

# Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## Heath will try new sell out with Smith

PREDICTABLY, the Pearce Commission reported this week that the Tories' sell-out plan to the white racists in Rhodesia is unacceptable to the Africans. But with their usual high regard for the wishes of the majority, the Heath government is already planning a further attempt to reach a deal with its 'kith and kin' in Salisbury.

It is strongly rumoured in Whitehall that new talks will be held later this year with Smith—and this time the Tories will not say that an agreement must be acceptable to 'the Rhodesian people as a whole'.

That little exercise in partial democracy is now recognised by the government as a major mistake. Next time the deal will only have to be accepted by the tiny majority of white settlers.

Pearce could not have given a 'Yes' verdict to the Tories' proposals. The Africans, even though faced with the whole battery of weapons of a police state, gave an overwhelming No.

For most of them it was the first opportunity they had ever had to make a political decision.

### Protest

Everywhere the picture was the same: total opposition, whether in the most remote Tribal Trust Area (a polite name for the rural ghettos into which the African farmer is forced, leaving the best land for the whites) or whether in the industrial heart of Salisbury or Bulawayo.

They voted no, not because they thought they would be able to affect the situation but as a protest against a regime which they utterly distrust and hate.

The barefaced double-talk of the Smith regime comes right out of the pages of 1984. In defending their practice of 'consulting' government-appointed chiefs rather than the actual people, Rhodesia Radio has this to say:

'When the Europeans opened up Rhodesia they may have retained the final say in the appointment of chiefs, but this was reasonable when it is remembered that the chiefs had become part and parcel of the government of the country.'

In other words, when the invading Europeans seized Zimbabwe from the Africans, they were compelled to find stooges through whom they could rule.

### Brutal

There was blatant intimidation by the government and employers during the visit of the Pearce Commission.

Demonstrations against the sell-out were met with brutal assaults from the police. In Gwelo at least one African was shot dead and many wounded in a march of between 7-8000 Africans.

In Clue Clue seven were wounded, in Umtali eight killed, 14 wounded, in Salisbury four killed and 24 wounded. In Fort Victoria, the equivalent of a small market town in England, there were 350 arrests in a period of a week.

The Africans' resistance is an immense step forward in the struggle for the liberation of Zimbabwe. Their new awareness of the collective strength and ability to fight the regime will not easily be erased.

One of the most heartening aspects of the events in January and February is the extent to which industrial action was taken. Thousands of miners, agricultural workers, mill and textile workers and many others, struck in the face of extreme police brutality.

Given the turmoil now existing, it is a matter for great regret that the leaders of ZAPU and ZANU, the two African parties, have been unable to act together.

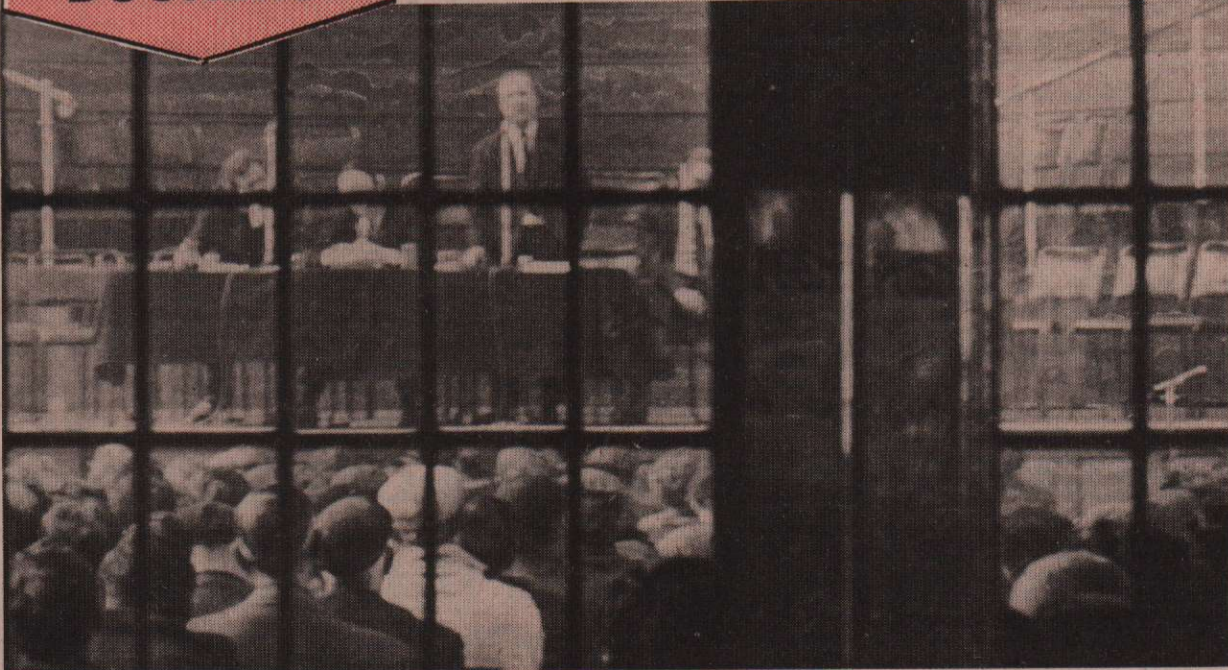
But with the rising confidence in the African working class, the possibility exists now of building an internal movement to oust the Smith regime.

Mike McGrath

# WHO ARE THEY KIDDING?

Things are getting better say the Tories —there are ONLY 900,000 on the dole

## BLACK STAYS ON SAY DOCKERS



## Street fights in USSR

BITTER street fighting broke out in the streets of the Lithuanian city of Kauna on Monday. At least one policeman was killed.

The incident shows quite clearly that the opposition to the rule of Stalin's successors that exists in countries like Poland and Czechoslovakia extends deep into the Soviet Union itself. The immediate grievances that have been expressed by the growing movement of dissent in Lithuania over recent months have concerned such issues as freedom of religion and the language question.

TORY HUMBUGS in the House of Commons had the nerve to cheer last week when Ted Heath announced that the number of unemployed for May had fallen to 901,692. The figure of one million has some magical quality for the Tory witch-doctors: once the jobless figures go below

that mark everything in the garden is lovely again.

The reason is simple. For them unemployment is just a statistic. Socialists have a different attitude. The unemployed are *human beings* and far from cheering the May figures we should shout from the roof tops our total opposition to an economic system that condemns 900,000 people to the dole queue.

No one should be taken in by the Tories' figures. Even Labour leader Harold Wilson, who did his bit to send unemployment soaring when he was prime minister, pointed out that the *real* number of jobless is still close on 1½ million if you include those who do not 'sign on'—such as wives, the disabled and many school leavers. And the Tories' own figures are still the worst for May for 32 years.

The best indication that the Tory attack on workers' living standards is still going ahead full blast came with the Agricultural Minister's statement on prices last week. They have gone up by 11.1 per cent over the last year.

Since the Tories returned to power in June 1970, prices have rocketed by an astronomical 17.2 per cent

### GRIM PICTURE

Price rises tell only part of the story. Add on to them the soaring cost of rents, mortgages, rates, fares and welfare charges and you begin to see the full, grim picture of life under the Tories.

The Tory plan is a simple one: a massive assault on our wages and living conditions in order to boost the bosses' profits—a plan underscored by the Industrial Relations Act designed to stop trade unionists winning wage increases to keep up with the cost of living.

The lesson is equally simple: there must be no let up in the fight against the Tories and the anti-union law.

Unemployment CAN be fought—by a militant trade union struggle to BAN productivity deals that sell jobs for pennies and FOR a shorter working week without loss of pay to force the bosses to take on extra labour.

Cuts in workers' living standards CAN be fought by a battle within the unions to fight for wage increases of 30 per cent plus.

But above all this government must be kicked out—not by relying on the Labour frauds whose policies are virtually identical to the Tories', but by building a mass working-class movement dedicated to the overthrow of a system that cannot provide jobs and security for all.

HULL DOCKERS gave a massive snub to their union leaders on Monday when they voted to defy the Industrial Relations Act and continue their blacking of container firms. Spokesmen for the Transport Workers Union told the 1700 dockers that if they refused to obey the ruling of the NIRC they would place the union's funds in jeopardy. But when the vote came only 20 raised their hands in favour of the union's spineless position. The press were excluded from the meeting and this 'through-the-door' picture shows TGWU regional organiser Dave Shenton making his unsuccessful appeal to the dockers.

ALL OUT SUNDAY 4 JUNE  
Victory to the NLF!  
Defeat Nixon's blockade!  
Assemble Trafalgar Square 2.30pm—  
march to US Embassy Grosvenor Square  
The march is supported by the International Socialists

# WORLD NEWS

## BRIEFING

AT A RECENT convention of black organisations in the United States held in Gary, Illinois, spokesmen from black militant organisations, including the Black Panther party, attacked 'bussing'.

Bussing is a method of bringing about racial integration in schools. Black children are taken by bus to schools outside the all black ghetto areas so that they can join racially mixed classes.

Reformist civil rights organisations like the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People joined liberal whites in a chorus of embarrassment at the militants' 'outburst'. Bussing has been a major plank in the reformist civil rights programme for decades.

The legal battle against racial segregation in schools has been won, but racists, with the open support of the Nixon administration, are fighting a rearguard action. They are doing their best to sabotage racial integration by getting racist state and local authorities to refuse finance for bussing.

The action of the black militants in coming out against bussing appears to the liberals therefore to be playing straight into the hands of the racists.

The argument of the black militants is simple. 'Integration' to them means indoctrination. Bussing aims to transport

## Black militants speak out against integration

by John Lea

black kids to white schools where they will be in a minority and under the direction of white teachers.

There they will be systematically indoctrinated with all the racist mythology which for hundreds of years has taught blacks to 'know their place'. They will be taught the history of the United States from the viewpoint of the white American middle class. They will learn of the emancipation of the slaves, of the 14th amendment, and of the outlawing of racial discrimination—all as gifts bestowed upon them by enlightenment and benevolent whites.

They will never learn the history of the

black peoples' struggle for survival against poverty and racism. Deprived of their own history, they will be less able to resist the white man's definition of them as inferior beings.

The black militants who oppose bussing seek therefore to keep black kids away from any form of integrated (white-dominated) schooling. Far more important for them is the struggle for local (black) control of the schools within the ghetto.

This would make possible the education of black children by black teachers and help in the job of liberating working-class blacks from the weight of generations of white racist indoctrination.

So the militants seem to be throwing

themselves into unholy alliance with Nixon and white racists. The issue of black control of their own education could not be further from Nixon's mind. His only concern is that the American ruling class should have to redistribute as little as possible of the wealth it filched from the workers.

Least of all should it go to blacks in the form of financial support for bussing.

Centuries of racial discrimination mean that blacks are concentrated in the poorest sections of the working class. The black ghettos are also the worst slums. Control over the slum ghetto schools, without control over the wealth to provide for them, is a hollow victory. This is the problem for the black militants.

Ultimately only through united black and white working-class revolution will the wealth produced by the workers be controlled by them. But meanwhile the struggle to control ghetto schools must be seen as a case of workers' struggle to control the forces that influence their lives.

Black working class control of education means a step in the direction of emancipation from the domination of ruling-class mythology. It is a necessary step in the direction of the emergence of revolutionary ideas in the American working class.

# S AFRICAN STUDENTS REVOLT

by W Enda

STUDENT strikes in solidarity with 1146 students expelled from the Transvaal are spreading throughout the Coloured, Indian and African universities of South Africa.

The expulsions were made after a student delegate Ramothibi Tiro gave a hard-hitting anti-apartheid speech at the annual graduation ceremony. He was immediately expelled. A sit-in by the entire student body followed.

The white authorities then expelled all the students and sent them home. The solidarity strikes have been organised by the South African Students Organisation, a militant all-black movement.

Tiro's speech highlighted years of unrest at the university.

In 1970 an order was given to make attendance at all university celebrations compulsory after the boycott of the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Republic. Late last year the white university council prohibited all forms of protest and tried to make the students swear before two witnesses that they would obey. A signed declaration of obedience was also demanded.

Students' rooms were searched by the police for subversive literature. Africans were banned from the white-only bookshop on the campus. Early this year the Rector censored two articles in the student magazine for being 'too controversial'.

## ATTACK

The graduation ceremony this month was an opportunity for the students to voice their grievances from a public platform, a right strictly denied to black South Africans. Tiro was elected as the students' spokesman.

Instead of humbly thanking the authorities for granting them the privilege of an education, as expected, Tiro launched into a strong attack on the repressive measures of the government. He called on his fellow students to realise their responsibility to the 'liberation of our people'.

'As soon as nationalism is awakened among the intelligentsia, it becomes the vanguard in the struggle against alien rule,' he said. 'Of what use is



Ramothibi Tiro: anti-apartheid speech

your education if you cannot help your people in their hour of need? If your education is not linked with the entire continent of Africa it is meaningless.'

He also attacked the Bantustan stooges. 'Our so-called leaders have become the bolts of the same machine which is crushing us.'

The whites in the audience, who regard the university as a show-piece of 'apartheid education' which is supposed to groom those very stooges, were horrified and acted quickly.

Within days the university was

## Jamaica: where the cream goes to the foreign parasites

THE JAMAICAN general election was won overwhelmingly in February by the People's National Party (PNP), replacing the Jamaica Labour Party. The PNP's main slogan was 'Time for a change.'

It is indeed time for a change in Jamaica. The island is afflicted by deep poverty. Malnutrition is widespread, especially since the island is not self-sufficient in food.

Unemployment is officially about 20 per cent—30 per cent in the capital, Kingston. In fact it is probably a good bit higher.

Educational facilities are so poor that while schooling is 'compulsory' it is not in fact enforced. Those children who do go to school may find themselves in classes of up to 100.

These were the issues that brought the PNP to power. The Jamaica Labour Party (JLP)—supported by sugar workers and by businessmen—was hopelessly corrupt. The PNP—whose main basis of support was in the towns—has cleaner hands, and aroused great popular enthusiasm during the election.

But it is already becoming clear that the PNP will not be able to fulfil the



This is not the first time South Africa's students have demonstrated against the system: an earlier protest march in Johannesburg

closed. With the help of the police the entire student body was expelled and shipped home in special trains. The students vow that none will return until all, including Tiro, are allowed back.

## ARRESTED

School students are also on the move. Pupils at a school near Mafeking presented a list of grievances, including complaints that their mail was being opened by their African headmaster, and struck in support of them.

