

Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Miners show the way to kick out Tories

WE'RE ALL A SPECIAL CASE

THE TORIES CAN BE BEATEN—that is the message from the miners' great wages breakthrough last week. Militancy, solidarity and determination at rank and file level brought this big business government to its knees.

A tougher union leadership prepared to hold out for a few more days could have routed Heath and company completely. Gormley and Daly were not prepared to do that. But although the final settlement was a compromise it was 90 per cent on the miners' side and marked the greatest industrial defeat suffered by any government since the war.

The miners' victory must be the springboard for the rest of the trade union movement. From now on, 20 per cent must be the only 'norm' acceptable to workers.

Railwaymen, teachers, building workers, London busmen, general printers, nurses, textile workers and agricultural workers—all have crucial pay talks coming up.

Industrial power

And every one of them is a 'special case'. Like the miners, they have seen their wages and salaries decline in recent years as a result of government policy and weak union leadership. Railwaymen, like miners, have seen thousands of jobs lost through productivity bargaining while farm workers are claiming a minimum of £18—the same as the miners' before the strike.

And like the miners all these groups can win substantial increases if the rank and file mobilise and use their industrial power to hit big business where it hurts. Teachers and nurses must seek support from industrial workers if they are to succeed.

The miners have shown where the real power of the working class lies. It was the picketing and support from other trade unionists that forced the Tories to retreat, not backing from the official trade union movement. In six short weeks, the miners proved that the Tories anti-union laws, which came into full effect this week, can be brushed aside.

by the Editor

Vic Feather and the General Council of the TUC organised no national action to support the miners. They knew that a stoppage by 10 million trade unionists could have brought the government down. But they are dedicated to working within the capitalist system and refuse to take such action.

The successful settlement has also shown up the spineless leaders of the power unions, like Frank Chapple, who surrendered to the government's wages 'norm' rather than take industrial action.

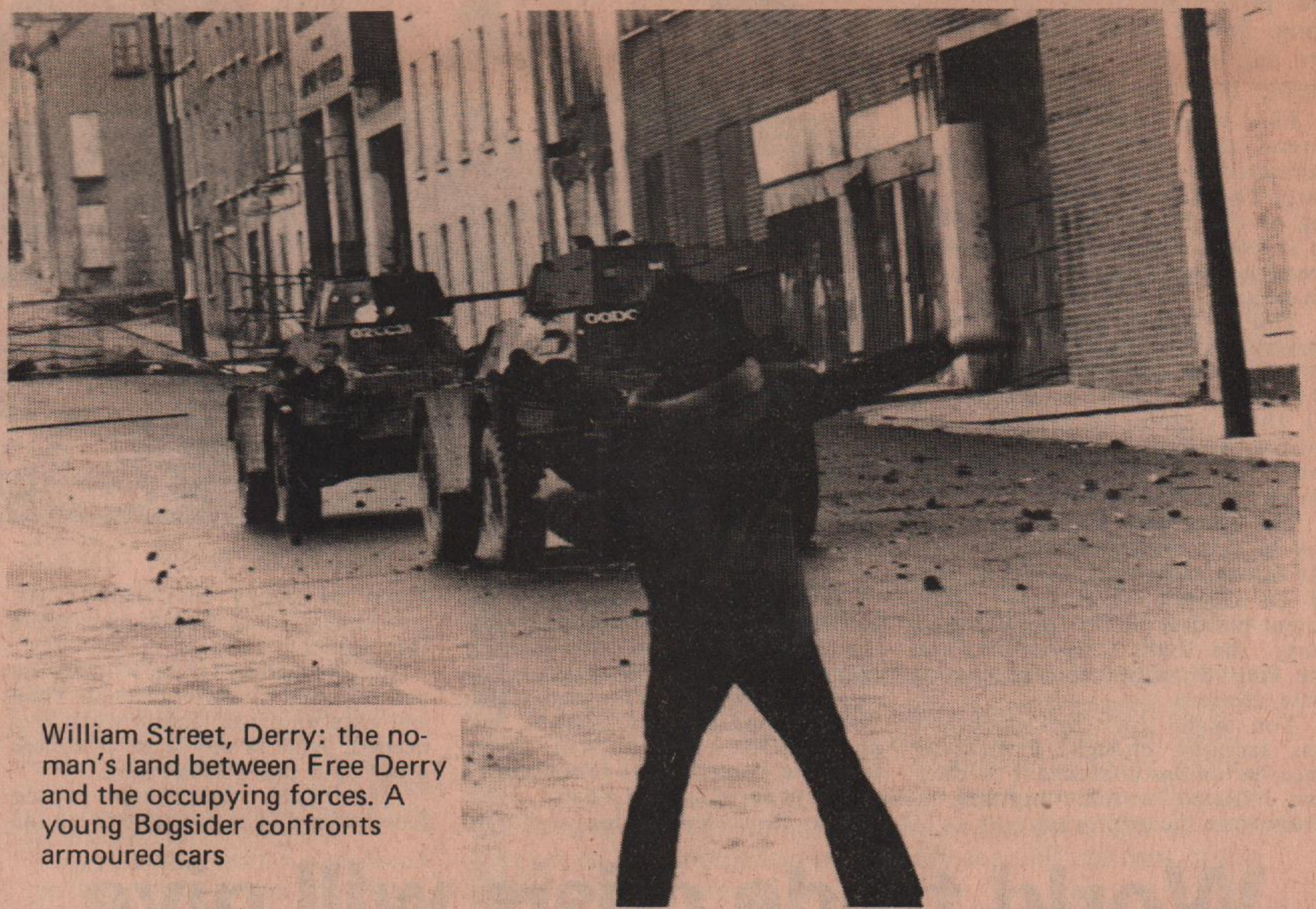
There must be no complacency as other groups of workers put in their pay claims. The government has lost a battle but is determined not to lose the war.

