

**International**

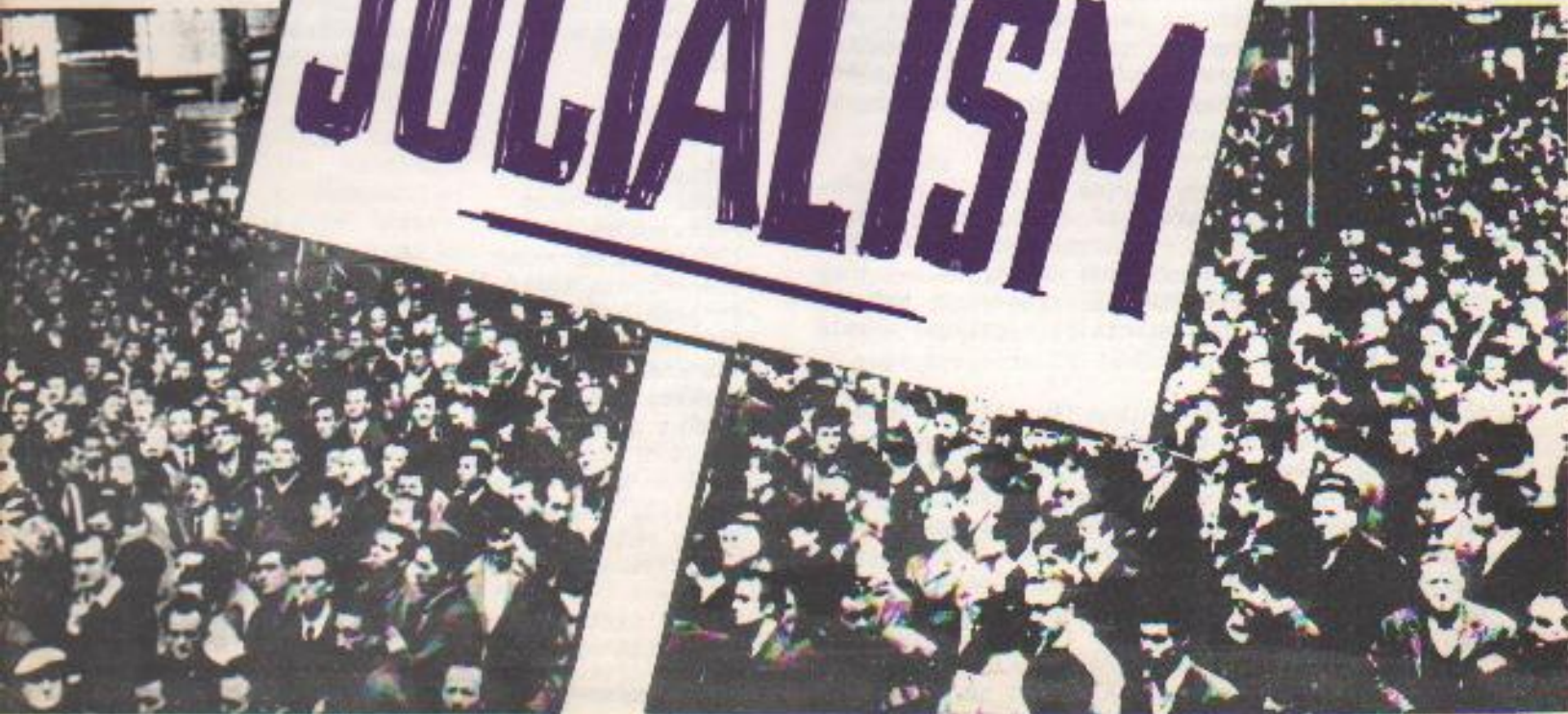
A SURVEY OF BRITISH AND  
WORLD AFFAIRS

**Mme. Binh's  
message**

**UNITY  
OF THE  
LEFT**

**IN  
PLACE OF  
STRIFE-  
SOCIALISM**

**1/6**





# NO COMPROMISE <sup>on</sup> IMMIGRATION

TESSA VAN GELDEREN

A recent survey carried out for the Institute of Race Relations said that Enoch Powell's estimate of 4.5 million coloured immigrants in Britain by the year 2000 was "wildly high". It also said that a high fertility rate among immigrants was a myth. Well, this was good news for the left. We had always known that Powell's figures were incorrect but could not prove it; now we had the facts and we could show people that they had nothing to worry about. Of course, if there were to be 4.5 million black people in this country in the year 2000 that would be a different matter...

Using statistics in this way - as some comrades on the left have a tendency to do - is both wrong and extremely dangerous. It is dangerous because it implies that there is a limit to the number of black people we would tolerate in this country - thus giving in to the racists - and it is wrong because what it is at stake is not statistics.

Anyone can quote these to their own advantage but if the left do so, then they are doing so at the sacrifice of principle.

In the report, Dr. Beverley, co-author, said that "Powell's total would only be reached if the law regulating the entry of immigrants was changed." By using these statistics in this report, we are implying that we accept the need for laws regulating immigration into this country, laws that we fought against at the time of their inception.

What we as socialists should be doing is not playing Powell at his own game of statistics but fighting for the principle that any person should be allowed into this country. We should be fighting for the repeal of all immigration acts. We should not be content with the liberal slogans of "equality" and "integration". Recently Uncle Tom Learie Constantine said that immigrants in this country should be prepared to accept the norms of our (bourgeois) society and to realise that they do have lower qualifications than other people and should therefore not expect preferential treatment.

Socialists should be saying just the opposite. Precisely because of immigrants' lower qualifications - due to exploitation by Britain and other imperialist countries - they SHOULD be given PREFERENTIAL treatment; and the retention of national minority culture should be encouraged.

The report talks about the "Powellite fear of whole tracts of England gradually turning black." If the left takes the line of the report by saying these fears are unjustified, it will be giving in to the racist elements, simply because of the implications that it would be a bad thing if this happened. That is, there is something wrong in being black but we are prepared to tolerate a small number as these do not imply any threat to us. What threat? The only threat to the working class - and this must be stressed time and time

again - is from the bourgeoisie itself.

It is absolutely essential to show that the black people in this country are being made scape-goats because capitalism is in a crisis and needs someone to take the blame. We must explain that Powell is not a phenomenon but a symbol of fascism that the bourgeoisie can and will resort to when capitalism is in a crisis. If it was not Powell then there would be someone else. Powellism does not exist but the danger of fascism does and fascism cannot be fought with statistics.

## SUPPORT THE MAY FIRST STRIKE

All readers of INTERNATIONAL will have heard of the May First strike against the Government's anti trade union legislation. They should do everything in their power to ensure its success. The RSSF has decided to support the strike by making universities and colleges red bases on that day. This means turning the university's facilities over to local strikers for holding meetings, producing leaflets, etc.

The Workers' Control conference in Sheffield also went on record in favour of the strike and the setting up of local committees to ensure maximum support for the strike. These committees should be set up by the initiative of a trade union branch or local trades council.

