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FOR WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 241 9 OCTOBER 1971 2½p

THE REAL SPIES

Harold Heath goes to the sea...

SW Reporter

BRIGHTON:- The Labour Party conference on Monday agreed to support the executive's resolution on the Common Market. Thanks to the neat wording, the party leaders will remain free to oppose the Tory terms of entry without opposing entry itself if they form a government.

This was the outcome the National Executive had been looking for. And that is what they got.

The platform motion denouncing the government's terms and calling for a general election 'so the will of the British people can be heard', was custom-made to lure the block votes of the trade union anti-Market battalions. And lure them it did.

Opening for the executive, Denis Healey painted a picture of the grim implications of Common Market entry for the ordinary working people of this country.

He was not ashamed of reducing this 'great matter of historical importance' to the price of butter, he said. His job was to get delegates thinking about their stomachs so they wouldn't notice the executive's attempt to interfere with their brain processes.

It was left to James Callaghan to reveal the formula whereby the leadership could appear to be if not all things to all men then at least a highly skilled team of ballerinas.

Bustled off agenda

Labour would insist on renegotiating the terms of entry, he said. The party would insist that the Common Agricultural Policy was revised and they would not abide by the ruling that says all other member countries must support a change before any was made.

On Tuesday, in an hour-long speech, Wilson made the expected attack on the Tories, cudgelling Heath for rising unemployment, attacks on the social services and the removal of free milk for over-seven school children. It was as fine an example of the pot calling the kettle black as has been seen for many a long year.

Resolutions critical of the last Labour government's almost identical record to the Tories were bustled off the agenda.

Mrs Shirley Williams made the most honest, right-wing speech. Accepting demands for a future Labour government to give free welfare services, she said that had been the hope of the last government but other priorities had forced them to introduce charges. She hoped delegates would be 'realistic' and understand that 'other priorities' might dictate similar changes in the future.

Loophole on law

Such as bowing to the demands of the international bankers and the home-grown employing class. Because Labour governments always surrender to such demands and turn on their own supporters, Wilson was forced to make conciliatory noises in his speech to the Roy Jenkins wing of the party.

It would hardly do to get too tough with the most outspoken supporters of big business policies within the party.

On industrial relations, Jack Jones of the Transport Workers moved a successful motion demanding the repeal of the present Tory anti-union legislation. But a curious clause in the motion gives a future Labour government a large loophole for bringing in its own legislation. It instructs the Labour executive and the General Council of the TUC to draw up 'progressive industrial relations proposals'.

Only Eric Heffer had the bad grace to actually mention In Place of Strife. It had made Labour's opposition to the Tories a shade difficult at times, he admitted.

And so the jamboree went on. Wilson actually spoke about 'our socialist convictions'. Well, if the delegates believe he will honour pledges on the Common Market, social services and industrial relations, they might as well believe he is a socialist, too.



Builders rap 'lump'

ONE THOUSAND building workers demonstrated against the 'lump' in Birmingham on Tuesday. They were protesting against the use of labour-only subcontracting designed to destroy union organisation in the city. They heard messages of support from building workers all over the country and were addressed by stewards, by the regional secretary of the Woodworkers' Union, Ken Barlow (seen speaking above) and by a local Labour MP, Tom Urwin.

Phone-tapping—is there a secret police conspiracy against union activists?

WHILE THE TORY PRESS continues to screech about 'red agitators' and agents of Moscow, Socialist Worker has discovered a real, genuine conspiracy against members of the trade union movement.

Clear-cut evidence has been given to us that the police are tapping the phone of a member of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. He is a typical local, unpaid officer of the union, so typical that the only possible conclusion is that such sinister secret police methods against trade unionists are widespread.

Alan Watts is a member of the District Committee of the AUEW in Enfield, north London. He is a shop steward in a local factory.

He is also a member of the International Socialists. Throughout Britain, in the AUEW alone, there are thousands of union activists like Alan Watts, members of the Labour Party, the Communist Party, IS- or no political organisation, at all.

SW Reporter

police network is systematically spying on trade unionists. And this is supposed to be a 'democratic' country where people are not hounded or victimised for their political or trade union affiliations.

The Alan Watts' case is a glimpse of the REAL Britain, with a vast secret police force paid by public money.

The chances are that YOUR phone is tapped, too. Alan Watts is raising the matter with his union and his local MP.

More is needed. An outcry from trade unionists against such activities must demand top-level action by Labour MPs and the unions for a full public inquiry into this conspiracy against the working-class movement.

BACKGROUND

Last week, Mr Watts' wife, Diane, phoned her sister and spoke to her about family matters. The conversation became difficult after a time because of what they took to be another conversation going on in the background.

They assumed they had a 'crossed line'. But when they paused to listen they were startled to hear THEIR OWN VOICES.

They were listening to an earlier part of the same conversation. Clearly, a police recording device had gone wrong and had started to play back the phone call before it had finished.

Mr Watts told us he was convinced that his phone was being tapped continuously by the police and his union activities closely monitored by Special Branch.

POLICE DOSSIER?

'There is nothing extraordinary about me,' he said. 'There are trade union activists like me in every union in the country.'

Are their phones being tapped as well? Is there a massive police dossier of trade union militants and officials in existence?

If so, what is such information used for? Is it supplied to the government, to employers to help draw up a 'blacklist' of militants—or even to right-wing officials within the trade union movement itself?

Phone tapping is illegal and is in breach of all accepted ideas of 'natural justice'. Police can only legally obtain permission to tap a phone if they make an application to a magistrate. Few such applications are ever made.

And yet there is little doubt that a

Labour cover up on Long Kesh

THE all-party group of MPs that visited Long Kesh internment camp outside Belfast on Tuesday whitewashed conditions there.

That was hardly surprising given the composition of the team. It included a supporter of Enoch Powell, Henry d'Avidgor Goldschmid, a member of the right-wing Monday Club, William Deedes, and the most consistent advocate of internment, 'Mad Mitch' Mitchell.

They naturally concluded that conditions in the camp were 'grim but not intolerable'. Mitchell could even comment that 'detention camps in Kenya for Mau Mau terrorists and in Cyprus for Greek Cypriots had been worse than those in Ulster'. In other words, the British army has run even worse concentration camps in the past.

But the worst behaviour came from some of the Labour MPs in the group. Two of these, Sidney Bidwell and Kevin MacNamara, had previously agreed at meetings of the Labour Committee Against Internment to oppose any idea of an all-party delegation.

Instead they said they would support an independent labour commission of MPs and prominent trade unionists, which would investigate conditions in the camp and report back to the labour movement.

They have completely broken with this decision. Instead they have helped to cover up imprisonment without trial by providing a cloak of respectability for Tory supporters of internment.

Meanwhile the British press has continued to report events in Northern Ireland in a completely distorted manner. It has been playing down the way in which the government allows the army to shoot civilians without reason, as on Sunday in Derry when a young child was shot while in a car with her mother.

On the other hand, the press played up the story of the bombing of a Protestant

pub, the Four Step Inn, last week. The impression was given that the IRA was responsible and that people like Ian Paisley were going out of their way to stop retaliatory action.

What was not mentioned was the fact that this explosion was one of a series of incidents which have nothing to do with the IRA. There is strong evidence that they result from disputes between rival groups of extreme Protestants.

It would have been virtually impossible for any IRA supporter to have walked into a pub packed with Paisley's supporters, carrying the considerable amounts of gelignite involved in the explosion.

Both wings of the IRA have denied adamantly that they were involved in the incident. But the press has ignored such evidence. Its concern is not with the truth but with justifying the role of the British Army, the shooting of children, imprisonment without trial, and, now it seems, making Ian Paisley seem a 'moderate'.

The greatest red scare of them all—centre pages

Socialist Worker

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Hot air at Brighton, but no real policies

ONLY EIGHTEEN MONTHS AGO the present leaders of the Labour Party were the government of this country. They pioneered policies that involved pushing up unemployment by 50 per cent during their term of office, holding down wages while prices continued to climb, cutting back welfare services—in other words, identical policies to those the Tories are now pursuing so vigorously.

Yet at the Labour Party Conference this week the same Labour leaders have made speech after speech attacking the Tory policies.

Their aim is quite simple. They want to channel the anti-Tory discontent among working people—shown again last week in the Macclesfield by-election—into safe channels that will ensure their re-election as a government in a few years' time. They face one big problem in all this. They have no real policies to put in place of those of the Tories.

True, they can make vague promises of reforms to improve the lot of some sections of working people. But they also know that they cannot put such reforms into effect against the wishes of big business. The small minority who own most of the wealth in this country were able to persuade the last Labour government to withdraw such paltry reforms as free prescriptions and free milk for secondary school pupils.

Of course it is not just the professional politicians who attend the Labour conference. There are delegates there from the trade unions who have much more direct contact with the needs and desires of ordinary working people.

But it would be quite mistaken to believe that such left union leaders are, at the moment, posing a real alternative to either the policies of the Tories or the hypocrisy of Wilson.

Their whole conception of working-class action is in terms of using limited threats against the employers in order to gain economic improvements for workers, to increase union membership and to boost the importance and influence of themselves, as union leaders, inside existing society. But the moment any strike begins to look as if it might threaten to go beyond that point, they rush to compromise with the employing class—as Jones and Scanlon did in the Ford strike earlier this year.

Such an approach is completely incapable of challenging the whole range of present Tory policies. At decisive points, the 'left' union leaders collapse into the arms of the right wing.

At the Labour Party Conference, the 'left' union delegations are voting for many of the same policy documents as Harold Wilson, even though these bind him to nothing and leave him free to behave as he did last time he was in government.

The only people inside the Labour movement who can struggle consistently against present Tory policy are those who reject completely the system from which it springs—revolutionary socialists. That does not mean a refusal to work and fight alongside those who are not consistent. The broadest possible fighting movement is needed to throw out the present government and oppose attempts by any future Labour government to continue Tory policies under a new guise.

It is only by being part of such a struggle that working people will learn the possibilities of their own power and begin to question the mistaken political conceptions most of them still hold. But these lessons will not be fully learnt and preparation made for real progress unless revolutionaries, while struggling alongside those who do not agree with us one hundred per cent, also make absolutely clear our criticisms of every example of backsliding, dirty compromise or sell-out by the 'official' leaders of the left in the Labour movement.

