

Militant

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THE MARXIST PAPER FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

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U.C.S.: SIT-IN STRIKE NOW!

The Tory Government, through its spokesman Davies, has revealed its plans to wear out the resistance of the Upper Clyde workers to calculated redundancies in the shipyards. Thousands will be added to the already record 900,000 "out on the stones" nationally and the 134,000 unemployed in Scotland alone. The threat of a return to the 1930s hangs over Clydeside, if the Tories are successful in carrying out their proposals.

Faced initially with the massive resistance in Scotland and throughout the country from all layers of the population when the sackings were first announced, the Tories then decided on a policy of equivocation. On the one side, Eden and Davies have wept crocodile tears. On the other, they have simultaneously encouraged the shop-stewards and the workers to believe that some hope existed of saving their jobs by the intervention of some benevolent industrialist of the ilk of "cash down" Kelly. At the same time they have been content, along with the Liquidator, to see ships being built by workers whose wages were being paid by collections amongst work-mates and in the Labour Movement generally. This policy of wait and see has been adopted because of the expectation of the Government that the "work-in" could not continue indefinitely and would eventually face collapse.

They hope that the magnificent and unprecedented solidarity and fighting spirit of the U.C.S. workers will be worn down over a period.

It is necessary to upset the calculations of the ruling class by a policy of ACTION NOW! Isolated to just one section of the shipbuilding industry, the "work-in" cannot maintain itself indefinitely.

Despite the heroism of the U.C.S. workers, enormous illusions still exist amongst them and particularly amongst the shop-stewards as to the "work-in" and the possibilities of its success. (This is brought out in the interview with U.C.S. shop-stewards on Page 3).

But, by their actions and statements, the leaders of the Co-ordinating Committee show that they have conceived the "work-in" more as a protest than as a really effective weapon in fighting the Tory plans. Thus the acceptance of Wilson's proposals at one stage and later the plans of Kelly. They have been supported and encouraged by the "G..."

The *Morning Star* gave uncritical support to Kelly's proposals. Yet this same Kelly has revealed on more than one occasion his intention to make some of the workers redundant... "Almost certainly his plans would involve more redundancies than the Government would like to see." (*Times Business News* 28.8.71).

The same would apply if Wilson's proposal for a five-year guarantee were accepted; redundancies, speed-up, productivity agreements etc. as was the case when U.C.S. was established. When nationalisation of the industry has been mentioned, it has only been as an afterthought and something of a ritual.

But this is the ONLY guarantee against massive redundancies. It would become a real alternative to the workers, if it were linked to a programme of action and the spreading of a sit-in strike to Scotland and the whole of the shipbuilding industry.

EXTEND STRUGGLE

Enormous interest and support have been aroused amongst all sections of workers for the struggle in U.C.S. The Scottish miners and the Tyneside Confed. have declared their willingness to come out on strike in support of U.C.S. workers. The Scottish miners' spokesman at the S.T.U.C. Conference showed that the interests of the miners are bound up with the success of the shipyard workers. If the shipyards close, he said, then the steel industry will contract and this will affect the supply of coal and hence the jobs of miners. This fund of latent support must be translated into action.

The struggle should be extended to the rest of Scotland and the shipbuilding industry as a whole, in the form of a sit-in strike. Not just Upper Clyde, but Swan Hunter's, which lost £10 million last year, Cammell Laird's, Harland and Wolf, indeed the whole industry, is completely unviable on a capitalist basis. It must be nationalised.

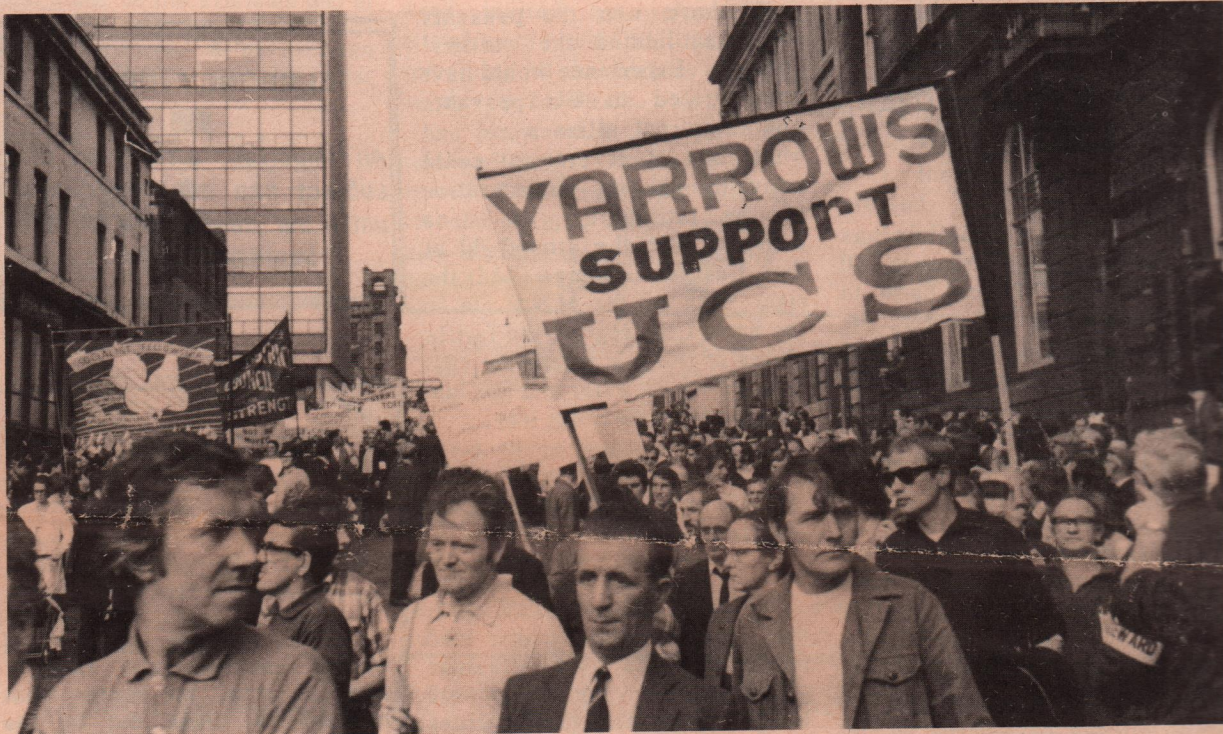


Photo: Giant Glasgow Demonstration on 18 August.

