for the last couple of years.

Eric Heffer sprung into action with a long piece that began: 'There is no doubt that the draft programme issued by the Labour Party national executive is a recognition that the party has moved and continues to move left.'

The piece didn't appear in Tribune. One guess where... of course, the Morning Star. Is the Communist Party paper now providing hostage for views considered too soggy even for Tribune?

WITHOUT COMMENT department: Monday's Morning Star on a Communist Party rally in Sheffield—'A 30ft long Common Market dragon pursued a buxon Britannia, giving the march a carnival flavour.'

## Dead cell

MRS EILEEN EVANS was arrested on 22 May and charged with stealing groceries worth £1.96. She has been held in custody ever since and refused bail even though she was far gone in pregnancy.

While she was being held in a cell at Tottenham Magistrates Court in North London she went into labour and officials helped to deliver a premature baby. The baby died.

Last Friday her application for bail was adjourned at Middlesex Crown Court. Her counsel said she was 'unapproachable' and a doctor's report said she was unfit to plead. The judge said he thought it best if the application was heard when Mrs Evans was 'in a better frame of mind'. If he means when she gets over the shock of her brutal treatment and the death of her baby, he may have a long wait ahead of him.

PS Mrs Evans is black

## Emergency ward

ST MARY'S HOSPITAL in Paddington is one of the leading teaching hospitals in Britain. Giving evidence to an inquiry into new premises for the hospital, officials have painted a grim picture of how hospitals are starved of funds by the central government and the grim affects this must have on patients.

Officials told the inquiry that emergency cases have to be carried to the operating theatre in lifts used for garbage and dirty linen. They described the lack of side wards for distressed patients and admitted that the buildings are too old to conform to standards for preventing cross-infection.

Ironically, the hospital is the one where Alexander Fleming discovered penicillin. Should be plenty of fungus for his modern disciples to practise on.





# Labour puts up the facade

by Stephen Marks

LABOUR's draft programme, published last week, goes one better than pie-in-the-sky—there's a whole pie-shop to browse through. But if the goodies on display give you an appetite, don't expect to buy them across the counter, now or at any time in the future.

As The Times cynically comments: the programme 'is carefully hedged by reservations to ensure that there are not yet any particular commitments on either policy or timing . . . intended to create impressions rather than hook Labour leaders on specific commitments. It is the work of a party in opposition that remembers its difficulties in government.'

'The most radical and comprehensive socialist programme yet produced by the Labour Party', said (guess who?) Labour Party Chairman Anthony Wedgewood Benn, introducing the document to a press conference.

True, there are lots of attractive-sounding ideas on price control, full employment, redistribution of wealth, and the welfare services. On a second reading they look less attractive: as the Financial Times, the capitalists' own paper, comments: 'The document, though packed with radical ideas, contains far fewer firm policy commitments than appears at first reading.'

And some of the ideas, mostly tucked away at the bottom of obscure columns, are

## As it says on the first page: 'Policy in the Labour Party is made by the members.' And ignored by the leaders.

actually reactionary.

But the first thing to notice is that the document is careful, on its very first page, to commit nobody to anything. The document is not a programme for the next Labour government. It will not even be voted on at the next Labour Party conference. The executive, after discussion, will select a few points for next year's conference to vote on. Labour's next election manifesto will contain points chosen from that short list.

And the next Labour government will presumably pay as little attention to its promises as did the last. As it says on the first page: 'Policy in the Labour Party is made by the members.' And ignored by the leaders.

As the document binds nobody to anything, it's amazing it is not more radical. Stitched together from the work of a number of independent study groups, it has little continuity, but the basic strategy is the same as that of previous Labour documents.

There are a lot of sometimes worthy proposals on the welfare services, and no suggestion as to how to pay for them except

by making British capitalism more efficient. The sugar on the pill is intended to persuade the trade unions to swallow a 'voluntary incomes policy'.

Because there is no challenge to the power of the minority who own and control the wealth of the country there is no solution offered to the problems facing working people.

On unemployment, for instance, there is no explanation of why the last Labour government tolerated 600,000 on the dole, and no serious plans for reducing the Tory total of a million, beyond 'more public works' and 'more state intervention'. The socialist demand of work or full maintenance for the unemployed, with nationalisation of all firms declaring redundancies, is nowhere mentioned.

The reason is clear. Labour's plans, just like the Tories', will lead to more 'rationalisation' and redundancies.

In the programme we read: 'Problems which beset certain of our key industries can only be overcome through active state intervention, backed by public funds. The last Labour government provided itself with powers to set up industrial boards in such cases, which would provide support and promote amalgamation, rationalisation and expansion . . . We foresee a role for an agency similar to Labour's Industrial Reorganisation Corporation.'

### Sugar on the pill

Tens of thousands of workers were thrown on the dole by that whizz-kid promoter of 'amalgamations, rationalisation and expansion', Arnold Weinstock, after Labour's Industrial Reorganisation Corporation blessed his GEC-AEI merger. More of the same is all Labour can offer today.

Indeed they go further: 'It is clear from the success of the small Manpower and Productivity service set up in 1968, that there is great need for a state management consultancy service.' One of its aims would be 'to help promote new productivity deals'.

So here is Labour's idea of socialism: nationalise the time-and-motion men!

The key to Labour's strategy is to con the trade union movement into accepting a 'Voluntary Incomes Policy'. The sugar on this pill is a cumbersome system of price controls.

This cannot work without the co-operation of the private owners of industry, who will only accept it if it succeeds in holding wages down—which means restraint by the well-organised, better-paid sections of workers. The benefit from this will go not to the worse-paid workers, but into the employers' pockets. Meanwhile the prices of imported goods will continue to rise.

### Dreamland nonsense

The pill is given much less space than the sugar, and in smaller type. The central class problems are glossed over with candy-floss fantasy: 'Labour believes that rising wages and expanding profits for reinvestment can co-exist.'

This dreamland nonsense is certainly not believed in the boardrooms. We doubt if it is in Transport House either.

And the velvet glove still hides the iron fist of state compulsion: 'The extent of government intervention will have to depend on how successful voluntary efforts are.'

The trade union leaders will try to use these Labour plans for 'voluntary' incomes policy as an alternative to a real fight against the Tories now. We must demand they tell the Labour leaders: no anti-union laws, and no incomes policy under capitalism.

There is no space to deal with the promises and bewitching mirages of future reforms that take up the rest of the document. Old timers will recognise two familiar friends: the abolition of tied cottages and an end to the public schools.

These two elementary reforms, neither of which exactly shakes the power of British capitalism, have been promised by the Labour Party for at least 30 years. They could well form the epitaph on the tombstone of reformism.

## LETTERS ON IRELAND

### Statement 'a diatribe against those it should be defending'

THE STATEMENT on Northern Ireland by the International Socialists' executive committee has not a shred of internationalism in it. Instead of arming its readers with arguments to counter 'the witch-hunting of the press against the republican movement it has again seen fit to deliver a diatribe against those it should be defending.

What is more, it prepared IS for a

position of neutrality should a full-scale conflict develop between the Catholic population and the Orange supremacists. It made clear that IS support was for defence against the Orange mobs. So an offensive against the British Army of Occupation and the Orange would-be pogromists is a 'sectarian war'?

Yet again the Orange Card is being played in Ulster—the threat of

civil war. To that threat, or even its realisation, the first duty of international socialists is to declare their open support for those fighting for national liberation against imperialism and its allies—even if some of those allies are workers.

It is the first and foremost task of revolutionaries to combat chauvinism in an imperialist country. The statement encouraged it. Secondly, it is

our duty to criticise the limitations and weaknesses of organisations like the IRA. The statement made that impossible.

The statement and the 'demands' attached strengthen reformism and are thus an injury to the British working class as well as the Irish people.—S McSweeney, E McWilliams, D Stocking, A Prout, D Silcock, B Coppock, Newcastle, Staffs.

## ANY 'UNITED IRELAND' POLICY IS BARRIER TO SOCIALISM

SIMON PARTRIDGE's letter (8 July) hit at the main point which the International Socialists have not accepted, 'that nationalism is the overriding political factor in Ireland whether of the Catholic or Protestant variety' and that it is absolutely necessary that the working class be united on the basis of their class interest.

The attempt to deny the Protestant community the right to remain in union with Britain arose historically during the 19th century as an attempt by the southern Catholic middle class to gain economic and political control over the industrial north east.

All classes of Protestants resisted them and today resist no less, a 'united Ireland'. They regard themselves and have always acted as a community which has no common national identity with the rest of Ireland.

Hence when Partridge says that 'all genuine socialists want to see a united Ireland' he is succumbing to the ideal of the forces which the Protestant community has always resisted—the united Ireland forces.

### SLOGAN

If a 'united Ireland' means separation from Britain, whether socialist or not, the Protestant working class will resist it. They have never seen a united Ireland as in their interests and the only policy which can unite them politically with the Catholic working class is one which is indifferent to the territorial basis on which socialism is possible and which leaves them free to choose union with Britain.

What this means is that socialism will be advanced through a consistently democratic programme. The slogan for a united Ireland is not democratic. It denies that the Protestant community has any right to union with Britain. If IS continues to adopt the undemocratic position of supporting a united Ireland it will be leading the working class both Catholic and Protestant under the banner of nationalism.

Lenin knew the importance of what was involved in the struggle for democracy: 'A proletariat not schooled in the struggle for democracy is incapable of performing an economic revolution (i.e. the socialist revolution).' (Collected Works, Vol 23, p 25).—PAUL O'MAHONY, London N19.

# IRA has right to expect support

THE STATEMENT from the Executive Committee of the International Socialists last week seems calculated to cause confusion among readers on the difficult question of the situation in Ireland.

Several points made in the statement indicate quite clearly that the Catholic population, already under attack, have faced further violence and intimidation since the cease-fire. The statement talks of the 'growth of Orange para-military extremist forces' and 'their complicity in the murder of Catholics'. It goes on to indict, with every justification, the British forces for their 'indiscriminate terrorism', including 'assassination by plain-clothes officers against known republicans'.

Add to this the truth about the Lenadon Avenue confrontation, in which Catholics demanding the basic right to a roof over their heads were viciously attacked, and the necessity of the Catholic community taking up arms again becomes obvious.

Despite all this, the Executive Committee can still make the dangerous political error of calling the end of the truce 'misguided and potentially disastrous for the republican movement'.

It is time we realised that the IRA is the absolutely necessary armed wing of the Catholic

community and as such has the right to expect the full support of British socialists.

If the Provisionals have made any mistake in the past few weeks, they have made the mistake of being taken in by the Whitelaw initiative at a time when the Orange thugs are preparing for an all-out attack on the Catholic areas. They have made the mistake of ceasing their armed resistance to British imperialism.

As a member of IS for more than three years, I am profoundly disturbed by the unclear and woolly statements issued about the IRA. No amount of vague platitudes about the need 'to give unconditional support to all those engaged in the defence of Catholic areas' can substitute for a clear statement of IS support for the IRA.

After all, we cannot kid ourselves that 'those engaged in the defence of Catholic areas' are any other than the IRA . . . and we should have the guts to say so.

The list of slogans at the end of the statement represent the real way forward in the Irish situation, but they are useless unless they start from the actual reality of the present situation. Useless, unless a statement of unconditional support for the IRA is included.—SARA CARVER, Manchester 20.

## CORRECTION

LAST WEEK'S report on the conference of the National Union of Mineworkers contained two errors. These occurred in the editing process and were not the responsibility of our reporter at the conference. In the sentence which read that a resolution on wages did not contain an instruction to the executive to consult the members about industrial action, the word 'not' appeared by mistake and in fact the resolution did include that important provision.

The report also said that a resolution from Nottingham was excluded from a composite motion on fuel policy. In fact, only one sentence, referring to industrial action, was omitted from the composite motion.

Socialist Worker regrets the errors.



WE REGRET that due to shortage of space, several letters have been held over for publication next week.

Letters to Socialist Worker must arrive by first post Monday. They should preferably not exceed 250 words and should be typed or written on one side of the paper only. Letters may be cut for space reasons.

