

Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

UNITY CAN WIN

'WITH UNITY WE CAN WIN ANYTHING' one miner declared when a giant picket of miners and striking car workers forced the Saltley coke depot in Birmingham to close last week.

He was right. The magnificent fight of the miners for a living wage, backed by rank and file action from other groups of workers, has sent the Tory government tottering to the brink of total defeat.

Heath and the arrogant, hard-faced men of the Tory cabinet badly miscalculated the fighting strength and solidarity of the miners. Their sweeping power cuts have so outraged their paymasters, the employers, that an improved offer is a certainty.

The Wilberforce inquiry is just a charade, a face-saving gesture for the Tories. Everyone knows Wilberforce will recommend an improved offer for the miners. If Heath were really concerned about the hardship being caused through the power cuts then he would step in and make the offer NOW.

The last flimsy hope in the Tory locker is Mr Joe Gormley, president of the miners' union. Throughout the strike he has wobbled and dithered, muttering about productivity concessions and his willingness to have settled the strike for £3.

LESSONS

The miners have underlined two important lessons for the entire labour movement.

1 It is working people who have the real power in our society. When we unite and fight together the entire state machine and government is powerless. Hundreds of police were drafted to Saltley but a virtual general strike in east Birmingham crushed the uniformed bully-boys of the state.

The Tories have not dared to use their Industrial Relations Act against the miners. They know what the reaction would be if any miners were jailed. Unity can make the Act as useless as a punctured balloon.

2 It is the rank and file that have done the fighting. If the miners had been left to depend on the official trade union machine they would not be as close to victory as they are today.

There has been no positive support from any of the major unions, including the mighty battalions led by those stalwart favourites of the Labour 'left' and the Communist Party, Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon. And the General Council of the TUC, the so-called 'general staff' of the union movement, has been huffing and puffing in its eagerness to get the miners back to work for fear that the miners' militancy



Miners, their wives and other groups of workers have rocked the Tories

might become a contagious disease affecting millions of other workers.

TUC general secretary Vic Feather has become the unpaid publicity agent for Tory Minister of Misery, Robert Carr. Both have declared that the miners should get back to work with the latest Coal Board 'offer'—which would last for 18 months and still not radically improve their living standards.

If the TUC was a real leadership of the movement then it would call a one-day general strike against the Tories' lockouts that are currently laying off millions of workers and taken the necessary action that would have brought victory to the miners weeks ago. The TUC is not prepared to fight the Tories. A real leadership does not yet exist. It will have to be built from the present sections of the rank

and file that are prepared to take on the government.

Fight is the key word. The miners ARE a special case because they are prepared to fight, without strike pay, picket, brave the lorry-driving scabs and police, stand up to the lies and distortion of press and politicians to win a living wage.

But they are NOT a special case where wages are concerned. Millions more workers take home £15 to £17 a week. They too work long hours in atrocious conditions. They too are victims of the Tory-employer offensive to drive down wages and conditions in order to boost profits.

AND THEY TOO CAN DEFEAT this reactionary, anti-working class government if there is a united movement and a common fight. The call last year from the defeated postal workers for an alliance of all unions in the public sector that would submit joint claims and plan co-ordinated action must be taken up.

MESSAGE

Every working man and woman faces a concerted attack by the government and the bosses. Wages are driven down while prices, rents, fares and welfare charges soar. We have to foot the bill so that the small minority who own the country's wealth can boost their profits in preparation for a trade war with their Common Market rivals.

But they aren't going to get away with it. The miners have made that clear. They have stood up against the robbery, death and disease of their industry and said NO MORE.

And that message must ring in every section of the working-class movement. This government devoted to profit at people's expense can be brought toppling down as the first step towards a socialist society which, under democratic workers' control, would plan to meet the needs of the majority.

To defeat the government we need nationwide solidarity action by all trade unionists. We need tough, resolute grass roots' leadership to plan such a fight and to kick the official union machine into life.

Above all, we need a political programme to link the movement and drive towards the defeat of not just the Tories but the whole system that breeds low wages, unemployment, poverty and slums.

The miners have given added inspiration to all those struggling for socialism. In just over a month they have destroyed the myth that the working class cannot fight.

Panicking profiteers and blacked-out Britain show who has the power. UNITED WE CAN WIN.

Demand TUC calls general strike

THE TORIES are to blame for the blackouts, lockouts and freeze-ups hitting the country.

The miners want £6-£9 a week more to bring them up to the average industrial wage. The Tories have refused and they, and they alone, are responsible for the results.

Working people should not have to suffer for the chaos of the Tories' system. The only way to end the

present situation is to step up the solidarity action of other trade unionists to force the Tories to surrender.

● If the miners do not win their full claim, demand that the TUC call a one-day general strike of all affiliated unions against the Tory

lockout.

● Work or full pay. No workers should lose a penny because of the government's blackouts. Refuse to be laid off.

● No co-operation with bosses' efforts to get round the effects of the strike. Strict observance of fac-

tory legislation on safety, light and heating.

● No overtime or working extraordinary hours.

● Solidarity meetings inside every workplace.

● No movements of coal or fuel into or within power-stations. Re-

member, the 'national interest' is the bosses' interest, not ours.

● Support the picket lines.

And when the miners have won, there must be no going back to wage claims in line with government policy.

● There should be no negotiations for settlement of less than £26 a week, as a minimum guaranteed wage.

BERNADETTE DEVLIN WRITES: BACK PAGE

WORLD NEWS

BRIEFING

The Six: 2m now out of work

by David Yaffe

AS unemployment increases in Britain the government is trying to make the working class carry the burden of making production more profitable through lower wage rises and increased productivity. It is no surprise to see that similar conditions exist in the Common Market countries.

At the end of last year the number of people out of work in the Common Market countries rose appreciably to a total of 2,100,000 compared with 1,700,000 at the end of 1970. During the same period the number of vacant jobs fell by 25 per cent.

Unemployment in the separate countries was:

| | End of 1970 | End of 1971 |
|------------|-------------|-------------|
| Belgium | 76,000 | 85,000 |
| W. Germany | 175,000 | 269,000 |
| France | 375,000 | 521,000 |
| Italy | 989,000 | 1,112,000 |
| Holland | 66,000 | 114,000 |

In Germany unemployment has almost trebled in the last few months, and at the end of January had reached the highest level for two years at 375,000. So the trend is continually upwards.

No doubt in Germany the burden will shift first on to the foreign workers, who may be forced to return to their home-lands. This will create enormous problems for the relatively underdeveloped regions of the Common Market, such as southern Italy, where unemployment is already high, and where many of Germany's immigrant workers come from.

All talk of 'integrated policies for Europe' is so much pie in the sky when profits are at stake. The foreign workers will be sent home as soon as they are no longer needed, thus worsening the problems of the poorer areas.

National governments will attempt to export their problems to other countries when the need arises.

All this clearly exposes the myth that somehow workers are pricing themselves out of the market through high wages. The problems capitalism now faces are international in kind, and stem from a system of production only concerned with profits.

As competition on a world scale becomes more intense, greater demands will be made on the working class to increase productivity, and to accept re-organisation and lower wage rises. Throughout Europe the struggle is basically the same.



The Berlin confrontation: If Willy Brandt (inset) cools it down the bosses will need another bogey to tame the workers

Ostpolitik: end of the 'communist plot'?

LAST week the West German upper house of parliament refused to approve treaties with Russia and Poland. But this is only a temporary obstacle. This report from our Frankfurt correspondent shows what is behind West Germany's foreign policy.

WHEN West German Chancellor Willy Brandt was awarded the Nobel Prize for his efforts for peace in Europe the Ostpolitik (better relations with the East) of the present government received the seal of international approval.

The only trouble is that at the same time the West German military budget is rising at an unprecedented rate, and the government is trying to create an unpeaceful witch-hunt atmosphere against left-wingers.

The Ostpolitik is an attempt to find some sort of settlement with the Eastern bloc. In 1970 West Germany signed peace treaties with Poland and Russia; and before Christmas, (after the Berlin Agreement of Britain, France, Russia and the United States), there was a Berlin treaty with East Germany.

West German big business can see

one possible way out of its difficulties by moving into the underdeveloped markets of Eastern Europe, where its highly developed technological goods are desperately needed.

Thaw

At the same time it hopes to use the skilled but cheap labour of the so-called socialist states by setting up jointly owned plants, so escaping rising labour costs at home. This was discussed by Brandt and Brezhnev at their recent meeting in the Crimea.

A thaw will suit Russia and America nicely. The Russians will be able to concentrate more military effort against China in the East, while the Americans can cut their troops in Europe, and thus lessen the damage to the economy caused by inflation resulting from the high costs of the Vietnam war.

But for the West German ruling class there is a small snag. Although the treaties are not yet ratified, it is now no longer possible to portray the Western bloc states as blood-thirsty Communist hordes waiting for the slightest excuse to over-run the peaceful Federal Republic.

At the end of the Second World War the Western Allies made a few show trials of nazis, and carried out a token 'de-nazification' of Germany.

But they also restored, despite the struggles of the West German working class, the old owners of property and industry to their possessions. Yet these were precisely the people who had pushed the nazis to power.

Bogey

The Hitler years had therefore to be forgotten. There was a big gap in German history, and the ruling class had no traditions to bolster up their position.

The solution was to build up the 'Communist threat', to make the people—especially the working class—believe that any alternative system would be far worse. And since conditions in the East really were worse, as millions of refugees could testify, that was an easy job.

With the Ostpolitik the Communist bogey has worn rather thin—just at a time when the working class is showing signs of rediscovering its militant traditions. So a new enemy has to be found, but this time inside the country.

The 'Baader-Mainhof Gang'—a tiny group calling itself the Red Army Fraction, which believes that the time for armed struggle has already arrived—has been exaggerated into a major threat to security, with massive police hunts and television appeals for information.

Members of 'unconstitutional' organisations—that means left-wing ones, not the neo-nazi NPD—are effectively banned from state employment, above all in the schools. The police are being re-organised and re-armed, and the para-military Border Defence Force can now be used in 'internal disturbances'.

West Germany's peaceful foreign policy is just an image. Despite the small improvements a Berlin settlement will bring to the people of West Berlin (like the chance to visit relatives in the East), it has nothing to do with the sudden conversion of anybody to 'peace'.

More young Israelis refusing to serve in the army

THE Israeli weekly magazine Haolam Haze recently told of Israeli soldiers refusing to serve in the occupied territories:

'Now it no longer concerns only members of Matzpen (an Israeli socialist organisation), but rather the elite of the pioneering youth movement, especially Hashomer Hatzair (a Zionist youth group).

'One kibbutz member who, while on reserve service, refused to serve in an occupied area was sent to prison for 35 days recently. The security department of Hashomer Hatzair is now seeing to it that he will not be called up again for another period of service and be arrested again.

'The kibbutz movement is treating this new phenomenon with kid gloves, aided by the Minister of Defence, Moshe Dayan, and trying to 'get the fire under control'. More than ten similar cases have already come to light.

'In several secondary schools in Tel Aviv and Haifa there is great agitation among the youth who are to be drafted into the army this year.'

Everybody who is familiar with the history of the conflict in the Middle East—particularly with Zionism and the Palestinian question—will appreciate the potential underlying these new developments.

It is quite clear that any spread of the draft resistance movement will stimulate the processes of disillusionment and polarisation inside Jewish society in Israel,

by Rami Heilbronn

of the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad

as well as the disenchantment and detachment from Zionism of young people in the West, both Jews and non-Jews.

That is why the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad has been organising publicity and propaganda campaigns in Britain and the West since last August, about the first cases of political draft dodgers.

Then four young Israelis sent a letter to the Minister of Defence, stating their principled refusal to serve in the army. They wrote: 'We are determined to refuse to take part in the oppression of another people. We refuse to inflict upon another people what has been inflicted upon our parents and grandparents'.

Prison

After tremendous pressures were brought upon the four, one agreed to be drafted on condition that he would be allowed to plead insanity—and be released on health grounds. Another was imprisoned by the army and broke down.

The third draft resister, Gyora Newman, was imprisoned in November. Upon completing his time he was released and

served with a fresh call-up order. In January he was put in the notorious Military Prison Number Six for another term, after again refusing to compromise his principles.

The fourth signatory of the original letter, a girl, expects to be called up any day.

Although the Israeli authorities do everything possible to play down the trend of political draft resistance in Israel this courageous act did not go unnoticed. Recently about 20 American Jews, including Noam Chomsky, signed a public statement supporting draft resistance in Israel.

Pressure

It is important to force the many Jewish radicals in the West—who have so far refrained from any public criticism of Israel or Zionism—out of their silence on the issue of draft resistance in Israel. The pressure that such criticism can exert on the Israeli authorities can be understood only when one realises that these authorities consider the unanimous support of Jewish public opinion in the West to be their most important weapon.

If this unanimity is shaken, Zionism will be weakened, and its defeat as part of the revolutionary transformation of the Middle East will be brought nearer.

THE fascist movement is making disturbing gains in the south of Italy. The fascists, after leading popular revolts in Reggio Calabria and Catanzaro, have now penetrated in a big way into Naples.

Recently, the fascist 'trade union', CISNAL, financed by local magnates, led a small demo of striking dustmen chucking garbage over the pavements, while a loud-speaker blared insults. Earlier they had organised a demo of bus and tram workers who drove their vehicles to the town hall and hooted all day.

The fascists are trying to stir up trouble against the authorities to expose their 'inadequacy' in dealing with strikes and demonstrations. They hope to strengthen the case of their party, the MSI, for increased law and order. That they can take the leadership of popular revolts shows the failure of the Italian Communist Party and the unions to campaign around the burning issues of the south.

THE Zambian government has outlawed the opposition United Progressive Party (UPP), and imprisoned another 120 people including party leader Simon Kapwepwe.

Since its formation last August, the party has consistently failed to provide any coherent critique of Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) regime. Kapwepwe has relied on the tribal support of the Northern Bemba, who are a significant proportion of the urban population in the copper belt.

Yet there has been no demonstration of mass support for the UPP. This is partly due to a campaign of violence carried out by UNIP groups, but also because the UPP has failed to focus on any genuine social grievances.