Police were immediately called and arrested 10 youngsters between the ages of 16-19, who were picked out as ringleaders. They are now in jail. There is no question of bail. They will be tried on 29 May.

The whites are terrified of any organised African opposition against their daily exploitation and oppression. Punishment, handed out to student rebels, will be the same as that inflicted on striking African workers: jail, then deportation to the impoverished Bantustans and 'transit camps'.

expectations of those who brought it to power.

One of the main issues in the election has been the existence of job discrimination in favour of JLP supporters. After the election unemployed PNP supporters flocked to workplaces and building sites demanding the 'privilege' of such jobs as digging sewers. In one case a foreman was killed by demonstrators.

## Monopoly

But the struggle between workers of different parties—each of the two parties is based on a trade union—for scarce jobs can lead only to increased bitterness and divisions in the working class. The real cause of Jamaica's poverty is the grip of imperialism, which controls Jamaica's four main industries—sugar, bauxite, bananas and tourism.

Tate and Lyle have a virtual monopoly of the Jamaican sugar crop, and can dictate prices. The JLP failed to get them to raise the price to £8 a ton. Very little sugar is

refined in Jamaica, and with the switch to beet sugar the island is in a weak bargaining position.

Bauxite mining is in the hands of three companies—two American and one Canadian. Relatively few Jamaicans are employed, and the supervisors are almost all expatriates. Many of these live in a luxurious housing estate—known locally as 'Johannesburg'—in sharp contrast with the slum dwellings of Jamaican workers.

The banana crop is a monopoly of Fvffes, now owned by the notorious US United Fruit Company, which pays 3/4p per pound—so inadequate that the Jamaican government has to subsidise growers.

Even then growers can't afford fertilisers, with the result that the yield is declining and quality deteriorating—so the company may soon abandon Jamaica.

The big tourist hotels are owned by US and Canadian companies. They include resorts like Frenchman's Cove, where wealthy parasites pay £425 a week to live in picturesque stone cottages. While the

RECENT CLASHES between police and demonstrators in Tananarive, capital of the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar), led to the deaths of at least 19 demonstrators and seven police.

The initial impulse came from students protesting at the state of university education. The Malagasy Republic was formerly a French colony, and its university has very much taken over the patterns of French education, which is conservative and academic enough in French terms, but in African terms totally irrelevant. Students study medieval French, but neglect their native literature; in history, geography and biology the topics are related to French experience, not to local problems.

There is also a serious problem of graduate unemployment, and that in a small and backward country where intellectual talent is in short supply.

The students quite rapidly won some important concessions—the release of imprisoned militants, and the resignation of the minister of education as a token of the government's acceptance of the need for reform.

These victories offered an example to other sections of society. Trade unions called on workers in the public and private sectors to strike in support of the students, and the employees of the national radio declared their solidarity with the students and workers.

A mass workers' demonstration demanded an increase in the minimum wage and the resignation of the minister of labour. Since the trade unions do not have a centralised national leadership the workers created a committee to co-ordinate the struggle.

Finally President Tsiranana asked the army chief of staff to form a new government.

There was no real struggle for independence in Madagascar, which was granted independence at the same time as France conceded independence to several other African colonies. As a result the ruling group has not been anti-imperialist. Tsiranana is known for his violent anti-communism and his conciliatory attitude towards South Africa.

Already, in March 1971, there had been an outbreak of violence among the island's peasantry. Under a military agreement made in 1960 there are 4200 French troops under French command stationed in the Malagasy Republic. If the threat to the regime continues they might be brought into action.

THE ASSASSINATION last week of Luigi Calabresi, the notorious police officer of the Milan political bureau, has had dramatic consequences.

Calabresi was trained by the CIA and well-known for his persecution of militant workers and revolutionary groups. He was deeply implicated in the death of the railway worker Pinelli, who was murdered (according to the police he committed suicide) during routine questioning after the 1969 bomb explosion in a Milan bank.

Calabresi was also responsible for the frame-up of the anarchist Valpreda, who is still on trial accused of planting the bomb. He was also in charge of investigations into the mysterious death of the left-wing publisher Feltrinelli, who was found blown-up near an electricity pylon last month.

Calabresi's assassination has led to intensified repression of revolutionary left groups. Thousands of people have been questioned, and at least 700 have been arrested.

Like the Milan bomb, like the death of Feltrinelli, it is being used to justify increased persecution of the left. It has also helped to strengthen the case for a government which will promote 'law and order' at a time when the big political parties are haggling over a new coalition.

so-called 'Jamaicanisation' policy means some hotels have black managers, the industry is firmly in foreign hands.

Poverty and frustration have bred violence, especially among the urban unemployed. Many people carry guns, and it is now common for the middle class to have wrought-iron grilles round their verandas, on which they sit in the evening.

## Banned

Violent criminals have been shot on capture, with general approval from the public.

Unfortunately the violence remains aimless. There is an absence of any organised revolutionary alternative to what Black Power militant Walter Rodney describes as 'the two reactionary political parties'.

Rodney himself, a university lecturer who returned from the US to Jamaica and now works in Tanzania, was banned from re-entering the country after a trip abroad in 1968, provoking a riot in Kingston.

But political militancy is still largely confined to student circles. The real need now is a revolutionary alternative based on the working class.

# Socialist Worker

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

## Tell union leaders —stop appeasement

**'BLACKING damages the public, fellow workers and the employers of those fellow workers. It does not damage those who do the blacking. They draw their pay. It is an unfair weapon and parliament has declared it to be unlawful.'**

So says Sir John Donaldson, head of the National Industrial Relations Court and former President of the National Federation of University Conservative and Unionist Associations. What he means is that blacking is, in some circumstances, a very effective weapon against the bosses—that is the significance of 'unfair'—and so is outlawed by the big business inspired Industrial Relations Act which he is paid to enforce.

Strangely enough, or so it must appear to political innocents, Donaldson decided that though the TGWU dock shop stewards are breaking the law, as are all the dockers concerned, no action at all is to be taken against them. Instead yet another ultimatum, backed by threats of further fines, is served on the TGWU. It must 'discipline' its members. That is to say it must act as an agent of the bosses and their government and their court.

There could be no better illustration of the purpose of the Industrial Relations Law. What Donaldson calls 'an orderly system of industrial relations of which we can all be proud' is a system where the trade union leaderships act as policemen for the bosses. The whole value of the Act to big business depends on trade union leaders agreeing to do just this.

If they don't the bosses and the government are in real trouble. From Quebec Province, Canada, we have a striking example of this truth. Under a law similar to ours, three trade union leaders who had called for defiance of a 'back to work' court order were prosecuted for contempt of court.

The big business weekly, The Economist reports the consequences: 'On 8 May the three leaders were sentenced to one year's imprisonment . . . Thousands of union members ranging from journalists to liquor board employees to miners and dockers stopped work in protest . . . Strikers took over a dozen radio stations and blocked the roads around the St Lawrence port of Sept-Îles . . . 33 trade union officials who were appealing against sentences imposed as a result of the April strikes renounced the conditions of their bail and marched up to join their leaders in prison. In every sense except the physical Mr Bourassa (the Provincial Prime Minister) was in more of a hole than they were'.

Bourassa rushed out a statement that all the union men would be released if only they would appeal to the higher courts. He gave the broadest of hints that appeals were certain to succeed.

This is exactly the sort of situation that our Tories dread. This is exactly why the politically sophisticated Donaldson took no action against the dockers. This is why the new policy of 'co-operation' by the TGWU leadership and the TUC is a betrayal of the movement. This is why the TGWU appeal to the High Court is not only a waste of time and money but a dangerous diversion.

It may be that the present dispute will be swallowed up in a national dock strike. It is reliably reported that Jack Jones is willing to back this as a way of getting off the hook. Of course all socialists must give whole-hearted support to the dockers in the event of a strike. But this will not solve the problem of preventing enforcement of the law.

**The court will try again and again. Every order obeyed and every fine paid will whet its appetite. Remember, appeasement never pays in the long run.**

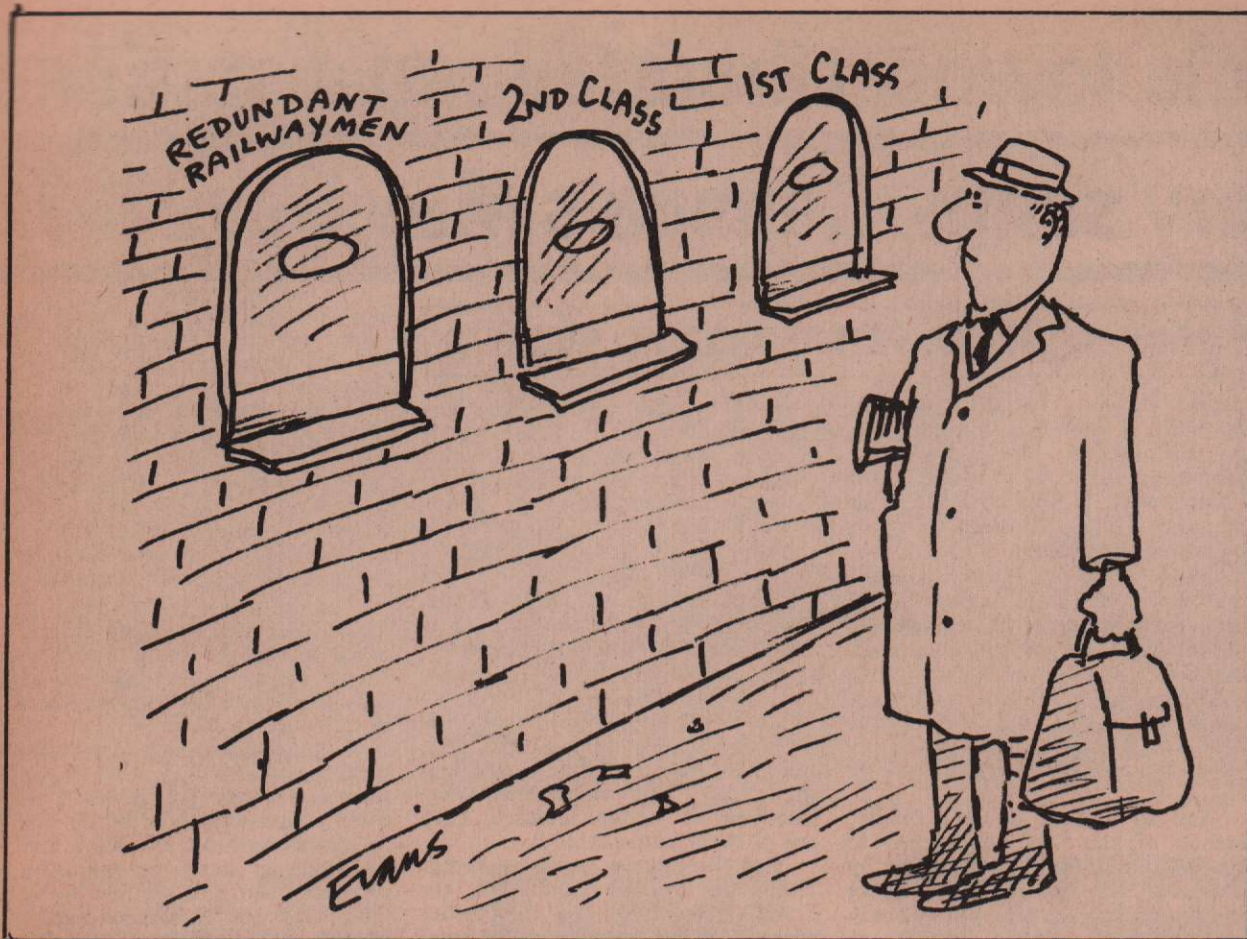
## CAUSE FOR CONCERN

NIXON's visit to Moscow at the very time he is stepping up the US air offensive in Vietnam to unprecedented levels is an embarrassment to the British Communist Party. To cover up its shame the Morning Star delivers an editorial attack on . . . China! 'It is regrettable' says the Star, 'that China, where Nixon was being received only three months ago, now makes his Moscow visit the occasion for another outburst on the theme of "Soviet-American collusion".'

But wait a minute. Isn't the object of the Nixon visit precisely to increase co-operation, collusion if you like, between Russia and the USA? Isn't this what both Kosygin and Nixon have said it is for? Why then is it 'regrettable' to speak the truth about it?

We hold no brief for the government of China but on this question they are entirely correct. And if anyone is so naive as to believe that a successful US-Russian agreement would have no effect on Vietnam, they are living in cloud-cuckoo land.

There are immense obstacles in the way of a general agreement between the super-powers but if one were to be achieved it would be a new 'Holy Alliance' which would try to stabilise a division of the world into two 'spheres of influence'. It is not only the government of China that has good grounds to fear such a prospect.



## FOUL PLAY

### Foul play

SADLY, there is nothing new in the tragedy of George Best. He is just another victim of the capitalist glamour machine, where leeches and parasites fasten on to talented people, blow them up out of all proportion to their real worth and finally destroy them and cast them aside like ruptured balloons.

When the same system drove Marilyn Monroe to suicide, actress Kim Novak lashed the Hollywood profit moguls with the words: 'They treat us like hunks of meat in a butcher's window'. 'Stars' of the screen or the soccer field cease to be human beings. They are objects from which the maximum publicity can be screwed in order to boost the profits of managers and press barons.

It is not hard to imagine how the endless flood of publicity, the giant pictures, the glam magazines, the advertising puffs, the pop records can turn the head of the most well-adjusted athlete, convince him that he is a cut above the rest of us and that it is the done thing to act in a cavalier way, to be an eccentric who cuts training and misses important matches.

What it is not so easy to imagine for people who have no contact with the ways of the gutter press is what it is like to exist with a posse of cameramen camping out on your doorstep, flash bulbs popping when you nip out for a pint of milk. What starts out as the thrill of seeing your name in big headlines quickly becomes a hideous nightmare: an evening with a girl friend is flashed around the world as your 'great new love affair', five minutes late for work and you are at the centre of a 'giant storm'.

It is likely that the press and the fans will turn on Best and discover that he was really a worthless, boozy big head all along. You expect that from the press. They have sucked that particular milch cow dry and will move onto fresh pastures, with a few semi-racist asides about Best's 'Irishness' being the reason for his



Best: worst of all worlds

unpredictable behaviour.

But before the fans join in the knife-sticking they may care to ponder what this delightful way of life does to human beings even in such marginal areas as sport. And if crude exploitation and profiteering are the rule on the soccer field, don't they hold sway, too, in the factories and work places?

EDINBURGH's Blenheim Rooms were owned by the Engineering Union and were used as a meeting place by the local trade unions and socialist groups. The property was valued at £8000 but was sold for £4500 to the local Orange Order, which now rents the rooms out to union bodies—including the local AUEW branch. Not surprisingly, socialist groups like IS have been banned from meeting there.

An outraged militant rang the AUEW to confirm the story. 'There's no truth in it,' was the reply. He then rang the Orange Order and phrased his question more carefully: 'Can my union branch still book the Blenheim Rooms now that you own them?' Back came the answer: 'Oh, yes, that'll be all right.' Q.E.D.

### Uncivil

WHILE British Rail's boss Richard Marsh and NIRC president Sir John Donaldson are busily berating railmen for their audacity in demanding more pay and endangering the nation's economy, the same two gentlemen are up in arms at the government's decision to hold up their own pay rise.

Their 'union', the Institution of Professional Civil Servants, has protested at the delay in implementing the new salary levels recommended by an 'impartial' (ho, ho) review body chaired by ex-Tory MP Lord Boyle. The government clearly realises that to give Marsh and Donaldson and their sort up to £4000 a year more at this present delicate stage would provoke an explosion from many sections of the trade union movement.

There is an obvious way out of this dilemma for Marsh and Donaldson. They could mount a picket outside the NIRC and 'black' its proceedings. No legal action could be taken against them: Sir John has made it quite

clear himself that the leadership of a union or association is responsible for its members' actions.

We anticipate with a degree of delicious malice the thought of Sir John imposing a fine of £50,000 on the Institution of Professional Civil Servants.

*A CASE for the NIRC? Roly-poly Princess Margaret was due to officially open and give the Royal blessing for happy profiteering to the multi-million Chobham Farm container depot at Stratford, East London, next Friday. But the official dock strike is due to start on that date, 2 June, and London dockers are already picketing the depot as part of the national and 'illegal' blacking campaign of container firms.*

*The thought of HRH facing a line of pickets was too much for the bosses. The Royal visit has been abandoned.*

### Steel yourself

THE priorities of the British Steel Corporation came under the spotlight on Teesside last week. While BSC is busily cutting back on production and threatening thousands with the order of the boot, funds were lavished on a reception for top BSC bosses at the opening of the new Basic Oxygen Steelmaking Plant at Lackenby.

The opening has meant a net loss of nearly 2000 jobs in the area due to the closure of other works. But no expense was spared on the ceremony. It was performed by Lady Melchett, wife of the BSC chairman, and a special giant structure of scaffolding, platforming and awnings was erected for the occasion—and knocked down again the following morning at an estimated cost of £5000.

For a week before the great nosh-up, every painter in Lackenby was employed flat out, with as much overtime as he liked, to tastefully decorate the area to be graced by the steel nobbs.

Labourers were issued with tons of cleaning equipment and ordered to clean the melting shop floors. Every slip pad had to be carefully polished, every corner where an upper-class foot might step wiped and dusted.

BSC claims that the new works is the fastest in Europe, churning out steel every 45 minutes compared to eight hours in more conventional plants. But in the 24 hours before the visit, the furnaces were slowed down to a tortoise pace.

It was felt that the smell or the dust and fumes that steelworkers endure daily might be a little strong for the delicate nostrils of the rich and the filth that fills the workers' lungs might damage Lady M's new spring outfit.



# Workers taking over whole towns. Liberated radio stations broadcasting revolutionary songs. Canada's May Days 1972

WORKERS taking over whole towns. Liberated radio stations broadcasting revolutionary songs. Mass walk-outs in defiance of court injunctions.

These were just some of the developments last week as the Canadian province of Quebec exploded.

The immediate fuel for the explosion was last month's strike of 200,000 Quebec public service employees—the biggest strike in Canadian history. Despite a rank and file vote to stay out, the strike was called off by union leaders after 11 days. They were faced with massive repressive legislation pushed through the Quebec Legislative Assembly while the strike was still on, and they retreated.

But the provincial government of Quebec didn't stop there. In the past three weeks 49 union officials have been fined and given jail sentences for violating one or other of the battery of laws passed during the strike.

## Banners

The last straw came on 9 May. The three strike leaders—Marcel Pepin, president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, Yvon Charbonneau, president of the Quebec Teachers' Corporation, and Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labour—were sent to jail for a year.

As the three men reported for their sentences in Quebec City, a crowd of 3000 workers demonstrated outside the courthouse. An old steelworker said: 'We can't let them do that, because if they can get away with that then they can put all of us in jail.' Around him there were banners and the chant from Paris '68: 'Ce n'est qu'un début, continuons le combat.' (It's only the start, continue the fight.)

And continue they did. In the rest of the week spontaneous protest strikes erupted across Quebec, from Sept-Îles in the east to Rouyn-Noranda 600 miles away in the west.

## Powerless

It all started in Sept-Îles, a town of 18,000 with a long history of grass-roots union militancy. Workers virtually took the place over on 10 May. They closed the airport, jammed telephone lines and blocked the main road leading into town, hence delaying the arrival of police reinforcements for 12 hours.

For 12 hours the town was in the hands of the workers. Nothing like it has ever happened in Canada before.

## FROM PAUL O'FLINN IN PETERBOROUGH, ONTARIO

The local police force was powerless to prevent 1000 strikers from marching in and taking over the local commercial radio station.

There they broadcast strike bulletins, information about demonstrations and the songs of, among others, Pauline Julien, a Quebec nationalist imprisoned without trial during the October 1970 crisis.

People sat up and listened. For the first time, their radios were actually relating directly to their lives and their concerns, instead of relaying aggressive ruling-class drivel, and advertisements for plastic rubbish.

By 11 May, police reinforcements had moved in, and law and order, drivel and rubbish had been restored. But it was too late. The news was out.

In the next couple of days, a dozen radio and television stations were seized across the province and

people caught a tantalising glimpse of what a real, post-revolutionary culture might be like. More important, they learnt about the strikes in other parts of the province and stopped feeling isolated as they organised their own.

Miners in Port Cartier, Gagnon and Fermont poured out of the pits. There were spontaneous general strikes in Thetford and St Jerome involving 25,000 workers. 40,000 building workers in Montreal downed tools.

## Militancy

And so it went on: the Quebec branch of the CBC (equivalent to the BBC) was forced off the air by walkouts. The Quebec North Shore and Labrador Railway was similarly paralysed.

Top union leaders, of course, were

terrified by this explosion of rank and file militancy. They desperately tried to keep their members calm. Donald MacDonald, president of the Canadian Labour Congress (equivalent to the TUC) told reporters in a shocked voice: 'It's grim, really.'

He said the CLC's main fear was a spontaneous general strike because 'they're not strikes, they're revolutions.' A handy reminder of precisely where the union bureaucrats stand when the crunch comes.

Meanwhile the Quebec Liberal government was plunged into crisis and confusion. Two ministers announced their resignation, then withdrew it under pressure, then one of them resubmitted it.

The Tory press was apoplectic. The Toronto Globe and Mail, the Times of Canada, berated the Quebec government for overplaying its hand, making martyrs of the men in prison,

and cutting the ground from under those 'moderate men of all shades of opinion' that editorial writers are always hoping will emerge.

As the crisis goes on the release of the jailed men seems imminent. More important, last month's battery of panic legislation which removed the right to strike and picket from whole sections of the Quebec working class has been shown to be a dead letter, ludicrous because unenforceable.

The lessons are not new. They are all old ones, but they have been made excitingly clear once again. Repressive anti-union legislation will only work with the co-operation of a docile working class.

But once that class begins to move, no force on earth can resist it. Policemen and trendy politicians in pastel shirts, bureaucrats and senile clowns in courtrooms—all are powerless to do anything once the majority of ordinary men and women see their vital interests threatened and act boldly and together to defend themselves.

## LIVELIEST LETTERS ON THE LEFT

# Irish trade unionist behind bars

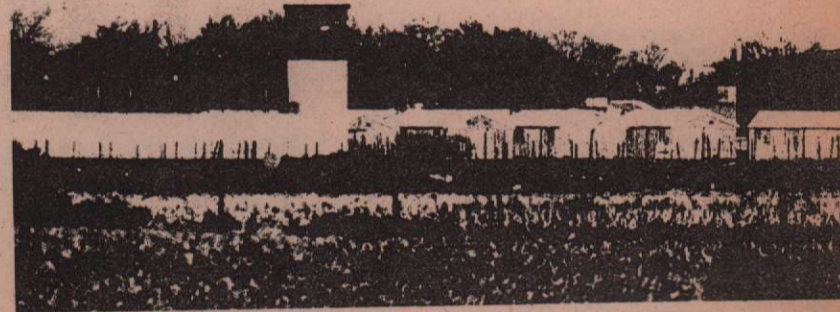
I AM AN INTERNEE and I have been held a prisoner without charge of trial from 9 August 1971. I am a member of one of the Republican clubs associated with the Official Republican Movement, a member of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and a member of the 11/50 branch of the Transport and General Workers Union, Dungannon.

Before I was arrested I was working in Turner Bros (asbestos) in Dungannon and I was the TGWU senior shop steward there. This firm is a branch of the big Turner and Newall combine which has interests all over the world and has larger asbestos mines in Rhodesia.

Before I was arrested, the workers in the Dungannon branch had put in for a £3 rise for 40 hours. I was actively involved in this and after various talks with the firm all they would offer was £1.30. After going through much red tape, the finance and general purposes committee of the TGWU agreed to back us officially if we went out on strike. This was about the end of July 1971 as far as I can remember and the rest of the shop stewards and myself had various meetings with the workers about the proposed strike.

However on 9 August I was lifted and so was removed from the scene. I have since got my cards. After this things ran on in the factory until in November last the workers accepted the £1.30.

One thing which our union would never give us was the various rates



Lond Kesh concentration camp

and terms operating in the parent factories in Rochdale and Hindley Green. We could never get in touch with any of the shop stewards working there.

Could you put me in touch with the right shop stewards who could help me in this regard? This is one thing which I believe must be done: there must be regular contact between active trade unionists in these islands if the government's oppressive legislation is to be beaten.

For too long the working classes have remained in isolation from each other, not knowing what the other was doing.

The situation here in the North of Ireland is critical. The indiscriminate bombing of the Provos, the undercover acts of the Vanguard, aided by the three establishments, are all leading to a civil war situation. This will not benefit the working classes in these islands but will lead to destruction and lasting hatred.

We get copies of the Socialist Worker here every week so we are kept up to date on the many things which affect the working classes. The coverage that you give to the struggle in Ireland is appreciated.

Any information will be a help to the present senior shop steward in Turner Bros, who is now involved in another wage claim. This is for £5 on the basic rate for 40 hours and backdated to last January.—PATRICK MCCUSKER, Hut 17, Cage 2, Long Kesh Concentration Camp, Lisburn.

Socialist Worker has passed Brother McCusker's request for information to the Industrial Committee of the International Socialists.

## Against Labour or Tories?

BARRY WOODLING is quite right (13 May). It is seriously misleading for papers of the revolutionary Left to join in the chorus of 'get the Tories out' raised by the entire range of Labour Party hacks from right to left.

This is not, of course, because anyone would want to deny that a Labour government would be marginally preferable to the present administration. It is misleading because of the implication that the substitution of a Labour government for a Tory one would have anything to do with socialism, or bring to an end the attack on the working class and the trade unions.

As Chris Harman's useful article on Wilson's handling of the 1966 Seamen's strike makes clear, there is not much that is distinctively 'Tory' about either the current wave of government union-bashing or the Industrial Relations Act. The way for both was opened up by Wilson, Gunter and Barbara Castle.

Both parties now act quite directly

as the political agencies of contemporary corporate capitalism, in which the state plays a key role.

But the conclusion to be drawn from this is that it is, if anything, more important to attack the Labour Party than the Conservatives, precisely because they retain the electoral allegiance (if no more) of the majority of the working class.

The Labour Party remains the biggest institutional obstacle to the development of a genuinely socialist movement in Britain. It is therefore essential to attack Labour head-on, and systematically to try to destroy the illusions which still sustain it.—ANTHONY ARBLASTER, Sheffield.

BARRY WOODLING makes a dangerous mistake when he opposes the slogan 'Kick out the Tories'. Of course, he is right to say that Labour are basically no different.

But supposing Labour won an election tomorrow, and did as they always do—

turned on the working class. Would he shout 'Kick out Labour'?

He could only do that if a realistic alternative existed, with the form of a mass revolutionary party.

No matter how disillusioned workers may be with the Labour Party, you can't just shout 'Down with Labour' unless you are strong enough to challenge it in practice. That is why, still, the key way to challenge the Labour Party is to demand that it fights the Tories.

If at the same time we work to build an independent revolutionary organisation, then perhaps soon we will not just shout at Labour, but actually replace it.—MARTIN BARKER, Bristol.

## Left unity

YOU often end your reports with 'The only way forward is a united working class movement.' This is my great concern. I am losing faith in your organisation, because you appear to be in the same class as Jack Jones and the Scanlons—all shout and no action.

Your organisation may not support a conference of all revolutionary movements, but I think one should be called. No 'party' should be asked to give up its identity—all we want is an agreed plan of action so that we can bring down the Tory government and then force the Labour Party and trade union leaders to carry out the wishes of the majority of the workers.

Surely there is nothing with greater priority than that, in the face of the Tory onslaught and the retreat of Labour and the trade unions.—S SMITH, West Bromwich, Staffs.



'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.

## TROTSKY'S HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

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Workers from the AEI factory at Woolwich marching in protest at the decision to close the factory in 1969. They lost—and became one of the first factory workforces to get redundancy pay en masse.

THE SACK is an ugly word. It's an ugly business. That's why the bosses—and most of the newspapers—prefer the sugar-coated word 'redundancy'.

Redundancy may look prettier to them—but it didn't to the 300,000 workers who joined the dole queues last year.

For the bosses redundancy often is prettier, for it often means there's no fight back from the union or the shop floor against sackings. Such resistance was made more difficult by the Labour government's redundancy payments scheme in 1965.

In 1971 the employers paid out more than £100 million in compensation to workers sacked as redundant. For the bosses this was money well spent, and cheap at the price. Redundancy payments are counted as a normal business expense for tax purposes. So the scheme is generously subsidised from public funds.

The average redundancy payment last year was less than £300—the equivalent of only eleven weeks' average wages. With unemployment soaring, £300 is poor compensation for the loss of a job.

But the bait was just sufficiently attractive to divide and weaken the workers involved. In many factories there were workers ready to volunteer for the chop.

### VANISHED

Recently, the tide has begun to turn. A few hundred pounds—even tax free—begins to look a poor option as unemployment mounts and the chance of finding another job recedes. This applies particularly in places like Clydebank, with 10 per cent unemployment and, as recently, only two jobs on offer at the local employment exchange.

But even at UCS redundancy payments have taken their toll. Since last August about 2000 workers have collected their compensation and vanished. The battle at UCS continues—but Jimmy Reid and his men have lowered their sights—and aim to save only the jobs of the 6-7000 workers still in the yards. Whatever the eventual outcome at UCS, there are at least 2000 jobs up the spout for good.

THE Redundancy Payments Act was created by Ray Gunter, then Minister of Labour. He recently resigned from

# THIS BRIBE FOR GETTING SACKED

'We do not want any firms which are contemplating the introduction of new equipment involving some reduction in labour requirements to be deterred from going ahead by the cost of compensation they will have to pay to displaced workers.'—RAY GUNTER



the Labour Party.

The scheme was worked out in close collaboration with the British Employers Confederation.

By setting up a central Redundancy Fund their aim was to encourage the individual employer to cut his labour force by spreading among all employers the cost of buying off the workers affected.

As Gunter explained to the Commons on 26 April 1965: 'We do not want any firms which are contemplating the introduction of new equipment involving some reduction in the labour requirements to be deterred from going ahead by the cost of compensation which they will have to pay to displaced workers.'

The scheme was carefully devised to give employers greater control over which workers they can pick out for the sack. The traditional trade union principle of 'Last in, first out' is undermined by a formula which gives bigger compensation to older workers and to those with longer service in a particular firm.

But no-one under the age of 20 gets a penny if declared redundant, nor does a worker who has been with the firm for less than two years, whatever his age.

by Roger Jackson  
and Jim Kincaid

Length of 'service' (as they call it) counts more for the older workers. For each year of service over the age of 41, the worker made redundant gets 1½ weeks' pay. For each year from the age of 22 to age 40, one week. But 'service' from 18-21 counts for only half a week.

As the term 'service' implies, the whole basis of the scheme is essentially feudal. 'Service' to the employing class as a whole does not count, only service with the particular employer who is doing the sacking. So a worker made redundant after changing jobs is liable to get nothing or very little. A worker paid off from one job is in a very bad position if his next job is threatened with redundancy.

In calculating the size of a redundancy payment only the wages earned in the last four weeks before dismissal are taken

into account. Overtime does not count. Piecework earning will generally be low because of lack of work over this period.

Workers over 40 years old find it increasingly difficult to obtain another job. So if made redundant at 50 he could face a life on the dole.

Redundancy pay is limited to £1,200. To achieve this a worker must be over 60 when sacked, must have worked for the same employer for 20 years, and must be earning at least £40 per week in the month before dismissal. There are precious few workers who can manage these qualifications.

REDUNDANCY for the upper classes is a quite different matter. In The Times of 2 November 1971 it was reported that when Lord Hall was prematurely 'retired' as chairman of the Post Office, he was given a cool £50,000 to speed him on his way. When Mr Lionel Joseph was sacked for gross incompetence as managing director of BSA, he got a golden handshake of £35,000 to soften the blow.

The redundancy scheme is littered with rules which cut down the cost to employers. Only the last 20 years of service with a given employer are counted—any extra beyond 20 years is ignored. No wages or salary above £40 a week are counted.

Part-time workers doing less than 21 hours a week are completely excluded from this scheme. This hits particularly hard at women workers—1.5 million of whom work fewer than the hours needed to qualify.

The Act states that where workers have been laid off (or kept on short time for more than half the working week) for four successive weeks (or for a total of six weeks in any 13) they are entitled to the same redundancy money as if they had been sacked.

### PROVOKED

This may look generous. But as one worker from the Chrysler plant at Ryton, Coventry, explained: 'When short-time was being worked in the plant, the bosses avoided having to pay out redundancy money by pulling in the labour force just often enough to prevent them qualifying'.

Another let-out for the employer is that redundancy money is not payable if a lay-off or short-time is caused by a strike—and this strike need not be in the same firm, or the same industry, it could be anywhere in the world. Many unscrupulous firms have purposely provoked strikes when demand was falling and they wished to get out of having to make redundancy payments.

Redundancies CAN be fought successfully as the workers who occupied their factories in Kirkby, Lancashire, and in Alexandria in Scotland have recently shown.

When the Tories took power in 1970 the Labour Party suddenly began to express deep concern and outrage at the high level of unemployment. But Labour's redundancy scheme was expressly designed to produce a rapid rate of redundancy in the interest of economic efficiency.

Of course unemployment must be made as expensive as possible to the capitalist class. But trivial hand-outs to a select few workers are no solution.

We have to fight for: a living wage for the unemployed, no matter what the cause of unemployment, and unemployment benefit for as long as unemployment lasts—not cut off after a year as now.

But the real fight must be to prevent unemployment in the first place. Our demands must be: Five days' work or five days' pay. A 35 hour week. No compulsory overtime.

To fight redundancies successfully, organise and occupy.

## Learn to speak topsy-turvy Toryese in one easy lesson

IN 1984, George Orwell's famous study of a future Britain ruled by a brutal dictatorship, the ruling class develops a version of English called Newspeak in which expressions always mean their exact opposite—'peace' means 'war', 'plenty' means 'scarcity'.

In spite of recent government measures, we are still a long way from that type of society, but the recent speeches of Tory leader Edward Heath and his colleagues show a certain similarity to the style of Big Brother.

Here is a rundown on the new-style vocabulary to help our readers fully appreciate all the subtleties of government propaganda:

AT-A-STROKE: wink and a nod to business friends to let prices rip—after the election.

BOUNDARY CHANGES: fixing votes to make sure you win next time.

BUOYANT: state of economy when shares are booming after collapse of strike. See GRIEVOUS below.

CONFRONTATION: what the unions are seeking with the government.

CONSUMERS: section of society

that excludes trade unionists and which government must protect against excessive wage demands.

DEMAND: attitude of unions when asking for more. See REGRET below.

DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT: government elected on minority vote.

EXTORTIONATE: see RANSOM below.

EQUAL SOCIETY: see NATION below.

FAIR RENT: savage increase visited to force council tenants on to private house market where speculating friends are making a killing.

FEATHER: 'Wild man of trade union movement.'

[Least successful piece of government propaganda—has provoked puzzlement in Tory ranks and hysterical laughter on left.]

GRIEVOUS: state of economy when strikers win and shares fall. See BUOYANT, above.

HOUSEWIVES: people to be fooled at-a-stroke.

INFLATION (first version): something caused by import controls and taxation, not higher wages—Edward Heath before the last election.

INFLATION (second version): something caused solely by excessive wage demands—Edward Heath after the election.

JUST: wage increases for the Queen, MPs, judges. See UNJUST, below.

LAME DUCKS: firm that can't be helped because leading government ministers have no shares in it.

LAW AND ORDER: minority rule. KNIFE-EDGE: same as GRIEVOUS. LEGITIMATE RETURN ON

INVESTMENT: quick fortune made by Tory MP through doubtful business practices.

MINORITY INTEREST: 10 million trade unionists.

NATION: eight per cent of the population who own 80 per cent of the

wealth and want to keep it that way.

NO CONFRONTATION with the unions: fining TGWU £55,000.

OBDURATE: union leader who sticks at eight per cent.

PUBLIC: mixture of CONSUMERS and NATION.

QUEEN: costly ventriloquist's dummy now learning to mime in French.

RANSOM, holding the country to: railmen asking for £20.

REFERENDUM: un-British way of doing things—'the device of dictators and demagogues'—currently being used in railway dispute.

REGRET: attitude of management when saying no. See DEMAND, above.

SENSIBLE: union that settles for less than rise in cost of living.

TOTALITARIANISM: where MINORITY interest is taking us.

UNJUST: wage increases for miners, postmen, etc. See JUST, above.

VOTERS: mugs.

WILSON: government secret weapon. Worth a million Tory votes every time he defines socialism.

YACHTING HOLIDAY: funk hole for frightened prime minister.

ZERO-HOUR: see GRIEVOUS and KNIFE-EDGE, above.



# BENT COPPERS

## Corruption swept under the carpet

A witch-hunting orgy is planned in the courts on 5 June. On that day, and for several weeks afterwards, the subtlest techniques of the mass media will be unleashed on the 'British public'.

The worst middle-class fears will be 'vindicated'. An 'enemy within', an evil, violent, heartless enemy with a single-minded purpose to destroy, will be 'exposed' in three great show trials.

Entirely by coincidence, 5 June will see the opening of the 'Angry Brigade' trial of the Stoke Newington 9, the 'Saor Eire' trial of a group of young people in Hackney charged with possessing explosives and the committal proceedings for the men charged with murder in connection with the explosion at Aldershot barracks last January.

In all three trials (if the reporting proceedings are lifted on the Aldershot case) the prosecutors' speeches will be reprinted as gospel, and the defence arguments will be greeted by press silence.

The middle class will be systematically terrorised by a press campaign the like of which has not been seen since the 'Tottenham Terror' and Sidney Street anarchist scares before the First World War.

Whatever the results of these trials, the cry will go up: Law

and Order At All Costs! The anarchists must be put down!

More powers must be given to the guardians of the public order, the 'boys in blue' and their superiors, the decent, hard-working, underpaid, and harassed detectives of the type we have watched on television all the way from Dixon of Dock Green to Softly Softly and who are now appearing in a flood of 'decent copper' films, such as Dirty Harry and the French Connection.

### COMPLAINTS

As soon as Robert Carr's front door was blown in on December 1970, the order went out from Downing Street to investigating detectives in Tintagel House: Do not stand on ceremony. If necessary, the 'Judges Rules' about 'cautioning' and charging a suspect and allowing him to consult a lawyer, could be ignored.

They were. The courts remained silent.

### PAUL FOOT



writes...

The mounting complaints in recent months from the National Council of Civil Liberties that the liberties which protect the citizen from arbitrary police action are gradually being whittled away have been swept aside as the moaning of 'softies'.

From Lord Hailsham, the scatter-brained Lord Chancellor, downwards, the word has gone out to senior police officers and the magistrates and judges that these civil liberties, won in struggle over 150 years, are irrelevant relics of the past, and that the 'war against anarchy' (in Lord Hailsham's interesting phrase) can only be conducted under properly martial conditions.

After all, runs the argument, why worry? It is as near impossible for a policeman, let alone a detective, to exceed his powers as it is for a camel to enter the eye of a needle.

A casual visitor to the Old Bailey on 3 March this year might have got quite a different picture. On that day, two Scotland Yard detectives, Detective Sergeant Harris and Detective Inspector Robson, were convicted and imprisoned on charges of corruption involving the payment of a criminal.

This case received rather more publicity than usual because the criminal had gone with his story to The Times.

On the same day, two self-

confessed criminals, John Parkhill and Peter Sutcliffe, were acquitted of conspiracy to rob the Westminster Bank at Crouch End Hill in North London. The men's defence was that they had been framed by unnamed members of Scotland Yard's Flying Squad who had fabricated and planted all the evidence against them.

The judge clearly agreed with these allegations and summed up for an acquittal. The case was not reported in The Times or any other national newspaper.

Another unreported case that day was that of four dustmen, charged with robbing a mini-cab driver. The police evidence against them was to have been given by Detective Constable Stuart Wilder, who was on the same day remanded at Old Street magistrates court on a corruption charge.

On the same day, five more Flying Squad officers appeared at Wells Street magistrates court charged with various offences of dishonesty.

A few weeks later, the head of the Flying Squad, Commander Kenneth Drury, resigned from the police force after an internal

investigation about a newspaper report which pictured him sunning it in Cyprus along with a Soho strip club-owner.

Commander Drury appeared on television and in the press vigorously defending the 'right' of detectives to keep in close contact with their 'contacts' in the underworld.

Shortly before Drury's resignation, Mr Robert Mark had taken up his job as Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, and had set about him with a will in a desperate attempt to 'clean up' the force.

He had before him the detailed report of a former head of the Carlisle and Cumberland police, Mr Frank Williamson. Williamson, the epitome of the 'honest cop', who referred to the police force as 'the service', had been commissioned after The Times' revelations to inquire into allegations that the two convicted detectives were part of a 'firm within a firm'.

He found that that was the case and in shocked tones called for a spate of prosecutions of police officers all over London.

The prosecutions were in and Williamson resigned in disgust.

Instead Mark has tried to sweep the dirt under the carpet by 'replacing' key officers with men from the uniformed side whom he hopes he can trust. The Commissioner does not realise, apparently, that 75 per cent of police convictions are of uniformed men.

Another problem for Mr Mark is his drug squad. Even the Scotland Yard Drug Squad chief, Detective Inspector Kelaher, was involved in a trial last summer at Middlesex Quarter Sessions, the London drug squad appears to have wound up.

### RESIGNED

In the Middlesex case, the officers following the delivery of package cases containing cannabis were rather surprised to find Mr Kelaher co-operating with the men who were later tried and convicted for handling drugs.

Mr Kelaher explained that of the men was his informant that did not save the man from seven years' imprisonment.