Write to Socialist Worker, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

## Trotsky's HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

'The language of the civilised nations has clearly marked off two epochs in the development of Russia. Where the aristocratic culture introduced into world parlance such barbarisms as czar, pogrom, knout, October has internationalised such words as Bolshevik, soviet . . . This alone justifies the proletarian revolution, if you imagine it needs justification'—Trotsky.

Three volumes, 50p each, post and packing 7p volume, 15p the three.

IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



# MANCHESTER: VICTORY or DEFEAT?

## Glyn Carver on the engineers' pay struggle



A copy of the Greater Manchester Engineer bulletin on the picket line.

It is almost four months since the Manchester engineers put in their claim for £4, a 35-hour week, an extra week's holiday and equal pay for women—four months which have seen almost 30 factories occupied by tens of thousands of workers.

The fight was a determined one. Some plants were occupied continuously for as long as 12 weeks. But now, with only two small factories still occupied, Manchester engineers are having to face up to the inevitable question. Was the outcome of this magnificent fight a victory or a defeat?

Because of the militant action, some real gains were made on hours and holidays. On average this amounts to about £2.50 on the rate and two days on holidays.

With few exceptions nothing was gained on the claim for reduced hours and equal pay, nothing was gained on the crucial part of the claim that involved lasting gains. These would not only be unaffected by inflation but would have created more jobs for some of the 14,000 Manchester engineers who have been made redundant in the past year.

When you fight hard for a 30 per cent claim and finish up with less than 10 per cent, it is vital to understand why you failed and what mistakes were made, because these mistakes must not be repeated.

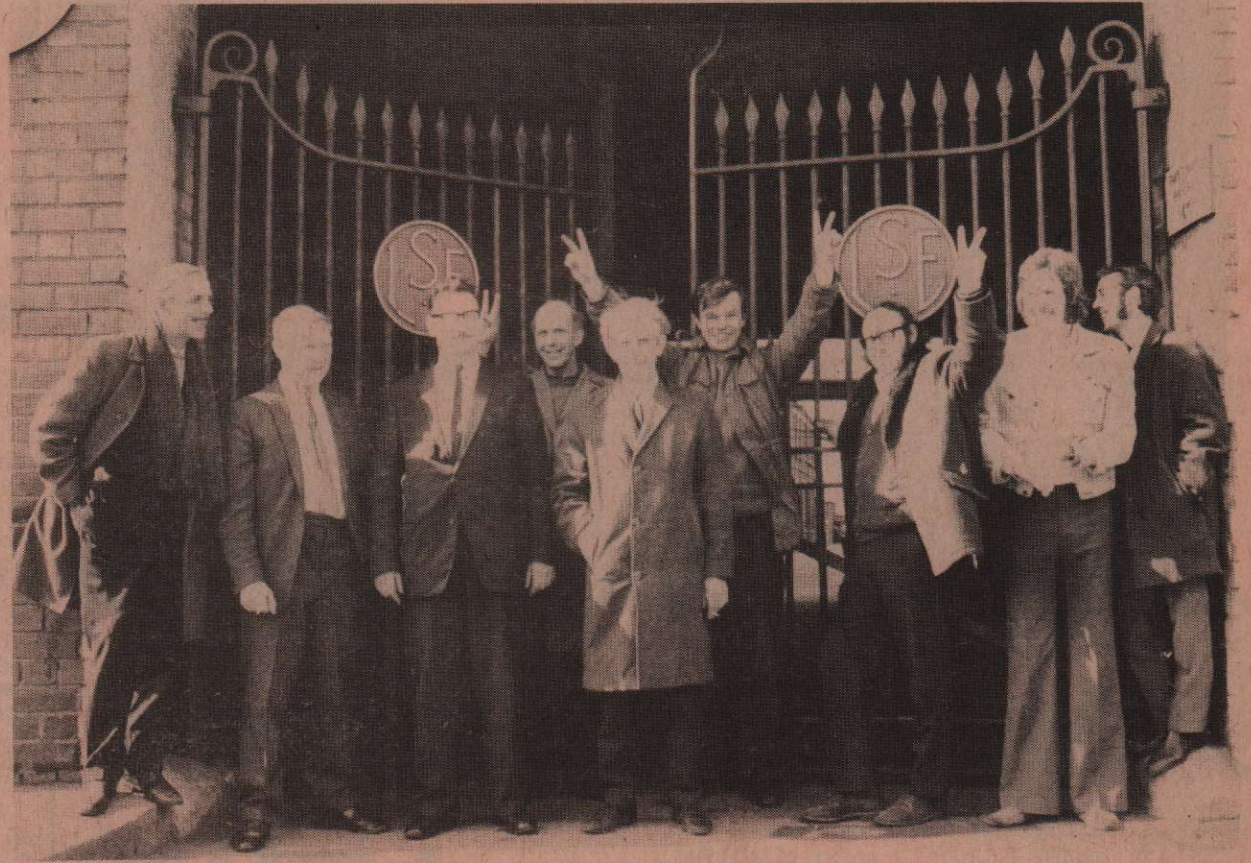
The struggle in Manchester was one of the most significant in engineering since the war.

### OUTDATED

It was the first time that engineering workers have adopted new tactics—the sit-in—on any significant scale. This is in itself something quite unique in the history of the working-class movement in Britain.

But the tragedy of Manchester was that in organisation the employers were able to outplay the workers. Instead of undertaking a real national struggle that would have guaranteed success, the leaders of the engineering unions opted for the outdated tactic of an isolated struggle.

The action in Manchester resulted from the breakdown in national negotiations between the engineering unions and the employers' federation. Realising the weak-



Some of the workers who occupied the Laurence Scott and Electromotors factory.

ness of the plant bargaining strategy of the national union leadership, the Manchester engineers tried to co-ordinate on a district basis.

They called a work-to-rule and a piece-work ban, and found themselves confronted by employers determined and organised to resist their demands. The employers locked out selected factories. The sit-ins followed.

The workers were enthusiastic and willing to fight. For more than two months the best part of 30,000 workers sat it out in a determined attempt to break the employers.

But instead of receiving active backing from engineering workers nationally, the Manchester engineers were virtually left to fight alone. While Hugh Scanlon and other members of the national leadership visited Manchester and offered verbal support, they did nothing to stimulate the kind of support needed to bring victory.

Their role in the dispute was a complete abdication of any responsibility to lead. Their lack of initiative had forced the Manchester lads to go it alone, and in the middle of the dispute it was Scanlon who betrayed the militants by advising that the hours claim be dropped.

Even at a local level there was failure. Throughout the dispute there was a complete lack of communication between occupied factories. In many cases the basic task of fund-raising was completely neg-

lected and there was no organised assistance from the unions in claiming Social Security benefit.

The problem of lack of information was compounded by a decision taken at a shop stewards' meeting, on the advice of local officials, to keep secret any agreements reached.

### UNOFFICIAL

This meant that many rumours of settlements and pending settlements flew around and many workers were left in the dark about what was actually happening.

At no time did the AUEW officials—members of the Communist Party almost to the man—make any real effort to overcome these difficulties, and the vast majority of rank and file members involved in the dispute depended on an unofficial bulletin for information. The International Socialists' Greater Manchester Engineer was not only the only source of information but also the one publication that fought for a consistent programme of shop steward control of the dispute, no secret agreements, national solidarity action and no retreat on the claim for the 35-hour week.

The incredible situation in which an unofficial bulletin produced by a handful of militants is forced to play this role underlines one of the key weaknesses of the Manchester struggle.

By the beginning of May stewards from several factories realised that if the day was to be saved something more had to be done.

In the absence of a lead from above they decided to take up one of the demands of the bulletin and call a meeting of stewards from all the sit-in factories.

The idea of the meeting was to form a committee to co-ordinate the activities of the occupied factories, to exchange experience and attempt to give all factories involved a clear overall picture, to organise support for those factories in need of help with picketing, to send delegations around the country to raise money and support, to maintain the fight for all four points of the claim.

The first difficulty for the meeting was that only 11 factories were represented, for many of the others were involved in negotiations.

Much of the energy and enthusiasm of the beginning of the struggle had by this stage been dissipated and the meeting reflected this.

### DROPPED

Two conflicting schools of thought emerged. Those stewards who had pushed for and organised the meeting believed that if there was to be any hope of saving the situation, then they had to act—and quickly.

Others felt that if a call for action was made to the union district officials then they would be better able to organise it. This view eventually carried the day.

Unfortunately, at this very point in the struggle the local union leaders were considering convening a meeting at which they meant to get the 35-hour week effectively dropped from the claim, to allow settlements containing only concessions on money and holidays (the demand for equal pay having long been forgotten).

So it is not surprising to find that nothing was ever done about the stewards'

request.

On Monday 15 May a stewards' meeting was held where the local officials argued for allowing settlements without hours concessions—but with an overtime ban imposed in such cases.

The officials succeeded in winning a majority to this argument because the meeting was packed with stewards from the right-wing GEC/AEI factory. They had come—in management-financed transport under the leadership of a convenor who is so good at his job that the bosses asked him to continue working after retirement age—with the sole purpose of putting through the climb-down on hours.

This unprincipled alliance between the 'left-wing' officials and Brennan, the reactionary AEI convenor, was successful.

The hours claim was dropped, settlements began, and this marked the point of no return: in a matter of weeks it was all over.

WORKERS in individual factories had been left to react to the situation on their own. Some occupied, some sat in, some went out of the gate, some were left working to rule and some continued working normally.

Instead of marshalling the forces and sending them into battle with the weight of the union district behind them, the local union leaders merely presided over a series of diverse and isolated struggles, leaving each factory in the dark about what was happening to workers elsewhere.

At national level no attempt was made to use the Manchester initiative to further the fight for the claim, either by extending the action or by rallying support.

The union leaders put in the claim without understanding what they were up against or what would be needed to win it. The only ones who had their eyes open were the bosses, who poured millions of pounds into the Manchester Employers Federation in order to keep up resistance to the claim.

The inescapable conclusion from the Manchester engineers struggle is that the traditional workers' organisations are not yet up to the task of giving the bosses a real fight.

### LESSON

The weakness of the union machine and its refusal to put up a national fight was at the root of the problem. And local union structure reflected the weaknesses of the national one.

The Manchester engineers could have won if the unity and strength of the factory had been translated on to a district level through shop stewards' control of the dispute. As it was the officials held the power and the responsibility and it failed.

This is the lesson of the Manchester battle. Victory was possible. But at a time when the bosses are using the most sophisticated techniques to extract the last drop of profit from their workforce, when they stand firm in alliance with the Tory government against any significant demand from the workers, it is vital that the traditional workers' organisations have a 'shake-out' also.

This can only be done by the rank-and-file members re-exerting their control over their union and forcing the militancy of the shop-floor on to the national leadership.

Only then will the unions be an effective working class weapon in the bigger battles that will inevitably follow.

## Let's have a profits boom —send the workers the bill

A RECENT survey showed, perhaps surprisingly, that a majority of City opinion favoured statutory restraints on prices, dividends and incomes: notice there is no mention of wages, just so you think it doesn't apply to you.

The survey was carried out by Charles Barker City for the Investors Chronicle in the first few days of July. At the time the Financial Times Index, which is a measure of the level of share prices, was languishing around 485, after being as high as 540 earlier in the year.

Yet in the same survey the majority of people thought the FT Index would be in the 501-550 range by the end of the year.

Now the chief thing that moves share prices is the level of profits, or the outlook for profits. The Charles Barker forecasts of a higher FT Index, in other words higher profits or a better outlook for profits, was supported by another survey in the Sunday Times where most City opinion was optimistic about the future of the FT Index.

But opinion wasn't optimistic about the level of investment by industry. In other words, they thought that companies would make higher profits but they didn't see any sign of higher investment by industry to produce these profits.

As the Charles Barker survey shows, the City is pinning its hopes on an incomes policy. The profits will be provided by the workers, who will be expected to 'moderate' their wage demands.

### IN THE CITY



with T.H. Rogmorton

Whatever politicians, union leaders, employers say about the desirability of a prices and incomes policy, in the 'national interest', the City at least knows that such a policy is good for profits.