In fact, Kapwepwe has stated that UPP policies were 'a secret, but leaks will be issued from time to time.' These 'leaks' suggest that Kapwepwe may be aiming for a reversal of Kaunda's policy of disengagement from the racialist states to the south.

Nor is Kapwepwe any friend of the workers. When he was vice-president in 1968, he personally ordered armed police and troops against striking dustmen in Lusaka.

But the present instability of the Zambian economy due to falling copper prices means that any opposition to all threatens to release a flood of grievances, stifled during the seven boom years of independence.

AMONG the casualties of the Bangladesh struggle are the women—estimated at 200,000—who were raped by Pakistani soldiers. For those who became pregnant, help is now on the way from the benevolent USA.

A team of American abortionists is flying to Bangladesh to use a special technique in which the operation only takes fifteen seconds. (Presumably the method is not safe enough to use on American women).

In any case it's a cheaper form of aid than food supplies.

THE Ghanaian army officers who took power last month are making some left noises. With the approval of the now reconstituted TUC, they are reviving Nkrumah's state farms and workers' brigades. Colonel Acheampong has said Nbrumak, now a sick man in Guinea, may return to Ghana.

The National Redemption Council (NRC) has taken away the independence of the Special Branch. It has also assured the 568 civil servants sacked by the previous government that they will get their jobs back when there are vacancies.

To improve Ghana's disastrous economic state, the NRC has banned the import of over 100 items, including false beards, frozen food, artificial flowers and handbags. It has nullified the 40 per cent devaluation.

More daringly it has cancelled Ghana's debts to certain companies, including British shipyard Swan Hunter, saying that contracts have been 'vitiated by corruption, fraud or other illegalities.' So far these cancellations have cost foreign companies about £36 million. But they have promised to pay off long term debts to the really big boys—the World Bank, the United States and other foreign governments.

DELEGATES from the French National Union of Students (UNEF) attending the executive committee of the International Union of Students in Poland have been excluded from the meeting and expelled from the country by the Polish government.

This followed an attempt by the UNEF delegates to raise the question of the political repression in Czechoslovakia. When they insisted on this matter being discussed, they were physically attacked by Czech and Cuban delegates, and the other measures followed.

Socialist Worker

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Union offensive can bring down Tories

THE FARCE of the Wilberforce inquiry marks the turn of the tide. The power cuts are being prolonged an extra week to save Heath's face and for no other reason. But the decision has already been taken. The government will settle for whatever is the smallest amount that the right wing of the NUM leadership believe they can sell to the membership. The report of Wilberforce will be tailored accordingly.

Before the strike began we wrote: 'The miners' fight is a fight for the interests of every working man and woman in the country'. That fight is being won. The government's offensive against working-class living standards is about to suffer a serious defeat. The need now is to turn that defeat into a decisive one, to go over to the offensive to bring down this vicious government.

The secret of the miners' success is a very simple one and a very old one but one that has to be learned afresh in each generation. It is that unity is strength, that given solidarity and determination there is no obstacle that organised workers cannot overcome. 'We are many,' wrote the revolutionary poet Shelley, 'they are few'. That is as true today as it was when Shelley addressed the workers of his generation. The few rule the many by fraud and force, fraud at all times, force when they dare.

Two incidents point the moral. Last Sunday in London an entirely peaceful—and incidentally quite legal—demonstration against the Rhodesia sell-out was set upon by the police and broken up. Police provocation and police thuggery produced the 'disorder' to justify arrests, beatings and court proceedings.

The previous week a massive, militant picket—which was quite illegal according to government spokesman Carr—closed the Saltley coal depot. The police backed down, they made no attempt to enforce 'the law'. The reason is transparently clear. The agents of big business feared that they would lose if they provoked a fight with 10,000 Birmingham workers who were obviously ready to defend the interests of their fellows. They were reasonably confident that they could get away with an unprovoked attack on a much smaller peaceful procession.

The lesson is important at all times but never more so than now. The government is about to lose a battle, not the war. That goes on. The Tories are hell bent on reducing that share of the wealth that workers produce which actually goes to the working class. Unemployment, productivity deals, resistance to pay claims, welfare cuts, 'selectivity', the 'fair rents' swindle—all are part of this pattern.

Carry out decisions

The Tories can be beaten, indeed driven from office, if and only if working people as a whole learn from miners and develop the same solidarity, the same determination to resist. On the 28th of this month some of the most pernicious provisions of the infamous Industrial Relations Act come into effect. Blacking, for example, will be illegal. This law would cripple us if it could be enforced. It cannot be enforced if there is organised resistance. Just as at Saltley, the ruling class and its agents will back down if they calculate that they would lose in a confrontation.

The TUC is formally committed to refuse to cooperate in operating the law, indeed in some instances—the Bridlington agreement, for example—to defy the law. That commitment will not be worth the paper it is written on unless militants force the union leaderships—'left' and 'right' alike—to carry out the decisions of the Croydon Special Conference and to support each and every group of workers that falls foul of the Industrial Relations Act.

It is not simply a trade union question. Successful defiance of the Industrial Relations Act would be an even bigger blow to the government than the miners breaking of the 'pay norm'. It would be a demonstration that the Tories cannot govern if working people unite to resist the attacks that are being made on them.

This is the most reactionary government we have had to endure since the war. In field after field—massive and growing unemployment, the onslaught on the welfare services—on the old, the sick and the poor, the smashing of the postal workers' strike and the whole strategy of reducing real wages by keeping pay rises below the level of price rises, the murderous repression in Northern Ireland and many, many other evils—all this we have reluctantly accepted as a class.

It need not go on. The Tories can be forced to resign. Unity and solidarity can bring them down. Defence against their attacks must be turned into defiance of their rule. And a working class that is strong enough to throw out Heath and his big business friends will be strong enough to prevent a repetition of that miserable sell-out that was the Wilson Labour government.



THE MAN WHO WON A PRIZE FOR EUROPEAN STATESMANSHIP

COTTONS WARMS

Green stories

HOME is the hero: the Middlesbrough Evening Gazette—owned by Lord Thomson of Fleet Sewer—ran a big 'welcome home to our heroes' campaign when the Green Howards finished their 'tour of duty' in Northern Ireland.

Much pleased by the publicity, the Howards sent along their public relations officer, Lieutenant George Robey (named after a rather unpleasant right-wing musical star of yesterday) to speak to the kindly journalists on the Gazette staff. But his off-the-record descriptions of what the Howards got up to and his sadistic boasting about how they intimidated and tortured members of the Catholic population astonished and frightened the Gazette journalists.

'It's all rather like my recent spill of grouse shooting,' said Robey. 'On night patrol you flush them out and gun them down.'

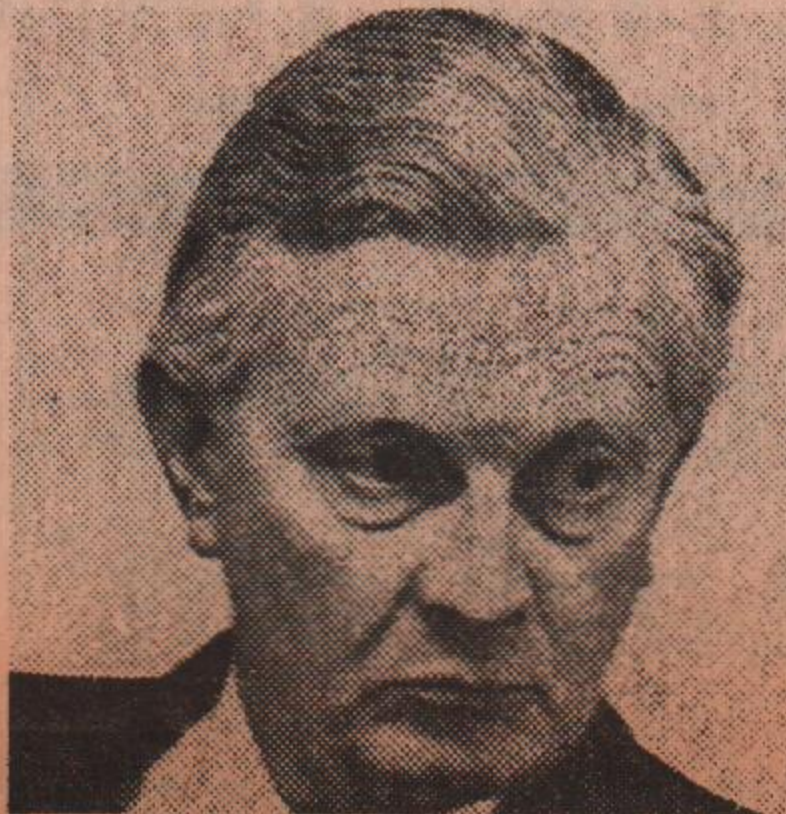
In considerable detail, he gleefully described how he had seen a Catholic youngster shot in the back as he climbed over a wall. He gloated over similar incidents and gave lurid details of beatings the troops had handed out.

Such off-the-record truths may well explain the Belfast ghetto nickname for our Teesside heroes—the 'Green Cowards'. None of the information was ever printed in the Evening Gazette which continues its 'our heroes' editorials.

MUCH DITHERING on the London Stock Exchange over the shakey Rhodesia situation. The Africans' decisive rejection of the Tories' attempted settlement with Smithy caused Rhodesia bonds to be marked down by 10 points. But the borkers are still optimistic of making a killing. One cynical broker told City Press: 'It's always a good time to buy when the streets are running with blood.'

Sparks fly

MEMBERS of the electricians' union may like to know that this year's



DAVIES: concern for the old

annual conference is to be held abroad. Majora is the favourite watering place at the moment and an ETU official is off there within the next few weeks to sample the delights of fascist Spain.

The whole operation is being kept hush hush at the moment because of an understandable hostility in the British trade union movement to holding conferences in a country where unions are banned.

Code name for the project among ETU officials is the Mafia word for silence.

THOUGHTS on Sunday's anti-Rhodesia settlement march in London: it seemed a pit that with the Zimbabwe Africans up off their knees and fighting the Smith regime that their spokesman in Trafalgar Square, Bishop Muzorewa, is urging them to return to a position of prayer.

Just coincidence, of course, but the Communist Party contingent on the march followed representatives of the Methodist Church, giving some credence to the old saying that the British labour movement owes more to Methodism than to marxism.

Blacked out

THE FULL-PAGE ads in the press on Monday from John Davies' Department of Lame Ducks telling us how the power cuts will hit us could not restrain from the usual reference to the plight of the old, all suffering at the hands of the demon miners.

'There will be some elderly people who may find it difficult to cope,' it said. When there are no mines or power disputes, of course, elderly people have a life flowing with milk and honey. They never die from lack of heat and cold because warm-hearted, generous governments pack their pockets with cash.

As the hysteria increases, remember the case of the late Albert Clews of Stoke on Trent. He was a pensioner with a weak heart. When his bungalow was connected to the electricity supply he was asked to fork out £1 to the board.

He couldn't pay. Two days before Christmas, without a miner on strike,

the Midlands Electricity Board disconnected his supply and he was found dead 22 days' later.

The pathologist said of his death that 'chronic pneumonia and hypothermia were contributory factors'. He forgot to add the Midlands Electricity Board.

OPENING a speech at a mass meeting in Stockton High Street to protest at the government's projected closure of nearby Royal Navy Spare Parts Depot at Eaglescliffe, the area's right-wing Labour MP Bill Rodgers said: 'This is the first time I have been here since the election.'

Members of his audience can be forgiven for thinking that his main complaint against the government's unemployment offensive was that it forced him to show his face in the high street of his constituency.

Collared

TORY Central Office is now issuing advice to the assorted rats, blacklegs and finks who want to benefit from the Industrial Relations Act by forming breakaway unions.

Mr J McDonald Watson of the party's industrial department has written to a correspondent who wants to form a new breakaway union from the white-collar section of the Transport Workers Union to be called the 'International Computers' Association'.

Says Mac the Strife: 'I do not think there would be much difficulty in establishing the association provided you get sufficient support for the objects in which you believe'. From the negotiating angle, he adds, it would be much better if the association were non-political and registered. For 'non-political' read pro-Tory.

Rat race

RACE TODAY, a journal produced by the Institute of Race Relations, is in serious danger. Its crime has been to give voice to the genuine frustrations of black people in Britain and elsewhere, and to limit the space available for standard institute research.

Race Today, in other words, has reflected the general feeling among the institute's staff—that 'the race relations industry' exists more to protect the jobs and welfare of white research workers at the expense of black people's revolt and expression.

Now the 'liberals' in the institute and in the Race Relations Board hope to close Race Today down, claiming in their defence a £9000-a-year loss.

Help save it by subscribing to Race Today at £2 a year, from 33 Sackville Street, London W1. The paper is well worth the money.



Rolls: Why the City is laughing

IT IS now just over a year since Rolls-Royce went bankrupt: the Receiver was appointed on 5 February 1971. For the employees of Rolls-Royce and the 40,000 other people whose jobs depended on the firm, it hasn't been a happy year. Down in the City it's been different.

Rolls-Royce had something like £54 million of secured borrowing (debentures): that is, money loaned to the company for a fixed period at a given rate of interest, the loan being secured on the assets of the company. It is one of the safest forms of investment open to an investor.

When the Receiver was appointed the value of these debentures took a severe dip on the Stock Exchange: they were all standing well below 50 on 10 February last year. And what has happened since then? The decision has been taken to redeem all these loans at 100 and most of the money has been paid.

So in a year when most employees of Rolls-Royce wondered how long they had a job, City speculators who rushed in last February have doubled their money.

In fact it is rather worse than this.

The decision need never have been taken to redeem the debentures: the original investors loaned money to the company expecting a regular income up to a certain date. The government could quite easily have guaranteed to pay the interest and pay back the money on the appointed day. And this is not just a technical financial point: the debenture holders were repaid in preference to the unsecured lenders and the shareholders.

Debts

Unsecured lenders include the £100 million of trade debts that Rolls-Royce owed: money owed to those companies (employing 40,000 or so people) whose very existence depended not just on the existence of Rolls-Royce, but also on it paying its debts promptly.