Wherever possible meetings and teach-ins should be held, preceded by demonstrations. These meetings should not be mere platforms for rhetoric but serious discussions about the best strategy for fighting the Government's policies and going over to the offensive.

VOLUME TWO, NUMBER FOUR

APRIL 1969

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# THE FORDS' SETTLEMENT

According to various reports we have received there seems little doubt that the mass of Fords workers consider the recent struggle as a big victory. According to their shop stewards, they feel more confident and have a new-found sense of their own strength. This feeling can be understood: the settlement is much less onerous than the original Fords proposals; the "penalty clauses" have been drastically reduced; and most Fords workers will be materially a lot better off.

However, this approach is completely mistaken and the union negotiators must be criticised for agreeing to the settlement. Although the penalty clauses in the settlement were only a shadow of the original ones, an extremely important principle was conceded in allowing any penalty clauses whatsoever. It is clear from unity of the workers and their fighting spirit that if the strikes had been extended a complete victory could have been won. As is usual, the trade union leaders had been influenced by the Government's talk of the national interest being threatened.

Whilst this particular settlement is seen by most workers in Fords as a victory, it is a different matter for other sections of the working class. The Fords workers are highly organised and can defend themselves against

further encroachments. However, other sections are not in this position; with the penalty clauses being accepted at Fords AFTER a MILITANT FIGHT there is every possibility that they will now become a general feature of industrial settlements. It is no accident that a short time after the Fords settlement, Vauxhall management has proposed a penalty clause agreement. The docks' employers are trying to impose a similar pattern on dockers.

Thus a terrible responsibility lies at the door of the "left" leaders of the AEP and the TGWU. The left must subject them to criticism for this settlement not as the SLL and other sectarians who will see in this settlement a proof of the PERSONAL degeneration of these people, but a political explanation based upon a sociological analysis of their role. The basic thing wrong with these trade union leaders is that they lack a theory with which to construct an effective strategy to fight the Labour Government's policies. Militancy by itself is bound to lead to this type of settlement. An offensive anti-capitalist strategy is needed; this however, must have an organised focus to be effective. Thus whilst we criticise Scanlon and Jones for the Fords settlement the real answer to this problem is the building of a revolutionary organisation in the union movement.

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# THE PAKISTAN COUP

Bhutto says that he prefers the present regime in Pakistan to that of Ayub Khan; he also says that he is convinced that General Yahya "is sincere" and did not want to take power. He might try telling that to the increasing number of people being arrested in Pakistan for merely opposing the coup.

British socialists have an especial duty in relation to the situation in Pakistan; this country was a product of British imperialism in its desire to thwart the movement of the peoples of the Indian sub-continent towards national liberation. It is clear from all available evidence that the new regime will function, just as did the Ayub one, to a large extent as a protector of British investments in that country.

The FINANCIAL TIMES of March 26th reported: "Representatives of a large number of British companies operating in Pakistan have been 'gheraoed,' or placed under seige by their workers during the past months and forced to agree to wage increases averaging 15 per cent for their lowest-paid workers....It is understood, however, that the businessmen placed under seige were at no time in serious personal danger and few have even considered moving their families out of Pakistan since the

beginning of the current crisis.....

"Reactions to the seige tactics appears to have ranged from the subsequent abrogation of wage rise agreements on the grounds that they were extracted under duress to the filing of formal complaints with the Pakistan Government. Certain companies have managed to evade long-term commitments to their workers by the acceptance only of 'ad hoc interim relief' arrangements while others are planning to offset the newly granted increases against the next round of formally negotiated wage increases. In the meantime there is no sign that the political crisis has so far forced the withdrawal of any major British investment projects in Pakistan.....

"The total value of Britain's industrial and agricultural investment in Pakistan is believed to be between £40-£50 million, with the oil and gas industries leading the field and tea estates running a close second..... The capital value of the British tea estates, which produce rather more than half of Pakistan's annual tea crop of something over 60 million lbs. a year, is currently estimated at between £10-£15 million.

"British manufacturing investment has been moving into Pakistan at the rate of about £2



million a year during the past five years, and would normally be expected to continue at this rate until the 1970s."

Whilst it appears that the new regime has managed to regain control over large parts of West Pakistan, at the time of writing the situation is not so clear in East Pakistan. In fact it seems unlikely that General Yahya will be able to regain complete control over that province without large-scale repression.

We can expect Yahya's threats of whippings and ruthless suppression of opposition to be carried out.

We have a double duty in this country: firstly to help to create a defence organisation to help Pakistani victims of repression; and secondly to do all we can to help Pakistani revolutionaries to lay the basis of a revolutionary organisation, which in the present situation could play a decisive part in projecting the Pakistan revolution along a socialist path.

# LSE: WHAT HAPPENED

## PART 2 PETER WILKS

continued from the last issue/

The second trend argued that the issue of LSE was the proper concern of the student movement as a whole since the confrontation was the first real test of the 'hard line' national policy of the Vice Chancellors. From this it followed that the struggle should be extended, with as wide as possible representation on the political committees. The result was that ULU was occupied for 24 hours without any real sense of purpose.

I do not wish to minimise the very real problems entailed in the occupation of ULU; however, I do not believe they justify the decision to vacate the building. The decision to leave ULU was a turning point in that it marked the transition from offensive to defensive tactics. The actual decision was not made in a general meeting, but in an LSE Soc. Soc. meeting. In the discussion of the question in a general meeting later, it became clear that most of the LSE students present (not very many) intended to leave the building. Under these circumstances, without LSE's blessing, the other occupants decided they had no choice but to leave likewise.

The decision was a mistake because it was seen as a defeat by militant students in the provinces, and as a victory by right-wing "moderate" students. The DAILY TELEGRAPH had called in its editorial for the mobilisation of "sensible" students to restore order and discipline. This theme was later taken up by the NUS in agreement with the Committee of Vice-Chancellors. The evacuation of ULU took place at a time when the first of these groups materialised at ULU with the intention of throwing the militants out. As it happened there was no need, the building was voluntarily given up, but nevertheless for the Television, the press, ULU presidents and NUS, the organisation of "moderates" to defeat the left seemed to have paid off. Right-wing students rallied to oppose militants throughout the country. What had been a left initiative, now passed to the right.

In these circumstances hopes for a common front with moderate students at LSE did not materialise. The negotiations the following day at ULU were not successful. It is significant that not until Soc. Soc. took an aggressive line in the Union meeting did the moderates swing substantially leftward. The decision to vacate ULU, which was

in effect a decision to internalise the issue of LSE to seek common ground with the moderates, disorientated the solidarity movement, and this opportunity was seized by the right.

There are certain positive aspects of the right backlash, in that it shattered very decisively the consensus within university politics. In many places an important polarisation took place which was actually fought out in meaningful political terms. LSE raised the issues of student power, direct action, etc, and brought them before the attention of the entire student population; the offensive of the left meant that the students were forced to choose which side they were on. Though the results were often a formal victory to the right, important gains were made by the left.