The reason why they and industrialists can stomach a prices and dividends freeze too, is that the government has tried so hard to stimulate demand (almost exclusively among the rich) and given so much away in investment grants and tax cuts that, if only wages could be con-

rolled, capitalists would make a fortune.

It is interesting that 33 per cent of the 43 per cent who said no to a statutory incomes policy in the Charles Barker survey, thought a voluntary policy would work, suggesting that they would happily co-operate with such a policy.

The City started paying less attention to dividends years ago, spurred on by the Labour government's introduction of Corporation Tax.

### Labour

Although it is important for most investors to have a flow of income, this doesn't have to be all that great. Shares are valued chiefly on earnings criteria—how much profit is available for shareholders rather than how much is paid out. The money can be re-invested by the company to earn higher and higher profits for the shareholders, so that in future years the level of dividends will anyway exceed what income might have been paid in years past.

Remember that the last great stock market boom of 1968 was during a period of dividend restraint under Labour.

The City is not stupid. One reason it has been so concerned about wages and strikes recently is because it knows that labour can take money that would otherwise go in profits: a broker's circular recently referred to the rise in the level of wage settlements as a DETERIORATION.



Pat Sturdy of the Women's Industrial Union talks to Socialist Worker



Picture of Pat Sturdy by the Guardian

# Organise women and TUC

PAT STURDY was the moving spirit behind the Women's Industrial Union, a group of women workers who came out of the General and Municipal Workers Union. The argument was simple: The bureaucratic and decaying giant union would not deal with the specific problems that confront women workers.

Now eight months later she and her group are negotiating for membership of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. I talked to Pat Sturdy about the unions, equal pay, women's lib and politics.

'The TUC attitude to women is very antiquated. There are very few women among the delegates to Congress—about one to 500 I think. So we're not really represented there. There is a separate women's conference which is good but at national conference we don't really have representation.

'When I wrote to the TUC for affiliation for the Women's Industrial Union they just replied that we were considered to be a "breakaway". It was all done discreetly through the TUC's Women's Department.

## Second class

'We had very little contact with other unions. They won't recognise us. I don't understand their objections unless they are scared of us having a divisive effect in the movement. If that's it, then it really shows they haven't tried to find out what we're about, and also that they have never tried to understand that it is necessary for unions to cater for women's problems.

'We want to be in a decent union. What we are really interested in is good representation. Other things like sick

# doesn't want to know...

by Anna Paczuska

pay and benefits are not so important. Now we're negotiating with the AUEW and I think we can get a lot of support from men. But we'll have to work collectively with them. Men must be made aware of the problems women face. We have to back each other.

'Women are second-class citizens in industry as well as in the trade unions. And the Equal Pay Act has many dangers in it—all the problems of women doing shift work and being fooled by job evaluation studies. On these issues we will all have to fight together. Employers are trying to find all sorts of ways to get out of paying equal pay.

'If people think that the Women's Industrial Union is divisive, then women

will have to stay in the unions they are already in and form industrial groups to exert pressure for their rights.

'We want to form a network of women in trade unions all over the country with a monthly bulletin to keep them in contact with each other. This would tell us all how the campaign is going, how officials are acting and so on—so we know where pressure needs to be exerted.

'If women can see this is a good idea, it could become very powerful. Any women who are interested can contact me and I can let them know our ideas and progress to date.

'I think Women's Lib is good, but they don't seem to come out with the major issues. I think the main problems are those of working women. Women's Lib need more organisation around the central problems affecting women—long discussions about motherhood don't solve anything much. It's the tenants and working women that have to be got to.

## No difference

'The girls in Women's Lib in Manchester and London who have already been in touch with me about setting up industrial groups could really make Women's Lib have an impact. This organising work has been left too long. It must be done now.

'In my opinion there's not much difference between Labour and Tory. They both try to make the capitalist system work, even Labour who are supposed to be for the working class.

'Their principles seem to disappear when they get into parliament. It's not all their fault though. It's the parliamentary system. I think the Labour Party should have a stronger left wing. A strong trade union movement could push the parliamentary representatives.

'We do need an alternative, but I don't know how that would work. People are still scared of the word "communist" and won't try to understand. I don't belong to a political party myself. I just see the need for organisation.'

Pat Sturdy can be contacted at 31 Hogarth Avenue, Rosehill, Burnley, Lancs.

\* Mrs Sturdy, a former GMWU shop steward in the Lucas group, said this week that talks were still going on with the AUEW. The women want their own section within the engineering union—they don't want to be absorbed as individual members.



ONLY A MILITANT CAMPAIGN is going to win equal pay for women. The employers are well organised, devious and prepared to wriggle through every loophole in the Equal Pay Act. But who is going to lead such a militant campaign? The TUC?

The truth is that if we wait for the TUC we shall wait for ever. The pamphlet they have just produced, Your Job and the Equal Pay Act gives a short summary of what the Act says, the various definitions of 'equal', talks about job evaluation, how to appeal if you have a case, and so on. It says *nothing* about equal pay now, *nothing* about collective or militant action, *nothing* about the opposition of the employers.

It does nothing, in reality, but reassure the employers that women workers are not going to be led into action by the TUC. The pamphlet is worse than useless because it is aimed at women individually—it suggests that 'you cannot do better than keep close to your union, which will be ready with advice and help' and 'if you have a reasonable claim for equal pay, your union will take it up with your employer on your behalf.'

The TUC has been passing resolutions for a hundred years on equal pay for women. Is it really going to spend the next hundred trying to win it piecemeal?

The General and Municipal Workers Union has a quarter of a million

women members have a strong feeling of solidarity. The conference, the struggle for the

The report per cent of a whereas 87 per cent of a raising of women low pay. If the already achieved

Even so, a 'phasing in' of such increases wage settlements negotiations?

As for training equal pay, that retraining economy can no will here to And on 's'

# WE WANT

BY THE END of the year Maurice Macmillan, the Employment Secretary, will decide whether or not to insist that all firms bring women's rates up to 90 per cent of men's rates.

At the beginning of this year rates of pay for women were generally between 15-20 per cent lower than men's. The provision in the Equal Pay Act for increasing the rate now is to avoid a big inflationary spiral of wages in 1975 when the Act comes into effect.

The employers were given five years to prepare for equal pay but according to most reports few have done anything to actually implement it—either because they realise the Act is so riddled with loopholes that they can evade it or because they are spending the five years working out how to get round it.

## Defused

A recent report in The Industrial Society journal pleads with the employers who aren't taking the Act seriously: 'If we in industry and commerce are to get something from this legislation rather than just increased costs we must take action immediately, otherwise we shall have to pay women more money but get nothing back for this at all.'

The Equal Pay Act was first introduced by Barbara Castle after the Ford strike in 1968 when the sewing machinists closed the giant Dagenham car plant in a strike over regrading and equal pay.

The Act successfully defused a movement which could quickly have spread throughout sections of women workers. The first round went to the employers when the unions demand for equal pay for work of equal value was thrown out in favour of equal pay for 'like or broadly similar work'—like being the same job or a job related equivalent to a man's job by a job evaluation exercise.

Job evaluation is probably the biggest single get-out the employers have under the terms of the Act—it always



sounds scientific and unbiased. In fact it is neither.

You take a certain number of characteristics and award them points accordingly, but which score high and which score low is not determined by the type of job but by the employers. It can be used to frustrate the intentions of the Act quite successfully by deliberately over-weighting factors where men can be expected to score high—like strength—and under-weighting things that women usually excel at—like dexterity.

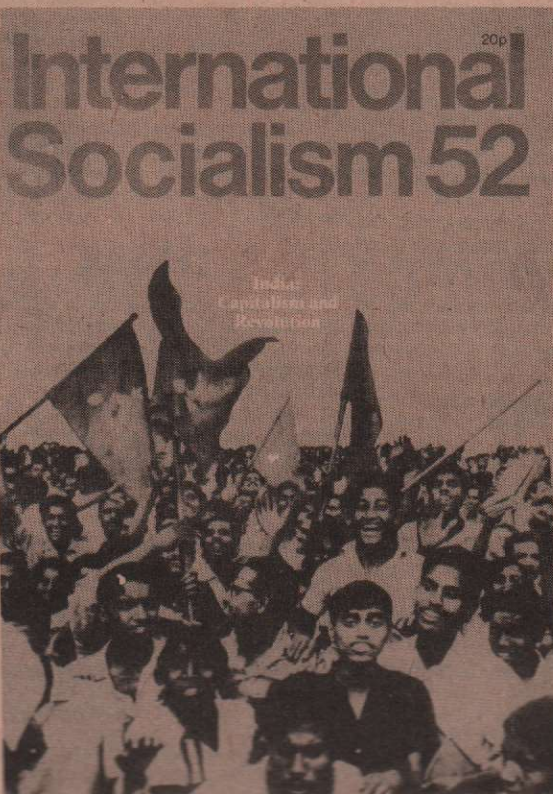
A militant trade union can help, but too often, because of their co-operation with productivity deals and job evaluation in recent years, they will not take a stand on behalf of the weaker sections.

But job evaluation is a fairly complex and expensive method of dodging the Act. An easier notion is that of separate but not equal—making sure that men and women do different jobs. One firm

that believes so of keeping up Cussons, the cosmetics pits profits out of ing them and

Their goods happen after certainly not who make it £200,000 in 1971 they (£233,034) no But they still pay their emp

In their plays a great jobs nothing Act just so openly called Even the BBC Money/Program the employe coming—their In one p



Labour, from the safety of opposition, once again proclaims its commitment to a 'fair society'. Raymond Challinor, in 'Labour and the parliamentary road' strips away the party's reformist pretensions and the Labour 'left's' hopeless dedication to evolutionary change. PLUS Nigel Harris on India Tony Cliff on Lenin David Widgery on Mayakovsky

£1 for four issues  
 IS magazine, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Special feature researched



# EQUAL PAY

**Two million women in industry – just think what they could achieve**

ers, more than any other union in the country, so they case for being up in the front of the struggle. But you get en you read the report presented to this year's GMWU Equal Rights for Women, that there isn't going to be a em to be in the front of.

ties up the fight for equal pay with that of low pay—87 female manual workers earn less than £20 per week, percent of all male manual workers earn at least this. The men's rates will have the effect of reducing the problem of is is true and the problem is so urgent what has the union ed? Very little, even by its own estimation.

they can suggest is that negotiations start now for the equal pay before December 1975, and recommend that occur every 12 months, six after the date of the normal t'so as to interfere as little as possible with the usual nce when has equal pay been so unusual?

ing and job opportunity, the other side of the fight for GMWU suggests that the employers must be persuaded gnis worthwhile, as neither the employers nor the afford the wastage of underemploying women. There is stand up against the employers.

iftwork and night work the concessions are total—the

union reiterates that 'no women should have to work either nights, shifts or overtime as a condition of employment,' but then says, 'the question of allowing women who do want to work such hours [is that they should have] the freedom to do so'. The choice is the employers, not yours—all they are condoning is the freedom to be exploited more. Women demand the right to equal pay and job opportunity without having to sacrifice themselves to working nights. No worker should have to work shifts or nights.

The Equal Pay Act presents the trade union movement with a real opportunity to show up the manoeuvrings of the employers. But it is up to the rank and file members of the unions to force their hand and make them fight. We must demand equal pay now and not step down if the employers use the threat of unemployment. Now is the time for all working women to go on the attack, not at the expense of men but alongside them. We demand:

- The right to work.
- To equal pay now, with no redundancies and no shift work as a precondition.
- To equal job opportunity.
- No job evaluation—equal pay for work of equal value so that all women can earn a decent wage.

THE WOMEN who are in the best position to fight for equal pay are the two million working women in trade unions. Women like Nancy Gallagher, a shop steward for 17 years in the Osram GEC plant in Erith, South London.

The workers there—mainly women—were locked out earlier this year after they had called for a work to rule in support of their claim—the national engineering claim, a part of which was the demand for equal pay. I talked to Nancy about what happened.

'The original claim was the same as the national claim and the management offered us nothing. We called a meeting and decided on a work to rule to force their hand. We got locked out for that.

'We wanted at least £2 for the women but eventually had to go back to work with £1.50 for the women and labourers and £2.40 for the skilled men, plus two extra days holiday and additional holiday credits.