Normally we wouldn't lose too much sleep over the shareholder, but in this case it includes two important groups of people. First, there were some 4,000 workers with shares in the company, shares once valued in total at £13,600,000, back in 1968. Secondly, it should be remembered

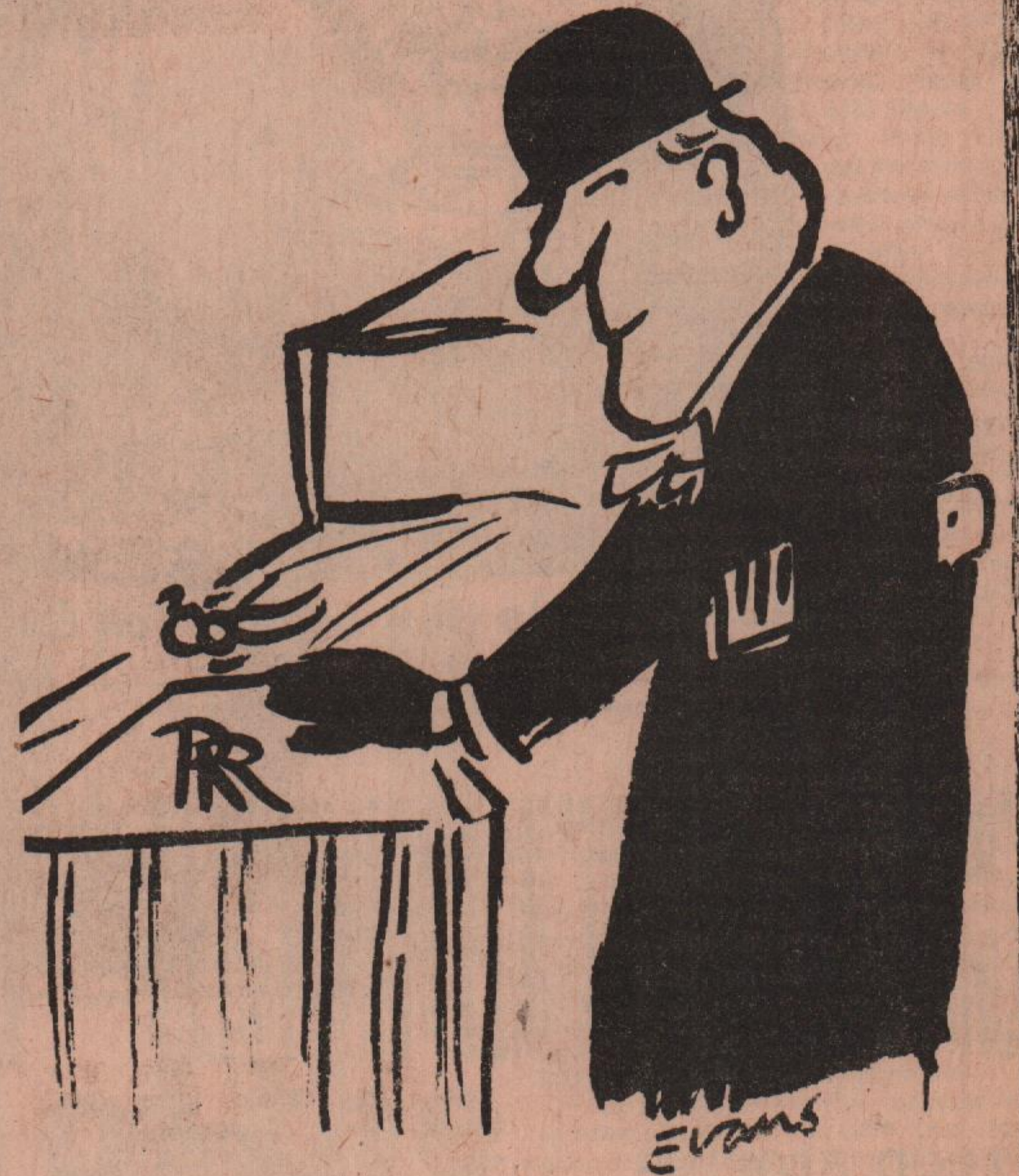
included company pension funds and insurance companies: workers' money again.

So, the decision was taken to reward city speculators who rushed in and bought in February 1971, rather than make attempts to safeguard tens of thousands of jobs or compensate those workers who were hoodwinked into buying shares in a company over which they never had any control.

There is a footnote to the story. All debentures have trustees, who are there to safeguard the interests of the holders. The trustees were the Royal Exchange Assurance Company. The terms of the loans could be altered on agreement between the trustees and the board of Rolls-Royce.

Every issue of a new debenture was supervised by merchant bankers Lazards, who collected a substantial commission: there were five issues. The Rt Hon Lord Kindersley, CBE, MC, was chairman of Lazards. He was a director of Rolls-Royce. He was governor of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company.

T.H. Rogmorton



Ireland: Don't forget the green Tory barbarism in the South

'STOP Tory barbarism in Ireland now'—fine. But for fear some might think you were consciously choosing to forget about Lynch's treachery in the whole affair, I think you might change the heading of your leading article to read: 'Stop Tory and green Tory barbarism in Ireland now.'

Your readers in Ireland are very aware of Honest Jack's dishonesty, and it is felt it would be far from right not to credit him with his fair share of the blame.

Any action he has taken (such as his 'We will not stand idly by'

speech, his 'support' for passive resistance campaigns, his flying Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr Hillery, and his latest offer to send money) are pure examples of political opportunism—and should be constantly condemned as such.

Much more true to form was his suggestion to introduce internment in the South prior to any Stormont move, his constant harassment of Republican socialists, and most recently his sell-out of the Irish people to monopoly capitalism in Brussels.—FRANK MURPHY, County Galway.

Letters

HONEST
JACK LYNCH
IN DEFENCE
OF LAING
INDUSTRIAL
CONFERENCE

It's time 'First in, Last out' was changed

THE Industrial Conference of the International Socialists is absolutely right to consider the battle against sackings to be one of the most crucial questions facing the working class today.

The resolution the conference passed has to be argued and fought for by all trade unionists who are concerned to protect working class living standards. This programme should be the basis of our efforts to build up the confident, fighting working class movement needed to defeat the Tories and their system.

I have only one reservation. In

point 4 (No redundancy) you correctly emphasise the need to fight sackings in individual factories in practical ways that seek to hold together the shop floor (or office) organisation, and protect it from the many ruses the gaffers use to demoralise and divide workers.

The practice of natural wastage and voluntary redundancies is widespread—and more often than not receives no opposition from full-time officials or even shop stewards.

We have to say that in accepting both these, workers are allowing the employers to get more work out of a smaller workforce with NO extra pay—we have to argue for jobs to be created to take workers off the dole.

While I understand the demand 'Defend the organisation—first in, last out' to be only a last resort, I believe it is a most dangerous step to consider.

An engineering worker in Coventry lost his fifth job inside two years.

As unemployment continues to rise, and becomes a permanent feature of life for millions of working class families, the policy of 'First in, last out' will help create a huge pool of workers who the gaffers will be able to use as cheap labour, hiring and firing without fear of ever having to give redundancy pay (under the 1965 Redundancy Payments Act, workers must have two years' service with a firm to qualify).

These workers will become demoralised and hard to organise. The threat this poses to workplace organisation is very clear.

'First in, last out' surely only shifts the problem of defending the organisation further away from our control. In the past it could be done because high unemployment and a full order book gave workers the power to insist that sub-contract work was given to union shops or offices.

I think the situation today calls for a different approach. The employers will try hard to stage the fight on their terms—at as little cost to them as possible. We should see (as the resolution does in every other detail) that we keep the struggle under our control and play it to our rules.

What do other readers think?—
STEVE EVANS AUEW Rugby.

FAMILY LIFE

SEDGWICK states that the Laingian type of unit—more often referred to as a 'therapeutic community'—is no more successful than 'good NHS hospitals'. I would like to know just what he means by success—does he believe there is such a thing as treatment, cure and rehabilitation?

The primary task of a therapeutic community, as I see it, is to undo some of the damage done to the person caused by the experience of the authoritarian and inhuman mental hospitals, and secondly to allow the victim space and time to work out what has been happening to them in an atmosphere of tolerance where the prime objective is 'not to get the person 'back to work' and back into the web of the family.

Sedgwick totally and deliberately misrepresents the 'message' of the film in a quite frivolous way. Family Life, using generalisation and caricature as a tool, seeks to show the way in which the family, serving the needs of capitalism as school for normality, is an institution demanding almost total mental conformity from its members.

In a complex system of relationships and expectations some of those who rebel against intolerable interpersonal situations may end up being diagnosed as 'schizophrenic'—for that label covers much of human behaviour.

It is certainly NOT the case that the victim in the film is 'grasping towards a revolutionary analysis of modern capitalism'. She says that there is a machine at the centre of the world controlling everything—thus repeating the common delusion expressed by 'schizophrenics' some of whom have told ME that they thought

is neither romantic nor revolutionary—on the contrary it is a confused and desperate type of rebellion.—ALAN PHIPPS, Hornsey.

THE important argument for socialists against Laing and Co is that while THEY see the world as mad they offer no way out. WE say it's mad because of capitalism and that because people are not just machines absorbing nasty experiences from family and society but are capable of independent action. In the case of the working class this can lead to socialism, which is the way out.—A. RICHARDS, Kingston.

'If there is no such thing as mental illness,' says Sedgwick, 'then we can make no demands on the NHS.' Implicit in

This film rang absolutely true

PETER SEDGWICK has used the film Family Life to indulge in a complacent attack on Ronald Laing and an even more complacent defence of the National Health Service.

As a social worker I have had experience of dealing with mentally ill people, some of them very like Sandy in the film, and I have visited more mental hospitals than I care to remember. There was not a moment in the film which did not ring absolutely true.

A few visits to a few mental hospitals will confirm that these, with hospitals for the subnormal, are the real horrors of the NHS—no more than can be expected in a society which puts profits before need and

Laing is that there is mental illness, but that it has social causes and must be treated socially. The demands that must be made are for therapy centres based upon a different practice.

As Sedgwick says, intensive therapy is not available to most working class people. Psychiatry must become critical and revolutionary.

It is not a revolutionary demand to have palaces of mental health based upon existing methods of treatment.—BOB CARTER, Leicester

THE basic argument put forward—that the work of Laing and others on schizophrenia must lead to an attack on the Health Service psychiatric services is a complete misrepresentation.

Dr Aaron Esterson—almost the 'father'

unseen backwaters.

One cannot deny that many doctors and nurses hold repressive attitudes, no more repressive than those current in the outside world but reinforced by the whole power of the hospital institution. We must therefore demand the democratisation of hospitals, patient participation in running all hospitals and the democratisation of knowledge about mental illness.

All these things mean more money and more staff and different values in society. When all is said and done, the best way we can help the mentally ill and remove many of the stresses that create mental illness is to overthrow the capitalist system and create a society that can begin to really

Peter Sedgwick's film review

provoked a flood of letters, here are some of the points made

of this group (Laing, Cooper et al) has himself argued for increased finances for NHS mental hospitals on the grounds that this kind of treatment can be extended to all patients with schizophrenic and allied conditions.

It is in fact relatively cheap to train counsellors to lead useful 'group therapy' sessions... To advise a distressed worker to receive electro-shock treatment is almost as bad as telling a man with the clap to go and have the spots scratched off.—KEN MONTAGUE, London.

JANICE seemed to me to be a girl with an inhibited, repressed childhood, responding to this instinctively yet in a logical manner. She knew something was certainly wrong with her, at times she thought with her family, perhaps once or twice with society, but yet not once was any class (let alone revolutionary) conscious word uttered by her.

—SANDY ROSE, medical social worker, Salford.

THE greatest omission from Sedgwick's article was the lack of any comment on socialism and socialist medicine, relying on preventative methods and therefore ensuring the speedy disappearance of industrial accidents and diseases and diet deficiencies.

The welfare state is not of course a victory of the welfare state of socialist politics. It was created by the liberal wing of the ruling class during the Second World War with a view to preventing the fantastic upheavals which followed the return of the soldiers at the end of the war.—BOB BATT, Birmingham

FIGHT FOR UNION RIGHTS

FIRST OF AN
IMPORTANT NEW
SERIES by
ROGER ROSEWELL

THE TORY Industrial Relations Act, which comes into full effect on 28 February, is designed to aid the employing class in its thirst for more profit. It is not intended to smash the unions—but it is intended to smash shop-floor militancy.

Since the war, years of relatively full employment have given shop stewards in many industries a great deal of power. The Act intends to curb this, to shift authority within the unions to the full-time officials, and to legally shackle the unions.

It outlaws unofficial strikes, sympathy action, blacking, and the closed shop. It also exposes unions to huge fines.

The background to the Act is the failure of the last Labour government to drive down workers' living standards sufficiently to boost sagging profits. Their incomes policy failed because of what is called 'wage drift'—the increasing gap between rates negotiated at shop-floor level and nationally-agreed minimum rates.

Both unofficial strikes and wage drift stem from strength on the factory floor. Increasingly, the scapegoat became the unofficial striker. 95 per cent of strikes in Britain are unofficial. Not surprisingly both Tories and Labour proposed legal sanctions on the right to strike.

SERIOUS

Now, three years after *In Place of Strife*, the Tories have succeeded where Labour failed.

Despite the TUC policy of non-co-operation, and the possible commitment of a future Labour government to its repeal, serious damage can be done while the Act remains on the statute book.

Registration of trade unions lies at the centre of the Act. It is a vital issue because unions which are not registered are no longer recognised as trade unions, but as merely 'organisations of workers'. As such they are denied the various benefits given to those unions that collaborate with the Tories and register.

DAMAGES

Before the Act most unions were registered with the Registrar of Friendly Societies—this permitted tax exemption of benefit funds, worth, for example, £800,000 a year to the Transport Workers' Union.

Under the new Act only those unions that allow the government to control their once democratically-decided rule books will still be



A miner is arrested on the picket line: shape of things to come?

A FIGHTING PROGRAMME TO BEAT THE TORY LAW

THE International Socialists' Industrial Conference in Manchester passed the following resolution:

This conference declares its total opposition to the Industrial Relations Act and pledges itself to fight for the overthrow of this Tory government. It demands that the next Labour government unconditionally repeal this anti-trade union legislation.

This conference calls upon all trade unionists to fight this Act by rendering it inoperable and demands that the TUC organise a massive struggle against it.

Conference recognises that in the present crisis of capitalism, with wages being forced down and unemployment reaching the highest levels for over 30 years, only a militant fight can defeat this legislation.

It therefore demands:

- 1 Total non co-operation with the Industrial Relations Act and
- 2 The immediate expulsion from the TUC of any trade union that collaborates with the Tory laws.
- 3 That the trade unions defend and expand the closed shops, and oppose both agency shops and legally binding agreements.
- 4 That the trade unions maintain and officially support blacking and sympathy strikes.
- 5 That no trade union strike be postponed because of government orders to delay it for 60 days.
- 6 That no trade union organise secret ballots except where required by existing rules.
- 7 That trade unions refuse to participate in any industrial courts set up under the Act, that no trade union pays

any fines or penalties, and officially support any refusal to do so.

8 That all strikes be made official and that the national trade union officials take official responsibility for these disputes.

Conference recognises that this legislation is an essential part of the Tory attack and that it seriously threatens the political work of revolutionary socialists.

Conference therefore agrees:

To defend *Socialist Worker* and any other paper attacked by the Act.

To defend any members of the organisation and any other socialists who are prosecuted for supporting strikes.

Conference further believes that only industrial action can defeat the Act and therefore resolves to:

ONE: Launch a propaganda campaign against the Act.
TWO: Demand that individual trade unions, groups of trade unions and the TUC organise strikes and other solidarity action in support of any workers or unregistered trade unions prosecuted under the legislation.

THREE: Organise strikes, occupations and other forms of industrial action where the Act is used.

FOUR: Take strike action against any attempts to destroy closed shops.

FIVE: Build genuine trade union local Councils of Action to co-ordinate and spread rank and file solidarity action wherever prosecutions under the Act take place.

SIX: Fight against those trade union leaders who refuse to seriously oppose the legislation.

SEVEN: To work for the defeat of this Tory government.

allowed this right.

The main effects of non-registration are that a union can be liable to unlimited damages in the courts, instead of the maximum of £100,000 fixed for registered unions. Secondly, a non-registered union has no right to organise industrial action

leading to a breach of contract of employment. Thirdly, a worker has no legal right to belong to a non-registered union.

On the other hand, registration puts a union's rules in jeopardy. If the *Engineering Union* were registered, for example, the powers of the

district committees would be curbed, especially the right to endorse strikes.

The Act lists more than 20 requirements covering union rule books. Where an unregistered union

can frame its own rules to suit its members, it must, like a registered union, follow the 'guiding principles' of the Act.

These principles include the right of any 'appropriately qualified' person not to be denied entry to the union. Also no member can be disciplined for refusing to take part in what the Act calls 'unfair industrial practices'.

When a union is on the register, a member, a past member or an individual who is being denied membership can appeal to the registrar claiming that the union has either infringed its rules or his basic rights as outlined in the Act. If the complaint is 'well founded' and no settlement is reached, then compensation can be given in the courts.

EXPULSION

The TUC decided at its special congress in March 1971 to 'advise' its member unions not to register. At its September conference this was amended to an 'instruction'. But a resolution demanding the immediate expulsion from the TUC of any union that registers was overwhelmingly defeated by the combined vote of both the big right and left-wing unions.

This year, trade unionists should demand the immediate expulsion from the TUC of any union that registers, thus removing from it the protection of the Bridlington agreement.

How to smash a union with the help of the law

'Workers have the right not to belong to any union.'

'It is not necessarily unfair to dismiss a worker for belonging to an unregistered union.'

'It is not necessarily unfair to select some strikers for dismissal, if the strike was organised by an unregistered union.'

THESE words come from a document, recently published by the Engineering Employers Federation, entitled *The Industrial Relations Act—Some Particular Problems*. A better title would have been *How To Smash A Union With The Help Of The Law*, because that's precisely what this document is all about.

The document starts with a warning to employers not to rush into court action against workers without serious consideration. The federation appears to have tumbled to the fact that workers are not just going to sit around while their organisation is smashed.

Individual employers are urged to consider 'shop floor reaction' to court actions and remember the danger of permanent 'bad feeling' resulting from such a step.

Even more practically, it is pointed out that militant workers might even refuse to pay their fines and could go as far as ignoring restraining court orders.

This information will come as a great disappointment to some members of the Engineering Employers Federation who

by Glyn Carver

may have thought that they could clap the works committee in irons the day the law came into effect.

The employers' strategy is to tread softly at first. They are obviously worried that one or two idiots among them might spoil it all by trying to jail a few stewards. Let's face it, the bosses know enough about the class struggle to realise that workers would down tools in their thousands if that happened.

But in case you're beginning to think that the Industrial Relations Act is going to have no effect at all, I'd better get on to explain the second part of this document.

The quotes at the beginning of this article are only a few of the suggestions about how to treat members of unregistered unions. The whole list, taken together, is a

recipe for destroying the ability of the shop floor worker to defend himself.

The crucial point is that the document recognises that a registered union is so restricted that it ceases to be a union in the real sense of the word. That is why the bosses' only concern is the unregistered union, those unions that will put up a real fight, those unions that will stop the boss getting all his own way.

By using all the powers of the Industrial Relations Act against the unregistered unions they are hoping to either force them to register or smash them completely at shop floor level.

We can often learn a lot from the activities of our enemies—the message to trade unionists in this document is clear: Don't allow your union to register, use all the power you have to stop any move towards registration in your union.

Every militant worker must set out to prove to the bureaucrats that the cost of registration will be greater than the cost of deregistration, despite the danger of unlimited fines.

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Forget the fairy tales the CEBG and trade union leaders have told you about the efficiency of the electricity supply industry and the wonders of productivity deals. Here are the facts the bosses don't tell you—in a useful rank-and-file handbook in the fight for better wages and working conditions and to save jobs.
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by Colin Barker
illustrations by 'rag'



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300 years of looting and murder

ONE of the folk stories used to defend the actions of British troops in Ireland is that they are there just to keep two rival groups from each other's throats. Britain has no real wish to run any part of Ireland, it is claimed.

The truth is rather different. It is the domination of Ireland for 300 years and more by a small minority in Britain, backed by armies prepared to massacre and murder, to torture and imprison without trial, that lies behind the present problems.

The rulers of England started their drive into Ireland in the 13th century. But they did not take complete control until the middle of the 17th century.

When they did, thousands of Irish people were massacred. In the north-east of the country, Catholics were driven from their land and replaced by Protestant colonists from Scotland.

English domination concentrated economic power in the hands of a small ruling group of Anglo-Irish landowners. Businessmen in England had laws passed to stop the development of industries in Ireland that would compete with their own.

The result for Irish living conditions was catastrophic. In 1800 the population of Ireland was about half that of Britain's. Today it is only a twelfth the size. The number of people living in Ireland even today is smaller than 150 years ago.

The figures are an indication of the way the systematic pumping out of Ireland's wealth by the British ruling class destroyed Irish society and forced the population into misery and emigration. One result was the terrible famine of 1845-49 when more than a million died and a further million were forced to emigrate.

Seized

English history books speak of the famine as a natural disaster. True, the potato crop failed. But the land in Ireland produced easily enough grain to feed the population.

But this was seized from them as rent by landowners, backed by the British Army, and exported. In 1848, 300,000 died while 1,800,000 quarters of wheat were exported.

Sections of the population tried to fight back. In 1798, 1803, 1848 and 1867 there was attempted uprisings. Each time the British Army was used to put them down with bloodshed.

But by the end of the last century Britain's rulers started to take less of an interest in the complete control of Ireland. The country was like a squeezed lemon. There was little more that could be sucked from it.

But two important sections of the British ruling class fought any idea of independence. The big landowners, the backbone of the Tory Party at the time, were violently opposed. And they were backed by the owners of the industry that had managed to develop in the north-east around Belfast.

Destroy

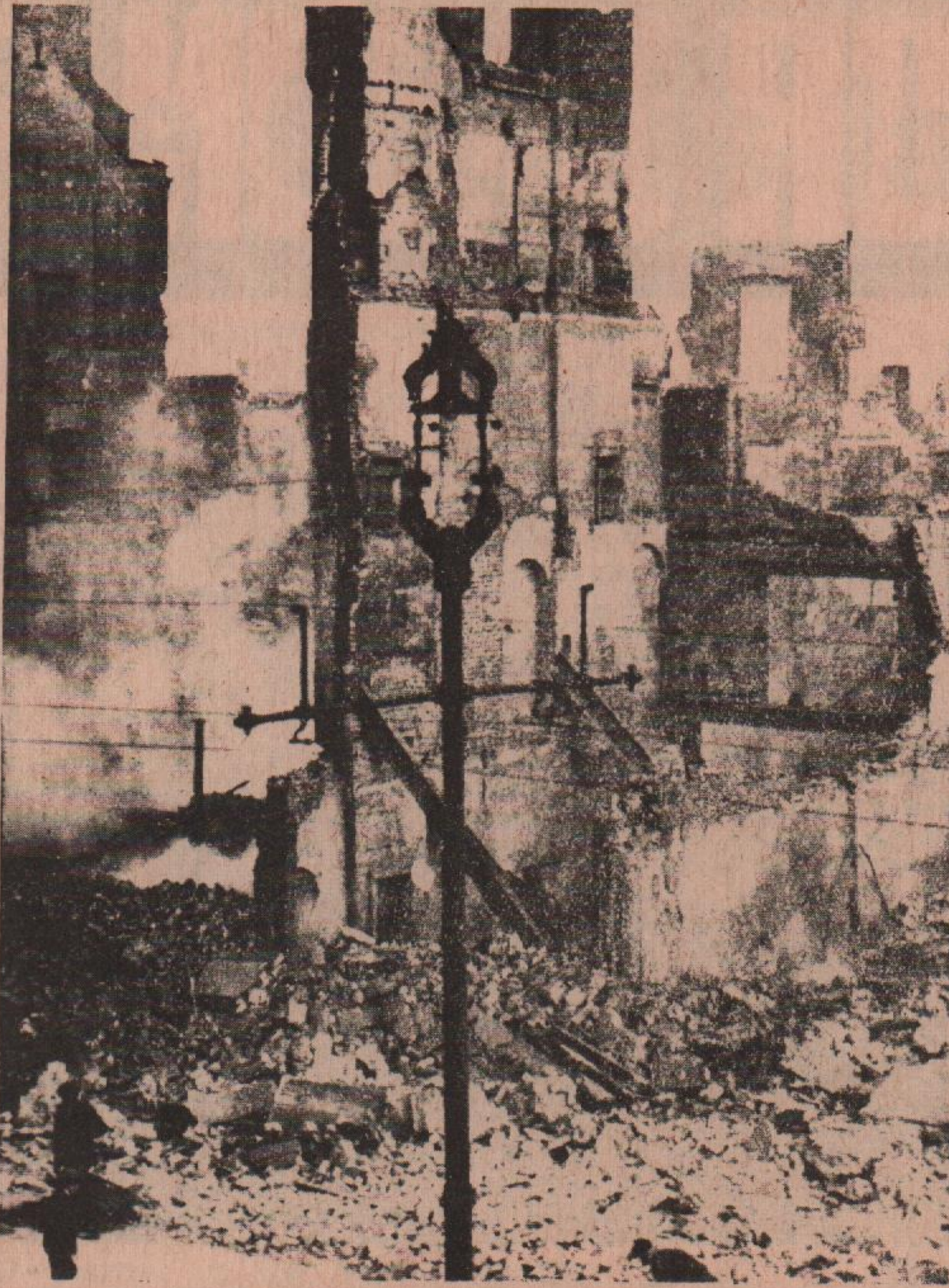
Since the colonisation in the 17th century, there had been periodic outbreaks of religious hatred in this area. But there had been united struggles too of Protestants and Catholics against British rule.

Now the Tory landowners and industrialists set about building a system of religious discrimination to destroy that unity for good.

An exclusive Protestant and anti-Catholic organisation, the Orange Order, was built to give small privileges to Protestant workers. And whenever nationalist agitation or working-class unity seemed possible, the Order would deliberately encourage vicious attacks by Protestants against the Catholic community.

The Orange Order's annual marches became mass pilgrimages of hate when Protestants crowded about their superiority over the Catholics.

In 1912, when the British parliament carried a Home Rule Bill, industrialists, landlords and the Tory Party prepared for rebellion to stop it being put into effect. They organised through Orange shock-troops, the



Cork 1921: razed to the ground by Auxiliaries and Black and Tans

Ulster Volunteer Force, and imported arms from Germany.

British Army officers in Ireland said they would not move against the Ulster Orangemen. The rest of the British ruling class took no action against this rebellion and shelved home rule for the time being.

But when Irish republicans followed the Orange example and rose in rebellion in 1916, the reaction was quite the opposite. The British Army was ordered to hit back in a brutal manner.

1351 people were killed as the centre of Dublin was reduced to rubble by shelling. The leaders of the rising, who had surrendered to stop further bloodshed, were taken out and shot.

In 1918 the overwhelming majority of the Irish electors voted for the republican Sinn Fein candidates who set up their own parliament, the Dail. Again, the British response was swift and brutal.

The government raised special squads to put down the Irish—the Auxiliaries and the Black and Tans. They murdered and burnt down Irish homes on a massive scale.

In the north the methods used to maintain British control were just as vicious. Unionist (Tory) politicians went to the shipyards and urged Protestant workers to drive out Catholics and militant trade unionists with guns.

Killed

10,000 were deprived of their jobs in this way. Backed by the British Army, Orangemen killed hundreds of people who defended the Catholic neighbourhoods.

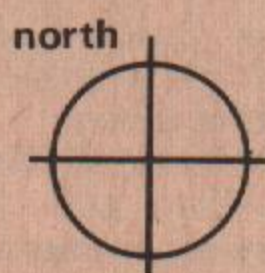
By the end of 1921 the methods of the British ruling class were bearing fruit. Many middle-class Irish leaders were frightened of the developing struggle and were prepared to accept a limited degree of independence,

leaving six counties in the north-east under the control of the Orange Order and British big business and landed interests that backed it.

FACT

ON Sunday 21 November 1921, thousands of people were at a football match in Croke Park, Dublin, when the British authorities decided to take revenge for the deaths of some of their secret police at the hands of the IRA.

Truckloads of Black and Tans and Auxiliaries, many of them drunk, drove to the match, climbed on the wall around the ground and began firing into the crowd with rifles and machine guns. 12 men, women and children were killed and more than 60 injured. A few days' later the British Under-Secretary of State for Ireland praised the Auxiliaries



Six Counties statelet born out of bigotry

THE 'mini-state' that emerged in Northern Ireland was born out of religious bigotry and hatred fanned by Britain.

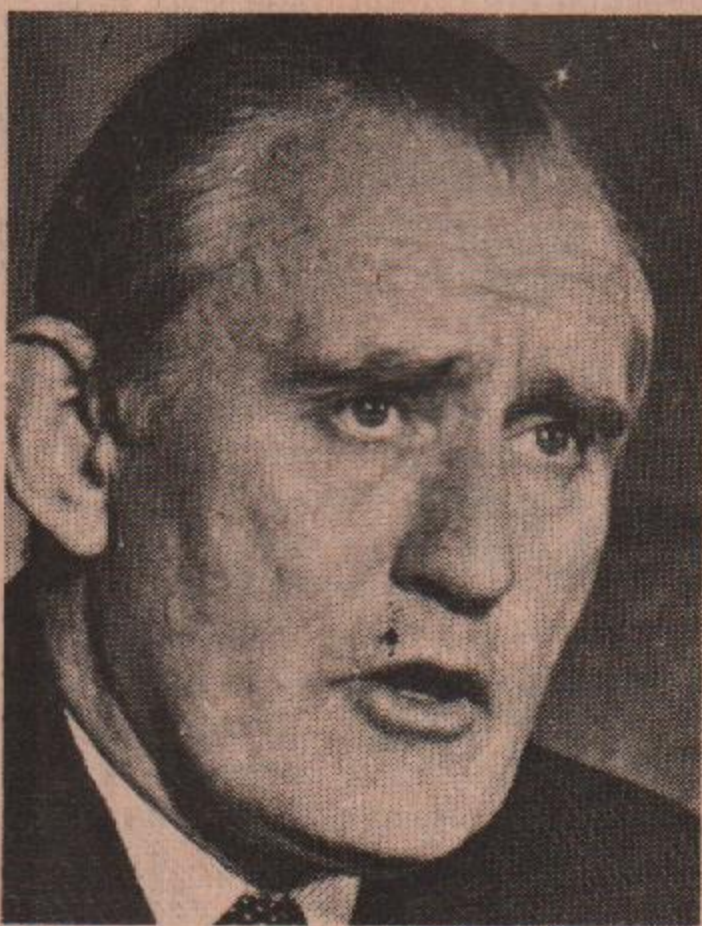
Its boundaries were carefully drawn to ensure a built-in majority for supporters of British rule. The old province of Ulster had been made up of nine counties. There was a Protestant and pro-British majority in only four of them—too small an area to make up a workable state.

But the full nine counties would not have guaranteed a Unionist majority. So a six-county state was set up with a Protestant majority but with sufficient Catholics to make a workable labour force that was kept divided by religious sectarianism.

Electoral districts were carefully drawn so that in a town like Derry, with an overwhelming Catholic majority, the Protestants won most of the council seats. The council then gave out jobs and houses through the Orange Order to Protestant families who were prepared to give full support to the government.

And the central government at Stormont encouraged employers to give jobs to Protestants and not Catholics. Areas with Catholic majorities were starved of industrial investment.

The result was that in Catholic towns unemployment was about twice as high as in Protestant ones. In Harland and Wolf's shipyard in Belfast, 90 per cent of the workforce is Protestant although Catholics make up a third of the city's population.



Chichester-Clark: big Tory landowner

A battery of measures were used to discourage Catholics from protesting against their inferior position. The Ulster Volunteers were officially recognised as an armed and exclusively Protestant special police force, the B-Specials, who could intimidate Catholics.

Distinction

The Special Powers Act was passed giving the Unionist government the right to imprison without trial, to ban meetings, demonstrations or publications as it wanted. It even has the right to refuse an inquest into people who die while held by the police.

Because of this Act, Northern Ireland cannot sign the United

Nations' Declaration of Human Rights—a fine distinction.

These measures have been used ruthlessly any time a movement developed that threatened the Six Counties system. The laws were often backed, as in the 1920s, by giving free rein to mobs of Orangemen in the Catholic areas.

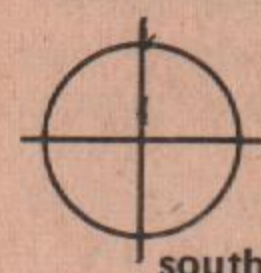
But the Protestant workers have gained few benefits from the Stormont regime. The governments have been classic Tory ones, made up of landowners like Lord Brookeborough, Terence O'Neill or James Chichester-Clark and businessmen like Brian Faulkner. Unemployment and housing conditions have always been worse than Britain's.

And the wealth of the country, which could be used to improve these conditions, has been moved abroad in search of higher profits.

Supporters of British control of Northern Ireland claim that Britain subsidises the Six Counties. But every year several hundred million pounds of rent and industrial profits are sent to Britain. As proof of this, Northern Ireland has always had a balance of payments surplus with Britain.

Of the annual £140 million grant, £70 million is to 'offset' Stormont's share of Britain's defence bill—that is payment for the area being under British control. £32.3 million goes in farm subsidies, chiefly to the big landowning families who run the province.

Only £33 million goes on social services, far less than the profits squeezed out every year.



'Free state' from Br

NORTHERN IRELAND remained under direct British control following the 1922 settlement. But indirect British control was just as strong in the 26 counties of the southern state.

Only one section of the Irish nationalist movement accepted the settlement to begin with. Its first act when it took over the state was to borrow guns from the British Army to destroy the power of the republicans resisting the settlement.

The new 'independent' government could do little to improve the lot of the Irish people, even if it had wanted to. Partition meant that the only large-scale industry in Ireland around Belfast remained part of Britain.

In the south, a sizeable part of the economy continued to be run by British interests. Banks preferred to invest money in profitable undertakings in Britain rather than in Ireland.

In the 'free state', as under British rule, unemployment and emigration remained the lot of the mass of people. In the first eight years after the settlement, 350,000 people were forced to emigrate. In 1931 unemployment stood at 90,000.

In the 1930s, De Valera's Fianna Fail party, which had originally rejected the settlement, came to power peacefully in an election where they pledged to get more independence from Britain.

The party waged an 'economic war' with Britain for several years but its middle-class ideal of an independent capitalist Ireland could



De Valera: dream

not be won. (The make reality of the since been drained by the British rule Ireland remain poor country, economy and a su In 1952 there unemployed.

Encou

And the Fianna was soon so heartedly with imprisoned and republicans who force in the strug control.

In the late 19

THE DERRY MASSACRE was not an isolated incident or an unfortunate accident. Nor was it the product of 'unreasonable men on both sides'. It was the latest event in the history of the domination of Ireland by the British ruling class.

It is using the Army to make sure that the Tory regime in Stormont is kept in power. And to keep it there it is prepared to put up with any amount of bloodshed.

But it faces one problem. In propping up Faulkner, Britain threatens to undermine Jack Lynch, the southern prime minister. The burning of the British embassy in Dublin was a reminder of what could happen in the south.

United socialist republic — the only way forward

The only way big business knows of getting out of this dilemma is to put into effect what is called the 'federal solution'. This would mean maintaining separate governments as well as British troops while attempting to satisfy the demands of the Catholics in the north for equal rights with moves towards a united Ireland.

But this could not be an independent united Ireland, developing the country in the interests of the people. It would still be a country under British domination.

Both the southern government and the leaders of the Social Democratic party in the north would welcome such a result. But it is no solution.

Even in capitalist terms there seems no way in which such a solution could satisfy Catholics and Protestants. The latter are determined to resist any inroads into their special position.

And from the point of view of workers and small farmers it will do

nothing to prevent high unemployment, bad housing and the drain of resources to Britain. Because of this, such a solution would not end the divisions in the north.

There is only one real solution to Ireland's problems—and that is a socialist solution.

But this would need the working class in the south to build a revolutionary leadership determined to overthrow the Dublin regime while also leading a campaign to defend the Catholics in the north and to

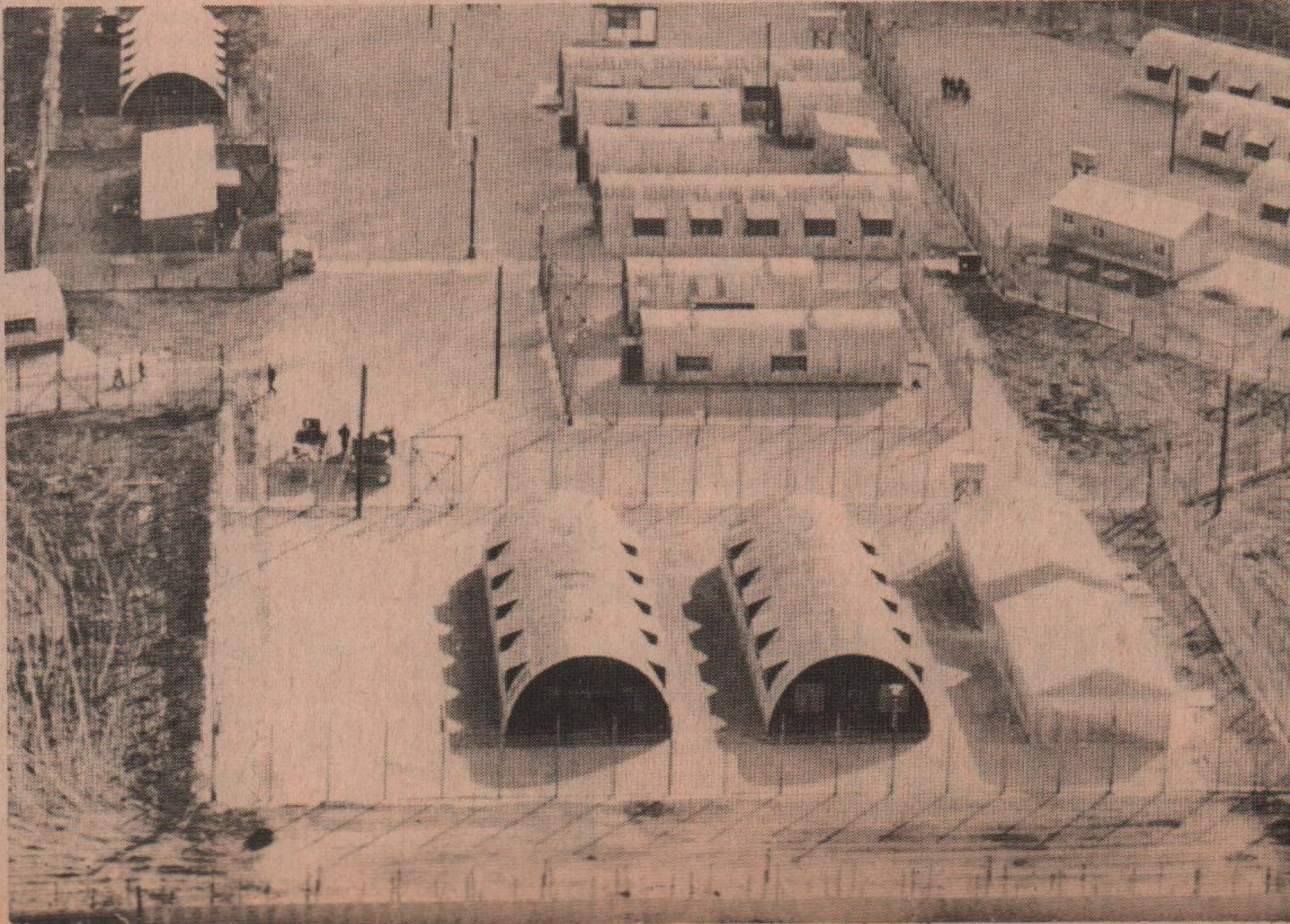
throw out the troops.

Only such a movement could overcome the isolation of the northern Catholics and begin the arduous task of convincing Protestant workers that there is an alternative to Orangeism that is in their interests.

But until such a movement develops, fighting for a united workers' republic, the Catholic population must defend itself. Neither section of the IRA has a clear idea of how to lead the struggle in Ireland to a final conclusion that would break the stranglehold of British imperialism.

But they are defending the Catholics against the troops and in that vital role they must have the full backing of every socialist in Britain.

It is happening here... Long Kesh concentration camp in N. Ireland — part of the 'United Kingdom'



FIVE YEARS' AGO British big business thought it had solved the Irish problem for good. Tame governments existed north and south.

Some business interests even started to think it a little absurd to have to deal with two separate governments. They began to press for the two regimes to get together in friendly talks.

They had forgotten that the northern state was built on religious hatred and discrimination.

That was the only way to persuade Protestant workers to back a Tory government. Once the sectarianism was under attack, the state itself would start to collapse.

In October 1968, the Catholic population began the first attempt for many years to push for full civil rights. But as they marched peacefully through Derry they were met with all the violence and hatred the state could muster. Police charged men, women and children with batons and beat them to the ground.

Explosion

In the months that followed there were repeated confrontations, especially in Derry as police tried to break into Catholic ghettos to attack those threatening the system.

In August 1969 came the explosion. After a three-day battle kept the police out of the Derry Bogside, Orangemen, police and B-Specials took their revenge. They burst into the Catholic areas of Belfast, machine guns blazing. Eight Catholics were killed, hundreds more were driven from their homes.

In the past, the Orangemen's bloody assaults had been backed by the British government. But things had changed. British big business was

doing well in the south. It did not want its profits there ruined by any reaction to its treatment of the northern Catholics.

Reluctantly, the Labour government ordered its troops to Ireland to stop any further killings and to take control of the streets. It promised to improve the Catholics' conditions and it even disbanded the B-Specials and then disarmed the rest of the police.

But one thing it could not do was to dismantle a state machine that, regardless of its faults, did safeguard big business control and divided the

working class. Protestant workers feared that reforms would take away the marginal privileges that stopped their conditions being quite as bad as the Catholics.

They turned against Unionist politicians who backed reforms. O'Neill resigned and Chichester-Clark soon followed.

The Catholics were not prepared to trust any government promises. For a year their peaceful marches had been attacked with batons, water cannons and CS gas. Their homes had been burnt, their families shot at.

They started to get arms to protect themselves against future attacks. The IRA, previously a small, isolated body, started to grow rapidly as people turned to it for help.

At first the British government wavered between trying to push for reforms or propping up the Stormont government by placating its supporters.

By the summer of 1970 its mind was made up. To keep the Orangemen happy, it sent the British Army into Catholic areas to search for 'illegal' arms. The local people saw no alternative but to resist the attempt to smash their only means of defence.

More and more Catholics started to see that no reforms could do away with a system of exploitation built on hatred. They flooded into the IRA,

the one force that could defend them against the troops.

The introduction of internment was the final straw. Guns were needed, not to defend arms supplies but to defend the leading spokesmen of the Catholic community against imprisonment without trial.

FACT

ON 11 October 1932 unemployed workers, Protestant and Catholic together, demonstrated through the streets of Belfast. The police tried to break up the demonstration with batons, failed, and then used their guns. Five men were wounded and one killed. The next day, when British troops moved in to reinforce the police, one more worker was shot dead and 50 more wounded. The Special Powers Act was used against Protestant and Catholic alike.

The ruling class set about breaking the workers' unity with doses of sectarianism. Sir Basil Brooke (later Prime Minister) appealed to employers 'not to employ Catholics'. In 1935 Protestant mobs were encouraged to attack the Catholic ghettos. They had the full backing of the British troops. More than a dozen Catholics were murdered and hundreds wounded.

AND

'ate' not free British sharks



of independence

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seek economic co-operation with Britain as a way of overcoming lack of industrial development. Foreign firms were encouraged to invest in Ireland with offers of long periods free of tax, aided by government grants. By 1965, 234 foreign projects had been started on this basis, 40 per cent of them British.

These incentives to foreign investors were paid for by the Irish workers and poor peasants. With government spending going to foreign businessmen, there was little left for the people.

The percentage that goes on social services is the lowest in Europe except for Portugal. In Italy, where the national income per head is the same as Ireland's, welfare benefits are 50 per cent higher.

In southern Ireland as in northern Ireland, workers and small farmers pay the price of keeping British big business happy. In the south, as in the north, 10 per cent of the population owns 90 per cent of the wealth.

The partition of Ireland was one of the factors that produced this situation. But the type of regime in the south, with religious control of schools and outdated attitudes to divorce and birth control, has in turn served to convince northern Protestants of the necessity of the border.

They identify the idea of a united Ireland with the existing state of affairs in the south. But conditions there are the result of government unwillingness or inability to gain real independence.

Troops go in to defend profits



Orange march: the annual pilgrimage of hate



IRELAND'S HISTORY OF REPRESSION

by JAMES WALKER

James Walker's highly-praised series in Socialist Worker has now been reprinted in handy pamphlet form. It is indispensable for socialists and trade unionists involved in the struggle to free Ireland from British domination.

10p a copy including post from IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



Why 'Mrs Average' is on tranquillisers

WOMAN'S ESTATE

by Valerie Clark

EVERY YEAR doctors all over the country prescribe thousands of anti-depressant drugs to women. Thousands more tonics, tablets and pick-me-ups are bought over the chemist's counter. This isn't because women are the 'weaker' sex.

It is because society is creating problems for women, beyond their control but for which each individual woman must try to find a solution. This doesn't only apply to poor families.

The wife of a well-paid skilled worker may not need to go to work. They may be buying their own house, or have just moved to a new, expensive council block in the suburbs.

But she is isolated from family and friends—and it isn't easy to make new ones. She is on her own at home all day.

No matter how much housework and cooking she does, no matter how nice the place looks, the same things will have

to be done again tomorrow. She feels useless and lonely and depressed.

It is different for the woman who's not quite so well off. She goes to work to make ends meet and does the housework in the evenings. She nearly always feels tired.

She is irritable with her husband. She doesn't have much time for her children, so she feels guilty and uncertain of whether she is a good wife and mother.

She can't see her children well-dressed and fed with prices rising weekly, while her housekeeping money stays the same. She tries desperately to find someone to mind the kids while she goes to work—if she's lucky she'll find a full-time job at about £12.

She hates herself for shouting at the kids when they ask for money for ice-cream and sweets. She feels envious, helpless, a miserable failure. According to

social workers, some of these women, faced with a life of poverty, 'can't cope'.

It's no wonder. The miracle is that so many do manage to cope despite the difficulties.

What makes it harder to bear is the difference between real-life ordinary woman and the ideal woman of the TV ads. This 'perfect wife' keeps a comfortable home with all mod cons and she's attractive too.

She's always there with her whiter-than-yours washing, her cheerful smile, her cups of coffee, cocoa and Bovril, her Weetabix breakfasts and Oxo dinners.

If the ordinary housewife buys all these things, she too can be like this wonderful person—or that's what we're supposed to believe.

On one hand society holds out this gleaming vision of Mrs Average. On the other hand, the same society fails to

provide the jobs and homes which are the very basis for a family to live decently.

Men are exploited and victimised too, yet they are in a better position to fight back. Working in close contact with other men gives a feeling of solidarity which women at home can never experience.

Instead, women come face to face with isolated pockets of bureaucracy. Their battles are fought alone at the Social Security office, the doctor's surgery, the rent office, the school, the council.

Working men know that the only way to change things is through united action. Women, because they are isolated from each other tend to see things as individual problems—but more and more women are beginning to realise the value of collective action.

The lessons we must learn from the Chinese revolution

IN 1924 an intelligent British colonial officer gave a warning to some moderate Indian nationalists. 'Anything like a real revolution in India', he warned, 'would have the most disastrous effects on that very class that is now represented in the Legislative Assembly and Provincial Councils; for among the ignorant masses of India a political revolution would become a social revolution in a very short space of time'.

The class he was talking to was the middle class. And the official, whose usefulness to imperialism was later recognised by a peerage, had put his finger on a central feature of the colonial revolution.

He knew that the middle class is too closely connected with imperialism to risk losing its class power by mobilising the workers and peasants. Where local middle-class politicians have been granted political power by the imperialists it has been on condition that they use it in the interests of imperialist profits.

And from Chiang Kai-shek to Mrs Gandhi, they have earned their keep.

Massacre

In Russia the working class took the place at the head of the fight which the Russian capitalist class was too cowardly to fill. But later Stalinism meant that Communist Parties, which should have organised and led the working class to take power, were diverted into seeking 'alliances' with the bankrupt middle classes.

In China in the 1920s, when the working class could have placed itself at the head of a peasant revolution and taken power, the Communist party, on orders from Moscow, supported Chiang Kai-shek.

Then when Chiang came to power he massacred the Communists.

The remnants of the party, led by

WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

by STEPHEN MARKS



TENTH AND FINAL PART

Mao Tse-tung, organised peasant armies which ultimately brought the Communist Party to power.

Mao's party mobilised peasants, and such capitalists as would follow them, on a purely nationalist programme. It thus had no alternative but to take over and strengthen the existing bureaucratic state, into whose hands it soon concentrated all major industry.

Tactic

The gains of the Chinese revolution amount to the elimination of direct imperialist control over a quarter of the world's population.

But the Chinese leaders' tactic of industrialising China in isolation from the rest of the world has reactionary consequences. For diplomatic advantage China supported Sukarno in Indonesia, who treated the Indonesian communists as Chiang had treated the Chinese party 30 years before.

And China's alliance with Yahya Khan has led to its odious support for the butchers of the Bengali people.

The resources of China in isolation, great though they are, are less than those of Stalin's Russia when Russia industrialised—while the resources of the imperialist powers against which China must defend herself are now

greater. So the Chinese bureaucrats squander resources on an atom bomb.

Yet China is the best case for those who would argue that a leadership other than that of the working class can free exploited countries from imperialism. Every struggle against imperialism deserves the unqualified support of socialists throughout the world—whichever leads it.

Stolen

Depriving imperialism of the resources of an exploited country, and mobilising the workers and peasants to fight for this end weakens the



Chinese soldiers watching the border with Russia

world capitalist system and sets an example for all exploited peoples.

But the imperialist countries keep the piled-up wealth stolen over the centuries. Only the extension of the revolution to other countries can get that back.

And only the working class can do this. The Chinese experience shows that any revolution not led by the working class leads eventually to support for imperialism.

Racialism

The struggle against imperialism goes on even in Britain today. For imperialism breeds racialism, a product of the tactic of divide and rule.

It is no accident that the biggest immigrant groups in Britain are the Irish, the Indians and Pakistanis and the West Indians—peoples who are the oldest victims of British imperialism.

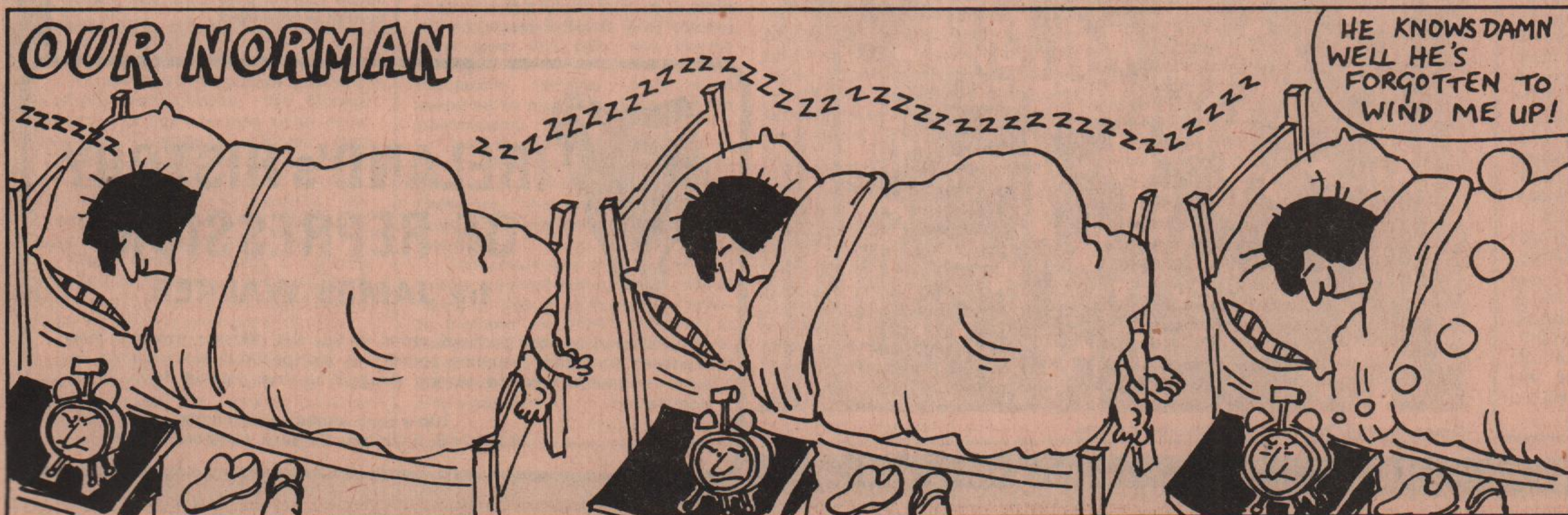
Workers who do not understand the causes which brought immigrants to Britain may fall for the racialist poison which argues that they are to blame for the problems caused by capitalism.

And anyone who does not understand the nature of the imperialist world we live in will fall for the old trick of the 'national interest'. The enemy is one the world over, and so is the struggle against it. What America does in Saigon today and Britain in Belfast, both will be prepared to do tomorrow in Detroit, Chicago and Birmingham.

Every blow against the bosses in Vietnam, Ireland or Arabia, weakens the same bosses in Dagenham, Cowley or Liverpool.

When the workers of the world understand the connection as well as the employing class do, then the obscenity of imperialism, of capitalism on a world scale, will be at an end.

CONCLUDED



REVIEW

SERJEANT PAINTER OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

IN 1640 the old order in Britain was shattered for ever. In place of a corrupt aristocracy and the remains of feudalism came a new class, spear-headed by the triumph of Cromwell's New Model Army against Charles I's Cavaliers.

The new middle class extended their power over Britain in the next hundred years. Charles I's execution, the final destruction of the 'absolute monarch', and the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, were outward symbols of the new and dynamic society that was coming into being.

The attack was not just aimed at the old aristocracy, for the middle class entrenched themselves by ruthless exploitation first of agriculture and government then of industry as it sprung up in the wake of the new technology of the machine.

These changes were reflected in John Locke's philosophy, the novels of Daniel Defoe, and Henry Fielding's Tom Jones. Most of all perhaps in the paintings and engravings of William Hogarth.

Hogarth (1697-1764) was the new man. Ambitious, inventive, jingoistic and sentimental, his life typified the strengths and weaknesses and ultimately the contradictions of contemporary middle class society.

He was born the son of a bankrupt but intellectual schoolmaster, and spent much of his early life in jail—in those days it was customary to lock up the whole family of a debtor. This harsh introduction to society is reflected again and again in his work.

Hogarth's early paintings were conventional—not unsuccessful, but unremarkable, and only a handful of paintings of ordinary men at work give any indication of his radical ideas.

Like any other ambitious artist his final aim was to become Serjeant Painter to the King, the highest official post that an artist could hold, so he eloped in 1729 with the daughter of the then Serjeant Painter—Sir James Thornhill.

PIRATED

Two years' later he decided to break with his artistic practice so far and instead of producing paintings for relatively rich clients, he set to work on a series of six engravings of A Harlot's Progress to be sold at a guinea a set.

This mass production, combined with the eroticism of the engravings, was a wild success and Hogarth quickly sold over a thousand sets. As Vertue commented at the time: 'They captivated the minds of most people, persons of all ranks and conditions, from the greatest quality to the meanest.'

The results of this commercial revolution were far-reaching. Hogarth, angered by the pirate versions of his work, at once set to work to agitate in parliament for copyright protection, which he won.

Hogarth's anxiety to secure parliamentary protection for his works resembled that of any other small capitalist of the period who found his monopoly threatened by competitors, so it is perhaps appropriate that his next work, The Rake's Progress, should be a celebration of the middle class virtues of thrift, hard work and resistance to sensual temptation.

In eight scenes it shows the downfall of a middle class social climber who apes the vices of his aristocratic predecessor as he dissipates an inherited fortune. The corruption of the aristocracy is held up as a warning to the middle classes—but the inadequacy of middle-class virtue is perhaps shown by the fact that pirated editions were on sale even before the original was published.

Like many other rebellious social critics Hogarth was taken up by elements of the society he derided. Though he

continued to attack aristocratic pretension like any good capitalist, the last 25 years of his life show a wholly familiar decline into Tory reaction.

In 1739 he became a founding governor of the new Foundling Hospital for orphans. At the time, this was an original move, but was motivated by the ultimately puritanical interest in charitable works which so characterised Hogarth's class. Since he occupied many positions on the boards of respectable charities, it may be that his own social aspirations were no less important a factor than the welfare of the children.

ATTACK

Artistically, his connection with the hospital was significant, however, for he now painted what is perhaps the first great middle-class portrait in England. Captain Coram, a picture of the bluff sea captain who founded the hospital, was to set new standards for middle class portraiture.

Without resorting to grandiose images or continental rhetoric, Hogarth produced a portrait which reflected with startling honesty the common sense, sentimentality and utilitarian values of one of his successful contemporaries.

In 1743, he began another Modern Moral Subject, Marriage a la Mode, ostensibly an attack on the then popular theme of the marriage of convenience. But it is no accident that his protagonists are for the first time aristocrats and that the pictures now depend for their



Canvassing for votes, with a little cash to hand—an engraving from Hogarth's Election series.

effect on wit, telling detail and extravagant social comment rather than any real social concern.

His developing conservatism was very much in tune with the times. In 1750 he still had sufficient faith in parliament to publish two engravings attacking the abuse of cheap gin.

Like any other member of his class, he was appalled at the degradation and demoralisation of the working class as a result of the ready availability of gin, so in Gin Lane and Beer Street he portrayed the unspeakable idleness and dissipation inseparable from gin, in comparison to the virtue and industry of the beer drinker.

As with his copyright agitation certain token reforms did follow, but increasingly Hogarth lost faith in parliament—though with a truly patrician rather than revolutionary vengeance. It is, in the circumstances, not surprising that in 1757 he was to achieve his ambition and become Serjeant Painter to the King.

Defoe's Robinson Crusoe was the literary embodiment of the philosophy of 'He who works not, neither shall he eat,' and Hogarth portrayed the same theme in the 1750s in his series of engravings of the Idle and Industrious Apprentices. This ends with the idle apprentice condemned to death by the industrious apprentice, now Lord Mayor of London.

CORRUPT

He turned against politics, however, in An Election, showing politicians and parties as corrupt, greedy, self-seeking and contemptuous of the voters whom they wooed only at elections.

Four pictures show a drunken banquet given by the Whig candidate—a grotesque parody of The Last Supper; rival and simultaneous attempts to bribe a floating voter while a Tory mob sacks a Whig pub; a polling booth at which only the

corrupt, the imbecile and the dying attend; and finally the charring of the corpulent and half-witted member who is carried through the town to the accompaniment of a syphilitic fiddler while his constituents fight amongst themselves.

In this final series Hogarth not only foreshadows the aristocratic and anti-parliamentary reaction in Britain during the last decades of the century, but sensationally expanded the political vocabulary of the artist. Ordinary people were for the first time represented in wholly conventional situations without being glamourised or caricatured.

In realism of line and colour, and in vigour of representation, the paintings anticipate the nineteenth century. In directness and effectiveness of purpose they are equalled only later by Daumier, Goya, and in our own century by the anti-Nazi montages of John Heartfield.

JOHN NICHOL

When ruling classes fight, what should the people do?

THE WAR AND THE INTERNATIONAL
by Leon Trotsky
—available from IS Books, 50p

FEW people looking back today are prepared to defend the four years of monstrous and horrific bloodletting of the First World War. Yet when that war broke out the vast majority of those who had previously claimed to be socialists and internationalists supported it.

Few indeed were those prepared to make effective opposition to the war. The leaders of mass labour movements in Europe—until August 1914 united into the Second International—instead urged the workers of different countries to wholeheartedly support the effort to kill one another.

Trotsky was one of a small number of marxists, at the time a seemingly insignificant number, who opposed this surrender to the mad frenzy of nationalism. This pamphlet was his first attempt to show the real nature of the war and to explain the betrayal of the official socialist leaders.

The effectiveness of the polemic is shown by what happened to its author. A German court sentenced him to imprisonment in his absence. And the 'other side' in the war, the so-called western democracies, were no more lenient. He was deported from both France and Spain and imprisoned without trial by the British in Canada.

But this pamphlet is not merely an important historic document. It also relates to many of the questions socialists have to confront today.



Stalin's attempt to remove Trotsky from history: left, he stands on the steps of Lenin's platform; right, a picture taken a few seconds later, but Trotsky has been painted out

Take, for instance, the question of national liberation. In 1914 all the great powers justified themselves by claiming that they were fighting for this.

The Russians referred to the South Slavs oppressed by Austria, and the Germans referred to the Poles oppressed by Russia.

Confusion was caused on the left—particularly among those who wanted an excuse to support their own ruling class (just as the case of Bengal caused much confusion about the nature of the recent war between India and Pakistan). Until the war broke out most socialists stood unconditionally for the liberation of BOTH the South Slavs and the Poles.

But, Trotsky argued, this is not at all the same thing as supporting a war by the empire that is oppressing the Poles to 'liberate' the Slavs, or vice-versa. Replace Slavs by 'Bengalis' and 'Poles' by Nagars (or Kashmiris or West Bengalis) and the same considerations apply on the Indian sub-continent today.

There are, however, several other points on which Trotsky's position as worked out in 1914 was deficient.

Firstly, Trotsky at the time rejected Lenin's position of revolutionary defeatism. Trotsky argued that revolutionaries should want 'neither victory or defeat', because they could not be seen to be in favour of the victory of either side. Secondly, he put forward as the principal slogan that of 'peace'.



Lenin quite rightly opposed him on both these points, arguing that the most important thing was to put forward a position that could in no way be confused with the demands of half-hearted supporters of the war.

Many of these were prepared to accept both Trotsky's slogans—and to interpret them in a completely different way. Their chief justification for the war effort was that it was necessary to make sure of 'neither victory nor defeat' by preventing defeat.

And even the most aggressive of the reactionary governments was in favour of peace—providing the terms were right.

Lenin argued that there was only one way to avoid confusion. Revolutionaries had to make it clear that they in no way identify themselves with capitalist governments, and the best way was to insist that a defeat for the ruling class is not a defeat for the working class.

The only real solution to the bloody slaughter through Europe would not be through talk of peace, but through intensifying the class struggle, even if this increased the likelihood of military defeat for one's own government, so as to turn the imperialist war into a civil war, in the words of the Bolshevik slogan.

CHRIS HARMAN

Labour councils in rents dither

by Hugh Kerr

THERE has been some remarkable dithering by Labour councils and MPs in the fight over the Tory rent scheme during the past week.

A meeting of the leaders of Labour-controlled London boroughs discussed a plan to delay rent increases until October, and to make people see that it was the Tories who are responsible for the rises by letting the government send in Housing Commissioners to implement them.

This plan does not of course in any way resist the rises. The tenants would still have to pay the full amount demanded by the government. But it was too much for some of the Labour councillors and they failed to reach the unanimous agreement they felt necessary before they could put into effect even this sham opposition.

A similar move was recommended at a conference

of the southern region of the Labour Party last week. It was even suggested that the government's commissioners should be invited in by Labour councils. And in the House of Commons Frank Allaun advised tenants against rent strikes, instead telling them to wait for the return of a Labour government and the repeal of the Bill.

One group of tenants who will not be putting their faith in this weak-kneed opposition held a big public meeting in Harlow last week. They adopted a five-point programme to fight the rises.

A campaign is being carried through to let all other tenants in the area know what is happening, trade unions are being asked for support, and contact is being made with other tenants' organisations up and down the country. But at the centre of the fight is a commitment to refuse to pay the rent rises and to organise a rent strike locally and nationally.

Militant meeting lacks call to action

EIGHT HUNDRED delegates from all sections of the trade union movement attended last Saturday's conference called by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions to discuss the fight against unemployment and the Industrial Relations Act.

On unemployment, speaker after speaker made it clear that they thought the mania for productivity bargaining among many union officials was responsible for much of the current unemployment.

Many speakers argued for an end to productivity deals and for a fight on questions of a shorter working week, longer holidays and higher basic rates to strengthen the case for banning overtime. There was an enthusiastic reception for a delegate from Fisher-Bendix, Kirkby, who drew attention to the enormous superiority of the sit-down strike as a tactic for fighting closures.

On the Industrial Relations Act it was agreed that union officials should have no truck whatsoever with the machinery of the state. The TUC leadership was castigated for its 'live and let live' attitude to unions which were intent on registering, though only one delegate, Birmingham building militant Gerry Kelly, openly called for the expulsion from the TUC of unions that do register.

But delegates looked in vain in the 'declaration' agreed upon by the conference for a lead over what should be done to transform this generalised militancy into action. Apart from calling for maximum support for Tuesday's lobby in support of the miners, the only other concrete action proposed is a token stoppage on 1 May.

Old guard

Speaker after speaker attacked what Kevin Halpin, chairman of the LCDTU, called 'the weak-kneed, slobbermouth attitude' of the TUC leaders, their eagerness to act as neutral conciliators in great class battles such as the miners' struggle, rather than as the general staff of the working class. Many speakers pointed out that only massive pressure from the ranks had forced the unions to do anything. Kevin Halpin, a Communist Party member, gave the conference a vision of the rank and file movement sweeping the old guard out of office and taking over the running of the union movement.

But how this was to be achieved by a clear and concerted fight for union democracy, by a rigorous exposure of union leaders who directly or indirectly 'learn to live with the Industrial Relations Act', above all by setting up an organised network of workplace militants in all industries—none of this was spelled out at the conference and none of it gets a mention in the 'declaration'.

Last Saturday's conference was a rally at which a ragbag of militant and semi-militant rhetorical points were made, each one meeting with a hearty cheer. But militant trade unionists will have to look elsewhere for a programme of action around which the working class movement can be mobilised to defeat the Tories and their system.

Building workers fight blacklist

by Gerry Kelly

UCATT steward
Woodgate Valley site

BIRMINGHAM:—Workers at various Bryant's building sites in the city have been organising a mass meeting this week to fight against the victimisation of a leading militant, Pete Carter, and to press for a series of demands.

They want £1 an hour, a 35-hour guaranteed week, 100 per cent trade unionism, and the withdrawal of the charges of trespass that Bryant's have laid against Pete Carter. If the company refuses to answer these demands, then there will be an all-out strike from next Wednesday.

Carter applied for a job on Bryant's Chamberlain Gardens site a short time ago, but under an assumed name, Robinson, to avoid the blacklist. When the site management realised who he was, they refused to let him start work.

Nonetheless he went on to the site, and the firm then brought the trespass charge against him, claiming damages of £850.

On Monday Bryant's victimised another militant, Phil Beyer, who went to the Woodgate Valley site after being told that bricklayers were needed on that site. When he was not allowed to start work, feeling was running high on the site and Beyer called a meeting at the gate to which Pete Carter spoke.

Alliance to fight Tory Rent Bill

by Patricia Owen

CRAWLEY:—Workers and tenants in Crawley New Town have pledged in no uncertain terms their intention to fight the so-called Fair Rents Bill.

Under the Bill, which will become law in the autumn, almost the entire population of Crawley, who live in council or New Town Commission houses, will have to pay rent and rate increases.

Speakers from the audience at a meeting last Thursday demanded that the Labour councillors on the platform give an assurance that they were prepared to lead tenants in a campaign to defeat the Bill by all means, including a rent strike. The mood of the meeting left councillors in no doubt of the militant feelings of Crawley.

A member of the Crawley engineering shop steward committee said that workers on the Manor Royal industrial estate would back any action taken by tenants.

A rents action committee was elected to co-ordinate the fight in Crawley against the Bill, and members pledged their support to other council and commission tenants throughout the country engaged in the struggle.

CITY ENGINEERS ISSUE STRIKE CHALLENGE

SHEFFIELD:—800 shop stewards decided last weekend to mount a major challenge to both the engineering bosses and the government on 28 February. On that day there will be a city-wide engineering strike in support of their national wage claim.

Talks at national level between the employers and the unions over this claim broke down in January and local

factories have since been told to fight for it individually.

The employers rejected the demand for a £6 increase on the basic rate (now £19 a week for a skilled man), for a 35-hour week, for longer holidays, and for more lay-off pay, all without productivity strings. Instead they offered a slight increase in the minimum rates only, without any improvement in conditions.

Instead of confronting the employers over this claim the engineering unions, led by Hugh Scanlon, broke off talks and recommended that factory by factory action be taken.

Breakdown

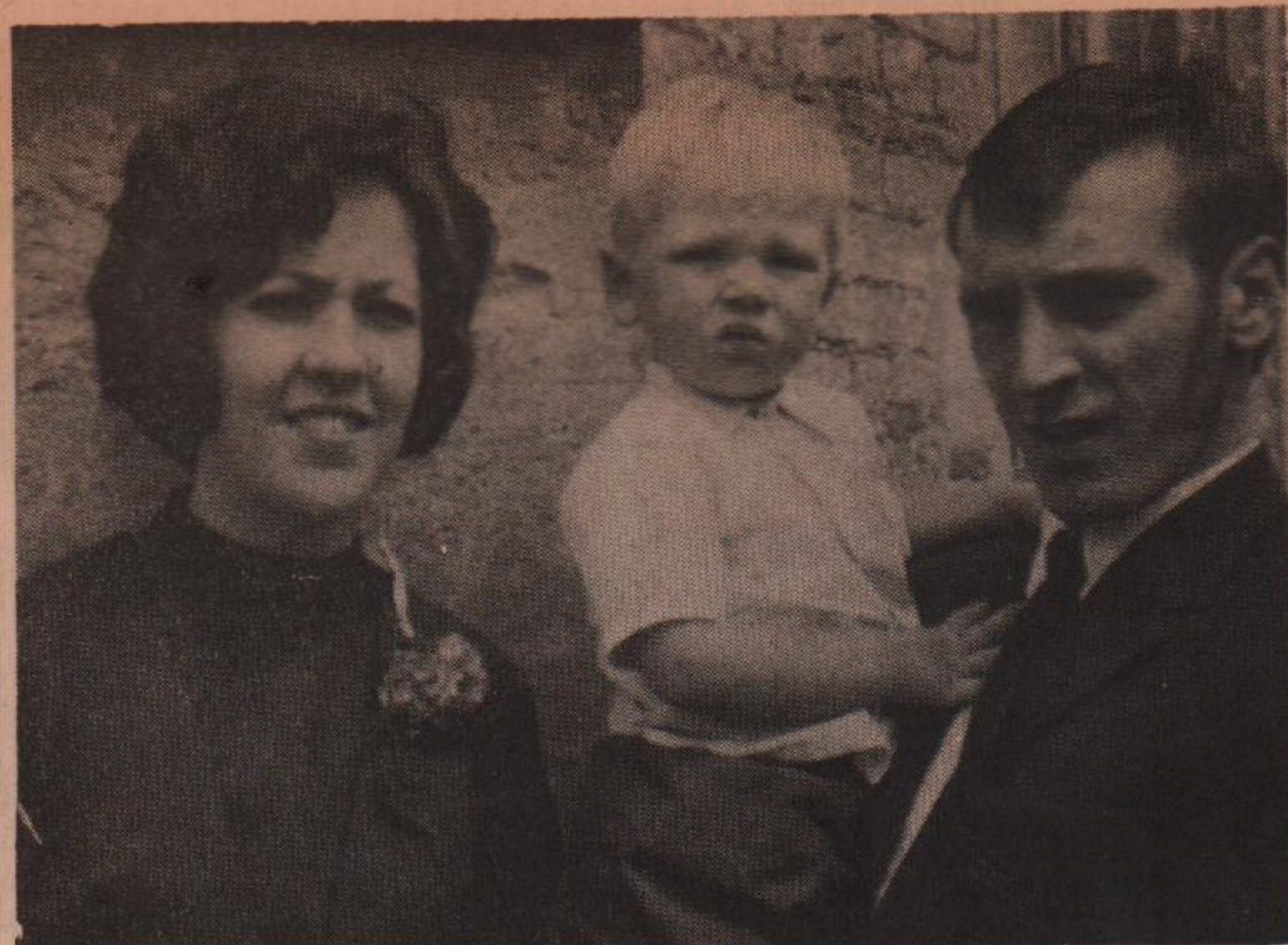
This is an extremely dangerous policy. It can lead to a serious fragmentation of the union and result in weaker factories being forced to accept less than national demands. The engineering employers recognise this.

In the latest issue of their paper they say that since the breakdown of the draughtsmen's pay claim last year and the adoption by that union of a similar policy 'many satisfactory agreements have been reached at plant level which are well short of the union's nationally claimed increases... Certainly in the medium and small firms settlements have been modest.'

The decision of the Sheffield engineers to organise a district-wide fight against the agreement is an important step forward. It offers the prospect of a real struggle against the employers and it is vital that other districts follow this example.

It also represents a challenge to the Tory government. On 28 February the most vicious parts of the Industrial Relations Act become law. The planned one-day strike will be in direct defiance of this.

How YOU can help a vital struggle



Fine Tubes striker Trevor Bond, his wife and son Gary.

FOR 89 weeks now the men and women of Fine Tubes have stood firm. They have been on strike to force management to recognise independent trade unionism, one of the most basic of working class principles.

As their struggle continues they need more financial and other support. Socialist Worker and the International Socialists have organised a Fine Tubes concert benefit on Sunday 12 March, at 7.30pm at Camden Town Hall in the centre of London.

East of Eden, the Critics Group, Bobby Campbell and Gordon McCulloch have now agreed to perform at the benefit in addition to Alex Glasgow and Jake Thackray.

More than 100 men, women and children from Fine Tubes are coming to the concert, which will be compered by Bernadette Devlin MP.

Tickets, price 75p each, are available now from IS branch secretaries or from Joyce Rosser, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN. All proceeds will of course go to the Fine Tubes Strike Committee funds.

120 locked out of biscuit factory

OSTERLEY, Middlesex:—120 maintenance workers, fitters, electricians and building craftsmen at United Biscuits have now been locked out since 14 January. The lockout was the management's reaction to a work-to-rule in protest at an inadequate wage offer.

The men's work is now being done by unskilled workers under the supervision of the management. Production work at the factory is done by Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers' members who have so far given no real support to those locked out.

But constant picketing last week did result in two coaches carrying women into

the factory turning back. The coach firm sacked the two men, who happened to be transport union stewards, and the rest of the company's drivers stopped work. Threats by the transport union to bring out United Biscuits' transport workers forced the reinstatement of the two men.

The United Biscuits factory is now being hit by power cuts. This will make the maintenance of the machines a crucial and urgent job, particularly if they are stopped during production runs. So the effects of the miners' struggle will be of benefit to the Osterley workers.

Donations and messages of support should be sent to Mr G Underhill, 27 Connaught Avenue, Hounslow, Middlesex.

STAFF UNION REINSTATES LEFT-WINGER

Left-winger Ian Gibson was completely reinstated as a member of the national executive of ASTMS, the staff union, last week. He had been earlier banned from office until 1973 after a majority on the executive had decided he had committed an offence by speaking to some union members about events at an executive meeting.

Gibson appealed against this savagely undemocratic decision and was supported by a large section of the rank and file. The appeals committee met last week and decided that Gibson had 'no case to answer'. They immediately over-ruled the ban.

This was clearly a victory against the increasingly right-wing leadership



I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name _____

Address _____

Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

Swansea IS meeting
BERNADETTE DEVLIN
speaks on

How to Fight the Tories

7.30pm Friday 25 Feb
Bishop Gore School
De La Beche Road
Sketty, Swansea

VICTORY TO THE MINERS!

Why Wilberforce won't free the wage slaves

IT HAS BEEN a tough week for Lord Wilberforce and his chums on the court of inquiry into the miners' strike. Never before have such men been faced with the necessity of nightwork. Never before has a government gone to such desperate lengths to get one of its circus of 'fair play' and 'impartiality' on view so speedily.

Press and television have gone to considerable lengths to plant the idea in people's minds that the miners should return to work or at least suspend their picketing until the impartial inquiry reports. They have had no luck.

By united and determined action, the miners have already forced the government to increase their 'final' money offer once. They have avoided the fate of the power and postal workers because they have not surrendered to some phoney fair-play committee and have developed militant mass pickets in the face of the complete lack of TUC-inspired solidarity action.

Wilberforce's position this year is in the most remarkable contrast to the hatchet job he did on the power workers in 1971. The outcome of that committee of inquiry was totally predictable as soon as the power workers' leaders threw their members immense industrial power to the winds and abandoned industrial action.

The Wilberforce inquiry did not start sitting until five weeks after the suspension of the work to rule. Its report merely rephrased the electricity employers' previous 'final' offer and encouraged more productivity dealing.

And the union leaders discovered that a wage offer they had previously rejected as unsatisfactory was now a good settlement.

Last year's Wilberforce was designed and manned to rub salt in the power workers' wounds. Wilberforce, an ex-Tory candidate who admitted he knew nothing about economics, chaired it.

Crucial

He was ably assisted by Sir Raymond Brooks, boss of GKN, the biggest single firm for filling up Tory Party coffers, and Jim Mortimer, a former trade union official who so vigorously opposed a prices and incomes policy that he ended up a member of the Prices and Incomes Board.

Its impartial report was published at a crucial point in the postal workers' battle and was unquestionably designed to put another nail in the coffin the TUC leadership had helped to build by its lack of active support.

This legalised defeat of the power workers was the turning point for the Tories last year. The postmen were forced back to work with nothing but a court of inquiry either. This brought them nothing more than the wage cut they had already been offered.

Both post and power inquiries were directly manipulated by the government. As usual, they relied on secret diplomacy behind the scenes to ensure that play was by their rules, and the result in accordance with their wishes.

In the autumn of 1970, an inquiry into dustmen's pay was held while the strike went on, a key factor in determining the recommendation. This urged that their claim be met very nearly in full.

And so it was. Hugh Clegg, a member of the inquiry team was subsequently



WILBERFORCE: rush to judgement

sacked from the Civil Service Arbitration panel from which inquiry members are drawn. He was too soft.

Not that the Labour government was any more sympathetic to the cause of workers in struggle. What they did do was use the inquiry methods much more sensitively.

It ordered one of the most revealing 'impartial' inquiries of all time into the long running unofficial strikes on two London building sites, Barbican and Horseferry Road.

In April 1967 as the ghastly Ray Gunter set it up, the trade newspaper Construction News reported: 'It is the government's intention that all the elements in the disputes should be reported before parliament... The consequent publicity is intended to strengthen the force of public opinion.'

Subsequently, there was a flood of press lies about the one element in particular, the dreaded disruptives who were behind the strike.

There was one slight little problem in all this. The committee of inquiry at no time probed what underlay the continual labour disputes. It is now absolutely clear that far from hating the strikes, the employers stirred them up. They had under-priced their bids for the Barbican contracts and were using the strikes to prolong the contract periods.

Only last year, Turriff and other contractors were once again provoking strikes to help them milk the City of London Corporation for still more money. The trade unions demanded an inquiry then. Robert Carr told them he would not order one.

The miners know their demands will be won only in struggle. The Tory government does not hold committees of inquiry to decide its policies. It pursues them ruthlessly as it tries to drive the working-class movement into submission. And now that they have failed with one section, they have used their powers under the law to set up an inquiry.

The purpose and outcome of such inquiries vary from time to time. But always they are an important part of the attempt to dress up the interests of a tiny minority in the drivel of impartiality.

Committees of inquiry are state agencies. Their decisions depend on the balance of forces on the battlefield.

The striking miners understand that there is no fairness and no impartiality in this society, that justice and freedom is born of struggle. They have taught us all an important lesson.

LAURIE FLYNN

MILLIONS of workers are now feeling the effects of the fight between the miners and the Tory government. Press hysteria is at fever pitch in an attempt to isolate the miners.

Emotional words like 'responsibility', 'ransom' and 'the national interest' are bandied about. Endless columns of print drool new-found sympathy for the aged, the infirm and poverty-stricken. Suddenly it's all the miners' fault. We—the public—are the victims.

Let's get it straight. The miners' struggle is not taking place in a vacuum. If the Tories beat the miners they've got us all with our backs to the wall. If the miners win this fight, we've got the Tories in the corner.

BERNADETTE DEVLIN MP



The miners' fight is the fight of the working class for a better life. They are fighting for you.

That might be hard to see when your coal cellar is empty. Nevertheless it is

true. The quickest way to end the strike is to back the miners in every way possible and show that unity is strength and that strength will defeat the Tory government and will ultimately lead the working class to victory.



Police violence breaks up London march

There were no miners on last Sunday's 5000-strong march in London against the Tories' settlement in Rhodesia. The result: a violent and unprovoked attack on a section of the march as it neared Rhodesia House in The Strand. Picture shows part of the

International Socialists' contingent minutes before it was broken up by the police. The police action was in sharp contrast to its surrender to a united mass picket of workers at Saltley coke depot, Birmingham, last week.

POWER STRIKE OVER SELL OUT

POWER WORKERS in the three biggest power stations in Scotland went on strike on Tuesday in protest against their industry's low wage settlement and in solidarity with the miners.

Forty per cent of the workers at Crockenzie, Longannet and Kincardine stations—which supply three-quarters of Scotland's electricity—were involved in the action, despite condemnation by union officials.

The divisional organisers of the electricians and the engineers unions, Ernest Leslie and Harry Dunnigan, joined forces to launch a witch-hunt against their members. They issued a statement that warned that any members taking part in unofficial action 'lend themselves open to disciplinary action under both union rule books.'

Management quickly used this statement in an attempt to destroy the rank and file protest. They went to power workers' homes with it, claiming that workers who supported the strike could

be expelled from the unions and lose their jobs.

The fact that despite such threats nearly half the workers still struck is seen by rank and file militants as a considerable success. But they are very bitter about the role of the two union officials.

Stab in back

As Ron Brown, works committee chairman of the Edinburgh District of the Electricity Board, told Socialist Worker: 'They see it as a stab in the back to the whole working-class movement.'

But it is not only those two officials who are to blame. The chief negotiator for the AUEW in the power industry is the self-proclaimed left winger, Bob Wright. As Ron Brown points out, it is the failure of him and his followers to break with the right-wing majority on the national negotiating committee and to call for militant action that has opened up the possibility of the right-wing in both unions organising the witch-hunt.

SW Reporter

Our fund goes into action

THIS WEEK our fighting fund goes into action. The National Committee of the International Socialists last weekend decided to pay the expenses of six organisers to be sent to the Yorkshire coalfield where tremendous opportunities exist to build IS branches.

We have the possibility of emerging from the strike with a rank and file miners' conference and a miners' paper. This has been made possible by the money already collected for our £5000 Fighting Fund.

Donations continue to come in and the total now stands at £1532. Closing date is 29 February. It is important for all IS branches to send in money collected NOW. We greatly appreciate the many contributions we have had from our readers and supporters.

Cheques and postal orders to: Jim Nichol, IS National Treasurer, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

PICKETS REFUSED BAIL

DUNFERMLINE:—14 miners arrested on Monday in a clash with police while picketing Longannet power station were refused bail and held in custody when they appeared in court on Tuesday. Public were refused admittance to the hearing.

A man who complained to the police at this crude victimisation of the miners was also arrested and refused bail.

Published by the International Socialists, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2. Printed by SW (Litho) Printers Ltd (TU all depts). Registered with the Post Office.

COLLEGE CRACKDOWN ON OCCUPATION'S LEADERS

THE authorities at Cambridge University are beginning disciplinary proceedings against six students and one lecturer after the occupation of the university's central administrative building by 500 students a fortnight ago.

The occupation began after the university had refused to accept proposals to reform the economics course, although these had been agreed by the teachers in the economics department.

Students saw this attitude as flowing from the fundamentally undemocratic

structure of the university administration and so also made demands for equal representation of students and non-academic staff on all university committees.

The sit-in ended on the Saturday after a court injunction had been served against the students, but a delegation was elected to put the student demands to the university council. When the council refused to see the student representatives a mass meeting decided to go ahead with a programme of direct militant action to prevent any victimisation.

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