COMMUNIST PARTY DECLINE

AGAINST THE BACKGROUND of increased working-class militancy and increasing anti-Tory feeling one particular development stands out: that is the continuing decline of the Communist Party.

This is not because those workers who once would have been attracted to the party are now opposed to militant policies. The sharp contrast between the fortunes of the International Socialists and the CP shows that. Although we are still a small organisation, and therefore should find it more difficult to grow than the CP, we have doubled in size in the last year. Sales of Socialist Worker have similarly gone up until they are bigger than those of Tribune and about 80 per cent of those of the Morning Star—although the Star is a daily paper, of course.

The CP is a declining force not because it is 'too extreme', but for another reason. For years its members were told that they had to regard Russia and the other 'Communist' states as socialist paradises. But the revelations by Russia's leaders about Stalin, the putting down of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 destroyed real faith in such illusions.

The leadership of the party was too involved with the past lies to come completely clean on such issues. Instead it tried to hold the party together by a policy of leaning on the achievements of the non-CP 'left' union leaders like Scanlon and Jones. The be-all and end-all of party policy became getting such people elected to union office.

But there are clear limits beyond which such leaders will not go in their 'leftness'. And since they are not in the CP, their supporters see little reason to join the party either.

So the party declines as a force, offering policies only a little more militant than those of Labour's 'left', but with a leadership who dare not really defend Russia but are too cowardly to criticise the Russian leaders either.

The real question concerns not them but the many good rank-and-file militants who still remain with the CP. Are they to flounder with it, half-heartedly trying to prevent its falling apart? Or are they going to turn to a worthwhile and fruitful task—attempting with other revolutionaries to build the real organisation needed to lead the present struggles of the working class to victory?

CONVERTING LABOUR: WHERE TRIBUNE LEFT GOES WRONG

by ANTHONY ARBLASTER

TODAY IN BRITAIN there are almost certainly more socialists outside the Labour Party than there are inside it. Some of them belong to groups like the International Socialists. All of these groups are probably growing—IS certainly is.

But there are also a good many socialists who remain unattached, though not necessarily inactive. Many of them, like myself, are ex-members of the Labour Party. Why?

Why have we cut ourselves off from what is still the party that commands the mass electoral support of the working class, and remains closely tied to the trade unions? Tribune, the established voice of the Labour Left, preaches a simple, monotonous message: as socialists we should be inside the Labour Party, working with them to convert that body into an effective agency of socialism in Britain.

Tribune and the Labour Left would not claim that we were any nearer socialism now than we were when Wilson first reached Downing Street in 1964 (though they used to). But they tell us, though the leadership has been 'blown off course', the party as a whole can be converted. Last time was 'disappointing', but next time

This is the basic message of Tribune, and having worked for the paper for four years (1965-1968), and written for it for 10, I think I can claim to know it fairly well. With every year that passes it seems to me less and less convincing.

Take the record of the last Labour government. It turned out to be far worse than any of us ever expected on incomes policy, Vietnam, the H-Bomb and immigration. And the really significant thing is that all this

was done by a government which was closer to the Labour Left than the leaders of the party had ever been.

Wilson himself had been the candidate of the Left for the leadership in 1963. And his ministers included such 'left wing' figures as Barbara Castle and Anthony Greenwood. Yet it was Barbara Castle who was trying to push through anti-union laws, paving the way for Robert Carr.

If this was how the old Labour Left ended up, why on earth should anyone think that things will be different in future? The history of the Labour Party gives us absolutely no reason to think that they will. Surely we can learn that lesson? Surely we need not go through the same cycle of false hopes and bitter disillusion yet again?

Future of socialism

The party remains dominated by the very people who failed so dismally last time. So even if Labour returns to power there is absolutely no prospect that the next Labour government will be any more socialist than the last one.

Of course, a Labour government, however bad, is preferable to Heath. But that is not the point. We are concerned with the future of socialism, not with the choice between different shades of Toryism, and there is in my view absolutely no reason to accept the argument of the Labour Left that the Labour Party can be won for Socialism. There is not the remotest chance of this happening.

That is why I decided some time ago that it is simply a waste of valuable time and energy to go through the old Labour Party ritual. Socialists nowadays can do more outside the party than inside it. People may continue to vote Labour, but it is a dying party. It should be written off and abandoned.

It's time to talk real politics at UCS

LAST WEEK the Upper Clyde shop stewards called a mass meeting and asked the workers to accept their recommendation to have nothing to do with the Tory-appointed bosses of the company set up to run the carved-up remnants of UCS. The workers agreed.

Last Thursday, the stewards called another mass meeting and called on the workers to agree to their recommendation to enter into negotiations with the Tory-appointed bosses. The workers agreed.

Apart from the fact that the stewards call mass meetings only for their own convenience, what are we to make of this?

We have to ask who the stewards are and what kind of politics they represent. It is no secret that James Airlie and Jimmy Reid are the leading UCS stewards.

Neither is it a secret that they are members of the Communist Party. The time has now come for Socialist Worker to make the connection between the reformist politics of the CP and the fact that the 'leadership' given by the UCS stewards will result in a sell-out of the rank and file workers.

We must ram home the point that reformist solutions always end up by making the working class pay so that capitalism can be strengthened.

There is also a very positive lesson that can be drawn which should concern all the readers of Socialist Worker. It is that the crucial task for socialists at this time is the building of a new revolutionary party that can give real and determined leadership to workers in struggle—not just to limit exploitation but to abolish it completely.—NIGEL CURRIE, STEVE CALLWAY, London NW.

Trials not fair

THE FIFTH demand of the Labour Committee Against Internment is 'Release of all detainees or right of trial for all not released.' What this means is release them or charge them.

This implies a belief in the impartiality of the judicial system, that political opponents of Unionism could achieve a fair



trial from Unionist courts.

For the past three years we in the People's Democracy have been campaigning against the repressive laws and biased nature of the judiciary. Under these laws members of our organisation have been jailed for activity in defence of workers' rights.

Now two of our members, D Kelly and L Shannon, at present interned, are to be charged. They expect no justice from a capitalist government. We expect no justice either.

Yet the LCAI, of which IS, a revolutionary socialist organisation, seems to be part, wants our members and republicans charged or released.

Tut! tut! comrades. Is this the way fraternal aid is given to Irish revolutionary organisations?—GERRY RUDDY, Belfast, 7.

Socialist Worker and the International Socialists support the LCAI because we believe it essential to mobilise the maximum opposition to internment within the British labour movement.

But we agree with Gerry Ruddy that the demand 'right of trial' is wrong and we will continue to press for its deletion at LCAI meetings. Socialist Worker and IS stand for the unconditional release of all political prisoners in Northern Ireland and the immediate withdrawal of British troops. EDITOR

Market: they're going in...

ONE surprising and significant aspect of the Common Market issue has been the indecent haste with which the ruling class has rushed in. Even some of your contributors do not appear to have caught up with the fact that membership is now a certainty and this changes the whole nature of the question for socialists.

To take an example: if an employer deciding between prod deal A and prod deal B was to invite the 'participation' of the shop stewards' committee, he would rightly be told that this was his choice and not theirs. When he had taken his choice however, then their opposition to B would certainly not imply support for A, but support for higher wages and better conditions.

The parallel with the Common Market is obvious. The intention and effect of membership will be to rationalise at the expense of labour, to increase the rate of exploitation and produce greater profits for the boss. The ruling class has made up its mind and it is quite inappropriate for socialists to bleat on about an 'employer's choice'.

To remain 'neutral' at this stage can only be interpreted as acceptance of the status quo. — PETE BRANSTON, Swansea.

More letters on page 7

THEIR WEEK

THE TORIES ADMIT to 929,000 unemployed or just over 3½ per cent of the insured working population. At the same time they also admit to a drop in the number of jobs since this time last year of 4½ per cent, which adds up to 1,327,000 jobs. So there are about 400,000 people who are neither 'unemployed' nor employed and who are not a problem for the Tories because they have been swept under the statistical carpet. They form the real reserve army of labour.

THE US NAVY has spent \$50 million on feasibility studies for Project Sanguin, a scheme to send radio signals to missile-carrying submarines in the period of 'broken backed' warfare after a nuclear attack. In order to penetrate deeply enough undersea the signals would need to be at extremely low frequency, so

low—say scientists at Wisconsin University—that it would take at least two hours to transmit a 12-digit message. And that is so slow that the signal would be detected and jammed before it could be completed. The estimated cost of Project Sanguin is one and a half thousand million dollars. But that's still peanuts:

UNESCO ESTIMATES that at the last count (in 1967) all countries other than China, North Korea and North Vietnam were spending 7.2 of total world production on arms and armies, as against 5 per cent on education and 2.5 per cent on health. For North America it was 9.1 per cent on war, compared with 5.9 per cent on education and 2.3 per cent on health; for Europe including Russia it was 7.5, 4.7 and 3.1 per cent respectively. Only in the backward countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America (other than the

Middle East) was more spent on education than on war; but nowhere did health get much.

THE WORLD'S POOR are getting poorer fast. Forced to contract loans in the major money markets, the backward countries now owe \$59 billion which costs them more than \$5 billion a year in service charges. That means that more than three-fifths of their yearly export earnings goes out simply to keep their creditors happy.

Some of the poorest countries are in an even more desperate state. The eight largest debtors include India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Brazil and contain more than a quarter of the world's population. These eight have to pay out in debt servicing more than twice their earnings from exports. They can only do it by sinking deeper into debt.

The introduction to the annual report of the Factory Inspectorate for 1970 is penned by a new hand, Bryan Harvey, the new chief inspector. His is the honour of recording that the number of men and women killed at work last year fell to the lowest figure this century, 556 lives, just about two for every working day.

In truth Mr Harvey finds no reason for pride. His own words hint that the fall in accidents may well be accidental. For who knows what 1971 holds?

With unemployment around the one million mark, there should be less industrial accidents. But in their place will come other injuries on which the government keeps no statistics.