'We tried for some time to spread the strike to Birmingham, where there is a much larger Osram works. They eventually came out after about three weeks, but they were mostly in the TGWU and got told off for their trouble.

'We are going to set up a combine committee in the future between the five plants and put in for joint claims. If they give us equal pay, or if we fight for it, it will have to spread throughout the combine, but we need the committee as we can't rely on the union.'



Edna Roach: push needed

organised has been fraught with difficulties, particularly because of the attitudes of the unions.

At Brannans, in Cleator Moor, Cumberland, the women and men at the thermometer factory have been on strike now for over a year for union recognition. In London the night cleaners have been campaigning for almost two years to recruit women into the TGWU and to get the union to take them seriously.

## GRADES

I asked Nancy what the differences were between the men's and women's rates at the moment. Would it cost the employers much to introduce equal pay here?

'There are several grades throughout the factory,' she said. 'The top grade for women is for coil binding, with an hourly rate of 41p. The male labourers get about 50p an hour—but the skilled men are on a much higher flat rate.'

'Our piece work bonus is 7.2p an hour, providing you can do the rate and for that you really have to slog, and that goes down by 2p a grade. The new increase has done nothing to reduce the differential, and the management say they can't give us equal pay because the men and women do different jobs.'

'They are only prepared to look at equal bonuses. We need about £4 flat to bring us up to the men—it will cost them but GEC makes enormous profits, even though they keep telling us our plant is on the point of collapse. They have been telling us that for years, and most probably say it at all the other plants as well.'

'We are going to do something about it later this year, or early next, that's if we're still here. The Common Market is likely to see us out of a job, with cheaper goods being imported. The machinery here was second hand in 1947 so it's not very efficient.'

## MARVELLOUS

How did the lockout affect the women—were they surprised at what happened?

'Well, everyone shows more interest in the union when something is happening, and everyone could get to the meetings then. Normally we can't have meetings at the factory and the women find it difficult to get to branch meetings as they are nearly all married and have to pay people to look after their kids.'

'But they thought it was quite marvellous really. The last strike was 20 years ago. Only 12 left during the seven weeks, out of 148, and two of these were to have babies. When women get their backs up they really stick together. They do better than the men—we had trouble getting them on the gates.'

Non-unionised women don't stand a chance under the Equal Pay Act and so unionisation is going to become increasingly important over the next few years. Yet the history of some groups of women who have tried to get

# Want it NOW!



workers, waitresses, nurses or women on the buses aren't protected and the government has been attempting for some time to lift the restrictions. It already hands out exemption orders through the Department of Employment. To the employers 'like work' means 'like shifts'.

This old bone of contention, shift work, is representative of a number of ideas about women workers having an easier time than men. But in reality most of the arguments are phoney—they are exploited just as much.

Women make up a third of the full-time work force. They work on average for 35 years as compared to 50 for a man—10 years at home and five years less through early retirement. The majority of working women are married and doing two jobs.

## Support

The Anti-Discrimination Bill which wanted to 'provide for the prevention of discrimination on the grounds of sex' in employment and education was talked out of parliament earlier this year.

It attempted to prevent the undermining of the Factories Act and any piece of legislation which does something about the education and training of women has to be supported. Women can't stay in the jobs which are difficult to organise and most likely to be automated out of existence if they are to fight for a better deal.

The Bill didn't promise great things but it might have provided the opportunity for stopping up a few of the gaping holes in the Equal Pay Act.

The employers argue that equal pay is more than they can afford. Ted Marsh, of the Engineering Employers Federation, gave the example recently of a typical engineering company with 460 employees, 210 of them women, where introducing equal pay will involve a total increase in the wages bill of nearly £300,000—about 48 per cent.

He said: 'This is an enormous additional bill at a time when profits are dwindling and cash is short in the industry itself and I think this Act is going to have a material effect on the wages and salaries bills of almost all companies.'

Our loss is their profit. It is high time their profits became our decent wage.

highly skilled job, like hand decorating china, are in the lowest of three women's grades. They earn 43p an hour.

According to the management the Equal Pay Act does not alter this situation. The jobs are separate and the women in the decorating department have no men with whom to compare themselves.

## Unisex

In 1975 the existing national agreement in the Potteries has to drop male and female grades and all women have to get the lowest male rate. But management intend to get round that by making the grades 'unisex' before that date and not changing the rates at all.

In future there would be nothing to stop the employers taking on men at the lowest rate.

There is one important danger in the idea of separate jobs and that is of moving women out of a job altogether.

Most unions now accept that 'no redundancies' is going to be a part of any deal but over a period of years before the Act comes into effect it is going to be difficult to keep track.

And the sudden cost may prompt many employers into installing new machinery to replace women.

But the threat of redundancy must not cloud the issue—we demand equal pay as of right and fight to protect our jobs and the right to work.

Some employers already have plans to recruit fewer women in future with the idea that somehow more work can be squeezed out of men than women as there are fewer restrictions over hours and conditions, and lighter family commitments. Some women are still legally prevented from working nights by the Factories Act but only those women who actually work in factories, some two million out of the eight million working women.

Cleaners, clerical or computer

and written by MARGARET RENN

## Trotsky

### SPECIAL OFFER

FLIGHT FROM SIBERIA

originally 22½p, for 10p

AFTER JULY DAYS

originally 22½p, for 10p

MARXISM AND MILITARY

AFFAIRS

originally 40p, for 20p

WAR AND THE

INTERNATIONAL

originally 45p, for 30p

AGE OF PERMANENT

REVOLUTION

originally 37½p, for 25p

Also ROSA LUXEMBURG'S

MASS STRIKE

originally 40p, for 25p

ALL SIX, originally £2.07½,

for £1.20

Each can be ordered separately, or in any combination. Include 3p postage and packing for each title. MONEY MUST BE SENT WITH THE ORDER. Offer closes 31 August.

IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, LONDON E2 8DN.



LAST OF THREE ARTICLES BY JOHN LEA  
PICTURES BY JOHN SILVER

# BLACK IN BRITAIN

THERE is a simple reason why capitalism will not provide decent housing for working-class people. The low income of workers compared with the rich means it is more profitable to build high rent housing and office blocks.

Black workers, concentrated in the worst-paid sections of the working class because of race discrimination by employers and unions, face the burden of racist landlords and property companies pushing them around.

On top of the frustration of low wages, boring jobs, long hours, there is the frustration of knowing that the colour of your face and the way you speak marks you out.

In the last major investigation into housing discrimination in 1967, landlords were approached by two whites and a West Indian. In two thirds of the cases the West Indian was either told that the flat was taken when the whites, who applied later, were told that it was vacant, or the West

Indian was offered the flat at a higher rent.

But according to the Race Relations Act there ought no longer to be any racial discrimination in housing. It's illegal, and anyone found engaging in racial discrimination can be penalised in court.

The London Accommodation Bureau, for example, one of the largest private flat agencies in London, admitted in court that it had been lying to black people, telling them there were no flats available. It had been doing this for years. It was fined... £5.

## Vicious

Meanwhile white workers living in the same decrepit slums are urged by the gutter press and racist politicians to blame their plight on immigrants who, it is alleged, 'take our houses'. This is a vicious lie.

Even the quite 'respectable' Milner Holland Committee, appointed to look into London's housing situation in 1965, concluded that 'the plight of the immigrant is the outcome, and too often an extreme example, of

Black people come to Britain to seek a better future for their children—only to find themselves exploited by slum landlords and factory bosses.

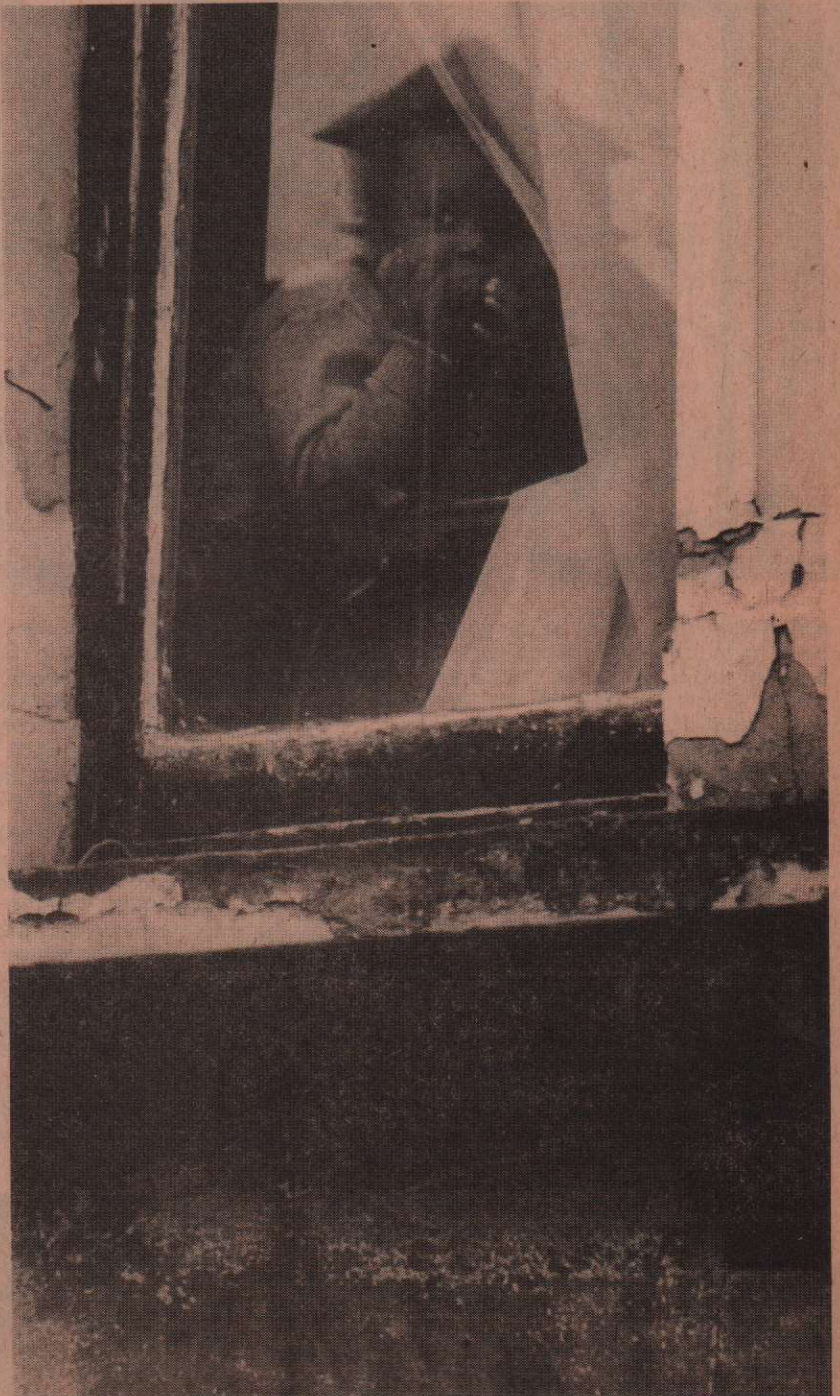
## Housing: exploited both as workers and as blacks

London's housing difficulties. It is not their cause'.

Let's get it straight. The black worker creates wealth for his employer, no less and no more than does the white worker.

The working class as a whole, black and white, creates more than enough wealth to provide every worker with a decent home. The reason it is not put to this use is simple: Where the wealth goes is not decided by the working class but the capitalists and their representatives in parliament.

The main concern of the capitalist class is, inevitably, to make profits, not to worry about the housing conditions of its workers, whatever the colour of their skins.



High rents mean overcrowding—mother and child share the same bed.

# SSH! NOT A WORD ABOUT THE BIGGEST BUGGERS...

by Roger Protz

'DIRTY BUGGER' took on an entirely new meaning last week when the Younger Committee on Privacy published its findings.

It revealed a half-world of tapped telephones, microphones in matchboxes and ashtrays, cameras in cufflinks, long-range telephoto lenses and a hundred and one 'bugging' devices used by snoops and narks to obtain illegal information.