It will fight with all its power to resist any further pay breakthroughs. It is under enormous pressure from its paymasters, big business and industry, who were badly rattled by both the miners' strike and the upheaval in parliament on the Common Market vote.

Heath is determined to drive down workers' wages and conditions in order to boost profits. One partial defeat will not deter him from that road.

He will be driven from office only if the great strength of the working-class

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William Street, Derry: the no-man's land between Free Derry and the occupying forces. A young Bogsider confronts armoured cars

Army grabs our cameraman—held for six hours

FREELANCE photographer George Snow, commissioned to take pictures for Socialist Worker in Northern Ireland, was grabbed by the British Army in Derry last week after taking pictures of a clash between Bogside and troops.

He was held for more than six hours and was interrogated by the army, the Royal Ulster Constabulary and Special Branch. His picture was

taken and he was asked detailed questions about 'rioters', local organisations and the IRA.

The film in his camera, with shots of soldiers coming to take him in for questioning, was destroyed, but he was able to save the pictures of earlier clashes. Socialist Worker congratulates George on his refusal to be intimidated by the uniformed defenders of 'freedom'.

ALDERSHOT EXPLOSION

TUESDAY's bomb explosion in Aldershot has been condemned by a hypocritical press that supports the daily slaughter and terror by the Tories' troops in Northern Ireland. The Aldershot tragedy must not deter socialists from their struggle to end Britain's domination of Ireland.

The Official wing of the IRA, which has accepted responsibility for the explosion, has done nothing by this act to weaken the Tory government and its commitment to maintaining a police-state rule in Northern Ireland.

A policy of individual terrorism has nothing in common with the socialist aim of building a mass working-class movement to smash the Tory government, its state and its specialised units of highly-trained killers.

But while the Tories continue to send troops to imprison without trial, to tear apart the houses of ordinary working people, to deliberately and cold-bloodedly shoot unarmed civilians, then, in blind desperation, groups of Irishmen will try to get their revenge. Heath, Maudling and Faulkner planned the Derry massacre. They must bear the blame for the senseless retaliation on Tuesday.

The Tories have condemned this bloodshed. If they were not hypocrites, they would end the bloodshed tomorrow by releasing the internees, withdrawing their troops and leaving the Irish people to determine their own futures.

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MINES SETTLEMENT: ANALYSIS BACK PAGE

WORLD NEWS

BRIEFING

Graveyard party wakes up to Women's Lib

WHAT is behind the campaign of Shirley Chisholm for the Democratic Party nomination in the American presidential elections? The very idea of a black woman presidential candidate may sound revolutionary, but a glance at the American political scene shows that the Chisholm campaign is far from heralding revolution.

The Women's Liberation movement in the US has enjoyed much success and even more publicity, but has so far lacked politics. The National Women's Political Caucus is trying to remedy this. But the politics it offers are Democratic Party politics, and that party is committed heart and soul to the capitalist system.

Its main aims are more women in public office, equal job opportunities, better welfare services and reform of the abortion laws. As a Democratic member of Congress, Shirley Chisholm moved the recent Equal Rights Amendment to abolish sex discrimination in employment.

But the amendment mainly benefits professional women, and not even all of these, for universities are excluded. Working class women will be worse off. By establishing formal legal equality between the sexes, the new law will allow employers to annul previous

by Norah Carlin

protective legislation won by working women, such as for meal breaks, rest rooms and limitation of overtime.

The other measures supported by Shirley Chisholm in Congress are equally weak. Abortion law reform has so far made abortion available only for those who can afford to pay high fees. The Democratic proposal for child care centres is to be financed by taxes falling most heavily on the working class.

Legal fiction

The Democratic Party has been called the graveyard of popular causes. Trade unionists, the black movement, student protest and now women's liberation have been invited to put their faith in candidates for the Democratic nomination, while real struggle is played down.

The most popular candidates, like Eugene McCarthy

four years ago, have usually failed to win the nomination, but their supporters have been roped into the Democratic Party.

There is already a tone of defeatism about the Chisholm campaign. 'I'd like them to say Shirley Chisholm had guts. That's how I'd like to be remembered,' she says.

The Democratic Party has no mass membership and fights no mass struggles. The primary elections to choose a candidate are a legal fiction. It is controlled by the notorious party bosses, such as Mayor Daley of Chicago, tied to big business.

Compared with the other big business party, the Republicans, the Democrats specialise in reform. But there can be no doubt that its reforms are intended to safeguard the capitalist system, not to destroy or even superficially change it.

The Women's Liberation movement needs politics, but the politics of class struggle for the liberation of all the oppressed by the overthrow of capitalism, not the false sense of involvement produced by a defeatist campaign tied to a party of big business.

THE racist nature of American society extends to the US forces fighting in Vietnam. Thirteen per cent of troops there are black; but blacks make up more than 18 per cent of casualty figures. And only just over three per cent of officers are black.

It has long been suggested that black soldiers returning from Vietnam would use their military skills to fight for their own rights. A survey conducted by the Harvard Computer Centre shows that such predictions are likely to be fulfilled.

Of the black soldiers questioned, only 14 per cent said they would unconditionally accept orders to put down black rebellion at home. Almost half said they would definitely refuse such orders. And nearly half said they would be willing to use weapons in the struggle for equal rights.

WHILE the people of Bangladesh starve, Indian Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi is doing quite nicely for herself. At a public meeting attended by more than 200,000 people in January she was presented with a fat cheque, and with silver slabs weighing 1076 kilogrammes—20 times her own weight. The gift was on behalf of the people of Assam. When press photographers asked Mrs Gandhi to lift one of the slabs, she declined, saying it was too heavy.

THE Swedish Metalworkers' Union may have to sue the Russian-owned Matreco company to enforce a collective agreement.

Matreco, a sales subsidiary in Sweden for Russian cars, ignored a union shop provision in the contract and hired unorganised workers. When the union became aware of this, it demanded an undertaking, which the Russian director refused to give, that the non-union workers would be the first to be laid off if there were cut-backs.

The union has decided to bring the case to the labour court if negotiations break down. Under Swedish law, the company will have to pay damages to the union.

Local president Silvert Andersson explained: 'You can't negotiate with the Russians. A general manager in Moscow is taking all the decisions. The Russian firms follow the same policy as American and other multinational firms in Sweden.'

Holger Olsson, national officer of the union, commented: 'The Russian director seemed amazed that a trade union had something to say in this matter, and that there was such a thing as a labour court'.—from IUF News Bulletin, December 1971.

GEORGE MEANY, leader of the US trade unions, has never had much of a record as a militant. But in a recent magazine interview he has taken his views to their logical conclusion and called for an end to strikes altogether. He says: 'Years ago, you put people on strike who were making 50 cents an hour. That's all you, the union, had to make up: 50 cents an hour. You could go begging and you could get food. You could keep them going.'

'But now the workers have a little home; they may have a couple of kids going to college. You put them on strike—they're overboard within a week. So we would like to eliminate strikes just on that basis alone.'