The NUS has tried to capitalise on the reaction of the right and organise it around a common programme. NUS proposed the reopening of the school on the basis of "agreement with the principle of discipline supported by students throughout the country". The GUARDIAN of February 6th described it: "In effect, students are being asked to underwrite the NUS code of conduct agreed with vice-chancellors which recognises the need for discipline in any college or community, but insists that it should be fairly administered." SENNET, the ULU newspaper, which has consistently supported NUS policy (except when briefly captured by the left) went further, urging students to organise to discipline rebels themselves, and in one editorial advised Adams to sack Blackburn.

In conclusion, I would say that given the central role of LSE within British capitalism and its importance to the student movement as the key area of struggle, the LSE authorities are likely to be far more determined to defeat the militants than were their counterparts in the peripheral institutions of Hornsey and Guildford. We must remember that at both these colleges students' support for the struggle inside the college was complete, but on the other hand they were openly hostile to the idea of extending the struggle. In both instances, defeats were accompanied by massive victimisation and repression. Though it is pointless to speculate on the course of events which might have occurred had a more aggressive policy been adopted consistently in the LSE situation, a case can be made for saying that in the presence of a national strategy by the Vice Chancellors, a generally offensive national strategy was in order.





## REVOLUTIONARY CZECH YOUTH ISSUE MANIFESTO

(Editorial note: the following MANIFESTO OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT was published in a recent issue of LA GAUCHE, the Belgian revolutionary socialist weekly, edited by Ernest Mandel. According to the editors of LA GAUCHE, the REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH MOVEMENT developed out of the November student strike in Prague.)

Living in a social system where the capitalist mode of production and capitalist productive relationships have been abolished but where a democratic, socialist society has not yet begun to be built; and desiring to resist the abuse of communist ideals as well as to uphold the principle that it is our right and duty to struggle actively against all who have dishonoured and abused the ideals of communism, we proclaim the formation of the Revolutionary Youth Movement.

We are convinced that for the Czechoslovak people as well as for the people of the USSR and the so-called people's democracies, socialism cannot be achieved without destroying the bureaucratic machine as a social stratum and establishing a system of self-management. Self-management must be introduced in all areas of social life. At the point of production, self-management must take the form of workers councils exercising political and economic power. This self-management system will enable every worker to display his energy and creative initiative, it will create the essential pre-conditions for the scientific and technological revolution which will eliminate under-consumption and the social inequalities that flow from it. Self-management and its social consequences on an international scale will lead to the abolition of the state and the institutions connected with it.

The road our country travelled after January created the preconditions for such a revolutionary course. This development was interrupted by the armies of the five Warsaw Pact countries.

In light of the experience we have acquired in the course of the battles waged this year for socialist democracy, and especially our experience from August to November (editorial note: the period between the invasion and the big student strike), we are convinced that the working class will play the decisive role in this struggle. The students and youth, however, will have an important part to play. We view this revolutionary road as a permanent revolutionary process capable of influencing the course of the world revolution.

We are also convinced that:

(1) To wait passively for a "process of renewal" in the Soviet Union would be in direct contradiction to the duty of man, whose social mission, according to Marx, is to change and transform the surrounding reality.

(2) To restrict socialist activity solely to putting pressure on the party and state leadership would be politically shortsighted. Since August 26, when our party and state leadership took the path of complete capitulation to the Soviet leadership, we have seen fresh evidence every day confirming the correctness of our stand.

In the November struggles, a unity was achieved between the students and the workers that still remains firm. All our work will be directed toward consolidating this unity through mutual discussion on the problems of democracy. In this way, we will strive to broaden and deepen the revolutionary consciousness of the youth, the students, and the workers to maintain their unity in ideology and action, and to prepare ourselves for the confrontation with the reactionary forces. Our experience in the glorious days of August and in the great battles of November will assist us in this task.

We realize that it will be difficult - although not impossible - to wage armed resistance



against the enormous military potential of the occupying powers. Equipped with forms of struggle based on passive resistance, we are convinced that the struggle of the Czechoslovak people will not only not be defeated but will also deal hard blows to the bureaucratic regimes in Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and the USSR itself. This struggle can lead to political revolution throughout all the countries of the socialist bloc encompassing 300,000,000 people, liberate entire people, and thus inaugurate a new epoch of socialist construction. This process in the socialist bloc will also be accompanied by anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles in the Western countries. This dual process in the East and in the West, together with the revolutionary movement in the Third World, will lead us to the world revolution.

We have weighed the risks involved in the course on which we are engaging. We have, however, no other choice. The alternative offered to us by the pre-August leaders, who remain at the head of the party and the state and who still maintain their previous posture at least partially, leads nowhere. Their blind policy, bordering on adventurism, is of a kind to plunge our country into an ever deepening political, economic, and moral morass.

The struggle for the interests of the Czechoslovak people and working class, the struggle against all anti-socialist forces (the Soviet Army, the ever more influential capitulationist wing of our leadership, the right-wing faction of the Czechoslovak Communist Party with its fascist-like tendencies) unites us. And in this struggle we start from the consideration that the power and activity of these forces is illegal from every point of view, both morally and juridically.

The essential lines of our activities are as follows:

- (1) Creation of an organisational structure capable of serving as the basis for unity in action of students and young blue and white collar workers and for bringing their different points of view into confrontation.
- (2) Action, insofar as feasible, by other youth organisations of all types in the political, social, professional, and other fields.
- (3) Development of unity, without rigid organisational forms, with other youth through concrete political action.
- (4) Organisation of political discussions aimed at a broad public.
- (5) Dissemination and promulgation of political opinions and all political information by every means possible.
- (6) Study of the forms of anti-imperialist struggle in the countries of the Third World and the West, and of the activities of the "extreme left" with a view toward establishing contacts with all those who support these struggles.
- (7) Study, in the same way, of the activities of potentially revolutionary forces in the USSR and in the so-called people's democracies.
- (8) To accord factional rights, within the framework of the movement, to all tendencies that may develop, including the right to ally themselves with other factions in the movement as they choose.

The Revolutionary Youth Movement is open to all young people regardless of their political affiliation who agree with the principles set forth in this manifesto.

## No bans or proscriptions!

FROM PAT JORDAN, SECRETARY OF THE IMG

An alarming report has reached me from the IMG delegate to the March 29th meeting of the NJACWER. When discussing the coming May 18th demonstration on equal pay, the committee considered the problem of what to do in the case of people bringing along posters which were not related to the aim of the demonstration.

Julie Jacobs, a well-known member of the Communist Party, moved that such posters should be banned. Eventually this proposition was carried by a small majority.

The discussion then shifted to the thorny problem of how such a ruling should be implemented. When asked point-blank about this, Julie Jacobs replied that, if necessary, the police should be brought in to remove the offending posters.

All this is quite intolerable and it is to be hoped that NJACWER will reverse this decision.

It is quite wrong for anyone to argue that there should be political censorship on demonstrations

like this. How does one decide what slogan is in keeping with the aims of the demonstration? It is obvious that once one proceeds in this manner the way is open for all kinds of undemocratic practices.