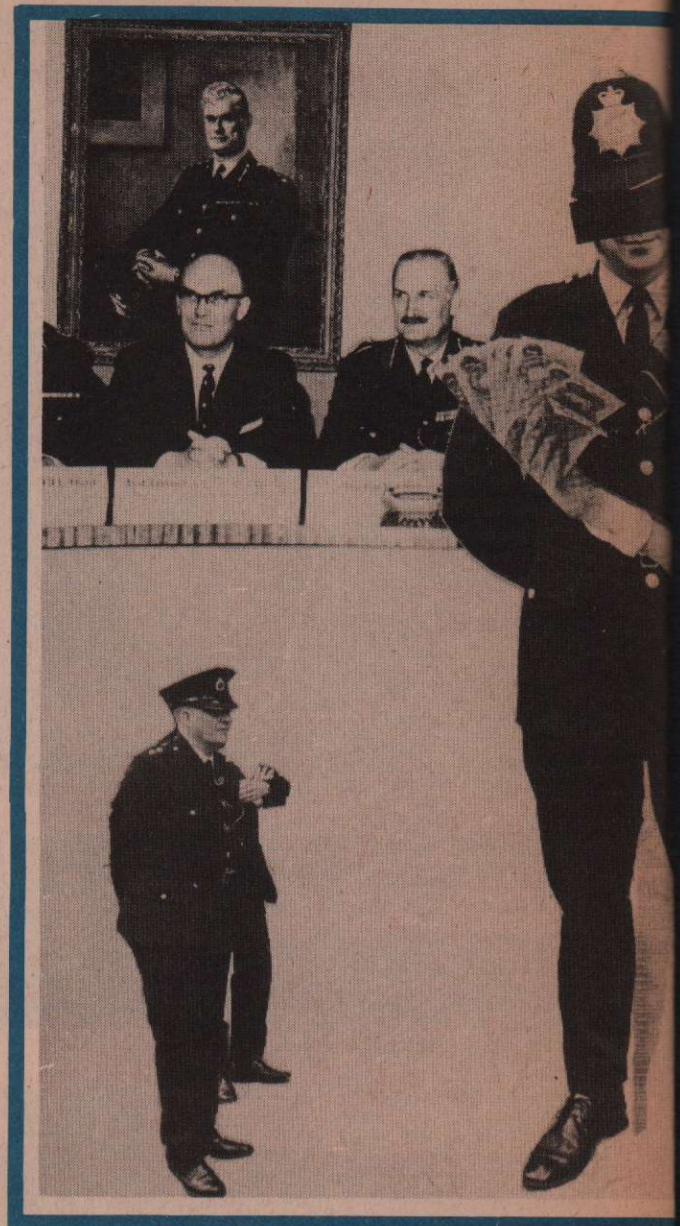
A police inquiry into the involvement of Mr Kelaher was conducted by the Assistant Constable of Lancashire, Harold Prescott, has resulted in 'no action', and Mr Kelaher has resigned from the force.

These are not the problems of London alone.

Nottingham, Plymouth and especially Leeds there have been stories in the last few weeks of high-handed, corrupt and racist individual policemen, many of whom were inquired into by the force, and whitewashed.

The plain fact is that these problems are widespread and basic to the police force in modern capitalist society.

For the mainspring of the capitalist society is robbery. The rich and powerful media, the control industry, finance and commerce is that they have systematically robbed the people of the fruits of production.



The man who flew too high: ex-Flying Squad boss Kenneth Drury

# YARD CHIEF QUILTS



Commander Drury talks outside his home in about his decision. "I shall miss the loss of my job."

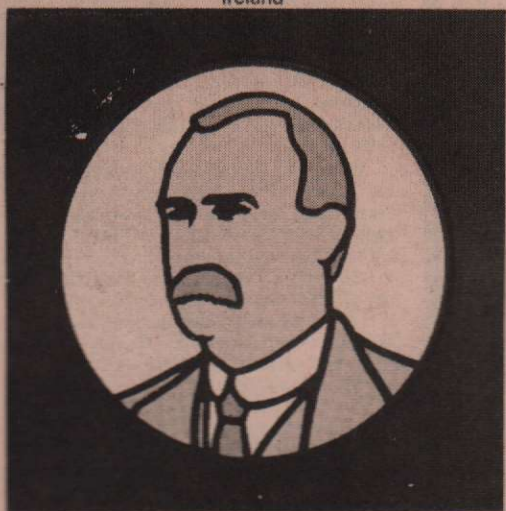
COMMANDER Kenneth Drury, suspended head of Scotland Yard's Flying Squad, resigned last night.

He quit after a half hour meeting with top officers at the Yard. He said that his bosses had put no pressure on him.

Drury goes.. now many top CID men may follow.

## International Socialism 51

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



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# ANGELA

## Frame-up by the state

The prosecution case in the Angela Davis show trial ended last week in a tangled web of confusion and intrigue. The State of California is attempting to build a conspiracy by Angela based on her letters to George Jackson, the black militant gunned down by guards in San Quentin jail last August.

But the only conspiracy to emerge is one by the state against Angela—a conspiracy involving the FBI, police and prison officials.

Angela—a member of the American Communist Party—is accused of plotting to free the black 'Soledad Brothers'—including Jackson—from jail. State Prosecutor Albert Harris has built his case on the claim that her love for George Jackson led her to mastermind an attempt by an armed group to kidnap hostages from a courthouse in August 1970.

According to Harris, the hostages were to have been used to secure Jackson's release. The courthouse drama ended in a shoot-out in which a state judge, two black prisoners and Jackson's younger brother, Jonathan, who led the armed raid, all died.

### GRISLY

The prosecution spent several weeks attempting to produce a coherent version of the events in the courthouse where the shoot-out took place. Harris tried to sway the all-white jury with grisly accounts of the deaths, including a description of the judge's head being blown apart by a shotgun blast and the fate of one of the hostages who grabbed a gun from Jonathan Jackson, shot several of the prisoners and was then shot himself and left paralysed for life.

But medical testimony revealed that the shot that killed the judge was probably a pistol wound in the chest rather than the shotgun wound which the state accuses Ruchell Magee—on trial with Angela—of firing. It is possible that the judge was accidentally shot by the hostage, an assistant district attorney

**Harris went on to read letters written by Angela Davis to George Jackson, supposedly showing a passionate love affair between the two which would have driven Davis to any lengths to free him. The court allowed Harris to introduce the letters as evidence even though this violated constitutional rights against the seizure of private papers and property.**

The account of how the state obtained the letters is the most interesting part of the trial so far since it offers strong evidence of a consciously planned political conspiracy to railroad Angela to prison.

An FBI agent testified to making two illegal searches of Angela's home in Los Angeles last August, during which he took photocopies of some of the letters. He had apparently been told that any material connecting Angela with George Jackson would be wanted by the prosecution.

A prison guard admitted confiscating a letter from Angela to



Angela Davis: enormous support from blacks and young whites

Jackson, in violation of prison rules. He passed it on to the guard captain who engineered the frame-up of the Soledad Brothers.

A woman deputy sheriff admitted stealing Angela's typewriter from her prison workroom at night. She typed a sample to be used as evidence that Angela wrote the letters to Jackson on the machine.

So it appears that from a time long before George Jackson's murder, the state was collecting 'evidence' to link Angela with Jackson in order to prepare charges against her.

**With Jackson out of the way it was easy enough to seize his papers and gather all the correspondence between the two. The state has attempted during the trial to force John Thorne, a lawyer for both Jackson and Angela, to provide further evidence on the correspondence, a violation of the rights of confidentiality between lawyer and client.**

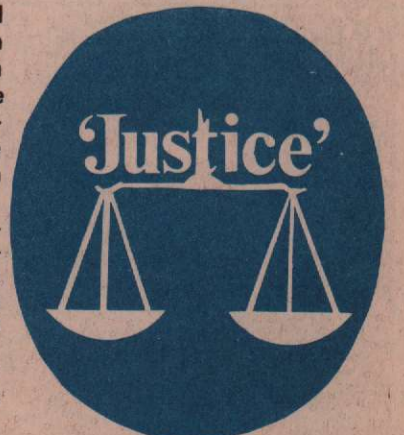
The capitalist system of 'justice' allows no channels for investigating the extent of collusion between various arms of the state in their efforts against Angela.

There is no question about the enormous depth of sentiment

for Angela Davis in the black community as well as among younger whites. For many Americans who once accepted the word of the government as fact, the public exposure of the conspiracy to murder the Black Panthers in every city and to destroy other black and radical organisations has undermined the ability of the state to convince them of the truth of the frame-up charges against Angela.

The defence case was due to open this Thursday and is expected to last a month.

Report from  
Workers Power,  
paper of the  
American  
International Socialists



RED SAUNDERS

The laws which outlaw larceny and murder do not penalise the larceny of property speculation or of the murder caused by factory 'accidents'.

For the Great Robbers who control society, therefore, the criminal underworld is a nuisance which has to be suppressed, not because they are robbers but because they are robbers from the rich.

Big, upper-class robbery has to be protected from small, lower-class robbery and that is the job which the police are paid to do.

The means used to do the job are the means sanctioned by the Big Robbers. The plant, the lie, the bribe, the beating-up—all are justified because the ends, the protection of Big Property, is achieved.

The propaganda whereby this process is justified is usually in terms of poor old ladies beaten over the head and robbed of their last ten bob.

The reality, however, is that the Big Robbers want to protect their loot from the small robbers. The Great Train Robbers are rotting in maximum security jails while the men who stole much more money on behalf of the shareholders of Bristol Siddeley Engines have all been promoted.

### BRUTALITY

The job of the police is to protect their robber masters with the same tenacity, solidarity, corruption and brutality with which the underworld gunmen protect theirs. That is why the police have more in common with the underworld than they have against it.

But in recent years another crucial job of the police has gained in priority.

The underworld can always be contained by capitalism, because it operates on the same basis. But what if the people who are robbed turn on their robbers and dispossess them? That prospect entails a battle of far subtler significance than the battle against the underworld.

One of the most interesting features of the Angry Brigade inquiry has been the rise in influence of an entirely new

sort of policeman, who contrasts sharply with the 'big boots' image presented by the officers leading the inquiry.

These are men who do not speak in the ridiculous jargon of the police station. They dress well, and grow their hair long.

They are well-read and soft-spoken. They drive fast cars and speak at least two languages.

In talking to Angry Brigade suspects, they have seemed far more interested in finding out about modern philosophy than in running in the suspect to prison.

**These are the men who read the political literature which has been illegally confiscated in police raids over the last few months, much of it from members of the International Socialists.**

These are the men who arrange the planting of agents in political organisations, a job far more complex than the planting of criminals in gangs.

These are the men who will attempt to vindicate the prediction of the Home Secretary in the film *The Clockwork Orange*: 'We're going to need all our prisons for political offenders'.

As capitalism seeks to survive without even the sustenance of the so-called 'Protestant ethic', as the religious 'values' of a former era disintegrate into a mad scramble for more wealth, more leisure and more privilege for the marauders, so the police force will grow increasingly corrupt and brutal.

So, too, perhaps more importantly, the political police force will grow in strength and subtlety.

I suspect that the task which these last have taken on is greater than even the most arrogant spy among them has ever imagined.

**The enormity of the system which they seek to defend is creating, far faster than they can keep up with, a movement of dissent and revolt which plans to end class robbery once and for all and create a society where policemen protect people from property and not the other way round.**

# The struggle for Britain's unions

AT THE height of the London Docks Strike of 1889 there were 3000 men doing picket duty—no wonder socialists of the time saw it as the symbol of a new movement among the working class, and it still remains one of the most famous struggles of organised working men in Britain.

Ben Tillett, a dockside warehouse worker, had started a dockers' union in 1887. At first he had little success—but a grievance had long been simmering over the bonus system in the West India Docks. This was to be the spark.

On 7 August 1889 Tillett wrote a letter of complaint to the dock employers. It was ignored. On 12 August dockers unloading the Lady Armstrong were involved in a bonus dispute and stopped work.

Two days later all the workers in the South West India Dock joined the strike, demanding a minimum wage of sixpence an hour (day workers were then paid fivepence) and the removal of the hated 'contract' system of piecework which caused so many bonus disputes.

The strike for 'the dockers' tanner' had begun.

Soon the stevedores' union agreed to support the struggle, while an elaborate system of pickets was arranged—within a week, the whole port of London was paralysed.

Massive marches and demonstrations kept up the dockers' morale, and brought their demands widespread publicity. An appeal for financial support was launched, with relief carefully distributed by the strike committee.

The dock employers were taken completely by surprise, and failed to prevent the rapid spread of the strike. But they appeared immovable in their rejection of the men's demands.

By the end of August relief funds were running low, there seemed no prospects of a settlement, and the strike leaders were becoming desperate. Fearing that the dockers would be starved into surrender, they decided to appeal for a sympathy strike of all London workers.

But this turned out to be unnecessary. On 30 August it was announced that an Australian trade union was sending £150 to the strike fund, and this was followed by a steady stream of similar donations—amounting by the end of the dispute to more than £30,000.

The general strike call was withdrawn, the dockers stood firm, and on 6 September the employers began serious negotiations. A week later a settlement was reached: all the main demands, including the dockers' tanner, were conceded.

## Impact

By the end of the strike, Tillett's Tea Operatives' Association had enrolled 18,000 members. It was now reorganised as the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union, and extended organisation to Bristol and other ports.

The dockers' victory was the signal for the formation of more 'new unions' in all parts of the country. Groups of workers who had been totally unorganised rushed to unionise: dockers, seamen and road transport workers, engineering and building labourers, chemical and tinsmith workers, brick-makers and many others. Scarcely an industry was left untouched by the new movement.

The impact of the new unionism on established organisations was equally notable. At the 1890 TUC, representatives of the new bodies—claiming to represent nearly 400,000 workers—dominated the proceedings.

Resolutions were carried calling for state intervention to remedy social and industrial grievances, which only a few years previously would

have been overwhelmingly rejected. The almost total commitment of the old unions to laissez-faire capitalist ideology was breaking down. For socialists, this was seen as the natural result of their years of effort; a triumph which would rapidly lead to an escalation of militancy and an explicit commitment to socialism on the part of British trade unionism as a whole. The new mood of optimism was summed up in 1890 by Engels: 'The masses are on the move and there is no holding them any more. The longer the stream is dammed up

the more powerfully will it break through when the moment comes. 'And these unskilled are very different fellows from the fossilised brothers of the old trade unions; not a trace of the old formalist spirit, of the craft exclusiveness of the engineers, for example; on the contrary, a general call for the organisation of all trade unions in one fraternity and for a direct struggle against capital.' And in 1893, not long before his death, Engels again emphasised the point: 'The old unions preserve the traditions of the time when they were

founded, and look upon the wages system as a once for all established, final fact, which they at best can modify in the interest of their members. 'The new unions were founded at a time when the faith in the eternity of the wages system was severely shaken. Their founders and promoters were socialists either consciously or by feeling. The masses, whose adhesion gave them strength, were rough, neglected, looked down upon by the working-class aristocracy, but they had this immense advantage, that their minds were virgin soil,

entirely free from the inherited 'respectable' bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated 'old' unionists. 'And thus we see now these new unions taking the lead of the working-class movement generally, and more and more taking in tow the rich and proud 'old' unions.'

## Solidarity

This optimism was misplaced. New unionism did indeed mark a new phase in the history of British trade unions. Organisation was permanently extended beyond its previous narrow base, and the complacent acceptance of unregulated capitalism was abandoned.

The formation of the Labour Party in 1900 was a logical consequence.

The dock strike was of continuing significance in showing the unsuspected potential for organisation and militant activity on the part of an apparently passive section of the working class. It also demonstrated that real solidarity could lead to success against the most tremendous obstacles.

Yet 1889 was not, as many believed, a prelude to revolution in Britain.

**NEXT WEEK: How the unions lost their sting**



One of the dockers' great marches through London. They were organised by tireless militant John Burns

# THE WINNING OF THE DOCKERS' TANNER

PART TWO by Bernard Ross

**FREDERICK ENGELS:**  
**'The masses are on the move'**

**BEN TILLETT:**  
**He organised the docks**





## REVIEW

## WAR AND PEACE a true story by Taku Ogawa

AFTER I'd left my university, I worked for a weekly magazine for three years. But in those days I felt uninterested in anything.

So I went to South Vietnam in November 1968 to change my mind. It was my first experience of taking pictures in a battlefield.

When I got on to the aeroplane at Haneda International Airport, I thought perhaps I would not come back to Japan. And when I reached Saigon it was very hot and I saw

many bloody American soldiers.

On the third day I went to a battlefield which was 10 miles from Saigon, I was surprised that American soldiers brought refrigerators with them to the field. They were fighting with hot coffee, coke and big steaks and perhaps they should kill the Vietnamese with a laugh.

On the first night in the field, a Japanese photographer told me: 'If we are attacked by the NLF at midnight, you must get into the octopus trap'. There were many octopus

traps (shelters) full of water.

Shortly the soldiers slept deeply and I lay down in a grassy place. But I couldn't sleep. For a while I forgot myself on the field because of stardust and silence.

And I noticed a small fire which was lighting in the dark. It lit at intervals of about a second and moved.

I thought that the soldiers of the NLF would attack us. The fright spread at my heart. I wanted to get into the octopus, but it was between the fire and me. I repented

of coming to Vietnam, and I remembered about my family and friends. It was a very short time but I felt that it was very long.

I looked at the small fire, but by and by it disappeared.

The following morning I went with fear to the place where I had seen the fire last night. When I reached it there was a temporary toilet without a roof. I had been frightened by cigarette fire which a soldier had been making in the toilet.



Chief Superintendent Forrest, of Upper Street police station



Police violence—how many others died like Stephen?



Wormwood Scrubs: survival of the fittest

DEAR MR MAUDLING,

I am asking you for God's sake will you please let us know what is happening about my son Stephen McCarthy? We are still waiting for an inquiry into the police brutality and medical evidence of negligence...

How do you think I can go to my bed at night and just lay there and think is my son really dead or is it just a dream. You see Mr Maudling when my son Stephen died will you please tell me as to why myself and my family never saw him in his coffin or could never even have him home...

(from a letter written by Mrs B McCarthy to the Home Secretary, the Right Honourable Reginald Maudling MP)

OVER the past couple of years there has been substantial coverage of the death of Stephen McCarthy in the radical press and also in papers like The Observer. The coverage has produced no response from the government—it has produced evasions, lies, insults from the police and the courts. The McCarthy family are still fighting. This pamphlet, *Who Killed Stephen McCarthy?* is evidence of that.

## Flight

Working class kids get pushed around by the police. They're an easy target: they don't know the 'law', they don't have 'respectable' friends. Stephen was an escaped borstal boy, and his recapture was to be his death.

In mid-October 1969 Police Constable Leonard of Islington police, was involved in a fight in

Chapel Market, London N1, with some youths, one of whom resembled, but wasn't, Stephen McCarthy. On 16 November Stephen was at a bus-stop in Upper Street, Islington, with two friends, Joseph Ali and Danny Holden.

*'The Coroner and Joseph Ali What happened—'*

As we were walking along two plain-clothes officers jumped on us.

## Threat

*Would you be more explicit. They didn't 'Jump.' They approached you suddenly rather than 'jumped.'*

Yes. One of them grabbed me round the shoulder and pushed me into a wall. He said I was an absconder from borstal and I said I wasn't and that my name was Joseph Ali. As he pushed me against the rail I asked him who he was and he said: 'Shut your mouth or I'll stick a knife in your pocket and nick you for that...'

*What did you see him [Leonard] do to Stephen McCarthy?*

He had his [Stephen's] arm up his back and with his other hand he had hold of Stephen's hair. Stephen was saying: 'Let go of my arm, you are hurting me, I won't run away' and then he bashed his head against the bus-stop.

*Counsel: Is there any possibility that Stephen might have run into the bus-stop and caught his head on it by accident?*

No.

It was some time before Stephen's family could find out where he was. The police told them he was at Ashford Remand Home. He wasn't, he was at Wormwood Scrubs. They

# Who killed Stephen McCarthy?

told him his case wouldn't come up until the Inner London Sessions started, and they didn't know when that was. He in fact made a brief appearance at Old Street Magistrates Court on 24 November, looking very sick.

Stephen's family wrote to the governor of the Scrubs expressing concern about his condition on the 25th. On 7 December the probation officer expressed concern at

Stephen's condition. The following day the assistant governor wrote that Stephen 'was fit and cheerful'.

Stephen was transferred to Dover borstal. Although he was still ill the doctor was saying by 20 December that he was much improved.

On 10 January his sister visited him and found he was very ill.

Five days later he was at the Brook Hospital, Woolwich, which specialises in neurology. On 26 January Stephen McCarthy died.

He died because he was beaten by Constables Kilshaw and Leonard. He died because his injuries were ignored when he was imprisoned. He died because nobody in authority gave a damn about him.

The pamphlet covers the entire history of the case, the family's struggle and the authorities' lies. The death of any human being matters, but in examining the case of Stephen one is looking at a microcosm of the way this whole system works.

The fight for Stephen continues and the more people who involve themselves in the case the better. Every branch of the International Socialists should order this pamphlet, and every reader of this paper should buy it. It's about law and order, a popular subject these days and not just with the Right Honourable Reginald Maudling, MP.

*Who Killed Stephen McCarthy?* costs 10p and is available from IS Books, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2, or from the McCarthy Committee, 50 Courtney Road, Holloway, London N7.

NIGEL FOUNTAIN

DAVE PEARSON

## Wilcox farewell gives Man Alive a chance

DESMOND WILCOX is now Head of Features, BBC Television. This helps to explain why his edited discussions and formal concern have been happily absent from recent Man Alive programmes.

The discussions will return to Man Alive. If people take part in them only on condition they remain unedited, then their journey to the studio will not be wasted. Chrissy Maher of the Tuebrook Bugle, for instance, not only returned to Liverpool from London at a financial loss but was largely edited out of the discussion in which she was a main representative.

Three weeks ago Man Alive reported on the 100-acre development area of Covent Garden and the fight of its residents against the developers and County Hall. The residents will no doubt lose, but in such a well publicised way that they hope to be a warning and help to others where the odds are better.

## Homes

The film cited a previous warning. When the inner Liverpool communities were broken up and dispersed, the incidence of mental illness rose by 750 per cent. A case for the transitional demand of heavy compensation?

Man Alive's prizewinner, *Gale is Dead*, has now been shown four times. Its perspective is reformist and suggests that we need loving family life, properly caring children's homes and an abstinence from drugs (of which Gale Parsons died).

To take just one of these needs, the minimal requirements for children's homes, laid down 22 years ago in the Curtis Report, have not been met. Today the principal of Gale's old home would like the ratio between children and adults to be reduced to 2:1.

This demand, while unfeasible in our society, is transitional to those of Alexandra Kollantai and other revolutionary socialists.

Public consultation is notably absent from the social reforms analysed in the BBC series *A Question of Conscience*. It seems the only conscience which finally matters is that of the Home Secretary.

## Religion

Theatre censorship, capital punishment and the legislation on homosexuality and race relations are analysed, but not abortion nor divorce reform. The only woman to appear in the series is a sugar-sweet folk singer.

At present two thirds of the people of Britain want to bring back hanging. The series showed that, when the legislators, in the shape of Lord Gardiner, bothered to discuss the matter at village and town meetings, this same ratio of people ended meetings in support of abolition.

Religious belief, reform or revolution? This question was put to six people under 30, including Bernadette Devlin and Tariq Ali, by five young and middle class questioners in the series *How Can You Be So Sure?* Questions on Catholicism and parliament kept Bernadette from properly discussing strategy. Tariq's burden in turn was that he seemed to be considering an illiterate working class. In any event, the middle-class questioners would have remained unconvinced.

The major gains were probably the two take home fees and the lesson that, in future, a pre-condition for appearing should be a fair proportion of working-class questioners.



Mrs McCarthy, Stephen's mother, with family and friends on a recent memorial march through Chapel Market, Islington, to the bus stop where Stephen was arrested and received fatal injuries

# WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We fight:

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

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

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

Against anti-trade union laws and any

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

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

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

<p><b>SCOTLAND</b> Aberdeen Cumbernauld Dumfries Dundee Edinburgh Fife: Dunfermline/ Cowdenbeath Glenrothes Kirkcaldy Glasgow N Glasgow S Greenock Stirling St Andrews</p> <p><b>NORTH EAST</b> Bishop Auckland Durham Hartlepool Newcastle-upon-Tyne South Shields Spennymoor Sunderland Teesside E Teesside W</p> <p><b>NORTH</b> Barnsley Bradford Doncaster Grimsby Halifax Huddersfield Hull Leeds Ossett Scarborough Selby Sheffield York</p> <p><b>NORTH WEST</b> Barrow Blackburn Bolton Crewe Kirkby Lancaster Manchester Merseyside Oldham The Potteries Preston Salford St Helens Stockport Wigan Wrexham</p>	<p><b>MIDLANDS</b> Birmingham NE Birmingham S Coventry Dudley Leamington and Warwick Leicester Loughborough Mid-Derbyshire Milton Keynes Northampton Nottingham Oxford Redditch Rugby Telford Warley Wolverhampton</p> <p><b>EAST</b> Basildon Beccles Cambridge Chelmsford Colchester Harlow Ipswich Leiston Lowestoft Norwich Peterborough</p> <p><b>GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES</b> Acton Bexley Camden Chertsey Croydon East London Enfield Fulham and Hammersmith Greenford Hackney and Islington Harlesden Harrow Hemel Hempstead Hornsey Hounslow Ilford Kilburn Kingston Lambeth Lewisham Merton Paddington Reading St Albans Slough South Ealing Tottenham Walthamstow Wandsworth Wandsworth Wandsworth Woolwich</p>	<p><b>WALES and SOUTH WEST</b> Bath Bristol Cardiff Exeter Gloucester Llanelli Mid-Devon Neath Plymouth Swansea</p> <p><b>SOUTH</b> Ashford Brighton Canterbury Crawley Eastbourne Folkestone Guildford Portsmouth Southampton</p>
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# Unions: the noose tightens...

Dave Lyddon

THE MOST significant judgement made so far by the National Industrial Relations Court was the ruling by its president, Sir John Donaldson, that the Transport Workers Union had just 21 days in which to discipline its shop stewards on the Mersey docks.

Donaldson, the ex-Tory parliamentary candidate and 'impartial' industrial judge, spelt out loud and clear one of the central aims of the Industrial Relations Act—to create a situation where union leaders are forced to discipline their rank and file.

Earlier judgments of the court had stressed that a union was responsible for the action of its officials. In the UKAPE action against TASS's closed shop agreement at C A Parsons in Newcastle, the court quoted the relevant part of section 167 of the Act that defines an official as:

*'Any person who is an officer of the organisation or who (not being an officer) is a person elected or appointed in accordance with the rules of the organisation to be a representative of its members or some of them... including any person so elected or appointed who is an employee of the same employer as the members whom he is to represent.'*

## Underline

The second half of the definition clearly makes a shop steward an official of a union. To underline this point, Donaldson quoted from the TGWU shop stewards' handbook: 'Remember first of all you are an official of the union.'

He added: 'No union should be surprised if the court takes the same view and expects that union to require its officials, upon pain of dismissal, or, as the case may be, having their credentials withdrawn, to maintain the traditions of the movement, not the least of which has been a proud record of compliance with the law of the land.'

Ever since the TGWU abandoned its outright opposition to the Act, its legal representative, Peter Pain QC, has argued to the NIRC that shop stewards have authority to act only in accordance with union rules and policy. If they acted outside the law, he said, they did so without the authority of the union which was therefore no longer responsible for them.

## Disagree

Donaldson disagreed with this argument in his judgment on 12 May. He quoted three further passages from the TGWU's handbook to prove that a steward is an accredited official of the union.

He said that if the stewards were agents of the union before the blacking was banned then they remained agents after the court order. The union was still responsible for them. If the stewards refused to obey the union's policy—that is, to obey 'the law of the land'—they would have to have their credentials withdrawn.

This decision changes the court's attitude to Hull dockers' spokesman Walter Cunningham. He was named along with the TGWU in Panalpin's complaint to the NIRC about the blacking of its container lorries at a time when the responsibility of a union for its officials



Donaldson: unions are responsible

was still in dispute.

The union has since been found to be responsible for his actions and Cunningham will not be prosecuted. But the court has now forced the TGWU, subject to an appeal to be heard next Tuesday, to discipline its stewards.

If it fails to do so and is unable to lift the blacking by 2 June it will face further legal action by the NIRC.

Events of the past few weeks have put great pressure on union leaders to finally jettison the TUC's paper opposition to registration. The argument of many leaders now is that if they register they would be exempt from section 96 of the Act that covers inducement to breach of contract—the clause in dispute in the docks case.

## 'Benefits'

Registration would also force unions to submit their rule books to the government-appointed Registrar who has wide powers to ensure that stringent disciplinary measures are included in the rules. The unions would be forced to use such measures for fear of being de-registered and losing the 'benefits' of compliance with the Tories' law.

# Big steel cut-back threat to workers

THE SECURITY and working conditions of all steel workers are threatened by the government's joint announcement with the British Steel Corporation that it intends to limit steel expansion to no more than 36 million tons a year while reserving the option to reduce that target to as low as 28 million tons.

This lower figure is only one million tons above the present capacity of the industry. It is clear that BSC has abandoned its expansion plans of two years ago, which would have taken the output to 41 million tons by 1981.

