12th January - 18th January 1974

These three North Wales building workers, jailed for 3 years, 2 years and 9 months respectively in reprisal for their work as organisers of flying pickets during the 1972 building workers' strike, have December 19th. On January 11th they will apply for bail, conviction and sentence.

The anger of the working class in response to the trial and sentencing of these trade unionists was slow to spark, fiercely and is spreading daily. 1972. But already the Tory national action. government must be

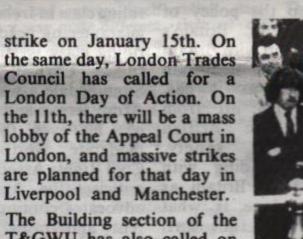
Section has now called for a official trade

Ricky strike on January 15th. On Tomlinson and John the same day, London Trades McKinsie Jones are still not Council has called for a London Day of Action. On the 11th, there will be a mass lobby of the Appeal Court in London, and massive strikes are planned for that day in

The Building section of the T&GWU has also called on now been inside since the T&GWU Executive to ask the TUC to set up a National Campaign Committee to fight pending their appeal against for the Three, and to get the law on picketing changed so there will be no more convictions like this.

There have also been many suggestions that should reconvene its recent It has not been as explosive or conference on the defence of spontaneous as the fury that the North Wales pickets dockers in Pentonville in July criminal charges) to plan the North Wales pickets.

wondering if it won't now, launch a crusade to Free the The T&GWU Builders effort to get action by the one day national builders' movement. That



the but it has now begund to burn Liverpool Trades Council irreplaceable. We must against the pickets on the Shop Stewards Committees

the building trade unions and charges.

and file of the labour the issues and get pledges of lacking. That means working union Gen. Sec. George Smith has must be prepared and movement. The stoppages is spent more time campaigning organised. Trades Councils, taking place in the next week

demand that every official grounds that the charges were and body, and first and foremost run of the mill criminal Committees should actively

campaign will depend on them set up. But more irreplaceable is grass roots committees in We must build the mass

local Defence sponsor such Works greeted the jailing of the 5 (there are 24 altogether facing the TUC, take up the cause of The real strength of the committees and work to get

The labour movement must organised action by the rank every place of work to explain campaign that has so far been resolve. also, be forced to give up its Three and wipe out the other movement. Without this, we action from their workmates. and fighting for the should be planned for the charges. We must make every can expect nothing from the Where there hasn't been involvement of the broadest leaders. Indeed, UCATT spontaneous action, action layers of the labour being decided - to show

must be used to take the message to other workers, with flying pickets, leafleting and factory gate meetings, to win workers for further action on the kind of scale that will shake Jailor Heath in his

Tanks at

Airport

Stunt

Scabs

aircraft missiles.

purpose.

Northern Ireland.

for Army

THE TANKS and soldiers with live ammunition in their guns at Heathrow Airport may possibly, as the Government claims, be intended as a show of force to warn off Palestinian guerillas who are allegedly armed with anti

But it is not very probable. In the present crists it is far more likely that they are a show of force to help prepare the ground for the widespread use of strikebreaking troops. Certainly, the activity of the soldiers at Heathrow makes little military sense in relation to its stated

Similar actions to the Heathrow one are, we are now informed, planned to take place throughout the country, and and a major part of the 'manoeuvres' appears to be publicity and public relations. Even the EVENING STANDARD thinks that the aim of this is to accustom the British people to the sight of armed soldiers in the streets, here as in

The main purpose of the exercise seems to be to create an atmosphere in which it appears that "we" are threatened by

violence - from Palestinians

from Irish Republicans, from

British revolutionaries, and from strikers., all conspiring against "the British way of life": and the

The real conspirator is the Lory

government which is planning to

use troops to strikebreak,

certainly in a general strike. The

Government knows there is a real

possibility of a general strike if it declares a new wage freeze,

confiscating rises due under wage

agreements signed by 2 million

The bosses' government is

preparing. So must the labour

workers under Phase 3.

movement.

perhaps in the miners' dispu

Army 'is our protector'.

The next round of action week when the Appeals are

Contd. back page



Part of the meeting at Shoreditch Town Hail en January 4th which resolved on strike action on January 15th to free the three jailed pickets. See back page for more details of action. (Photo: Chris Davies, REPORT)

ons must fight Witchun

very soon. They hesitate only workers think. from fear of being swept from government.

They plan a 'Red Scare' at every turn, are the unions, revolutionary and communists.

Already the miners' and railmen's overtime bans are being presented as a plot to scuttle capitalism. They have been waging a fierce hate campaign against Wedgwood

NOW DELJ

hemolianile product adol-

for a General Election, and opportunist who has taken to struggles of the working class. for riding out the miners' demands for large scale the signs are that it could be saying publicly what many

The bosses and their office by an electorate politicians never understand outraged at their three and a that the working class and the half year record in capitalist system, which forces it to defend its interests election — a witchunt against incompatible. Therefore they militants, look for 'plots' and socialists conspiracies to explain the

unions? What this really knows that he will attempt to high. They are obviously unionists or they won't put it like thate

falling to an unexpected government used threshold vicious anti working class

offering state level conciliation recept . THE TORIES are preparing Benn, the lightweight political ever recurring revolts and degree, government strategy agreements to fob In a union bashing election struggle may collapse, as immediate wage increases, the Torres will ask: Who rules industry is, forced to a gambling that the cost of - Parliament or the trade complete shutdown. Heath living wouldn't rise quite so means is: who rules — trade impose a new wage freeze — losing the gamble. the Phase 4 — if as expected the Parliamentary servants of the rising cost of living triggers may become essential if they City of London spivs? But the threshold clauses in the are to have any hope at all of wage settlements so far agreed carrying on as a government. With steel production under Phase 3. The

the Republicans - the first uncontrollable and wolent Ireland

THE THEOLOGICAL STREET CARLLOCATOR

off

Thus an election victory

Despite their record of

policies and crass failure even as the bosses' government, they could hope to rally the more backward voters in a red scare election.