If it all seemed remote from the everyday lives of working people, harsh reality underscored the report as Midland Cold Storage cheerfully told both the Industrial Relations Court and the High Court that it had employed private detectives to snoop on picketing dockers and had infiltrated an informer onto their shop stewards' committee.

And yet despite the Younger Committee's recommendations for tighter control of private detectives and heavy fines for those caught using bugging devices, the report is merely the tiniest tip of the iceberg.

The committee was excluded from examining the threat to privacy by the state authorities—and it is here that the greatest threat to ordinary people lies.

right of free speech and the ability to organise workers and build political organisations—than the third-rate James Bonds snooping around Midland Cold Storage.

Nothing in the Younger Report will prevent the official police from tapping the phones of militants and newspapers like Socialist Worker, reading our mail and recording our meetings.

## Snooping

Neither will it stop those other charmers, the Social Security narks, from spying on claimants and encouraging neighbours to tell tales about people's private lives in order to deprive them of their benefits.

Interestingly enough, the Younger Committee has also excluded one important area of private snooping from its recommendations. On industry, the report says: 'Blacklisting of employees and the use of shop floor informers in industry are all essentially matters affecting the good relationship between employer and employee and should therefore be dealt with in the context of the Code of Industrial Relations under the Industrial Relations Act.'

With the NIRC condoning the use of informers, you can imagine with what speed Sir John Donaldson and company will outlaw the bosses' blacklist and shop floor spies.

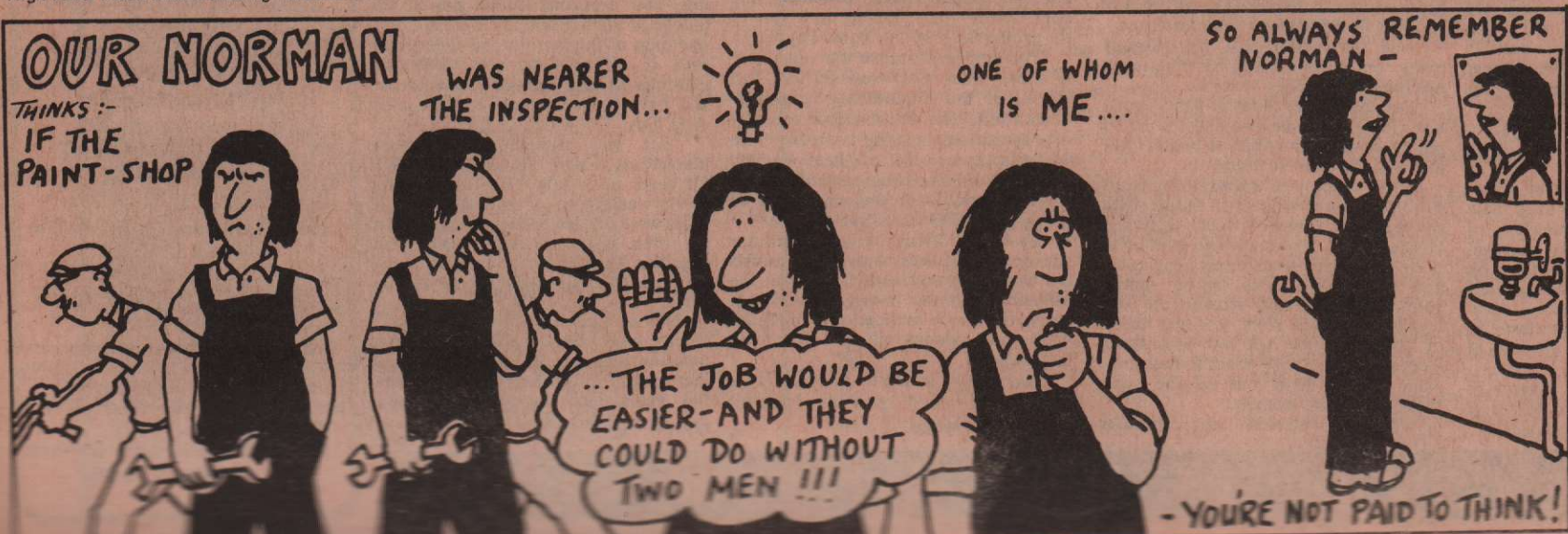
In short, the Younger Committee has produced nothing of any value for the labour movement in its struggle against harassment and repression. As always, we will have to fight our own battles.

The committee was set up by James Callaghan when he was Labour Home Secretary. His action was a reflection of the growing concern by state officials, including the police, at the growing and uncontrolled army of private security organisations and detective agencies. Big business, too, was worried by the espionage industry that hits at their profits by thieving top-secret developments for rival organisations.

## Threat

What is left untouched by the committee's report, because of Callaghan's ban on including the 'public sector' in its inquiry, is the official secret police, Special Branch, an organisation of plain-clothes policemen who use vast amounts of taxpayers' money to keep tabs on trade unionists, socialists and all those who oppose the present corrupt system of society.

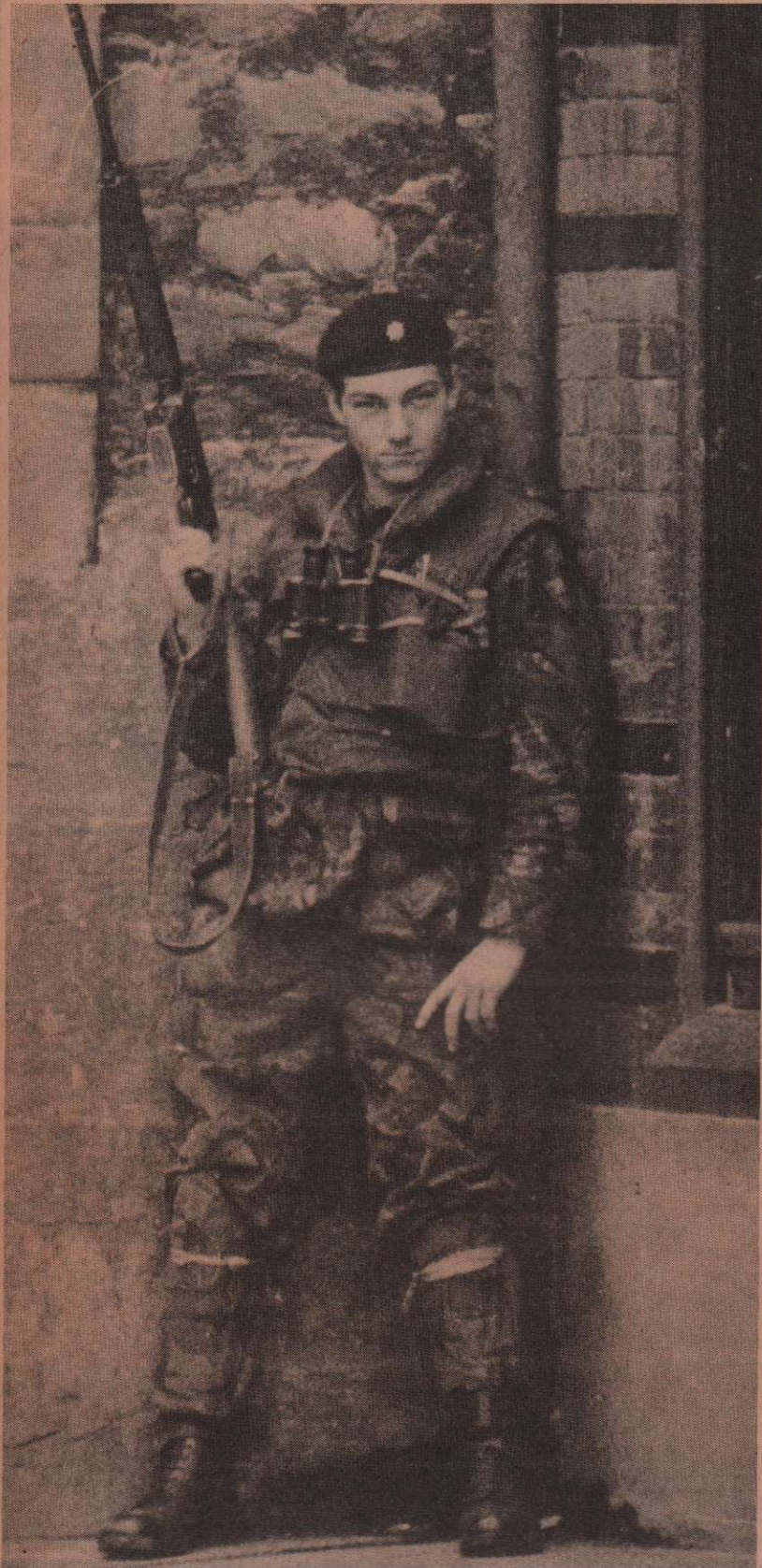
Special Branch is an incomparably greater threat to real 'privacy'—the



**THE ORIGINS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS**  
Important documents on the struggle of the revolutionary party in Britain  
£1 plus 5p postage  
PLUTO PRESS  
6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



## REVIEW



A British soldier in Northern Ireland: Kitson wants to make the army a kind of counter-revolutionary party of the ruling class

## Sport TV breaks its narrow limits

A NEW series, Sport Two, which as its name implies goes out on BBC 2, is brightening television on Friday nights. At last an intelligent sports programme has made the screen.

This does not mean that it's academic or dull. On the contrary it aims each week to bring together a mixture of actuality and analysis.

Sports coverage in the media as a whole is in general not only narrow and predictable, it is also disgustingly one-sided and contemptuously chauvinistic. In short the English middle class in full voice.

Sport Two deserves a big welcome for breaking away from this ugly tradition.

In addition to film or video of big sporting events in the previous week, usually just one, there are interesting features where questions of more than usual depth are asked of sportsmen and where connections are made between the actual sporting event and the society in which it's all taking place: with money, conditions of work, drugs and politics.

When individual sportsmen are featured in the programme, an attempt is made to do more than reflect and contribute to charisma and 'personality' status, so they become people up against problems in the real world.

The programme is not faultless. Far from it. For one thing its format of a two-man presentation team is pretty uncomfortable, and it still has not hit on the right 'tone'. It tends to be a bit too chummy and at times this descends to

being patronising.

But nevertheless Colin Welland and Ian Wooldridge, the two presentators, and their production team deserve congratulations for getting something genuinely fresh and new on the screen.

This is more than I can say for the fashionable and appropriately called Burke Special which goes out Thursday evening on BBC 1.

James Burke is given half an hour each week to fill with bits and pieces of scientific and technological gadgetry. In this time he has to keep a studio audience amused as he moves among them, taking his jacket off here, bringing in some world specialist who has 20 seconds to tell us everything he knows about his subject.

The stress of the series is above all else on gadgetry. The programme itself reflects this by going out live and pulling off minor and meaningless gadgetry feats in the process.

The overall effect is of bits and pieces. The world is full of fascinating facts behind the day by day mask of reality, but these facts, just like the numerous gadgets which litter the studio to prove the point, are unconnected and interesting only in and of themselves. This is a profoundly reactionary view of the world and an extraordinarily irresponsible way to treat science on television.

Barry Ellis

# KNOW YOUR ENEMY

LOW INTENSITY OPERATIONS,

by Major-General Frank Kitson, Faber & Faber, £3



Major-General Frank Kitson

WHEN the Provisional IRA began their truce in Northern Ireland one man was exempted by name from its terms—Major-General Frank Kitson, former head of 39th Airborne in Belfast and author of this book.

Kitson has been seen as inspirer of the Derry massacre, and of the use of 'deep interviews' (in other words torture) against internees. His work has begun a controversy in the Commons, where Labour MPs have accused him of wanting a strike-breaking role for the army.

Recently he was removed from active service and 'kicked upstairs' to become commandant of the School of Infantry at Warminster. What has this man written that is so dangerous?

His book is a plea to the British Army and ruling class to learn the lessons of Kenya, Cyprus, Ireland, Vietnam and America's black ghettos, so that they can successfully deal with the danger of socialist revolution in Britain and Western Europe in the late 1970s.

## DISGUISED

The panic pleas of Labour MPs that Kitson be sacked, so that the army can get back to a safe neutral role, deserve only our contempt. The army has always had a strike-breaking role, usually disguised as the maintenance of essential supplies.