The virtue of broad single-issue campaigns like the campaign for equal rights for women is that wide sections of people and organisations can be involved. The representation of many tendencies with different interpretations and nuances is a sign of strength not weakness. Of course, it is stupid if people bring slogans like "Long Live Chairman Mao"; but it shows a shocking lack of confidence if people argue that this has to be banned in advance. The correct thing is to have faith in the political judgement of the participants. The proposition for banning such posters is bureaucratic and extremely short-sighted.

However, the talk of calling in the police is far worse and needs a comment in itself.

It is unspeakable that such a proposition should

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# IN PLACE OF STRIFE: SOCIALISM

In reaction to 13 years of Toryism, British workers elected a Labour Government in 1964. Its policies weren't very exciting, but it looked as if things might improve a little. THEY HAVEN'T EVEN STAYED THE SAME!

Prices have gone up - wages have been controlled. Unemployment has reached levels not exceeded since 1940. Employers have got richer in comparison to the workers. (In 1966 the top 10% of the population owned 63% of the personal wealth, while nearly half the people over 21 have less than £500 to their name.) AND THE GAP HAS BEEN GETTING WIDER, NOT NARROWER, SINCE LABOUR CAME TO POWER. Now, even new house building is cut back, with the slum problem in the cities still unsolved.

From the incomes policy, to the wage freezes, to the Donovan Report, to "In Place of Strife", there have been more and more powerful attempts to attack the rights of workers' organisations.

IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT LABOUR GOVERNMENT POLICIES BENEFIT THE EMPLOYERS, ESPECIALLY THE OWNERS OF THE BIG COMPANIES, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE WORKERS. THERE HAVE NEVER BEEN SO MANY TAKE-OVERS; PROFITS HAVE GONE UP AND UP; THE MARKET IN SHARES HAS REACHED AN ALL TIME HIGH.

There is nothing in George Brown's discredited "National Plan" about any move towards removing the employers. Nor in the Donovan Report. Nor in "In Place of Strife". Nationalisation of steel has left the profitable sectors in private hands. The docks are to be taken over because owners of big firms are fed up with the inefficiency of the port employers. NOWHERE HAS ANY PROFITABLE INDUSTRY BEEN TAKEN OVER. None of the huge sums of public money spent has gone into building publicly owned factories - all of it has gone to help private employers out of their problems.

Anger and resistance has been slowly growing at all this. It has been aroused by "In Place of Strife" which attempts to curb workers' rights. But workers have no real political choice any more. Neither Tory nor Labour are working in their interests. Workers are having to use their INDUSTRIAL strength to defend themselves.

It all comes to this:

IN A COUNTRY WHERE THE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH IS IN THE HANDS OF AN UNDEMOCRATIC GROUP OF IMMENSELY POWERFUL, OFTEN INTERNATIONALLY BACKED EMPLOYERS, WORKERS CANNOT PROTECT OR ADVANCE THEIR INTERESTS THROUGH PARLIAMENT ALONE.

If we have to use industrial strength to defend the rights we have, we shall also have to use it to INCREASE those rights. That means to challenge the power of the great employers FROM THE FACTORIES as well as by voting. We need a campaign for WORKERS' CONTROL so that we can increase our rights as well as defend them. Unless we fight to control the production which creates the wealth of this country, any government we elect will, in the end, serve the interests of the people who do control that wealth.

\* Text of leaflet (slightly shortened for space reasons) distributed by the Glasgow branch of the International Marxist Group to demonstrators on the Anti-Incomes Policy march in that town on February 27th.

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be put forward by a person claiming to be a member of a marxist organisation. The use of the state machine against people on the left should be totally abhorrent to any socialist, let alone a marxist.

An illustration of the damage that can be done by this kind of attitude is shown by the aftermath of the March 1st Vietnam demonstration in Sheffield. The balance of evidence indicates most strongly that members of the CP collaborated with the police against demonstrators. The IMG believes that such charges should be thoroughly investigated by a broad committee of the Sheffield labour movement. However, we are opposed to such action as that of shouting down the General Secretary of the Communist Party, John Gollan.

The only socialist policy on such questions is that of allowing the greatest freedom on such demonstrations. The only slogans which should be banned are anti-working class ones and the implementation of the banning should be the job of the demonstrators - it is most dangerous to bring in the police even against fascists.

We should have a policy of opposing all bans and proscriptions in the labour movement and many of its activities. We are certain that the vast majority of the rank and file of the Communist Party (and not a few of its officials) will support us on this point.

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# VIETNAM, GND, AND EAST

## BY DR. MALCOLM CALDWELL

chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

The illusion that the Vietnam war is all but over is dangerously prevalent just now in the protest movement. It has to be scotched. More than ever before, the protest movement needs in reality to sharpen its vigilance, extend and broaden its activities, and re-discover the impetus and momentum it had acquired at its past peak. For the available evidence points to a most disturbing conclusion - namely that the U.S. under President Nixon, fresh to the burdens of office, is seeking in a colossal escalation finally to clinch that elusive military victory so long sought by his predecessors.

It is this message that the Vietnamese are currently pressing with urgency upon all movements and individuals who have supported them and their cause in the past. I have met and discussed matters with Madame Binh twice now - once in Paris, once in London - and she has talked of the unprecedented ferocity of the present American assault on South Vietnam.

At the same time, she fears that the Paris talks have lulled the world's protest movements into a false sense that their campaigning no longer has the relevance it once had. On the contrary, she points out that these movements are needed as much as ever before to keep up the sustained pressure upon the United States to stop the bombing of the South, to start real negotiations in Paris instead of using the talks simply as a screen behind which to escalate with impunity, and to get out of Vietnam - lock, stock and barrel, immediately, irrevocably and unconditionally.

That the Americans have escalated since November is unquestionable, despite the media blanket which has tried to hide this from the public. I.F. Stone has pointed out in his WEEKLY that after the bombing halt came into effect the NLF de-escalated, and thus afforded the Americans that token of reciprocity they had always said was all they needed to make meaningful talks a reality. From the end of the bombing of the North to the end of last year, the NLF launched only one battalion strength attack - while at the same time the U.S. and puppet troops carried out 1,683 - by their own figures - with the tempo increasing steadily. At the same time, the intensity of bombing also steadily mounted, to reach levels never before attained even in Vietnam.

This savage escalation behind the smoke-screen of Paris "peace talks" has entailed terrible suffering for the people of Vietnam, victims of "pacif-

ication" sweeps and of saturation bombing. The NLF could not but take action to defend the people, and it was for this purpose that there has recently been a succession of brilliant attacks on U.S. bases, destroying millions of pounds worth of war materials and putting out of service dozens of helicopters and aircraft. The hypocritical insincerity of the U.S. Government has again been flagrantly exposed. Now Nixon has solemnly warned that such attacks cannot be allowed to go unanswered, even threatening to resume bombing of the North. Thus, as the protest movement begins again to wake up to the real situation in Vietnam and Paris, he seeks to "justify" further steps of escalation - an escalation the Americans cynically and deliberately themselves initiated.