It was this promise of expansion that was used to bribe the steel unions, principally BISAKTA, into accepting the rationalisation programme under which many top grade furnacemen and rollers were promised better-paid 'blue-eyed-boy' jobs in return for allowing redundancies to take place without resistance.

## Tip of iceberg

The revised plans will affect all grades of steelworkers, with the possible exception of those in the five plants where expansion is to be concentrated. These are Llanwern and Port Talbot, Scunthorpe and South Teesside, and Ravenscraig in Scotland.

But even in these works redundancies are certain. BSC plans to spend £250 million at Scunthorpe over four years on its Anchor project. Yet at the present time 3000 redundancies have been announced and a further 2000 are possible when the new plant is operating smoothly.

A document produced by the International Socialists has been distributed to steel works employees outlining the proposals of the BSC planning sub-committee to close entirely the works at Corby, Bilston, Dalzell, and Steel Peach and Tozer at the Rotherham Works by 1978. It also outlines the closures of mills and other sections at many other works in the same period.

It reflects in all details the proposals just announced by the government and

probably anticipates the detailed run down which the corporation will soon be announcing in their forthcoming 'strategic review'.

The closure at Irlam announced last year was only the tip of the iceberg. The leaders of all the unions in the industry are right wing and timid and have no intention to mount a real fight against closures. They refused to fight at Irlam, except through useless parliamentary channels, and they collaborated with management in starting a red scare when the left wing attempted a fight.

When the forthcoming closures are announced the left must be ready and in as many positions of power at all levels in the unions as they can contest. This will enable them to overcome the handful who are prepared to sell their brothers in return for a few favoured jobs in what is left of the steel industry.

This means a programme for change in the unions and to let the rank and file know what is coming. The forthcoming paper The Steelworker will begin this job.

Some steelworkers believe that because BSC is still spending money on modernising many works they cannot possibly be closed. They should heed the remarks of Mr T Kilpatrick, managing director of the largest private steel manufacturers, Brown Bayleys in his annual report.

He boasted how he had achieved a £5 million modernisation in his rolling mills for the bargain price of £1½ millions by buying second-hand equipment. The only sellers of second-hand rolling mills are the British Steel Corporation.

Under its present control, the managers of state property will willingly use taxpayers money to put in new plant and then sell it in a few years time at knock-down prices to their private enterprise colleagues, as they are now doing at Sheffield's River Don works and as they tried to do at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders. They must not succeed in the future.

PETER INGHAM

# 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

**FREE ANGELA DAVIS:** Film 'Portrait of a revolutionary' and public meeting. Speaker: Mike Caffer. Abbey Hall, Axe St, Barking (behind Barking Town Hall), Tues 30 May, 8pm. Organised by Rebel, Caribbean Cultural Association and International Socialists.

**CAMDEN IS After Day School** at Forrester's Hall, Kentish Town. Bring contacts for an informal gathering in Abbey pub, Kentish Town. Sat 27 May, 7.30pm.

**SATURDAY 3 JUNE:** Camden IS hold fund-raising social—music dancing—in Northern Poly bar area, 7.30pm. Entrance 25p. (Prince of Wales Rd, NW5)

**HAMMERSMITH and FULHAM AIL:** The Irish Struggle 1916-23. Speaker: Jimmy Greally. 8pm, Mon 29 May, Westcote Lodge, Lower Mall.

**SWANSEA IS:** Socialism or the 30s—which way are we going? Public meeting led off by Tony Goodchild, South Wales IS organiser. 7.30pm, Thurs 8 June, AEU House, Orchard St, Swansea.

**IS POST OFFICE WORKERS** national fraction meeting to be held in London on Sunday 11 June. Details from BOX 265A, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

**SOCIALIST MEDICAL ASSOCIATION:** Private Practice—who wins? Speaker: Mrs Renee Short MP. Fri 2 June, 7.30pm, Transport Hall, 211 Broad St, Birmingham.

**CAMBRIDGE IS public meeting:** Is China Socialist? Speaker: Nigel Harris. Thurs 1 June, 8pm, Chetwynd Room, King's Coll.

**LONDON REGION INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS** public meeting **NIGEL HARRIS**, recently returned from a visit to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, speaks on **SUB-CONTINENT IN TURMOIL** Thurs 13 June, 7.30pm Conway Hall, Red Lion Square Admission 10p

**HULL IS** public meeting **THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT AND THE DOCKERS' CASE** Speakers: Tony Cliff and Bob Light (TGWU, Royal Docks, London) 7.30pm, Fri 26 May Co-op Hall, Kingston Square, Hull

**Wandsworth and Lambeth IS FOLK NIGHT** Jugular Vein Unbelievable Bum Band more later! The Nags Head, Battersea 10 June, 7.30pm. Entrance 30p

## NOTICES

**JOBS** for socialist economists and statisticians with noses for facts and the grindstone. Ring 01-435 5633 evenings for interview with Kidron.

**WANTED: Assistant business manager for Socialist Worker.** Clerical experience essential, typing an advantage. IS members only. Apply Jim Nichol, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2. Tel: 01-739 1870.

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

Telephone  
01 739 2639  
business

# Police force against schools demo

by Steve Forey of Somerset School, North London

LAST WEDNESDAY 1000 London school students demonstrated against corporal punishment, school uniforms and petty restrictions. The whole episode was smeared in the press and on TV, and the demonstration was described as a chaotic failure.

But what the press and TV failed to report is the most important. No mention was made of the strength of the police in central London, their tactics of victimisation in arresting the students' leaders, nor of the massive numbers of pupils all over London who were prevented from taking part.

At the Somerset and Tottenham schools in North London the police were called in to stop students walking out. They bullied and threatened people with

arrest though they had not the slightest legal pretext for doing so.

At Tottenham High School for girls, students were locked in their classrooms because someone had leaked the time that the walk-out was due to take place. The lock-in was of course in defiance of the most elementary fire and safety regulations.

Use of police and other forms of intimidation last week further highlighted the total inadequacy of the school system, which in effect mirrors the rest of society. The pupils were not just fighting for the end of uniforms and so on, but for the right to more control over their own future. If they had not been frightened by the police, the demonstration would have been very much bigger.

Press and TV reports also failed to

mention the huge numbers of students who did walk out of school defying teachers with canes and police officers.

If this had been publicised (which for obvious reasons it could not be) then the public would have realised what great dissatisfaction there is in schools over the education system and the whole rotting fabric of capitalist society which upholds it.

School students are fed up with having the standards of the past forced on them. They want new standards of their own which can only be fully achieved by changing the whole of society.

But as for now it is imperative for all trade unionists and socialists to give unconditional and practical support to all independent action by school pupils. They need support in every way as their struggle is only just beginning.

# Belfast battles take new pattern

OVER the past two weeks Belfast has witnessed the worst outbreaks of sectarian fighting for nearly three years.

The sporadic battles between the troops and republicans, working from the Catholic areas, continue. But new patterns of sectarian fighting are being superimposed on this, and for the past two weekends Protestants have put up barricades.

The imposition of direct rule from Westminster two months ago in no way weakened the grip of the British Tory government and big business over Northern Ireland. But it did mean that the traditional instrument of British rule, the wholly Protestant Orange Order, was jettisoned in favour of collaboration with Catholics as well as Protestant middle-class politicians and business interests.

## Blueprint

The result has been an increase in frustration and bitterness among Protestant workers. They feel that the Westminster government has betrayed them.

They are looking for some way to make it change course and restore their old privileged political and economic position. Immediately after direct rule they turned to the old Orange politicians of the Tory Unionist Party—in particular to William Craig.

Although Craig has organised massive demonstrations, he has so far stopped short at taking any action that would bring him into real conflict with the Tories or their army.

But the Protestant workers who make up the rank and file of the Vanguard movement face no such inhibitions. 150 of them shouted Craig down for his moderation earlier this week, and he has now, in a desperate attempt to keep his influence, said he will lead them in an attempt to enter the Derry 'no go' areas in a week's time.

For 120 years Protestant workers have been led by Tory politicians to vent their frustrations by sectarian attacks upon Catholics. Now that still seems to many of them the easiest way to deal with the present crisis.

## Bombings

Recently incidents in which groups of Protestants fire from fast-moving cars at unarmed Catholics have been increasing. So have kidnappings followed by murders. Such murders have been averaging about one every two days.

The much-publicised incidents last week in which individual Protestants were fired on, some as they left work, and the spate of bombings directed at people as opposed to buildings, show that sections of the Catholic population are responding with sectarian actions of their own.

The Tory overlord for the Six Counties, William Whitelaw, has already claimed that the shootings are part of a deliberate IRA policy which aims to provoke a Protestant backlash.

There is no evidence to back such statements. The leaders of both wings of the IRA have made clear their opposition to sectarian killings.

But the republican organisations, particularly the Provisionals, have been able to provide no clear strategy since direct rule was imposed, and without this many of the Provisional rank and file can begin to see Protestants, rather than British rule, as the real enemy.

Sectarian fighting on any large scale would play straight into the hands of the Tories. Any possibility of united class action in the foreseeable future would be drowned in bitterness and revenge.

# VICTORY! 3 COUNCILS REVERSE 50P RISES

AS the national movement of tenants against rent increases continues to grow, some small, but notable victories have already been won.

At Edinburgh, Hemel Hempstead and Stafford the councils have now announced that rent rises imposed in April will be reversed. These examples show what militancy can do. In Hemel Hempstead the reversal was the result of a partial rent strike by several hundred tenants and a demonstration, 1500-strong, before the council elections which forced the Labour Party to promise to withdraw the increases if elected.

At Edinburgh the decision followed a lobby of the council by 11 tenants' organisations and two

## THE RENTS BATTLE

trade unions.

Elsewhere the struggle against the Tory Rents Bill is hotting up. In more than 20 areas tenants are now on partial rent strikes. In some towns more than 80 per cent of tenants are refusing to pay 50p increases imposed in April. Many others are preparing to follow this example when their turn to face rent rises comes in October.

Success will depend on the ability of tenants' associations to develop into a mass movement. In the past most tenants' struggles have been localised and fairly easily isolated, but this time 5½ million council tenants and 1½ million private tenants are going to be hit at the same time, all facing a doubling of rents within a few years.

The fight will not just be against the local councils, but against the Tory government.

This means that tenants are going to need some sort of national organisation. At present there is only the National Association of Tenants and Residents, which has existed for more than 20 years, but is little more than a paper organisation, claiming a mere 30,000 tenants affiliated.

The association needs to take the initiative now in calling a national conference of delegates from all tenants' organisations in the next few months to discuss the best way to fight the rent rises, involving as many people as possible.

In Dagenham, tenants on the huge Becontree estate demanded at a meeting last week that Barking council get off the fence and refuse to implement the rent rises. The meeting had been addressed by Hugh Kerr of IS and George Ashton, a tenants' leader, who argued for a refusal to pay the rent increases and a complete rent and rate strike if the Tories sent in the housing commissioners.

At Neath, South Wales, 150 people attended the first meeting of a new tenants' association at Skewen. A committee has been formed with representatives from each street to circulate information and collect funds.

The tenants are to press the Labour council to reverse its policy of co-operating with the Rent Bill.

## ACTION

In Chesterfield, Clay Cross Urban Council, the only one in the country still giving free milk to 7-11 year old schoolchildren, is now launching a campaign to defeat the government rent rises. Labour Councillor Dave Percival has said: 'We totally refuse to implement any government Act aimed at lowering the living standards of the working class'. Leaflets are being produced to organise tenants for a rent strike.

A Tyneside conference on the Rent Bill was held in Newcastle last Sunday, organised by the International Socialists and attended by delegates from trades unions, trades councils and tenants associations.

After discussion the secretary of South Shields' Trades Council proposed the conference set up a tenants' action committee. This was agreed unanimously.



MACMILLAN: spelt out



CALLAGHAN: 'politically necessary'



SCANLON: 'the right to fire'

BUSINESSMEN, academics and other leeches rushed to London's luxury Hilton hotel last week to hear experts on the Industrial Relations Act at a seminar organised by the Financial Times.

Among the speakers were Jim Callaghan, Hugh Scanlon, Tom Jackson, and representatives of all the new organisations set up under the Act. There was also a Department of Employment film featuring David Jacobs.

The cost was £55 per person. For this you got as much as you could drink in the 20 minutes or so before lunch. For lunch on the first day the main course of the three-course meal was salmon, on the second day the prawn cocktail was followed by large lamb cutlets. Both meals were accompanied by wine and the food left over would have fed many dozen hungry people without difficulty.

In case you are in doubt, this is meant to be WORK for the 250 or so people there. As you might imagine, attendance at the sessions after lunch was noticeably lower than those before. And the guzzling of the food during the 90-minute lunch was accompanied by a continuous drone of complaints against 'wrecking workers'.

Now £55 may seem rather a lot, even for the Hilton's lunches and unlimited drinks. But as it is all on expenses, it doesn't really matter.

And the speakers have to be paid. The amount is not revealed, but the going rate for a 40-minute talk is thought to be around £200.

## Cocktails à la Mac —£55

by T H Rogmorton

Employment Minister Maurice Macmillan began his speech by saying, just in case his audience didn't know, that the government had introduced the Act because in recent years too much power had been evident in the hands of local trade unionists. The government wanted to introduce a more central and formal system to meet the demands of modern business.

This is a fact that many workers have known for some time but Macmillan has never spelt it out so clearly in public. With his audience of businessmen he didn't need to use waffle about the modern technological Britain to disguise the fact that his Act was designed to take power away from the individual worker and branch and emasculate it by a formal central system.

Questioned about what a Labour government would do, Jim Callaghan said: 'You must realise that it is politically necessary to abolish the Act but the Labour Party would of course be open to suggestions on what to replace it by.'

It was my impression that the businessmen left knowing something that many workers must suspect: the next Labour government will have a Bill of its own intended to stifle rank and file power just as the Tories' Act aims to.

Finally we had the trade unionists. Both Scanlon and Jackson were greeted with something less than enthusiasm by the audience but even they, through radical rhetoric, couldn't avoid a few appeals to the pit.

Scanlon: 'The employers' right to fire is a right I hope the law will never take away from them'.

Jackson: 'An incomes policy is impossible with this government and these policies.' But he made quite clear, as he gave a detailed outline of his own blueprint for an incomes policy, that the 'right' government would get his co-operation.