No army can be neutral in the class struggle. Today's armies are created by a capitalist system, and so their function is to defend the capitalist status quo. This lesson has been brutally hammered home by the Paris Commune, Tonnypany, Budapest.

Kitson in fact takes the strike-breaking role for granted, and says the army continue to train its men for such action. Only Labour MPs should be surprised to learn that this goes on now.

Neither is Kitson some British Franco, trying to force a class civil war. His reforms of the army, if carried out, would nip threats of revolution in the bud.

## SPIES

What he proposes is that the whole range of techniques developed to meet 'insurgency' overseas be employed in different stages in Britain. Hence the whole stress is upon low intensity operations, such as we have seen in Ireland. These vary from internment, planting spies, black propaganda, even intermarriage with the local population (very useful—causes split loyalties and can provide information), to the occasional massacre. Everything short of napalming working class suburbs.

We cannot deal at length with all of Kitson's ideas, so we will take a few key ones, and we urge everyone who can to read this book.

Kitson places great stress upon establishing good intelligence sources. Here he advocates various techniques, mainly based upon the idea of subverting the subversives.

This would include the use of planted spies, the various 'interview' methods used in Ireland, breaking rebels and then freeing them as pseudogangs (or plants)—this was done in Kenya and is a tactic being used against militant black groups in America.

With intelligence comes 'Psych-ops'—psychological operations. This refers to the need to be always one psychological jump ahead of the enemy. Black propaganda is the most usual form of this, ranging from forged statements to murders committed and then attributed to the enemy.

Kitson stresses that a psych-ops department is essential to modern war.

Actual control of the ground is also vital: with control of the streets comes the possibility of real control. It is for this reason that Free Derry is such a standing insult to

## Book review by Frank Roberts and Tony Boyle

the Army.

The army must be especially awake at night, and for this reason must have night-trained troops equipped with radar. In Ireland these troops, nicknamed duck squads, were used to get people accustomed to having troops moving freely at night, before internment.

But the most interesting of Kitson's ideas is one which he has lifted straight from Lenin. Just as Leninists have always stressed the need to build 'cadres', individuals capable of providing leadership in any workers' struggle, so Kitson argues exactly the same for the army.

He says that the army should set up Special Methods Groups, subdivided into cells, whose members should be specially trained to intervene at any level, down to street committees and tenants' association, and challenge the revolutionaries for leadership.

This is the main source of his disagreement with established methods of dealing with 'subversives', for only the army could really provide the facilities and training for this kind of work. Judging by the cack-handed job which the police Special Branch recently made of framing several Saor Eire militants, he could well be right.

## Provo's view goes on film

LAST WEEK Rose McAduy, a supporter of the Provisional IRA, was in London. She comes from the Ardoyne, Belfast, and the purpose of her visit was to make an urgent appeal to the socialist organisations of Britain for money and medical supplies for the 'No Go' areas.

During her visit she was interviewed on a 20-minute film which gives the Provos' view on the recent resumption of hostilities, and sketches in something of the current situation and hopes for the future. The film is highly topical and

In short, Kitson wants to turn the army into a kind of Leninist counter-revolutionary party of the ruling class (though, of course lacking any form of democracy).

But we must not turn Kitson into some kind of superman. There are several gaping holes in his theories. Two really stand out.

The first lies in his prehistoric belief that revolution comes from Moscow. He expects the uprising of the late '70s to be accompanied by a supporting invasion from Eastern Europe. This is sheer nonsense.

## EMPIRE

In France, in 1968, the Communist Party proved one of the last lines of defence for the Gaullist state. They got the ten million strikers back to work when all the riot police had failed. And May '68 had an immediate impact within Russia's empire, especially in Czechoslovakia and Poland. In any future revolution Moscow's main concern would be keeping law and order within her own system.

The other failing is much deeper. Kitson never faces the fact that revolution in this country would be very different from the examples he uses.

Mau Mau and EOKA were not mass working-class socialist movements. The Provos' support is confined to a few working-class ghettos, and they win only hatred among the majority of the Northern Irish working class. So in none of these cases has the army had to face either massive industrial action or a marxist working-class party with deep roots in industry.

## DANGER

Kitson totally fails to consider the vast difference between putting down a ghetto rebellion and a mass revolution. He significantly ignores Petrograd in 1917, Barcelona in 1936, Warsaw in 1944 or Budapest in 1956—examples which prove that when a modern working class rises up little short of absolute destruction can stop them.

So we can end in some confidence. Kitson is a dangerous and advanced ruling-class militant. He is planning now how to deal with us.

But he cannot see that in the face of a modern, mass-organised working class he is helpless. You cannot deal with ten million trade unionists as you can with a few thousand in Belfast.

Finally, read this book—you will learn a lot.

would be excellent for Anti-Internment League meetings and for any meetings organised around the struggle in Northern Ireland.

Medical supplies and money should be sent to:  
The Ardoyne Relief Committee,  
Butler Street Boys' School, Belfast.  
(Telephone Belfast 740168)

The film has been produced by the Berwick Street Film Collective, 79 Berwick Street, London W1. (Telephone 01-734 1189).



# WHAT WE STAND FOR

The International Socialists is a democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and who are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations.

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 for profit.

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 they maintain.

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 international 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 therefore support all genuine demands that tend to improve the position and self-confidence of the working class.

We fight:  
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

curbs on the right to strike, whether 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 basis.

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

For a minimum wage of at least £25 a week.

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 Warsaw Pact.

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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 fighting for.

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  
Cumbernauld  
Dumfries  
Dundee  
Edinburgh  
Fife: Dunfermline/  
Cowdenbeath  
Glenrothes  
Kirkcaldy  
Glasgow N  
Glasgow S  
Greenock  
Stirling  
St Andrews

### NORTH EAST

Bishop Auckland  
Durham  
Hartlepool  
Newcastle-upon-Tyne  
South Shields  
Spennymoor  
Sunderland  
Teesside E  
Teesside W

### NORTH

Barnsley  
Bradford  
Doncaster  
Grimsby  
Halifax  
Huddersfield  
Hull  
Leeds  
Ossett  
Scarborough  
Selby  
Sheffield  
York

### NORTH WEST

Barrow  
Blackburn  
Bolton  
Crewe  
Kirkby  
Lancaster  
Manchester  
Mossley  
Oldham  
The Pottery  
Preston  
Salford  
St Helens  
Stockport  
Wigan  
Wytham

### MIDLANDS

Birmingham NE  
Birmingham S  
Coventry  
Dudley  
Leamington and  
Warwick  
Leicester  
Loughborough  
Mid-Derbyshire  
Milton Keynes  
Northampton  
Nottingham  
Oxford  
Redditch  
Rugby  
Telford  
Warley  
Wolverhampton

### GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

Acton  
Bexley  
Camden  
Chertsey  
Croydon  
East London  
Enfield  
Fulham and  
Hammersmith  
Greenford  
Hackney and  
Islington  
Harlesden  
Harrow  
Hemel Hempstead  
Hornsey  
Hounslow  
Ilford  
Kilburn  
Kingston  
Lambeth  
Lewisham  
Merton  
Paddington  
Reading  
St Albans  
Slough  
South Ealing  
Tottenham  
Walthamstow  
Wandsworth  
Watford  
Woolwich

### WALES and SOUTH WEST

Bath  
Bristol  
Cardiff  
Exeter  
Gloucester  
Llanelli  
Mid-Devon  
Neath  
Plymouth  
Swansea  
South  
Ashford  
Brighton  
Canterbury  
Oswley  
Exbourne  
Folkstone  
Guildford  
Reading  
Southampton

### EAST

Basilidon  
Beccles  
Cambridge  
Chelmsford  
Colchester  
Harlow  
Ipswich  
Leiston  
Lowestoft  
Norwich  
Peterborough

# BOSSSES WHO IN COLD

JUST UP RIVER of the spectacularly valuable Hays Wharf on London's dying Thameside dockland lie the Stamford and Duchy Street wharves.

Duchy Street was closed down in March 1971. 24 registered dockworkers were returned to the unattached register. Stamford Wharf went in March this year, with the loss of another 24 jobs.

Both wharves are owned by the giant Union International empire which, apart from being the biggest meat company in the world, has subsidiary interests in shipping, food processing and retailing, insurance and property.

Reason for the two closures was not, as Union International claims, disappearance of the trade and the ships that gave rise to the dockers' jobs in the first place. Rather the bosses of the Union International empire, Ronald Arthur Vestey and Lord Samuel Vestey, realised they were sitting on a goldmine. The streets of this part of London are literally paved with gold for those who by some accident of commerce hold title to the land.

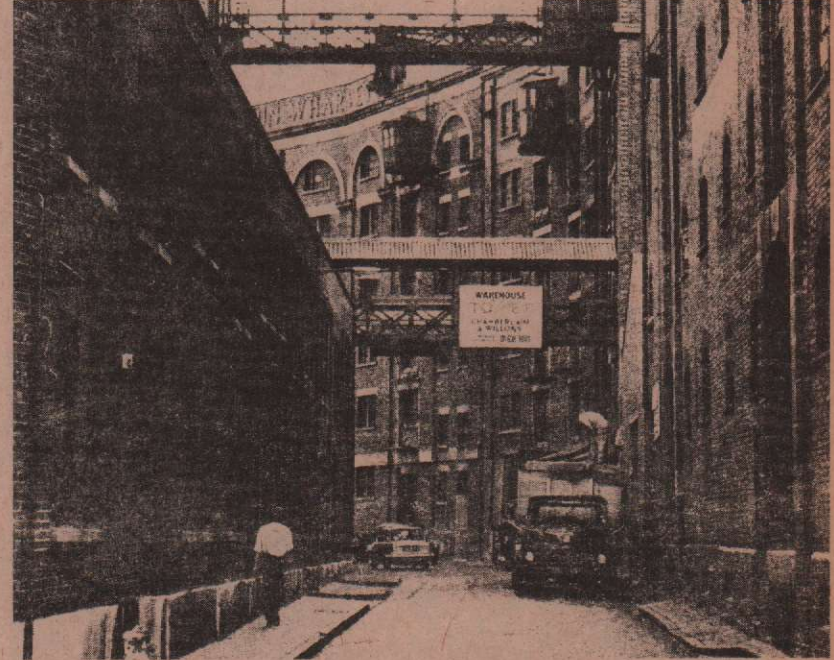
## HIDDEN

Stamford, Duchy Street (and a third wharf employing 85 dockers which Union has not yet closed), though small, are more valuable per acre even than Hays Wharf, where redevelopment for hotels, casinos and offices will net its owners a £160 million profit for doing absolutely nothing.

Union International, to unlock the hidden bounty of its acres of shabby dockland, first had to get shot of its dockers, a process which is already well under way.

But Union International still had business to be done. Given the iron law—to operate as profitably as possible—this was now to be done outside the reach of docks trade unionism. The work would be transferred inland. But for the operation to be really successful, Union International had to make it seem as if the trade had not been transferred.

Dockers picketing the Midland Cold Storage inland container depot in East London have always maintained that the firm was in fact a Vestey subsidiary and that the work at their Stamford and Duchy Street wharves had not simply disappeared but had been brought to the new



The 'TO LET' notices are out in Wapping High Street, heart of the dockland.

depot to be done by unregistered labour.

But the firm which took the picketing dockers to the National Industrial Relations Court, and put secret agents on them and their families to extract information and evidence, used every trick in the book to cover up its strategy.

Midland Cold Storage was registered as a company on 29 January this year, just before the closure of the Stamford Wharf. A month before the new depot opened (on Vestey-owned land in Hackney) the management of the new company contacted the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers and offered a closed shop agreement for the 28 workers who would be taken on to do this 'non-dock labour'. A wages deal was also concluded paying the workers from £12 to £16 less than registered dockers would get for a working week which is five hours shorter.

To this day Midland Cold Storage denies any connection with the Vestey empire. When Socialist Worker put the question of ownership to the Vestey Union International outfit, various minions studiously stalled and refused to reply.

But an official spokesman for Midland Cold Storage was more forthcoming: 'The answer to your question is categorically no. Midland has nothing whatsoever to do with the Vestey's. Their companies are in strict competition with ours', says Mr P Bottomley, sales manager of Midland Cold Storage.