More men, women and children will go scarred for lack of work, there will be a higher incidence of mental illness and quite possibly a rise in the suicide rate.

And possibly there will be less industrial accidents percentagewise among those in work. And when the statistics are published again next year, few will pause to inquire why. One chief reason is that fewer accidents will be reported by people who have them.

Fearing for their jobs, scared to take time off in case someone else gets their jobs. Just as it has happened before, it will happen again.

And then again perhaps the figures may rise, with speed-up, with new and unknown processes being brought in and reaping their toll undetected until 1971.

Whichever way the statistics run, this year or next, there will be a death and injury toll. And the one thing that the report of the Factory Inspectorate will never hint at is why.

COMPLACENT

'Safety officers, trade unionists and conscientious employers to say nothing of individual factory inspectors, are appalled at the magnitude of these [accident] figures and do not share the complacency which is exhibited in the annual reports of the Chief Inspector,' writes Geoffrey Clark, a university law teacher.

'What little research has been done on this problem seems to suggest that in purely economic terms it is much cheaper to have the accident and pay for it than to take necessarily expensive precautions against its happening,' he adds.

After a welder was killed on the Baglan Bay chemicals construction job in Wales last year, his employers were brought to court for breaches of the Construction Regulations.

LAST YEAR 556 PEOPLE WERE KILLED AT WORK

WHY

'Research seems to suggest that it is much cheaper to have an accident and pay for it than to take expensive precautions'

Babcock and Wilcox were fined £600 for contributing directly to the man's death by failing to provide safe access to and a proper guard for the pipe rack on which the man had been working. A Mr Green appeared for the company in court. Admitting the charges, he said:

CHALLENGED

'Ideally the company would have liked to have had an arrangement whereby the whole length would have been scaffolded. But this was out of the question because of the expense which would have been involved.'

No one challenged this statement. Mr Green was merely stating the obvious.

And if the man had not died, it is highly unlikely that Babcock and Wilcox would ever have been even prosecuted, never mind had their deadly logic challenged.

On at least one occasion recently the Inspectors declined to prosecute an employer because if they did it would become crystal clear that they had been somewhat lax in failing to do so in the past. In other words, it is better to permit breaches of the Factory Acts to continue than to admit that they themselves had been at fault.

And a high official of the Inspectorate, Mr Charles Carr, told a conference of the Industrial Law Society that the Factory Inspectorate does not react to a high incidence of accidents from any particular source, which is rather like saying that if typhoid breaks out in a town you don't look at the water supply. Simply, there is little attempt to enforce the Factory Acts.

As another labour lawyer, Anthony Woolf, puts it: 'The savings and profits to be gained by continued infringement generally mean that any remotely probable fine is regarded as a form of minor and entirely acceptable taxation.'



The new chief inspector, Mr Bryan Harvey, says that in the 1970s the factory inspector will need a nose for trouble, a bark and a bite. Right at the rear of his first annual report, a fall in fatal accidents during trenchdigging operations is noted, 14 in 1970 compared to 23 in 1969.

DEFYING

The report states: 'It is to be hoped that the decrease . . . indicates greater appreciation of the need for shoring except for excavations in solid rock. This is no more than was put forward in 1906 by the Home Office Committee appointed to inquire into the Dangers Attendant on Building Operations.'

Whoever wrote this already has a nose, a bark and a bite, though perhaps unaware of these sterling qualities. He is saying that employers are still defying elementary principles of safe working some 66 years after a government committee laid down the way to make sure a trench does not collapse on top of a worker.

Maybe the inspector who penned this

bit would care to consider the following statement from a prominent labour lawyer on why this is:

'Why are safety and health so much neglected in these fields?' he asks. 'I believe that the reason can be found without too much difficulty in the basic nature of capitalist industrial activity . . . the capitalist enterprise exists to produce the best possible return on the capital invested in it. The pursuit of excellence and the ideal of service to the public arise, when they do, merely as means to this end, but for the enterprise cannot be ends in themselves.'

This diagnosis is tucked away in the evidence of the Industrial Law Society to the Robens Committee on health and safety at work.

Lord 'I never was a socialist' Robens and his team gave the Industrial Law Society delegation precisely one hour to explain their written evidence.

One lawyer who attended told me that it was quite clear that the committee wasn't really very interested in what concerned and radical lawyers had to say.

That too bears some small consideration—unless of course you and your workmates want to end up with a mention in the accident statistics.

Laurie Flynn

American dockers fight profit-hungry port bosses

by ROBERT BATTLE

Reprinted from Workers' Power bi-weekly paper of the International Socialists, USA.

FIFTEEN THOUSAND Pacific Coast dock workers (longshoremen)—on strike in 24 ports since 1 July—were joined on 1 October by East Coast dockers in the first nationwide strike since 1948.

The strike signals a new era on the docks, reversing a 20-year-old policy of co-operation between the Pacific Maritime Association on the West Coast and Harry Bridges, President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

For 10 years, PMA and ILWU rhetoric about 'peace on the waterfront' has obscured a growing bitterness and frustration among longshoremen as working conditions have deteriorated. Due to the nearly total abandonment of traditional work rules in the 1960 and 1966 contracts, underemployment and speedup have become a way of life for many.

Safety conditions have been so seriously undermined that today the longshore industry is the most hazardous in the nation, with 69.9 fatalities or disabling injuries per million man-hours worked (as compared with 41.1 for underground miners, the second highest).

At the same time, worker productivity and employers' profits have skyrocketed. Conservative estimates put productivity increases from 1960 to 1970 at about 85 per cent. But the real hourly wages of longshoremen have remained stable, just barely keeping up with inflation.

In addition, the huge increase in the use of containerised freight since 1966, combined with the irresponsibility of the top union leadership, has meant the stealing away of longshore work to inland container 'stuffing and stripping' stations, where it is performed by Teamster (truck driver) union members or even by non-union workers.

The leaders of various local unions have begun to actively oppose the Bridges leadership. Only a few years ago, Bridges and the PMA successfully played one local against another.

This year, the San Francisco local has side-stepped Bridges and sent delegates to other locals up and down the coast, attempting to come out with a unified rank and file position on all major issues. Thus the ranks have held Bridges back from compromise.

The 1960 'Mechanisation and Modernisation' ('M&M') contract was the culmination of the ILWU's retreat. The PMA, other employers, and the government had created an atmosphere hostile to 'feather-bedding and restrictive practices' on the waterfront—namely, to those work rules and conditions which protected jobs, defeated the speedup and defended the health and safety of the workers.

Bridges told the union members that because of these pressures, they would lose their conditions, their hiring hall, and their union, if 'compromises' were not made.

Second-class dockers

He persuaded them to give up job control in exchange for a fund into which the employers would pay \$5.5 million a year, insuring a guaranteed work week and a large cash payment for each man upon retirement.

After the contract was signed, longshoremen soon discovered that this work guarantee was illusory since there were so many 'fine print' restrictions that few ever actually qualified for benefits when underemployed.

Up to this time, the employers had been prevented from introducing labour-saving machinery without maintaining old manning scales. Now these standards were abandoned. In order to provide for the likelihood of a reduced work force due to mechanisation, a special category of expendable men was brought into the industry, on a second-class or 'B-list' basis.

These new, mostly young and black men were denied job security, work guarantees, and union rights to vote, hold office, or speak at meetings.

The B-men became the kind of work force totally missing from the waterfront

since 1934—docile, and capable of being speeded up on the job. B-men got all the hardest, dirtiest, most onerous work, worked mostly in the holds rather than on the docks, and bore the brunt of underemployment. These 'second-class citizens' on the docks worked as much as 50 per cent harder than full registered 'A-men'.

All of this undermined the union's real strength. The strategy of the PMA has been to divide the workers and play them off against each other: A-men against B-men, longshoremen against Teamsters.

The container issue threatens the very life of the union, for if longshoremen are deprived of container stuffing and stripping, most of them can expect to face permanent unemployment in the industry, and will be forced to seek non-existent jobs elsewhere.

The hardest question in the present strike is, who shall stuff and strip containers, work now performed mostly by members of the Teamsters Union. Longshoremen feel that this work belongs to them, since containers have replaced their old work.

Until roughly two years ago, the full effects of containerisation were offset by the huge volume of Vietnam war cargoes. Until then, the ILWU passed militant-sounding anti-war resolutions, while paychecks depended on military work.

With trade war declining and containerisation accelerating, however, longshoremen found themselves working less and less. But the Teamsters have also been hard-hit by underemployment. Men now working the container vans obviously are not willing to be laid off their jobs.

The ILWU, from top to bottom, has made this 'jurisdictional' fight the main issue of the strike, with the Bridges leadership naturally trying to emphasise this to the exclusion of other equally important issues.

Clearly, however, any 'solution' that gives exclusive jurisdiction to either group of workers will only divide them and destroy the solidarity that is essential to the welfare of all wage earners in the transportation industry.

SPECIAL OFFER

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

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ZINOVIEV'S LETTER—THE GR

TORY SPY'S OF THE

How the Tories cashed in on the scare: a 1924 election poster showing Labour leader Ramsay Macdonald consorting with Bolsheviks and turning his back on Britain and the 'Empire'

THE TORY SCARES about Russian diplomats paying agitators and stirring up strikes are only the latest in a long line of slanders stretching back to 1924 and the biggest red scare of them all—the Zinoviev letter.

The letter was supposed to have been sent to the British Communist Party by Grigory Zinoviev—President of the Communist International. Among other things, it instructed the party to make preparations for a 'British Red Army' and to set up Communist cells in the forces.

It was 'discovered' a few days before the General Election of October 1924, and it was used to whip up hysteria against Ramsay Macdonald's Labour government—and to ensure a Tory win at the polls.

The letter was a fake, the product of a conscious conspiracy. But for anyone who thinks that the British employing class is somehow fair or open in its dealings, the story of how and why the conspiracy happened may come as a surprise.

In 1924, the Russian revolution was only seven years old. The slightest hint that the revolution might happen in Britain set shareholders in a panic, the shares plummeting and Mr Winston Churchill stumping the country predicting doomsday.

They had good reason to be nervous. The working class was organised as it had never been organised before. Attempts to cut wages were met with long and bitter strikes. A Labour government had taken office for the first time.

PACKED UP

And even though that government spent its time threatening strikers with troops and watching unemployment rise, it represented a threat to the employers. If Labour failed to satisfy the working class, what might they turn to instead?

When Ramsay Macdonald moved into Downing Street at least one well-known Tory packed up the family silver and made for the coast 'before the Bolsheviks close the channel ports'.

And there were others who did not want a Labour government. An organisation called 'The Association of British Creditors of Russia' had been set up in London to extract payment for nationalised property from the Soviet government.

The association viewed Macdonald's trade negotiations with Moscow with alarm as they did not force enough concessions from Russia. One of the leaders of the association was oil-king Sir Henri Deterding, who is suspected of financing at least one anti-Bolshevik revolt in Russia.

People like these, and worse, began their attack on the Labour government as soon as it took office.

Aided by the propagandists on

the Daily Mail, they hounded the government's every step. The Anglo-Russian Trade Negotiations were vilified almost daily.

The Mail was in the forefront of the attack. On 10 October, 1924, it carried a story that six members of the Labour Cabinet 'had been induced to accept Russian jewels concealed in chocolates and then had been blackmailed into prevailing upon the prime minister to back the treaty in spite of his earlier objections'.

The anti-Labour campaign seemed to have come to a head with the Campbell case. JR Campbell was editor of the Workers' Weekly—the Communist Party's official paper.

He published an appeal to the army to 'Let it be known that, neither in the class war nor in a military war, will you turn your guns on your fellow workers'. He was charged with sedition.

DROPPED CHARGE

For various reasons, ranging from left-wing opposition to the fear that Campbell might become a martyr, the government dropped the charge. As far as the Daily Mail was concerned, Macdonald had withdrawn on orders from Moscow.

Macdonald defended the dropping of the case in parliament and asked for a vote of confidence in his handling of it. He lost and called an election.

It was at this point that the Zinoviev letter became important. It had been forged by a group of White Russian exiles in Berlin who hoped to isolate Russia diplomatically.

They calculated that the British government would be less willing to negotiate with Russia if it believed that Moscow was encouraging rebellion against it.

Hundreds of similar letters were forged every month. But the

Repo PET HITC

'Zinoviev' letter all of them.

This was part a better forger competitors. But the letter, on the election, was far

After they had the exiles had t right hands. If t the British For could hardly pos to London. It ha had been inteeop The exiles ga friends in their P Service.

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Certainly, som knowledge of U contacts in the must have deliver the Metropolitan Branch were qui letter was a fake ed that it be igno Reilly had an



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 through-

out 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 restrictions. 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 men'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 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

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

NORTH WEST
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham/Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan

Potteries

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

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

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

EAST
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I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name

Address

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

PENSIONS PLAN: WOR WHILE SHARE

THE OLD AGE PENSION was raised to £6 a week last month. This leaves it still about £2 a week below the official poverty line.

The government announced that the basic state pension is to remain, as at present, well below subsistence level. The Tory plan is that everyone should contribute either to an employer-run scheme or to a State Reserve Scheme.

For those retiring in the 1990s or later the second pension may provide enough extra cash to bring the basic state pension up to the poverty line.

The government is going to make a rule that an occupational scheme should provide at least £1 a week in pension rights for every £5000 of the earnings on which an employee pays contributions. But it appears that no rules will be made about the size of the contributions which employers need make to the schemes they run.

By making their workers put in a high contribution, employers can go a long way towards making workers foot the bill for their own pensions.

Neither is there to be any rule that trade unions need be consulted about the terms of occupational schemes. Nor that workers or trade unions should have any share in the management of an occupational scheme—as is general for example in France.

Employers are to be under no com-

pulsion to provide an occupational pension scheme. They will be able, if they wish, to put any category of their workers into the proposed State Reserve Scheme—in which, as the Tories have made clear, the pension rights offered will be kept deliberately lower than the minimum provided in the occupational schemes.

Ever since state pensions were first started in 1908, part of the necessary finance has been raised by a subsidy paid by the Exchequer out of general taxation. This meant that the rich paid part of the cost of pensions, to the extent that certain taxes like estate duty or surtax were paid only by the wealthier groups in society.

RAW DEAL

The Tories propose that the new State Reserve Scheme should get no subsidy from taxation. The full cost of the Reserve pension must be met by workers and by their employers.

The Tories expect that about seven million workers will be dumped into the Reserve Scheme by their employers. For men over the age of 45 the Reserve pension offers the rawest of

deals. The table shows how much a man would get if the scheme were operating for a number of

Paying into Scheme for

10 yrs	10p
20 yrs	0£2
30 yrs	0£4

So if the Reserve pension scheme were operating in 1973, a man retiring at 65 would expect a Reserve pension of £4 a week. If inflation had raised his pension to £1.30 a week, he would get £1.30 a week more than now.

If a man dies before he has got into the Reserve pension scheme, his widow will get only half the pension. Women workers will be even worse off. As at present, women are compelled to contribute to the state pension scheme

GREATEST 'RED SCARE FILM ALL



IM THURN
the Foreign Office's man

ledge of Russia and very good contacts in the Foreign Office.

But as long as the letter remained unpublished, it could do no damage.

What happened next was entirely due to the fact that the British Secret Service was made up of amateurs and gentleman-patriots who combined a spirit of adventure with an intense dislike of socialism.

The service had an enormous fringe of ex-agents. Among them was a man called Donald Im Thurn.

LABOUR BEATEN

Im Thurn spread the news of the letter's existence far and wide—and especially to Conservative Central Office. Within a few days the press had got hold of the letter itself and the Foreign Office had proclaimed that it was genuine.

It was not long before Tory leaders were denouncing the letter in their speeches and the Tory press was calling for the downfall of the government.

Leaflets were circulated about cannibalism in Russia, the Daily Mail came out with headlines like 'Moscow orders to our reds', 'Great plot disclosed yesterday'... and Mr Macdonald would lend Russia our money!

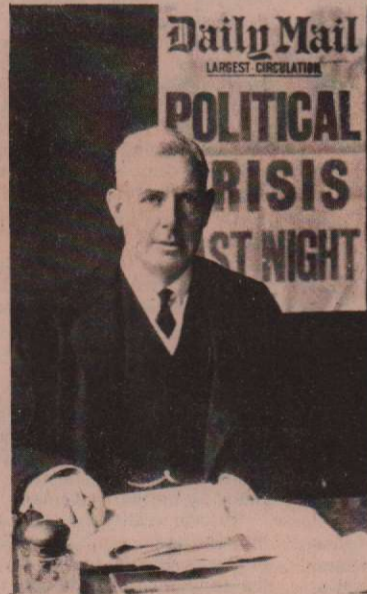
The result was predictable. The middle class trooped to the polls on 29 October convinced that if they did not vote Conservative they were lost.

The Labour government had been destroyed and the labour movement attacked by a conscious conspiracy of the employing class.

That same class is now busily flushing 'red agents' out from under every available bed. The aim is the same—to isolate militants and socialists and attempt to get workers fighting mythical enemies instead of their real ones.



SIDNEY REILLY
the master spy



THOMAS MARLOW
Daily Mail editor

WORKERS FOOT THE BILL AS SCHEMES SHOOT UP

...what size Reserve Pension Scheme had been run-

Age Group	Weekly Pension
60-64	£30 p.w.
65-69	£1.30
70-74	£3.30
75-79	£6.10

...Scheme starts in 1983, and who can contribute £20 a week, can contribute £90p a week over the 10-year period to £30 a week in pension. This would make the difference in the 1980s

...widow, she can contribute to the Reserve Pension Scheme. They will not be able to contribute to the basic pension but they will be

made to pay into either an occupational scheme or into the Reserve scheme.

Women in the Reserve scheme will contribute at the same rate as men (nearly 7p for each £1 of earnings), but because women retire at 60, and live longer than men they are to be given much lower pensions.

Paying into Scheme for	Weekly Pensions in Reserve Scheme WOMEN with Average Earnings of £10 p.w.	
	£20 p.w.	£30 p.w.
10 yrs	40p	70p
20 yrs	90p	£1.80
30 yrs	£1.70	£3.30

HAPPY DAYS

No tax relief is to be allowed on contributions made into the Reserve Scheme—though, as at present, contributions to an occupational scheme will continue to get all the advantage of tax exemption.

The Reserve Scheme will be run on a strictly commercial basis and its funds will be invested in the Stock

Exchange and in government securities. No guarantee is given that Reserve pensions will be raised to compensate for inflation, but whatever dividends and capital gains are made by the Reserve Fund, investments will be used to improve the money value pensions paid, and counteract the effects of rising prices.

The proposed Reserve Pension scheme means happy days in the Stock Exchange. Each year the fund will have an extra £250 million to invest.

It is expected that the total size of the Reserve Fund will build up to a staggering £5000 million. Share prices will be driven sky high by the extra demand for shares which the fund will generate.

The government reckon it's a neat trick to make part of the pension of seven million workers depend on the continued profitability of the capitalist system.

Our demand must be that the Labour Party undertake here and now that when they next form a government, the Tory schemes will be promptly wound up. And that all state pensions will be immediately raised to the level of a living income. And that the cost will be met by higher taxation of the rich.

JIM KINCAID



Tommy Berggren as Joe Hill, behind bars awaiting execution

Wobbly look at Joe the Wobbly

AT JOE HILL'S funeral procession in Chicago, 30,000 people marched, and a news reporter asked: 'What kind of man is this whose death is celebrated with songs of revolt, and who has at his bier more mourners than any prince or potentate?'

Unfortunately we never find the answer to that question in the new film JOE HILL (Academy Two). Because the answer can only come through an understanding of the role of the International Workers of the World—the Wobblies—the revolutionary trade union movement Joe Hill was part of and took his inspiration from.

The film doesn't attempt to do this. Instead, it is a series of sometimes clever, half-fictional anecdotes about what a nice guy and a hero Joe was. As almost an aside, we find that he happened to like workers.

