

Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

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Ulster: troops stay, slums stay, unemployment stays

HEATH PLAN NO SOLUTION

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT has cast off the last of her seven veils and stands revealed as the naked boss of the six tortured counties of Northern Ireland. Direct rule from London, we are told, will solve the problems of the province, peace will be restored, ordinary people at long last will be given the chance to prosper. But the underlying problems that have produced all the anger and bitterness remain unchanged.

Armed troops still patrol the streets. They still have the right to seize people without any legal reason. Hundreds of men are still held in concentration camps without charge in spite of talk of 'phasing out internment'. Hundreds of other political prisoners rot in jails for the crime of defending themselves and their families against arbitrary seizure.

The people, far from having their democratic rights restored, are now denied any such rights at all. One man, Mr William Whitelaw, the Tory gauleiter of Belfast, has the power to impose whatever laws he likes, free even from the need to seek approval for his actions from the Westminster parliament.

Above all, the economic domination of the whole of Ireland by British big business goes on. If that domination is threatened, the troops are there to defend it.

And that domination, for Catholic and Protestant, means crippling unemployment and appalling housing. Most of the money collected in rents flows into the pockets of the money-lenders in the City of London.

NO CHANGE

While jobs for workers of either religion decline year by year, hundreds of millions of pounds in profits flow out of the country to be invested elsewhere. Wages remain on average 20 per cent lower than in Britain.

Nothing that Heath or Whitelaw have done will change this situation. Tory rule continues in Northern Ireland.

The only difference is the way in which British big business controls. For 50 years, Westminster governments, Tory and Labour, preferred to rule indirectly through Unionist governments in Belfast.

Stormont used the mass sectarian, anti-Catholic organisations of the Orange Order to hand out marginal privileges to the Protestant section of the population. Protestant workers got most of the best jobs and slightly better housing for backing the Tory-Unionist regime.

British governments became dissatisfied with this arrangement only when a mass movement of protest developed among the Catholic population. Big business feared that

EDITORIAL

the angry, militant opposition to the Orange police state in the North might develop into a threat to its massive investments in Southern Ireland.

If it had not been for the resistance, both civil and armed, of the Northern Catholics, the British government would have left the political slum of Northern Ireland to fester. Only a few weeks before his 'initiative', Heath gave the go-ahead to the British Army to attempt to terrorise the Catholics into submission. Bloody Sunday was the result.

Heath, his fellow Tories and the applauding ranks of the Labour 'opposition' have not become death-bed converts to humanitarianism. The change in policy has been forced on them by the heroic refusal of the Catholic people to bow to bloodshed and terror, to fight on with marches, demonstrations, rent strikes and the armed resistance of the IRA.

But the Tories are determined that their big business backers will not have to pay the price for any concessions to the Catholics. Any improvements can be only at the expense of the marginal privileges of Protestant workers.

It is Protestant fear that they are being betrayed by their old leaders that explains the massive support this week for William Craig's Vanguard movement. For 50 years Protestant workers have been told they have a special position in Northern Ireland.

Now the British ruling class, which carefully created that illusion, is destroying it. In desperation, rank



Head of the 1200-strong International Socialist' contingent leaving Hammersmith on Sunday's anti-internment march in London

and file Orangemen are attempting to cling to the symbols of their old privileges.

But the high Tory big business bigot, Craig, cannot solve the Protestant workers' genuine fears. The strength of Vanguard is also its weakness. British capitalism is unlikely to risk its investments in Southern Ireland by returning to sectarian Orange rule in the North. But all that Craig has to offer is a return to the past.

KEY TO UNITY

More than ever, what is needed in Ireland is the development of a mass revolutionary socialist organisation fighting to unite Protestants and Catholics in the struggle for a Workers' Republic of all 32 counties.

Catholics in the North will not stomach a return to Stormont. The key to opening the door to unity with Protestants lies in a clear understanding of the need to overthrow

the Dublin regime as well, along with its own high unemployment and miserable welfare benefits.

But while such a movement is being built, the struggle against British domination will go on. Even if there is a short period of joy in the Catholic areas, the grim realities of life will inevitably recreate the conditions that have driven the struggle forward so far. Those living in the ghettos will still look to the local sections of the IRA as the only protection against Craig's threats.

It is essential that all those in Britain who have fought in solidarity with the Irish struggle continue to do so.

Heath's cheap conjuring trick must not for one minute allow us to relax the pressure for the release of all Irish political prisoners and for the immediate withdrawal of British troops.



Eamonn McCann addressing the end-of-march rally with Bowes Egan and Bernadette Devlin, MP

CONNOLLY: SPECIAL TRIBUTE CENTRE PAGES

The startling truth about tax and pay means the unions must get tough

IT'S TIME TO TAKE THE GLOVES



Barber and Jenkins: 'concerned' about poverty, but both are friends of the rich

OFF ON THE WAGES FRONT

THERE HAVE BEEN massive increases in the amount of taxation levied on the working class in recent years. Income tax has been the main cause. What has happened is that the income tax threshold—the point of income at which income tax comes into effect—has been allowed to drop year by year. So more and more wage earners have been drawn into the ranks of income tax payers.

For this development the last Labour government must carry most of the blame. When Labour took office in 1964, you had to be earning £4-£5 a week more than the average wage in industry before you paid any income tax. By 1970 men workers with £4-£5 less than the average industrial wage were paying income tax on part of what they earned.

The income tax threshold depends on the size of the tax allowances—those chunks of tax-free income allowed in respect of the taxpayer himself, his wife and each of his children. The bigger these allowances, the higher the tax threshold.

In a period when prices are rising fast, and the money value of wages is also increasing, unless the tax allowances are being increased at the same rate, then income tax hits more and more of the lower paid.

This is exactly what Labour allowed to happen. The tax allowances were increased by very little during their six years in office, and these increases were not nearly big enough to counteract inflation.

INTOLERABLE

For example the child allowances were not a penny larger in 1970 than in 1964. So during these years the enormous rise in income tax particularly affected men in the lower wage bracket with children to support. The result of all this was that by 1970 men with wages which were actually less than the official poverty line were nevertheless having to pay tax on part of their income.

What made the position even more intolerable was that in the Budgets of 1968 and 1969, Roy Jenkins abolished the two reduced rates of income tax (20p (4s) and 30p (6s) in the £1) which used to operate on the bands of income just above the tax threshold. This little contribution to social justice meant that on every bit of income above the greatly reduced threshold, wage earners paid the full standard rate of 33p in the £1.

The new Tory government was alarmed to inherit from Labour a situation in which men on £16 or £17 a week would lose in tax 30 per cent of any wage increase they might win. The Tory concern did not arise from charitable motives.

They were worried in case the lowness of the tax threshold might intensify wage militancy. In the 1971 Budget the child allowances were raised by £40 per child.

In last week's Budget there were further increases—this time in the personal allowance. The tax threshold for a married man with two children is now £21.36 a week, which is rather better than the £16.50 which Labour considered sufficient.

by JIM KINCAID

The effects of last week's raising of the tax threshold were greeted with delirium by the Tory press. £1 a week less in tax for everyone paying income tax! Nearly three million people freed from paying any income tax!

What was not pointed out is that since Barber achieved all this by raising the personal allowance only—and not the child allowance—it follows that a very high proportion of the three million now exempt from tax will be single men or women, or married couples without children. Comparatively few families with children will drop out of the income tax group.

Disastrously, there has been no increase in family allowances. This is a Budget which offers nothing at all to families whose wages were already too low to be affected by income tax—many of them in the group of about one million or so workers who earn less than £18 a week.

Barber has completely ignored the clear evidence of mounting poverty in Britain. The 12½ per cent increase in pensions and other social security benefits will not be paid until the autumn, and as prices continue to soar, will not improve the standard of living at present endured by the old, the sick and the unemployed.

THE BUDGET has pleased the government's big business paymasters and the wealthy middle class of the Tory Party. Employers in areas of high unemployment will receive as starters 22 per cent from the government when they buy new machinery.

For every £100,000 of equipment, the government will send by return of post a cheque for £22,000. It is not unknown for companies to claim this grant and then slip the machinery to a subsidiary abroad.