On the face of things this looks absolutely right. All but two of the 100,000 issued ordinary £1 shares are registered in the company accounts are owned by the Ulster Bank. Of the odd two, one is owned by a Midland Cold Storage director, the other by the company's solicitor. There is no recorded connection with the Vestey's.

## SPIES

But the company's accounts are not a true statement of fact. The block of 99,998 shares stated to be owned by the Ulster Bank is actually owned by the Ulster Bank Nominees, seemingly trivial, but actually an important distinction. Nominee share holdings are the way to disguise ownership.

And the truth of the Midland Cold Storage situation—as it is widely

# WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive by first post Monday or be phoned Monday morning. Charges are 5p per line, semi-display 10p per line. CASH WITH COPY. No insertions without payment. Invoices cannot be sent.

## MEETINGS

**CLANN na HEIRANN** meeting and open forum Sunday 23 July, 3pm  
NUFTO HALL, 14 Jockeys Fields (near Holborn tube), London  
Thomas MacGoill, president of the Official Sinn Fein, will speak on THE PRESENT CRISIS IN IRELAND  
Plenty of time for discussion afterwards

**BRADFORD DAY SCHOOL** Sat 22 July, 10am onwards  
Morning: REFORMISM AND IS INDUSTRIAL WORK  
Speakers: Andreas Nagliatti, Kevin Whitstone  
Afternoon: THE RELEVANCE OF FACTORY BRANCHES  
Speakers: Roger Rosewell, Pat Goode  
Details from Bradford or your own branch secretary

**TOTTENHAM INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS** Film Show: QUEIMADA. Weds 26 July, 7.45pm, Lord Morrison Hall, Chesnut Grove, N17 (nearest tube Seven Sisters Road).

**SWANSEA:** Union top brass—friend or foe? A shop steward talks of the struggle for rank and file control of the unions. Thurs 3 Aug, 7.30pm, Railmen's Club, Wind St.

**SOUTH-EAST LONDON IS DAY SCHOOL** Saturday 22 July, 2pm  
Charlton House, Charlton, SE7  
Nigel Harris: THE STRUGGLE FOR WORLD SOCIALISM  
Tony Cliff: THE TORY OFFENSIVE AND THE WAY TO FIGHT BACK  
Details: phone 01-237-6869

**HACKNEY and ISLINGTON IS** public meeting: How can the building workers win? Speaker: a leading militant in the building industry. Mon 24 July, 8pm, The Rose and Crown, Albion Road, N16 (corner of Albion Rd and Church St, opposite town hall—bus 73).

**WANDSWORTH IS** public meeting: Law and Order, speaker: Paul Adams. Thurs 3 Aug, 8pm, The Fountain, Garrett Lane.

**SEAN O'TOOLE DEFENCE COMMITTEE** Benefit Concert: (Sean was until recently held in custody on a battery of charges arising out of the 5 Feb Anti-Internment League demo in London. He is on £6000 bail and faces massive legal charges for his coming Old Bailey trial.) Fri 28 July, 7.45pm, West London Folk Club, King St, Hammersmith (nearest tube Stamford Brook). Tickets 40p on the door. Irish and English folk music, art exhibition on the Irish struggle, and the Combine Theatre Group.

## NOTICES

**INVITATION** to join group publishing political critique of psychology. Second meeting Sat 22 July, 2pm, 18 Dalmeny Rd, London N7.

**STUDENT COMRADE** requires room in Inner London from mid-August to mid-September. Please write c/o The branch secretary, 38 Stanley Road, Redland, Bristol 6.

**ROOMS** available in West Kensington flat. Phone Dave at 385 3536.

**OSTRICH POETRY MAGAZINE** seeks contributions from socialist poets. MSS to 10 Greenhaugh Road, Whitley Bay, Northumberland.

**YOUNG WORKER** requires room in Islington/Hackney/Highbury area. Please write to BOX 1C, Socialist Worker, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

**PORTUGUESE T&GWU BRANCH** announces to all its supporters that it now has well over 200 members. But we are still only scratching the surface! Socialists and trade unionists can help us in our fight against low wages and discrimination. Tell all and any foreign workers in hotel canteens and hospitals of our existence and we will be able to grow faster still. Contact 21 Theobalds Road, London WC1.

**NALGO ACTION GROUP PAMPHLET** Job Evaluation and NALGO Available from 1 Lupton St, London NW5  
10p per copy (5p for orders of 50 or more)

**IS BOOKSHOP** is now closed to retail sales until the opening of our new bookshop, but we will continue to expand the mail order side of the business, and a new expanded booklist is available on request. IS branches can still arrange for the collection of bulk orders. IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.





# WANT DOCKERS STORAGE

**Laurie Flynn investigates the Vestey empire**

known in the offices of the Ulster Bank—is that the 99,998 ordinary £1 shares held by the Ulster Bank Nominees are wholly owned by the Vestey family.

As the dockers maintain, the Vestey's own Midland Cold Storage.

Their jobs did not simply disappear due to 'changing economic circumstance.' They were transferred inland. USDAW was brought in to enable the management to break the docks' labour scheme. And it was the Vestey family that took the dockers to the NIRC, and put labour spies after them.

The Vestey family are one of the richest families in Britain. Their world-wide beef empire has been built up since the turn of the century into a £500 million cartel stretching from South American cattle ranches, refrigerated shipping vessels and stevedoring companies, to Dewhurst's, your local high street butchers.

Present head of the organisation is 31-year-old Lord Samuel Vestey, who inherited his first million at the age of 13 when he was a fag at Eton. He has been inheriting more millions ever since and his personal fortune is now estimated to be £50 million.

The good Lord only took over last year. Until then control of the operation lay in the hands of his ageing cousin, Ronald Arthur Vestey, who held two of the four £1 management shares in the Vestey master company, Western United Investments, in trust for Samuel.

The intricate array of interlocking companies that composes the Vestey empire was set up during the war as a way of avoiding death duties.

Ronald Vestey is not one for taking on only the dockers.

He is lord of the manor on the 150,000-acre Assynt estate in Sutherland and rules the area with an iron fist, a practice he is undoubtedly keen to extend to a containerised dockland. He owns all the shops for 20 miles, and the only bar, and prevents any competition. He refuses to allow houses to be built and generally retards progress of any kind.

Lochinvar, the village which lies at the heart of his Assynt estate, has been feuding with Ronald on and off for 15 years. In 1958 Vestey increased prices in all his mobile shops by eight per cent. (He has a total monopoly.) The villagers responded with threats to burn his forests and poison his rivers. In the event, no direct action was taken and Vestey's despotism continued.

## LANDOWNER

In 1962 the matter once again came to a head when the grass roots Lochinvar Amenities Committee brought out a plan for redeveloping the village. Vestey agreed to one or two changes and the battle died down again.

Ten years later, the situation in Sutherland is little changed. The only progress is a fish-processing plant, once again well away from militant trade unionism, aided by juicy government grants and in which the Vestey's have a substantial shareholding.

Ronald Vestey is also boss of vast tracts of West Suffolk where he has been High Sheriff and Deputy Lieutenant. He lives in a superb period mansion in the centre of his estates.

Vestey is a big farmer specialising in wheat and sugar beet, plus the famous Vestey herds. A spokesman for the National Union of Agricultural and Allied Workers explains that Vestey is renowned for paying no more than the minimum legal wage to his agricultural workers, that is, the princely sum of £16.20 for an endless working week. The tied-cottage system reinforces his dictatorship.

In Suffolk, through his minions and tenants, Ronald Vestey is in complete control of the local Clare Rural Council. Council chairman is Keith Roberts, who farms for Vestey interests. Chairman of the Planning

Committee is Sir John Mowbray, Vestey's estate manager.

Vestey is currently engaged in a speculative housebuilding venture in nearby Withersfield, where again he has his friends on the council.

The development (worth more than £100,000, with a 50 per cent profit) involves building on Withersfield's meadow, the very centrepiece of a delightful village. Vestey has other land on which he thought of building his housing development. But he decided against this because it would spoil the view from his massive if under-occupied mansion.

The meadow project has got the local middle-class up in arms, though there is no talk of setting up a joint action committee with picketing dockers in London.

Some of Vestey's own tenant farmers are violently opposed to the scheme but are too frightened to declare their opposition publicly.

Just in case anyone should think that the Vestey form of exploitation is confined to Britain, the Vestey's have been equally active in Australia.

In August 1967 the Gurindji tribe of Australian aborigines launched a struggle which continues to this day. They walked off the Wave Hill cattle station in protest at the pitiful wages (£3 a week for more than 90 hours), appalling living conditions and lousy food.

## STOLEN

But the issues went deeper still. The striking Gurindjis occupied the nearby Wattie Creek area and demanded the return of 500 acres of land. Wattie Creek is sacred ground to the aborigines, who believe that is where their ancestors came from and where their dead go to guard the living.

Their land was quite simply stolen from them and miraculously passed into the hands of a London-based company called Union International, owner of far-off Midland Cold Storage and user of labour spies.

With the Gurindji too the Vestey's were able to turn to law and order to reinforce the immense profitability of their empire. After the Australian government rejected the Gurindji's land petition, big demonstrations were staged in support of the aborigines throughout Australia and New Guinea. One protest outside Union International's Sydney offices was viciously broken up by the obliging police force with 70 arrests.

## 12,000 take on tobacco giant

TWELVE thousand Imperial Tobacco workers launched the second of their series of one-day stoppages in pursuit of a wage claim on Monday. It is the first ever nationally co-ordinated industrial action against the fabulously wealthy giant and was called by the 16-member lay executive of the Tobacco Workers' Union.

Overtime has now been banned for four weeks. Members of the Transport and Engineering Unions are also involved in the struggle in the company's Glasgow, Nottingham, Bristol, Newcastle and London factories.

The workers want a £3.50 across-the-board increase. Imperial Tobacco's final offer before the dispute would only have given increases ranging from £2.40 to £2.80 a week.

## Blacking support for Fine Tubes strikers

PLYMOUTH:—Fine Tubes workers, on strike for more than two years for trade union rights, had their struggle boosted this week by crucial action by fellow workers.

At Centrax Engineering, Newton Abbot, Devon, workers have stopped production on turbo-blades for Rolls-Royce, Derby, in retaliation for Rolls-Royce's acceptance of work from Fine Tubes produced by scab labour.

The strikers have been told by shop stewards from SNECMA, the firm employed on the French Concorde, that they will black Fine Tubes products.

## Tenants prepare for October

by Hugh Kerr

THE complete collapse of official Labour Party opposition to the Housing Finance Bill makes it crystal clear that only direct action by tenants and trade unionists can defeat the Tory rent rises.

Since Labour's barefaced retreat it has become more vital than ever that every tenants' association in the land should send delegates to the National Tenants' Conference in London on Saturday 29 July, organised by the National Association of Tenants and Residents.

The tenants' movement is stronger and more active than ever before.

In more than 20 areas tenants are on rent strike against increases imposed in April or May. In some towns tenants have forced councils to reverse rent rise decisions by militant action. In many other places tenants' organisations have declared they will go on rent strike in October when faced with rises of £1 a week.

But a national link-up of tenants' organisations adopting a co-ordinated militant policy is needed to defeat the Bill. The coming conference can play this role as long as it is well attended and adopts a tough line.

The policy needed is a declaration that every rent increase under the Bill will be met with a complete refusal to pay. This must be combined with a pledge that any action against tenants by councils or the Housing Commissioners will be answered with a national rent and rates strike.

Trade unions, at local and national level, should be asked to guarantee backing, in particular to meet any eviction attempts with immediate industrial action.

● Credentials for the NATR Conference are available from 283 Grays Inn Road, London WC1.

## THE RENTS BATTLE

LEWISHAM:—Tenants successfully prevented council officials inspecting council flats to assess 'fair rents'. The official who arrived to inspect 70-year-old Mrs Geordina Covill's one-bedroom flat was met by a picket from the Tenants' Federation and quickly turned back. Mrs Covill and her 74-year-old husband already pay £7 a week for their flat with only 20p a week rebate.