Intense struggle

But the period in which Joe Hill lived, the beginning of the 20th century, was a time of intense class struggle in America. The onslaught of the bosses was vicious—for example the massacre of workers and their families at Ludlow.

The working-class response involved hundreds of thousands of workers in militant struggle... Lawrence, Patterson, Butte are only a few of the many strikes which come to mind.

This was the landscape of the closing American frontier. And, in fact, Joe Hill was a dedicated union organiser who took part in dock strikes up and down the California coast. At the time of his arrest he was involved in a union organising drive at the United Construction Company and is believed to have been framed by the copper trust.

Sentimental hero

None of this, material for a really great film about Joe Hill and the Wobblies, comes through. The movie appeals to our worst sentimental feelings about the 'hero' completely divorced from the times and the struggles he lived.

The Wobblies portrayed in the film give you more the mood of a student meeting than of tough and dedicated working-class men and women.

Joe Hill said, 'Don't mourn, organise'. It's too bad that Bo Widerberg, the director, did not heed those words.

An endless amount of the movie is taken up by an almost morbid fascination with Joe Hill's last days in jail and execution. But little effort is made to show the work

Review
by
LAURIE LANDY

that Joe Hill and the Wobblies did to advance the working-class struggle in America.

We are also expected to believe that President Wilson, the same President who refused to release socialist leader Eugene Debs from jail, intervened on Hill's behalf because a sweet lady (who looked in the film more like a Salvation Army member than Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the famous Wobbly organiser) paid him a visit.

What Widerberg forgets to mention is that a massive campaign was launched to free Joe Hill. Thousands of working-class people demonstrated and petitioned. It was this massive movement which stirred Wilson, not the goodness of his heart.

If Joe Hill had never left New York City this would have been a good movie. The first part, which

pictures the poverty of foreign immigrants coming to the 'land of plenty' is sensitively handled.

These scenes, particularly those using the present day New York Bowery ('skid row') have quite an impact.

It is surprising that the director of Adalen '31, which in spite of its deficiencies shows some understanding of working-class men and women in struggle, completely misses the boat with Joe Hill.

Exciting period

The beginning of the 20th century in the United States was an exciting period in American working-class history and the Wobblies played an important part in it. If Widerberg had 'told it like it was' he could have made a very fine movie. But sad to say, his politics got in the way.

British Lion, who are presenting Joe Hill in Britain, do not yet know whether the film will go on general release. It depends on how much 'business' it does in the West End. Widerberg's previous film Adalen '31 was available only to very restricted audiences and the same fate befalls many films considered to be of 'minority' appeal. If you want to see Joe Hill in your area, bombard your local cinema with requests or contact British Lion, Broadwick House, Broadwick Street, London W1 (01-437 8676).

International Socialism 49



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Divided working class keeps Orangemen in power

THE VICTORY of the Free State forces in the Southern Irish Civil war meant the defeat of the movement for an all-Ireland republic. An important element in that defeat was the fact that support for British rule was stronger than ever in the north east of Ireland.

There had been considerable industrial development in the area around Belfast in the 19th century, although elsewhere in Ireland British domination had meant stagnation, poverty and a declining population. The owners of the growing industries were dependent on the markets of the British Empire for their prosperity, and they feared that an Irish parliament, concerned with developing industry in the rest of the country, might impose barriers to such trade.

And so they joined with the big landowners of the whole of Ireland in opposition to home rule and, later, to the independence struggle.

The religious question had been tied up with material interests in the Ulster countryside ever since the 17th century. Unionist politicians now began to deliberately spread religious divisions in the working class of the towns, so building a popular basis for their own opposition to home rule.

Employers gave preferential treatment to Protestants when it came to taking on labour. Local councils did the same with housing. The exclusively Protestant and anti-Catholic Orange Order was used to dole out these privileges and in return did its utmost to get support for right-wing Unionist politicians.

The Unionists did not always get things their own way. In 1907 Jim Larkin led a massive strike of both Protestant and Catholic workers.

The Orange Order was split down the middle and Green and Orange banners were carried together on demonstrations through the streets of Belfast.

Again, in 1919, both sections of workers united in a near general strike that paralysed Belfast for four weeks.

But the Orange Order succeeded in re-establishing its dominance on both occasions. A mere 18 months after the 1919 strike it was able to provoke massive sectarian riots throughout Belfast.

At the shipyards—where the sectarian policy of the employers meant that Protestants outnumbered Catholics six to one—meetings were organised at which prominent Unionist politicians spoke. They called for a show of revolvers, called upon the Protestants to drive the "Fenians" out, and turned a thousand hate-intoxicated men loose on their Catholic fellow workers, to fling them into the channel or to beat them with ruthless savagery out of the yards...

During the nights and days which followed, armed Orangemen carried the attacks into the Catholic quarters of the city. Bombs and petrol, rifles and revolvers were used. Catholics were driven out of their shops and houses.

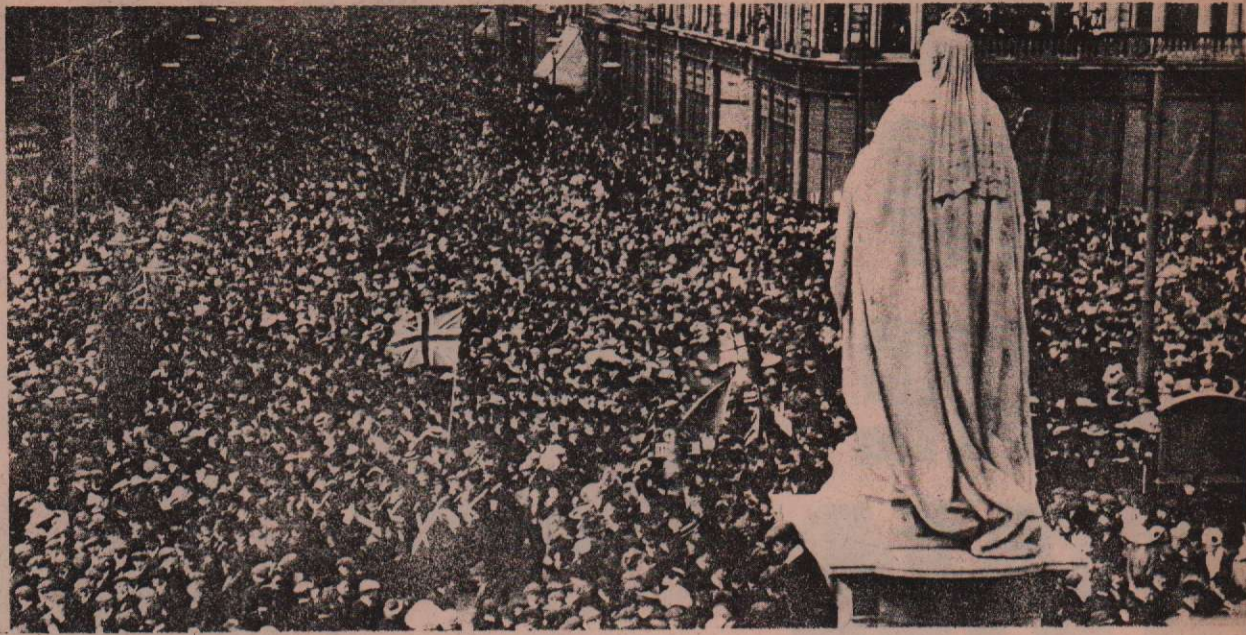
The enemy

It was not only Catholics who suffered. Carson, the Unionist leader, made it clear that the labour movement was also the enemy. "The Sinn Fein" he said, "have all sorts of insidious methods and organisations at work... tacking on the Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican question to the labour question..." About 12,000 men were driven out of their jobs altogether. Among them were 3000 Protestants—socialists, labour men and militant trade unionists, the leaders of the previous year's strike.

The big landowners and the industrialists set about entrenching their position. Unionism had originally meant keeping all of Ireland under their direct control. Now they were satisfied with setting up a separate, miniature state in the north east, where most industry was located.

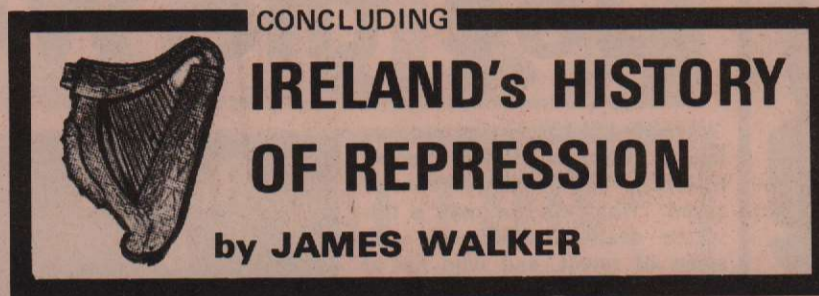
Their carefully arranged Northern Ireland's boundaries so as to ensure continued sectarianism. They were drawn so as to include a built-in Protestant majority, but contained a big enough Catholic minority to make the state viable and to ensure that the Protestants would always feel that Catholic dominance might threaten their privileges.

The Orange rioters and murders of 1920 were given official recognition and made into special constables—the notorious B-specials recruited entirely from the Orange Order. The Special Powers Act was passed, giving the Unionists the power to imprison their political opponents without trial. Electoral boundaries were altered so as to deprive Catholics of control of areas where they were in the



Belfast 1912: an anti-Home Rule demonstration, Union Jacks flying at the statue of Queen Victoria

The North: Tories fan the flames of intolerance



majority, thus further increasing the discrimination in housing and jobs. Unionist leaders boasted that they had a "Protestant parliament for a Protestant people"—even though a third of that 'people' were Catholics.

On such a basis the working class was kept divided, and fifty years of blatant Tory rule guaranteed.

Occasionally working-class unity did shake the regime. In October 1932 Catholic workers in the Falls and Protestant workers in the Shankill fought side by side against the British army in protest at unemployment.

But within a couple of years the ruling class was again using religion to divide the movement. The city was ravaged by sectarian riots and pogroms in which dozens of Catholics were murdered by the combined forces of Orange mobs and British troops.

Working-class unity in the North was not helped by the sort of regime that developed in the South out of the compromise between the Irish middle class and British interests.

Without the wealth of the Belfast area, it was inconceivable that the Southern state could carry through any sort of national development in the interests of the mass of the population. The leaders of the Free State aligned themselves with the most conservative groups that had existed under British rule—the Southern Unionist landowners and civil servants,

the few large capitalists and the church hierarchy. A stagnating, exploited, priest-ridden regime resulted.

Workers and farmers found that the pretence of independence had not improved their conditions. 350,000 of them were forced to emigrate in search of a livelihood between 1922 and 1930. Unemployment stood at 90,000 in 1931 and hunger remained a permanent threat for much of the rural population.

Church power

Such a state had nothing to offer the Protestant workers of the North. To most of them a 'United Ireland' seemed to mean only that their existing privileges would be destroyed and that the power of the Catholic Church would increase. There were few Protestants who could see beyond that to the idea of a united Workers' Republic in which the wealth of the whole island would be used for the benefit of all its working people, instead of being sucked out by British profiteers and their Irish collaborators.

The Southern government, by putting out the story that a united Ireland would mean an extension to 32 counties of their own sort of rule only served to further strengthen opposition to unity in the North.

But in the South the ideal of a united Ireland remained powerful. Workers and small farmers began to turn once more

to talk of the need for 'the Republic' as it became clear that the Free State was in no way improving their lives.

But the republican movement itself refused to recognise that it was only by consciously basing itself on these groups that it could hope for success in the South and break the hold of the Orangemen in the North. For instance, one cause of the renewed interest in republicanism was a campaign over 'land annuities'—interest payments that farmers had to pay to the British government.

An IRA leader, Peadar O'Donnell, initiated the campaign. Yet the IRA refused to have anything to do with it officially. It would not touch any class issue that might 'divide the Irish nation'.

Other political forces were not so scrupulous. De Valera had broken with the IRA to form a constitutional political party, Fianna Fail, that promised that it would move towards the republic peacefully. By giving limited support to the annuities campaign he gained an overwhelming electoral victory in 1932.

De Valera's government promised to introduce the republic. It did abolish certain of the formal (but unused) powers of the British government, it stopped paying the annuities to Britain—but kept collecting the money for the Irish treasury—and it gave a few IRA men jobs in the Free State police.

It also became involved in an economic dispute with Britain by imposing import duties on British goods in order to encourage the growth of Irish businesses. But this so-called 'trade war' was soon ended by mutual agreement.

But in reality nothing was changed but the name of the Free State. Fianna Fail was unable to do anything about the fundamental problems that affected the working people of Ireland—unemployment, poverty and enforced emigration.

The Southern government admitted as much in the late 1950s. The dream of building up an independent Irish

capitalism was abandoned. Instead Fianna Fail based its policy on giving massive tax inducements to foreign capitalists—mainly British—to invest there.

The Irish workers and small farmers pay the price by having to put up with the worst welfare services in western Europe outside Portugal.

The constitutional 'republican' party had reached the point of subsidising the further exploitation of Ireland by the British ruling class.

Fresh generations of Irish youth reacted to the failures and sell-outs of Fianna Fail by turning once again to the 'physical force' republican movement.

In the early 1940s the IRA organised a bombing campaign and in the 1950s raids on border posts. But neither form of force by a small heroic minority was able to even begin to budge the entrenched imperialist power.

End domination

The Southern government was able to co-operate with ease with the Northern government to crush the IRA in both cases. In the 1940s it interned and executed IRA men. More were interned in the 1950s.

The IRA had seen through the pretension of Fianna Fail and understood that a future for the mass of Irish people demanded an end to British domination. But the only alternative it offered to Fianna Fail was to substitute physical force for constitutionalism, without in any way changing the social programme.

But bombs and border raids could not induce the complacent and self-satisfied Irish middle class to fight a British capitalism with which it had amicable business arrangements. Nor could they induce the Protestant workers to accept incorporation into the Southern regime.

The capitulations of Fianna Fail and the failures of the IRA seemed to mean the end of the centuries-old fight for Irish freedom. Commentators in the early 1960s predicted that, as the Northern and the Southern governments were both working hand-in-glove with the same British interests, the sectarian differences in the North would gradually disappear.

Way forward

They were wrong on both counts. Once the Catholics in the North began to fight for full civil rights the repressive machinery of the state was used against them and many of them began to see that only the physical overthrow of British rule could offer a way forward.

Once again, in the South and in the North, there is a rebirth of support for the ideal of a truly independent republic, to be achieved by physical force. It could threaten both governments.

But it is not an ideal that can be realised unless a movement develops based upon the real interests of workers, Protestant and Catholic. Only then will it be able to both defend the Catholics against sectarianism and attract a Protestant following.

The danger is that the struggle against British domination will fail once again because, although prepared to use physical force, it is not able to break with the middle-class ideas that tie it to the very capitalist interests in the South who are collaborating with the British.

The official and the provisional wings of the IRA are both fighting courageously against the troops British big business keeps in Ireland. But neither is the revolutionary socialist organisation that can lead that fight to real victory.

Death of I.P. Hughes—the revolutionary who never lost heart...

I. P. HUGHES, who made a great contribution to the working-class movement over almost 60 years, has died in Liverpool.

Born in 1896, 'I. P.' joined the Shop Workers' Union in Wrexham when he was 16. Soon afterwards he joined the Independent Labour Party.

A great wave of strikes was taking place at the time and the influx of millions into trade unions and the formation of 'industrial unions' left a deep impression on him.

He refused to fight during the 1914-18 war and was sent to Dartmoor where he became the ILP branch secretary. After

being moved to various prisons and camps, he escaped in 1918 to Liverpool where he became a docker and joined the British Socialist Party.

In 1920 he was present at the foundation of the Communist Party when the BSP merged with other groups. Shortly afterwards he was elected as the first full-time organiser for the Merseyside CP.

Much of his work was connected with the docks and every dinner time he would appear outside a dock gate to speak to a crowd while CP members sold the Weekly

Worker.

His work brought him into close touch with many well-known figures in the labour movement and when the ILP leader Jimmy Sexton died, I. P. was among the pall-bearers, together with Tom Mann and Ben Tillett.

During the 1920s and early 1930s he was a prominent leader of the local unemployed and for a time became a national organiser of the powerful Minority Movement. But his forthright condemnation of the Communist Party leadership for their tendency to blindly follow the twists and turns of policy dictated by Moscow earned him unpopularity with the leadership.

Expelled

In 1932 they expelled him on the pretext that an action of his within the National Unemployed Workers' Movement had not been ratified by the party district committee.

For a year during the 1930s he became the Liverpool official of the Shop Workers' Union, successfully reorganising its structure and increasing both the membership and their wages dramatically.

But the tragedy of I. P. Hughes was

The struggle for Bangla Desh

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

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ROSS
HILL

NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN!



PRESS

Red trails down in Fleet St.

ONE THING you can say about a good old spy scare is that it takes people's minds off the unpleasant things of life—having no job, no home, no freedom, no vote, no hope.

And the Tory press has lapped up the rubbish pumped out by the Foreign Office this past week with rare verve. Oleg and Alec, an unlikely partnership, have pushed the unemployed, Ulster, UCS and the Common Market out of the limelight.

The Daily Express has wallowed in its 'exclusive' revelations with all the old confident self-adulation of the forties and fifties, and the rest of the yelling popular press has shared in the spy fever.

Only the Guardian, which by Friday had reverted to its own idiosyncratic values, seemed to sense that the press was in fact being taken for a ride.

It led with a preview of the Labour Party conference document that calls for legislation on price controls. Its second lead was a story on British Rail's five-year programme to axe 5800 workshop staff—2300 next year.

Hypnotised

The Times had neither of these stories. Perhaps it was too soon to return to the bread-and-butter news about prices and jobs. Or the paper may have been hypnotised by its self-commissioned poll of its own importance.

Referring to 'that elite band of men and women who are listed in Who's Who', the Times revealed that it is more widely read by them than any other national or Sunday newspaper. The 'elite' people's second paper is the Daily Telegraph and their third choice is the Financial Times.

The millions who may be similarly obsessed with the Times' standing among the rich and the greedy can buy a copy of the survey for £5—the price the generous Lord Thomson is demanding.

But the most disappointing feature of the past week was the timid emergence of Labour Weekly on Friday. It is clearly doomed from the outset to be nothing more than a policy sheet, bereft of real news and weak on features.

Burbled

A preview of the party conference underlined the 'feebleness' of the new paper's 'independent' approach. It told us nothing we did not already know from the outside political columnists, and attempted to conceal what we did know.

Nationalisation, readers were assured, would be the big issue of the conference. The Common Market? 'Most of the fire has gone out of the Common Market issue,' the paper burbled.

A centre-spread on Aberfan was unfortunately outdated before it was printed by the far more interesting conclusions of a psychological study of the impact of the disaster published widely earlier in the week.

The rest of the paper was shared by congratulations from the hopeful and the unrealistic, a piece on China by Caroline Benn, and a discursive look behind the scenes of the recent Fleet Street lock-out. This item, by Neal Ascherson, was liveliest on view. But he had an advantage. He's a professional.

Ron Knowles

MORE LETTERS

Fine words by Flynn—but how about action?

PAUL FOOT's report on the TUC conference (18 September) showed how the hypocrisy of the 'left' trade union leaders was exposed by their attitude to the SOGAT resolution. No one should make the mistake of assuming from this however that SOGAT is in any way a model of the sort of union that rank and file militants are fighting to achieve.

Vincent Flynn has won considerable support on the left for his demand that unions who register should be expelled from the TUC. Yet these brave words should be contrasted with his attitude to the centres of reaction within his own union.

In Manchester, SOGAT is a bureaucratic, right-wing organisation which poses a constant danger to the activity of militants. One member of our committee who was victimised and sacked seven months ago is still out of work, having received little help from the branch office.

Last year, the union won national notoriety and an estimated £20,000 legal bill as a result of the Beresford Edwards case when a militant, expelled by the local office on a pretext, had to take legal action to get his union card back.

If Flynn was sincere in his belief that reactionary elements should be kicked out of the movement, why has he taken no action against Manchester branch secretary Joe Sheridan? Worse still, why has he not even given assistance to militants in the Manchester branch? Simple requests for his help in obtaining factual evidence so that charges can be pressed against Sheridan have been turned down. You must, he says, go through your branch secretary.

Flynn's militancy at the TUC should not disguise the fact that within SOGAT, the struggle for rank and file control and a new leadership is as urgent as in any other union. — GEORGE DYKES, BRIAN WHITE, Manchester Rank and File Printworkers Group, Heaton Norris, Stockport.

The General Secretary of SOGAT does not have the constitutional authority to remove a branch secretary—EDITOR.

Maintain solidarity

SOCIALIST WORKER's demands on the Glasgow situation are contradictory. You say correctly that the UCS yards must be occupied and a sit-in strike started.

Yet your second demand is that 'instead of working for the liquidator, those UCS men already sacked should go to Plessey's help and defend that factory against any attempted police action.'

Surely sacked UCS workers should not break solidarity but should continue to participate in the 'work-in' while struggling to win support for an occupation from the men working in the yards?

It is up to ALL workers in the Glasgow area to support the occupation at Plessey's and help defend the workers there from police action. — DAVE LISTER, London NW.

Provos' blind alley

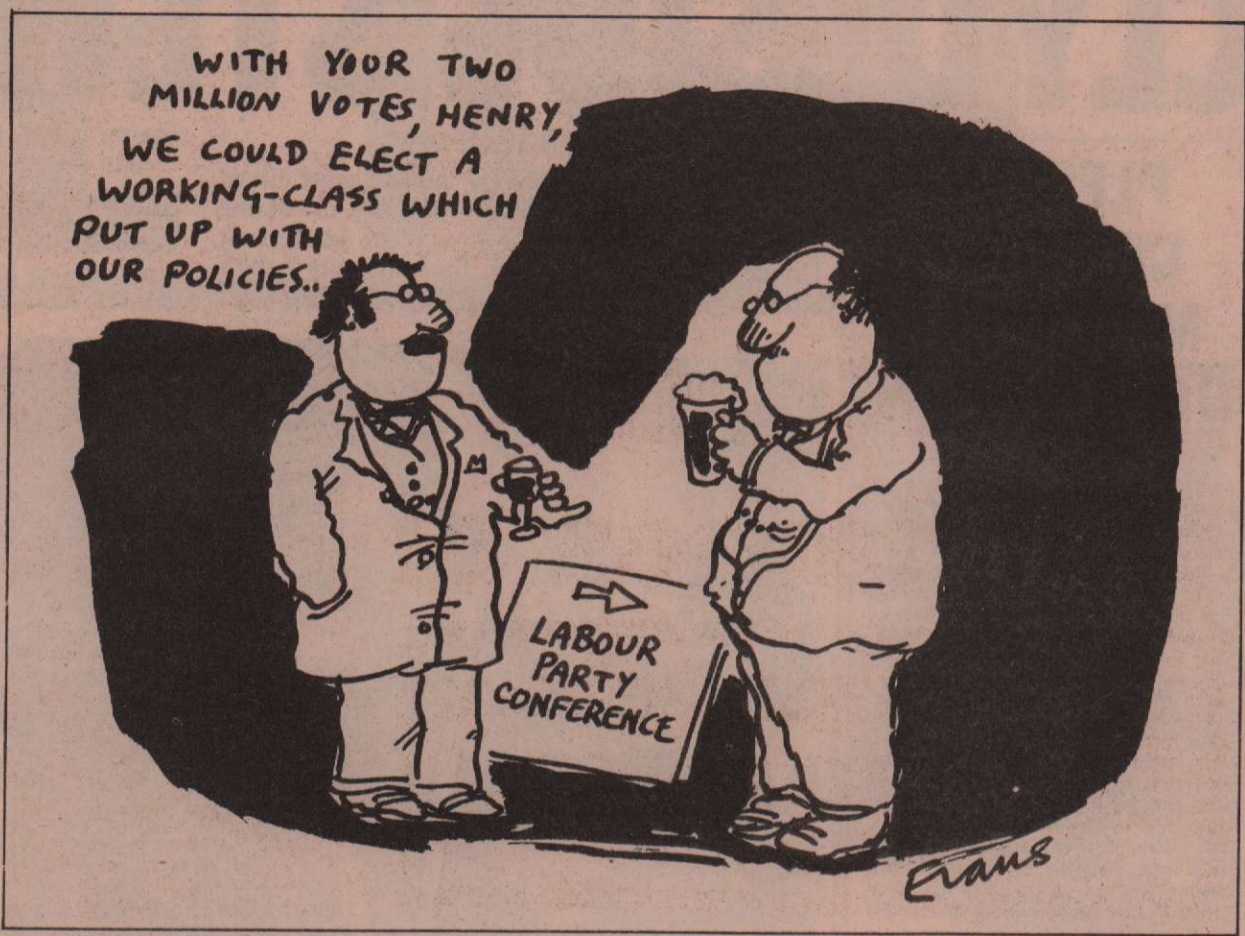
ALTHOUGH Socialist Worker articles on Northern Ireland recently have been presenting a clear socialist perspective not to be found elsewhere in the press, your references to the IRA Provisionals have been rather evasive.

To see the Provisionals as a despairing reaction to a long history of repression by British capitalism is fair enough. However we need to go beyond mere academic interpretation. In spite of the objective factors which have given rise to the present Provisionals, the people of Ulster do have alternatives open to them, only one of which is represented by the Provisionals.

Socialists should be criticising their actions at the same time as trying to understand them. Our line must be that Catholic and Protestant workers must unite to overthrow British imperialist interests.

It is going to be even more difficult to expose the real enemies of the Protestant workers while they are being subjected to Provisional bombings which have become indiscriminate over the past weeks.

The Provisionals will not show the way to revolutionary social change but to the blind alley of civil war in which the Catholics are in a minority. — GEOFF SAGE, London SE24.



COTTONS COLUMN

ENCOURAGED by remarks such as John Davies' that 'unproductive' workers are responsible for unemployment, all the dreadful old reactionaries are crawling out of the woodwork and sounding off against working people and the existing but meagre welfare benefits.

High on our hate list this week comes Viscount Ridley, chairman of Northumberland County Council. Speaking against a council proposal to complain about the government ban on free school milk for over-sevens, the Viscount said that providing free milk was 'an insult to parents'.

Parents should be responsible for giving milk, he said and added that it was time the education authority stopped 'spoon feeding' children.

You there, with the rickets—stand on your own two feet, lad. What d'you think this is—a humane society?

PERHAPS it's true that television is run by 'lefties'. ITV Saturday night: feature film *King Rat* about life in a Japanese prisoner of war camp shown on the eve of His Dreadfulness Hirohito's visit. ITV Sunday night: feature film *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold*, from John le Carre's novel that shows that the British Secret Service is just as nasty and ruthless as the Russians. But Sir Alec is planning his revenge: he has told 105 ITV executives to pack their bags for the BBC.

Taxing times

MICHAEL MEACHER, Labour MP for Oldham West, is one of the few Labour brothers who shows some energy and concern for the erosion of the welfare services and the twisted priorities of the system. He has submitted evidence to the appalling Fisher Committee—set up to investigate 'abuses' of supplementary benefit—in which he questions the need to examine such matters while



Hugh in full cry

excluding others. He says that abuse is far more lucrative in other vital areas and there is little evidence to prove the 'welfare scroungers' theory. He points out that the annual number of men prosecuted for persistent refusal or neglect to maintain their families has averaged 96 in the past three years—0.0004 per cent of the working population.

On the other hand, the latest Inland Revenue report showed that in the 10 years from 1960 to 1969, 113,161 people were forced to pay £152,577,038 to the Exchequer after it had proved they had evaded taxes. Yet the number of criminal proceedings on these grounds was only 1240 for the decade and there were 1194 convictions.

In the same period, says Meacher, tax remitted or written off as irrecoverable had almost quadrupled from £2,589,000 to £9,784,000. He says that tax avoidance and evasion costs the country several million pounds each year—and officials are ignorant of the sums involved.

AMERICAN army recruits will no longer yell 'Kill! Kill!' as they drive their bayonets into sandbag dummies. New training manuals discourage the shouting of 'indiscreet slogans'. An army training specialist says: 'We're trying to keep things modern and in good taste.' And we understand that

pilots in Vietnam are being asked to be more refined and tasteful in their use of napalm and fragmentation bombs.

Double take

HUGH STENHOUSE, new Tory boss of the government's 'mini-UCS' company for the Clyde, is chairman of the insurance broking business of Stenhouse Holdings. Last year Stenhouse Holdings gave £30,000 to Tory funds. And who was national treasurer of the Scottish Tory Party? Hugh Stenhouse.

Ex-certificate

PRAISE where praise is due: we have been known to be critical of engineering union president Hugh Scanlon, but let us pat him on the back this week for a remark that we would have liked to make.

When the unspeakable Lord George-Brown reached the mike at the Labour Party conference to intervene in the Common Market debate, he introduced himself: 'Brown, ex-Belper, ex-officio'.

Yelled Scanlon: 'And ex-Labour, ex-socialist'.

Impatrial

OUR FRIENDLY police force is limbering up for the Immigration Bill to become law. The Bill contains the notorious 'patrial' clause designed to keep out black immigrants who have no native-born relations in Britain.

According to Police, the journal of the Police Federation, the powers of arrest in the new legislation seem 'satisfactory' because the burden is thrown on the suspected person to prove that he is a patrial or entitled to exemption. Sounds suspiciously like a reversion of British 'justice'—immigrants will be assumed guilty until they prove themselves innocent. The Bobbies are going to have fun.

CLYDESIDE STEWARDS

Mangrove 9 - victims of police harassing

THE TRIAL of the 'Mangrove Nine' opened at the Old Bailey this week. The first day was taken up by the defendants' demand that they should be tried by a black jury.

The police and the state view the trial as an important event. They want to ensure that a black political leadership is locked away, and that, as a result, black people will be deterred from acting against police intimidation and repression.

The Mangrove is a restaurant in Nottingham Hill, a rapidly decaying and run-down area, neglected by its local council, the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea.

The Mangrove restaurant in All Saints Road became a favourite meeting place, a social centre for the local black community. Inevitably, their discussions turned to wider issues—police harassment, racialism in Britain, the struggle of black people.

The Mangrove was raided three times by police from the Nottingham Hill station on the pretext that drugs were used on the premises. Drugs were not discovered.

Irritated by their lack of success, the police arrested the proprietor's brother during their visit on 29 May 1970. He had dared to ask to see a search warrant. When his girl friend protested, she was arrested.

It was obvious to the customers of the Mangrove that they were the victims of quite blatant police intimidation. They decided to fight back. On 9 August last year a number of demonstrators gathered outside the Mangrove and moved off on a route that passed all three police stations.

Not satisfied

As the demonstration marched along Portnall Road a scuffle broke out between marchers and police that ended with 17 black people being arrested. Charges ranged from assaulting policemen to carrying offensive weapons. 10 were subsequently found guilty and fined and seven were acquitted.

But the police were far from satisfied. On 14 October, some two months later, Frank Critchlow—the owner of the Mangrove—was arrested and charged with incitement to riot, inciting members of the public to assault police and affray. The charges arose out of the August demonstration. A round up of other militants followed and similar charges were preferred.

The magistrates' court dismissed the riot charges but committed the defendants for trial at the Old Bailey on the far less serious charge of causing an affray.

The police tried another tack. They complained to the Director of Public Prosecutions. In an unprecedented move, he reimposed the riot charges, despite their rejection by the magistrates court and without explanation.

The trial of the Mangrove Nine is a political frame-up by the racist Tory government. The defendants are in the dock because they dared to challenge police intimidation.

PLESSEY: COMBINE MAY BACK OCCUPATION

by Steve Jefferys

ALEXANDRIA: Despite the national press blackout on news of the Plessey workers' occupation, the fight is being stepped up this week.

The workers voted for an occupation of the factory on 3 September. This was the day Plessey sacked the last of the workers they had employed when they took over the former Ministry of Defence Torpedo Factory.

In the words of their latest leaflet the Plessey workers have occupied the plant for the following reasons:-

1. A demand that the tragic unemployment situation in the Alexandria area and the Clydeside in general be eradicated by government action.
2. A demand that a public inquiry be held into the Plessey company's disgusting, insincere and deliberate policy to close the Argyll works and profit from the assets.

REPORT

3. The firm conviction that the Tory government has failed and the citizens in this country have had enough and will take the necessary steps to change the government.

4. A positive attempt to make the people in this country aware that this Tory policy is not designed to help the working class in this country.

On Saturday the chairman and secretaries of nearly a dozen Plessey factory shop stewards' committees are meeting in Manchester. The meeting, probably the first ever Plessey combine meeting, will hear the report of the situation at Alexandria and will then consider what forms of industrial action can best be used to extend the struggle for these demands.

Among the first plants which have agreed to send delegates to the combine meeting are the Beeston (Nottingham), Bathgate, Swindon, Ilford (four divisions), Poole and Liverpool factories.

Fitter dies of burns

LEEDS: A fitter died at the Monkbridge Forge engineering firm of Daniel Doncaster last week. Maintenance men staged a 48-hour protest strike when he was injured, but he died later from severe burns.

Meanwhile, 100 members of ASTMS, the supervisors' union, are in the fifth week of their unofficial strike for a 25 per cent wage increase.

Daniel Doncaster stewards from Leeds and Sheffield—where some workers are on short-time—have met. The Leeds Joint Shop Stewards Committee on Monday rescinded its policy of accepting blackleg supervisors. They also donated money to the ASTMS strike fund.

by GEORGE KELLY

GLASGOW:- Trade Minister John Davies' blunt demand on Tuesday of 'compromise or all the yards may shut' should prove to workers at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders that the more their shop stewards haggle with the employers the

greater is the risk of losing their fight for jobs.

Last week the stewards reversed their policy of boycotting Hugh Stenhouse, Tory chairman of the new government-backed Govan and Linthouse company and sent a deputation to see him along with Boilermakers' president Dan McGarvey in his role of 'honest broker' between the two sides.

The ex-Tory Party treasurer gave some vague promises about 'looking into the possibility of taking on the Scotstoun and Clydebank yards' as well. And the next day the gates were opened and the stewards gave their 'new saviour' a conducted tour round the yards.

The result was hand shaking, back slapping, some more promises and even the pledge from stewards' chairman Jimmy Reid that 'the creative ability of the workers would be harnessed to give even more increased productivity'.

But all this fell on deaf ears. On Saturday John Davies announced that there was no possibility of saving Browns, the Clydebank yard.

And Stenhouse abruptly told the stewards to 'get out of the boardrooms and back to your jobs'. He added that there was no hope for John Brown's and warned: 'If we take over Linthouse and Govan, directors will direct, and managers manage.'



Jimmy Reid—pledge of increased productivity



Stenhouse: 'Management will manage'

No one really expected the Tories and Davies to back down. They are pledged, as Stenhouse is, to the Govan-Linthouse plan.

But the damage had been done. When the stewards agreed to meet Stenhouse, they opened the door for the full-time union officials who are already talking of compromise.

Jimmy Reid's statements about increasing productivity, even if said with tongue in cheek, can only be seen as a backward step, especially in a situation where productivity increases up and down the country are leading to unemployment.

Now with the final battle just round the corner, UCS workers must get their demands and tactics right. They must use their struggle as a springboard for a nation-wide campaign against unemployment.

They still have the support of a huge number of workers up and down the country and a call from them would get broad support. They should also change the 'work-in' to a sit-in strike and occupation, with no more work for the liquidator.

Another meeting of shop stewards from all over the country should be called to discuss militant action. Other workers threatened with redundancies should be urged to follow their example, such as British Aircraft Corporation workers at Bristol and National Cash Register workers in Dundee.

Shop floor leader sacked by union on trumped-up charge

by Dave Peers

A MAJOR CONFRONTATION is developing between officials of the General and Municipal Workers Union and its 1500 members at George Angus, Wallsend, Northumberland.

Last week the regional committee removed Eric MacFarlane from office as secretary of the union's George Angus branch on a trumped-up charge of financial irregularities in the branch accounts.

This action is likely to provoke a mass walk-out from the GMWU in the factory, where dissatisfaction with the union has reached boiling point. Hundreds of members have already handed in forms requesting the firm to stop deducting union subs from their wages.

But the factory management are refusing to accept the forms unless workers hand them in individually and submit to interrogation by the bosses.

Mistake to leave

There could be few clearer indications of who really benefits from the policies of the GMWU. The bosses at George Angus actually welcome having the GMWU there.

But the workers are mistaken if they believe that they can solve their problems by just opting out of the union.

Some of them are talking about joining the Transport Workers instead. But under the Bridlington 'no poaching' agreement they could not join the TGWU unless there were no GMWU members in the factory for several months. Even then acceptance into the TGWU would not be guaranteed.

In the meantime, the management would try to use the kind of tactics it used at Pilkington last year to persuade less militant workers to rejoin the GMWU while sacking the more militant.

Even if by some outside chance the workers in one factory leave the GMWU,

that still leaves many thousands of workers in the north east under the thumb of the regional secretary Andrew Cunningham.

A better strategy for the George Angus men to follow would be to agitate for the reinstatement of MacFarlane as branch secretary by threats of industrial action in the factory if possible and by campaigning for support from other GMWU branches in the area.

NOTICES

RELEASE all Irish political prisoners! British troops out of Ireland! Mass rally and march organised by Anti-Internment League. Assemble 3pm Speakers' Corner, Sunday 31 October. Speakers include Bernadette Devlin, MP, Frank McManus, MP.

LAMBETH IS public meeting: Frank Campbell (ASW) on redundancies and how to fight them. Tulse Hill Tavern, junction Norwood Road and Tulse Hill, SW2 Wednesday 12 October, 8.15.

WANDSWORTH IS public meeting: Laurie Flynn on Pollution. 8pm. Thursday 14 October, The Spotted Dog, 72 Garrett Lane, SW18 (near Wandsworth Town Hall).

FREE ANGELA DAVIS and political prisoners—mass rally Central Hall Westminster, 13 October, 7.30. Speakers inc. Bernadette Devlin, MP, Jimmy Reid, UCS, Angela Davis's sister. Tickets 25p, 50p and £1 from Angela Davis Defence Committee, 10 Greek Street W1. 01-437 5960.

IRELAND: 2 meetings arranged by Women's Liberation Workshop to discuss everyday family life in towns occupied by British army—and what are the troops doing there anyway? Contributions will be particularly welcomed from women recently returned from Ireland or concerned with Irish struggle. Tuesday 12 October 7.30pm at Finsbury Town Hall, 149 Rosebery Ave EC1 and Wednesday 13 October 7pm at Battersea Town Hall, Lavender Hill, SW11.

IS BOOKS will be closed Friday 15 Oct-

ober and Saturday 16 October. Open again Monday 11 October. Books available at Skegness rally.

BRIAN and Linda Ebbatson announce the birth of a daughter, Eleanor, on 30 Sept, weight 7lb 2oz. Both well.

SKEGNESS RALLY is now fully booked. All queries to Jenny Davison, 01-977 4662. Members still wanting seats on London coaches, contact John Phillips, 01-237 6869, stating whether 2.30pm or 6.30pm coach required.

NEWCASTLE IS public meeting: The Fight for the Unions: A Tunney (DATA) with speakers from Alcan Strike Committee and Brannan's Strike Committee, Cleator Moor, Sunday 10 October, 8pm, Bridge Hotel, Newcastle.

LONDON IS Region aggregate. 2pm 23 October, New Merlin's Cave, Margery St. IS members only.

EALING Tech open meeting Friday 8 October. 'The Fight against the Tories'. Speaker Duncan Hallas plus CAST. 7.30pm St Mary's Rd W5. Saturday 9 October: Racism and the Immigration Bill. Spkrs include Tony Polan (IS), Sidney Bidwell, MP, Black Defence Committee. 2.30pm Ealing Tech.

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