Following the investment grant, all firms can claim depreciation—a fancy name by which the government can disguise the fact that it gives vast sums to industry. Before the Budget the government gave back these amounts over a number of years but now the full cost is given immediately. This means on a machine costing £100,000 the government allows

What the miners really won

	Face Workers	Other Underground Workers	Surface Workers
Miners' average earnings March 70 - March 71	£31.25	£24.00	£22.00
Wilberforce Increase	+ £ 4.50	+ £ 6.00	+ £ 5.00
NEW WAGE	£35.75	£30.00	£27.00
DEDUCTIONS FROM WILBERFORCE INCREASE			
Extra tax and national insurance	- £ 1.54	- £ 2.06	- £ 1.39
Loss of purchasing power November 70 - November 71	- £ 2.88	- £ 2.53	- £ 2.38
Loss of free school meals	-	- 46p	- £ 1.38
Gain/loss from Wilberforce settlement	+ 8p	+ 95p	- 15p
EFFECT OF BUDGET MARCH 72			
Lower income tax	+ £ 1.00	+ £ 1.00	+ £ 1.00
Higher national insurance	- 7p	- 5p	- 4p
Loss of purchasing power November 71 - March 72	- 73p	- 60p	- 54p
CHANGE IN MINERS' STANDARD OF LIVING November 70 - March 72			
	+ 28p	+ £ 1.30	+ 27p

NOTE: The figures given in the table are for a married miner with three children. A miner with more children than three would have done even worse out of Wilberforce.

The lowering of the tax threshold affects all tax payers equally—and its benefits will be shared by the very rich surtax payers. And for the wealthy, a great many other goodies have been included in the Budget.

POVERTY TRAP

The surtax threshold has been raised by £10 a week. The result—130,000 people who paid surtax last year, won't have to pay any this year.

Interest paid on bank overdrafts can once again be claimed as a tax relief: An obvious piece of class bias.

There have been further large cuts in

estate duty. Now all estates up to a value of £15,000 are to be free of duty. The previous limit was £12,500.

The raising of the income tax threshold does little to improve the position of lower-paid workers caught in what is often called the poverty wage trap. Millions of workers on below average wages are liable to find that a pay increase can leave them worse off than before.

Once over the income tax threshold there are other losses in addition to the 30 per cent that goes in income tax and the 5p in the £1 taken in higher national insurance payments. Lower-paid workers getting an FIS (family income supple-

ment) lose their entitlement to this benefit at a rate of 50p out of each extra £1 of wage increase.

Similarly, a wage rise can often mean loss of free school meals at a rate of 60p per week for each child attending school. Entitlement to rent and rates rebates, or to free welfare foods, or exemption from NHS charges can also be lost.

Adding together the effect of extra tax and of loss of social benefits, a pay increase of £1-£2 a week can in many cases leave a worker with a lower income than he had before the wage increase.

The only answer is to go for a pay rise big enough to compensate for the extra tax and loss of benefits. But just how big an increase it takes can be clearly illustrated by the settlement recently won by the miners after much sacrifice.

In The Guardian of 20 March Michael Meacher, MP, calculates just how much better off the miners really are when full account is taken of the soaring cost of living and of the poverty wage trap. His findings are given in the table, which also adds in the effect of last week's Budget.

REDUCED

The evidence is clear.

Compared with 18 months' ago, the face workers end up better off by only 28p, and the surface workers by 27p. Only the underground workers not at the face made any real gain—with an extra £1.30p a week. As Meacher says:

'Calculations show that the lower paid miners, so far from extorting a grossly inflationary excess, secured only the minimum required to stand still in the cost of living stakes.'

The numerous unions that have been settling for well under half of what the miners got are simply allowing the real standard of living of their members to be reduced and eroded. The government say the miners are a special case.

But if the aim is to resist wage cuts and defend living standards, then the number of workers who are a special case runs into many millions. In the battle on the wage front, it's time to take the gloves off.

Barber's big cash bonus for the rich

£40,000. So in areas of high unemployment, when an employer buys a machine, this is what it costs:-

Cost of machine	£100,000
Cheque sent by government: £22,000	
Given back from profits £40,000	£ 62,000
Actual cost to employer	£ 38,000

Government handouts don't apply only to development areas. If a property tycoon cares to invest in a new factory in London costing £300,000 the government will cheerfully allow him £48,000.

To help directors and executives to maintain their high standard of living, Barber reintroduced the 'stock option scheme'. The idea is that a director pays a small deposit on shares which he never actually pays for until the day he sells them and then he makes an enormous profit.

This is how it works:-

1 April 1972: director pays a deposit of 5p each on 10,000 shares valued at £1 each. Cost: £500.
1 April 1974: company does well, shares now value £4. In the morning the director pays the balance owing on the shares—£9,500. In the afternoon he sells the shares, 10,000 x £4—£40,000. Profit before tax £30,000 for a layout of £500.

For the struggling industrialist who dies leaving a million, the Chancellor has adjusted death duties to give an additional £61,750 to his needy dependants.

Finally, a package deal for the rank and file Tory. Unit Trust companies, in which thousands of Tories invest, are to have the amount of tax they pay cut by half to give the shareholders further dividends to the tune of £30 millions a year.

Tory freedom works—for a few.

JIM NICHOL

CONNOLLY

James Connolly was born in 1868 in Edinburgh. His family was just one of the many thousands forced to leave Ireland every year by the threat of starvation. From his family Connolly inherited a bitter hatred of British rule in Ireland and a profound sympathy for the rebellious tradition of the Fenians.

He grew up in great poverty and at the age of 10 or 11 went to work in a bakery. Having run through a number of dead-end jobs, Connolly joined the army at the age of 14. His experience in the army gave him a loathing of military life which recurs in his writing all through his life.

It also gave him an appreciation of the value of military force and the military knowledge that he was to put to good use with the Irish Citizen Army and in the Rising of 1916.

Connolly seems to have deserted from the army and returned to Edinburgh where he 'inherited' his sick father's job as a dustman with the local corporation. By now he had become a convinced socialist and a member of the Social Democratic Federation.

Unable to find a job which would enable him to support his growing family, Connolly received an invitation to become paid organiser of the Dublin Socialist Society—the Dublin branch of the British Independent Labour Party. He accepted the offer.

Radicals

The Dublin of 1896 was one of the most poverty stricken cities in Europe. Many families lived just above starvation level, housing conditions were appalling, the infant mortality rate was higher than that of any city in Britain and there was a huge number of unemployed.

The working class was sharply divided between the unionised craftsmen—jealous of their status and afraid of the huge pool of unemployed—and the great mass of unorganised unskilled workers. The Dublin working class had not yet developed a sense of political identity. Traditionally the Dublin workers had supported either the Fenian movement or the more radical wing of the Irish parliamentary party in Westminster.

The Fenians had been formed in mid-century, following the great famine, by a group of middle-class intellectuals. They were organised as a secret society and they worked on military lines. Their one aim was to overthrow British rule in Ireland by armed insurrection.

Although the bulk of their support came from urban craftsmen and from the peasantry, the Fenians had no social programme and were a non-sectarian, even anti-clerical, organisation. Their hope was to unite all classes in Ireland against the British.

In 1867 the Fenian Rising had been

The life and relevance of the great Irish revolutionary shot by Britain after Easter 1916



After Easter: prisoners are marched away by the British Army. The bloodbath was to follow.

put down with ease by the British, but the Fenians left behind them a nationalist tradition and helped crystallise respect for violent insurrection. By their savage treatment of Fenian prisoners, the British helped to create massive public sympathy and respect in Ireland for Fenianism.

Shortly after his arrival in Dublin in 1896 Connolly dissolved the Dublin Socialist Society and founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party. The party, which pledged itself to constitutional action, declared its aim as the achievement of a 'Workers' Republic'.

It demanded the nationalisation of banks and transport, free education for everybody right up to university level, and community control of schools. It also sent delegates to the congresses of the Second Socialist International.

It was on the question of the national oppression of Ireland by Britain that Connolly developed his distinctive politics. Connolly realised that the national question could not be ignored by a socialist. An early manifesto of the ISRP declared:

The struggle for Irish freedom has two aspects: it is national and it

is social. Its national ideal can never be realised until Ireland stands forth before the world a nation free and independent. It is social and economic, because no matter what form the government may be, as long as one class owns as private property the land and instruments of labour from which all mankind derives their substance, that class will always have the power to plunder and enslave the remainder of their fellow creatures . . . The party which would lead the Irish people from bondage to freedom must then recognise both aspects of the long struggle of the Irish nation.

In this analysis Connolly distinguished his politics from those of the Belfast Socialists and the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

Connolly was to show the limitations of Belfast Socialism in his polemics with William Walker, a leading member of the Belfast branch of the ILP. Walker argued that the national question should not be the concern of socialists and that socialists should not try to break the imperial link with Britain. According to Walker it was the task of socialists to improve the lot of the working class within the existing social framework by placing 'public services' under municipal control and by improving welfare services.

The Irish Republican Brotherhood continued the traditions of Fenianism. In the early years of this century it began to gain strength under the leadership of Patrick Pearse and Tom Clarke. Like the Fenians it aimed to expel the British from Ireland by an armed rising and had no social programme.

In practice it became associated with the Sinn Fein party, who represented the social interests of a rising Irish middle class. The right wing of the movement, with Arthur Griffith as the most important spokesman, wished to have a 'home rule' parliament in Dublin subject to the British crown.

Essentially they wanted to build a native Irish capitalism protected by tariffs from competition from bigger British industry. In this their economic interests diverged from those of the Northern industrialists who depended on Britain for markets and capital. Others, more radical, like Patrick Pearse, realised that capitalism was an imposition of British imperialism on Ireland, but in its place he could only put forward the idea of a kind of Celtic

pre-industrial utopia. He saw imperialism primarily in terms of the military and cultural occupation of Ireland by Britain.

Connolly warned that British imperialism was not just a military affair but also concerned a social and economic system. He pointed out that an Irish government which did not radically alter social relations in Ireland would merely change the form of imperialist domination. He argued:

If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the socialist republic your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercialist and individualist institutions she has planted in this country.

The acuteness of Connolly's judgement is clearly shown in the neo-colonial status that Southern Ireland has enjoyed since 1922.

Compromise

In the fight against British imperialism, Connolly explicitly warned against the acceptance of middle class leadership. In his *Labour In Irish History* and in many other texts Connolly made the message explicit.

Having learned from history that all bourgeois movements end in compromise, and that the bourgeois revolutionaries of today become the conservatives of tomorrow, the Irish socialists refuse to lose their identity with those who only half-understand the problem of liberty. They seek only the alliance of friendship with those who, loving liberty for its own sake, are not afraid to follow its banner when it is lifted by the hands of the working class who have most need of it.

The middle class would compromise with imperialism because it was in their economic interest to do so. The Irish bourgeoisie, Connolly pointed out, *'Have a thousand economic strings in the shape of investments binding them to English capitalism . . . only the Irish working class remains as the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland.'*

The essential truth of this analysis was borne out in the speed with which the leadership of the war of indepen-

dence accommodated itself to imperialism after the setting up of the Irish Free State in 1922.

Despite the sharpness of Connolly's analysis of the national question his ISRP failed to grow appreciably. It never counted more than 100 members, though at times its influence was out of proportion to its size.

It failed for a number of reasons. Connolly never seems to have had the perspective of building the ISRP into the sort of party capable of leading the seizure of power. He seems to have seen it more as a propaganda machine spreading socialist ideas.

From the beginning, the ISRP was sharply divided by internal squabbling which was to have a crucial effect on Connolly's later thinking on working-class organisation.

More fundamentally it was ahead of its time. The great majority of the Dublin working class was not organised into trade unions until the coming of James Larkin, a decade later, and was not yet ready for marxist politics. Discouraged by sectarian bickering, Connolly emigrated to America where he joined the American Socialist Labour Party.

Connolly's stay in America marked a decisive development in his political position. In Dublin his main theoretical contribution had been a marxist analysis of the national question. In practice his politics had never escaped from the limitations of the ISRP.

Now in America he came into contact with the syndicalist politics of Daniel De Leon and his Socialist Labor Party. De Leon bitterly attacked the existing trade unions and socialist organisations. He pointed out that the leadership of the big American trade unions had grown away from their rank and file, and were now only trying to improve their position within capitalism.

As De Leon put it, they were no more than 'the lieutenants of capital'. Similarly he attacked the European social democratic parties. He argued that they had lost their revolutionary impulse and had become the prey of reformism and parliamentarism. The truth of this charge was demonstrated by the complete collapse of European social democracy into support for the world war of 1914.

Against this, the working class, De Leon argued, must build a new type of organisation. What was needed was a confederation of industry-wide unions which would replace the existing reformist trade unions and social democratic parties and which would be capable of seizing industry and running it.

The power of capitalism lay in its control of industry. The collapse of the capitalist state would come with the seizure of industry by the working class.

This body of ideas made a profound appeal to Connolly. In a series of articles, of which the most thorough is *Socialism Made Easy*, Connolly argued a near-syndicalist case. Like De Leon he argued that workers must build industry-wide unions capable of working together against the capitalist class.

Connolly rightly understood the importance of fighting in industry, but he accompanied this with a downgrading of the fight against the capitalist state.

'The fight for the conquest of the political state is not the battle, it is

only the echo against capital from the trade union.

It was one of the theoretical contributions of Connolly's *While Connolly in America* James Larkin, unskilled into a militant Transport and

In many Dublin, Larkin real power gave the workers and a new self-

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WHAT HAPPENED IN DERRY

Eamonn McCann 5p

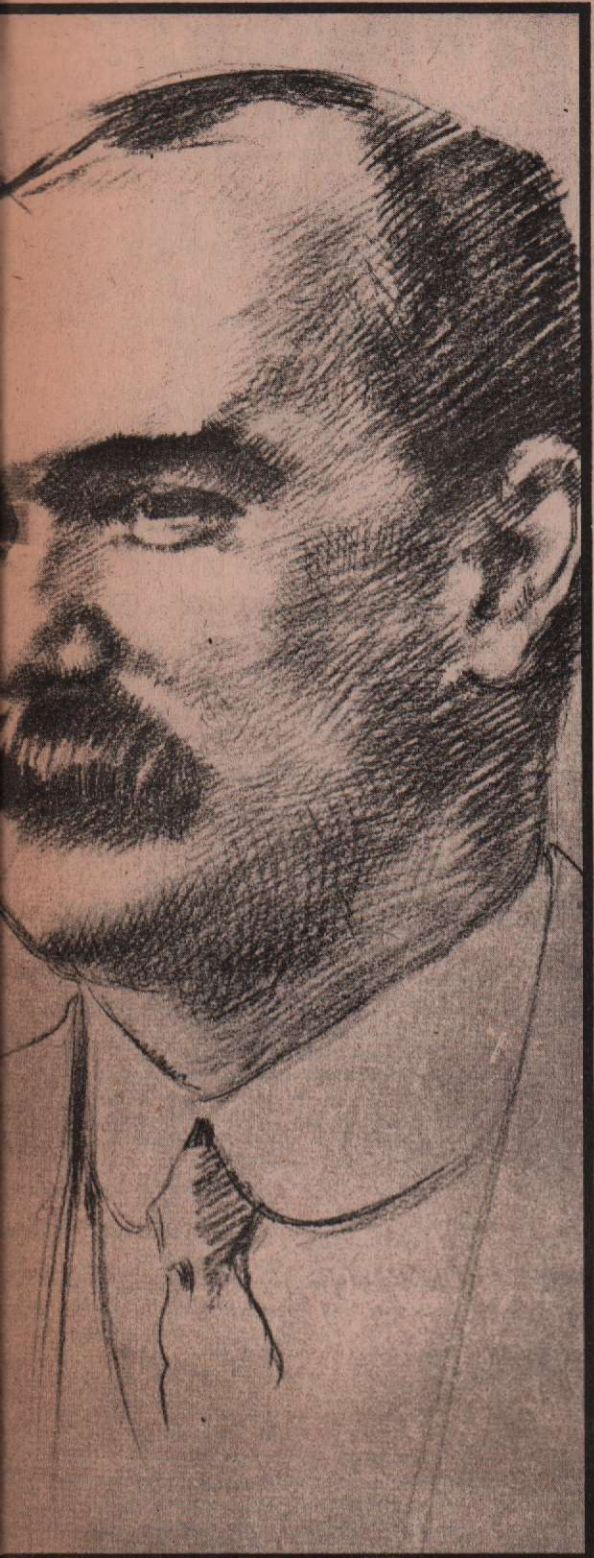
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BY JIMMY GREELY



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His death was an heroic sacrifice. But those who came after him in the leadership of the labour movement understood little of what he stood for. This was clearly shown in the war of independence.

The 1916 Rising had been led by a coalition of Connolly and middle-class radicals. After 1916 the leadership of the labour movement, using syndicalist phrases, left the anti-imperialist struggle to the middle-class nationalists.

During the war of independence and the civil war that followed, class struggle intensified in Ireland. The ITGWU grew enormously, but its leaders refused to pit their forces against imperialism. Industrial militancy alone, they argued, would bring about the socialist state, and the anti-imperialist war was not relevant to this.

Isolation

Inevitably their silence on the anti-imperialist struggle left them on the margin of Irish politics and after 1922 they collapsed into trade union reformism.

Connolly had warned that if the working class did not lead the anti-imperialist struggle then the middle-class leaders would compromise when their own social and economic hopes had been satisfied. This was what happened.

The leaders of the two sides in the civil war differed mainly on the terms on which compromise was acceptable. The Republican leadership kept up a verbal radicalism which they did not translate into practice.

At times the masses went beyond them. In a number of towns workers took over mills and set up 'soviets' (workers' councils), farmers in the west seized large estates from the Unionist landlords.

Because of obstruction from the Republican leadership and, more important, because of isolation from the Dublin working class, these revolutionary tendencies were quickly crushed. The Republican middle-class leadership, which later became the Fianna Fail Party, maintained a scrappy anti-imperialist position until the early 1930s, when it unsuccessfully tried to build up a native Irish capitalism.

But by the end of the Second World War it had accommodated itself to the Empire. Today, Fianna Fail, and its leader Jack Lynch, is imperialism's most stable friend in an Ireland still economically dominated by Britain.

Today it is essential that we understand Connolly. More than anybody else, he understood imperialism and the means of its overthrow. In fact his legacy has been double edged. Ireland's new rulers elevated him to a high place in the list of nationalist heroes while repressing his socialism.

Industrial militants took over his syndicalism while leaving aside the whole question of imperialism. A marxist approach which can go beyond both positions in a revolutionary party is necessary.

In the South the working class has over the past few years shown a combination of economic militancy and political immaturity. The factory floor militancy has continually disrupted the economy but has not developed into a political opposition which can overthrow the capitalist state.

Similarly, in the North the leadership of the 'nationalist' population, the IRA, has made the state ungovernable but it has not developed the class politics which can overthrow imperialism throughout the whole island.

For this, in learning Connolly's lesson, we must go beyond him in building a revolutionary socialist party which will defeat imperialism and build a workers' republic.

BELFAST TODAY...WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE MEN ARE INTERNED

ROSE McADORY is 33, Roman Catholic, married with three children. Her husband, commander of the Ardoyne area of the Provisional IRA, was shot dead by the British Army.

She lives in the Ardoyne area of Belfast, a Catholic ghetto surrounded by Protestant areas. She's a member of Sinn Fein, and an active worker in the Women's Action Committee which operates in the area.

The committee, like the rest of the resistance in Northern Ireland, is no paper organisation. It was born out of the struggle against the British Army and Stormont.

But the growth of the woman's movement was a new feature.

'In 1969 there were men on the streets. They could protect the homes, and the people, and they did the job very well. They stood against the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the B-Specials and the Ulster Volunteer Force and they beat them back,' said Rose.

'But when internment came the situation changed. The morning it came in people ran round the streets shouting 'Internment's in!' They lifted anyone they liked. People asked why did they lift him? or him? and then they realised that you didn't have to be involved—it was sufficient to be Irish.

Expensive

'So the women banded together to fight together and up to now they've done a good job of it. Until then a lot of them had been content to make sure the children were well fed and clothed, they'd close the door and turn on the TV. It's changed.'

Women's Action Committees exist in all the main Republican areas of the North. The grass roots organisation is built round the clubs, the street committees, the Sinn Fein 'Commons'.

'There are five on the committee in the Ardoyne,' Rose explained. 'The meetings get about 50 or 60, but women will be active in one or other of the organisations.'

'Take the street committees. There will be a man, a woman, a teenager elected to each and they in turn tie in with the People's Assembly which meets weekly.'

The central issue is of course internment. The groups spend much of their time raising funds for internees' families. It's a big job, and an expensive one.

'In Ardoyne alone we have more than a hundred men interned—out of 2000 families. It takes more than £600 a week to make sure these people have enough to be fed.

'And it's not just internees. Some of the men have to go on the run to avoid being 'lifted'. One of the wives was telling me that when she went down to the National Assistance they asked her whether she knew where her husband was. She didn't, she said.

'Was he sending any money? He wasn't. So they told her that to claim any money she'd have to get a legal separation.'

'In other words you must take out a court order against your husband and it must go through the courts for you to get any help at all from the security. So when you get this money you get so much for yourself and the children.'

'If the man is caught, and they can't get him on any charge, they slap this maintenance order on him for not maintaining his wife.'

Arrest

'The women feel this. They're happily married but the government and the system calls them 'outlaws' because they're fighting for the freedom of their country and because they don't want to be shot in the back while their clubs are being raided—and that's happened plenty of times.'

So not many wives depend on the 'security'. The responsibility is on the local street committees, and it has been fulfilled every week since internment.

The moves towards 'adopting' families which have taken place in England in the IS and other socialist groups should go a lot further. 'If one family is taken care of, we can concentrate on the rest,' said Rose.

So week after week this campaign continues, and as the men disappear, get 'lifted' or move on from house to house to avoid arrest, so more and more women move into the struggle. But the rest of their lives doesn't stop in the process.

'If you could just think of a woman trying to bring up a family in the conditions in Northern Ireland,' said Rose.

'You have to make sure that the children are well fed and clean so that there's some kind of 'life' different to the world outside. You look after the children till midnight, then go out and patrol on the streets till dawn and then up again at eight to start all over again.'

'Women can be very effective. Crowds of women would surge at the armoured cars when they come in to do 'snatches'. Soldiers would be faced with 50 or 60 screaming women out for their blood. They could do nothing but jump in their Saracens and drive

Patrol at 1am: it's a woman's life



Women of the Bogside march in protest after an army killing

off. 'Get the women off me', they'd scream.

'They were really terrified. You can't give the women enough praise.'

'Take Bloody Sunday. They should have been hysterical in a situation like that, but they weren't. They tried to get the wounded into their houses. They were wonderful.'

'On the day of the Derry funerals they opened the local school as a centre. If people come from one area to another the women take it upon themselves to feed them.'

'There were literally thousands of people there and they were all fed. The women were at it from two o'clock in the morning, there were mountains of sandwiches, soup...'

'If you looked at them... they were really exhausted. What can you say in a situation like that? 'Thanks'. It was the only way that the people of Derry could show their support for the help they'd got from other areas.'

Rose wasn't born political, and she didn't get it at school. It came the hard way. At 14 she was working in a flax mill, 8am to 6pm, for £2.7s a week. Things started clicking.

Insults

'I began to realise that the conditions were so bad because of the system, and that it was possible to bring about change—that I could contribute to that. There was a 'union', but in name only. It didn't fight for changes.'

If there was no union there were plenty of Unionists...'

'On 12 July they'd get their blood up. The machines were all draped with Union Jacks and you had to take the insults, 'Croppies lie down' and so on.

They didn't seem to realise that their conditions were just as bad. The government had them so indoctrinated that they didn't even think about it.'

Nowadays the kids learn rather earlier.

'You could walk down the streets once and see the kids playing 'Cowboys and Indians'. Last week I saw this wee nipper about three years of age and he was playing with this other kid. "Hands up! feet against the wall!"'

'He was kicking this kid's feet out the way the army do. Then this other group of kids run round the corner crouching and someone shouts "Here come the IRA!" That's the new version, IRA and Military.'

'Just before Christmas there was a dance in the Holyrood Hall and the British Army came in to raid, as they had done, religiously, for the previous few weeks.'

'Of course they'd never found anyone they wanted, just kids. The dances were organised by the women to try and alleviate the boredom—because no one can get out of the area at night.'

A boy objected to the raid and went over to complain. He tripped over a table. One of the soldiers got panicky and started to shoot all around him.'

'There were about 300 kids in that confined space and miraculously only one was killed. If you ever come to Belfast I'll show the holes in the walls, the roof, the floor. The Army are the best recruiting officers for the Republican movement...'

Rose McAdory talked about the struggle while she was in London. When last spoken to on the phone in Belfast, the Army, as usual, was just down the road.

NIGEL FOUNTAIN



IRELAND'S HISTORY OF REPRESSION

by JAMES WALKER

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

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Now book that country cottage in France...

IT NEEDS big coverage to make a visionary hero out of such an insignificant creature as Chancellor Tony Barber, so the paper had to devote their entire front pages to his greater glory after Budget day. Only the Times and the Guardian found space on the front for something other than Budget braying.

The Mirror, it's true, criticised the Barber package in a front page comment piece. The trouble was that, apart from attacking the

niggardly pensions rise, the Mirror was wildly off target. It failed to mention that the Budget was not a panacea for unemployment.

In fact Geoffrey Goodman, on the centre pages, was allowed to suggest that it would 'cut unemployment substantially.'

It was left to the Guardian to explain that the regional incentives would encourage plant investment rather than investment in manpower, and the leader writer here shrank from the conclusion that more automation by firms trying to cash in on government handouts could lead to even further jobs lost.

The Telegraph begrudged the development areas their money. The regions should be allowed to rot, is the view of the paper which shrieks in horror the moment anyone suggests an airport should be built near the stockbroker belt.

The Mail and Express leader writers vied with each other in their efforts to make us sick on a surfeit of sychophancy. Perhaps the Mail's vision of the kind of world Britons live in was best exemplified by the statement: 'It opens the gate for... the family who want to buy a holiday cottage in the South of France.'

While the Express was listing the pensioners among the 'real beneficiaries', the Sun was asking: 'Why be so mean to the old folk?'

Well, we will just have to see how many old age pensioners buy a holiday cottage on the Cote d'Azur this year. Then we'll know who was nearer the mark.

The Times was more than normally confused and ill-informed when it discussed the proposal to include a provision in the Local Government Bill granting public right of admission to local authority committees.

Confessed

The poor benighted 'Thunderer' lisped on about the co-operation of local authorities in keeping the public informed through admission of the press to their proceedings, though it confessed: 'The old practice of arguing everything out in closed committee and then confirming the decisions briefly and formally in full council has not entirely disappeared.'

I've got news for the Times. The 'old practice' is the rule rather than the exception. There are very few councils in the country which allow press or public into all their committees, and there are a large number who bar them from all committees.

The Times argued for certain escape routes for councils to avoid statutory obligations to carry out all the business in public, while at the same time proclaiming the principle 'that public business ought to be conducted publicly.'

What it all boils down to is that the Times is against secrecy in public affairs unless those conducting public business feel that secrecy is required. With watchdogs like the Times the public interest can sleep safely—almost as safely as public bodies.

NOTICES

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

MAY DAY greetings: reach the biggest audience on the left through Socialist Worker. Copy date 19 April. Display 50p per single column inch, classified 5p per line. Encourage your union branch, Trades Council, shop stewards' committee, works committee, strike committee to book space NOW for our special May Day issue.

THE council tenant and the Tory Housing Bill—5p. An IS in Scotland pamphlet for Scottish tenants. Order from your local IS branch or from M Dougal, 2 Elm Row, Edinburgh.

IS members involved in railway activity: discussion on perspectives for railway work to be held by Camden IS, Thursday 6 April, 8pm, The Laurel Tree, Bayham Street, London NW1.

MAY DAY RALLY—Bring the Tories Down! Why Labour Doesn't Fight. Monday 1 May, 8pm. Islington Town Hall. Speakers include Bernadette Devlin MP, Paul Foot, industrial and international speakers.

IS WOMEN'S NEWSLETTER No 6 now out. Articles on women workers, women's lib, the welfare state. Price 5p. Money with orders please to M Renn, c/o 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

WHEN writing to Socialist Worker please address envelopes clearly 'business' or 'editorial'. Late copy should be addressed to the News Editor.

COMRADE wanted for large unfurnished room in flat nr Streatham/Tooting Bec. Rent £4. Apply Box 2, Socialist Worker.

IS BOOKS opening hours: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday: 2-5pm. Thursday: 2-7pm. The bookshop will be closed Friday 31 March to Wednesday 5 April inclusive.



SPIKE RON KNOWLES' press column



The courts-martial of the class struggle

THE Industrial Relations Act is, according to Tory plan, to be put into force mainly by the National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC).

This will hear cases arising out of strikes and issues concerning negotiating rights, agency shops and legally binding collective agreements. It can sit anywhere in the country.

There will be one judge on each case and between two and four 'appointed' lay members—individuals with 'special knowledge' of industrial relations, appointed on the advice of the Minister of Employment.

While the TUC boycotts this body, its unrepresentative nature is even further underlined by its composition of employers and academics.

If previous courts of inquiry are any yardstick, the ruling of any NIRC will depend heavily on what it calculates it can get away with—and that puts the lie to the notion of some abstract standard of justice and 'fair play'.

The NIRC has power to make restraining orders on any unfair industrial practice—for example, a strike. In certain circumstances it can also issue interim orders.

Finally the NIRC can also award compensation, or simply define the parties' rights—stating who is in the wrong, without issuing any order or compensation.

These awards will have the standing of a High Court judgement, which means that appeals on points of law relating to its decisions will be made to the Court of Appeal. Those who do not abide by its instructions could be accused of contempt of court.

On every banner

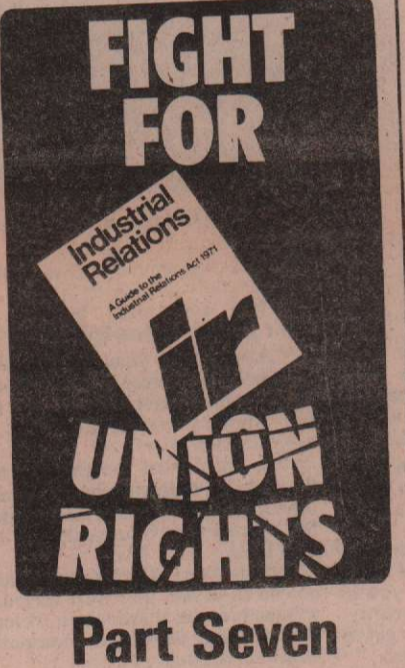
The recent 'attachment of earnings' legislation provides for unpaid fines to be deducted from wage packets, thus attempting to reduce the chance of strike leaders ending up in jail for not paying their fines.

So non-payment of fines, especially from wage packets, must be inscribed on every trade union banner. If trade unions are to carry out their function of protecting their members, they must not let individuals be picked off. If all strikes were made official this would bring the responsibility back to the union.

Industrial tribunals, which form the local arm of the NIRC, have existed since 1964. They will deal with individual cases—such as a complaint by a non-unionist that he has been penalised or dismissed for exercising his right not to be a member of a trade union.

It is estimated that most cases dealt with by industrial tribunals will be of unfair dismissal. No doubt some of the more 'militant' bosses are just waiting for their chance.

The tribunals cannot make orders but can merely award compensation. In



the past they have consisted of an 'independent' chairman (usually a horny-handed son of toil—namely a lawyer) and two others, who won't be chosen by the TUC. Appeals against the tribunals can be heard by the NIRC.

The other main institution is the Labour-created Commission on Industrial Relations (CIR). Its main function is, at the request of the NIRC, to recommend new or revised procedure agreements to be made legally binding or to organise ballots in relation to negotiating rights, agency shops, and strikes where the government declares that there is a national emergency.

These so-called emergency procedures are the 60-day waiting period and the compulsory ballot. When Labour drew up In Place of Strife it also suggested the ballot, but only a 28-day waiting period. The Tories, not to be outdone at their own game of bashing the workers, have proposed 60 days.

These two measures could well be used one after the other to try to dissipate the militancy generated by an important section of workers going on strike.

In fact, the Donovan Report on Trade Unions categorically stated that wherever it had studied these procedures as used in other countries, not one strike had been averted and the strikers' determination was actually strengthened.

Although it is TUC policy not to register and to refuse to co-operate with the courts, unless trade union leaders are committed to a clear fight against the Act, they will soon begin to find excuses for complying. Non-co-operation is no substitute for a real fight.

Slow drip

THE GRISLY SAGA of the Distillers company and the victims of its drug, Thalidomide, ground on into the High Court last week when Mr Justice Hinchcliffe refused permission for the parents of six children deformed by the drug to opt out of the scheme for compensation.

Distillers set up a £3.25 million trust fund which would allow each pair of parents of the 378 crippled children to draw £1,500, with £110,000 set aside for 'administration purposes'. The parents of the six objected on the grounds that, under the scheme, no sum of money is actually guaranteed to the children and it is not known for certain that the children would receive any money.

The judge said Distillers had imposed a condition that it would not deal with individual cases. The proposition was available only if accepted on behalf of every child and every parent concerned. He ruled that the official solicitor should become the 'next friend' of the six children in place of the parents, who have refused to accept the offer.

So the parents have been removed from acting on behalf of their children who are left to the goodwill of Distillers in compensating them for a life twisted and deformed by their drug. If the opted-out parents are right, some of them may never receive a penny piece.

GENEROSITY, Getty style. A Roman Catholic nun in the remote iron ore town of Port Hedland, Western Australia, wrote to Paul Getty, one of the world's richest men, telling him of the work of her order. Quick as a flash, Pecunious Paul whipped out his cheque book and sent her £3.85.

But the goodly nuns may do well out of the deal. Two offers have already been made to them from people anxious to frame this example of Getty's beneficence, one for 30 Aussie dollars, another for 100. It is understood that Mr Getty has asked the nuns to refund his postage.

Eye witness

TRANSPORT Workers Union member Tony Berwick has found himself out of work for the crime of being a shop steward at the Eastbourne factory of Birds Eye Foods. Some thugs the management employed to intimidate the workers had been seen in the presence

until this was done.

All the male workers came out on unofficial strike in support of Mr Berwick and his colleagues although most of the women workers stayed at work. After five days and with the committee overwhelmingly re-elected, the management came to terms. But Tony Berwick was suspended on full pay after refusing to accept a job in the cold store away from the production line.

When the case came for conciliation at the Department of Employment and Productivity the management claimed that as they had never put in writing the promise that Mr Berwick could have his old job back, he would have to take what he was offered.

What was the response of the mighty TGWU to this piece of blatant victimisation? It said strike action would have to be ruled out as 'the affair was now nearly 10 weeks old and unlikely to get support'.



Tony Berwick: frozen out

So Tony Berwick joins the unemployed. He says: 'The DEP official recommended I accept redundancy. I was absolutely shattered by it. I was hoping someone would see the unfairness of it all and come down on my side but I am beat, clobbered, finished. Now I have to find another job'.

It is unlikely he will get much real help from the local Labour Party. One of the candidates for the Labour nomination in the next election is the deputy personnel manager at Birds Eye, Eastbourne.

UPSTAIRS, DOWNSTAIRS: ad in the London Evening Standard—'Sir Ulick and Lady Mary Alexander require cook/housekeeper. Resident position, own room. SW3 area. Daily help kept. £6 per week.' The expression 'resident position' is thought to be a parody on the language of the aristocracy.

LETTERS EXTRA

ASTMS wants unity

THE ARTICLES on C A Parsons (4 and 25 March) are extremely misleading and I would like to try to correct some of the facts. At the same time I would like to make it clear that I am completely opposed to the ASTMS decision to present evidence to the Commission on Industrial Relations.

ASTMS has a large number of members at Parsons in supervisory, technical and management positions and even has a small group in the TASS area (in agreement with TASS). The membership is mainly in the works related area rather than the TASS office related areas.

The CIR reference concerned management staff. ASTMS has approximately 140 members, TASS approximately 20, UKAPE approximately 70 out of about 250 total in this area. Clearly ASTMS has an interest.

TASS has never had an agreement covering management staff. The closed shop agreement has not been 'torn up' by the firm. Closed shop agreements are simply void under the Industrial Relations Act.

TASS could only have a closed shop as a registered union, a development I would be opposed to. The agreement only concerned staff in the office areas.

The TASS decision not to submit evidence to the CIR was a tactical decision, not one of principle. They are clearly picking a fight with the government as they believe they can enforce their agreement by industrial action and at the same time exclude ASTMS.

ASTMS attempted to reach agreement with TASS to exclude UKAPE by forcing a joint union agreement on the company.

On the redundancy issue, the article of 25 March is even more misleading.

ASTMS and CAWU have reached agreement on no enforced redundancies and terms on those who volunteered to go. The only way in which TASS can continue the fight is by joint action with the other unions, shop floor and staff.

ASTMS has pledged full support for whatever joint action is decided upon. It will be interesting to see if TASS can convince fellow members in the AUEW on further action on whether they will accept the ASTMS agreement.

The clue to the TASS attitude is given in the article, where they state 'that this case is central to our claim to represent all technical engineering staff'. What is really happening at Parsons is an inter-union battle for membership with TASS attempting to exclude ASTMS, using the claim to a principled stand on the Industrial Relations Act as their cover.

MIKE TEAGUE, Surbiton, Surrey.

Equal pay

YOUR reports of the engineers' pay claim in the Manchester District may have given readers the impression that there are only three demands attached to the claim, that is £4 minimum rise, 35-hour week and increased holidays. In fact there is a fourth demand, which was not mentioned in the paper, for 'immediate progress towards equal pay'.

It is not surprising that the bourgeois press has failed to publicise this demand, but that Socialist Worker should overlook it is more disconcerting. We realise that the equal pay demand is neither the central demand of the claim nor the one that will mobilise most workers, but it is nevertheless an important point of principle.

It was doubtless included to satisfy the increasing awareness and trade union consciousness of women, although there has been little activity by the women themselves over it. But at a time when the debate about whether women should be working at all while skilled men are on the dole is being raised in many factories and all kinds of near-racist arguments have been dragged out to deny women decent jobs, it is appalling that a paper of a socialist organisation should omit news of a demand for equal pay.

The demand may be the first to be negotiated away in order to reach settlement with the employers. We do not know. But we do think that this should be reported in our paper, included in any factory bulletins we produce on the claim and raised at all union meetings.

As the rush of occupation strikes spreads, more and more women are going to be caught up in militant action. This increases the likelihood of the demand being taken up seriously. We should be prepared for this as well as raising this demand as an important point of principle. -Sara Carver, Wendy Henry, Anna Paczuska.

DOCKS JOBS: COURT BACKS BOSS CRACKDOWN

SW Dock Reporter
LIVERPOOL dockers and the Transport Workers Union have become the victims of the Industrial Relations Act. The short fuse under Britain's dockland is burning out fast.

Events took a decisive turn last week when Liverpool dockers launched a campaign to guarantee that work on loading and unloading containers is undertaken by registered dockers. A committee of TGWU dockers and road transport workers called on all hauliers operating on Merseyside docks to sign an agreement to this effect.

Heaton's Transport—a container and warehouse firm from St Helens—refused to sign. When a Heaton's driver could not produce a 'container pass', he was refused permission to unload at Gladstone Dock. The lorry was blacklisted again the following day.

Immediately Heaton's appealed to the National Industrial Relations Court. In line with official TUC policy, the TGWU boycotted the court proceedings and in their absence the NIRC issued a temporary injunction instructing the union to order its members to lift the blacking. It is known that at least another three members of the Road Haulage Association are planning to invoke the Act against Merseyside dockers.

Once these injunctions are ignored, once dockers refuse to handle Heaton containers again, then the TGWU will be open to legal victimisation. As an unregistered union it would be liable to an unlimited fine for contempt of court. TGWU officials are trapped in a cleft stick, because the handling of containers hits right at the heart of the current crisis in dockland.

ATTACK

Only in the past 15 years has technology caught up with the docks industry, with the introduction of mechanisation and containers. These modern techniques have been used not to benefit docks workers—but as an opportunity to unleash an across-the-board attack on jobs and conditions.

Cargo is packed into steel boxes and diverted away from the traditional ports of call, to ports outside the protection of the Dock Labour Scheme and to inland container ports. Gun and Brooks Wharf shut down, taking 300 dockers' jobs with it, while the trade was merely transferred to Bay Manor in Essex, where 24 men work. Hays Wharf transferred its trade to Dagenham and sacked its 700 dockers.

Inland container depots are mushrooming in all parts of the country—as far inland as Cambridge and Birmingham. In Preston 200 registered dockers are surrounded by



Dockers outside Transport House, London, during recent negotiations.

900 unregistered men working on the container depot on the docks. In all cases the motive is the same: to escape the built-in strength the dock worker enjoys under the Dock Labour Scheme.

Since 1967 alone, more than 20,000 jobs have been wiped out, 25 per cent of the register. And now the employers are massing for another attack. Their immediate aim is to destroy 3000 jobs before the end of the year.

But this time dockworkers aren't going to go quietly. The National Port Shop Stewards' Committee—representing 32,000

dockers—is standing up to say NO. The stewards have made it clear that dockers will no longer suffer redundancies.

It has been the shop stewards that have taken up the challenge. The TGWU has tried officially to avoid the issue—refusing to side with either the shop stewards and their nine-point programme or the employers.

But the Industrial Relations Act has changed that. Now dockers in their fight to preserve their livelihood are confronted not only with their employers but with the full might of the Act. It is the duty of the TGWU to live up to its responsibilities and defend its members.

One way or another, the fuse will burn out on 7 April. The industry will explode into a national strike.

All trade unions must give their complete support to portworkers in their fight for the right to work and against the Industrial Relations Act and the government that created it.

SHOE WOMEN FIGHT ON

FAKENHAM:—The occupation by women workers against redundancies at the Sexton shoe factory continues. Last week the main factory in Norwich declared 180 of its workers redundant but the number who have actually left is believed to be between 200-300.

Collections have been made at the factory for the women at Fakenham who have shown them the only way to fight back against redundancies and unemployment. The main union involved, NUFLAT, has given no official support although ASTMS has agreed that its one member is in official dispute.

A statement issued by the women at Fakenham demands: '1. That the factory be kept going making shoes. 2. No redundancies. 3. A guarantee that the factory will stay open for several years.'

Closure threat: We fight

DRAWING office workers employed by C A Parsons have given a sharp retort to an announcement by the management that it intends to close its Erith (Kent) office next month. A mass meeting of TASS members in the firm's Newcastle office, together with the Erith men, has voted to break off negotiations with the management and to increase sanctions against the company.

Although Erith is 300 miles from Newcastle, it has always been regarded by management and the union as an integral part of the Newcastle office, where the union has been working a four-day week, working to rule and banning subcontract work, since the announcement of redundancies at the beginning of the year.

This policy seemed to be forcing the company to make an important concession when, on 9 March, it said it was prepared to discuss redundancies on a voluntary basis only. But when union representatives met the company a week later, it suddenly transpired that talk of 'voluntary redundancies' did not apply to Erith, which was to be shut.

Clearly the management were merely using a trick to get the union to the negotiating table. But the plan misfired. The representatives from Newcastle refused to allow themselves to be divided from the Erith men and walked out of the talks, refusing to go back until the Erith closure is called off. The mass meeting endorsed this decision and backed the stand of the union to fight the closure as fully as it is fighting the Newcastle redundancies.

Radiator bosses try bully-boy tactics

SW Reporter

WOLVERHAMPTON:—As the strike at Willenhall Radiators enters its third week, the outcome of the dispute takes on ever greater importance. 900 production and transport workers are on strike to prevent the company imposing 80 redundancies on the work force.

But at a mass meeting last Friday Arthur Tudor, Vehicle Builders' Union convenor, said that it was not now only a question of existing redundancies, but also of whether the two unions involved had the right to negotiate on behalf of their members.

Backing

At a recent meeting with the strike committee, the management stated that it reserved the right to decide when and where redundancies occur. In other words, it is saying that it is prepared to negotiate only when the union organisation has been severely weakened.

The strike committee, with full backing

from the workers, is not prepared to stand for these bully-boy tactics. They know that with unemployment in the Wolverhampton area way above the national average, the time to fight redundancies and sackings is now.

They are doing it in the only way the employers understand—united strike action.

This week delegations have been going to other factories in the area asking for support, and moves have been made to picket the parent company, H Tenens (Services) of Swindon, which has just taken over the Willenhall factory.

Workers at Radiators have shown that the fight against unemployment and the dole queue is now on in earnest. They have given an important and courageous lead which the whole of the labour movement in the Black Country should take up.

Collection sheets are available from: A R Bryan, 120 Olenthus Avenue, Wednesfield, Wolverhampton.

LECTURER SACKED

WHILE students at Lancaster University are staging a strike over the sacking of two temporary lecturers in the English department, a similar case has arisen at Durham University. Here it is a temporary lecturer in Sociology, Martin Shaw, who has lost his job.

Conveniently waiting until term has ended, the University has handed over his job to Gavin Williams. No reason has been given. Philip Abrams, Professor of Sociology, has stated: 'There are no academic criticisms'.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the sacking is politically motivated. Martin Shaw was promised a permanent post by Abrams if his work was satisfactory. So if this is not the reason then the fact that Shaw has been active as North-East Regional Secretary of IS and in organising ASTMS among lecturers is the most likely explanation.

ASTMS, to which all but one of the lecturers in sociology belong, is demanding Martin Shaw's reinstatement. It is also

demanding an end to the use of temporary lecturerships to deny job security to junior staff and is fighting for more control by staff concerned over appointments.

It is fairly certain that when term starts again after Easter the fight against victimisation in the universities is going to hot up, even in such formerly quiet spots as Durham.

Hunt for bren gun

POLICE investigating the theft of a bren gun (without firing mechanism) from the Durham Light Infantry Museum have visited members of left-wing organisations.

No searches have been made, but those receiving calls have included members of the International Socialists, as well as County Councillor James Mackintosh, Labour Party secretary in Durham and Anarchist-Pacifists, who run a local community newspaper, Mother Grumble.



I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name

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

Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Militant miners show the way

MILITANT miners will have to organise hard to win mass support for a programme of demands on wages, conditions and control to forge the NUM into the democratically-controlled organisation required to face the struggles ahead.

This was the message that came out of the first rank and file miners' conference in Barnsley on Sunday sponsored by the International Socialists.

Miners from the coalfields of North and South Yorks, North and South Staffs, Leicester, Notts, Derby, Durham, and the Lothians in Scotland attended and showed great enthusiasm for the first issue of the rank and file paper *The Collier*.

Substantial debate centred on the draft programme of demands which had been produced for the meeting.

Introducing the section on union democracy, Jim Deakin (Dodworth), stressed that the issue was one of ensuring rank and file control and the full accountability of all officials.

Gwyn Reed (Hickleton) argued that the demand for two-yearly elections of officials would not be acceptable. Every five years would be better, he said. In any case, it was fundamentally a question of finding the right, trustworthy people for the job, he argued.

Malcolm Peel (Westoe) insisted that thoroughgoing union democracy, allied to organised, total defiance of the Industrial Relations Act was the way ahead.

Manning

On the question of wages and productivity, Peter Tait (Barnsley) argued that the differences of opinion at the conference were very healthy. He said militant miners must unite to conduct a major campaign of education on the productivity front. Many believed that what the industry lacked was an incentive to work and would be fooled by productivity deals. These were in the air, he said, and the NCB was thinking about introducing continental shift working.

Terry O'Neill (Hem Heath), chairman of the conference, agreed that the only way the Coal Board could further increase productivity was through lower manning as the machines were at their limit. This must be resisted, he said.

John Sullivan (Calvedon) underlined that this was one of the main threats, and was already being mooted in the Notts coalfields.

Peter McHarg (Riddings drift) stated that in this situation miners should be going for a four day week with no loss of pay.

The meeting was also addressed by Wally Preston, secretary of the North West Power Workers Combine. He stressed that a united front of miners and power workers against the employers' offensive would be an immense step forward.

The meeting decided to call another rank and file conference in the autumn. *The Collier* will now appear every two months and a new editorial board will be elected at the autumn conference.

SIT-INS SPREAD AS PAY FIGHT HOTS UP

MANCHESTER:-Against a background of factory occupations, more than 100,000 engineers began action on Monday in support of a major claim for better wages and conditions. This struggle is being fought throughout the district after the failure of the national union leaders to give a lead on the claim.

by Colin Barker and Glyn Carver

The Manchester engineers are demanding £4 a week for all workers, a 35-hour week, an extra week's holiday and faster progress towards equal pay.

These demands were agreed by a mass meeting of 800 shop stewards. They were presented simultaneously

in every federated factory—and were simultaneously rejected by every employer. The engineers' demands represent the absolute minimum necessary.

The £4, after deductions, will barely keep up with the rising cost of living. The demands on hours and holidays are vital, for Manchester has the fastest growing unemployment rate in the country. Tens of thousands of engineering jobs have disappeared in the past few years.

At a time when the bosses are seeking to divide workers on sex lines the importance of a real fight for equal pay can hardly be overstated.

As well as working to rule and banning overtime, the Manchester stewards aim to ban piecework. There is a local agreement that guarantees a pieceworker the right to 'return to daywork'.

This well-tried tactic will have the immediate effect of halving production while maintaining a basic wage.

The local employers' federation has already announced that workers who don't work normally will be suspended or locked out.

STRENGTH

The federation has strengthened its organisation and is receiving support from bosses all over the country. Four firms have already attempted a lock-out. In each case the workers have responded by sitting in. On Monday night Mirlees Engineering and Peart Engineering were occupied.

At Bredbury Steel, the occupation continues to gain strength after almost two weeks. Bredbury's lead has been followed by Davies and Metcalfe, and Laurence Scott.

At Sharston, a very small firm, the boss—one Mrs Isabella Dubost—is, at the time of going to press, seeking a court order to evict the occupants.

Legal help is also coming to the bosses from another direction—the labour exchanges. Tommy Baker, an engineering union steward at Bredbury Steel, said: 'Though we have letters telling us we have been laid off they are refusing to give us dole'.

The rapidly developing situation has all the makings of a major class battle. Three million engineers will be watching Manchester closely, and so will the employers, who know that defeat for the Manchester workers would be a national victory for them.

VITAL

The situation is not without its dangers. There have already been a few 'cash-basis' settlements with no improvements in hours or holidays.

Many more of these would undermine not only the vital unity of the Manchester engineers but also the possibility of a real breakthrough.

For victory in Manchester three things are essential. ONE: There must be weekly meetings of all shop-stewards in the engineering union confederation to discuss progress and tactics and to ratify agreements. TWO: The national leadership must organise real national support for Manchester. THREE: There can be no retreat on the fight for the 35-hour week.

Jailed men victims of political trial

THREE members of the Workers' Party of Scotland and one other man were sent to prison last week for 26, 25, 24 and six years. They were accused of robbery but were given the heaviest sentences ever in a Scottish court.

The previous longest sentences were 21 years imposed in 1966 and 25 years recommended for an ex-policeman turned double police killer in 1970.

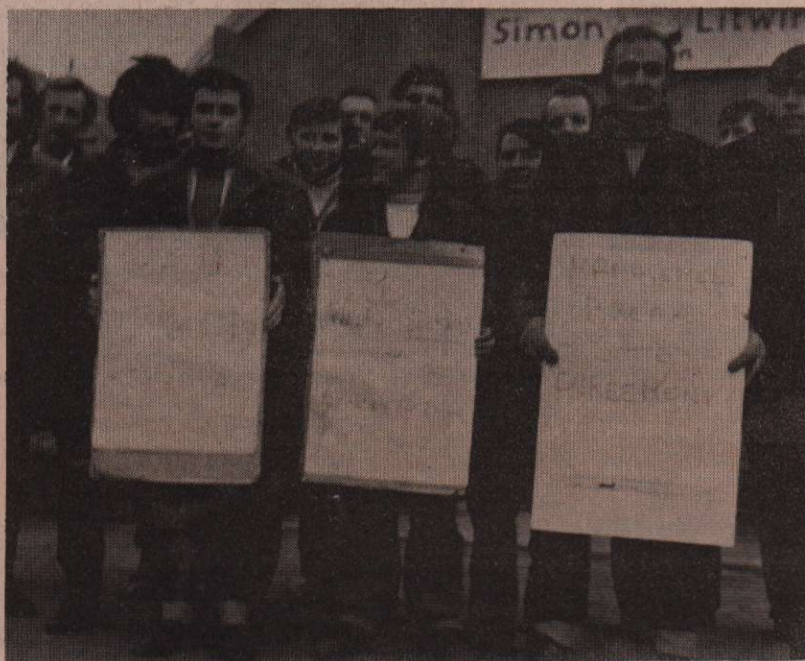
Last week's sentences were vicious because of the political ideas of the prisoners. The judge, Lord Dunpark, made this clear when he warned British criminals to stick to crime and not get involved with revolutionary organisations.

The trial was a sham. The only evidence to involve Matthew Lygate and Colin Lawson was stolen cash, a few hoods and a shotgun found in the party's Glasgow bookshop. They had no previous convictions and Lygate told the court that Lawson, who was in the bookshop when the police raid took place, knew nothing of the hidden cache.

After the raid on the bookshop, the police planted weapons and money in Lygate's flat to incriminate him further. The prisoners were accused of being responsible for four robberies between May and December 1971 but nobody could identify them in court.

The revolutionary ideas of the Workers' Party of Scotland, together with Lygate's admitted connection with the robbery, was all that the judge and police needed. Lygate was sentenced to 24 years in jail and Lawson to six.

Glasgow International Socialists, who worked closely with Matthew Lygate in opposition to In Place of Strife, issued a statement condemning the sentences. They point out that although they are opposed to the tactics of raids and robberies as a means of building the revolutionary movement in the present period, socialists cannot stand by while the state imposes repressive political sentences on any left organisation.



Locked-out 57 lobby union.

FIFTY-SEVEN LOCKED-OUT construction workers at the BP site at Llandarcy, South Wales, are now in the eleventh week of their struggle with contractors Simon Litwin over redundancies and union rights. Picture shows some of the workers on picket duty. Last week they lobbied their union—the construction section of the Engineers Union—whose general secretary, Eddie Marsden, has joined with Litwin in advertising 57 vacancies on the site.

Split between print unions endangers wage claim

by Mike Heym

A DANGEROUS split has developed between the print unions involved in the wage claim for 180,000 provincial newspaper and general printing workers.

The executive of SOGAT is recommending members to accept the employers' offer in a ballot vote.

The offer is of a maximum £2.40 and one day's extra holiday now, with promised progress towards the fourth week's holiday by 1975. Non-journeymen and women are offered NOT MORE than 87½ per cent of the full award. It will run for 15 months.

The deal is substantially below any of the unions' claims—in particular SOGAT's demand for £4 for men and £4.50 for women over 12 months.

Success

SOGAT's decision will seriously weaken the attempt by the remaining unions, NGA, NATSOPA and SLADE to pursue their claim. But the NGA has already started a national overtime ban and withdrawal from bonus and flexibility agreements. It has encouraged chapels in non-federated offices to reach agreements of £3.12 (London) and £3.25 (Provinces) and this has so far met with some success.

This still represents a great retreat from the original claim for £7 with 50 per cent absorbability, which would have resulted in

at least £3.50 but much more for those on the basic rate (£21.88).

Militants must condemn SOGAT's action and struggle to reverse it, especially at a time when the other unions are at least moving towards a greater degree of unity. The employers will no doubt be encouraged to adopt a 'wait and see' position in the hope that an acceptance vote by the 80,000 SOGAT members involved will demoralise others.

A united and determined fight by the print unions is needed to win the present claim. Militants must demand:

1. No ballot on any offer less than the full claim.

2. A £30 minimum wage for all grades now.

3. A 35-hour week for all printworkers now, four weeks annual holiday as from this year.

4. Equal pay for women.

5. No long-term agreement—no deal to run longer than 12 months.

6. No productivity deals, no sackings.

7. Fight the Industrial Relations Act.

Only a fight on a militant programme can prevent the employers exploiting the differences between the unions.

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WITH a few days to spare the International Socialists' Fighting Fund has passed its target to reach £5057. This is a tremendous result and will enable us to carry out extra valuable political work.

Letter after letter to me has said that money for the fund is sent for one main reason: to help kick out the Tories. It is not possible to acknowledge all donations but we are sincerely grateful to all those who responded to our appeal. JIM NICHOL, IS National Treasurer.