

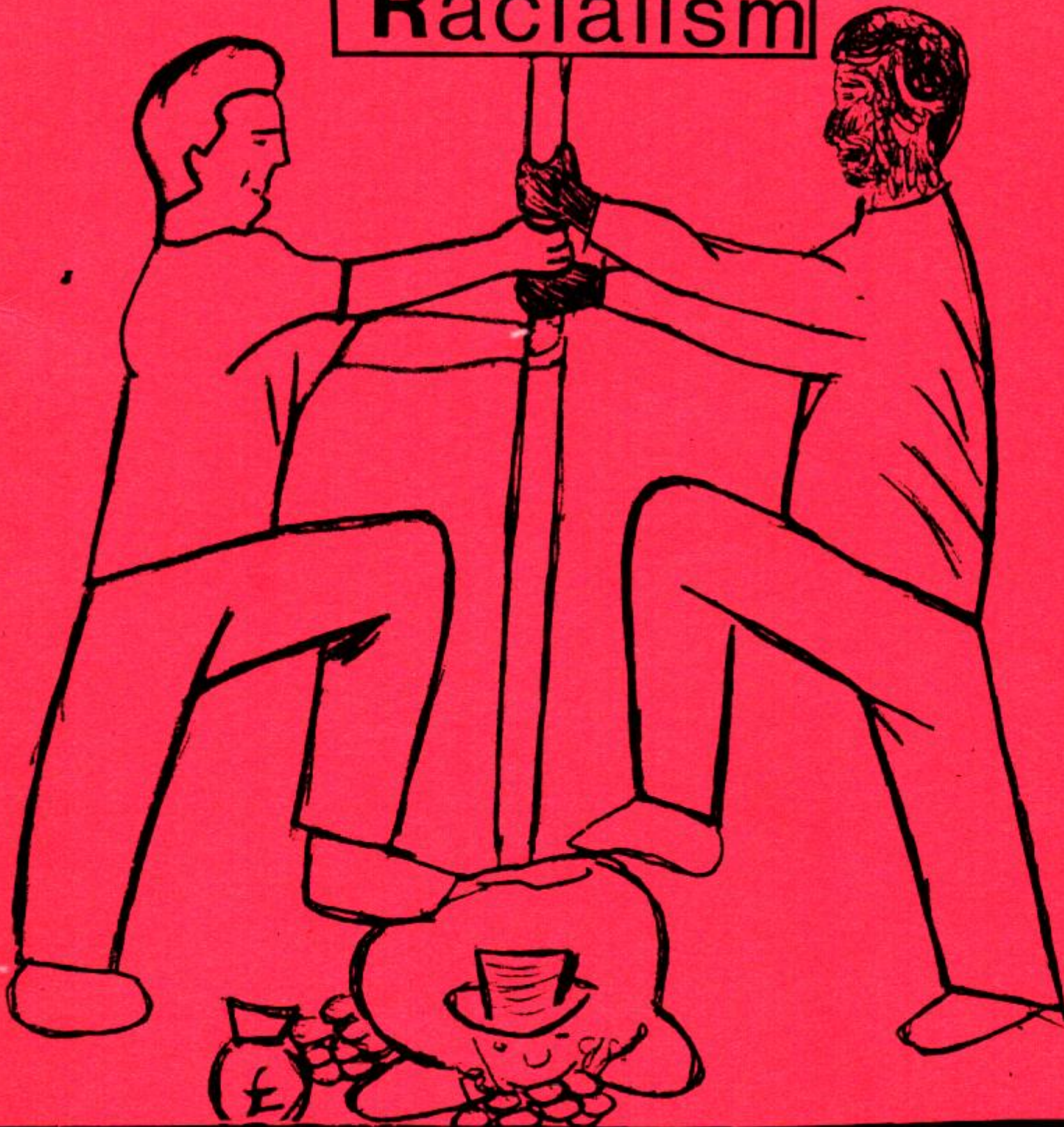
WORKERS'

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Fight
Fascism
Fight
Racialism



NOTICEBOOK

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EDITORIAL

In the last few weeks we have seen a further deepening of the economic crisis of British capitalism, and we have felt the burden of this, as the bosses have shifted it onto us

Unemployment has reached a post war record, with nearly seven workers out of every hundred having no job. Prices have shot up again and our living standards dropped.

But at the same time the shop floor workers have breached the stranglehold of Trade Union leaders and Labour Government. They have rejected the social contract and its lies that wages cause unemployment, price rises and the crisis itself, and they are putting in for new wage claims to try to get enough money to live on.

Such workers include the 850 air traffic controllers, who are demanding a 17% rise, which was already agreed in 1975, but frozen. British Leyland workers too are claiming rises of between 47% and 60%.

These and many others of us are putting in the claims we need.

new tactics

Meanwhile, with the Social Contract really in shreds, with just a flimsy 12 month rule cooked up by the government and a handful of Union "leaders" and a 10% ceiling dreamt up by the government alone, the Labour Government is turning to new ways to shackle

the working class, and our fight against these will be more difficult and bitter.

This so-called 'socialist' government is more and more removing its fist from the velvet glove when it deals with the working class.

Now we hear suggestions of using controllers from the armed forces to break the air traffic controllers' strike.

Alex Park, British Leyland Chief executive, is threatening workers putting in for better wages with the Labour government. For he says, since the government owns 95% of British Leyland, the Bosses 'have no option' but to follow government pay policy, 'whatever the company or unions might wish to do'.



the "blacklist"

And now too, a 'blacklist' of firms is being compiled by the government, of all those naughty capitalists who have given too much pay to their workers and broken the Pay code! This much-publicised, 'secret blacklist' will mean, so they say, that government contracts to these firms will be cut.

We can just imagine how the poor old boss 'is going to take this news! After getting mil- lions in government handouts to put in his business, now he gets this marvellous way of squeezing more profits out of his workers, without even losing face! This Labour Government is really wonderful - if you're a boss.

But when we put in our claim, what will the poor boss plead?

"We can't, we'd like to, but we can't. We'll be blacklisted, lose our contracts and you'll lose your jobs."

A clever way to threaten and sit on the workers.

the state - our enemy

Through measures such as these, whether we work in state-owned industry or not, from now on, all of us will find that more and more we are having to fight not just our gaffer, but the whole government and state which protects him.

And the forces of the state are rapidly getting ready for that confrontation - with a rise in police violence (mounted baton charges), the use of riot equipment, the employment of 'snatch squads' to yank out 'potential trouble-makers' and the leaders at a demonstration, march or picket.

We must be ready to face this.

As capitalism goes deeper and deeper into crisis and tries to take it out on us, the state and government oppression will increase.

We'll have to fight the bosses, the collaborating Trade Union 'leaders', the government and the state for our future, the workers of Britain. But that future can only be secured by kicking out capitalism itself, through revolutionary socialism.

FIGHT FASCISM



Election results earlier this year in which the National Front got nearly a quarter of a million votes sharply highlighted the growth of support for rascist and fascist ideas in Britain, and came as a shock to many who thought that ignoring the danger would make it go away.

Ofcourse it's true that many workers who voted fascist are confused and are not in themselves fascist, but this is precisely what happened in Italy in the twenties and in Germany in the thirties.

In the last few weeks the National Front has been stepping up its fascist, racialist campaign. The demonstration it tried to hold at Lewisham was, as the NF area organiser himself boasted, "deliberately provocative".

So was the holding of an election meeting in a Handsworth school in Birmingham for the Lady wood by-election.

Such racialist ideas, as the NF and others preach, divide workers and incite racialist violence of worker against worker, instead of workers standing together against the real source of their hardship - the profit-grabbing boss.

Whilst the fascists do not rely exclusively on racism, it is nevertheless their main political weapon to divide the working class. Each concession to the racists leads to yet another demand to go further, to become more repressive.

FASCIST VIOLENCE



Violence, the hallmark of fascism, is increasing against black workers. In Kent the doors of black workers' homes have been kicked down; in the Coventry area attempts have been made to set black workers' homes on fire; in Birmingham racialist abuse has been painted across the windows of shops owned by black people; in London, black people have been beaten up and there have been two murders. These are just some examples of the dirty work done by fascists.

The open provocations of fascists are going unchecked by the law and institutionalised fascism seems to grow and that same law becomes more open in its one-sidedness in dealing with fascists and anti-fascists.

COMBAT RACIALISM AND ANTI-WORKING CLASS IDEAS

Counter demonstrations are one of the ways of doing this. But they must be well-planned, well-organised and led, so that agent-provocateurs, sent by the NF to discredit the anti-fascists, and angered crowds have no chance to run wild. The counter demonstration should also aim at winning the support of all the local residents. They must not be antagonised nor made afraid. Their being injured, their windows being smashed, their gardens flattened and passing cars stoned will not win their support! If this happens the anti-fascists play into the hands of the NF, who on such occasions are at pains to look most respectable. Also such incidents provide the police and the government the excuse for increased repression.

The role of the police as upholders of the 'law' at the recent NF demonstration and meeting points to how much deeper the roots of fascism go. The police's violent attacks and mounted charges on the anti-fascist counter demonstrators, contrasts sharply with their careful defence of the NF demonstrators. And this is not by chance.

The most dangerous threat of fascism comes from the capitalist state, whose 'law' the police uphold. Fascism will only come to power in Britain when the capitalist state needs it.

Crisis and a threat of FASCISM

In the present economic crisis the employers are trying to get more and more out of fewer workers. They're trying to shift the burden of their crisis onto the backs of the working class - with wage "controls" (=cuts) rationalisation and unemployment.

A fierce resistance by the working class to these measures and the depth of the economic crisis will bring the capitalist state to throw off its parliamentary democratic clothing and resort to fascism.

FASCIST ORGANISATIONS

In looking at the activities of the easily recognised fascist organisations, such as the NF, the British Movement or the National Party, we should not forget such organisations as NAFF (National Association for Freedom) which is behind the Grunwick management, and has among its members at least three members of the Shadow cabinet, and whose annual dinner was attended by Maggie Thatcher. It may well be that the ruling class will turn to such organisations that are not tarnished with an open fascist image, but nevertheless do a very capable and efficient job of trying to shackle the trade union movement.

The present situation in Britain is a breeding ground for fascism.

The crisis of capitalism reflects itself in high unemployment, especially among the young. Social services are falling apart, while the Health Service is staggering from one crisis to another. Council house building is almost ceasing in some areas and existing housing stocks being sold off. And despite a promise a week from the government, prices still go up.



SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM

All this has been going on supervised by the Labour Government. It, in cooperation with the Union leaders, has done a good job for the ruling class. It has made sure that the working class has accepted a cut in the standard of living, so helping to ensure that the large combines, the insurance companies and banks continue to make huge profits.

But the social democrats have not only squeezed the working class. Terrified and incapable of challenging the monopolists whom they serve, they have thrown the book at the small business men and professional people.

The situation is further aggravated by the fact that Britain is an imperialist country on the decline and 300 years of British colonialism has left a residue of racism that has bitten deep into our society and reaches into the working class.

As a result of all this there is a growing feeling of betrayal in many workers and sections of the small business and professional people. -Cynicism, disillusionment and chauvinism are skilfully exploited by the fascists.



HOW TO COMBAT FASCISM

There are no short cuts, no magic formula for success.

Organising for a big counter demonstration is in reality the easiest tasks for anti-fascists; perhaps that is why so many see it as the be all and end all of anti-fascist work.

Meanwhile the NF is paying a great deal of attention to the Trade Union and labour movement, and has started making inroads in a number of areas. These include the railway, post office, factories such as Rover, and have started to get shop stewards elected and even delegates to the Trades Councils. These advances, though still small, should nevertheless be regarded seriously since any successful penetration by fascists into the working class organisations constitutes a threat. Particularly in a period of crisis.

Many workers in factories accept racist and fascist ideas, and whilst not yet prepared to take the step of joining or openly supporting the Front are responsive to their propaganda. The danger is that the growing votes for the Front candidates gives them a certain respectability among many people who still believe in the ballot box.

The hardest, but one of the most important parts of anti-fascist work is on the shop floor. Here, day in day out, racist ideas must be fought and the unity of workers against the employers strengthened. It is here that Front members and their bankrupt anti-working-class ideas must be exposed and isolated. For make no mistake, underneath all the racism, what the NF is about is a bitter hatred of socialism, and an enemy of the working class.

Many anti-fascist committees have already been set up, some on the initiative of the trades councils. Such committees must grow in number and strength to cover every shop floor and locality; they must involve the millions of ordinary people. The purpose of such committees must be to build up a broad progressive alliance of all anti-fascist people, under the leadership of the working class, to isolate racists and fascists everywhere and to protect our democratic rights.

Rigid sectarian positions taken by some organisations on such committees, accompanied by arrogance, do not strengthen an anti-fascist alliance. The task is to find as much common ground as possible, and through working together people will come to recognise the correct programme.

As regards the organisation of counter-demonstrations, the anti-fascist committees should take on this responsibility. They should plan the demonstration through consultation and discussion with the people of the area, so that everyone is involved.

Also they must make sure that the demonstration is well-organised and well-disciplined. We cannot allow the struggle against fascism to be damaged by adventurism.

FASCIST STRATEGY

The National Front is increasing its provocation. In Bristol it is openly proclaiming its desire to organise vigilante groups to police black areas.

It is also calling a demonstration on October 8th, near Manchester, with the slogan: "Defend British Democracy against the Reds!"



A rally in Trafalgar Square in 1962 held by members of the National Socialist Movement many of whom later joined the National Front.

We must beware that we don't fall into the trap that the National Front has laid there. It is the fascists who are the true enemies of democracy, for all their attempted respectability on such occasions.

Look at Germany's Third Reich or Chile today. The fascists have always used the "Reds" as the excuse for increased police and state repression, - and this is what Tyndal (NF leader) has called for.

A well-disciplined counter-demonstration on October 8th would be effective - to show up the NF lies. An undisciplined punch up will give the NF yet more ammunition.



All the fascist movements in Britain are national socialist; the following are the organisations which are the most active:

| | |
|--|---|
| National Front | 15,000 members |
| National Party | 700 " " |
| British Movement | 500 " " |
| League of St George - umbrella organisation for all others | |
| British National Party | 150 " " |
| Centre Party (London area) | 150 " " |
| Column 88 | - secret paramilitary members selected. |

(All figures are approximate)

DO YOU KNOW WHAT'S
HAPPENING IN THE
HOSPITALS?

Cuts in health spending, the closing of wards and of whole hospitals, and a much quicker turnover of patients has swollen the workload of nurses. In addition, recruitment has been cut back, and vacancies deliberately left unfilled.

All this adds up to a far worse service and a great deal more work for the remaining nurses, crammed into the same hours.

And what princely sums do these hard-working nurses earn?

At the beginning of the Social Contract a First Year Student Nurse got £30 a week, rising in annual increments to £33.46 after three years. The basic SRN rate was £40.79 rising in annual increments to a maximum of £50.88 after 6 years. The Charge Nurse's wage ranged from £52.05 to a maximum of £68.31 after 7 years.

DO YOU

KNOW.....

Held down to these low rates plus Phases 1&2, for exhausting, dedicated and highly responsible work, nurses in the student and pupil categories, on the lowest wage rates, have had their earnings further reduced by increasing nurses' home charges. At the beginning of the Social Contract hostel charges (bed only) were £138 a year. In April 1976 the charges went up by £51, and in April 1977 a further £33 was added. That is an increase of 61% over two years.

Prices of food in the canteens have also gone up more than once and the standard of food has definitely dropped.

The severity of the attack on nurses' pay and work conditions has had the effect of making nurses more trade union minded.

BLACK FRIDAY at

Friday July 29th was a black day for the working class.

First, Grunwick's boss Ward got off - just like a murderer being freed after he's bumped off the prosecution witnesses! The Appeal Court ruling on ACAS and Grunwick showed what a pathetic sham ACAS is. It showed that no ACAS recommendation can be enforced against the wishes of the employer. Grunwick boss Ward had refused to provide enough information for ACAS to find out the views of all workers at Grunwick. He thus cleverly invalidated in the eyes of the courts the findings of ACAS - that most workers, who ACAS had managed to reach, wanted to form a union.

union "leaders" betray

Second, the union "leaders" revealed themselves to be the biggest scabs of all. They threatened and pressured the workers, They pushed a resolution calling for reliance on the Scarman Court of Inquiry and for stoppage of mass picketing at Grunwicks.

Mrs Jayabon Desai, Treasurer of the Strike Committee, quite rightly said of these so-called leaders:

"They don't know what it is to struggle. For 49 weeks, rain and snow, I have been coming to the picket line every morning at six. Was it for this? ...Yes, I cried. Wouldn't you cry if your own union leaders started behaving as though they were on the other side."

GRUNWICK



Mrs Desai, the Grunwick strikers and their millions of supporters up and down the country aren't crying now, they're angry. Jack Dromey, secretary of the Brent Trades Council, summed up the lessons of Black Friday at the mass picket of Grunwick on Monday August 8th, when he said: "Legalistic tactics will never work", and called for an upturn in the struggle.

Despite the massive support this strike has, despite trying every legal manoeuvre, despite mass picketing which won important concessions, this strike has not been won. This is due to a handful of false "leaders" in the trade union movement, who, no matter what they say, have sold out the workers' interests. Here is the record of their feats in that black week:

apex blackmails strikers

On Monday July 25th Roy Grantham, General Secretary of the strikers union, ordered the strike committee to call off the mass pickets and the demonstration of August 8th. This would have allowed Grunwicks to get the bulk of the holiday photos business through the peak season. Grantham was rebuffed by a 2 - 1 vote.

Two days later the strike committee was summoned to the General Purposes Committee of APEX. Their crime? Struggling for basic trade union rights. This time it was Dennis Howell of APEX and Labour Government minister who did the threatening. He said: "There is a conspiracy afoot to undermine the union." But who is the union? Is it the false "leaders"? who threaten the fall of the Labour Government if the members don't cower to their orders? Or is it the thousands and thousands of ordinary members who have organised in strength on their shop floors to defend their interests? What Dennis Howell did not say is that it is he who is undermining the union, not the Brent Trades Council as he implied.

On Thursday, Grantham threatened to cut strike pay(which is against APEX rules), but the strike committee still defied him.

On Friday July 25th, strike pay was delayed until the result of another strike committee meeting and a meeting of all strikers was known. This was blatant blackmail. A mixture of pressure, cajolery and trickery turned the vote against a mass picket. Yet already some who voted against mass picketing are changing their minds. Now the courts and inquiries are openly attacking the strikers with no mass pressure on them.



workers' enemies

The record of the 'leaders' of the Union of Post Office Workers is no better. On that Black Friday, Norman Stagg, Second in Command of the UPW and acting for Tom Jackson, harangued and threatened the Cricklewood postmen back to work, with implicit threats of expulsion from the union, dismissal from work and cutting of union strike pay. He too threatened the fall of the Labour Government.

As if the workers could do any worse under a Tory government! What is the difference? You either have the government and state dismantling the union à la Ward, under the Tories, or you have the union becoming a pathetic appendage of the state and government under Labour. In both cases the rights of the shop-floor workers are being destroyed.

And the Trade Union 'leaders' today, such as Grantham, Stagg, Jackson and Howell, are clearly, in what they do, serving the employers, serving the capitalist state. In fact they are the best agents for them, since these 'leaders' have done what Ward, the National Association of Freedom, the police and the courts could not do - they have the Grunwick strikers up against the wall.

But the fight back at Grunwick has already started. At the mass picket of August 8th, speaker after speaker lampooned the Trade Union opportunists and revealed massive rank and file discontent.



EXPOSE

SCAB STAGG

fight for real unions



What the strike has shown is that a genuine leadership, a revolutionary leadership, is missing. What is needed is a struggle to weedle out the fat cats like Grantham, Jackson and Co. and to turn the unions into class struggle unions that will really fight for their members interests.

Now more than ever the Grunwick workers need support.

At a time when the Trade Union bureaucrats and Labour reformists and their appendage, the so-called "Communist" Party have abandoned the workers and their mass strength, all workers and Marxists-Leninists must give all the support they can.

This strike will only be won with mass support, concrete action, and by ditching the opportunist misleadership.

support the grunwick workers

Get your trade union branch, your shop floor to support the Grunwick workers!

Raise MONEY for them!

STRIKE in their support!

BOYCOTT the Grunwick film-processing business!

BOYCOTT Bonuspool and Trucolour films!

If you live in London, don't take your films to these chemists, who all use Grunwick:

Atkins Chemists, 124, Holloway Rd., London N7.

Mayfair Pharmacy, Head Office, 11 Ludgate Hill, EC4

Paul Edward Chemists, 50, Newington Green, N 16

& 824, Caledonian Rd. N 1

P.J. Chemists, 3 Goswell Rd. & 199 Old St. EC1.



JAMES LARKIN

In Dublin City, in 1913
 The rich were strong and the poor were slaves;
 The women working, the children starving,
 When on came Larkin like a mighty wave.
 The worker cringed when the bossman thundered,
 70 hours was his weekly chore;
 He asked for little, and less was granted,
 Lest gaining little, he asked for more.

-***

In the month of August, the bossman told us,
 No union man for him could work,
 We stood by Larkin, we told the bossman
 We'd fight and die, but we wouldn't shirk.
 8 months we fought them, 8 months we starved,
 We stood by Larkin through thick and thin,
 But foodless homes and the crying of children,
 They broke our hearts and we couldn't win.

Then Larkin left us, we seemed defeated,
 The night was dark for the working man.
 Then on came Connolly with new hope and counsel,
 His motto was "We'll rise again!"
 In Dublin city in 1916,
 The British soldiers they burned our town;
 They shelled our buildings, they shot our leaders,
 The harp was buried 'neath the bloody crown.

They shot McDermott, and Pearse and Plunkett,
 They shot McDonagh, and Clark the brave;
 From bleak Kilmainham they took their bodies
 To Arbor Hill and a quicklime grave.
 But most of all these seven heroes,
 I'll sing the praise of James Connolly:
 The voice of justice, the voice of reason,
 He gave his life that men might be free!

-*-*-*-*-*-

(Sung to the traditional tune of "The Ragman's Ball". By Paddy Reilly)

THREAT OF WAR

The arms race in the world today is above all a political question. The expansionism of imperialism and the different strengths of the different imperialist powers lead to clashes in their attempts to grab more territories, markets and sources of raw material for their exploitation.

Nowadays, the main contenders are the United States and the Soviet Union. They first try to come to agreements through innumerable conferences and jet-set diplomacy, aimed at more exploitation of the third world or other countries. But sooner or later diplomacy breaks down. The outcome is war - the continuation of politics into violent open conflict.

CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM

The economic crisis of imperialism today, which is basically a crisis of overproduction of goods for the markets available, accelerates the competition between imperialist powers for markets and outlets for the export of capital. The resistance of the oppressed countries contributes to the aggravation of the crisis

All these factors bring an inter-imperialist war that much nearer.

ARMS RACE

One symptom of this is the growth of the arms industry in an attempt to get the economy out of the crisis and which eventually produces for war.

For a long time it was the USA which had the most massive military apparatus in the world. The Soviet Union came late onto the imperialist scene and is therefore increasing its arms production at a frantic rate in order to catch up and try to overtake.

Such an arms race has led to the accumulation of vast weaponries by the two superpowers. In Europe alone, Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact has 19,000 aircraft and US-dominated NATO has 6,100 aircraft.

The Soviet army has 4.2 million men with reserves of 25 million, of whom 6 million have seen service in the last five years. The U.S. army has 2.1 million men.

The Soviet navy has 310 cruisers, frigates etc. and 306 submarines; the US navy has 236 cruisers etc. and 116 submarines. The US navy also has 5,000 aircraft and the Soviet navy 1236.

The arms race between the two superpowers is also shown clearly in the rate at which they produce arms, with the more recent imperialist superpower, the Soviet Union, grimly pressing on to outdo US imperialism.

Average Soviet tank production is about 2,400 a year; US tank production averages 450. Soviet artillery production is 1,400 a year; the United States produce 156 pieces.

THREAT OF WAR

Both the Soviet Union and the United States pose the main threat of war in the world; US imperialism is trying to hang onto their world-wide imperialist possessions, and

Soviet social imperialism desperately needs to expand, and is doing so wherever possible with the help of "socialist" phrases and the support of the revisionist "communist" parties.

If we leave it up to NATO or the Warsaw Pact to negotiate on the question of the arms race and the threat of war, this will inevitably lead us into an imperialist war for redivision of the world between the imperialists. Once again it means that the people will be used as cannon fodder to defend the interest of either imperialist power.

The only way to stop world war is to defeat imperialism itself and turn the imperialist war into a civil, class revolutionary war for socialism, as did the Bolsheviks in 1917.



HOUSING AND HEALTH

"Why should I get my child immunised if the council won't rehouse me?" So said a working mother in Glasgow, and she was right. She could see very clearly that housing is not something cut off from the rest of life. And she also understood that better housing prevents illness as much as immunisation.

Bad Housing = Bad Health

Bad housing means bad health.

The people who best understand this are those who have to live with dampness, in overcrowded cramped rooms, in rotting buildings, with rats, mice, cockroaches, beetles and bugs, no hot water, no indoor toilets, no baths, in council slums, and in high rise flats. -They all understand the injury, infection and depression it causes.

These people are the 3 million families living in slums, near slums, or in grossly overcrowded conditions. (Shelter Report 1970-71)

These people are those who have to live in the 1.8million houses regarded as "unfit for human habitation".

These people are those who have to live in the 4½million dwellings needing repair or lacking one or more of the basic amenities, or both.

These people are the 100,000 homeless.

Old people climbing endless stairs with their arthritis or bad hearts, children growing up in cages in the sky and left mentally scarred, babies squeezed into bedsits, patients kept in hospital because they are homeless: these are some of the problems.

Landlords to Blame

And what of the landlords?

Nowadays, private lettings are disappearing, but there are still a handful of big, bad landlords who ruthlessly exploit their tenants. But the council estates which grew tremendously in the 50s and 60s have not solved the housing problem. The barracks built after the First World War as 'Homes for Heroes' have become the council slums of today. The newer estates and tower blocks are built to such a low standard that they have structural problems very quickly, or even before a single soul has moved in!

"Socialist" Housing Policy?

In March 1975, the Government announced the budgeted housing expenditure of £527 million for 1975-6 was to be cut to £271 million, and this is going to be cut down to £230 million by 1979, so less and less houses and flats will be built, and improvement schemes have been slashed.

Now councils are hardly bothering about repairs and maintenance, since they've been told by central government to plan for nil growth in this area.

At the same time council rents have rocketed faster in the last 7 years than even prices.

Many people who before thought that council housing was meant to serve the working people, that it was indeed a "socialist" policy, have now realised that the only change that has occurred is that we now have 'public' landlords instead of the old private landlords. These new landlords do not serve the tenants - who ever heard of a popular housing department? - but serve the money-lenders, building contractors, bureaucrats and corrupt councillors.

As rents go up, so there is less money to spend on other things like heating and food, which means more old people dying from cold (what the Health Education Council calls "Accidental" Hypothermia!), and more under-nourished children from eating cheap stodgy food.

A Class Problem

The housing problem is not just a "social" problem, nor is it inevitable. It is a political and class problem.

The bosses, the landowners, the landlords - they do not have a housing problem.

It is the working class, young and old, who must suffer slum conditions and neglect, rocketing rents, homelessness and the housing cuts. So it is the working class who has to solve the housing problem.

For too long we've relied on the Tory or Labour Big Wigs to change things for us. Look how many years we've hoped for change by reforms. And we're just as badly off. - 3 million families in slum housing!

The workers, the tenants have to take the initiative and fight for better housing. But only by kicking out the landlords, council and private, by kicking the bosses, their parties and their state out, - only by taking control of all housing ourselves, through revolutionary socialism, can the working class really solve the housing problem.



THE TOLPUDDLE MARTYRS



We raised the watchword Liberty



Anti Union Laws

The recent ruling of the appeal judges in the Grunwick dispute is a timely reminder that the working class and its trade unions have had to wage a continuous struggle to defend themselves from the "impartial" application of "The Law". In the 18th century, when the "combinations", as the trade unions were called, first arose, trade unionists were hauled into court as conspirators engaged "in restraint of trade".

The infamous Combination Acts passed in 1799 and 1800 were simply an attempt to make it easier to prosecute these "conspirators". This law was made to look impartial by banning combinations of bosses - to fix prices and wages - as well as banning those of workers. But there were two important differences. Firstly, the maximum sentence for workers combining together was a long period of imprisonment, whereas the "masters" could only be fined. Secondly, and more importantly, while many trade unionists were locked up as a result of the laws, there is no evidence that any combination of capitalists was ever prosecuted.

In spite of the law, the unions continued to grow in size and number, and in 1824 the combination acts were repealed. The ruling class hoped that as the number of unions had increased after they had been made illegal, they might fall in number if they were made legal. Instead, the unions grew more rapidly and numerous strikes broke out in the growing industrial areas of the country. Once the bosses saw that their tactic hadn't worked, another law was passed in 1825.

This allowed the existence of unions, but made it illegal for them to do anything to defend their members' interests - a la Industrial Relations Act.

Tolpuddle Workers Organise

The most famous of the many incidents where this law was used to attack trade unionism came a few years later - that of the Tolpuddle Martyrs. In the Dorsetshire town of Tolpuddle the farm labourers had put in a claim for parity. They were paid 9 shillings a week, when the average wage for the work in Dorsetshire was 10 shillings. The farmers employing them replied by cutting their wages to 8 shillings, and they threatened to cut it to 6 shillings. Threatened with starvation, the men organised themselves into a local union.

At the suggestion of the Home Secretary, six of these workers were arrested and prosecuted on a trumped-up charge - of breaking a law, first passed in 1797 to prevent a mutiny in the Royal Navy! - by "administering an illegal oath for seditious purposes".

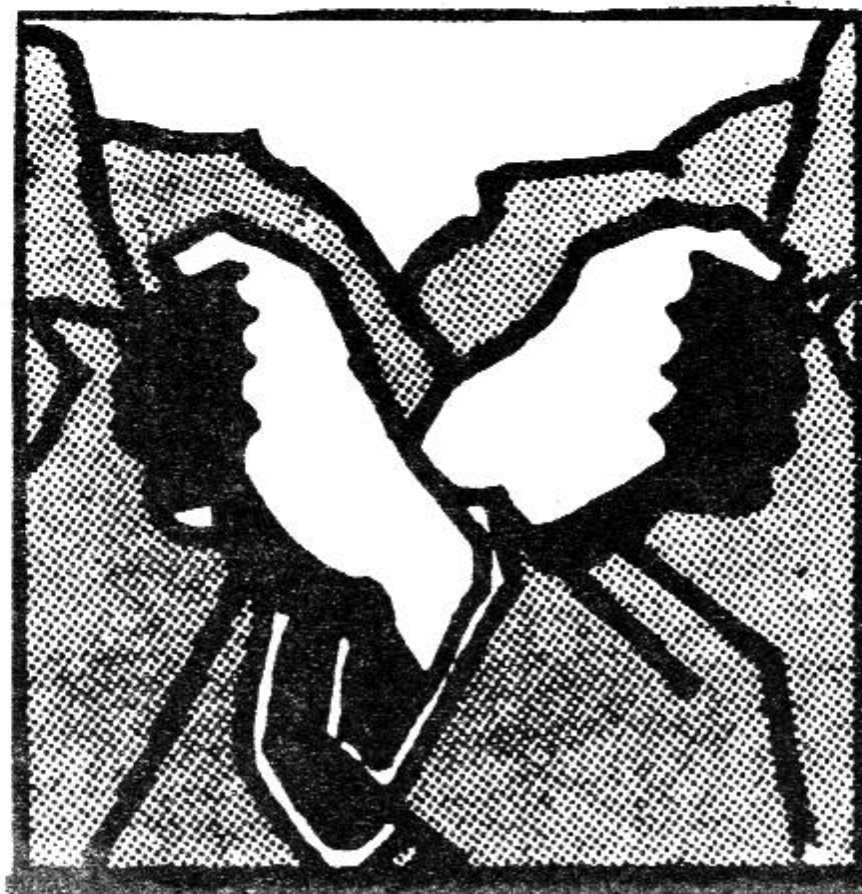
The men's trial was a farce from start to finish. The unsubstantiated evidence of a police spy, the hostility of the judge and a jury made up entirely of employers made a guilty verdict certain. The Tolpuddle Six were given the maximum possible sentence - 7 years transportation to work in chains in Tasmania and New South Wales.

Growing Unity Of Working Class

A huge demonstration of over 100,000 workers was held in London against the savage sentence, but the government upheld it. Why? And why was the trial prompted by the Home Secretary? Because the government was terrified by the growth of the unions, by the class consciousness and solidarity of the workers in Britain and wanted to smash them.

The Grand National

The growing unity of the working class was shown in the forming of the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union - an association made up of affiliated local unions. That organised by the Tolpuddle workers was one of these. The GNCTU was one of the earliest attempts at one big union for all workers. Its aims quickly extended beyond economic questions to the organisation of cooperative production and even a general strike, which was to be known as a Grand National Holiday - aimed at the overthrow of the whole capitalist state. Within a few months the unions membership had reached 500,000. But this did not last long, and the membership fell just as quickly. The GNCTU was poorly organised and financed making the most modest activities impossible. There being no railway and no penny post in these years also made it difficult to organise on a national scale. These difficulties were aggravated even more by the hostile attacks of the bosses, the government and the courts on the union and its members, such as the Tolpuddle Martyrs. The bosses sacked workers belonging to the GNCTU and forced other workers to sign "the document" - a pledge not to join or belong to a trade union. The government encouraged the employers to root out trade unionism and the courts were used to help wherever possible.

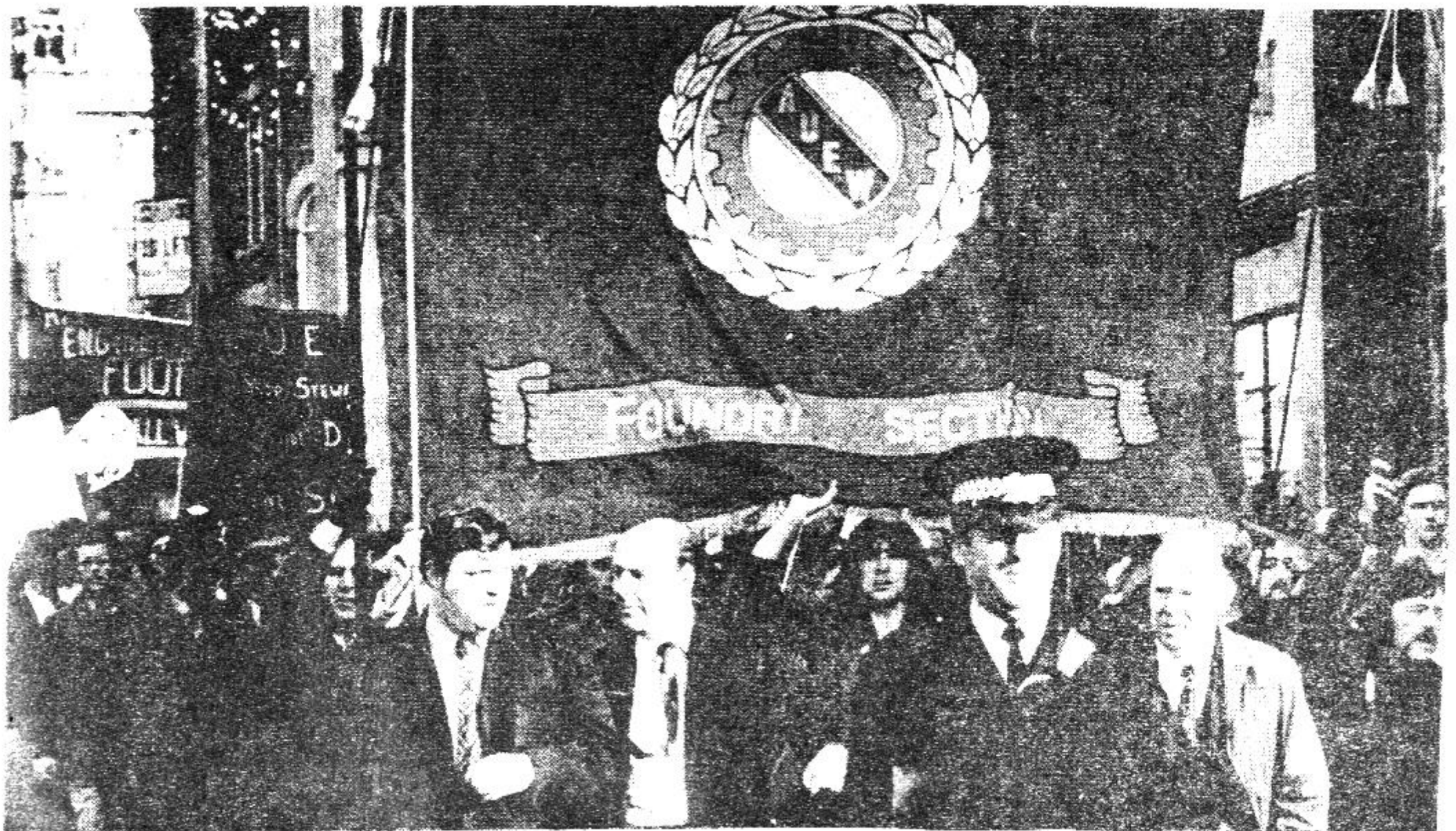


It is in this context that the Tolpuddle Martyrs must be seen. A small group of workers in a remote agricultural area were attacked as part of a general offensive against trade unionism.

Although the Grand National was disbanded, individual trade unions continued along sectional lines and the campaign to free the Martyrs went on. At last in 1836 the government was forced to grant a free pardon, but it was two more years before the Martyrs got back to Britain.

Little Has Changed

Although a little more subtlety is used nowadays, little has changed in the last 150 years. What is the difference between the Tolpuddle Six, the Pentonville Five or the Shrewsbury Two? What are the differences between the courts, the bosses and the government in the 1830s and the Appeal Judges, George Ward, and the Labour or Tory Government?



10-strong demonstration by Sheffield engineering workers, striking over the NIRC fine on the union.

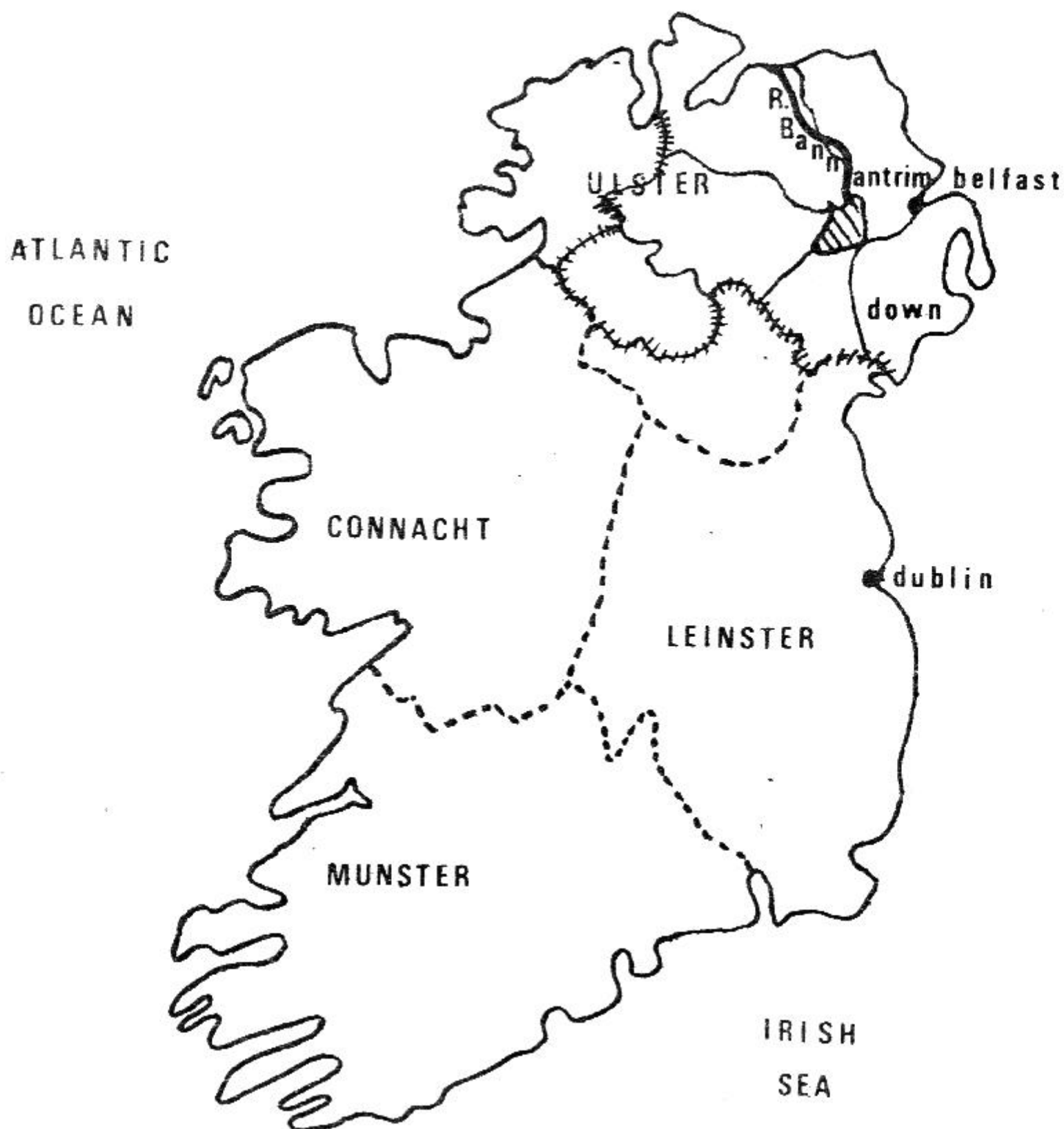
IRELAND

PART

3

DIVIDE AND RULE

The last issue of 'Worker's Notebook' traced the growth of the Home Rule Movement in Ireland, but also showed how sectarianism, implanted in the Irish people by the British colonialist and Irish ruling classes, stunted and weakened it. The work of Larkin and Connolly in the years at the beginning of this century brought Irish Catholic and Protestant workers together in a fight against the bosses, and in the fight for Irish independence and socialism. Their work culminated in the great, but tragic Easter Rising of 1916.



PARTITION

In the years after the First World War the British government showed what it understood by its pledge of Home Rule to Ireland. It now proceeded to cut Ireland in half and 'give' the two separate parts their own "Home Rule" parliaments. It aimed to provoke further sectarianism, cementing it in law, and so it was hoped, prevent that unity of Protestant and Catholic workers which would kick the British out of Ireland.

In December, 1920, the Government of Ireland Act became British law. Under this a separate parliament was established for the six industrial, unionist-dominated counties of Antrim, Armagh, Derry, Down, Fermanagh and Tyrone. The new statelet was established on such lines that the protestants, no matter how poor they were, and the protestant workers were little better off than their catholic fellows, -could look down and see even poorer Catholics, who were portrayed as a perpetual threat to their position.

And from this oppression and division in Northern Ireland, the profits of industry still flowed to British capitalists.

And taking Ireland as a whole, the position was little different.

The industrial part of Ireland had been sundered from the agrarian South, where industry was only just beginning to develop. Meanwhile, the profits of Irish agriculture and savings from the land continued to flow into the pockets of the British landowners.

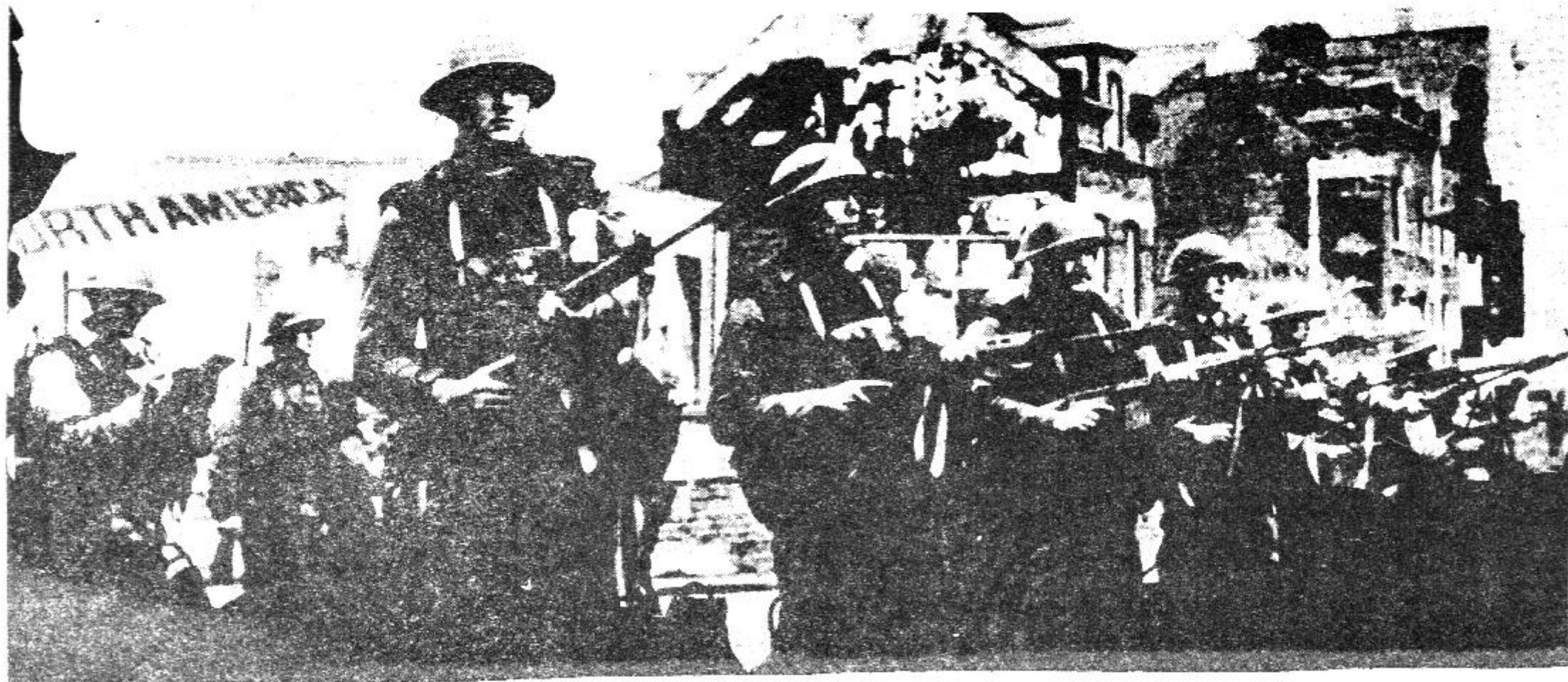
So what had become of the struggle for Irish independence?

SINN FEIN

'After the Easter Rising in 1916 had been smashed by the British troops and its leaders shot, the struggle for independence rose up again. But now the socialist force and leadership - the Irish Citizen Army and James Connolly - had been wiped out and other "leaders" took over the struggle. Such a leader was Griffith, of Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers, who was a violent enemy of trade unionism and the labour movement as had been shown in the 1913 lockout, and who wanted the development of Irish capitalist industry.

In the post-war general election Sinn Fein won many seats in Westminster, but those elected did not go to England. Instead, in January 1919, Sinn Fein proclaimed the first Dail Eireann (Irish parliament) under president de Valera and deputy Griffith. Under its leadership passive resistance to the British colonial administration was organised. This then escalated into an all out guerilla war in all four provinces against the British.

BRITISH Imperialism OUT OF IRELAND!



war against British Imperialism

The 1920 Act did not stop this war and was plainly inoperable in the most part of Ireland. As the war continued, the colonial system broke down, and more and more sections of the Irish people committed themselves to the cause of the Republic. The war showed the strength a united people have, a strength to weaken the greatest imperialist power in the world.

"Irish Free State"

But yet again the British government managed to split the independence forces. This time, in 1921, it got the leaders of the Dail to call a truce and to negotiate. In the treaty these leaders accepted the partition of Ireland and reduced the South to the status of a self-governing dominion of the British Commonwealth, to the "Irish Free State". The new government was formed under Griffith in Dublin, with English backing, - under the terms of the agreement.

But many of those who fought for Irish independence were disgusted with this settlement and in mid-1922 civil war broke out. The new Free State government in Dublin, with massive British military aid, ruthlessly repressed the republicans, shooting many of their leaders. In the countryside, the tenant farmers had been taking over the land and setting up their own local governing councils (like the Soviets in Russia) - these too were suppressed by the Dublin government. The republican movement was broken.

So the British imperialists had managed to split the Irish people along sectarian lines, divide up their country into two antagonistic parts, and split and buy off the independence movement. Most important and ominous for the future was that the best elements of the Irish workers now had their energies diverted away from social revolution and class struggle. The ending of

the partition and the re-unification of Ireland now absorbed the energies in what was a futile struggle.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN NEW CLOTHES

Directly in the North, and indirectly in the South, British imperialism still ruled Ireland, and reaped the profits of the labours of the Irish workers and peasants. The partition of Ireland left both sections economically weak and dependent on Britain, whatever the government in Dublin.

Yet despite all the confusion and sectarianism sowed by the British among the Irish people, the sufferings of all Irish workers - Protestant and Catholic - brought them together for a time. Economic depression gripped Ireland after the partition, lasting through the twenties and thirties and made worse by the world capitalist crisis of 1929. Unemployment in Ireland was 25% and higher and people starved.

IRISH WORKERS UNITE

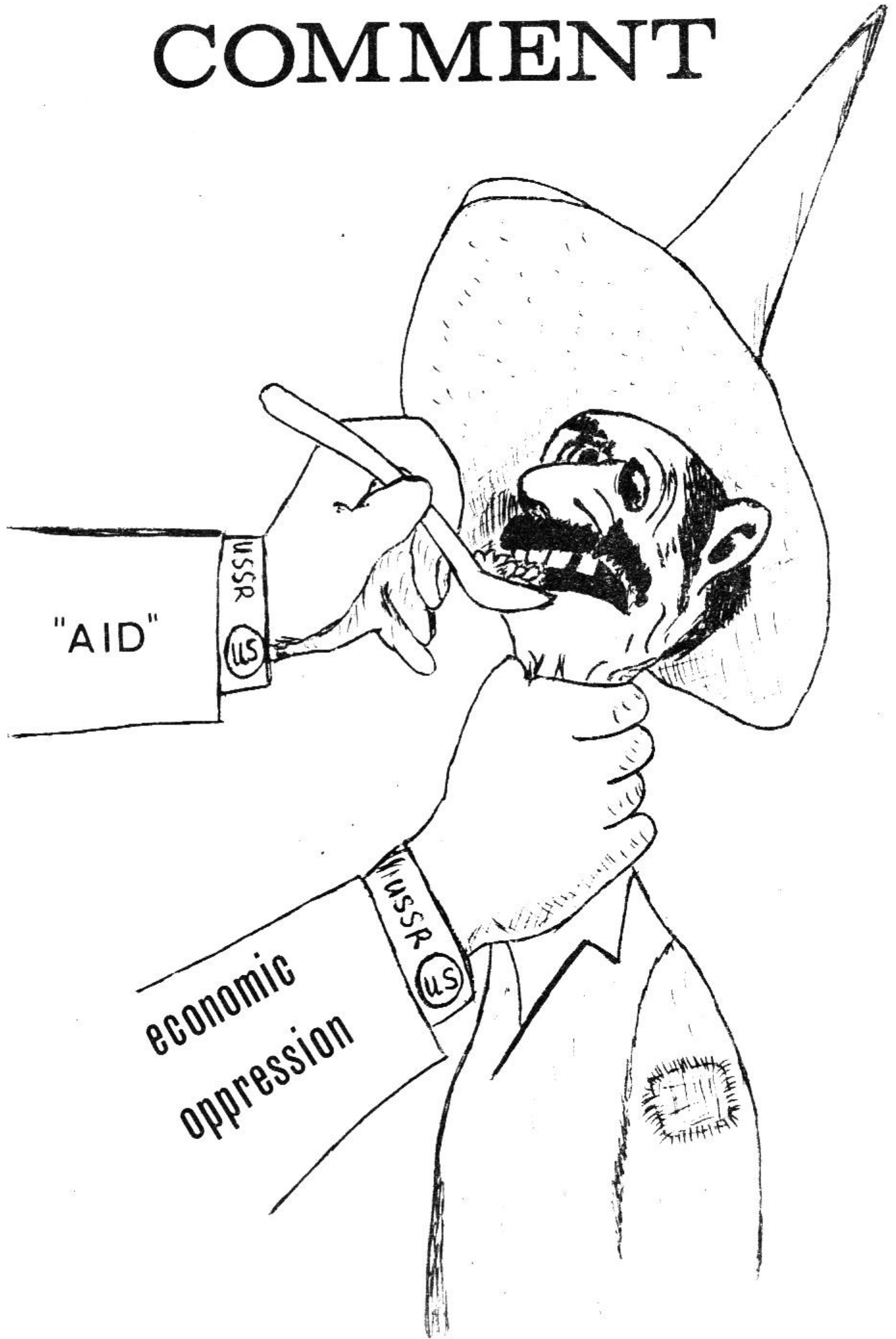
In Belfast in 1932, where unemployment was 30% a hunger march set off through the central working class areas, despite a government ban. Police baton-charged the unemployed workers on the Falls Road, the Catholic area, and then opened fire over their heads. The Protestant unemployed of Shankill Road rioted in support of their Catholic fellows.

The government immediately saw the danger in these signs of growing unity of Catholic and Protestant workers, and from then on started a deliberate campaign, yet again, to stir up sectarianism. The government actively encouraged employers to take on only Protestant workers, so setting worker against worker in these times of massive unemployment.

After this Ireland settled down to its staple export of the previous century - its most enterprising and active sons were deported by unemployment and starvation, to work abroad.

(To Be Continued)

INTERNATIONAL COMMENT



NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES 2

ALL AFRICA IS STANDING UP

Not long before he died Mao Tse Tung, the great leader of the revolutionary peoples of the world, expressed to a visiting African head of state his wish that, "All Africa stand up." Today in Africa this wish is becoming a reality.

Chimurenga

In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) the flames of 'chimurenga' -liberation- are sweeping the country and the regime is forced to admit that "the guerilla push is on". In Namibia, the liberation fighters led by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) have killed hundreds of enemy soldiers. In South Africa an impressive mass struggle has continued against the monstrous crimes of the white racist regime. The struggle started last June by the students of Soweto is sweeping the entire country.

In Angola, the people are waging their second war of liberation against the new imperialists, the Soviet Union, and their Cuban puppets. The creation of the Communist Organisation of Angola, a Marxist-Leninist organisation, has greatly spurred on this struggle.

In Western Sahara the guerilla fighters of POLISARIO are rapidly advancing against the occupation troops of Morroco and Mauritania. 60% of the country is in their hands, including some of the main phosphate mines.

In Eritrea, the forces of the three liberation movements are dealing deadly blows to the Ethiopian forces and they now control well over 95% of their country. Other areas of Ethiopia such as the Tigre province are also ablaze with the guns of liberation fighters. In Chad, the national liberation front, FROLINAT, administers vast areas of the country's northern regions.

All over Africa the imperialists are being dealt fierce blows. Recently, French imperialism was forced to grant independence to Djibouti after 1½ centuries of occupation. Even the tiniest enclaves of colonialism, such as the British colony of St. Helena see the forces of independence daily growing stronger.

Imperialists Covet Africa

The force of all these liberation struggles is directed against imperialism. The history of the plunder of Africa's peoples and resources is long and despicable. The wealth of the imperialist heartlands of Europe was built on the misery of the slave trade. But equally long is the record of the African peoples' resistance to oppression.

% of world resources on Africa

| | | |
|-------------|----------|---|
| Diamonds | 95% | The imperialist powers want to keep control of Africa's rich natural resources. |
| Gold | 66% | |
| Phosphorous | 50% | |
| Copper | 20% | |
| Tin | over 15% | |
| Natural Gas | 12% | |
| Coal | 7.5% | |
| Oil | 8% | |
| Bauxite | 27% | |
| Uranium | 30% | |
| Platinum | 40% | |



Africa also possesses the overwhelming proportion of Chromium, Cobalt, Titanium, Tantalum, Germanium and Lithium.

Superpowers Struggle

The imperialists also covet Africa because of its strategic importance. The sea lanes around Southern Africa are of vital significance in the struggle between the two superpowers of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. The Horn of Africa is eagerly contested by the imperialists, because it is the gateway to the Indian Ocean. Today the main contenders for imperialist control of Africa are the two superpowers.

Of the two, the Soviet Union is particularly dangerous, because it uses the name and flag of socialism to deceive the people and split the liberation forces. As a leading member of the OAU Liberation Committee said: "If in the

1960s Africa began to know US imperialism, then in the 1970s it began to know Soviet social imperialism.

The liberation forces in Zimbabwe have learned the lesson of Angola. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) have together formed the Patriotic Front. Robert Mugabe, the leader of ZANU, the organisation which has consistently led the armed struggle against the Smith regime said recently that the threat from Soviet imperialism is even more insidious than that of Western imperialism. In South Africa, the Pan Africanist Congress has repeatedly called for a united front of all true liberation forces and exposed the revisionist, So-called Communist Party as a fifth column of Soviet imperialism in South Africa.

Imperialist "Aid" Enchains

The "aid" which the imperialists and Soviet social imperialists so "generously give" to African countries is in reality a further tightening of the chains of bondage. Such "aid" is in the form of loans with high-interest, so that those countries receiving it get further and further into debt. From 1967 to 1974 Zaire's debts to the imperialist powers increased six-fold; in Somalia the entire production for a whole year would not be enough to free it from debt to the Soviet Union.

Another trick of the imperialists is to 'give aid' on condition that the other country buys goods from the imperialist power, so guaranteeing a market. The development projects too remain under part-control of the imperialist power who "helps". At the same time, the country's dependence on "aid" weakens further the national economy which sinks deeper into crisis; with this come astronomic prices, starvation wages, high unemployment and increasing hardship for the people.



SOCIALIST AID

In stark contrast is the aid given to the African countries by the People's Republic of China. Its largest project, the 1,150 mile Tanzam railway, linking land-locked Zambia to the Tanzanian port of Dar-es-Salaam was built after six years of joint efforts by Tanzanian, Zambian and Chinese workers. The railway, completely controlled by Zambia and Tanzania, has freed Zambia from dependence on the white minority regime to the south. It was built with long-term, interest-free loans from China. The two superpowers had

refused to help build the railway. Evidently, the kind of aid that isolates the regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa, and helps African countries develop their own national economies is not the sort of aid that interests imperialism.

The People's Republic of China does not act as a superpower. Its tasks internationally have been to unify the world's people in struggle for national independence and revolution in opposition to the superpowers and their moves to world war.



Marxism-Leninism Leads

The British working class has shown on many occasions that they are friends of the African people. In their revolutionary struggles, the African peoples are assisting us in our struggle.

Of great significance is the rise of Marxist-Leninist parties and organisations all over Africa. who are playing leading roles in their country's revolutionary struggles. Marxist-Leninist forces are growing in scope and strength in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Zaire, Angola, Rwanda, Benin and Ethiopia.

The old-line imperialists used to sneer at Africa as the "Dark Continent". Today the flames of liberation are lighting up the skies of Africa.

The vast battlefields of Africa, Asia and Latin America are the burial grounds of the Imperialist superpowers and of all reaction. This is

why the struggle of the peoples of the third world is the motive force propelling the world revolution forward.

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