CLAY CROSS, Derbyshire:—Tenants are planning 'no go areas' in case the bailiffs turn up in the autumn. One councillor assured reporters they were 'deadly serious'.

DUBLIN:—Thousands of tenants all over Ireland are on rent strike. Dublin Corporation tried to evict a tenant for non-payment of rent, but were defeated by a mass picket, as hundreds of angry tenants beat back corporation officials and police.

BARKING:—A petition with 8000 signatures and a demonstration by 100 tenants failed to stop the Labour council voting to put up rents last week.

HARLOW:—A move by housing committee members and the leader of the council to reverse rent rises imposed in April was defeated by 17 votes to 13. Harlow has no Tory councillors at all.



Some of the pickets at the potash mine site

## Big strike on site for potash mine

by Rob Clay

BOULBY, North Yorkshire:—180 construction workers building Britain's first potash mine are in the third week of strike after a year of successive disputes with the employers on the site, a consortium of William Press, Allertons, Blenheims and Palmer's Scaffolding.

A site shop stewards' committee was formed recently and workers then submitted a claim for one consolidated rate for all construction and engineering workers on the site. Rates at Boulby are up to 50p an

hour behind those on other comparable jobs.

Site conditions are appalling. For over a year there was no ambulance station and no site safety officer. There is no canteen and washing facilities for all construction workers consist of two buckets.

Throughout all negotiations before the strike, management's only reply was that the men could not expect high rates in an area of high unemployment.

## REVOLT OVER SWEATSHOP CONDITIONS SPREADS

LONG EATON:—71 Pakistani workers and five white workers at Jones, Stround are on strike. The dispute is part of a continuing drive to unionise workers in backstreet firms of the sort which abound in the East Midlands, and which especially employ black workers.

The men, all members of the Transport Union, are demanding the reinstatement of the man who was sacked for unionising them. The management has succeeded in splitting the workforce, with some white workers still working.

Conditions are appalling. In particular, the men have had no wage increase for the past 10 years. The basic rate is 40p an hour for all overtime and shift work. This is basically the same as at Crepe Sizes in Nottingham, where strikers recently won a significant victory against a similar anti-union and racist management.

At Long Eaton as many as five car loads of police have been 'observing' the pickets all day long. Indeed the Chief Constable of Derbyshire himself took time off from the fight against crime to try to get the picket reduced in size from 70 men to two. Plain-clothes policemen have been provocatively taking dozens of photos.

The union has not yet made the dispute official because the district official claims he doesn't yet know 'if the men are serious'.

The men themselves are absolutely solid and are determined to bring the conditions of sweatshop workers up to a high level.

## Boost for Tarmac

THE STRIKE at the Tarmac civil engineering plant depot in Wolverhampton is now entering its fifth week. Workers are taking action to prevent four men being made redundant and to secure better pay, shorter hours and longer holidays. Last Thursday, their struggle received an important boost when workers at Tarmac's Road Surfacing depot in Rowley Regis struck for a rate of £1 an hour.



I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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



# Socialist Worker

## Dockers: Why we fight on

by Bob Light  
 TGWU London Royal Docks

THE BATTLE of Britain's dockers to defend their jobs, wages and conditions is continually represented as a struggle against containerisation and against other trade unionists. This could not be further from the truth.

The employers and successive governments have used containerisation to decimate the docks labour force. The National Ports Shop Stewards Committee, leading the fight back on jobs, believes the benefits of containerisation should be in shortening the working for all dock workers, rather than boosting

profits. Dockers have made it clear at Chobham Farm that they want no fellow workers to lose their jobs as a result of their struggle—and no-one lost their jobs there. The unregistered workers have since had substantial pay rises to bring them into line with registered rates. The coming Jones-Aldington report on containerisation will do nothing to

solve the situation. This will probably scrap the unattached register. But it will also boost severance pay to bribe workers out of their jobs. This comes dressed up with plans for government money to retrain dockers and to bring industry into dockland—all pious talk. The report also openly envisages massive further reductions in the dock labour force by 1975. To coincide with the National Docks Delegate Conference next week, the National Ports Shop Stewards Committee has called a one-day strike.

# 12,000 BUILDERS IN BIG WAGES BATTLE

ROUND THE SITES

MORE THAN 12,000 building workers have joined the wages battle with the Tories and the employers. They are striking in support of their claim for a £30 minimum craftsmen's rate, a 35-hour week and a third week's summer holiday.

This is the first national official stoppage for nine years. It was provoked by the employers' refusal to either cut the hours or lengthen holidays while offering to increase the basic rate by only £5 to £25 over the next 18 months.

Negotiations started last November and broke down in June. The unions—the newly formed Union of Constructional and Allied Trade

by Gerry Kelly, UCATT

Technicians (UCATT) and the Transport Workers—selected 39 major companies and have organised a growing number of selective strikes against them. About 180 sites are now involved.

The employers have reacted to this militancy by issuing a series of open threats.

Earlier this year, when Birmingham workers employed by the Bryant Company won the £30 minimum, the national employers' federation attacked the settlement, disassociated themselves from its terms and finally forced Bryants to end

the agreement and victimise the leading militants.

Now the employers have publicly warned the unions that if they continue with what they call 'disruptive action', then many firms might resist trade union organisation in future.

For years trade unionism has been weak in the construction industry. Anti-union bosses, victimisation and blacklists, the instability of work, the lump and sub-contracted labour have all combined with right-wing union leaders to hold back pay, tolerate corruption and smash strikes.

Even the Financial Times has been forced to define the relationship between the employers and unions as 'cosy'.

But the recent rise of militancy within the unions and the temporary successes in Birmingham

have led to a growing influence by those workers determined to fight this cosy relationship. This has linked up with the newly-formed UCATT—a merger of the woodworkers', bricklayers' and painters' unions—to prove itself as a competent organisation and resist the competitive threats of the Transport Workers' Union.

The union recognises the need to establish a more formal pay structure in the industry and restore its authority. But even though it is prepared to lead an official dispute, this does not mean it is entirely free from its previous relationship with the employers or that it will organise a major confrontation with them.

The obvious support the Tory government is giving to the big building companies—construction is the second largest private industry in the country—together with the dangers of the Industrial Relations Act means that, unless there is an all-out fight, there is a grave risk of the selective strike policy proving inadequate.

### NO RETREAT

In such a situation the union leadership might well attempt to negotiate a compromise. It is thought already that they would be prepared to drop the demands on shorter hours in return for a new offer on pay.

That is why militants are demanding:

1. No retreat on the claim, no productivity or grading agreements, no long term settlement.
2. An all-out stoppage on all sites of the 39 companies.
3. Mass picketing of any site that fails to respond.
4. Mass picketing of brick and cement works to completely cut off the supply of materials to the entire industry.
5. Rigid enforcement of the national overtime ban.
6. Guerrilla sympathy strikes by building workers not currently on strike.
7. Full support from the TUC, including finance.
8. Regular levies from the union's members in support of those on strike.
9. A mass union recruiting campaign.
10. Sympathy strikes on other construction sites where the 39 firms are involved.
11. Blacking of strike-bound sites by TGWU drivers.
12. No EPU/PTU members to cross the picket lines.
13. No recognition or co-operation with the Industrial Relations Act and its courts.

BIRMINGHAM:—Opposition to the union's selective strike strategy is growing. 4000 men responded to a call by local rank and file leader Pete Carter for the struggle to be extended. He also called for an offer by Cameron's to settle for a £30 basic and the 35-hour week, to be achieved over two years, to be rejected. 'We want our demands now, not in two years time,' he said.

LONDON:—Union organisers last week went to several sites where labour-only subcontracting ('lump') labour was rife, and, backed by a mass picket of organised workers from other sites, demanded these jobs be closed down. At the Wimpey site in Victoria and the Taylor Woodrow site at St James's they met with quick success.

The new Covent Garden Market site at Nine Elms, Vauxhall, the largest in London, has also been stopped. Here men complained bitterly about the virtual press blackout on the strike, and at a mass meeting of 1000 building workers at Fulham Town Hall voted to picket Fleet Street newspapers unless they gave coverage to the dispute.

LEICESTER:—UCATT members on strike at the site for a new borstal at Wigston have mounted pickets in an effort to prevent the management keeping the site going with forced, non-union labour from Ashwell open prison.

MANCHESTER:—A flying picket from sites taking part in the selective strikes has been enforcing the overtime ban on the few other sites that had not been keeping it.

MERSEYSIDE:—The local action committee extended the strike this week by calling out 15 more sites.

At the Bass Charrington site at Runcorn 400 members of the Electricians Union who had joined the 500 building workers on strike were ordered back by their union, but a mass picket prevented the union's instructions being obeyed.

BRISTOL:—13 sites are out in the South West. At two mass meetings local building workers have called for an all-out stoppage. Discontent has also been expressed at the lack of information from UCATT about the national situation. Jack Slamen, the local UCATT officer, admitted that the men are angry that the move to call a national strike was rejected last week.

### Whisky strike ends

SCOTLAND:—The 2,750 whisky workers on strike for the past five weeks returned to work on Monday. The Distillers Company (DCL), one of Britain's biggest firms, was defeated largely by dockers blacking their whisky exports, and finally agreed to concede the strikers' main demand—a guarantee of no compulsory redundancies.

The workers also won a third week's annual holiday, but the money offer was the least satisfactory part of the deal. DCL improved their previous offer by between ½p and 1p an hour, bringing most of the women workers to an average £22 a week for 40 hours and most men to £27.20p.



Kent miners march in solidarity with the Briant occupation.

PICTURE: John Francis

LONDON:—The printworkers of Briant Colour are in the fourth week of occupation at the factory in the Old Kent Road. There has been no slacking off in their determination to save all the threatened jobs.

While financial support has continued to come in, turnout by printworkers at a recent march organised by Briant Colour workers was rather disappointing, particularly from Fleet Street.

The unions have made no move to call for action from their members. A stoppage of Fleet Street so that all printworkers could join the march would have brought home to the press barons that

## Printworks occupation now in fourth week

this is not an isolated struggle.

Another march has been organised for Saturday 22 July. It will leave the Temple tube station at 2.30pm and end at Clerkenwell Green for a mass meeting.

Workers at Briant Colour have found, by examining documents left behind by their evicted management, that one of the

main financial speculators pulling the strings which led to the closure announcement was a man named Robert Horne. Horne owns a non-union factory nearby which supplies paper to the printing industry.

The Briant workers have been picketing the factory and calling all printworkers to black its products.

They have also discovered that the liquidator who was appointed also owns a non-union printing firm. Pickets have also been sent there.

## STATEMENT ON IRELAND

OUR ATTENTION has been drawn to a formulation in last week's statement by the Executive Committee of the International Socialists on the situation in Northern Ireland. We said: 'Much propaganda will be made by Whitelaw and the Tories about the decision of the Provisional IRA to call off the truce. The International Socialists think that this is a misguided and potentially disastrous step for the republican movement.'

This clearly needs amplification. IS believes that in the situation engineered by the British Army and the UDA in Lenadoon Avenue the breaking of the truce was inevitable. With the Catholic workers threatened with mass onslaught by the British troops and the UDA, there

can be no question about the duty of all socialists to support the armed self-defence of the republican areas—as we made clear last week.

Equally there can be no hesitation about our duty to support the IRA and all those forces fighting British imperialism in Ireland.

Our criticism of the republican movement is that the logic of its politics has led to grave blunders—both in the indiscriminate bombing campaign which needlessly strengthened the grip of Orange politicians over the Protestant workers and the attempted negotiations with Whitelaw and the Tories while hundreds of republicans still languish in internment camps.

The illusion of the Provisionals in the willingness of British capitalism to concede any genuine Irish unity and independence can only further confuse the mass of Irish workers.

British imperialism will not be defeated in Ireland either by indiscriminate bombing or by the middle-class policy of conciliation but through a coherent class strategy that would mobilise workers both South and North for a Socialist Workers Republic.

IS Executive Committee  
 17 July 1972

Subscribe Now!

I enclose £\_\_\_\_\_ for one year's/six months

Socialist Worker

(£3.40 per year; £1.70 six months)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

➔ Socialist Worker 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN