

Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Jenkins



bails out Tories

THE LABOUR PARTY'S shaky coalition came apart at the seams this week with the resignation of deputy leader Roy Jenkins and other leading supporters of the Common Market.

Jenkins' move reflects the urgency of British capitalism's need to join the European profits race. Heath's wafer-thin parliamentary majority on EEC entry, with the violent opposition of a hard core of Tory backbenchers, has given big business the jitters.

The defection of Jenkins and his friends has ensured not only a victory for Heath on the Common Market issue but means his anti-working class government can stay in office.

Jenkins, George Thomson and Harold Lever have bailed out the Tories in the interests of the profiteers. Any self-respecting socialist organisation would spare no time in expelling them from the movement.

But, on the contrary, Harold Wilson made it clear in his letter to Jenkins that when the party's 'immediate difficulty' over Europe is settled then the former deputy leader will be welcomed back.

Danger

Few members of the labour and trade union movement will have any doubts about the role of Jenkins and company. The danger is that some will see their resignation as a victory for the 'left' and, instead of waging their own industrial battles with the government and the employers, will look to Wilson and his supporters to conduct a fight against the Tories.

Papers like the Morning Star and Tribune will certainly claim a mighty victory for the left if Michael Foot becomes Labour's new deputy leader. Such concern for parliamentary shadow boxing conceals the real issues at stake.

Wilson, one of the slickest political tacticians of modern times, is anxious to adopt a 'left' stance at the present time. He is aware of the upsurge of militancy in industry, the anger and disgust at Tory policies in working-class homes.

He knows, too, that if the present industrial struggle is fused with the growing revolutionary socialist movement then it could challenge not just the Tories but the whole system of minority privilege and mass exploitation that Labour, in the final analysis, will fight to defend.

Siphon

The Labour leader wants to pose as a tough anti-capitalist politician in order to tie in the leaders of the major unions, like the Transport Workers and the Engineers, and to siphon off the militancy of their rank and file.

This explains the about turn on the Common Market and the sudden support for a referendum, moves which Jenkins rightly labelled as opportunist.

There are others at work in the sordid manoeuvrings that pass for 'democratic socialist politics'. Wedgwood Benn, promoter of the referendum idea now clearly sees himself as the front runner to replace Wilson as leader of the party.

Neither Wilson, Benn nor Foot are a substitute for forging a genuine socialist leadership in the working class that will fight to build a mass movement concerned not with office but with power—workers' power.

Jenkins may temporarily have left the stage but the major exponents of reformist ideas who seek to tie the working-class movement to the interests of capitalism are still in business.

Roger Protz

Massive Merseyside challenge to the Tory union busters

DOCKERS DEFY LAW

LIVERPOOL DOCKERS have thrown down a major challenge to the Industrial Relations Act. 5000 of them voted at a mass meeting on Sunday to defy the Tory law and the orders of its High Court judge.

Their decision to black lorries from the St Helen's firm of Heaton's looks like

by **ROGER ROSEWELL**

Socialist Worker Industrial Correspondent

leading to the first major showdown over the new anti-union legislation. At stake is the attempt by dockers in all major ports to defend their jobs

Port employers have been trying to boost

their profits by the development of 'containerisation'. This enables fewer men to unload ever more massive cargoes. Dockers have been attempting to make sure that this increased mechanisation operates to their benefit, by reducing the number of hours they have to work

The employers want to introduce the new methods at the expense of the dockers, by making thousands redundant and weakening the organisation of those who remain. The easiest way for the employers to get away with such a policy is to move as much of the work as possible out of the docks altogether.

So transport firms like Heaton's, who brought the first legal action under the law against the Transport Workers union, and Craddocks, the firm that has taken three union men to the criminal court on alleged blackmail charges, have been filling and unfilling the containers at inland depots, miles from the docks.

SMASH RESISTANCE

The intervention of the Industrial Relations Court has been quite simply to smash the resistance of the dockworkers.

The £5000 fine on the TGWU was meant to persuade the officials of that union to attend the hearings of the Tory courts and to come to an agreement with Heaton's that would sell their members' jobs.

It was deliberately designed to end the boycott of the Tory law by the trade union movement generally.

That is why the decision of the national docks shop stewards committee to defy the law by continued blacking of container firms throughout the country is absolutely correct.

And that is why the Liverpool decision to black Heaton's must be supported by every trade unionist in the country.

If the employers, the Tories and the judges win the Liverpool battle, then it will be a serious set-back for all those fighting unemployment and the industrial struggle.

If the dockers win, then not only will they save a number of vital jobs from the scrap heap, but they will deal the Industrial Relations Act a blow from which it may never recover.

POLICY TO WIN

THE USE of the courts to defeat the dockers can be beaten by:

1. Maintenance of the blacking and continued boycott of the Industrial Relations Court. Keep blacking Heaton's in reprisal for its use of the law.
2. Non-payment of the fine. The TGWU should call official strikes if its funds are seized.
3. Solidarity action from the TUC. Break off all talks with the Tory government.
4. Continued total non-co-operation with the Act by the TUC.
5. Massive official support for a one-day strike on 1 May.

Sit-in workers set on victory



WORKERS at Laurence Scott and Electromotors of Openshaw, Manchester, seen this week at their occupied factory in the thick of the North-West battle against the engineering employers. Tens of thousands of engineering workers are involved in the wages struggle and several thousand are sitting-in at more than 20 factories in defiance

of the bosses. The local Engineering Employers Federation instructed its members to lock-out workers who banned overtime and worked to rule in support of their pay claim. The workers responded with the new and growing weapon of sit-ins and occupations. FULL REPORT, MORE PICTURES ON BACK PAGE.

The bribes and bullets that back profits

THE MANAGERS of one of the world's largest companies have been having an embarrassing time for the past couple of weeks since their successful bribe of the US government and unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Chilean government have been exposed.

International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation is America's sixth largest firm, with subsidiaries in virtually every country outside the Eastern bloc. In Britain, for instance, it owns Avis cars (which operates in 76 other countries too), the telecommunications manufacturer STC and Abbey Life Assurance.

By buying up other companies in America and abroad ITT expanded its sales from 800 to 5000 dollars in a mere 10 years, and it seemed well on its way to overtaking even General Motors in size when it negotiated the biggest-ever merger with the insurance giant Hartford.

The only possible worry for its chairman, Geeren, with a salary of 766,000 dollars a year, was the existence on the US statute books of 'anti-trust' laws, meant to prevent any firm getting into too strong a monopoly position.

Eventually, however, ITT reached an agreement with the US government which allowed them to keep most of their interests, although they will sometime

by Chris Harman

have to sell one or two fairly large subsidiaries.

The scandal arose a month ago when the newspaper columnist Jack Anderson revealed the price they paid for this agreement—a 400,000 dollar bribe to the Republican Party to pay for its convention in San Diego later this year.

Illegal

Not that ITT is particularly favourable to the Republicans—the ITT director who negotiated the deal, Felix Rohatyn, has in the past been one of the chief fund raisers for the Democratic Party. No doubt there were favours to be received there as well.

This affair has produced other complications for the ITT directors as well.

Leading executives of the company are under investigation for selling shares while the deal with the government was under negotiation but before it was made public. It is reckoned they made a cool 400,000 dollars profit to share between them, quite illegally and at the expense of their shareholders.

A second batch of revelations have revealed that when it comes to dealing with governments smaller or less amenable to bribery than the US, ITT is ready to go to even more extreme measures.

Among the foreign holdings of the company is a 70 per cent stake in the highly profitable Chile Telephone Company, worth about 153 million dollars to ITT. The monopoly position of this company made it a certain inclusion in the list of foreign companies that President Allende had said he would nationalise after his election 18 months ago.

At once the executives of ITT began to discuss how to stop this.

Their immediate reaction was to start contacting the local US ambassador and right-wing Chilean generals to work out arrangements for a coup d'etat. If their plans did not materialise, it was not through lack of trying.

ITT is a profitable concern, and one that will use any means from the bribe to the bullet to stay that way.

Yet it is not some small fly-by-night business. Among its American directors are the former head of the CIA (under Kennedy) John McCone and the industrialist who was behind Lyndon Johnson's climb to the presidency, George Rufus Brown. Its European subsidiaries have as directors the former secretary-general of NATO, Paul Henri Spaak, and the former secretary-general of the United Nations, Trygve Lie.

EGYPT'S decision to break off diplomatic relations with Jordan in protest at King Hussein's peace plan seems to be an attempt to stave off discontent at home.

There are reports of growing friction in the army between Egyptian officers and Russian advisers, and the student movement, which erupted around New Year, has come to life again.

Students in Alexandria had been demanding the break with Jordan for some time, but their demands have not been purely nationalist. In Cairo student newspapers are denouncing the government's austerity programme as failing to help the poorest sectors of the community.

More important, there is growing discontent in the working class.

In January, to prevent the spread of student unrest to workers, the government made some concessions, establishing a 42-hour week and a minimum wage (of just over 30p a day) for workers in the private sector. These measures have still to be confirmed by the Popular Assembly.

But in the northern industrial suburbs of Cairo there have been strikes in the many small spinning and weaving mills, demanding that the measures be brought in immediately.

THE KILLING of Sheikh Karume of Zanzibar has been greeted with rapture by the right-wing press (not to mention the former Sultan). Much has been made of the more grotesque aspects of his rule—for example the forcing of Arab girls to marry African leaders.

Karume in fact has tried to remove the privileges of the Arab minority, who for centuries were parasites on the African majority in Zanzibar. His real crime was his failure to begin any social change in Zanzibar.

Karume's 'leftism' is confined to friendship with Russia and China. Zanzibar is just as dependent on a single export—cloves—as it was when Karume took power.

Though Zanzibar was nominally part of Nyerere's 'socialist' Tanzania, Tanzanians still needed passports to travel to Zanzibar, and Karume took orders from no-one.

THE CZECH Ministry of Culture has managed to scrape together a new Writers' Union to replace the old one disbanded in 1969 for its dissident ideas. The word 'writer', however, has been interpreted broadly. The only 'literary' achievement to the credit of the new executive secretary is that he once edited a magazine for the Ministry of Security.

MAULANA BHASHANI, leader of the Maoist National Awami Party in Bangladesh, has violently attacked the government at a mass meeting of 50,000 people. Already, the 90-year-old leader declared, the new rulers were becoming a privileged elite.

Those who used to be seen in hovels made of tin cans are now living in superb houses; those who had never seen a car in their lives are now riding in superb cars.

AFTER a trial lasting eight months, 13 South Africans—nine Africans, two Indians and two Coloured—have been found guilty under the Terrorism Act and jailed for up to eight years. While the judge denied allegations that the accused men had been tortured, he conceded that there had been ill treatment in the form of solitary confinement and long spells of interrogation.

THE NEW mayor of Philadelphia, Frank Rizzo, is an ex-police chief well known for his savage methods, especially against the Black Panthers. He is also a strong admirer of the British police.

He recently told an interviewer how upset he had been by a film of London police running away from demonstrators. 'I didn't sleep well the night I saw that,' he said.

FEW PARTS of the world are now free from industrial militancy. The latest Mount Everest expedition has been held back by a strike of Sherpa porters, who are demanding equipment of the same quality as the climbers.

THE SLOVAKIAN Communist Party has found a new scapegoat—gypsies. Its paper warns that 'it will be necessary to take severe measures against idlers and parasites.'

IN HAITI imperialism literally sucks blood. An American company is buying blood plasma from impoverished Haitians at three dollars a litre, and making four or five dollars profit on each litre.

The advantage of buying plasma rather than just blood is that even undernourished donors—as the Haitians all are—can give blood as often as once a week.

VIETNAM STRUGGLE ENTERS NEW PHASE

by Ian Birchall

IT IS too early to predict the exact military outcome of the present offensive by the Vietnamese National Liberation Front and their North Vietnamese allies.

What is clear already is that the liberation forces have been able to make important advances in the early stages of the fighting, without having brought all their available forces into action.

These successes have already clearly demonstrated the failure of the United States' programme of 'Vietnamisation'—which means leaving the Vietnamese on their own to clear up the ruins and destruction caused by seven years of American warmongering.

The South Vietnamese armed forces have been shown up as a disorganised rabble. A whole regiment has been scattered to the four winds, and deserters are wandering the length and breadth of the country.

Such a collapse was inevitable with the massive withdrawal of American troops. When Nixon took office in 1969, there were 549,000 service personnel in South Vietnam. Now there are fewer than 100,000 and this is due to go down to 69,000 next month.

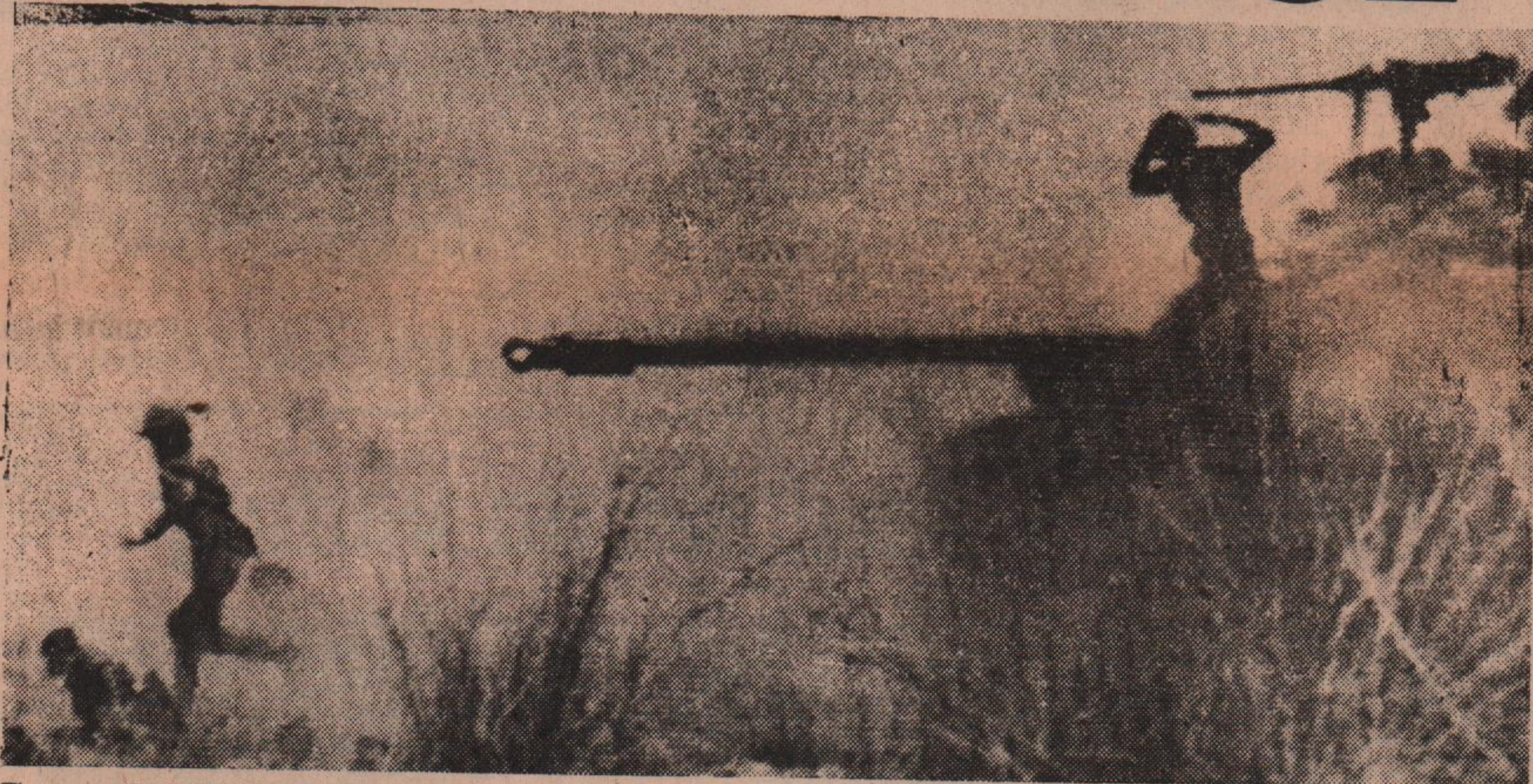
BOMBING

The morale of American troops has totally collapsed in the face of a struggle which they know to be both unjust and impossible to win, and in the United States itself the war is no more popular.

Nixon also has the problem that any attempt to revive the ground war would damage his international strategy following on his visit to China. In a carefully worded statement White House spokesman McCloskey stressed that it was Russian military aid—not Chinese—that had made the latest offensive possible.

Nixon's only available response in this situation is to step up the bombing.

In February Nixon declared: 'We are ending involvement in the war'. But this year already the US has deployed more than 50 B52 bombers in Thailand and Guam, and sent two extra aircraft carriers



The crew of a South Vietnamese tank flee after hitting a mine

to the Gulf of Tonkin.

In the last resort the US can probably beat back any North Vietnamese attack. It will do this at the price of inflicting terrible casualties on the ordinary people of South Vietnam—the ones it is claiming to protect.

But one thing the bombing will not and cannot do is to establish a stable regime in South Vietnam. For that is a social not a military problem.

The South Vietnamese ruling group is one of the most corrupt and degenerate in the world, making the Mafia look like the Festival of Light.

FLOODED

Take just one example of the kind of 'freedom' the US is fighting to preserve: on 3 April, 17 daily papers in Saigon were seized for publishing the news of the surrender of Camp Carroll, although the authorities did not deny the truth of the reports.

The years of American occupation have transformed South Vietnam. Da Nang, for example, in 1950 a small harbour town of 30,000 people, has more than 500,000 inhabitants. Peasants have flooded into the city to escape the bombing and to benefit from the high wages and the black market encouraged by the American base.

Conditions are wretched. Housing is grossly overcrowded. The city's prosperity has been short-lived. No industry has developed: the three 'biggest' factories employ fewer than 200 workers between them. And now the Americans are going away.

Discontent and militancy are high.

So far the National Liberation Front has failed to mobilise the masses in the towns. If the Vietnamese revolution is to go beyond merely achieving national independence from US occupation, the urban masses will have to play a leading part. A new phase of struggle is opening up.

Czech repression: 285 arrested

by Dale Fox

SLOWLY but relentlessly the last vestiges of freedom in Czechoslovakia are being crushed in the process of re-Stalinisation which began with the Russian invasion of 1968.

The invasion reinstated a conservative clique which was completely unable to solve the country's economic and social ills, but was united in its distrust of the people and unable to permit any moves which might devolve any measure of control out of the hands of the party bureaucracy.

Now the conservative regime of Gustav Husak is being pushed further right by an ultra-reactionary group associated with the Russian stooges Akeis Indra and Vasil Bilak, who was recently promoted to the head of the Foreign Office.

Under right-wing pressure, Czechoslovakia is taking over the role formerly played by Ulbricht's East Germany as mouthpiece for neo-Stalinist propaganda. In a secret speech in the autumn, Bilak denounced the Hungarian economic experiment and Poland's more tolerant approach to the Church.

At the same time Husak rattled on his earlier 'no trials' promises. It appears that 40 dissidents were arrested in the autumn, and another 200 in January.

Most of those arrested were associated with the 'New Left' movement, and included Jiri Mueller, one of the leaders of the Czech Students Association, which had called for a boycott of the November elections.

Last week the official Ceteka News Agency announced that 285 more people had been detained, of whom 107 were under formal arrest. About 100 of those held since last November are still in prison, and those released are still subject to repeated long interrogation.

The Czech bureaucracy hopes to compensate the population for its lack of freedom by filling the shops with desperately sought-after consumer goods. These are imported from the West—often from neo-fascist Spain.

Hacks

But popular discontent is increasing every day. While the housing lists lengthen, the regime is selling off property to private owners and Russian soldiers and advisors have priority for state housing.

Bookshops, in this most literary of countries, have been purged of 'deviationist' works, and stocked with the scribbles of reliable hacks. Cinemas screen Russian films and third-rate Western musicals to empty houses.

The mood of the population is one of deep despondency. Yet it is reported that enormous upsurges in morale have accompanied the circulation of leaflets put out by the New Left underground press.

The Czech people have been traditionally known for their doggedness and tenacity in the face of oppression. Within the last century they have shaken free of Hapsburg and Nazi imperialism: one day their new masters will go the way of the old.

GRAMSCI:

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£6 post free
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23p, including postage

FROM: IS Books

6 Cottons Gardens, London E2

Socialist Worker

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

No surrender to Tories on anti-union laws

THE CRUNCH has come in the struggle against the Industrial Relations Act. The magnificent stand of the Merseyside dockers in deciding to continue the blacking of Heaton's Transport and two other firms in open defiance of the National Industrial Relations Court has brought a showdown.

Mr Robert Heaton is reported as saying: 'It will now be the law against the dockers. It will be a real battle.'

Heaton is right. But this is not an issue for dockers alone.

Every trade unionist has a vital interest in the outcome. If the government wins this one the way will be wide open for a whole series of attacks on shop floor organisation. If the government loses it will be the most important defeat they have suffered to date.

It will be a clear and public demonstration that the Tory law cannot be enforced against strong bodies of well organised and determined workers.

Socialist Worker has pointed out many times that the real aim of the Tory law is to strengthen the right against the left in the union and to strengthen the full-time officials against the rank and file. The object is not to smash unions as such but to castrate them, to isolate and victimise militants and to weaken the drive for job security, better wages and better conditions. To the extent that it is successful, all working people will be worse off in all these respects.

Must be defended

The method provided by the Act is that of intimidation, the selection of individuals for fines and, in the last resort, imprisonment. Already the TGWU docks secretary in Merseyside Lew Lloyd has 'advised' the dockers to end the blacking. It may be that he did so with his tongue in his cheek but by making his statement he has opened the way for the court to proceed against the stewards, both individually and collectively.

They must be defended at all costs. The employers must be taught that the price of invoking the law is a bitter and costly dispute. They and their government can and will be beaten if there is real determination and solidarity.

The TGWU leadership is expected to make a decision this week on whether or not to pay the £5000 fine for contempt already imposed on it in the Heaton case. There will be great pressure on them to pay.

To give in to this pressure would be a betrayal of the movement and would make a mockery of all the militant speeches that TGWU leader Jack Jones has made against the law.

If the court proceeds to seize assets in lieu of payment there must be a massive industrial response. Militants should have no illusions about the seriousness of the situation. Appetite grows with feeding.

If the court succeeds against the TGWU without a real fight then it will impose fines in dispute after dispute. This is an issue on which there can be no compromise and no surrender.

DECISIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

THE LONGEST WAR of modern times is entering what looks like its final phase. The struggle for the independence of Vietnam started in 1946 when British troops were sent in to seize Saigon and other troops from the Vietminh forces who were then in effective control of the country.

The British soon made way for the French and the long, bloody struggle spread all over the country. By 1954 Vietnamese resistance forced the French to pull out. Vietnam north of the seventeenth parallel was abandoned by the imperialists who concentrated on establishing a puppet regime in the south.

This, in turn, faced such resistance from its unwilling subjects that the 'liberal' hero Jack Kennedy was forced to authorise large scale US intervention. In the last decade the people of Vietnam have suffered from that intervention an agony unparalleled for centuries. More high explosive has been unloaded by the US Airforce on this relatively tiny country than was dropped by all the airforces of all the combatants during the Second World War.

It failed to break the Vietnamese resistance. In spite of innumerable casualties and incredible destruction that resistance was barely contained by half a million US troops. Now that the anti-war movement in the US has forced the withdrawal of the bulk of them the wretched puppet government in Saigon faces total defeat.

That defeat and the victory of the NLF will mark a decisive turning point in the struggle against imperialism everywhere.

THIS IS YOUR B.B.C.
REPORTER IN
NORTHERN IRELAND...



COTTONS WARNS

The Willies

WILLIE WHITELAW, the new Tory overlord in Northern Ireland, has rocketed to prominence from a justly deserved obscurity as a machine man of the Conservative Party. Heath's attempt at a 'hearts and minds' campaign in the Six Counties is unlikely to be helped by Gauleiter Whitelaw, whose background rules out any possibility of establishing contact with working people of whatever religious persuasion.

If Wilson had still been in office with his slick approach to public relations, he would have put in a warm, avuncular figure like Jim Callaghan to express his concern for and understanding of 'ordinary folk' at nauseating length. But Tory leaders are drawn from a narrow social circle and most of them wouldn't recognise a working-class problem if they drove over one in their Rolls-Royce.

The Right Honourable William Whitelaw, MP, MC, DL, represents that section of the ruling class known as the 'squirearchy'. He is MP for an area that has much in common with the ghettos and unemployment of Belfast and Derry—Penrith and the Border. It is thought that more sheep vote for Mr Whitelaw than human beings.

He is a rich man. He owns two farms in the Penrith area and has a fine country house with a croquet lawn and a view of the Pennines. In addition he owns the Woodhall estate near Kirkintilloch, Glasgow, and is a former member of the Scottish Landowners' Federation. His hobbies are golf and . . . shooting.

The people of his home village, Blencow, look on him as the 'lord of the manor'. His only known exercise in social harmony was when he took the entire village to London for his eldest daughter's wedding reception at the House of Commons.

So there is a faint glimmer of hope for the people of the Six Counties. Willie won't solve unemployment or slums, won't clear out the troops and end religious sectarianism, but, who knows, they may get a glass of bubbly



Whitelaw: from sheep to the Shankhill

when his next daughter makes the trip to the altar

THE RICH hang on to their loot, even from the grave. The Guardian reports: 'Lord Astor, former chief proprietor of The Times, left estates in England and Wales valued at £416,135 gross. No death duty will be paid because he was domiciled abroad. Lord Astor, who died at Cannes in July, aged 85, was left more than £16 millions by his father. The Finance Act of 1962 made property abroad liable for estate duty and forced him abroad.' Patriotism has its price.

Public Eyesore

DO YOU REMEMBER, gentle readers, the satire boom of the early sixties? How we all chortled at the merry antics of David Frost and his friends on That Was The Week That Was and its many telly offspring as they lampooned the wretched Macmillan government and poured equal scorn on the Labour pretenders to the throne.

Remember, too, how we all fell about with mirth at the merry japes of a fortnightly magazine called Private Eye with its bilious attacks on Supermac's Never Been Had So Good regime.

Unfortunately, the tears of laughter obscured the real message of the satirists, even from some on the left. Your columnist recalls a meeting when he and another IS stalwart were derided and treated with scorn when we suggested that Private Eye and TW3, however funny, were basically reactionary, the products not of radicals and progressives but High Tories debunking the old establishment for not running capitalism efficiently or ruthlessly enough.

The years rolled by. The system staggered into crisis but managed at the same time to drag the satirists into line. Frostie has long gone, a jet-set superstar-cum-millionaire who attempts to whitewash the cracks in capitalism with phoney confrontations on television that befuddle rather than clarify the issues of the day.

It has taken longer to destroy the Private Eye myth. There are still some on the left who look upon this highly

profitable magazine as an adjunct of the socialist struggle. But there's more to the Eye than Paul Foot's column, which sticks out like a healthy thumb from the rest of the paper.

Recent issues have startled many trendy lefties with vile attacks on the Irish and the racist labelling of those fighting British imperialism as 'wild animals'.

But there was worse to come. The latest issue contains a full-page attack on Women's Liberation called 'Loonie Ladies.' Under the searching, satirical spotlight are Bernadette Devlin, Germaine Greer and Jill Tweedie, whose shoulders are strong enough to withstand this puerile gibberish. But there is a fourth woman on the page and the text beneath her picture runs: 'Meet AWFUL ANGIE DAVIS, the Dusky Daredevil who shoots her way to stardom over the assorted dead Pigs, Judges etc. How the intellectuals love this gentle 'Lady of the Luger'. If you're anything like Mr Justice Haley you'll die laughing.'

Hats off to Richard Ingrams and his snivelling crew for the timing of this nauseating piece of racialism and distortion. Angela Davis is on trial for her life and the touchstone for all those considered 'progressive' is unconditional support for her as she stands condemned by a brutal and barbarous system.

Capitalism in crisis has a way of marking clearly the demarcation line between reaction and progress. Private Eye has come down from the giggling fence to take its stand with the practitioners of war and terror. Those on the left who have cheerfully coughed up their two bobs once a fortnight may now care to consider a better use for their cash.

NO room for sentiment in the harsh world of big business. The Investors Chronicle carries an interesting profile of financier Oliver Jessel, boss of one of Britain's biggest outfits, Leeds Assets, and brother of Tory MP Toby Jessel.

The Chronicle relates that Oliver, now busily engaged in a takeover for Richardson Westgarth, the marine engineering company, showed his metal when acquiring Leeds Assets last year. When he arrived for the crucial talks, a commissionaire took his car away to a special building, where 12 men set about cleaning it. Jessel negotiated the resignations of most of the directors and replaced them with his own men and himself as chairman. He returned to his now gleaming Bentley, personally thanked the 12 men—and then sacked them on the spot.

This highly polished ruthlessness has paid handsomely. Pre-tax profits for Leeds Assets have risen from £304,000 in 1969 to £1,529,000 in 1971.



CHILDREN ON THE BATTLEFIELD

'The troops come into the houses and turn even the tiny ones out of bed'

ON MONDAY 15 children from Belfast's Falls Road said goodbye to their friends, members and supporters of the Ealing Anti-Internment League branch in London, who had housed and fed them during their week's holiday this side of the water.

They returned to the Catholic ghetto which they left for their week in London financed by pub, church and factory collections in the Ealing area. London they found strange and far too quiet—no troops, no explosions.

Each of the 15 has a father or a brother in the Crumlin Road prison or Long Kesh internment camp,

descriptions the children do not use, preferring the more accurate term 'concentration camps'.

Politics—an active concern for the shape and quality of one's own life—is burned into these children. So too is generosity, the need to share everything.

These attitudes have not been put there just by Belfast's slum geography and the prospect of a life of deprivation on the dole. It has been trampled into them by the British troops who come marauding into their homes to uphold Northern Ireland, prosperous land of opportunity for ICI, Michelin and other benefactors of the human

race.

All the children are agreed that the soldiers are worse than the Orangemen. For the soldiers invade houses and show the same contempt for little children as they do for things like truth, so-called justice and human rights.

Patrick Fogarty has been stopped and beaten outside his school by Orangemen. But for him, too, the soldiers are worse.

'When the IRA shoot at soldiers, the soldiers take it out on the young lads,' he explains. 'They set big dogs on you and slap your face. If they catch stone throwers, they take them into the Protestant

areas to be beaten up. It's terrible.

'The troops come into the houses and turn even the tiny ones out of bed. They break everything, rip up mattresses and smash all the windows from the inside,' he said.

Michael Macklin said that the soldiers shoot anyone in the streets during disturbances. 'And stone-throwers are fired on with real bullets,' he says.

All the kids like Bernadette Devlin, but not John Hume of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. One girl alone liked Gerry Fitt, the others maintain he is only after votes.

Louis Holmes is cautious about the regime in the South. 'If you get stitches in the hospital, you have to pay for them'. All agree Jack Lynch is a traitor, that jobs are hard to get in the South and that the people there don't help them or the refugees.

Of Protestant children, they say some are good and some bad. Most of them could see a time and a situation when they could play with Protestant kids, though three said their parents would not allow that.

One of the youngsters who holidayed here, Seamas Holmes, is 15 years old. Right now in Belfast he will be seeking work.

The nearest he has got to it so far is talk of an apprenticeship in far off Brittany, made available by supporters of Inter-Celtic Aid. But in direct-rule Northern Ireland he may have one other alternative to emigration or the dole. At 15 years, Seamas Holmes is old enough to be interned.

● This article was prepared with the help of members of the Ealing and District Anti-Internment League.



John and Julia McCourt: London streets seemed quiet after those of Belfast



Seamas Holmes: after his holiday, he faces the desperate search for work

LIVELIEST LETTERS ON THE LEFT

Labour dances to the bosses' tune

TOM BRADDOCK (24 March) is surprisingly naive for an old campaigner when he advises revolutionaries to get stuck into the Labour Party, 'the mass party of the working class'. Splinter groups, as he describes us in a somewhat derogatory fashion, would be able to sell papers inside the party and increase their circulation.

Implicit in his argument is the assumption that the 'working-class movement' equals the Labour Party. But the party is simply an electoral machine based on parliamentary boundaries. It takes no part (for which much thanks) in the day-to-day struggles of working people, few of whom look to the party for a lead.

Think of any important dispute of the last year or so—UCS, postal workers, miners—and ask what role the Labour Party played in giving political leadership. The answer is none, with the exception of Fisher-Bendix, where Wilson intervened to head off the workers' militancy.

International Socialists are involved in the working-

class movement and we have built the circulation of our paper to the point where it has the biggest sales and influence of any left-wing weekly. Workers support it because they see it as a fighting paper that mercilessly attacks all the sham, so-called socialists whose record condemns them out of hand.

The Labour Party has been committed to abolishing the profit system for close on 50 years, but it hasn't got around to doing the job yet. It never will—it is a reformist party that has always ended up dancing to the bosses' tune and attacking its electoral base when in office. Today's Labour 'left' is totally impotent and irrelevant to those workers actively fighting the Tories.

To advise revolutionaries to abandon the fight to build a genuine socialist organisation in order to 'convert' the Labour Party is to put off the struggle to defeat the system. As a revolutionary with the doubtful honour of having been expelled from the Labour Party twice, I think I can speak with some authority.—ALAN WEST, London N17.



THE response to your article on The Bugle (11 March)—which we think was probably the best and most accurate of all the features that have been done on the paper—was very good.

We have had letters of sympathy from all over the country and we received about £30 in subscriptions and donations, which goes a long way to help in the fight with the Liverpool Echo and others.

Many thanks.—CHRIS MAHER, Tuebrook Bugle, 36 Pringle Street, Liverpool L13 7EU.

The lessons of the Easter Rising

I HAVE read Jimmy Greely's impressive article on James Connolly (1 April) and I would like to mention a point or two he omitted.

Of the Easter Rising of 1916 Lenin pointed out: 'The misfortune of the Irish is that they rose prematurely, when the European revolt of the proletariat had not yet matured.' But Lenin gave his support.

Similarly of the Paris Commune of 1871 he stated: 'It is well known that in the autumn of 1870, a few months before the Commune, Marx warned the Paris workers that any attempt to overthrow the government would be the folly of despair.'

But when, in March 1871, a decisive battle was forced upon the workers and they accepted it, when the uprising had become a fact, Marx greeted the proletarian revolution with the greatest enthusiasm, in spite of unfavourable auguries.

We are for the development of a socialist party, as Jimmy Greely has pointed out. But the Communist Party and the 'ultra-left' tell us likewise.

The growth of a workers' party implies mature tactics of struggle which would correspond to the needs and level of consciousness of the working class at a given phase of the anti-capitalist fight.

The Communist Party has, in general, lagged behind the mood of the working class for the past half century, while ultra-leftism runs ahead of mass consciousness—while it shouts for a revolutionary party!—embarking on fruitless adventures that serve to wear out and dispirit its own forces. The former shows immaturity while the latter is premature.

The lesson of the Connolly uprising teaches that the building of a revolutionary party stands in direct relationship to deducing a programme of struggle based on the internal complex of demands within the labour movement.

Anything outside that framework results in awkward fumbling and false sloganising which the labour movement has been plagued so much with in the past half century.—PRAFUL C DESAI, London W12.

Left priorities

MARTIN SHAW raises an issue (8 April) that a number of readers seem to be concerned about: Why do we not make a practice of refuting the slanders and correcting the errors of such journals as Red Mole and Worker's Press.

The answer is twofold, one of principle, the other of practicality. The revolutionary left (in which I include the IMG and SLL) has an unfortunate tradition of unrestrained polemic. It is easy and can pleasantly employ its practitioners in joyful pleasantries, successfully obscuring the real, and much more difficult, task of building an organisation capable of defeating capitalism. Socialist Worker's principle has been and, I hope, will continue to be, to forego the delights of sectarian infighting, the better to emphasise our commitment to actual class struggle.

Of practical significance is the fact that the increase in size and influence of the paper and IS seems to be related to the amount of space the sectarians are prepared to devote to our alleged misdeeds.

—JIM HIGGINS, London E2.

LIVING IN DREAM WORLD

MIKE TEAGUE (Socialist Worker, 1 April), referring to previous articles on C A Parsons, which he describes as 'extremely misleading' goes on to 'try to correct some of the facts'. He then demonstrates his lack of knowledge of the situation.

His basic error is contained in the sentence 'The CIR reference concerned management staff'. In fact the reference was in respect of approximately 1600 technical staff covered by working arrangements IV.

It is not true that 'ASTMS has approximately 140 members . . . out of about 250 total in this area'. ASTMS has about 12 members, the residue of a 60-strong office group that were left stranded by the ASTMS when TASS secured the 100 per cent Membership Agreement in May 1970. (The others are now TASS members.)

The only interest ASTMS has in this area is potential members, hence the recent attempts at recruitment using Clive Jenkins

and specially produced leaflets.

Since embarking on a 100 per cent membership dispute 2½ years ago, TASS has insisted on maintaining sole bargaining rights for the technical staff and takes the view that unity of purpose can only be achieved if organisation is confined to one union.

Attempts to divide the staff concerned, by UKAPE and ASTMS, on the basis of 'professional status', were bitterly resisted. The present attempt by both these organisations to divide the staff on 'managerial stratification' are equally unacceptable.

The present dispute against threatened redundancy illustrates the correctness of this view. 1400 TASS members are operating a variety of sanctions, including one day off per week, against the company.

The UKAPE and ASTMS members in this area are not backing the dispute by supporting the sanctions. Nevertheless they expect to receive the benefit of any settlement, as they receive the benefits of all TASS agreements.

On the question of the Membership Agreement, TASS has to decide whether to fight to maintain the agreement or to accept that, in terms of the Industrial Relations Act, this is not possible. If Mike Teague considers that the TASS Executive Committee is lightheartedly 'picking a fight with the government' even to 'exclude ASTMS' he must live in a world divorced from industrial reality.

The attempt by ASTMS to establish a presence in this area is not central to the issue, but is a complicating diversion.

Everyone is aware of the opportunist role ASTMS is playing with respect to the Industrial Relations Act. The attempted intrusion at Parsons and the decision to attend the industrial courts to 'defend their position' are only aspects of this opportunism.

One wonders why Mike Teague feels obliged to do a whitewash job for this organisation.—TERRY RODGERS, chairman TASS joint office committee, C A Parsons.



The president: rapture . . .



. . . has turned to rupture with the militant workers like the miners

THE WOBBLING OF DR ALLENDE

MANY socialists in Britain still believe that the Chilean government of Salvador Allende shows how to build socialism without revolution. They back its claim that it can bring about a socialist transformation gradually, without the need for violent action against the ruling class and the state machine that in the past has protected its rule.

But in fact the achievements of Allende's government are already beginning to wear thin.

Until the beginning of this year Allende seemed to be enjoying some success. The Chilean middle class was prepared to support him in his actions against the foreign monopolies that dominated crucial sections of the economy and against the most leech-like sections of the old ruling clique.

So the main middle-class political party, the Christian Democrats, although opposed to any measures putting power into working-class hands, was quite willing to support the government nationalisation of foreign firms. It backed the takeover of the largest landed estates, and did not oppose the buying up by the state of shares in many private companies.

Another middle-class party, the Radical Party, was actually part of Allende's ruling Popular Unity coalition.

REWARDED

The army, likewise, was prepared to go along with these policies. Although its much-vaunted traditions of 'being above politics' have not prevented it from shooting down demonstrating workers and peasants, it rebuffed attempts to prevent Allende taking power.

The officers, like the middle class generally, did not object to certain reforms—providing they were kept within limits. Allende has rewarded them for their support by giving them important positions in the management of nationalised industries.

Allende's difficulty has been to carry out policies satisfactory to the army and the middle class while keeping happy the workers who voted for him.

In his first year in office, he attempted to avoid this problem. He gave the middle classes the controlling positions in the newly nationalised firms, so that they had the same economic position as before, though it was now exercised in a different way.

He also tried to satisfy the demands of the workers by letting them have hefty wage increases and improved welfare services.

But a point was bound to arise when such opposed interests could no longer be reconciled.

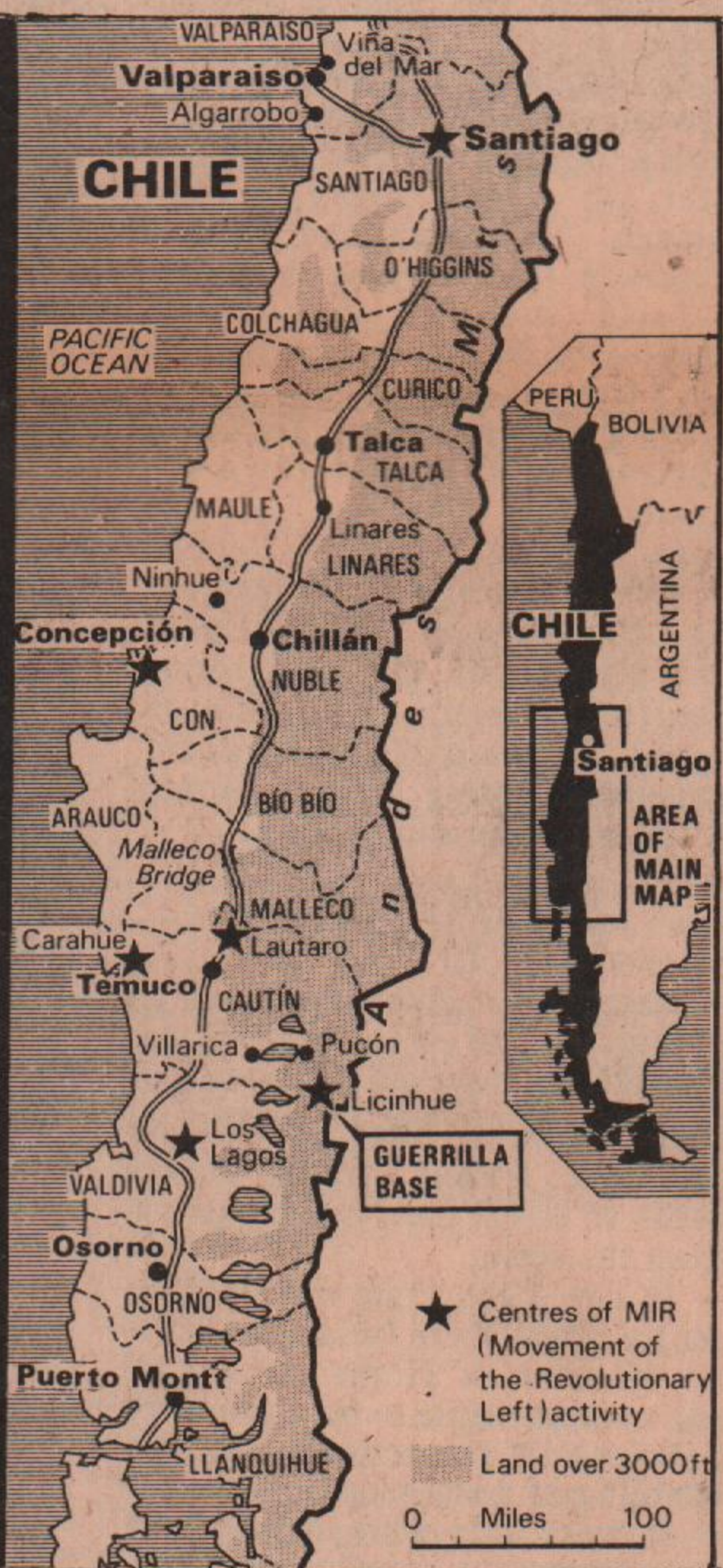
The middle classes have begun to fear that reforms might begin to hit at their privileges, as well as those of the old ruling clique. The Christian Democrat Party has moved into firm opposition to the government, and has been demanding reassurances that change will not go any further.

It has joined the party of the old ruling clique, the National Party, to pass laws limiting further nationalisation, and demands the economy be put on 'a sound basis'.

The Radical Party, though remaining within the government, has split, with the majority supporting the 'Left Radical Party', which, despite its name, is a right-wing breakaway.

The general economic situation is also making the government's task difficult. Chile's main product is copper. But over

As right wing gains strength in Chile, workers' support ebbs for 'peaceful' road to socialism



nationalisation of industry will go no further.

And it means strengthening the forces of the state and using them to prevent any opposition against these measures by rank-and-file socialists or trade unionists.

This is the direction in which Allende is moving. In recent months he has been adamant in his opposition to the wage demands of workers.

For instance when the miners demanded 50 per cent wage increases, Allende argued they could not have more than 30 per cent. This might not sound so bad, until you realise that prices in Chile rose 3.6 per cent in January and another 6.5 per cent in February.

The prices of basic necessities were put up by much greater amounts—sugar by 37 per cent, bread by 33 per cent, milk by 30 per cent, cooking oil and tea by 20 per cent, transport fares in the city by 60 per cent.

In the countryside, Allende is trying to insist that the break-up of the big estates occurs only when the government gives the word, and not before.

RESHAPE

The same tendency to compromise with the middle class against the interests of the workers and peasants is shown by Allende's behaviour towards the middle-class parties.

When the right wing of the Radical Party split away in protest at the 'extremism' of government policy, Allende hastened to reshape his government to make room for the new party.

When the Christian Democrats have combined with the National Party to prevent parliamentary approval for his policies, Allende has not appealed for mass working-class pressure to push his programme through. Instead he has appealed to the Constitutional Court—the majority of whose members were approved by these same Christian Democrats—or has gone into secret negotiations with the leaders of that party.

In other words, the workers are continually given the impression that their own activity is not needed to deal with these crises. They need only to rely on Allende's parliamentary abilities and the 'impartial' and 'honest' behaviour of middle-class politicians and judges.

The officer corps of the army has been only too happy to help Allende out. For they know that the more Allende relies on them, the more they in turn can determine

the limits of his policies. The price Allende pays for their support is having to consider their views and their response whenever he makes any decision.

Allende is doing his best to do as they wish. Although miners are only permitted a 30 per cent pay rise, the army has been given rises of 45 per cent. Despite continual stress on the foreign debt, spending on foreign military equipment for the army is higher than ever.

In short, Allende's policy is demoralising the workers and peasants who elected him, by cutting back on the reforms favourable to them, by denying them any increased control over their own lives, and by reinforcing the control of the managers, foremen and police who have always bossed them around.

At the same time it is preserving and even strengthening the position of army officers deeply committed to upholding the power and the privileges of the middle classes.

Because Allende has all along refused to take any action against those who run the army and the police, he increasingly depends on them for protection—and they provide that only if he continues to make his policies even more amenable to the middle classes.

The overall result is that the government itself drifts slowly, but inexorably, to the right. As it does so, more and more of the gains the workers have made are threatened.

RESOLUTE

But the real danger is that the disillusionment of Allende's supporters may result in further confused support from sections of workers for his right-wing opponents and further pressures on him to move to the right. The success of the opposition parties in recent elections seems to point in this direction.

Such a trend would mean that the experience of previous attempts in different parts of the world to bring about socialism peacefully through parliamentary means would once more be repeated. The only beneficiaries would be the middle-class controllers of industry, whether nationalised or private.

The trend can be reversed, but only if the Chilean working class begins to understand the true situation and to break with the compromising politics of Allende and the parties which support him.

There is only one way out of the impasse for Chile's workers and peasants. That is resolute action to smash the forces of reaction in Chile—starting with the army and the police, both based upon chains of command that leave effective physical power in the hands of the middle class.

Such action cannot be taken through parliamentary elections. It can only be the culmination of repeated mass actions in the factories and the streets.

Only if this is done and power taken by the workers' own direct representatives can the other major problems of Chile be solved—through the refusal to pay back any so-called debts to international monopolies and banks, by really dividing the land so that the economic power of the old ruling class is smashed once and for all, and above all by giving a real lead to the revolutionary movements in neighbouring countries like Peru, Bolivia and Argentina.

the last year the price of copper on the world market has fallen by a fifth, drastically cutting Chile's export earnings.

Members of the ruling class have been smuggling funds out of the country wholesale. And people who have been given wage increases have been using them to buy more goods, often from abroad.

The overall result has been to push up the already high debts Chile owes to the big foreign banks.

RESPONSIBLE

The government finds itself in a cleft stick. It needs to borrow more money if it is to keep its promises to develop the country and to improve living standards, but it cannot do so unless it proves to the foreign banks that it is 'responsible'.

One demand is that it pays considerable compensation whenever firms are nationalised—which pushes up its debts still further.

For instance, in a recent agreement with 44 US banks, Allende was loaned 300 million dollars with which to repay some previous debts. But interest has to be paid on this new loan at the current

international rate.

Somehow the funds to pay this interest have to be found. In the end the Chilean workers still find themselves toiling to keep international capitalists happy, even though they may work in nationalised concerns.

In such a situation, there is only one alternative for the government if it continues its 'gradualistic' approach—to start making massive concessions to the foreign bankers and to the local middle class. That means holding down wages to increase profits and so keep the remaining private capitalists happy and pay off the international debts.

It also means giving assurances that the

Trotsky's HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

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

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Report: JOSE MARTINEZ



King Billy's Orange hoax



Craig (left) and Billy Hull, leader of the Loyalist Association of Workers (centre), inspecting the Vanguard last month

A WEEK before direct rule was introduced in Northern Ireland Brian Faulkner, the Six Counties Prime Minister, described the rallies of William Craig's Vanguard movement as 'comic opera'.

A week after direct rule Faulkner appeared on the balcony at Stormont to address 100,000 demonstrators called there by Vanguard. When Craig came on to the balcony, Faulkner turned around and shook his hand warmly.

At the end of 1969 Bill Craig was sacked from the Stormont government by Premier Terence O'Neill, who stated his total opposition to Craig's known Rhodesia-style views of declaring independence from Britain. Craig replied by saying: 'I'm no Paisleyite', meaning he was not in favour of UDI.

Tricks

Today Ian Paisley opposes Craig and the Vanguard movement, arguing for total integration of the Six Counties into the United Kingdom.

Anything—or almost anything—is possible in the tragi-farce of Tory-Unionist politics in Northern Ireland.

The cycle of confidence tricks and corruption through which a reactionary regime has held the support of a majority of the province's working class has not yet ended.

But the monolith has broken up. Place-seeking Unionist politicians who suddenly find themselves out of a job enter new alliances, strike new poses and

We have an organisation that covers every part of this land. It must be used to identify the real enemy and build up dossiers . . . One day it may be our job, if the politicians fail, to liquidate the enemy . . .

—Bill Craig, 19 March.

stab old friends in the back in their search for a job under the new regime.

In the space of a couple of weeks Faulkner has changed his attitude three times to Whitelaw and his advisory commission.

The Unionist politician who has come most into prominence in the past two months of turmoil is Bill Craig. The size of the rallies he has addressed has increased one hundred times during that period.

The Vanguard movement has become the focus for Unionist discontent at the undermining of Stormont's power. Craig, an unlikely popular leader, with few oratorical gifts and even less subtlety, dominates that movement.

Craig has been in the arena of Unionist politics for some time. A lawyer by profession, he held a safe seat in Stormont for Larne since 1960.

He has been Chief Whip, Minister of Home Affairs, Minister

of Development, Minister of Home Affairs again, and finally beyond the pale in the highest Unionist circles.

As Minister of Development he was responsible for the government's policies on the establishment of a new town in Co. Armagh. He chose the name—Craigavon. (In fairness it should be said that the first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland was called Craig too.)

Craig also rewarded his Larne supporters when the new town was founded—the chairman of the Larne Unionist Division, Samuel McMahon, became chairman of the Development Commission. The planner of the new town, Geoffrey Copcutt, who also designed Cumbernauld in Scotland, resigned in spring 1964 in protest at the wheeling and dealing.

Security

During his term as Minister of Development, Craig also established firmly his anti-trade union record. For a brief period the Northern Ireland trade unions began to assert their independence from the state.

In late 1968 Craig was the very centre of Northern Ireland politics. As Minister of Home Affairs he was responsible for security policies and, in particular, for the handling of demonstrations.

It was Craig who imposed the restrictions on parades in Derry in October of 1968, a decision which was directly responsible for the brutal breaking up of the 5 October civil rights demonstration, and the projection of Britain's forgotten political slum on to the stage of the world's press and television.

Pickets

Craig's whole response to the rising civil rights movement was a pig-headed re-assertion of Protestant-Unionist ascendancy. He claimed that the whole movement was run by the IRA.

After 5 October one of the main demands of the civil rights movement was 'Craig Must Go'. When supporters of the left-wing People's Democracy movement picketed his home, he descended on them with a shower of phrases about 'Fenians', 'troublemakers', and a public statement describing them as 'silly bloody fools'.

O'Neill, who was trying to steer an impossible middle course bet-

ween traditional Unionism and the pressure for reforms which came from the British government and from the Catholic middle class, had to get rid of Craig. He was sacked after only three months in office.

In that short time, he had made a significant contribution to the civil rights movement. His sacking was scarcely a victory for the PD and the demonstrators. Captain Long, Craig's temporary replacement, presided over the attacks on PD marchers at Burntollet and the cover-up job that was done on that planned ambush.

Support

On the night of Craig's dismissal a Unionist meeting at Linavady raised the call: 'O'Neill Must Go; We Want Craig'. He did not stay long out of the limelight.

On the right wing of the Unionist Party, he kept up pressure on the governments of O'Neill and Chichester-Clark. That pressure might have been even more consistent and might have won more support from other Unionist

politicians if he had been more reliable and less inclined to embarrassing outbursts.

In late 1970 and early 1971 the pressure from Craig on Clark's government demanded an answer. It came—in the form of new get-tough policies adopted by the British troops and the Royal Ulster Constabulary against the nationalist population.

As Chichester-Clark wobbled, it was reckoned that Craig had the support of 12 MPs in his bid for the Prime Minister's position. His support among the local Unionist Associations was proportionately far greater.

But when it came to the crunch, and the choice between Faulkner and Craig, only four Unionist MPs gave their support to Craig. Faulkner was safer and subtler.

Craig later had the Unionist Whip withdrawn when he opposed Faulkner's ban on parades. Up to the time of Stormont's dissolution, he had not had it restored.

To loyalists and Unionists who were becoming increasingly resentful at hints of taking power away from Stormont, Craig appeared one of the very few politicians who had remained consistent in oppos-

ing Westminster Paisley's gyrations and respectability.

Those who applaud his/learn themselves remember the Home Affairs immediately follow border campaign 'down' the B at that time a different way

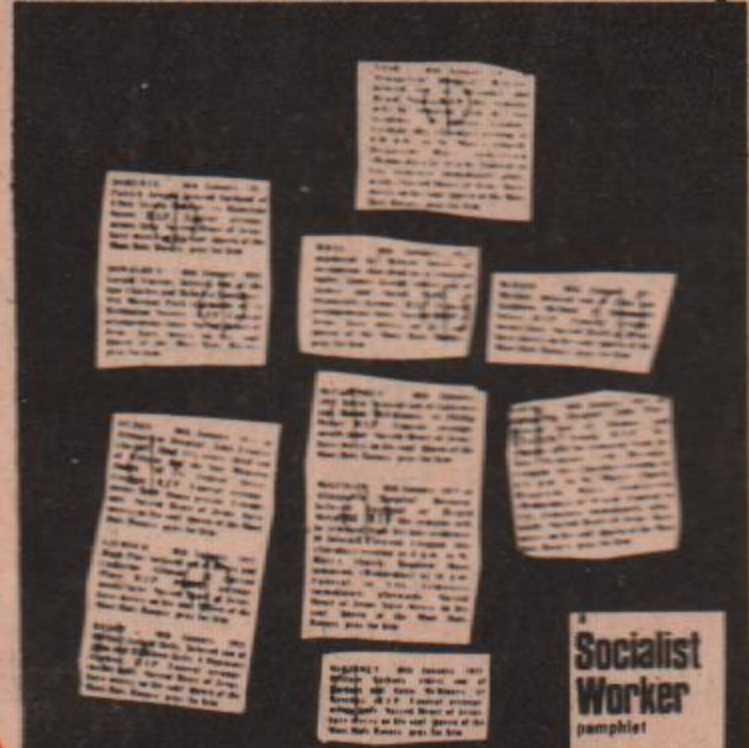
The Vanguard fairly modest late March (the affiliations) of Associations; support for Vanguard even as 100,000 to Stormont, movement together.

TRUTH ABOUT 'BLOODY SUNDAY'

WHAT HAPPENED IN DERRY

Eamonn McCann

5p



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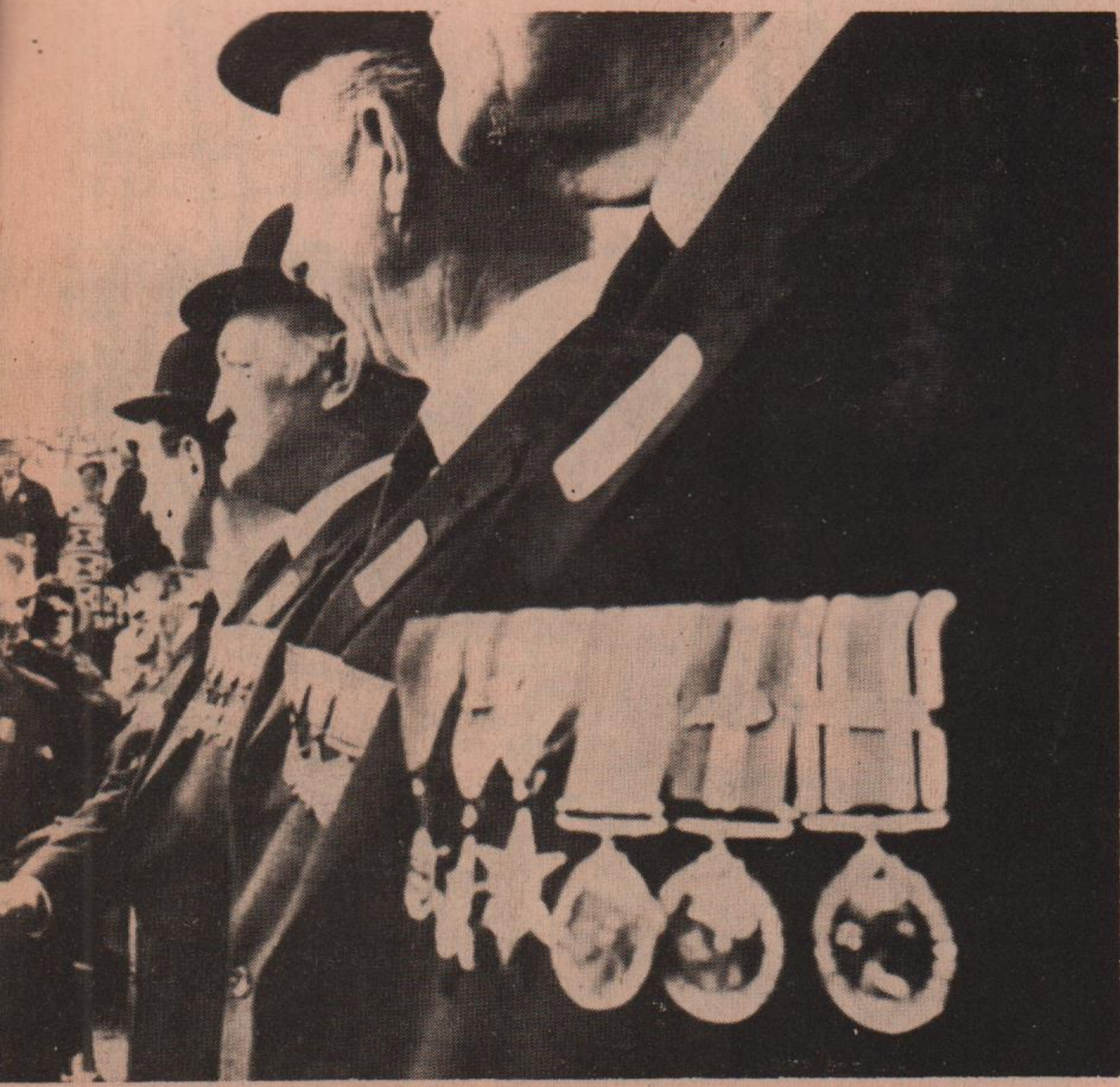
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The Vanguard youth battalion on the march in Belfast last month



Protestant Loyalism

interference. ... in search of ... lost him much ... the old, familiar ... fulminated ... and prepared ... clearly his ... politicians' ... directly in the

listen to him and ... for loyalists to ... probably do not ... as Minister of ... in the period im- ... the last IRA ... Craig had 'run ... But, then, ... tide was flowing

Rallies

ard rallies started ... in February. By ... movement had the ... 30 local Unionist ... but even as the sup- ... ard increased, and ... 00 people marched ... it was clear that the ... could not hold



The voice of Mr Craig and the advice of Mr Craig are the voice and the advice of folly. Anarchy cannot be answered by more anarchy. Lawlessness cannot be answered by more lawlessness.

—Ian Paisley, 28 March.

There were personal disputes and rivalries but, more importantly, the movement did not have—and cannot have—a viable political perspective.

Two days after Faulkner had appeared on the balcony at Stormont to outbid Craig, a full-page ad appeared in the Belfast papers dissociating Vanguard from Faulkner and from his appearance at the rally.

Now Faulkner, who previously advocated total non-co-operation with Whitelaw and his advisory commission, told Whitelaw that he will discuss with him, but not help the commission directly. The break-up of the temporary Faulkner-Craig alliance was

predictable enough. But Craig is not even succeeding in holding his wing of the movement together.

He announced that a 'Provisional government' would be picked on 29 March and a rent and rates strike called on the same day, but as yet nothing has come of this. Not too surprisingly, Craig had chosen Larne as the seat for the Provisional government.

But then Larne, like Craig, was always a name at the centre of Unionist mythology. The Ulster Volunteers ran guns through Larne in 1912.

The fact that Craig has not succeeded in launching these ventures yet does not mean that the movement he leads is dead, or no threat at all. On the contrary, the feelings which he arouses with his talk of 'liquidation', 'positive action', and 'dossiers' on the enemies of Ulster, are a very real factor in the Northern Irish situation.

Promises

The Protestant workers whom Craig and the other Orange generals drill are being convinced that there is a fight to be fought for something they call Ulster. As long as they cling to that belief they will be unable to defend even their most elementary class interests.

No unionist regime in the Six Counties can survive without British support. It is clear that the British ruling class, and the more 'enlightened' (to their own interests) of the Northern Irish ruling class, will not support Craig's movement.

The few businessmen who have given it financial support are locally based and out of key with the trends of international capitalism throughout Ireland and Britain. It is because of this that Craig is unable to deliver anything of the promises he makes to his followers.

Whether or not they can fight for their class interests politically, the Protestant workers do feel the effects of unemployment, bad housing, anti-trade union legislation, inflation and wage cuts directly.

They must begin to see that Craig has no answers to these problems. They must begin to see that it cannot all be blamed on the Catholics, who themselves face the same problems.

Craig may keep the pot boiling for some time. He may be followed by others. But there can be no return to Stormont, or to any similar regime so completely based on the machine of sectarianism and discrimination.

In the long term, Protestant workers must recognise the blind alley of loyalism for what it is—a great historical hoax to tie them to the ruling class.

BRIAN TRENCH

Nothing new about

the sinister knock in the night

WE ARE all brought up to think that we live in a free country. What we say and the opinions we hold are our own concern. Britain is the only place in the world where a knock on the door in the early morning can only be the milkman.

But in the past few months we have been hearing more and more about tapped telephones, opened letters, and now early morning raids on the homes of socialists. The idea that we are safe from repression is wearing thin.

It was never true. Since the early 1880s Britain has had a full-time secret police force. The Irish Special Branch of the CID was set up to keep a watch on Irish republicans in 1882, but it soon found that there were plenty of people who were not Irish who did not like the way things were and it changed its name to the Special Branch. It has been busy ever since.

It came into its own after the First World War. In the early 1920s, the newly-founded Communist Party badly frightened the government.

All the revolutionary groups had resolved their differences and come together. They were producing two weekly papers, they had growing influence in the rank and file of the trade unions and the Labour Party.

And the working class was fighting back hard against unemployment and wage cuts.

Neutral

By the end of 1925 the battle-lines had been drawn for the General Strike. The government was preparing to win. Massive strikebreaking organisations were set up. An alternative emergency government was made ready. Sailors were trained to run power stations and soldiers shown how to drive trains.

In the face of all this, the TUC made next to no effort to see that the coming strike was a victory. So far as it was concerned the forces of the state were neutral. There was nothing to prepare.

Only the small but growing Communist Party could see what was really going on. In 1925, the party still stood for socialist revolution. It was alone in calling for the setting up of Councils of Action and of Workers Defence organisations to stop scabbing and police attacks.

But the official working class leadership were afraid of any kind of independent action. Any force that threatened the system also threatened them. At the Liverpool Labour Party Conference, communists were denied individual affiliation to the Labour Party.

At the TUC Conference, the same autumn, the trade union leaders were full of sound and fury but would not commit themselves to serious preparations for the strike.

The revolutionaries had been isolated.

Raids

So it was no accident that, on the afternoon of 12 October 1925, the police raided the Party's King Street offices, the headquarters of the Young Communist League and the National Minority Movement, and the editorial rooms of the Workers' Weekly.

Eight private homes—the homes of leading party members—were also raided and searched.

At King Street, 'Each room had its plainclothes guard . . . not a stamp, not a matchbox could escape. Every visitor to shop or office was detained. A solemn stillness reigned and over all loomed the Chief Inspector Parker like the spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters.'

Eight party members were arrested and charged with sedition and incitement to mutiny. A further four would follow later.

Eleven lorry loads of material were seized and driven away. A portrait of Trotsky and a bust of Lenin were taken into custody. The bust was returned when it was pointed out that Lenin was dead.

A 'mysterious metal sphere' was gingerly removed. It was later revealed that this was the King



The police seized a bust of Lenin—but promptly returned it on learning he was dead!

Street lavatory balcock.

That evening the Home Secretary told a Conservative Party meeting: 'I believe the greater part of this audience will be pleased to hear that warrants were issued and in the majority of cases have been executed for the arrest of a certain number of notorious communists'.

The trial began a few days' later. Sir Travers Humphrys opened for the prosecution and announced that: 'All persons disseminating communist doctrines are liable to be prosecuted for sedition.'

During the trial several interesting things came to light. Police agents had pretended to be communists, followed party members and hidden under party platforms taking notes. They had even burgled the party's offices the year before in search of documents.

The 12 were all jailed and served their full terms in spite of almost weekly demonstrations

outside the prison gates, and massive protest meetings.

More followed. The same month 167 miners were charged in Carmarthen that they 'unlawfully and riotously assembled to disturb the peace and then did make a great riot and disturbance to the terror of His Majesty's subjects'.

The isolation of the revolutionaries continued. During the General Strike, nearly 2000 people were arrested under the Emergency Powers Act. 1200 of them were members of the Communist Party.

'Mutiny'

'For Communist Party branches and districts police raids, seizure of duplicating apparatus, interception of correspondence, arrests, became a normal part of life'. King Street was under police siege all through the strike.

Less than six years later detectives burst into the offices of the Daily Worker and took away the paper's printer to charge him with incitement to mutiny. The paper appeared under police censorship for four weeks and the printer was locked up for nine months.

All this because the paper had supported the sailors' strike at Invergordon.

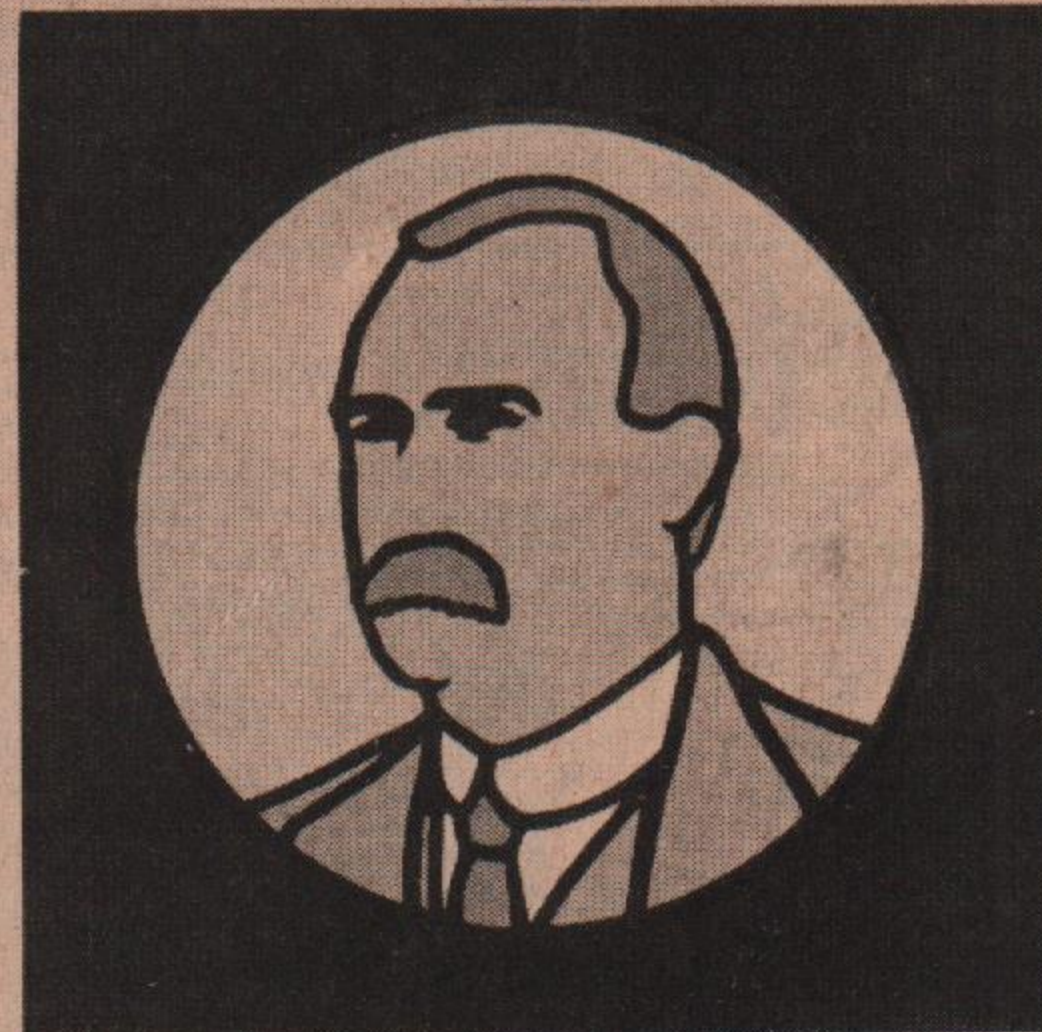
The attacks we are seeing today on black people, Irish republicans and revolutionary socialists are not the first. As long as we are weak and isolated they will not be the last.

The system we live under depends for its survival, in the end, on lies, on prison bars and on narks and spies. That is the kind of system it is.

PETER HITCHENS

International Socialism 51

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

ARMING THE WAR WORKERS..

RISING working-class militancy at the grass roots has confronted British capitalism with its most serious challenge for 25 years. Such militancy is a threat, too, to the soft machine men at the top of the trade union movement who see their function as acting as 'honest brokers' between employers, state and workers.

But rank and file militancy alone is not enough to defeat the system. Industrial strength must be allied to a socialist programme and organisa-

tion that links up the struggles of working people at every level and unites them into a mass movement which aims to remove the minority who currently dominate us and exploit us.

In a series of four articles SABBY SAGALL will analyse the important lessons of the rank and file movement of half a century ago and will go on to discuss the need for a revolutionary party today.

..when the union leaders did a bunk

WHEN TWO ARMIES confront each other on the battlefield, if the generals on one side begin to dither and lose confidence, then the opposing generals will soon sense this and take advantage of it. On today's growing battlefield the official generals of the working class, the trade union leaders, have shown that when they face the choice of fighting their opponents to the finish or giving up their weapons, then only determined rank-and-file pressure will prevent their surrendering.

Right-wing leaders like Vic Feather and Lord Cooper openly prefer to collaborate with the Tories' Industrial Relations Bill than to fight it, while 'left' leaders like Scanlon and Jones showed in last year's Ford strike how easily they surrender to pressure from employers and the right-wing of their unions. None of the leaders, 'left' or right, has shown real willingness to press for fighting policies to defeat unemployment.

The lessons of today's situation can perhaps be more easily drawn if compared to the Shop Stewards' Movement during the First World War.

The war brought about a crucial transformation within the trade union movement. The government could not have undertaken the war effort without the support of the trade union leadership. Only with their fullest collaboration could the working class be harnessed to the war-chariot of imperialism.

Such collaboration could only be guaranteed by a much more direct relationship between the union leaders and the state.

Attacks

The new collaboration started when the union leaders and their Labour Party colleagues abandoned their pre-war pledge to prevent the war or to resist it by revolutionary means if it broke out. The union leaders, having capitulated to the government's demand to support the 'national interest' and so-called 'democratic government', were in no position to defend workers' wages and conditions. They had disarmed themselves.

The urgent demand for war munitions led to wholesale attacks on existing working class standards. Prices were rising steeply. Industrial disputes fell to 20 in August 1914 but rose to 74 in March 1915.

The first big industrial battle of the war was on Clydeside in February 1915, when 9000 workers took part in an unofficial strike for increased wages. The new leadership of the Clyde shop stewards, faced with official union opposition to their demands, moved forward to fill the gap.

The government, alarmed by this and other struggles, summoned the main union leaders to a special con-

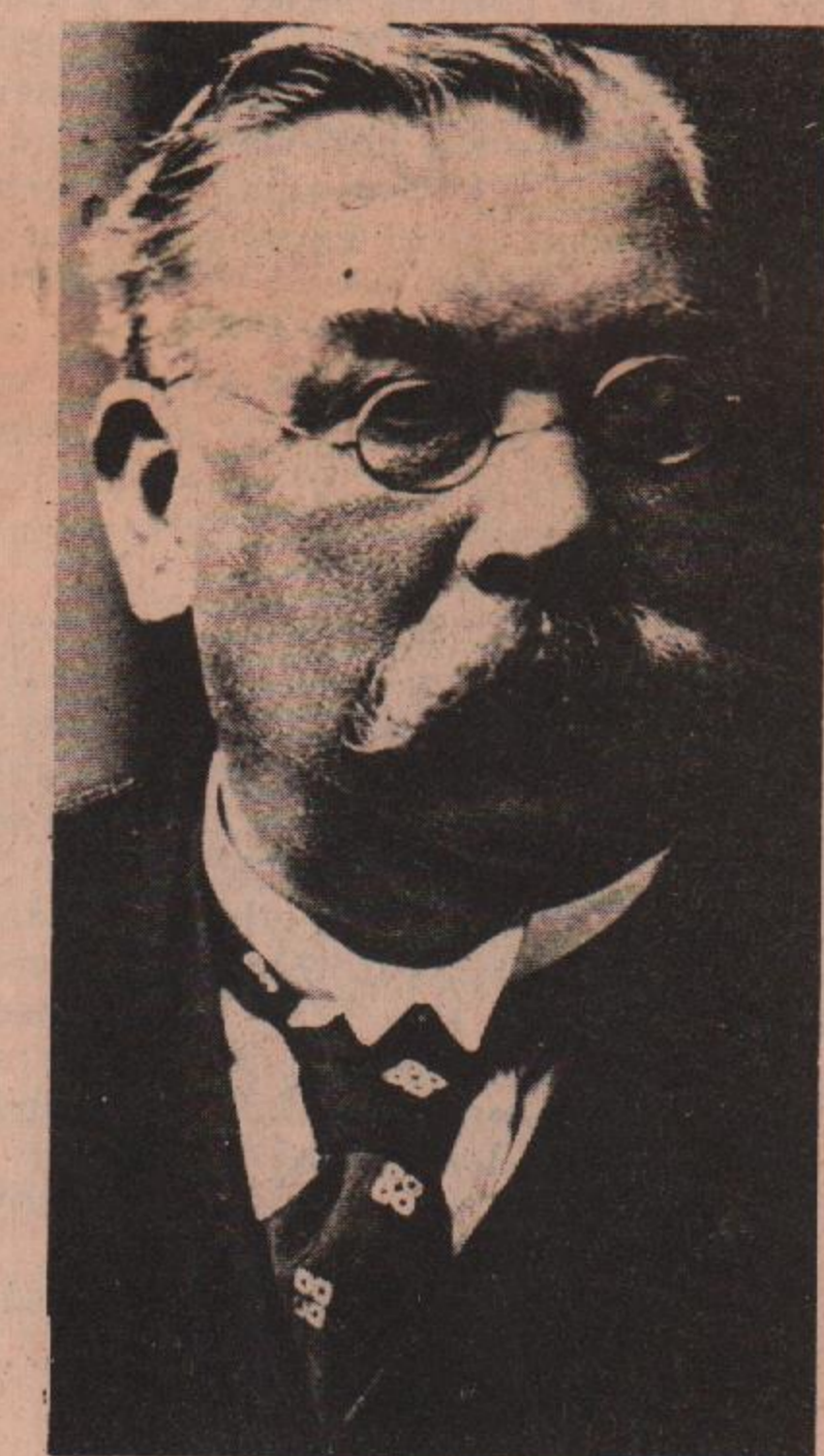
ference. From this emerged the notorious Treasury Agreement, by which all independent union rights and conditions were given up by nearly all the official leaders as long as the war lasted. The right to strike was abandoned, and the employers were enabled to introduce 'dilution' of labour, for instance using unskilled men to do skilled jobs, on a large scale.

In return for surrendering union rights and independence, the government made three pledges to the union leaders. First, that union standards and conditions would be restored in full after the war. Second, that abandonment by the unions of all defensive practices would not result in increased profits for the employers. Third, a minimum wage for war work, together with wages for 'dilutees' equal to those earned by skilled men on the same job.

The government broke every one of these promises. More than £4000 million extra profits were made as a result of the war.

The Clyde stewards had created a new form of workshop organisation. In engineering, shop stewards previously existed only as card inspectors and reported to their district committees. Now they were leaders directly representing the rank-and-file on the shop floor, irrespective of craft difference.

Out of the Clyde strike emerged the Clyde Workers' Committee, pledged to resist the Treasury Agreement and the Munitions Act which embodied this agreement and allowed for workers to be prosecuted for

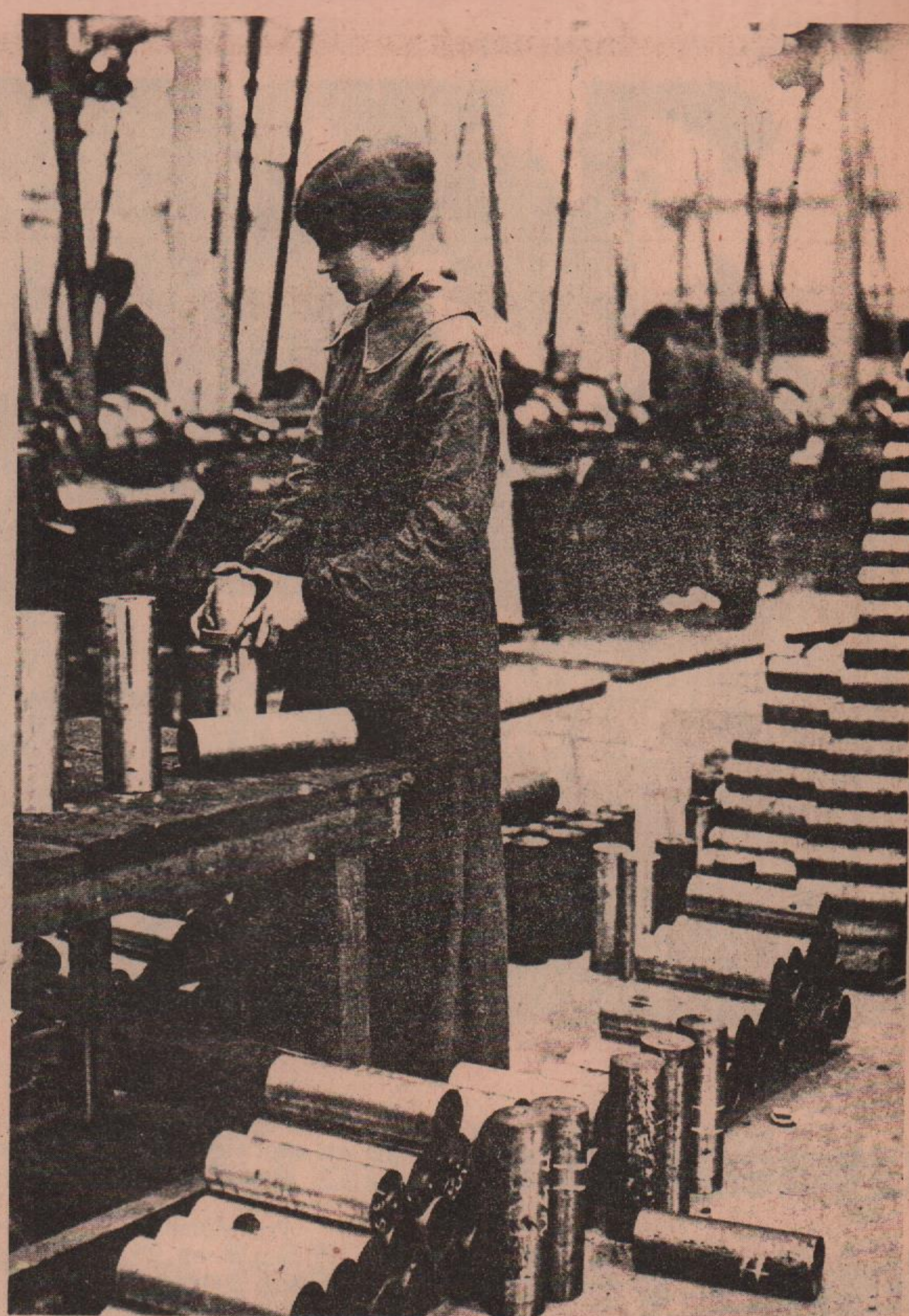


John Hodge, steel union boss, who joined the war government

such things as losing time. Similar workers' committees were established in other cities, such as London and Sheffield.

But by mid-1916 the principal leaders of the Clyde revolt had been either imprisoned or deported from the area.

Because the Clyde Workers' Com-



Munitions workers: harsh conditions while profits soared

SHOP STEWARDS IN WORLD WAR ONE

mittee conceived their aims in narrow industrial terms, and rejected the idea of political leadership, the arrests and deportations were accepted without any attempt to mobilise Clydeside workers against them. The Clyde movement was temporarily broken.

The leadership of the shop stewards' movement now shifted across the border to England, where the main industrial struggles of the war were to be fought. In 1916, a conference united the shop stewards nationally and declared: 'We will support the officials just so long as they rightly represent the workers, but we will act independently immediately they misrepresent them.'

Challenge

One of the high points of the rank-and-file movement was reached in November 1916, when the Sheffield Workers' Committee mobilised thousands of workers demanding the release from the army of Leonard Hargreaves, a skilled worker who had been wrongly drafted. By securing his release, the Sheffield strike had challenged the government's right to wage war as it pleased.

In 1917 came the Russian Revolution. It proved even further that mass action worked, that the working class could act to eliminate those grievances that were causing mounting discontent: rising casualty lists, rising prices and profits that were in direct contrast to the workers' low wage levels, the extension of dilution, and the government's repudiation of

the 'trade card' system.

This system allowed the skilled unions to control exemptions from military service, and by renouncing it, the government revealed their intention of claiming for military service large numbers of skilled workers.

The Russian Revolution inspired the British working class to the greatest heights of militancy seen during the war.

1917 saw the greatest number of strikes in the engineering industry, with more than 300,000 workers taking part. The greatest strike movement of the war broke out in May under the leadership of the Shop Stewards' National Movement. A tidal wave of strikes swept across London, Sheffield, Leicester, Liverpool, involving altogether factories in forty-eight towns.

It was a gigantic movement of protest, officially against the deterioration of trade union conditions caused by the extension of dilution and the Munitions Act, but at a deeper level against the whole range of social conditions produced by the war, and ultimately against the war itself.

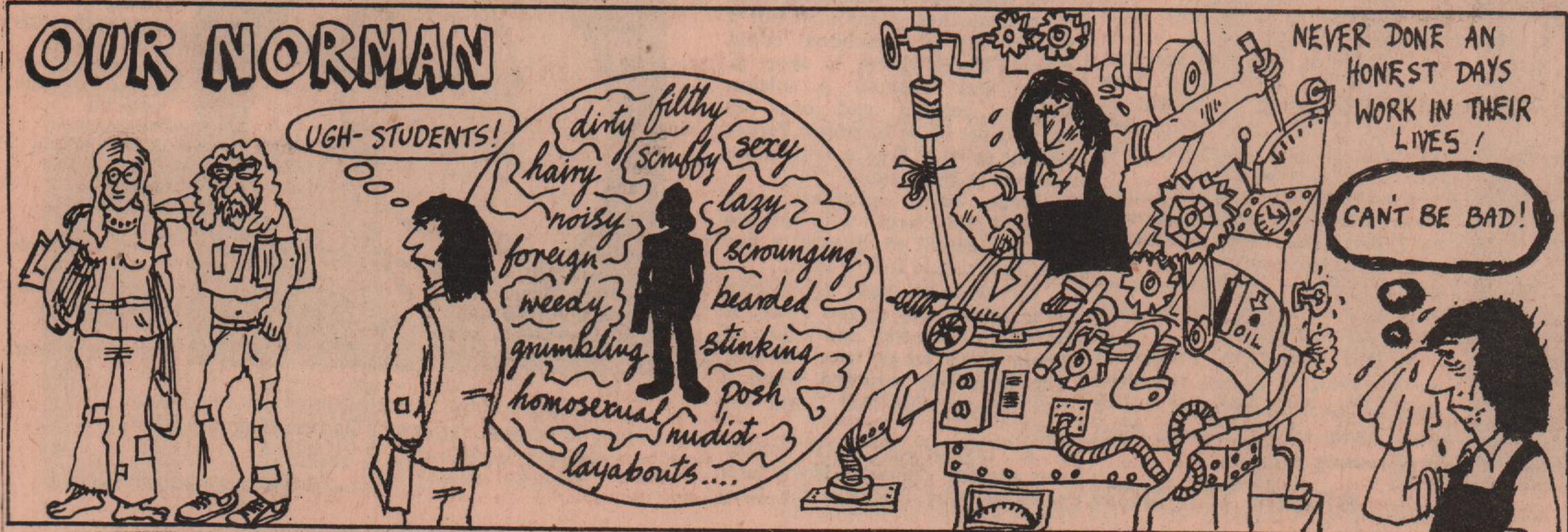
But the politics of the shop stewards, in particular their anti-leadership views, prevented them from developing the movement beyond the narrow limits of those trade union demands which had been spontaneously raised.

**NEXT WEEK:
the government
steps in**

The Power Game

by Colin Barker

The truth about the power industry, the workers' pay claim and the grim record of productivity dealing. 25p plus 3p post from ADVANCE, 68 Fountains Road Stretford, Lancs.



REVIEW

DOSSIER FOR TOTAL CHANGE?

THIS PAMPHLET brings together articles written by Reich in 1933 in Austria, where he had fled after Hitler's seizure of power.

The preceding year had marked the turning point in Germany, the moment at which unemployment reached one third of the urban population and big business began openly to support Hitler.

It had also been a time of personal crisis for Reich. Within months he had been both removed from the International Psychoanalytic Association for his Bolshevik sympathies and expelled from the German Communist Party on the grounds of ideological error.

His best books were written in this moment of truth before his departure to Oslo, including *Materialism and Psychoanalysis*, a tightly argued marxist study of psychoanalytic theories which criticises the German Communists from a psychological viewpoint.

Socialists are generally familiar with Trotsky's caustic criticisms of the German Communists (they are still available from IS Books in *International Socialism* 38-39). From exile on the Turkish island of

WHAT IS CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS? by Wilhelm Reich, published by Social Reproduction, 25p. Available from IS Books, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2, postage 3p.

Prinkipo, Trotsky begged the German Party not to underestimate Hitler's threat and allow their own sectarianism to make them ineffective.

The Social Democrats were refusing to fight Hitler and the Communists were refusing to link with them to force them to fight. While they dithered, Hitler was gaining a momentum which was to crush them both.

IGNORED

Reich offers a different criticism. He argues that Hitler was being highly effective in using people's private anxieties and guilt.

'While we are presenting the masses with grandiose historical analyses and economic arguments about the contradictions of imperialism, their innermost feelings are being fired by Hitler,' he wrote.

He warned that the Left was ignoring everyday life outside the factory and that 'the real life of individuals is played

out at a different level than that which the instigators of social revolution believe'.

Reich makes some familiar-sounding complaints against the leadership of the party, which had been deteriorating steadily in quality since the death of Rosa Luxemburg. It was heavily influenced by the Russians, who no longer wanted world revolution but stable borders and economic growth.

He contrasts the shady and evasive diplomacy of Litvinov, Soviet delegate to the League of Nations, with the frank and honest announcements of Lenin and Trotsky. He argues that a truly revolutionary party is not solely active within the factories nor does it reduce all human activity to economic causes.

He gives the example of policemen. In 1932, their girl friends were forbidden to visit the barracks and the police began organising against the ban and their own poor wages as well.

At that time there was a certain amount of sympathy for the socialists among the police and many militants were protected by inside tip-offs. Reich says that revolutionaries should take up, not dismiss, these demands.

Similarly with work among young people, Reich argues that it is all very well arriving with 'the executive committee's economic and political analyses clutched in your hand' but what is really needed is some understanding of the real frustrations of adolescent life, young people's desire for 'their own living place' and their 'urge to dance'.

REACTED

Again, he argues against revolutionaries who dismiss such questions as child rearing, creches and types of schooling as irrelevant. In fact sexual politics were very useful in dealing with the 'revolutionary' aspects of Nazism's appeal that disguised its appalling reality.

Reich points out that Nazi women had reacted against the National Socialist emphasis on their role as mothers and fireside comforters by forming the Brunhilde movement which wanted to join the men fighting. Although that particular response was reactionary, it showed they were questioning the role of women and the nature of the family in a way to which socialists could contribute.

Reich believed that if it could be explained that 'the so-called destruction of the family by the Bolsheviks signified the liberation of sexual interests from economic attachments, this would rapidly win women over'.

Communist leaders, however, tended to belittle any movement which did not relate directly to class movement at the point of production. They told Reich: 'You start at the point of consumption. We start at the point of production'.

But Reich was saying that connections can and must be made between family life, sexuality, racialism and industrial politics. He observes of the Communist Party theorists: 'They conceive of an absolute contradiction between the personal and the political instead of seeing the dialectical relationship of both'.

SOLIDARITY

Class consciousness could not 'be taken to the masses as a set of scholarly precepts, but must be developed from the life of the masses; all needs must be politicised', he wrote. And again: 'The broad apolitical masses have a decisive effect on the fate of the revolution; therefore politicise private life, fairs, dance halls, cinemas, markets, bedrooms, hostels, betting shops, Revolutionary energy lies in everyday life'.

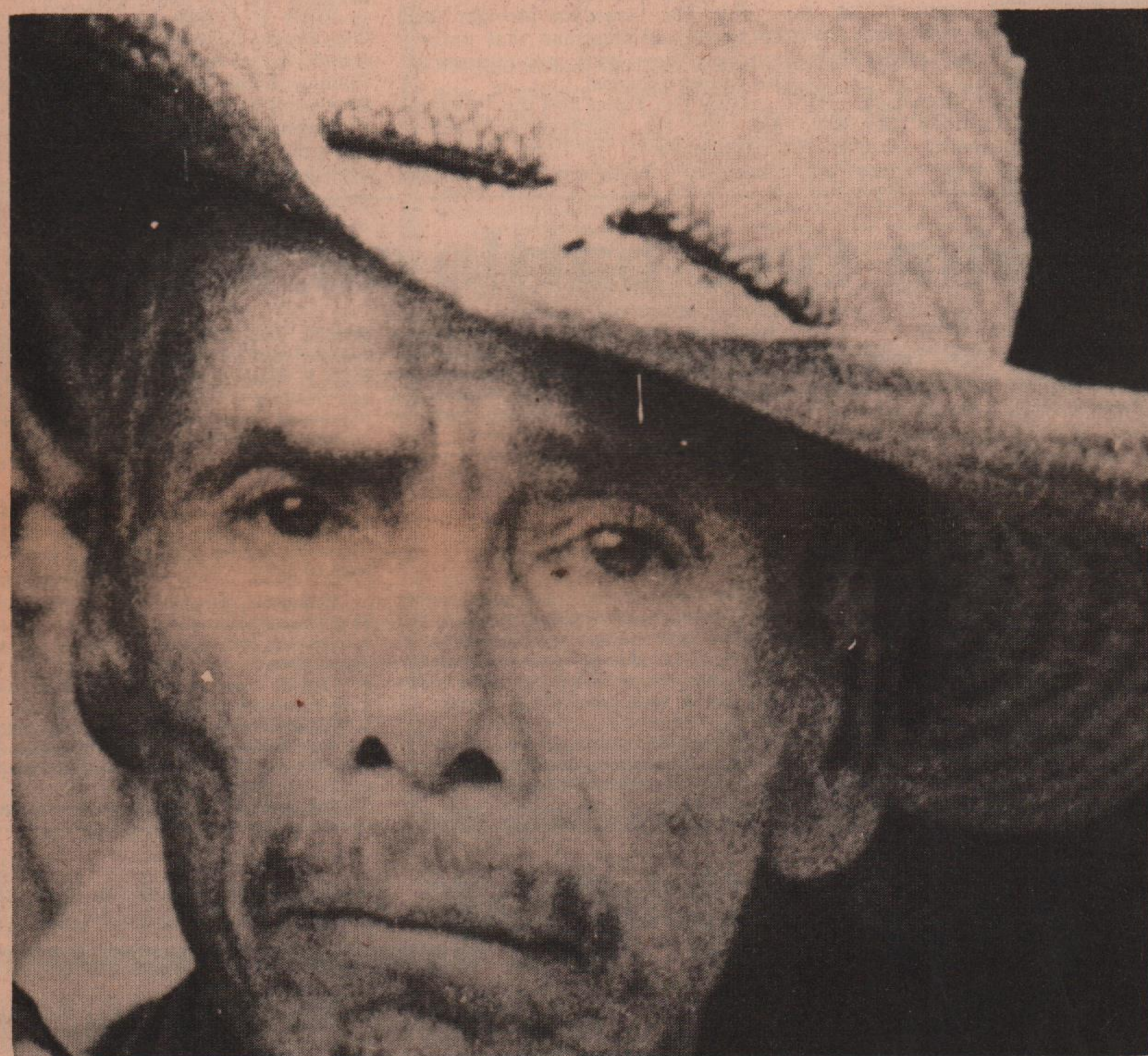
He ends the book with some pithy thoughts on socialist organisation: 'Avoid projecting the situation of a small group on to the masses'. 'No unnecessary heroism. Conserve forces rather than taking pride in martyrdom'.

'Don't crow about working class solidarity, but practice real solidarity.' 'Rather no leaflets and agitation than bad ones' and 'the means of preventing bureaucratisation of a living revolutionary organisation in advance must be sought now'.

The pamphlet is beautifully if somewhat haphazardly printed and is illustrated with some devastating contemporary cartoons and photos. It has a thoughtful introduction to the history of the German Left which shows that libertarian marxism can mean more than simply a poorly informed hostility to Lenin.

The first edition is already sold out, don't miss the second.

GERRY DAWSON



A 'still' from the film Mexico: The Frozen Revolution

Films of the Third World

THE OTHER CINEMA is organising a Third World Cinema season at the National Film Theatre, South Bank, London, and the Collegiate Theatre, 15 Gordon St, Euston Road, London WC1. The season is running from 10 to 16 April at the NFT and from 12 to 26 April at the Collegiate.

'It is a political and radical cinema which seeks not only to analyse the effects of repression, on a multitude of levels, but also to analyse the causes' write the organisers in their programme.

The films, features and documentaries come from a variety of Latin-American countries: Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Cuba among others.

Up to now Glauber Rocha's *Antonio Das Mortes* and *Black God, White Devil* are about the only two from South America to have had any kind of commercial release in Britain—and then only in London, but anyone who has seen those films could testify to their impact. The season is, says the Other Cinema, 'the first major retrospective in this country' on the subject.

If you want to go you need to belong to the BFI or the Other Cinema or a related film society, or join the Other Cinema for a month—its address is 12/13 Little Newport Street, London WC2H 7JJ (01-734 8508).

That Special relationship

THERE are always plenty of policemen on the box. Softly Softly has just ended its season. Dixon plods on. Over the past few weeks another side of the law has received exposure: programmes investigating the Craig-Bentley murder case of 1952 and the Hanratty A6 murder case have appeared on BBC2 and Radio 4 respectively. Here, David Pearson analyses the treatment that these and other aspects of 'justice' have received recently.

CIRCUS-MASTER David Frost thrives on the spectacular clashes of view among his ordinary and not-so-ordinary audience. For his recent show on the police, the boys in blue themselves exploded this formula.

As expected, they put in a team of Special Benigns after eliminating the people with whom to clash. Their appearance had depended on the non-appearance of the National Council for Civil Liberties and other listed 'undesirables'.

The police, as an establishment body respected by the TV moguls, get their way, but Gay Liberation Front, for instance, as a non-establishment body, do not get their way. Last month Man



Alive's projected programme on them was cancelled.

This cancellation was in fact a victory for GLF. As communication is inherently selective and therefore manipulative, control against being manipulated is GLF's prerequisite for co-operation with the radio and TV establishment. Only when radio and TV are disestablished and we all have the right to be manipulators, will this control be unnecessary.

The BBC2 drama on Bentley and Craig showed the authority structure to be a sensationalist press, a class-bound judiciary, a conniving Home Office and a viciously lying police force, acting with characteristic ruthlessness against an

apparent threat to themselves.

In fact, that threat seems to have been a cop's own bullet, which, of course, was 'never found'. Can we expect the self-same Home Office to grant a public inquiry now?

As the BBC is part of the authority structure, why, was the Bentley programme shown? Its writer, David Yallop, helped by his producer and director, displayed exhaustive effort to get it on.

But, more important, the programme, however factual, was in drama form and the authority structure that it depicted was filled out by a very human, just occasionally sentimental story.

Police angle

In contrast, the radio programme on Hanratty purported to be what the late Lord of Appeal, Lord Donovan, once legitimised—a free and informed discussion by the BBC, in the case of a controversial jury verdict, to examine both those issues where there is public disquiet, ignorance and perplexity and the possible need for action by the executive'. The programme was not this.

The first half was a spoken dramatisation by that polished storyteller, Edgar Lustgarten, told from the police point of view and written by the producer, who is a golfing friend of the chief superintendent who charged Hanratty.

Floundered

The second half was a controlled series of recordings and discussions in which, among other things, guarantees to the A6 Committee were broken, the Rhyll alibi minimised and Peter Alphon's statements written off as 'worthless'.

But Hanratty's death cell plea did reverberate at times, as when the intransigent Dick Taverner, MP, representing the Home Office, floundered in pathetic self-contradiction, and when a member of the A6 Committee, in the final summing-up, said, in a numbered series of points so that none could be cut out, that Valerie Storey's first description of the killer had been 'lost' by the police.

Will there be a public inquiry? Can there be, without the revolutionary replacement of the authority structure?

WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We fight:

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

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

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

Against anti-trade union laws and any

curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

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

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time. Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of man's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.

It is no use just talking about it. More than a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it.' If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.

Lack of witches to hunt saddens press

BATTING after Compton, Scarman played such a long inning for such a meagre propaganda score that the British press clearly felt that the Northern Ireland inquiry game was largely a waste of time.

Indeed, Scarman failed so utterly to come to any concrete conclusion that pandered to press prejudice that some leader writers felt the whole series of Six Counties inquiries should be abandoned altogether.

If the Widgery inquiry fails to show that the paras in Derry were attacked by a drug-maddened, sex-crazed, bloodthirsting mob disguised as nuns and armed with tanks and flamethrowers, his report will probably be ignored completely.

In fact the Scarman report was so disappointing to the Daily Telegraph that the paper had to put the record straight. Luckily, among the Telegraph's wide spread of talents there is a leaderwriter who can arrive in a matter of minutes at a conclusion far more valid than that of a tribunal which took nearly three years.

The Telegraph dismissed the tribunal's 'no conspiracy' line and, with a little semantic shuffling, proved that there was a conspiracy

Catholic-Communist alliance.

Most papers, the Mail, Express and Mirror in particular, played up the report's minor criticism of Bernadette Devlin for her role in the Bogside's resistance, but they ignored the tremendously high proportion of deaths and damage suffered by Catholics in comparison with those sustained by Protestants.

The Mirror showed its true priorities. The whole front page was given over to the DOG SKIN SCANDAL while the Scarman report got a less than equal share of the centre pages space with a picture of a footballer whose claim to fame is that he fits snugly into jeans.

However, the Mirror served up some piping hot hypocrisy in its comment column, which lauded the 'rule of law'.

It argued: 'But the rule of law is permanently under stress. There are times when a democratic nation is compelled—in self-defence—to resort to undemocratic processes. Like the abhorrent device of internment without trial.'

When it comes to 'self-defence' the Mirror's ideas of democracy sound very much like those of Franco, Ulbricht, Duvalier, Vorster Heath and the rest.

Democracy is all right in theory, but you can't beat good old police state tactics in practice.



after all.

The great pretender, The Guardian, whose Northern Ireland editorialising is a measure of the paper's decline, was as anxious as the Telegraph to bolster the RUC's case and it laid due emphasis on the 'stress and strain' the force was under.

But The Guardian brought itself to agree with Scarman that perhaps machine guns were not appropriate for crowd dispersal.

Only The Times and the Telegraph led on the findings—in itself a condemnation of the tribunal's failure to unearth a plot backed by a

Antrim tyre battle on wages

by Mike Miller

BELFAST:—While the Tories and their big business friends in London have been searching desperately for a new way of keeping control over the North of Ireland now that Stormont has gone, the reality beneath the surface is as rotten as ever.

Workers at the huge Michelin tyre combine factories at Mallusk and Ballymena in Antrim have been battling desperately for decent wages. A 12 week long strike has brought them into conflict not only with the employers and the government, but also, tragically, with their own unions and their own shop stewards as well.

The strike by 600 maintenance men is over 11 demands centring around the question of improved basic rates. 2800 other workers have been laid off.

Both employers and unions are refusing to talk to anyone about the strike, and the voice of the strikers themselves has been

heard only once. 94 per cent voted against a return to work, despite recommendations from officials and stewards, who spoke of continuation as 'bad for the image of the province' which had already 'suffered enough'.

A government inquiry sent its report to both sides a fortnight ago. But its findings are being kept secret, and still the strike goes on.

Fought on

The company has tried to intimidate the workers by threatening to close the company and remove all production to Britain. It has already removed all rubber stocks because of 'deterioration'—a move that could well precede an attempt at closure.

The British government has backed the company by stopping Social Security payments in an attempt to drive the men back to work.

A strike of such determination in these

parts is rare. The men have fought on unaided with all the odds stacked against them. Protestants among the strikers, without realising it, are challenging the same imperialist interests that dominate the whole of Ireland economically and are responsible for the actions of the British troops in the North.

Their struggle could be a pointer to the future. But if that struggle is ever to be successful it must be given a clear socialist leadership.

Meanwhile, success of the strike would be made more certain by

1. Election of a strike committee to run the dispute.
2. Regular mass meetings of the strikers to discuss tactics and keep up morale.
3. Establishment of links with Michelin combine factories in Britain—for instance with the one at Stoke—to black any work that is transferred there.
4. The demand for nationalisation of the factory under workers' control.

WHAT'S ON

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

MEETINGS

MID-DERBYSHIRE IS public meeting: Granville Williams on The Labour Party Today, Thurs 20 April, 8pm, Gardner's Arms, Market Street, Clay X.

HACKNEY and ISLINGTON IS public meeting: The Struggle In The Docks. Speaker: Bob Light TGWU. Mon 17 April, 8pm, The Rose and Crown, corner of Stoke Newington Church St and Albion Rd, N16.

HACKNEY and ISLINGTON IS public educational meeting: Whatever Happened To Communism. Speaker: Mike Heym. Mon 24 April, 8pm, The Rose and Crown, corner of Stoke Newington Church St and Albion Rd, N16.

SERIES of eight monthly lectures on NORTHERN IRELAND: starting Fri 14 April, 8pm, The Laurel Tree, Bayham St, London NW1. Auspices: Catholic and Protestant Workers Association.

FIGHT THE TORY RENT BILL: Crawley Rents and Rates Action Committee, Mass Rally 1 May. Speakers include Jack Dash. 3pm, Starlight Ballroom, Crawley New Town.

HARLESDEN IS public meeting: Engineering Pay Claim—report from Manchester. Speakers: Wally Preston (Editor of Advance, and power workers convenor), John Deason, steward at Ruston Paxman, St Matthew's Church Hall, St Mary's Road, NW10 (200 yards along St Mary's Road from Craven Park, opposite Harlesden Odeon). Wednesday 26 April, 8pm.

SWANSEA IS: Folk singer Alex Glasgow and Chris Davison—Unemployment And How To Fight It. Dynevor School Hall, Sat 15 April, 7.30pm.

VITAL MEETING of all IS members in ATTI in the London area, Fri 21 April, 8pm, at 6 Cottons Gardens, E2.

IS LONDON REGION CONFERENCE Sat 22 April, 10.30am Sessions on The Industrial Struggle Campaign Against 'Fair Rents' Proposals Details from branch secretaries

MAY DAY RALLY Bring The Tories Down Why Labour Does Not Fight Monday 1 May, 7.30pm Islington Town Hall Upper St, N1 (nearest tube—Highbury and Islington) Speakers: Bernadette Devlin MP Paul Foot, Tony Cliff Wally Preston plus international speakers Organised by International Socialists

LONDON MEETING for all IS members active in TENANTS WORK Wed 19 April, 8pm 6 Cottons Gardens, E2

ANTI-INTERNMENT LEAGUE March and rally in Bristol Speakers: Bowes Egan Eamonn McCann Saturday 15 April Assemble 1pm the Downs full details: John Gray 139 Holland Rd, London W14 01-603 3085

NOTICES

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 BOOKS opening hours: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday: 2-5pm. Thursday: 2-7pm.

COMRADE (female) wanted for large, unfurnished room in flat near Streatham/Tooting Bec. Rent £4. Phone: Siri Lowe 01-739 1870.

THIRD WORLD CINEMA Season: at the Collegate Theatre, 15 Gordon Street, London WC1. Box office: 01-387 9629. Inquiries: The Other Cinema, 01-734 8508. Seats 30p and 50p; season tickets £2.50. Programme: Thurs 13 April 6.30pm: The Guns/Os Fuzis, 8.45pm: Third World, Third World War. Fri 14 April 8pm: Blood of the Condor, 10pm: Terra Em Transe. Sat 15 April 8pm: The Jackal of Nehueltoro, 10pm: Companero Presidente. Sun 16 April 5pm: The Hour of the Furnaces, parts 1, 2 and 3. Mon 17 April 6.30pm: Mexico: The Frozen Revolution 8.45pm: The Road Towards, The Death of Old Reales. Tues 18 April 6.30pm: Third World, Third World War. 8.45pm: The Blood of the Condor. Wed 19 April 6.30pm: The Jackal of Nahuelto, 8.45pm: The Road Towards, The Death of Old Reales. Thur 20 April 9pm: Lucia. Fri 21 April 8pm: Prophet of Hunger, 10pm: What is Democracy?

UNFREE CITIZEN The revolutionary socialist weekly of THE PEOPLES DEMOCRACY Sent first class post every fortnight for £2 per year, from 50 Newry Road, Armagh, Northern Ireland

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Lambeth
Lewisham
Merton
Newham
Paddington
Reading
St Albans
Slough
South Ealing
Tottenham
Walthamstow
Wandsworth
Watford
Woolwich

Picket Lines

Call for strike on May Day

BIRMINGHAM:—The city's building workers' joint shop stewards committee has called for a one-day strike on May Day. This is part of a campaign to get the national building unions to keep to the original terms of their wage claim of £30 for a 35-hour week.

The move is a reply to last week's national union decision to abandon pursuit of a shorter working week and drop the wage claim to £22.50 basic with the difference made up by a guaranteed bonus.

The strike is also directed against the Industrial Relations Act and rising unemployment following the call of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. The joint shop stewards' committee is putting leaflets calling for the strike into all major Birmingham car factories.

WOLVERHAMPTON:—Workers at Willenhall Radiators have forced management to retreat over threatened sackings. A four-week strike by 900 production and transport workers won a guarantee of three months full-time working and three months short-time working for the whole workforce before there are any sackings.

Although an important breathing space has been won, the final outcome of the battle against redundancies is still undecided. Radiator workers must be constantly on their guard.

BIRMINGHAM:—320 workers at the Birmingham Battery and Metal Company voted on Monday to continue their three-week old strike for a £6 rise. Alf Fellows, the engineering union branch president, told the meeting wages at the factory were £12 below the district average.

The dispute is the first in 150 years at this family-owned rolling and tube mill. For years low wage rates prevented solid trade union organisation from being built.

EDINBURGH:—The Power Workers' Combine Committee has issued a statement thanking all those who have supported the campaign for the reinstatement of two of its members victimised for pushing for action in solidarity with the miners.

The appeals of Ron Brown and Rab Jeffery against dismissal by the electricity board were rejected, but the engineering union executive has rejected attempts by its right-wing controlled Edinburgh district committee to expel Ron Brown from membership.

A statement from the power workers' combine committee says this is not enough and calls on the national officers of the engineering and electricians' unions to act against these blatant victimisations if the decision is not reversed at the final appeal.

Electricians on strike now for 55 weeks

BOOTLE:—Fifty-five weeks, that is how long the 18 electricians employed by James Scott and Lee Beasley on the new multi-million pound Bootle Inland Revenue Office have been on strike.

The men have struck in defiance of their union, the Electricians and Plumbers, and its support for the Joint Industry Board for Electrical Contracting, which forbids site level wage negotiations.

As a result of this national agreement, rigidly enforced by an undemocratic disciplinary procedure, electricians on the Bootle site work a longer week than any building worker on the site and earn £20.57 per week less.

Last month John Byrne, the Bootle strike leader, was summoned to that well-known building site, the Cafe Royal in London's Regent Street, to be disciplined by a JIB committee for leading the unofficial strike.

This committee has now announced its decision. John Byrne is to be suspended from any JIB benefits for six months from the date he restarts work in the industry. This means that his wife will get no death benefit should he be killed at work in those six months. Nor will he receive benefit if he is sick or injured.

Despite all this, the strike goes on. This is an extract from John Byrne's statement to the disciplinary committee:

"I am now here to answer charges, but what is my crime? My crime is that I am fighting to improve wages and conditions and bring my standard of living up to the same level as that enjoyed by other workers on the site.

"That is the elementary right of every worker and cannot be bargained away. This is in line with TUC policy which

PARSONS IS OUR NO 1 TARGET SAYS COOLEY

NEWCASTLE:—A mass meeting of technical union members at C A Parsons engineering works on Monday threw a lock-out threat back in management's face.

The long-rumbling dispute now seems set to explode into one of the most crucial industrial battles in Britain.

An ultimatum from managing director Frank Krause to close the gates on 1400 technical staff was answered by Monday's meeting of TASS members who voted overwhelmingly to maintain

by SW reporter

the fight against redundancies, including the threatened closure of the firm's offices at Erith in Kent.

The meeting also welcomed the decision of the TASS executive to support their struggle to keep their closed shop agreement at Parsons.

The lock-out threat is the latest move by the

Parsons management to break union organisation and force through redundancies. For the past three months sanctions, including four-day working, have forced the company to withdraw redundancy notices from 300 shop floor workers and have won a promise of no redundancies in 1972.

But this agreement applies only to the shop floor and leaves the threat of the sack still hanging over up to 600 staff workers.

Interlocked with the redundancy issue is the fight of TASS—formerly the draughtsmen's union, now the technical section of the engineering union—to maintain its written agreement for sole negotiating rights for all technical staff.

The management declared the agreement null and void at the beginning of March when the Industrial Relations Act came into force. Last Saturday all 1400 technical staff received a letter from Frank Krause in which he demanded the lifting of all shop floor sanctions and the acceptance of the Erith closure.

REFUSAL

He also called for an agreement on voluntary redundancy and early retirement to be negotiated, backed by a management right to introduce short-time working in any area they considered to be overmanned.

Technical staff who refused to accept these conditions would be dismissed from next Monday (17 April).

At Monday's mass meeting, Terry Rodgers, TASS negotiating committee chairman, said the company had shown a cynical disregard for the workers.

It was time to make a stand against redundancies and the threat to union organisation, he said. The Parsons workers could set an example to workers in other factories and industries to show that they would not be beaten by the Industrial Relations Act and the manipulations of management.

DESTROY

TASS general secretary George Doughty told the meeting that the union executive had agreed unanimously that every possible step should be taken to defend the membership agreement and the workers' jobs.

Mike Cooley, the TASS president, described Frank Krause as 'no more than a poor man's Arnold Weinstock'.

If Krause got away with destroying the successful union organisation at Parsons, Mike Cooley added, he dreaded to think what would happen in other industries and other unions.

He said the entire TASS organisation would be geared up to support the members at Parsons. In the event of a lockout all other disputes throughout the country would be suspended so that the full resources of the union could be brought to bear at Parsons.

Letter from Terry Rodgers: page 4.

Will a merger boost Chapple to the top?

by an electrician

THE proposed marriage of the right-wing Electricians and Plumbers Trade Union with the left-wing engineering union is surely the most unexpected among the recent welter of union mergers.

Although the unions' memberships overlap in engineering, power supply and other industries, it would be difficult to find two unions whose internal structures are further apart.

The EPTU goes for rule from the top, with selection of officials, no district autonomy, and national union conferences only 'advising' the executive about policy. The AEUW, while not perfect, offers election of officials, district committees, and a degree of rank-and-file participation in the running of the union.

Electricians and plumbers can be forgiven for welcoming this proposed merger uncritically. Some are already saying that any rule book would be better than the one we have.

Ban bogey men

But EPTU members should be on their guard, for Frank Chapple won't give up 'his' rule book—which includes banning from office in the union his particular 'bogey men', members of the Communist Party—unless he gains something in the 'deal'.

Conflicting press reports do little to clarify the position. One report, seemed to say Hugh Scanlon was prepared to hand over the presidency of the merged union to Chapple. According to The Sunday Times of 9 April he is certainly committed to retiring within the next 18 months—which seems to leave the field clear for Chapple.

But on the surface the merger does offer a chance to move the EPTU left-ward.

AEUW and EPTU members should be getting together to discuss the proposed merger, they must see that any joining of their unions is done to the benefit of the membership and not to increase the personal power of the leadership.



Frank Chapple: a marriage of convenience?

STEWARDS LEAD UCS RETREAT

GLASGOW:—The shop stewards committee at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders again retreated from confrontation with the government last week. Despite continued delays in getting a guarantee for jobs in the Clydebank yard, the stewards recommended to a mass meeting that two more ships be launched.

According to Jimmy Reid the delays are the result of 'right-wing pressure on the Tory Party'. 'Sanity, responsibility and unity' were the way to overcome this, he argued, while precipitate action 'could snatch defeat out of the jaws of victory'.

There was considerable opposition to the launching of any more ships from among the men. But Reid and Airlie won the majority by announcing that two more orders had been won by the new owners Govan Shipbuilders. The stewards also said they would refuse to finalise the productivity agreement with the firm until the fate of the fourth yard is decided.

Spirit

So far the Tories have been forced to offer jobs for the original UCS labour force by the threat of militant action. The less militant and more 'responsible' the joint shop stewards committee becomes, the more confident the Tories will be that they can win any eventual confrontation.

But more workers than ever are arguing against further retreats. If this spirit spreads far enough, the magnificent struggle at UCS can still prevent any jobs being lost without crippling productivity strings.

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Nurses boycott hospital food

ESSEX:—Six hundred nurses at Whipps Cross, the second largest general hospital in the country, have been boycotting hospital food since prices were put up by 10 per cent. The rises come a month before a pay increase of a mere eight per cent.

The boycott has been organised secretly for fear of victimisation. Notes pinned to bedroom doors have advised nurses about which days to boycott food.

Nearly 50 nurses are in the public employees' union, NUPE, but branch secretary Alfred Rhyman says that although the boycott has his sympathy, it cannot be successful, for the price increases are part of a national agreement.

Meanwhile the nurses battle on. Nurses at Chelmsford and King's College Hospital have organised similar action.

LAGGERS WIN

AFTER 21 weeks on strike laggers in the North East have won a 15p an hour increase on their basic rate. Most have now returned to work.

The men had received no strike pay from their union, the General and Municipal Workers, although its regional boss, Andy Cunningham described, the dispute as 'tantamount to a lockout'. Instead the strike was kept going by donations from trade unionists and levies from laggers elsewhere. One of the strike leaders said he was extremely pleased at the moral and financial support from IS members.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

Please publish the following text in your May Day issue:

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Send to Business Manager, Socialist Worker, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN, to arrive by Friday 21 April.

Socialist Worker

The Social Security said No

Some of the sit-in workers trying to get social security. They filled in the copious forms but had little success—they were told they could only get a loan.



SIT-IN WAGES BATTLE NEARS THE CRUNCH

by Glyn Carver

MANCHESTER:—With 25,000 workers now involved in sit-ins in 21 factories, the fight for the engineers' wage claim is coming to a head.

The engineers are claiming a £4-a-week increase, with more for women—to bring equal pay nearer—a 35-hour week and an extra week's holiday.

The reaction of the Engineering Employers Federation has been to refuse to negotiate at all on hours and holidays. They maintain that these are points for national negotiation only.

But negotiations are taking place in many firms and settlements have been reached in more than 20 factories. The district committee of the engineering confederation, representing all unions involved, has ruled that these settlements must be kept secret.

This is probably meant to prevent workers still in dispute being demoralised by poor settlements.

But Mike Smith, the convenor at Ferranti, Hollinwood, has a swift reply to that argument: 'If the mass meeting of stewards throughout the district was responsible for the ratification of agreements, we could make sure that there were no demoralising ones.'

'We could be completely open about the whole thing and the members would know exactly where they stood.'

Certainly the signs in Manchester are that the rank and file, far from becoming demoralised, is getting stronger. This week several major factories have joined the overtime and piecework ban—factories that at first refused to take part.

Management surprised

The dispute also shows signs of spreading outside the district into the Oldham area.

The number of factory sit-ins has increased dramatically in the past week and the level of determination and organisation of the workers involved is growing all the time.

At Pearts and Company in Hyde, an offer of £1.50 was unanimously rejected on Monday, to the obvious surprise of the management. Only a few weeks ago the offer would have been regarded as a big victory in this small factory.

Another sign of the increased determination of the rank and file can be seen in the decision of seven factories in Openshaw to form a local liaison committee to help each other in the struggle.

In several factories there have been moves to escalate existing action in order to force the bosses to surrender.

Ken Taylor, the senior EPTU steward at the occupied Hawker-Siddeley plant at Woodford said: 'Without any lead from the officials or even the stewards, there has been spontaneous action by the lads taking part in the sit-in to turn it into a real occupation.'



Pickets at the Bredbury steelworks

'Lots of people are saying that while we are in here we should control the place completely. We cannot allow other sections to operate normally while the manual workers involved are in such a major dispute.'

The general picture is one of increasing strength. The chances that the Manchester engineers will achieve a victory to the benefit of all engineers are greater today than at any time.

But such a victory can only be assured if there is some concrete national support. All these sit-ins must be made official by national union executives. National levies must be organised to support them, and district strikes must be organised throughout the country to give real backing to the claim.

2000 carworkers vote for occupation

OXFORD:—A mass meeting of 2000 men voted overwhelmingly to continue their sit-in at the Cowley car body plant on Tuesday. The sit-in began on Monday after the management had suspended them for imposing sanctions in pursuit of their wage claim.

The men plan to sit in until a better pay offer is made. When someone asked them what they would do if the company locked the gates, the answer came back quickly;

'We will climb over them.'

The dispute is over a review of payment under a form of Measured Day Work, which started operating in the plant a year ago. The men only finally agreed to it in return for the pace-setting wage of £42 a week.

Reduction

But this year the management have offered them a rise of only five per cent—in effect a wage reduction at a time when prices are rising by 10 per cent a year.

The militancy of the men's response contrasts sharply with the neighbouring assembly plant. There the leading stewards, after pledging themselves to accept nothing less than 8p an hour, recommended to the men to accept a mere 5½p.

LEFT STUDENTS CALL FOR ANTI-TORY FIGHT

SOCIALIST students at the National Union of Students conference in Birmingham this week continued their campaign to turn the union into a fighting force capable of resisting the students' 'Industrial Relations Bill'—the Department of Education and Science proposals to smash student unions.

As part of this fight the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Student Unions—an organisation of revolutionary socialist students which includes members of the International Socialists—ran candidates for election to the NUS executive.

Their platform included demands for more union democracy, student union autonomy and covered broader political questions including the right of self-determination for Ireland.

Despite the attempts of the Tory press to smear the campaign by allegations of 'wrecking' the Liaison Committee slate has so far managed to secure more than a quarter of the votes cast.

At the start of the conference, a message of thanks from National Union of Mine-

workers' general secretary Lawrence Daly was read out.

'Next to the labour movement, the support we received from NUS, student unions and students in general was the most valuable we received during our recent strike', said Daly. 'For this we are more than grateful. We could not have won without this support,' he added.

Lockout smashed

PORTSMOUTH:—Brewery workers in dispute with Brickwoods, part of the giant Whitbread group have succeeded in forcing management to lift a lockout. The 400 men had put in for a 20 per cent pay rise and started an overtime ban and work to rule when the management replied by offering a mere 8½ per cent.

The lockout began on 30 March, but when the men put on pickets for the first time on 5 April, the management was forced to lift it the next day. The men say they will continue the work to rule until their demands are met.

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