pation of the yards, on the basis of demanding immediate nationalisation through an enabling bill would shake the Tory Government to its foundations. The Tories rushed in an enabling bill to nationalise Rolls Royce. The Labour Movement must press for similar action for shipbuilding.

No sackings, or share out the work with no loss in pay!

The industry has been ruined by the rapacity and incompetence of the owners. Nationalise with minimum compensation on the basis of need only! They have made shipbuilding a bankrupt industry - make them redundant, with no bonuses for the mess they have left behind. Provide other work, with no reduction in pay, or maintain the men in their present jobs.

NATIONALISE MONOPOLIES

If the Tories and their system cannot guarantee the minimum requirement of a worker, the right to a job, then they and their system must be scrapped and a Labour Government, based on the taking over of the 350 major monopolies, must be brought to power. The struggle of the U.C.S. workers is vital to the whole struggle against rising unemployment. They can only win by a combination of the correct programme and massive, active support from the whole of

Northern Ireland: T.U.s MUST FIGHT INTERNMENT

Since Mr. Heath cast his decisive vote, nearly 30 working class people have died in some of the worst and most widespread rioting that Ulster has witnessed at any time in its stormy history. In the Catholic ghettos of Belfast and Derry, as well as many Catholic towns and villages, the people have expressed their indignation at the arrests of 300 of their neighbours and relatives by taking to the streets and putting up the barricades determined that 'Not one more shall be lifted'.

Whatever glossy shine the Unionist Government ever had is now gone. All attempts at 'progressive reform', at easing the country gently out of an unpleasant situation now lie in ashes. For the fourth time in 50 years, the Government has had to resort to internment. As the detainees were hauled none too gently out of their beds and placed behind bars, Faulkner explained that the use of the Special Powers Act was 'in this case, not to suppress but to uphold freedom' under this act include the right to impose curfews, ban public meetings and parades, close public thoroughfares, examine bank accounts and suspend inquests. Under its provisions it is possible to intern anyone suspected of

preservation of peace.'

The era of soft peddling, it seems, is over. The Army is now used against the ghetto populations with greater ferocity than ever. The new language of the troops is spelt out in terms of more powerful CS gas, rubber bullets, with a greater velocity and, according to accounts of their tactics in the Falls Road, rubber bullets tipped with pins and coins, capable of causing severe and lasting damage to any victim. To 'rioters', General Tuzo has issued the warning that the new 'get tough' tactics will include the shooting not only of those who throw petrol bombs, but also of anyone 'who appears likely to do so'.

The full severity of this repressive policy has been camouflaged by a smokescreen of lies

BOLIVIAN WORKERS' HEROISM

JOHN SIMMONS

The World Labour Movement should pay tribute to the heroism of the Bolivian workers. Hearing of the coup d'état of the reactionary officers, workers in La Paz, Oruro and even the rebel centre of Santa Cruz, rose up spontaneously to resist them. Breaking into ammunition stores, they armed themselves against the rebellion. Miners from the tin centres of Oruro and Catavi converged on La Paz, brandishing dynamite and ancient firearms against the modern American military equipment of the Bolivian army, the majority of whose officers supported the coup.

The only real opposition to the reaction has been organised by the Confederation of Bolivian Workers (C.O.B.). Torres, the so-called 'left-wing' President, entirely failed to organise any popular resistance. In the teeth of counter-revolution, he quietly slipped into the Peruvian Embassy for refuge. He is now seeking asylum with the Vatican while the Bolivian people reap the bitter harvest of his betrayal. Over 100 people died in La Paz, resisting the onslaught of the Generals, fighting against overwhelming odds.

The victory of Colonel Banzer is a tragic blow to the workers throughout Bolivia. The menace of counter-revolution has loomed large in recent months. The ruling class could only stabilise its rule by smashing the trade unions, the political parties and the newly-formed Popular Assembly.

"70% OF BOLIVIANS OVER 15 - ILLITERATE"

In 146 years, Bolivia has had 58 Presidents and over 150 Governments. Torres came to power last year by ousting the dictator Ovando Candia, and could only maintain his position by leaning heavily on the workers. The Government promised important reforms, including the nationalisation of the tin mines, but did nothing to implement its promises. The armed forces throughout remained under the control of the capitalist clique. The Government vacillated under the contradictory pressures of the capitalists and their military henchmen, on the one hand, and the workers and poorer peasants, on the other.

The workers then began to take things into their own hands. The Popular Assembly, consisting of workers', peasants' and students' delegates, was set up as a potential alternative Parliament.

Although the Torres Government could carry through no measures without the approval of the C.O.B. and the workers, the Popular Assembly was not extended so that it would democratically represent all sections of the toiling masses. For this, the workers' committees from every region would have to send delegates to the Assembly, with the right of recall, and at the same time to maintain their activity in the localities, drawing in wider sections of workers and peasants. By proclaiming a clear socialist programme for the take-over of the monopolies and the large estates and distribution of land to the poor peasants, the workers could have reinforced their power and the 'soviets' would have emerged as the only effective force.

The capitalists initially tolerated the Torres Government because they recognised that this was the only way of containing the power of the organised workers. When it had served its purpose, it was

Torres defended the interests of the landowners, and despite his promises, refused to grant land to the peasants. Yet this would have been the only way of insuring their active support. 70% of Bolivians over 15 - virtually the entire peasantry - are illiterate. Bolivia is by far the poorest country in Latin America. The terrible poverty and backwardness of the peasantry give it a tremendous inertia. The 1952 revolution drew the Indian peasant into political activity for the first time in history, but under the banner of the nationalist landlords and capitalists. Largely due to the subsequent land reform, the peasants still had illusions in the Torres Government. Only a refusal by the workers' leaders to give political support to the 'Kerensky' Government of Torres, and a forthright and unambiguous programme on the land question, could have won the peasants and consolidated the workers' strength. Experience would have demonstrated to the peasants who their real allies were, and what form of government could carry through the expropriation of the latifundia. It is no accident that the stronghold of the Fascist Falange and the right wing of the M.N.R. is in the Santa Cruz region, the fertile plains of Bolivia, where the vast latifundia still exist and the land reform never got under way.

"1952 - MINERS ARMED"

In the revolution of 1952, that brought about the land reform and the nationalisation of the tin mines, the miners were armed. Once the working class had moved into action, the only way the landlords and capitalists could neutralise their power was by including the Trade Union leaders in a bosses' government. Under the M.N.R. Government, of Paz Estenssoro, a state of dual power existed. The army was disbanded and replaced by a people's militia. The short-sighted collaboration of the workers' leaders in the Government paved the way over the years to a betrayal, the re-creation of the Police and the standing army, the disbandment of the militia, the showdown with the miners and the deportation of the Labour ministers.

"TORRES UNABLE TO DEFEND REVOLUTION"

In this context, it is doubly treacherous of the 'Communist' Party to give uncritical support to Torres, without exposing his inability to defend the revolution. The 'Financial Times' (24.8.71) put its finger on the crucial point:

'Popular enthusiasm for his advent to power was such that he could have armed his civilian supporters and reduced the conservative officers to silence, as had been done by Paz Estenssoro in 1952. For one reason or another

The attempted coup of General Miranda in October 1970 was a forewarning, yet fear of a workers' revolution paralysed Torres. Within the Army itself, whole sections of the soldiers and junior officers warned repeatedly of the generals' plots. A clear lead by the workers' organisations calling for democratisation of the Army, the election of officers and the purging of reactionary officers could have won over the troops, as in 1952, and ensured the defeat of the coup.

Undoubtedly the miners will continue to fight, and, as in La Paz, they will be answered with guns, tanks, planes and bombs. On military lines alone, the workers cannot win. Only a class programme can defeat the counter-revolution.

The total population of Bolivia is only 3½ million. Despite its rich revolutionary traditions, the tiny working class could not maintain power in an isolated socialist Bolivia. The demand for a Socialist Federation of Latin American States takes on key importance.

The British Labour Movement must give all possible aid to the Bolivian workers' struggle!

CURRENCY CRISIS

An important article on this subject has been held over until our next issue on 17th September 1971

Lush living at the top

One of the favourite fairy tales in the business press is the shamefully low level of pay taken home by the average company director. 'Although they seem to get huge salaries,' the papers say, after taxation they are left with only a pittance. A walk round the 'better areas of any big town will show this to be a lie. Someone must be buying the £20,000 houses, and employing the servants. Surely all those Aston Martins do not belong to pop stars and pools winners.

Apart from this common-sense approach, figures now coming to light let us work out how much the average company director takes home. Not only that, but a report just issued by the Ruskin College T.U. Research Unit has worked out the 'incomes supplement' given to these people by Barber's last budget.

For example, before the 1971 budget, it was often quoted that a director with gross pay of £30,000 per year would 'only' take home £8,300. In fact, that figure for take home pay assumed that the director was married but had no children and claimed no tax allowances for mortgage, pension fund, business expenses etc. In fact, the average company director earning £30,000 probably took home about £20,000.

But never mind; think about the poor married childless director who doesn't bother to claim any tax allowances. The last budget did him a power of good. The tax cuts in that budget increased his take home pay by £3,600 per year (44%).

MAUDLING'S DIRECTORSHIPS

And don't forget, those cuts made a difference only of shillings in the weekly pay packet of anyone earning less than £2,000 a year. Our good director got an increase of

just under three times the average worker's take home pay.

Forgetting our mythical director, what does that mean to real companies? Since only workers on Social Security have their family circumstances pried into, we will be charitable and assume that the Chairmen of I.C.I., Leylands, and Pilkington's have no families, self-denyingly claim no allowances and do not lie on their tax forms. Thanks to Mr. Barber, the Chairman of I.C.I. got a rise of 76% (£8,600). Lord Stokes gratefully took home an extra £120 per week (62% increase). Poor old Sir Harry Pilkington only made an extra £58 per week, but don't feel too sorry for him, read on.

These increases sound massive and indeed are massive compared with the wages of the average skilled worker. But, of course, they are only the tip of a very big iceberg. Many of these gentlemen are directors of more than one company, drawing a good wage for three or four appearances a year. For example, Maudling, while being paid as Deputy Leader of the opposition, was paid £3,000 a year as Chairman of Shipping and Industrial Holdings and sat on the boards of several other companies, including one connected with the huge Investors Overseas Services, which went bankrupt in suspicious circumstances.

At most, a skilled worker may hope to pay off the mortgage on his house by the time he retires, to have a car which has depreciated to being worth only a few pounds in ten years, to have maybe a hundred pounds worth of furniture, washing machine etc. At the top of the tree is a small minority to whom a pay increase of £50 a week means little more than perhaps a bigger car for a teenage son or daughter, another boy to help the gardener, or a new handbag for the wife.

continued on page 3

George Jackson - Murdered by Oppressive System

The brutal murder of George Jackson, and that is what it was, no matter what account is given out by the prison 'authorities', adds to the long list of black revolutionary martyrs from Nat Turner to Malcolm X, who have been done to death by the American ruling class and their rotten system.

The prison guards claim Jackson was trying to escape, with a gun supplied by a white sympathiser, when shot down. This same sympathiser had been given a metal detection test before he met Jackson! When his mother went to collect her son's body, a guard jeered that she was running out of sons and he was glad Jackson was dead. Jackson's father stated his belief that his son had not tried to escape and had been murdered.

But no matter what the precise manner of George Jackson's death, it is American capitalist society which stands indicted. Jackson was a product of the searing racism which scars the U.S.A., the terrible slums where 14,000 children are killed and maimed by rats every year, the gun and club law of the Police in the ghettos (80 black people were shot by Police in one month in Chicago) and the concentration-type prisons, such as Soledad and San Quentin, which house the black inmates.

Jackson summed up the new mood amongst the black youth; a determination to end once and for all the legacy of black slavery in America. He was originally imprisoned at 18 for a 70-dollar robbery and given a one year to life sentence. Because of his refusal to bow to the mainly brutalised Southern white prison guards parole was continually refused. Every indignity was heaped on him and other black prisoners: 'Down here we hear relaxed matter-of-

niggers and in what order...the smells, the human waste thrown at us.' (Prison Letters')

Revolting against these conditions he began to realise that they only mirrored American society as a whole. We (black people) are something like 40% to 42% of the prison population. As a result he moved towards a class position.

The significance of Jackson



as with the Black Panthers is that he rejected the blind alley of black racism. 'The theory that all whites are the immediate enemy and all blacks our brothers...is silly. The terrible conditions into which he was thrown along with other blacks made him politically aware and moved him towards Marxism. As with the Russian prisons prior to 1917 the San Quentins and Soledads have become for a whole section of black youth 'universities of revolution'.

The murder of George Jackson the persecution and assassination of the black panthers, the imprisonment of Angela Davis and other political prisoners will not still the movement of the American Blacks. They have been stirred into action by the housing jobs and other men-

have prompted other sections to organise - Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Indians. (The day after the shooting of Jackson, 'The Times' carried an article on the Indians which reported that four Apache Indians had died of starvation last year!)

But these movements are only an anticipation of the movement of white workers at a later stage.

The rise in unemployment, together with Nixon's measures have already shaken up the union tops, who reflect the mood of the ranks. This mood of opposition to both the Democratic and Republican Parties will lead at a certain stage to the dovetailing of the movement of the blacks and other oppressed minorities with the working class as a whole.

The murder of George Jackson strikes a blow against the whole Labour Movement. It should impel the Trade Unions and Labour Parties in Britain to launch campaigns in solidarity to make sure that Angela Davis, Bobby Seale and other political prisoners do not meet with the same fate.

PETER TAAFFE

LEFT

Paper of the Labour Party
Young Socialists

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FORTNIGHTLY MILITANT: BIG STEP FORWARD

The launching of this, the first issue of the FORTNIGHTLY MILITANT, reflects the enormous strides which Marxism has made within the Labour Movement in the past period.

The first issue of our paper co-incided with the election of the 1964 Labour Government. All kinds of illusions then existed as to the possibility of the Government carrying through its reform programme. Our journal warned "Without a fight against Big Business and the monopolies, high finance would play cat and mouse with a Labour Government". So it proved to be, as even Wilson was constrained to admit in his memoirs. Even the minimum reforms proposed by the Labour leaders proved to be inoperable, given the underlying sickness of British capitalism. The Labour Movement reaped the fruits of this retreat in the bringing back to power of the present Tory Government.

But when the counsels of despair, who proliferate on the periphery of the Labour Movement, sought to use the resulting disillusionment of a section of the advanced workers, to argue in favour of splitting away from the Labour Party, it was MILITANT who fought against this. With the awakening of the working class to political life, they would move into the unions and from there into the Ward and Constituency Labour Parties.

The outline of this process is evident in the decision of the T. & G.W.U. to urge its members to take an active part in the L.P., together with the overwhelming support for Labour reflected in the local elections and by-elections. The threat of mass unemployment, the anti-union laws and the general anti-working class offensive of the Tory Government have acted as a whip to spur the Labour Movement into action. It will be to their traditional organisations that the workers will turn for a way out of the crisis.

But the policies of the Labour leaders are only preparing for an even greater defeat than last time. The economy is in a worse position than between 1964 and 1970. To an even lesser extent will the British ruling class now be prepared to countenance serious reforms which threaten to cut into the surplus which they garner from the labour of the working class. The only policy which will save the Labour Movement from disaster is a Marxist one, as argued by MILITANT. The increasing support which we are now receiving from all layers of the Labour Movement is an indication that more and more, the advanced workers are coming to the same conclusion. We hope to be able to further the process with the new fortnightly MILITANT.

Our paper can become a real weapon for the workers, if you, the readers, write for it, criticise it and, above all, send us cash to ensure we maintain the fortnightly and go on to the WEEKLY MILITANT at the beginning of next year.

'lush living'

continued from page 2

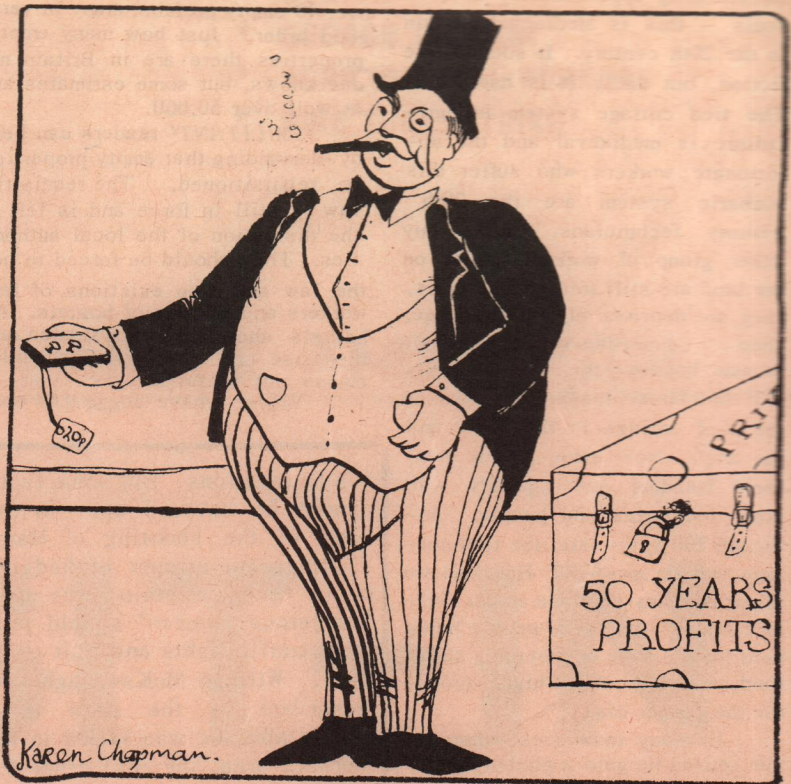
But more important is the large mass of people who get an increase of a modest couple of hundred a year from the tax cuts. These are the skilled managerial staff, the working directors, group leaders in research teams, the loyal N.C.O.s on which the Officer Class relies. With the deepening crisis in the British economy, these N.C.O.s have been getting restless, becoming unionised and seeing in a cloudy way their common interest with the workers under them. It is no accident that D.A.T.A. members, among the highest paid members of the A.U.E.W., are also among the most militant. At U.C.S., the managerial staff completely sunk their differences with the yard workers.

Barber's tax cuts are an attempt to increase the differential between these people and the shop-floor workers, to rally them to the side of capitalism in any clash.

But this attempt will fail. The increasing militancy is not just due to decreasing differentials but to a whole complex of reasons. As big firms develop, the manager begins to see himself as only a puppet, a cog in the machine just as the workers are. His 'identification' with the firm lessens just as his safety in his job gets less. In the coming struggles, the managerial and white-collar staff may not lead the fight, but they will at least stand on the sidelines and at best follow the lead of the most advanced workers. A few handouts from Mr. Barber will not alter that situation.

GEOFF JONES (A.S.T.M.S.)

Fortunes for the Bosses
Cufflinks for the Workers



Dear Comrade,

B.P. Llandarcy recently celebrated their 50th anniversary. A lavish dinner was arranged at the Dragon Hotel for directors and local dignitaries and for many who came down from London. The shop stewards were invited but refused to attend as they said that this was something all the workers should be able to celebrate.

As another part of the celebrations, the company presented each craftsman with a set of cufflinks which were so tatty that the majority of people handed them back. The next

step was at a meeting of craftsmen where it was decided to take off the Monday (the day of the dinner) to celebrate the achievements of the workers in the oil industry. The company did not like this and decided to treat it as an absence from work, and, although so far no reprisals have been taken, a day's pay was stopped and the old employers' propaganda machine came into action to try to split the men and ridicule the action.

I thought you might be interested.

A B.P. WORKER.

INTERVIEW WITH U.C.S. STEWARDS "A Fight for our Families' Future"

The following is a report of an interview by our reporter KEITH DICKINSON with three General and Municipal Workers' Union stewards at the Fairfield's Govan yard of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders. Our thanks go to these brothers — John Hilton, Adam Campbell and Peter Tutty and all other brothers and comrades for their co-operation in our coverage of the U.C.S. struggle.

John, you are married and have a family. How many children do you have?

I have a family of nine. I would like to see an end to unemployment to secure their future. The children are taking A Levels and O Levels and then find they can't get jobs to use their knowledge. I don't need work. I could live on assistance with a family of my size but of course I prefer to work. Do your wives and families support you in your fight?

The wives must back the breadwinner. Our fathers fought for our future, and we have got to fight for our families' future. The family, including the children, are all interested in the campaign, and everything stops to watch the television news for the latest on UCS.

My wife was wild when she read that the Government was giving £2½ million to build an Opera House at a time like this, when they refuse to give UCS any aid. I wonder if the Opera House will be viable?

At this stage of the 'work-in' is the campaign to save the UCS jobs going as well as the Co-ordinating Committee expected?

Better! This is now a national and international campaign and the response has been tremendous from all over the world. We are proud to be part of this campaign against the terrible unemployment in this country.

The 'Guardian' said: 'it is in the interests of the Government and the liquidator to play a passive role, to wait and see'. If the

don't you think it would have been more effective to try to spread the action to the rest of the shipbuilding industry nationally and make it a sit-in strike?

This is a new policy. The workers made redundant reported back to work as normal as soon as their notice expired. The Government is involved and cannot afford to wait and see. If they are waiting to see the Liquidator, he has already said in his report that all the yards are viable. We do think the other yards nationally should be involved. At some time, the Government is going to have to step in and organise the whole industry. Any man buying the yards must be buying a viable industry.

STRATEGISTS OF CAPITAL

In the early stages of the struggle the Co-ordinating Committee treated Mr. Kelly as a bit of a joke. From the recent actions and speeches, this attitude seems to have changed. How do you or the Committee see the safeguarding of the workers' jobs under the profit-motivated Mr. Kelly as opposed to the old profit-motivated U.C.S. ownership?

No, the Committee was not prepared to discuss with him the buying of part of one yard, but it never treated him as a joke. Any buyer will get an experienced work force. There has been huge increased productivity with less work force for three years. If French, and other industrialists have been over, enquiring about U.C.S. workers, as many as 400 in some cases, the skills must be there.

Millionaire Kelly has insisted on receiving Government aid for his take-over. If the workers' taxes are to aid Mr. Kelly, shouldn't the Co-ordinating Committee be insisting on the nationalisation of the whole industry under the control of the workers, so that the

Providing he gets the orders in hand, 14 ships, and I believe the owners still want them built by UCS, our jobs can be assured throughout. We have £210 million of tonnage on order, we turn out 1,450 tons per week, taking only five months approximately to build a ship. The Clyde design ships are fantastic and there are lots of possible orders.

LABOUR TO POWER !

With more shipping lying idle throughout the world than at any time since 1964 and a shipbuilding crisis throughout Europe, would you expect Kelly to guarantee all workers employment in future?

If the yards are made viable, all we are interested in is the future of the jobs. So long as the men are kept fully employed! We believe in nationalisation so long as it keeps the men employed! We have been prepared to try it, it is the only long-term guarantee.

But wasn't this productivity also achieved at the expense of the workers and the loss of 3,000 jobs as a result of the previous Government's plan to set up UCS and leave it in private hands?

The Labour Government asked the men for their assistance and the men co-operated with voluntary redundancies and natural wastage to achieve this improved productivity.

With the huge increases in unemployment and more redundancies threatened, do you agree that we must demand: NO REDUNDANCIES, SHARE THE WORK, NO LOSS OF PAY?

Yes, this must be our demand.

As the marchers on the huge demonstration on Wednesday indicated — by their shouts of 'HEATH OUT' — that the fight is politi-

mand: LABOUR TO POWER ON A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME?

We are demanding the right to work. It just so happens that there is a Tory Government at the moment. It is not a political issue. Surely the right to work is a political fight on its own. We individually think it would be better with a Labour Government.

We had a tremendous reception in London from the Labour MPs. The support from Londoners was fantastic and the police co-operated and were very sympathetic.

Are you a member or supporter of any political party?

We are all members of the Labour Party. We joined quite recently in the Govan constituency.

all our yesterdays!

'...In the West of Scotland, socialists in the unions and C.L.P.s have been demanding nationalisation of the shipyards under workers' control. But the union 'leaders' and politicians argue that this is sloganising, that what they are interested in is saving men's jobs. And, of course, that is the point! It is precisely the 'practical' policies of these gentlemen which will result in unemployment...The Government has now given £9 million to U.C.S. and promised another £5 million, taking a 48% share in

the company. This will in no way solve the problem...A further crisis will be precipitated when present funds run out...Nationalisation of the shipbuilding industry, under workers' control is the only answer — not only on Clydeside, but on the Mersey and the Tyne and at Barrow and Belfast.'

From MILITANT No. 51, July '69

'I think we made a mistake. We should have nationalised U.C.S.'

A. WEDGWOOD BENN, on B.B.C.

Naval Ratings Sweat for Officers

A WORKER IN UNIFORM

A lorry full of rocks arrived at a ship's side somewhere in the Far East. The ship's company on board, about twenty workers, were called from their living spaces, to carry these rocks on board and form a pile on the flight deck. A water-hose was fixed up and a rockery with fountain was formed. Soon after, various types of greenery arrived and were arranged in a decorative fashion.

The officers' 'cocktail party' began, and ended early the next morning, when the workers were again called out to clear away the mess and carry the rocks back to the lorry.

This episode shows how the workers of our country, supposedly a fighting force, are used by the officer gentry to perform menial tasks of servitude. These workers in uniform face a prison sentence if they combine together to protect their rights.

for anything between nine and fifteen hours of work done.

One such example is a group of workers in uniform who were cleaning a marine boiler. The job was ordered to be done non-stop and it lasted from 07.30 to 01.00 the next day. For this extensive work, the workers were given to believe before-hand that they would get a day off work from 09.00, i.e. seven hours. After finishing the job, they enquired for leave passes for this. The officer concerned, in gleaming white suit, laughed at the workers and said, 'You'll get no work long and extensive hours of overtime, above the normal eight-hour day, with no payment for overtime. Sometimes a period of work is given as payment, usually four time off'. The workers at this could do nothing...! They had no means of democratic representation. They cannot form unions to protect themselves against such acts. They could not protest together. Our

TIED COTTAGE SCANDAL

100,000 bonded families, representing approximately 250,000 souls — this is Mediaeval Britain in the 20th century. It sounds like fiction, but sadly it is harsh fact. The tied cottage system in agriculture is mediaeval and the unfortunate workers who suffer this barbaric system are the 20th century technicians. Unlike any other group of workers, those on the land are still treated like serfs, they are deprived of a living wage, they cannot leave to better their income because the rural councils will not house them. The fear of the tied cottage is the lever and the trap. Now these people want their freedom and equality with other industries and people. Although 100 years late, the tied cottage system must go. How can we allow so many captives in our welfare state? Are these people being held for the sake of providing cheap food, or is it to afford higher profits for the farmer class?