In all, £55 was a low price for 250 industrialists to pay to hear from Tom Jackson that unions were essentially self-interested and to get such an impressive alliance of unionists, politicians, government officials, all dedicated to control of the workers and their wages, despite whatever differences they may have over the details.

# Threats to sit-in men

OSSETT, Yorkshire:—The workers at Woodhead Coil Springs are now in their second week of occupation over the national engineering claim. This followed a week of go slow and shift stoppages. Management tried to shut off the furnaces, effectively locking the men out, and the workers' response was to occupy immediately.

The company is clearly frightened by the militant line taken and has resorted to 'red scare' and threat tactics. Letters sent to the homes of all the workers accuse the men of trespass and threaten them with dire consequences. A rumour has been started that the leaders of the occupation are liable to three years' imprisonment under the Industrial Relations Act.

The convenor's reply to such talk is: 'We are fighting for a living wage and

better conditions throughout the West Riding. The government can stick its Industrial Relations Act up its jackie'.

The Ossett stewards have organised a combine committee with representatives from Woodhead factories in Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester and Newton Aycliffe. This has helped the struggle enormously.

Sheffield have refused to work on 6000 springs from Ossett, despite company lies that the dispute had been settled. Aycliffe are themselves banning overtime. Manchester and Leeds are giving support by blacking.

Although there is official support from the district committee of the engineering union, so far no strike pay has been forthcoming. So more help is needed.

Donations and messages of support to 1 St Johns Crescent, Ossett, Yorkshire.

## FINE TUBES STRIKERS PLAN MASS DEMO

TWO YEARS—that is how long the workers of Fine Tubes, Plymouth, will have been on strike for trade union recognition on 15 June. And slowly but surely now their tactics of getting the black imposed all over the country are really taking their toll on the company. Redundancies have just been declared among the non-unionists who still work in the factory.

The Fine Tubes Strike Committee is hoping to organise a mass demonstration of trade unionists outside the factory in June and is anxious to get an estimate of support.

Stewards committees and trade union branches are requested to contact the Secretary, Fine Tubes Strike Committee, 65 Brentonside, Plymouth, with possible numbers or enquiries for further information.



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# Socialist Worker

## Engineering unions all set for pay talks somersault

by Roger Rosewell, SW Industrial Correspondent

BACK to national pay talks—that looks like being the somersault policy of the engineering unions now that their strategy of local negotiations has led to the isolation of workers in Manchester and the signing of widely divergent deals

The move to local bargaining came in January after the breakdown of talks between the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and the engineering employers. The unions had demanded increases of up to £6 a week, the 35-hour week now, four weeks holiday, better lay-off and shift payments and immediate steps towards equal pay for women—all without productivity strings.

The employers rejected the claim out of hand and offered just £1.50 a week on skilled minimum rates and no improved conditions. The unions then decided to fight the claim on a plant-by-plant basis.

But no plans were drawn up, no companies were chosen to come under fire, no districts selected. The union leaders ducked any responsibility for a national campaign and left action to the discretion of the members.

In Sheffield they stopped 45,000 workers from organising a city-wide strike on the grounds that it would be 'unconstitutional'. They tolerated the Manchester decision to organise a district struggle in support of the claim but then told other districts that such action was 'contrary to policy'.

### Total cost

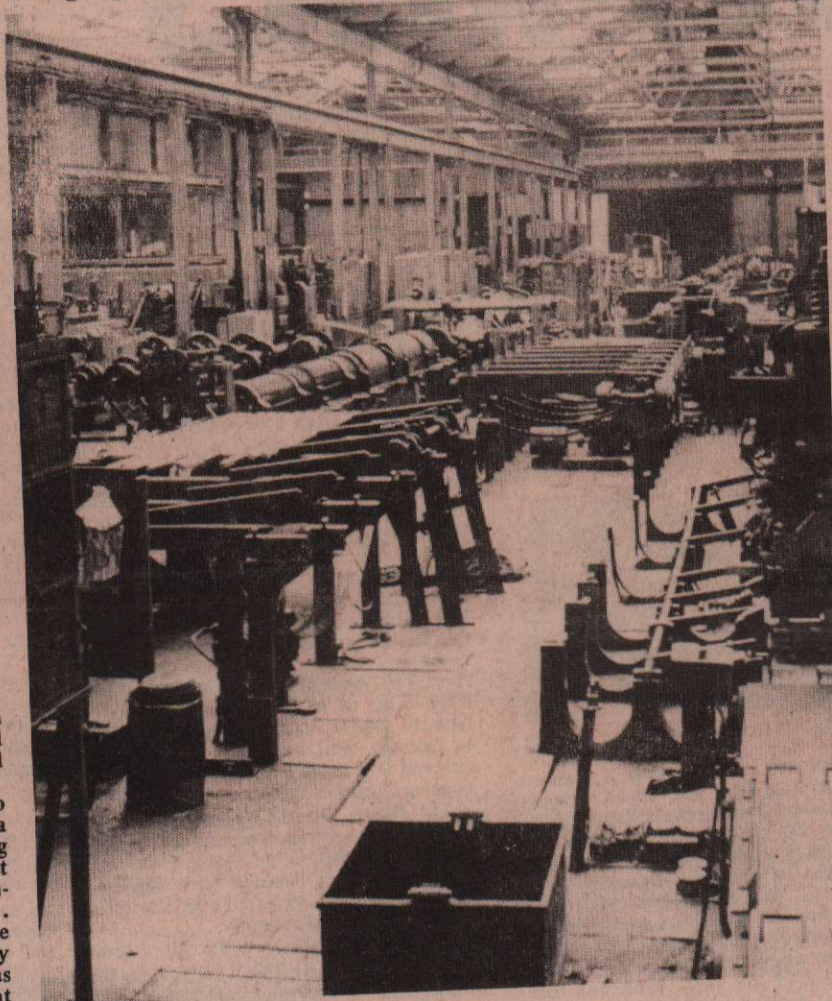
Now the confederation has accepted a national pay deal for 100,000 shipyard workers for up to £5.50 a week spread over 18 months.

The employers have not bothered to conceal their pleasure at this deal. In a statement they say: 'The settlement, being an increase in basic minimum rates and not a general increase, affected only a comparatively small number of employees... the total cost of the settlement to the industry is in percentage terms substantially below what is generally understood as being the government's norm at the present time.'

The failure of the January policy, the retreat on the fight for a 35-hour week and the shipyard agreement indicate that the unions will soon attempt to sign a national deal for engineers. It is thought that if the employers offer £3 a week on minimum rates and a few days extra holiday then this would be acceptable to the union leaders.

Such a deal would mark a serious setback for engineering workers and would avoid a major conflict with the government over wages. Proof of this is shown by the fact that the confederation executive has never discussed the possibility of calling a national strike or organising nationally-planned rolling district strikes.

The engineers' full claim can be won only if the union leaders are forced to stand firm and lead a real struggle. Solidarity action with every factory fighting for the claim and a national levy must be organised. More areas should join the fight and no retreat allowed on the crucial battle for shorter hours to help the jobless.



One of Manchester's deserted shop floors

## Manchester struggle coming to an end

by Glyn Carver

THE TERRIFIC struggle of the Manchester engineers is coming to an end. There has been an officially backed betrayal of the large GEC/AEI Trafford Park plant and many other factories have been forced to settle for cash and holidays only, without any concessions on the shorter working week.

At the start of the struggle no one expected the AEI plant to put up much of a fight. It has not experienced any real

militancy for years. There had been no fight against the loss of thousands of jobs at the factory and the convenor had caused so little trouble to the management that they asked him to stay on when he reached retiring age.

But for eight weeks the bosses' press has been stressing the importance of the settlement at the factory. So when it was announced that the men had accepted a rise of £2 now and £1 next year, two extra days' holiday, no improvements in time and no negotiations until March 1974, it was bound to have a demoralising effect.

The large number of occupied factories which have gone back this week have generally got better deals than AEI, with slightly more money, substantial improvements in time rates and the chance of negotiations next year.

But even these do not compare with what could have been won, and indeed what was won right at the beginning of the struggle at four factories where there were real gains over the working week. But then the bosses were frightened. They thought that Manchester was going to get mass national support. Instead the struggle was left to bleed to death in isolation.

There are still several factories holding out for a better deal. Some have only just joined the sit-in. Others have been occupied for nearly eight weeks. One (Metal Box, Timperley) last week escalated the struggle by taking complete control of the works.

All desperately need concrete support. But that support was not there when more than two dozen factories were occupied. Are the union officials going to organise it now when only a handful of firms are still involved?

# TGWU LEADERS FIGHT TO GET OFF THE HOOK

THE Transport Union executive is faced with the decision whether to act as the agent of the Tory government or take on the Industrial Relations Act.

In a carefully calculated decision last week the National Industrial Relations Court avoided any sanctions against Walter Cunningham, the Hull docks shop stewards' chairman named in an application for a permanent order against container blacking.

Instead it ordered the leadership of the TGWU to either get the blacking dropped or take away the

stewards' credentials. If it does neither it is threatened with more heavy fines and even seizure of its assets.

This week the TGWU called meetings in all the ports in a drive to persuade dockers to lift the blacking. On Monday the Hull dockers gave their answer: an overwhelming vote to keep it on.

In London the dockers have not only maintained the blacking but, under the leadership of the National Ports Shop Stewards Committees, have stepped it up. The Dagenham and Chobham Farm inland container depots are now being blockaded by the dockers.

All along the strategy of the TGWU leadership has been to try to persuade the dockers to substitute a national strike for the blacking activity.

This was supposed to get the TGWU round the provisions of the Industrial Relations Act. But this is by no means the case. For the government can always move against the TGWU's national strike tactic by going to the NIRC itself and getting a cooling-off order imposing a long delay. The union would once again be faced with the choice of defying or accepting other provisions of the Industrial Relations Act.

### CHOICE

TGWU secretary Jack Jones appeared to think that by paying the £55,000 fines imposed for the Liverpool container blacking, the TGWU would get off the Industrial Relations Act hook altogether. In fact the Tories and their court simply used that collapse to pile more pressure on the union and force it to tackle the stewards.

The choice is now fairly and squarely before the TGWU. It can go ahead as an agent of the government, remove the stewards' credentials and perhaps even escort the blacked lorries through the dock gates in following the instructions of a court to which it and the whole trade union movement is formally opposed. Or it can put up a real fight with the government and uphold the dockers' magnificent defiance of the law.

On Tuesday Jack Jones again met Maurice Macmillan, Secretary for Employment. Without a doubt Jack Jones was hoping for a compromise on the jobs issue before the national docks' strike (scheduled for 2 June), which would also offer enough to persuade the dockers to end the blacking.

### DISUNITY

Last weekend's decision by Merseyside lorry drivers to support the dockers in their battle for survival really points the way forward. Despite the collaboration of the TGWU with the Tories, other rank and file union members have overcome some of the disunity that the TGWU has allowed to grow up between its road transport and docks' groups and have followed the dockers' lead in the fight against the Industrial Relations Act.

Many inland container workers doing dockers' jobs are also TGWU members and the dockers' fight to load and unload containers has been represented as an attempt to take jobs away from other trad unionists.

In fact the shipping and stevedoring companies have built the inland container depots aiming to smash the dock labour board scheme which protects port workers against unemployment and guarantees them a minimum wage.

## PICKET LINES

WEYMOUTH:—At the 75th conference of the Transport Salaried Staffs Association last week the right wing had little difficulty in obtaining support for recognition of the Industrial Relations Court and acceptance of the ending of the rail work to rule.

A resolution was passed on unemployment, opposing productivity deals and pushing for a shorter working week and longer holidays. But that did not stop the conference noting proposals on railway field organisation that will lead to 20,000 redundancies.

GLASGOW:—The 1400 workers at the Caterpillar tractor factory voted last week to continue their strike. Bob Carroll, the AUEW convenor, said: 'After four weeks on strike there were only three men in favour of a return.'

The company's annual profits over the past few years have averaged more than £1500 per worker.

LONDON:—School students in Tottenham were again harassed by the police on Tuesday as they attempted to stage a demonstration for more freedom in schools.

A mass meeting had been called in the local park for 9am. From 8am policemen were on the park gates while others with dogs patrolled inside. A black maria was circling inside the park fence and police patrol cars were stationed outside three major schools. Students were told that they would be taken to school by the police if they did not go themselves. Despite this more than 80 students from three schools attempted to hold a meeting.

CHEADLE, Cheshire:—Seven women have been picketing the firm of James Galts for the past fortnight after being sacked by the management for joining the union APEX. 'We are prepared to carry on here as long as it takes until we get what we want,' said Joy Edser, one of the pickets. About 30 girls had joined APEX before the management started the sackings, claiming that delay in starting a computer was the reason.

Galts make expensive toys and educational equipment and APEX is writing to every educational authority in the country asking for backing of their goods.

Sogat, which organises the shop floor in the factory, has been invited by the management to recruit the remaining office girls, many already members of APEX. The day before the sackings Joe Sheridan, the right-wing branch secretary of Sogat in Manchester had a secret meeting with Galts' managing director.

## SIT-IN FOLLOWS LAY-OFF THREAT AT WEMBLEY

THE sit-in strike tactic has finally spread to London. Workers at Stanmore Engineering in Wembley are occupying their factory in a bid to enforce the three demands of the national Engineering Union claim—£6 on the basic rate, one week's extra holiday and a 35-hour week.

The sit-in began after the men and women, nearly all of them West Indian, slowed up production ('worked without enthusiasm') by making no attempt to earn the bonus. The works manager told convenor Eric Bogle that if matters did not improve everyone would be laid off.

A complete stoppage and sit-in then began. At first management were able to enter the occupied part of the factory and four times brought the police with them.

After these repeated interruptions, the workers sealed every single entrance to the occupation with chains and bars supported by crates packed with nuts and bolts.

Inside the plant there is a relaxed atmosphere, with cards, music and the bit of cleaning replacing the daily grind. The Wembley workers have been joined by the employees of another Stanmore plant in North London who have been locked out for trying to enforce the national demand.

The key to victory depends on stopping the management getting the work done elsewhere. The factories make carburetors for Zenith, a firm owned by the parent company. Dies making these have been moved by the company to an unorganised factory of TAL Development in Tottenham.

Donations and messages of support to convenor Eric Bogle, c/o AUEW District Committee, 1 Woodlands Road, South Middlesex.

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