The one thing that will aid them above all else, is if the Labour Party and the Unions cower back defensively before the witchunt. Unfortunately they may.

Most union officials and Labour MPs are themselves witchunters. It was the then Labour Prime Minister Wilson who Harold denounced "politically

Beliast.

lurn to back pag

Melk

ISRAEL

Settler State Politics Move To The Right

show a drift towards the right war. Likud campaigned on a women and children. wing Likud party, who took six platform of attacks on The Israeli Labour Party, seats from the ruling Labour Government inefficiency while no less expansionist than of the room for compromise territory. and manoeuvre at the Geneva negotiations.

settler mentality which spreads and is something of a military stolen since 1967 and before. and claims Jerusalem, the west

THE OUTCOME of the Israeli righ across the board of Israeli hero in Israel. For Palestinians elections can provide little politics. bar the tiny anti however he is better comfort for those Western Zionist left. Their leader remembered for other exploits, socialists who look to the Menahem Begin is notorious such as blowing up a Jordanian Israeli working class as a for the massacre of 254 Arabs village in 1953, killing 69 progressive force. The results at Deir Yassin. during the 1948 inhabitants of whom half where

extreme chauvinist wing of the attack across the Suez canal territories which have been links between church and state,



Left: Golda Meir - winning but weakened; Right: General Sharon - the hero of the "hawks".

coalition - a shift which will during the war, and for no the Likud, would probably be But now in order to form a bank of Jordan, and parts of mean a whittling away of much withdrawals from any occupied willing to countenance a government, Golda Meir will Syria as belonging to Israel by partial withdrawal in Sinai, in have to rely more heavily on her biblical right. It campaigned in Among their leading lights in return for an agreement coalition partners such as the the elections against any Israeli this campaign was General learving Israel firmly holding National Religious Party, withdrawal at all. The Likud represents the Arik Sharon, who led the the rest of the occupied which stands for even firmer

Paul Itizé

FAULKNER DEFEATED BUT HEATH'S SECTARIAN BLUEPRINT SURVIVES

Unionist Counsel is a serious blow against the Sunningdale an expected blow.

The British Government's of moderate and Unionists moderate, pliant, Catholic politicians had

Control

Far from being hived off, however, they now control the Unionist Party. Now Faulkner's battle to corral the masses of the Protestant population will have to take the form of building a new, moderate, Unionist Party.

Faulkner's defeat is indeed a blow against Sunningdale, but is not by any means a decisive scuttling of it. That Agreement expresses the long term common aims of the anti working class forces who dominate the Northern Irish cockpit - the British ruling class, the Southern Irish

LETTER:

Keep up solidarity

Dear Comrades,

Thank you for your paper and we look forward to receiving your literature in the future. We are aware of the great solidarity work done by your organisation in England and that recently the defenders of British capitalism have been paying particular attention to your movement.

republican movement to express solidarity with the British working class in their struggle against British capitalism. Keep up the solidarity work. We only ask that you pay particular attention to the plight of Irish political prisoners in jails. THOMAS McK Belfast.

BRIAN FAULKNER'S defeat capitalists, and their local allies fruits of Sunningdale was a Protestant backlash, in its turn by a majority of 80 at the and stooges. The coalition meeting of southern and causing new and deeper If the Sunningdale Agreement January 4th meeting of the Executive in the North and the northern Police Chiefs - and ferment in the Catholic breaks down it will boost that Unionist Party's Ulster Council of Ireland to link the Southern Government has population, which would upset resistance by discrediting the North and the South, is their given de facto recognition to all the calculations. common framework for the Northern state. (Though Agreement. It was, of course, 'normalising' N. Ireland there are reports that Fianna

strategy of replacing the longer workable sectarian repudiate this.) Unionist bloc that ruled dictatorship of the Unionist The significance Northern Ireland for 50 years Party by a sectarian coalition in Faulkner's, defeat is that it counterpose to the policy of ruling class in Ireland. Far from with a new alliance composed which the spheres of influence marks a crisis in the carrying Faulkner, that is, Britain's guaranteeing peace, the British pliant of Catholic and Protestant out of the third condition - policy. Integration with Britain ruling class is still terrorising with sectarian politicians are placating a sizeable enough is scarcely possible if Britain the Uncle marked out. They alleviate body of Unionists to form a turns it down, as it has. Sunningdale a wave of British Tomish Catholics called for the sectarianism by in fact credible Protestant partner in Independence, cut off from Army terror and intimidation hiving off of the die hard, enshrining it in a new the coalition. unaccommodating loyalists framework. If the Six County successfully set up the Catholic exchequer, from the Unionist Party, and state, artificially carved out of quislings of the SDLP as a inconceivable. Bending with Civil Rights Association, which their banishment to the the body of Ireland by 'credible' political party, the the pressure from Britain as criticises the Agreement and political ghetto in which imperialist and Orange British Government now has a Faulkner has done is what sectarian violence, had for fifty lame languished for 50 and more years institutionalised the collaborationist party on its Faulkner Unionists quickly was hands. sectarianism that programmed into it at birth, the Agreement Sunningdale institutionalises it in the very mechanism of government,

> to be the rudimentary defeat is far from decisive the Irish bourgeoisie in what party. might be the first stages of the in close alliance with Britain.

number of conditions.

of the Catholics into only that, but the patronage supporting it.

Orange backlash.

of the southern Irish ruling of patronage, favours, against British imperialist rule class in repressing the backscratching and crude self in Ireland and for Irish Republican movement and in serving. After the mass revolt of independence and freedom. offering state level conciliation recent years, the British Support for those conducting to the Six County state.

Provisional IRA from the in Northern Ireland — the the inexorable pressures and elections (refusing to allow biggest reforms come through underlying realities have told Sinn Fein to stand; the Official fear of revolutionThis golden heavily against the IRA, IRA, which was not excluded, manure will help the fighting against a host of strong got only about 12,000 votes) the Government Unionists to grow and powerful enemies,. British occupation forces and develop their roots. Short The strength of the SDLP, in defeat the IRA, but have last 4 years. establishing the SDLP.

class has tightened up against exclude the possibility of an of the resistance in Northern

Fail, Jack Lynch's opposition It means replacing the no party, may be preparing to

duck

Favours

Lame it may be, but by no The Council of Ireland is means crippled. Faulkner's framework allowing for the either for the coalition possible coming together of the government or for the future of two hitherto divided sections of a collaborationist Unionist

There are certainly enough long touted 'federal solution to Faulknerite members in the the Irish problem' - naturally Assembly, even allowing for a few possible defections after his Carrying through the resignation as Party leader, to Agreement depends on a ensure a guaranteed majority in the Assembly in partnership Firstly, on weening sections with the Alliance Party. Not over the old one.

of the power and Secondly, on the ability of Administration will be a very

the Republicans - the first uncontrollable and violent Ireland.

The Orange themselves are in ferment, the labour movement against of because they have little to the machinations of the British Having Britain and the British has hit even the mild and sanely, Unionist remains. Even the anti indicated willingness to take their alloted seats in the parliamentary section of the Council of Ireland, despite all their protests.

No less significantly, the influential former Stormont MP Desmond Boal, an intimate of Ian Paisley, has now said that given the present choicec before the Unionist population he would opt for a united Ireland with the Council of Ireland strengthened and having the same power over a new and stronger Stormont parliament that Westminster Government had

the more amenable Unionist potent force in the struggle that The war of the IRA leaders to placate or burke the will come now for grass roots continues - the heroic and just support — and Unionism was struggle of the best elements of Thirdly, on the collaboration always a Tammany Hall party the Catholic working class government will certainly make that war should not blind us to Forcibly excluding the available the funds for reform the fact that over the last year

helped the Social Democratic of a 1929 type world slump, truth now the mainstay of the and Labour Party (SDLP) to a Britain will probably be able to Sunningdale Agreement and monopoly of Catholic seats in guarantee this, and will the new Stormont — in fact the the Assembly and a position of willingly do so after the party which expresses and links I would like on behalf of the plausibly looking like a experience of the collapse of the interests and policies of leadership of the Catholic part of the 'United Kingdom' both the British and Irish ruling population. They have yet to into a state of civil war in the classes more consummately than any other political party in certainly succeeded in These are powerful forces Ireland, North or South - is working for Faulkner - the measure of the toll 'Settlement' did for many black The Southern Irish ruling though they do not of course imperialist repression has taken and terrible decades in the past.

But the resistance continues. SDLP. Unfortunately, despite Faulkner's defeat, Sunningdale is not scuttled yet.

In Britain it is all the more forces vital now to throw the weight of Catholics. moderate Northern Ireland advocates continuation of the rent and rates strike until Internment is ended.

Obstacles

Far from eliminating sectarianism, the Sunningdale Agreement merely modifies the sectarian balance within the Six County statelet, ensuring the livelihood of Green and Orange politicians, but in the process erecting yet a new set of murderous sectarian obstacles to working class unity.

And that unity is essential. It can only be prepared by abolishing the Six County sectarian state, not by giving Catholic middle class sectarian politicians such as Gerry Fitt a role in a new sectarian superstructure — which has been aptly described as an internal, institutional partition of Northern Ireland itself.

Disunity

Socialists must continue to raise and fight for the demand for a united Ireland, and to demand an end to all British interference. The British army of occupation should be withdrawn immediately and unconditionally. Unless the British labour movement fights vigorously for these demands now, it will once again bear part of the responsibility for allowing the British capitalists and their Irish stooges to erect a political framework which will militate against working class unity for many years to come, as the old Northern Ireland

John Mahony

Discussion

m WF 37 an article by Jan slogan of "Red Weekly" down the Government was either a thinly veiled call for an armed insurrection.

JACKIE CLEARY's article in WI 37 exposes a blatant contradiction in its argument against the call for a general strike to kick out the Tories. In one paragraph he states quite correctly: "either such a call is a call for armed insurrection in the course of a general strike to force the government out (or overthrow the system) - and since neither the working class nor the revolutionaries are anywhere near this possibility, that would b raving ultra left nonsense Or else i means a general strike to force the Tories to call an election."

at then he continues: "To kick out the Tories and replace them with a Labour government is of major importance now. But if general strike, however it started

THE ANARCHY and chao which is endemic to capitalism was sharply demonstrated by ar article which appeared in the Irish Times on Friday 4th January.

Written by C.T. Rand, a American Middle 'specialist', the article claims that contrary to popular myth, there is no world shortage of oil - rather there is a world glut of it.

The argument is backed up with various figures. For example, when the Nixor administration ended America's 14 year old ban on crude oi imports, the Arabian American Oil Company's production shot up to eight and a half million barrels a day. Aramco, one o Saudi Arabia's biggest producers. had planned in 1970 to double production from 4 to 8 million barrels a day, but the 8 million target was not to be reached until

1975. Then came the Middle East war. King Faisal announced that oil production was to be cut back by 10% and ARAMCO's production fell to 7.8 million barrels a day — a figure still way above the level ARAMCO had

projected in 1970. Rand claims that there is total ignorance about the size of Middle East oil reserves and the amount of oil which is getting through to Europe and America In Holland, where there is still : ban on Sunday driving, tankers are queuing up to unload. In America, the price of home heating oil has gone up by 6 cents a gallon and yet barges, full of crude oil, lie lined up along the Ohio because they can't discharge fast enough.

But prices continue to rise, and according to Mr. Rand so does production. However, the main point of his article is that nobody really knows just what is going on. Rand calls for the public to force "Congress to enact stiff legislation demanding full disclosure of oil industry data".

Socialists must go further and call for a workers' inquiry into the it industry: into the profits of t oil companies, the size of stocks and just how the crude oil i Len Glover

(ADES

kle Cleary argued that the f a General Strike to bring despite its militant ring. for a General Election, or The discussion continues.

began to reach even some of its revolutionary potential, not least the mobilisation of millions of workers in direct action, then kicking out one capitalist government to be replaced by a slightly less obnoxious one would become relatively trivial, compared with the possibilities that would exist for overthrowing capitalism."

Is this not, in fact, advocating just what was called above "raving ultra left nonsense". And is not, therefore, the only rational alternative that of a general strike to force the Tories to call an election?

Comrade Cleary's confusion arises from his insistence on "separating the question of general rid of the Tories", in the most crippling tradition of the British 'industrial' from 'political' questions, which inevitably leads him to the false alternatives of either the ultra left immediate overthrow of capitalism by means of the general strike or else the reformist 'ballot box trap' of a general election seen in purely parliamentary terms. The general strike to kick out the Tories and replace them with a Labour from anything possible when government in conditions of control is fully in the hands of the working class offensive, to which bourgeois state and Parliament. we would pose the demands outlines in the policy for the crisis aspirations of the working class, is surely the only political solution to the problem. A.RYAN, Liverpool.

the pseudo radical Red Weekly. enormously. Mystifying things with a slogan which has a number of possible revolutionaries have influence part of socialists and militants. In reality Red Weekly's slogan means mongering.

implicit in the Red Weekly line.

He does a cold calculation with the elements discussed in my article all a matter of known and fixed actually develop. quantities interacting mechanic.

ally. It isn't. understand about the General amounts to stable measured action explosive the strike is, and how far capitalist logic.

it is allowed to develop the mobilisation of the working class abandon attempts to build on the action what is really possible in a straight transformation of the General Strike. To see a General revolutionaries who advocated it Strike as just a bargaining counter into Labourites in the current business of politics is Labourites, but Labourites all the to miss its revolutionary potential.

A general strike involves class on a gigantic scale. The



Above: barricades in Paris, May 1968

What, if any, supplies should be moved? Which, if any, sections of workers should work? What transport should move? Whose transport? How to deal with scabs. including the army. And so on. In short a general strike is a vast arousing of the class's initiative. determination, creativity (of the sort, for example, which threw up the flying picket idea).

The spread of the strikes would create a need for coordination on regional and maybe national level of the various strike committees, of linking together the regional committees of different trade unions, and so on.

The whole tendency of such committees in the course of leading the strike would be to increasingly strike from the question of getting take control - often against the pressure of national trade union leaders. In 1926 strike committees labour movement's separation of in Co. Durham effectively took control of their area.

Such committees can grow slogan of changing the government be discussed — for example in beyond just being strike would be taken from the hands of relation to the Labour Party, the committees and develop into the ultra lefts and used as a weapon councils in which the working class of electoralist derailment by the Labour leaders on pain could organise and express itself politically in a way quite different feelings, grievances, The

also put forward by Workers Fight, going beyond the issues of the strike, would begin to emerge and find expression. The explosive discontent which does exist now and which in fact makes a general strike a real possibility in Britain today would burst out. Even if the strength of reformism

within such councils allowed the bourgeoisie to survive, call elections, etc, at least a period could COMRADE RYAN will probably result when the bourgeoisie would agree that there is nothing at all to not be in full control, and in which be said for muddle such as that of the working class would learn

the degree meanings, none of them spelt out, and gain influence, in the can only serve those who benefit favourable conditions of mass from muddle and confusion on the mobilisation - revolution would become a real possibility.

It may indeed turn out that the neither General Election, nor general strike brings no more than a insurrection - but empty phrase change in government. But the revolutionary who accepts this in Comrade Ryan himself opts for advance is ruling out the what must be described as the revolutionary potential of the reformist variant of the possibilities general strike, as well as ignoring the experience of the general strike in history.

He is cancelling out the activity General Strike, Government, of revolutionaries, and the slogans election, insurrection -- as if it were they raise, as a factor in how things

To argue that a general strike for a minimalist goal of changing the He misses what it is essential to government is the best slogan adventurist Strike — that it isn't fixed, given, a squandering and trifling with the but energy of the working class. It is to something which develops. Politics advocate a giant mobilisation of the now is limited and defined, by the working class - and to chop it off limited level of working class in advance at a relatively trifling involvement, within bourgeois objective. To take such a line in an confines. A General Strike would actual strike would be to lose the transform this by a giant explosion possibility of helping to deepen the of direct action. How deep and how general strike along its anti

To advocate it now would be to that is what will establish in present militancy: it would be a

We must break from the mobilisation of the whole working traditional British fear of linking politics to industrial action. strikers would begin to make Workers Fight believe, however. decisions not normally in the that it is crucial to understand that province of workers. The very fact direct action is at all times primary. of a great strike compels this. A vast more important for revolutionaries layer of the class would be involved than parliamentary considerations. in meetings, discussions, decision Comrade Ryan's conception making, of the sort that strike reduces the most tremendous shall never become unbearable, blatent contradiction of the parliamentary politics.

action of a necessarily political quality. It may not realise its revolutionary potential. But for revolutionaries to box it in in advance as a tactic in the framework of parliamentary politics, is irresponsible. A General Strike for limited goals can be victorious, or can lead to a retreat or can develop in an open ended way. But ia General Strike which poses for itself the goal of overthrowing the government had better be either the prelude to insurrection or resign itself to a quick electoralist collapse.

To mock at an implied call for insurrection like that of Red Weekly is not at all to deny revolutionary possibilities in a general strike. What is wrong with Red Weekly is that by raising an. empty slogan it contributes to the creation of a weapon that in the hands of reformists and reactionaries would help prevent a real General Strike from developing towards a situation where an insurrection might not be ludicrous to contemplate at all. The ruling class. They would use electoral calls to neutralise the strike, offering to change the government in the time honoured traditional way - elections. Which would be something actually very trivial compared with the real possibilities of a general strike

Linking 'General Strike' with changing the government now, in advance, would lead either to revolutionaries lining up with reformists or to a panic change of slogans (something Red Weekly does on average every six months never, alas, with much noticeable improvement).

ultra leftism with an as yet hidden right wing content which a general now. The responsibility of IMG government soon! Marxists, however, is to actually reflect and mimic fundamentally healthy

muddled 'gut' reaction.

Better to link industrial action and politics rationally, taking account of the possible development of a General Strike. We pose the general strike for specific goals - against the Act, against any new wage freeze—while preserving the idea that the use of a general strike, for any reason, however apparently limited, would open up a new situation in which the question of government would be posed in a different and more fundamental light. Here is the root of the paradox that the apparently more limited goals (smashing the Act) do not threaten to collide with the revolutionary logic of the general strike once begun, whereas the apparently more advanced goal (Tories out) would immediately come into head on collision with

Today's 'advanced' slogan would be transformed into a weapon of the reformists - as in France in 1968. There is every reason to believe that a general strike in Britain in the period ahead would be an angry offensive of General Strike is industrial tremendous power, probably leading to factory seizures — and as in France in 1968, probably an unwillingness to settle even for big concessions. It is the duty of revolutionaries to orientate towards these possibilities.

Finally, not the least lesson of France 1968 is that even such a titanic explosion cannot simply be translated into votes at an election. The reformists who tried to cash in on the strike got less votes than the numbers on strike.

The strike scared the middle classes behind the Gaullist 'Party of Order', and many strikers, reacting with bitterness at the betrayal of the 'Socialist' and 'Communist' leaders, didn't vote. However desirable a general election is, one that follows a general strike is unlikely to favour the anti government party once the strike is over. A General Strike is not a tool for exerting electoral pressure!

There are many other questions on the General Strike that need to need to make specific demands on giving them an entirely free hand in the struggles ahead.

In fact the Red Weekly slogan, with the whole emphasis on bringing down the Government, is based on a 'scenario' mechanically modelled on 1917 in Russia. Logically they should call for a Workers' Government. Quite rightly they refuse to peddle the illusion that a Labour Government would foreseeably be a workers' government. But in true sectarian style they go from this to implicit refusal to relate to the Labour Party at all except for a vague acceptance that getting the Tories out might mean putting Labour in. Refusing to make even limited specific demands on the Labour Party they are totally passive towards the party of the Trade Red Weekly's slogan is cheap Unions. They are left with a scenario with a great hole in the middle — the lack of any visible strike would very quickly reveal. working class governmental 'General Strike to kick the Tories alternative to the Tories - unless out' is popular with many militants they have quiet hopes of forming an

These questions are discussed in think problems through — not to an article in the forthcoming issue even of Permaneni Revolution.

EDITORIAL

Pay the Miners and the Railmen!

THE SUNDAY TIMES of 6th January carried a long article aiming to show that the three day week is after all necessary. Wedgwood Benn's figures were, they said, wrong on one crucial point: oil supplies are only 75% of normal, rather than normal as Benn assumed.

Whether or not it is right about that, all the SUNDAY TIMES claims is that without three day working, coal stocks at power stations would be down to "danger level" by early February and would run out completely about the end of that month.

And what is "danger level"? Precisely the danger of having to give in and pay the miners.

So the three day week is 'necessary' not because there is simply no coal. It is because the Government has taken the political decision to organise things that way. It is because the Government has decided on a lockout.

On Monday 7th, THE GUARDIAN told its readers in a cosy editorial that "probably most people believe that this country has generally found a sensible way out of crises, without class conflict or extreme solutions." But the 'crisis' is in fact the Tories' own solution to a class conflict: not their way of avoiding it, which the GUARDIAN fondly imagines they want to, but their way of

But the three day week, while mainly aimed at conserving coal in reply to the miners' overtime ban and at whipping up anti union hysteria, is also in itself a major attack on workers.

At many factories, such as in the Lancashire textile industry, Saturdays are being worked for normal pay with no overtime rate. Many factories are resorting to speed up, to moving people round to jobs they don't normally do (for example, having everyone available on the machines on the 3 days of the week when power is on). At Raleighs in Nottingham and factories elsewhere, people are working (in the middle of winter!) without any heating. A number of unions (BISAKTA, for example) have agreed to scrap guaranteed week agreements - just now when they're most needed! Even those workers who still have a guaranteed week will find employers trying to get rid of it after a couple of weeks.

And worse is to come. Steel production is running at only about a third capacity. After a couple of weeks many factories will start shutting down completely because of lack of steel and other supplies. How many then will be completely unemployed - not just signing on for short week benefits?

There is one simple solution to all this, of course, and everywhere workers stuck in the dole queues are demanding it: Pay the miners and the railmen. But the Government has shown that it will spare almost no cost to avoid that solution, so as to keep wages down and profits up.

So Heath will have to be made to pay up. Instead of keeping our heads down and hoping to 'get safely through the winter', we must fight back. We must help the miners wherever we can, oppose the three day working which is a nationally organised and government decreed exercise in strikebreaking, and respond to whatever calls the miners make for solidarity action. Meanwhile, refuse to bear the cost of Heath's blackmail: demand work or full

There wasn't a crisis to start with — but there is one now, a crisis for the working class. Heath has declared war on the working class; the 3 jailed pickets are his first prisoners of war.

If the working class meakly swallows the 'national unity', 'cooperate and get through the crisis' line, if it is conned into helping the Tories defeat the miners, it will find itself at the end of the winter with speedups and increased out of hours working wrapped around its neck, and Phase 4 rammed down its throat. And by all accounts, Phase 4 is likely to be another total wage

But if, on the other hand, workers keep up an offensive against all the effects of the lockout, demanding full work or full pay, and helping the miners and the railmen to a quick and decisive victory, then we will be ready to throw the Tories' Phase 4 right back in their faces with an all out general strike to defeat their policies and smash their anti working class laws.

Hugh Feeney writes from Wakefield

Hugh Feeney, Jailed at Winchester for 20 years, sent this letter to AN PHOBLACHT:

write this not knowing if it shall reach you. Today is our 21st day of hunger strike and our 12th day of forced feeding. We remain say, conforming.

It would seem that the authorities console themselves by forcing a tube down our throats daily pint of nourishment.

and renders our hunger strike surely not. ineffective. To my mind, another torture has been added to that long list compiled after Hollywood, Girdwood and the degrading - it is painful, also.

However painful and questions. degrading things may be they are returned to Ireland.

eight remain in English jails.

I do not remember any of those 18 having to resort to a naked and in solitary confinement hunger strike to ensure their and are not, as the English press transfer; however, we eight find ourselves having to resort to this weapon to be returned to the North of Ireland.

Could it have anything to do and, by use of a funnel, pour in a with politics. If one accepts what the Attorney General and that

However, we know that it is politics. For the Attorney General and Sebag Shaw to maintain that other torture chambers of the our "offence" and trial was a North. Not only is forced feeding criminal one and not a political one is not borne out by their

Indeed, their questions were a committees normally have to industrial direct action possible — Our hunger strike continues until above. Questions were asked of us prisoners shall not work. We do truthful facts so why am I not concern themselves with, and far General Strike - to an auxiliary of our just demands are met and we as to events such as Bloody exist and, as was said in the Dock, allowed to communicate these to Sunday, the Border Referendum, we shall fight on in your prisons my people?

I find it hard to understand British occupation in Ireland and how 18 convicted persons can be the aims and objectives of the transferred to English jails from Republican Movement. Yet it was the North of Ireland, while we maintained that our trial was not maintained that our trial was not political.

In answer to a question by J. Stallard in the House of Commons last week, he was told that those sentenced in the North of Ireland were transferred to English jails by the usuage of the normal channels.

Have these channels become blocked? Or is it the fuel shortage that keeps us in English To them, this keeps us alive law lord, Sebag Shaw, says, then jails? No. I feel it is politics. Again, the contradiction.

> Of one thing I can assure Wakefield Jail. England. Force feed us but we shall not eat voluntarily. We shall not wear the uniform of the criminal. You shall not intimidate us. In short, we shall not break.

The ideological acrobatics characteristic of official attempts to explain away your political



for political status.

Once again I appeal to you, the people, to win for us our rights as political prisoners and have us returned to Ireland. -Hugh Feeney

A letter I wrote home was returned to me four days later because I wrote in it the fact that I was being forced fed, was in solitary confinement and that my gums were bleeding. I also said my weight was down, from 10st 6lb, to eight stone. These are all

WITCHUNT **ELECTION** from P.1

motivated men" during the 1966 seamen's strike.

Instead of retreat, we need a vigorous offensive against the Tories and their pretences. The working class and the trade unions are far better fitted to determine what happens in Britain than are the capitalist bloodsuckers and their chief Parliamentary pimps and Major Domo Heath.

In reply to the witchunt the Unions must launch a campaign which puts the government on the spot, and thereby the capitalist system as well. It is the bosses' system. Its crises are their responsibility, not ours. The working class, on whose backs the parasites now ride, could organise a better system. And it will, as soon as it organises itself not only for defence and betterment, as now, but also for a socialist offensive against capitalism.

Meanwhile it must defend itself. Workers must stand unconditionally with the miners and railwaymen. Support them. Defend them from the witchunt. Help them to drive their blows home.

Whatever the prospects of an election or its outcome, we must prepare now for a general strike to reply to any attempt at a new wage freeze.

We must reply to the witchunt by insisting that the party of the trade unions -Labour launches an offensive against the Tories and pledges itself to carry through the following measures on being returned to office:

Repeal the Industrial Relations Act and compensate its trade union victims.

End all government interference with the trade unions.

No Incomes Policy under capitalism! Demolish Phase 3 and the 'Counter Inflation' legislation of which it is part.

Bring in a guaranteed £30 minimum wage tied closely to the cost of living.

Scrap the Housing Finance Act.

Enforce equal pay for women now. all Abolish racist

Immigration Acts. Unconditionally with draw British troops from Ireland.

WHATEVER anyone else may be thinking about the 'crisis' more workers signing on for the dole, the miners are very angry

indeed. purposes behind the two day a government to hold out against the miners' overtime ban; and to turn other workers against the miners so that, if and when they take full strike action, they will be less likely to get the solidarity that helped win the 1972 strike.

As far as the miners themselves are concerned, the whole trick is backfiring. In the Durham area many pit workers have been commenting that "We might have accepted the offer at the beginning, but not now. It's obvious the Government is trying to blame us for the mess they're in. Now, if it comes to it, we'll strike. We're that bitter ... "

Though the three day working is costing the Government an estimated £40m a week in unemployment benefits and loss of tax revenue, and the capitalist class is probably losing

something like £500m a week in lost production, tthe Tories which has resulted in a million reckon it is worth all that to prevent the miners from crashing through their policy for controlling and holding down They know the are just two workers' wages. They have decided that they would rather, week national lockout: to spin see the whole of British industry out coal stocks to enable the dislocated now, in the interests of keeping profits high and wages low in the future. Meanwhile they try to win workers to a joint national struggle' - against what they claim to be the combined forces of the miners and inflation.

There is at least one group of workers who won't be taken in by this. Bakery workers certainly won't. They generally earn less than £20 a week, and haven't had a decent rise in years. Yet bread went up 4 times in 1973, went up another penny a loaf last week and is expected to rise again several times in the next year.

Meanwhile Ranks Hovis McDougal report a rise of £4 million in profits up to September 1973. Then again, take the farmworkers. Did poultry farm workers' wages double last year to produce the 100% increase in egg prices? Or are they still among

Miners bitter at Tory Onslaught

the lowest paid and hardest worked people in the country...

Nor have the miners been fooled. They know that the only way they can fight inflation is to get more pay. And the same goes for every other worker in every other industry.

The miners shouldn't have to work overtime at all to earn a living wage. Now they are demanding a minimum wage of £35 to £40 - little enough anyway for spending 40 hours a week underground working



... to Heath and Phase 3!

crouched double or waist deep in water in deafening noise, inhaling with every breath the coal and stone dust that has left 43,000 now suffering the crippling disease of pneumoconiosis. And little enough to meet the ever growing cost of living.

The NCB has lost at least 30% of production because the miners aren't working overtime. The NCB has come to rely on overtime and is content to see gross undermanning in the pits. Gangs of 8 men frequently do the work of 12. Certainly as long as miners' wages and conditions are at the present level, the numbers will not be made up. Talking to a journalist last week, a miner mentioned ironically that a local woman was pleased that the 'poor pit ponies' had been brought up from the mine. Yes, he said, but they left the donkeys down there.

In face of the Government's drastic action against the miners, the overtime ban is now showing itself not to be effective enough. The Tories have opted for a war most: It is what the miners will of attrition, and are prepared to sit it out. They are willing to use be given the backing of the whole diversions like the bathtime labour movement in doing it. negotiations

There have already been dozens of brief walkouts in various pits and sections of pits. These, and the unprecdented 50% absenteeism after the holidays all testify to the miners' willingness to step up the action and win the claim. But these actions can also turn out to be a pressure valve which lets off steam and diverts energies from a united all out

The miners have very little time to lose now. Coal stocks, despite uncertainty over the actual figures, are probably higher than at this time last year. Oil supplies are getting back to normal. The winter will not last for ever.

Heath has demonstrated that he is willing to half cripple the economy and beggar the working class in order to beat the miners. The only way the government will be brought to its knees now is by cutting off coal completely, and imposing an immediate black on the movement of coal, enforced by strenuous nationwide picketing.

This is the thing Heath fears have to do to win. And they must

Tom Ramsey

CARWORKERS DEMAND: WORK OR FULL PAY!

workers gave a militant answer to unexpectedly large fall in steel the Tories' 2 day lockout here production will make even a 3 day today when they organised a week impossible and force many

At a mass meeting it had been crisis. decided to support a Joint Shop Stewards' proposal to fight firm, part of the Austin Morris movement. division, lives up to its guaranteed week agreement.

Heath's action against the miners. then they must provide full pay.

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OXFORD, Monday 7th Jan: 500 There is fear now that an 'walk in' at the Cowley BLMC plants into a complete shutdown for at least the duration of the

The refusal of the 500 at BLMC Cowley to passively resign against being shut out without themselves to the lockout offers a pay. They are demanding that the lead to the rest of the labour

We cannot and should not allow our people to be thrown There are already a million into the streets. If the owners of people laid off as a result of industry cannot guarantee work,

Weak Start to Engineers' big

THE RECALL meeting of the Thursday that the union, the National Committee of the recommended last

largest in the engineering industry, begins an overtime banin support of its current claim. The decision, which was taken by 39 votes to 13, will go forward to next Thursday's meeting of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU). In this way the National Committee of the AUEW is trying to take an initiative and get the support of the other 30 or so unions in the CSEU.

The current claim is for pay increases up to £10 per week on the national minimum rate for craftsmen and corresponding increases for less skilled workers.

There is also a demand for longer holidays and equal pay for

On of the central points of the present claim, however, is the demand for a 35 hour week. £35 for 35 hours must be the centre of the fight. When the going got sticky last time in the only area that had the guts to fight, the question of the hours was the first to be jetisoned. This must not happen again.

Hugh Scanlon is quoted as saying that the overtime ban will be held off till after the period of three day working, so that it will hit the employers the moment they think they're in the clear. But even so, the overtime ban is the least effective method of struggle. It divides the piece workers from the time workers and will come at a time when many workers will be wanting to make up for the lost time of the Tory lockout.

I he unpopularity of the overtime ban is likely to be used by the right wing as an excuse to demand a settlement on the terms of the EEF, which replied to the CSEU's demand by offering £2.50 on the craftsmen's rate, £2 for the unskilled, and a disgusting £1.80 for the women. The offer was of course rejected. But the right wing has unfortunately been strengthened since then by recent elections, and the left cowed both by these results and by an allegation of ballot rigging in

Scotland. When 200 shop stewards met in Sheffield on December 2nd, the call went out then for a national overtime ban. Similarly when the convenors' and senior stewards' meeting took place in Manchester on 14th December, the hand of the advocates of the overtime ban was strengthened.

But this is a sign of weakness and not of strength.

Of course, now that this is the decision, it is vital that every engineering worker carries it out. That's the only way of taking the alibis away from the right wing. Conway and his cronies are busily referring to the catastrophies of the last CSEU claim. Rank and file engineers must answer with full support for the overtime ban policy, even with all its shortcomings. Only a national strike will be able to break the resistance of an extremely confident EEF and a very determined government. The campaign for that has to start

Growing campaign to free jailed **Pickets**

In London over 500 people meetings in the shopping attended a meeting called by the precinct, and drew over 500 London Defence Committee. Resolutions were passed supporting a picket of the Appeal planning a meeting for the 19th Courts on January 11th, at 10 am January, but so far no lead has in the Strand, London, and the been taken by the CSEU, January 15th strike and T&GWU or AUEW District demonstration (1pm from Tower Hill) called for by the London Trades Council. On January 8th, London building workers picketed the offices of UCATT and the and building sites. Pressure is T&GWU to demand national action to free the three jailed

It was also reported to the meeting that members of the Barking and Dagenham Defence Committee occupied parts of the TUC headquarters to force the question of the outrageous jailings upon the TUC leadership; but an interview with Len Murray led nowhere.

Liverpool Trades Council called a meeting on January 3rd against the jailings. This and 200 shop stewards attended. The meeting agreed to a resolution calling for a one day and agreed to a demonstration on stoppage, although many militants present spoke out in favour of a total stoppage until demonstration and a mass the three were released.

Strong support for the stoppage has come from building workers throughout Merseyside, and at Dovecote site, Corporation building workers had already come out before

people in the course of one morning. The Trades Council is Committees.

In Nottingham a local action committee has also been set up and has leafleted factories, pits being put on the Trades Council to organise a demonstration.

North Manchester EEPTU branch has passed a resolution calling on the EEPTU Executive and all regions of the union to support the campaign to free the three . Manchester Liaison Committee for Defence of Trade Unions has set up a sub committee composed of dockers, engineers and electricians to fight committee held a joint meeting with Building Workers Charter January 11th. It is expected that many sites will stor for the meeting is being organised for the

Immediate action by building workers stopped work on three sites in Edinburgh and got promises of support from other sites. The initiative came from the local Joint Shop Stewards In Coventry the local Action Committee, which is planning question for the whole labour right away. shop. for I ms velw or start to Coventry. We stow for their actions. The Coventry of the Coven

are returned to Ireland.

from page I

them what will happen if they try to keep our brothers behind bars.

If the Appeals fail to remove every trace of the sentence and conviction of the three now jailed and the three others whose sentences were suspended, then all the previous action will have to be seen as a token of renewed effort after the Appeals.

Then the issue will become clearer to wide masses of workers - but only if the militants do their job, from now, and begin insistently explaining the issue and what is at stake.

in 1972 the slogan was raised: 5 Trade Unionists are Inside - why aren't you out! Now we must ask: If they manage to keep these 3 inside, how long can other militant trade unionists expect to stay out of jail?

This is now the burning

secret themselves with, and far Goneral strike to be againsty of 100 just demands are me

parliamentary politics."

Printed by voluntary labour Union struggle at **Coventry Art Castings**

For a long time we have been working to create a well organised trade union shop at Coventry Art Castings Ltd in recruit scab labour. A serious Nuneaton.

from a complex of small back street workshops. It supplies components to the car and engineering industry, and has the backing of a well know anti union firm — A L Dunn.

We have been threatened by in the T&G.

response to the management's go under. victimised one worker. As a and around the Coventry area. result of this last action 83 workers came out on strike.

The Company has refused to withdraw the sacking to allow negotiations to take place.

The strike has been solid since exist and as was said in the Dock, allowed to communicate these to

The management have sent dismissal notices to all strikers, and stated that they intend to incident occurred on the picket The firm was recently formed line when a manager's car ran down a shop steward. The strikers have started legal action against this manager, even though the police have been present near the picket line all during the day in some force.

The strikers are Indian workers the company, individuals have who have begun an important been victimised, and finally a struggle to unionise this back shop steward has been sacked. In street firm. At the moment the spite of these ta-tics the vast workers inside are refusing to give majority of these workers are now any solidarity. But the state of trade union organisation in the The immediate issue behind Coventry and Nuneaton area will our strike was a wage claim. In suffer a big blow if these workers

refusal to agree we imposed an The strike committee has sent overtime ban. The company laid letters appealing for money and off various sections, and solidarity to trade unionists in

Gurmail Singh

and initial to S.S. Gill

with the finder Referendum, we shall fight on in your prisons my people?

Send messages of support and 10th December, most of the money to: Gurmail Singh and S S strikers being from the die casting Gill, at 154 Churchill Avenue,