In many industries, when a man retires he gets a golden handshake and maybe even a gold watch, but in agriculture he usually gets notice to quit. At 65 years of age he has to start all over again with a new home and a new garden, if he is lucky. If he is sick then pressure is brought to bear to put him and his wife into an OAP home — real gratitude for a lifetime's work. If he is unfortunate enough to become ill and is unable to continue with heavy work, his reward is eviction. This, to my mind, is not only degrading to the farm worker and his family; it is the degradation of the whole nation.

Equally disgraceful is the fact that there are over 25,000 empty cottages and houses on farms throughout Britain. Why are these not requisitioned for the homeless? The apathy of councils towards homeless families was very apparent when, on a recent visit to Abridge hostel, I saw 6 families with 22 children, including a mentally handicapped child, living in concentration camp-like accommodation. They were frightened to kick against this injustice being done to them. Only a few yards away are 9

prefabs which have been empty for two years. About 2 miles away are over 40 empty prefabs, many in very good order. Just how many empty properties there are in Britain no one knows, but some estimates are at well over 50,000.

'MILITANT' readers can help by demanding that empty properties be requisitioned. The requisition law is still in force and is left to the discretion of the local authorities. They should be forced to use the law and stop evictions of farm workers and the use of hostels. All hostels should be demolished and the use of these concentration camps put to an end.

Whilst I have suggested some

and fabrications. But some facts cannot be covered up. In the case of the shooting of Harry Thornton, no amount of hedging could ever explain why two 'dangerous gunmen' should pull up at traffic lights and wait to be shot. William McKavanagh was described by the Army as a sniper after he was killed in the Markets area; the real crime for which he died was simply not stopping when challenged by a soldier. And then, Eamon McDivitt, a deaf-mute from Strabane, was killed by a soldier who claims that from 60 yards he was able to see that he was holding a revolver (in fact a rubber bullet according to nearly 30 eye-witness accounts) in his hand. Incidents such as these are rapidly earning the British troops a reputation among the Catholics similar to that of the infamous Black and Tans.

THREAT OF PROTESTANT BACKLASH

Repression in the context of escalating violence spells out new and even greater dangers. Internment has only been used as a final resort. It has been made necessary by the daily loss of Unionist support to the Paisleyites and by the threatened rebellion from Craig, Taylor and other right-wing members of the Unionist party and cabinet. Until recently, all seemed set for a repeat of past performances as the 'moderate' Faulkner fast followed the path of his two predecessors. Only this time there are no more 'moderates'. The ruling class has raked the pile and come up with nothing. Rather than face the prospect of a right-wing Protestant government and have to resort to direct rule, Faulkner has been launched on a new course of appeasement of his right wing.

PROVISIONALS RE-INFORCE SECTARIANISM

But no-one has been appeased. Temporarily the Unionists have strengthened their position, but no-one's problems have been solved. Instead, the most dangerous situation which the Province has ever had to face has been created 8,000 Belfast people left their homes during the riots. Many of these will never return because of fear of the intimidation which is continuing in many areas. Certainly the Protestants who burned their homes in the Ardoyne, rather than see them taken over by Catholics, will never return. In the space of a few days, the split in the working class has been deepened desperately. At present, as many of the Province's 'mixed' areas rapidly become either solid orange or solid green, the battle-lines are once again being drawn and the scene set for a new and ever grander confrontation.

Internment must be fought, but it must be fought with these dangers in mind. However, from the Provisional I.R.A. we are already seeing a continuation of the campaign of explosions and, as Joe Cahill put it of 'ambush-

KEN DAWSON (Branch Secretary, Matching Tye N.U.A.A.W.)

short-term solutions, in the long-term we must see the complete abolition of the tied cottage laws dating back to the 13th century. We must see the implementation of an emergency plan to build homes for all. This would require the nationalisation of the land and the finance companies at present making vast profits from the scarcity and need for housing. Scientific methods must be brought to the farms which must be taken over and run by the farm workers in co-operatives with plenty of funds for modernisation.

Northern Ireland

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

especially their campaign against Protestant property, will only make the situation 100 times worse, just as any campaign they may launch in England would only serve to isolate the Irish in that country from their English workmates.

The Provisional leadership has shown itself incapable of consolidating any political movement. Already, in the fight against internment, they have been side-stepped. In the few weeks since internment was introduced, we have seen the magnificent solidarity of the Catholic workers of Derry, Strabane, Dungannon and a series of other towns in the withholding of rents and the strikes against the Government. Despite all the sceptics and cynics, these events show the willingness of the workers to struggle in defence of their rights. But to be successful, the present struggle must be converted from a Catholic struggle into one of the working class as a whole. If it is not, all present efforts will be futile and will only make matters worse. Strikes where only Catholics are involved can create bitterness on the shop floor and can lead to intimidation and victimisation. No-one in the leadership of the present campaign has taken the trouble to spell out these dangers and the movement has been permitted to become sectarian.

INTERMENT CLASS ISSUE

Internment is not a religious but a class issue. The criterion by which internees are arrested is not their religion but the extent to which they threaten the ruling class. Brian Faulkner when introducing the measure spelt this out. 'They (the IRA) are the main threat but we will not hesitate to take strong action against any other individuals or organisation who present such a threat in the future.' Today it is the Catholics who present the problem. Tomorrow it may be members of the Protestant nuisance groups and the day after that it will be members of the Labour Movement. Even at the moment it is clearly not the IRA who have been the main target. Instead it has largely been members of the left-wing opposition to the regime, dangerous 'terrorists' such as Michael Farrell, who have been interned. This is a grave warning of the manner in which this measure will be used in the coming period.

The Labour and TU movement must take note of this. At present they are the only non-sectarian movement in the country. They are the only body capable of converting the present struggle into a class struggle against the Tory Government.

Tragically for every working-class person in Ulster the leaders of this movement have miserably attempted to abdicate their responsibility by folding their arms and turning their backs upon the situation. The blame for the sectarian nature of the recent

workers who supported them. The criminal responsibility for this lies with the leadership of the ICTU and with Vic Feather who together refused to make these official.

At the NILP Conference the promise was made by David Bleakley that if the Unionists were to go back on their reform programme he would resign his position as Minister of Community Relations. From his recent silence on the subject of internment we can only assume that he considers this to be yet another 'progressive reform'. The only boast members of the NILP can now have is that theirs is the only political party to have stated no position on internment. Even Paisley was able to oppose the measure while the leadership of the Labour Movement remained in abject silence.

PROBLEMS REMAIN

All this has had a terrible effect on the whole Labour Movement. For every Labour Party member who now leaves the party in disgust, countless voters and potential voters have been lost. However, to leave the party now would be a grave error. The rank and file of the Labour Movement must, instead, fight in every local Party, in every T.U. branch for an end to the present vacillation and coalitionist approach, and call for the movement to assume its rightful place at the head of the struggle against internment. As the working class are living more and more behind separate religious banners, the real grievances remain.

Not one of the economic problems has been solved. Unemployment now stands at its highest for 19 years. Before the Government ban on parades was introduced, the I.C.T.U. had planned to hold a demonstration on November 6th against unemployment. There must be no backsliding from the leadership now. That demonstration must take place as planned. The struggle against internment goes hand in hand with that for decent conditions and for bringing down the Tory Government and the oppressive system it represents, and for the return of a Labour Government pledged to socialist policies.

LABOUR MOVEMENT MUST ACT

On the basis of such a fighting campaign, sectarianism could be swept away into the annals of history, never to raise its head again. In the present time of grave crisis, these are the demands which must be heard from every corner of the Labour Movement.

PETER HADDEN (Belfast Y.S.)

Solidarity with FINE TUBES Strike

The strike of workers at Fine Tubes factory in Plymouth has now reached a new and more bitter stage, following the events outside the factory gates on July 30th. A national

picket led to violent eruptions as the Police turned on sections of demonstrating workers. In scenes reminiscent of the Pilkington's strike, the Police manhandled, beat up and arrested workers picketing the factory.

Coachloads of workers from Coventry and the North arrived for the picket at 7 am. By the end, nine demonstrators had been arrested and charged for offences they never committed. At least three demonstrators were badly hurt, one having to go to hospital, and many more suffered minor injuries.

14th MONTH

Any illusions that the Police represent an impartial force in the class struggle were decisively shattered by the experience of these events.

Meanwhile, the strike goes into its 14th month. It began in June 1970, when the workers came out for a substantial wage increase, after 7 months negotiations with the management. Like many factories in the West Country, basic rates were scandalously low (£16.6.8d for semi-skilled workers and £20.3.0d for skilled workers for a 40 hour week). The management reacted to the strike by threatening the sack to any worker who did not immediately return to work. The workers stayed out and the management proceeded to hire a 'scab' labour force, at the same time giving it a 7% pay rise!

The workers are therefore officially redundant, but the factory is being run below capacity and at a loss. The fight has become a fight for the basic right of Trade Unionism. The strike has the official backing of the A.U.E.W. and T. & G.W.U., but no real leadership has been forthcoming from the Union officials. Indeed, the A.U.E.W. has recently cut off strike pay for its members and a request for a voluntary levy on A.U.E.W. members was disgracefully rejected.

FIGHT FOR TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN WHOLE OF S.W.

But the strike is of the utmost importance for the whole Trade Union movement in the West Country. As the leaflet giving the facts of the strike, issued by the Strike Committee, puts it, 'It means in simple language, if workers in this area try to get decent wages, in line with the rest of the country, they will get the sack.'

Members of the Labour Movement, the Labour Party and Trade Unions must urgently campaign in their branches for action in support of the Fine Tubes workers. Messages of support and donations should be sent to

The Fine Tubes Strike Committee, c/o 48, Stuart Road, Plymouth, Devon.

In particular, A.U.E.W. and T. & G.W.U. members must put resolutions through their branches demanding immediate action from the Union leaders.

NIGEL GRIMWADE

Miners Ready to Fight

After more than a year of heated class battles, the miners have once again come to the forefront with a wage demand, described by one frightened N.C.B. official as 'A militants' claim, aggressively presented, and certainly addressed to the Government'. A resolution was unanimously accepted at their Aberdeen Conference, demanding a minimum rate of £26 for surface-men (£18 at present), £28 for underground workers (£19 at present) and £35 for power loading teams (£27.22 at present). They are prepared to back this up with strike action.

These are just demands in face of the hard conditions of mining and the scandalous increase in the cost of living. Last year alone, 85 miners were killed in pit accidents 673 died from pneumoconiosis and another 624 were newly certified as suffering from dust disease. These are the everyday dangers facing a miner at the present time.

The cost of living has soared with food prices rising more than 10% a year. Increased rents and charges, cuts in social services have all added to the burden of the working people.

As always, the Chairman of the N.C.B., Derek Ezra (following in the footsteps of Robens) has warned of 'serious consequences'. 'Keep costs down!' he laments, although gladly accepting his rise of £50 a week extra 'awarded' to chiefs of nationalised industries a short while ago! We must all pull our weight — some more than others it seems!

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