That Madame Binh's apprehensions about the protest movement have some foundation I can personally confirm. Up and down the country, meetings have been becoming less and less well attended, and supporters have been dropping out of the movement. It is of the very greatest importance that this drift be halted and reversed. For there can be no question that international protest was one of the factors that forced America to the conference table in the first place, smarting from their humiliating defeats during the Tet offensive. Johnson, a tired and prematurely aged man, shrank from the further steps his military advisors urged upon him.

Nixon, however, is a quite different proposition. He has ALWAYS been a hawk as regards Vietnam. In 1953 he told French troops at the front in Vietnam that they must never lay down their arms until victory had been completely won. In 1954, when the French faced certain defeat, he openly advocated sending American troops in, and two aircraft carriers were dispatched to Vietnamese waters carrying nuclear-armed planes (fortunately international opinion at government level prevented direct U.S. intervention at that time; however, as time showed, intervention was only postponed).

Now Nixon has his hands on the buttons of power. It is a fearful situation.

As for the present, we may leave it to the heroic NLF to hold and turn back the present ferocious U.S. offensive. This they will certainly do.

However, it will entail the continuation of the grievous sufferings of the Vietnamese people. Madame Binh has sent out a call to our movement in every land to exert every possible pressure at





our command to halt the American bombardment of the South, to get the Americans in Paris to stop their deliberate blocking tactics, and to force ignore. Our response to the shocking American escalation must be an escalation in protest. Thus, together with the courageous resistance of the NLF, which has inflicted tremendous casualties on the U.S. and puppet troops during the spring offensive, we can convert the last desperate search of the U.S. imperialists for a military victory into resounding military and political defeat.

This Easter, in the context of this critical situation, CMD is planning an ambitious nation-wide demonstration, ranging from Holy Loch on the northern leg, to Caerwent (a U.S. NATO base) in Wales on the southern. Our concern with Vietnam is of long standing. I have already mentioned the nuclear crisis there in 1954. In the last few years there have been several occasions when use of nuclear weapons in Vietnam has been seriously discussed by U.S. leaders. America has always declared that she would use nuclear weapons if she thought it was in her interest to do so. The danger therefore persists. Vietnam will in consequence be in the forefront of our campaigning at Easter (while at the same time we campaign against Polaris, NATO and CEW).

Now we have been assured by the Home Office that Madame Binh will be granted a visa to be with us at Easter. I want to say that we in CMD are very conscious of the debt we owe to VSC in particular and to the protest movement in general for the grant of this visa. We would therefore like sincerely to thank all parties concerned for their pressure on the Government over the years. Now that we have together won this victory, I am sure we can agree that Madame Binh must have the biggest possible audience. In particular, she must be faced with a giant crowd in Trafalgar Square when she speaks there on Easter Monday.

She has also agreed to address other meetings, if her visa and the Home Office permit. If our plans

are approved, she will be accompanied by a representative of the DRV (the Government has just refused the DRV a visa; one DRV representative was invited to accompany Madame Binh on her recent visit to address the Parliamentary Labour Party). I may emphasise here in passing that pressure on the Government to grant a DRV speaker a visa seems to me an extremely important task for the protest movement at this time. Details of the full CMD Easter demonstration may be had from 14, Gray's Inn Rd., London W.C. 1., but we hope that Madame Binh will speak at Newcastle, Coventry and Southampton as well as in London. Local groups should start working for the success of these meetings now (respective dates are 4th, 5th and 6th for Newcastle, Southampton and Coventry; Easter Monday is the 7th). But, these meetings apart, there is tremendous scope for effective demonstrations at several points along the two routes - we plan local activities at Glasgow, Edinburgh, Middlesborough, Fylingdales, Sheffield, Ruislip, Burghfield, Aldermaston, Salisbury, Porton, Bristol, Newport, Cardiff and Swansea as well as at the other places I've already named. Obviously, this is an ambitious undertaking. But in view of the circumstances, it must be made a success. In particular I hope that all sections of the protest movement, whatever their past differences, will turn up wherever Madame Binh speaks to demonstrate convincingly our solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

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# WORKERS' CONTROL= WORKERS' POWER

Sabina Mak

An increasing number of trade union militants are showing interest in the "Workers' Control" campaign - with the prospect that in the coming period it could well form the spearhead of a POLITICAL opposition in the unions to increased government attacks. This belated move is to be welcomed: but it immediately poses us, as Socialists, with the problem of what line to take which will help extend the movement beyond its present embryonic state and which will lead to a clear differentiation in the ranks of those already participating in it. These two tasks should be essentially complementary.

Although the "Workers' Control" campaign is capable of mobilising in the near future a sizeable section of militants on a political perspective, there is still great confusion in its ranks as to what exactly the aim of the campaign actually is and how to go about achieving it. The slogan is open to wide interpretations - certainly that of Jack Jones (sponsored by the Labour Party NEC to report to the 1967 LP Conference on the possibilities of "participation" in industry) differs from that of shop-floor stewards.

The fact that it has attracted supporters from such diverse areas of the labour movement shows that the campaign is already seen - from the various vantage points - as CENTRAL to the problems of the movement. It is also the source of the "confusion" and "haziness" about objectives which can generally be said to revolve around the blurred line still existing between the concepts of "workers' participation" and "workers' control". As socialists, our main task should be to try and draw a sharp, DECISIVE line between these concepts - to open the movement up beyond the reformist notions still cherished by the union hierarchies (who merely pay lip-service to the original aims of their organisations under pressure) and towards the revolutionary concepts of workers' "power". This is indeed the dividing line!

This precision of objectives is our central task at the present time because of the particularly pernicious role traditional trade union reformism can now play. It is no longer a question of a revolutionary attitude as opposed to a reformist one - which identifies "participation" with a form of piecemeal socialism. The present political climate, with increasing attempts to undermine the independence of workers' organisations, negates the PROGRESSIVE nature of such reformism: it turns it into its opposite. As BLACK EWARP quite rightly pointed out last year, participation in the mouths of the union hierarchy means object-

We must be quite clear about this. "Participation" - participation, that is, for the select union hierarchy to be integrated into management committees - only serves to further the subordination of the unions to the state UNDER SEEMINGLY MILITANT SLOGANS. This is, of course, why the Labour Party has made investigations into the question of "participation" - and why TRIBUNE accurately saw this as an attempt to "side-track" the labour movement from the real issue of "workers' control" = "workers' power". Perhaps they remembered the fiasco of "participation" which resulted from the "Joint Production Committees" set up in the early war years by the Coalition Government.

With a clearer differentiation on this question within the labour movement, it can be a main element in the radicalisation of sizeable numbers of trade unionists on a political perspective. It also helps open up, by means of this differentiation, the struggle for workers' democracy inside the unions (e.g., the call for electing trade union officials) and for the independence of these organisations from the state.

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## A hint of reality

JOHN PETERS

Every now and then a hint of reality pierces the shutters of the SLL print-shop, ruffling not a few political feathers. Such a case in point is the Czech tragedy of last year.

The pile of "all-purpose" slogans being sifted, tried and found wanting - our great "theoreticians" actually tried to come to terms with events. And what tragic results that brought with it (proving the old adage that the sectarian always falls into the trap he sets for others!)

Let's ignore the fluctuation, week by week, in their analysis - after all, we are dealing with "reality" - and concentrate on their political appraisal of the Czech C.P. during those tragic events (see FOURTH INTERNATIONAL vol. 5, number 3). To anyone unlucky enough to be initiated into SLL polemic, the usual yawn might just give way to a frown:

"The 14th Congress of the Czech C.P., an emergency congress, was held in a factory, under the protection of the working class. At this point the Czech C.P. disintegrated as a Party directly linked to Moscow by breaking its links with Moscow. It tended towards becoming a centrist party."



"...disintegration of the Czech C.P. and bureaucracy was leading in the 14th Congress to the formation of trends which were tending towards expressing the programme of the political revolution, an integral part of the world socialist revolution." (op. cit.)

Are we then to presume that the SLL - which refuses to see in Cuba a workers' state because Castro is not a bona fide member of the Fourth International - have been bitten by that very disease that they have so gallantly been trying to combat for the past 15 years?

The answer is probably much simpler. The campaign against "Pabloism" is really a campaign against that intractable reality they have such unfortunate encounters with, but which - from time to time - they are forced to acknowledge.

Not too inaccurate, you might think. The move towards political factions within the Czech C.P. did have this effect. But coming from the pen of our great "theoreticians" - who have devoted so much effort protecting the labour movement from

"Pabloite revisionism" - doesn't it sound a little strange?

When they mention that this move was introduced under the "pressure and resistance of the working class", doesn't it sound stranger still? After all, hasn't their great campaign against that mythical Pabloite revisionism been CENTRED round opposition to "The anti-marxist idea that 'mass-pressure' could change the essential nature of the bureaucracy; the anti-marxist idea that 'mass pressure' could force the bureaucracy to go along with the world revolution; the assumption that - again under 'mass pressure' - the communist parties could lead the working class to the conquest of power: it was against these Pabloite theories...that marxists...gave battle..." (LABOUR REVIEW, Volume 4, number 2, 1959).

Tut, tut, you might say remembering Trotsky's comment that the sectarian, buffeted by events, has the knack of making a 180 degree turn when necessary. But that isn't all. Oh no, our great "theoreticians" almost OUTDO in Pabloism their mythical Pabloite enemies:

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## A LOT OF OLD RUBBISH

SUE PASCOE

(Editorial note: Lambeth dustmen are in the news again: the Tory council has made public threats to sack certain of them because "they have not been working hard enough" since the strike. The following article, which was received just too late for inclusion in our last issue, is still relevant despite the strike being over, because it explains the issues involved in that strike.)

"The Lambeth dustmen have been striking again, It's shocking, all that rubbish piling up. Something should be done about it."

Yes, the Lambeth dustmen have been on strike! Yes, it IS shocking! But why did they do it? Do they enjoy living on strike pay of £4 per week? Of course not! No working man chooses to have to make ends meet on strike pay and collections from other workers' hard-earned wages, so what is it all about?

In 1959 a salvage agreement between the dustmen's union (T&JWU) and the council was drawn up making "totting" legal. However, the union agreed to a clause stating that the agreement could be terminated at one month's notice.

After a dispute in August 1968 between the dustmen and the Tory-controlled Lambeth Borough Council (the LBC was offering the men the basic daily wage for Saturday and Sunday working - clearing a backlog of refuse accumulated because of staff shortage, vehicle breakdowns, etc.) talks began on a new bonus scheme, but with no mention of totting.

Already, the dustmen were working a 25% work-studied scheme which had reduced their ranks by 54 men. The Council were now demanding a much higher rate of "productivity" which would reduce their ranks by a further 47 men. The dustmen also claim that the new productivity scheme would compel older men to give up the job - due to the

extra work load - and would shorten the lives of the younger men. At the same time the Council wanted to remove the right to tot.

The men told the Council that if it terminated the old agreement on these conditions, then the men would strike.

Up until January this year the Council refused to discuss totting, terminating meetings when this subject was raised. During these months the council had adequate time to prepare for any action by the men. Thus when it announced that as from 24th January the salvage agreement would end, and the men retaliated by striking, emergency refuse dumps were ready for use, and council buildings distributed disposable refuse containers.

The Council circulated all residents of Lambeth stating that the dustmen were striking because their right to tot was being removed and that, for them, £25 was not enough. No mention was made of the implications of the productivity items.

Certain Tory Councillors, who campaigned for election on a Powellite basis, came out at weekends to act as strike-breakers. The Council also employed scab labour to shift the ever-growing piles of refuse - with ever decreasing success.

The Lambeth dustmen found no difficulty in getting support from dustmen in other boroughs, who willingly supported them by token strikes. At a meeting held on 24th February, it was agreed, with the help of the Lambeth Trades Council, to hold a mass meeting to organise support from other employees of the Lambeth Borough Council. Shortly after this the Council offered the men the lump sum of £450 should they return to work under the new agreement.

It appears that this lump sum has proved a sufficiently large carrot to induce the men to return to work. The Council has bought the productivity deal for a cash payment, and as for totting, well, dustmen are paid to handle rubbish anyway.



# Marx on England & Ireland

(As part of the discussion as to what attitude socialists should take towards the struggle of the Irish people in Northern Ireland we are printing a letter by Marx to Meyer and Vogt. The latter were two German members of the North American sections of the First International living in New York. The letter was dated 9 April, 1870)

(We, of course, recognise that there have been great changes in the situation since this letter was written. Moreover, we never advocate the dogmatic reiteration of everything Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky wrote. But what concerns us is Marx's method. It is the concrete application of Marx's dictum: "The revolution must be made with solidarity; we learn this from the Paris Commune, which only fell because just this solidarity was lacking among the workers of the other countries." (VOLKSTAAT, October 2, 1872).)

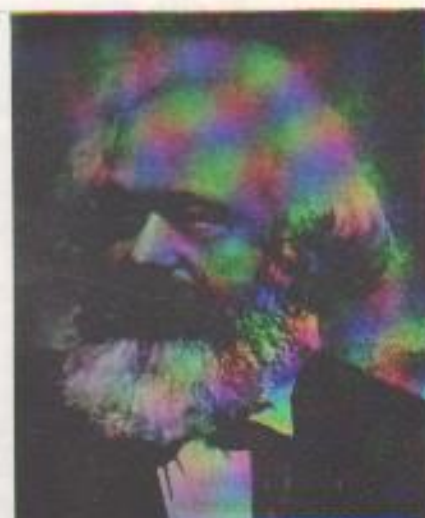
(We are firmly convinced that much which passes for marxism today would be utterly rejected by Marx, were he alive today. The left in Britain must learn the basic approach of Marx; otherwise it will make many mistakes, and not only on Ireland.)

After occupying myself with the Irish question for many years I have come to the conclusion that the decisive blow against the English ruling classes (and it will be decisive for the workers' movement all over the world) cannot be delivered IN ENGLAND BUT ONLY IN IRELAND. On December 1, 1869, the General Council\* issued a confidential circular drawn up by me in French (for the reaction upon England only the French, not the German papers, are important), on the relation of the Irish national struggle to the emancipation of the working class, and therefore on the attitude which the International Workingmen's Association should take towards the Irish question.

I will here only give you quite shortly the decisive points.

Ireland is the bulwark of the English LANDED ARISTOCRACY. The exploitation of this country is not only one of the main sources of their material wealth, it is their greatest MORAL strength. They, in fact, represent the DOMINATION OF ENGLAND OVER IRELAND. Ireland is therefore the great means by which the English aristocracy maintains ITS DOMINATION IN ENGLAND itself.

If, on the other hand, the English army and police were withdrawn tomorrow, you would at once have an agrarian revolution in Ireland. But the overthrow of the English aristocracy in Ireland involves and has as a necessary consequence its overthrow in England. And this would fulfil the prerequisite



for the proletarian revolution in England. The destruction of the English landed aristocracy in Ireland is an infinitely easier operation than in England itself, because the LAND QUESTION has hitherto been the EXCLUSIVE form of the social question in Ireland, because it is a question of existence, of LIFE AND DEATH, for the immense majority of the Irish people and because it is at the same time inseparable from the NATIONAL question. Quite apart from the passionate character of the Irish and the fact that they are more revolutionary than the English.

As for the English BOURGEOISIE, they have in the first place a common interest with the aristocracy in transforming Ireland into a mere pasture land which provides the English market with meat and wool at the cheapest possible prices. Hence they are interested in reducing by expropriation and forcible emigration, the Irish population to such a small number that ENGLISH CAPITAL, invested in land leased for farming, can function with "security". They have the same interest in CLEARING THE ESTATE OF IRELAND as they had in clearing the agricultural districts of England and Scotland. The £6,000-£8,000 absentee and other Irish revenues which at present flow annually to London have likewise to be taken into account. (Editorial note: this apparently refers to the average income of an absentee landlord.)

But the English bourgeoisie has also much more important interests in the present Irish regime. Owing to the constantly increasing concentration of farming, Ireland supplies its own surplus to the English labour market and thus forces down wages and lowers the moral and material position of the English working class. And most important of all: every industrial and commercial centre in England now possesses a working class population DIVIDED into two HOSTILE camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians.

The ordinary English workers hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish workers he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool the aristocrats and capitalists AGAINST IRELAND, thus strengthening their domination OVER HIMSELF. He cherishes religious, social and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor



whites" to the "niggers" in the former slave states of the U.S.A. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own coin. He regards the English worker as both sharing in the guilt for the English domination in Ireland and at the same time serving as its stupid tool.

This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, and pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. It is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite their organisation. It is the secret by which the capitalist maintains its power. And of this that class is well aware.

But the evil does not stop here, It continues across the ocean. The antagonism between English and Irish is the hidden basis of the conflict between the United States and England. It makes any honest and serious co-operation between the working classes of the two countries impossible. It enables the governments of both countries, whenever they think fit, to break the edge of the

social conflict by their mutual threats and if need be war with one another.

England, as the metropolis of capital, as the power which has hitherto ruled the world market, is for the time being the most important country for the workers' revolution, and moreover the ONLY country in which the material conditions for this revolution have developed up to a certain point of maturity. Therefore to hasten the social revolution in England is the most important object of the International Workingmen's Association. The sole means of hastening it is to make Ireland independent.

Hence the task of the "International" is everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with Ireland. The special task of the Central Council in London is to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that for them the NATIONAL EMANCIPATION OF IRELAND is no question of abstract justice or human sympathy but the first condition of THEIR OWN EMANCIPATION.

# Anguilla and the Left

The response of the left in Britain to the invasion of Anguilla was pathetic. Some sections tried to cover their passivity by treating the affair as a joke; others ignored the invasion completely. It was notable that those who have argued against over-involvement with Vietnam because it is not a British-responsibility were nowhere to be seen in the protests against specific and direct British gunboat diplomacy.

Yet Anguilla represents a classic piece of British colonialism and imperialism. It has been under British rule since the middle of the 17th century; the economy is controlled by two British-financed firms: the St. Kitts Sugar Factory (London) and the St. Kitts Sugar Factory (Basseterre); and it has been part of yet another Colonial Office devised federation. The conditions of the people - arising from three centuries of British exploitation are among the worst in the West Indies.

A large proportion of the male population has been forced to emigrate to Britain (their returned earnings forming a vital part of the Island's economy.)

The overwhelming majority of the population was completely opposed to being incorporated into the St. Kitts-Nevis Federation and justifiably felt that they were being further exploited by the corrupt politicians of St. Kitts. This was shown clearly in two referendums on the island, when the only people voting for association with the federation were non-Anguillans.

It is estimated that the total amount of money spent on the invasion was many times what had been requested - and turned down on economy



grounds - to develop the island.

The significance of the Government's action in ordering the invasion is that it reveals its true nature. The difference between the Suez invasion and Anguillan invasion is in scale not principle. The fact that Mr. Wilson has withdrawn from East of Suez is a sign of British imperialism's weakness rather than its change of heart.

The policy of the British left should be very clear:

- absolute opposition to the invasion and a demand for immediate British withdrawal;
- self-determination for the Anguillan people to determine what political form of Government they have;
- solidarity with the Anguillan people in any steps they take to oppose British occupation;
- a joint campaign with black organisations in this country against this vicious piece of imperialism.

At its conference in Manchester on March 23rd the RSSF decided upon the above policy which was proposed by supporters of INTERNATIONAL. It is not too late to do something to rectify the left's weakness on this question.



# UNITY AND SECTARIANISM

PAT JORDAN

There is a great desire for unity on the left today. This feeling arises basically from the contradiction between the needs of the left and its fragmented state. Everyone on the left recognises the need for a massive response to the attack by the Labour Government on the working class - on the other hand, all are aware that no single existing organisation is capable of organising that response. Indeed, the traditional organisations of the left, ranging from TRIBUNE to the Socialist Labour League, have all been discredited by their complete failure to respond to the challenge of the Wilson Government.

There is also an element of urgency in the situation: everything indicates that in not so long a time we will be confronted by a Tory Government, armed with Labour's legislation against the trade unions; and feeling confident because of the lack of any political challenge.

The feeling for unity has expressed itself in many ways: the adoption of a new technique (the all-inclusive ad hoc committee, pioneered by the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign); the creation of unifying campaigns and organisations, which allow different tendencies to work together (the VSC itself, the workers control campaign, RSSP, etc.); and, in a distorted way, the International Socialist unity offensive of last year.

Now we are to have a conference which will examine these experiences, attempt to generalise from them and chart the way for new initiatives to develop the process. The National Convention of the Left which is being held in London over the week end of April 25/27 in St. Pancras Town Hall.

First let me put the point of view of the International Marxist Group on united action committees (I have written extensively on this theme in the November, 1968, issue of INTERNATIONAL, comrades should read this for a more extensive examination of this question). We start from a profound conviction that the problem of carrying out a social transformation in Britain requires above all the building of a mass revolutionary party, capable of working out a strategy for the overthrow of British capitalism and skilled in the art of leadership of working class struggles.

We regard the present fragmentation of the left as arising from the lack of such a party. Once the process of building the mass revolutionary party proceeds beyond its embryonic stage - that is when a given tendency clearly established its hegemony in theory and practice - regroupment will commence.

It is difficult to predict in advance exactly what form this will take; but one thing is certain: at this point powerful pressures will generate within all left groups for unification of organisation - leaders who seek to stand in the way of that process will be assigned to the political dustbin.

From this point of view loose alliances in such campaigns as the VSC must be seen as temporary expedient arrangements to enable struggles to be carried out in the period before the revolutionary party is built. Such campaigns and organisations are necessary because NO EXISTING ORGANISATION IS CAPABLE OF LEADING THESE NECESSARY STRUGGLES.

For example, the fact that no existing left group was either strong enough or, on the other hand, willing to organise a mass campaign in Britain in support of the Vietnamese revolution made the creation of VSC necessary. Many of the problems of VSC can only be understood when this reality is grasped. Under "ideal" circumstances a Vietnam campaign would be one aspect of the activity of a mass revolutionary organisation. This organisation would make resources and cadres available for this campaign and would give it political stability. But "ideal" circumstances do not exist - and we cannot postpone the struggle until they do. In essence we can say that the comrades who conceived the National Convention of the left are seeking to do on a general basis what campaigns like VSC have done on particular issues.

First, it needs to be said that such an effort needs to be seen for what it is: a temporary and transitional organisation, existing only because as yet revolutionaries have not succeeded, as yet, in laying the basis for a revolutionary party.

Secondly, it must be pointed out that such a project is fraught with dangers. It is one thing to organise a campaign on a single issue such as Vietnam, where for revolutionaries the issues are so clear cut, but another thing once one attempts to cover a whole series of questions, each of which can give rise to political and tactical differences.

And thirdly, great stress must be laid upon the need for theoretical clarity in all we do. The British movement is cursed with a disregard for theory and the need for clear political positions - the disastrous consequences of such attitudes are around for all to see.

Sometimes those who struggle for such clarity are considered sectarian. In fact the truth lies in the opposite direction. Those who make such charges have a mistaken conception of sectarianism.

The most common mistake is to separate the politics of an organisation from its methods and even draw the conclusion that an organisation can have correct politics but sectarian methods. While the politics of an organisation and its mode of operation are not identical and can temporarily be in contradiction this cannot persist for any length of time.

A thorough-going analysis of sectarian organisat-



ions' policies will usually reveal that they have a wrong theory of the present political situation and a wrong theory of the relationship between the vanguard and the class.

The SLL, for instance, has held a "catastrophic slump" perspective for the British economy. In their documents they have even referred to five million unemployed and the disappearance of the middle class. This organisation has an idealistic theory of how consciousness of the working class changes: it behaves as though the constant reiteration of the charge of betrayal against all and sundry will enable the working class to lose its social democratic illusions.

Another symptom of sectarianism is the rigid viewing of all questions through the prism of the apparent needs of one's organisation. Campaigns and other struggles are then viewed entirely from the point of view of what results one expects to get in terms of growth of membership, sales of publications, etc., and not from the point of view of furthering the particular fight one is involved

in. A striking example of this kind of approach was revealed in certain organisation's attitudes towards the Vietnam campaign. Sections of International Socialism, for instance, argued that seeing Vietnam was no longer a burning issue IS should not mobilise for the March 16th demonstration. Of course, the exact opposite is the case - seeing that a combination of the Paris talks and mass media's handling of Vietnam news had lulled sections of the movement IT WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER for those who took the solidarity position to mobilise in support of the Vietnamese.

In conclusion it must be said that the National Convention of the Left can be useful in meeting the problems we have posed. It would be a big mistake, however, if it did not learn from the errors of the past. Elaborate structures are a mistake when one is merely building a transitional organisation. Unifying issues should be the theme of the discussions. No one should seek to make the loose organisational forms which emerge substitutes for the more serious business of building a revolutionary marxist organisation.

## BOOK REVIEW Mike Martin

The publication of the first four in a new series of booklets of interest to socialists deserves some attention. The series is entitled "Perspectives on Work, Welfare, and Society", is published by Sheed and Ward, and edited by Ian Clegg.

The price in each case is a little high at 5/-. The series is described as "a new attempt to analyse these developments (the crisis in British society) from a socialist standpoint." In fact, rather than representing a new analysis the series is useful as a presentation in outline of some basic socialist ideas, and as an introduction to the various subjects in a form which should appeal to readers newly drawn to them.

### (1) INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY written by Ian Clegg.

This deals with the theory and the practice of industrial democracy; its conclusions are very much in favour of workers control as a concept very different from the various forms of participation. In fact "participation" is seen (correctly) as an attempt to wean workers away from socialism, as a mystification. An outline history of socialist ideas on industrial democracy is given and this is briefly contrasted with the capitalist view of industrial democracy as a way of increasing productivity and profitability.

The authors illustrates his argument with a description of the various forms of participation in the USA, Britain and West Germany, and of the experiences of Yugoslav, Polish, and Algerian workers.

### (2) A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT written by Logie Barrow.

This booklet is very much an outline account of the development of the Trade Union movement in Britain, and of the socialist ideas and movements which developed with it. In a pamphlet of under

sixty pages it is inevitable that the account will be sketchy, but given the useful bibliography, it serves a purpose as an introduction to the subject.

### (3) CLASS AND POWER

Written by Diana Marquand and Ian Clegg.

The authors here concern themselves with reasserting some basic socialist concepts of class and refuting various anti-socialist arguments which gained some currency owing to the widespread illusions that in modern British capitalism wealth was being more equally distributed. The refutation is based on well-chosen statistical evidence to which a substantial part of the booklet is devoted.

Important information is given to illustrate the fact that the distribution of wealth and property has become LESS equal over the last few years. Figures cover the social basis of the Civil Service and of Parliament, and the inter-relationships of major companies. A weakness is perhaps the absence of an account of the tendency in modern capitalism towards internationalisation of major industry, most notably the car industry. However, this does not detract from the usefulness of the figures given on inequality, which is the main theme of the book.

### (4) UNIONS AND STRIKES

written by James Hinton.

A brief description of the main unions and the main trends in the movement, which pays some attention to the differentiation between the leaderships and rank and file, and the relationship between the unions and the state.

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N.B.: We have had a very good response to SOCIALIST WOMAN, many of those writing in have expressed interest in the idea of forming a Socialist Women's Committee in their area. Already there are groups (not all with same name) in towns and universities up and down the country). We would be very happy to give assistance to these groups and to anyone else who would like to form a group. Please contact us.