THE Greek General Directorate of Public Security has issued a new list of books which booksellers are to be 'discouraged' from selling. As well as such obvious authors as Brecht, Marcuse and Isaac Deutscher, the list contains a surprise.

The Turning Point Of Socialism, by Roger Garaudy, who was expelled from the French Communist Party, is included. The reasons given are that 'the author has broken with the French Communist Party and the book contains attacks on the Soviet Union'.

VORSTER, the Prime Minister of South Africa, has ordered an investigation into four liberal organisations, the National Union of South African Students, the University Christian Movement, the Christian Institute, and the Institute of Race Relations. He has turned down their request that the investigation be held in public in the Supreme Court.

BIG INDIAN UNIONS AGREE TO BAN

Special report from John Ashdown in Bombay

INDIA is preparing for state elections next month, but while the politicians make promises, some interesting developments are taking place in the Indian labour movement.

Like many countries, India has several trade union federations, each associated with a different political party. The three largest, at the prompting of the government, have agreed to ban strikes in so-called 'sensitive areas' or departments in any plant on strike.

This astonishing agreement means that workers in struggle should voluntarily give up their sharpest weapons. It is part of a general programme by all three unions to prevent competition between themselves, and to avoid conflict with the bosses 'in the interests of national development.'

The agreement is not based on any kind of working unity between the unions; rather it is the by-product of an alliance between the three parent political parties—the Congress Party, the Right Communists, and the Praja Socialists—for the coming state elections.

You might think this agreement was fantastic enough. Particularly since the unions conceded it on their own initiative without anything in return from the employers.



Police in India launch a tear-gas attack on strikers' wives doing picket duty

The Minister of Labour and the employers expressed satisfaction at the agreement, then the Minister immediately raised his demands. He reminded the trade union leaders that Prime Minister Mrs Gandhi had appealed for a ban on ALL strikes for three years; and he told them to set about securing such a ban.

The three federations would no

doubt be happy to oblige, if the government could protect them while they did its work for it.

But fortunately Indian workers are not so easily straight-jacketed. They will take unofficial action when it is needed. And in any case there are other trade union federations.

The Left Communist union federation, CITU, has denounced the

agreement. The Left Communists face continuous police attempts to demoralise them and to wipe them out physically. CITU claims that in West Bengal alone 250 trade unionists have been murdered over the last two years.

But the threat of a CITU appeal to workers of the other three federations makes the leaders of these unions remain cautious.

There has been increasing unofficial action recently simply because the big federations refuse to fight. Two major battles in Madras recently took place outside the union federations. In one, the ruling party of Madras state, DMK, tried to muscle in on the federations and build its own trade union federation.

But the leaders of the new DMK union were too quick to sell out to the bosses. There was a mass revolt by the workers, and the DMK was forced out of the factories.

Delegates from sixty Bombay textile mills met last summer to try to create a federation of independent mill committees for the struggle. In practice nothing much came of it. Nevertheless it marked an important change.

If a rank-and-file movement with real organisation in the factories existed, it might force the revolutionaries to stop using the trade unions as pawns in middle-class politics, and make them start shaping their politics to fit the real interests of workers. Then the workers really would be able to prevent the carve-up between the three major federations.

World trade crisis will give Japan's militants a chance

by Edward Crawford

THE THREAT of 'Japanese competition' is often waved at British workers fighting for better conditions. We hear rather less about the traditions and struggles of the Japanese working class.

Japan was industrialised later than Western Europe. Early attempts at working-class militancy were all smashed by the police.

The ruling class were all ex-samurai warriors, and they regarded such things as trade unions in the same sort of way that their grandfathers regarded rebellious peasants. The normal punishment for rebellion was crucifixion. Photographs exist today showing rebels tortured to death in this way in the 1860s.

It was only in the 1920s and 1930s that a large working class, including many skilled workers, developed. Between 1914 and 1938 industrial production increased by more than five times.

But even then the workers were held in check, partly by filling their heads with rubbish about patriotism and the Emperor;

and partly by the Kempeitai, the dreaded secret police.

Some other clever dodges were used to prevent the growth of militancy. In the big plants all workers were divided into two categories—'established' and 'unestablished'. The established workers, who were in the majority, were never sacked or laid off. So the unestablished carried the whole burden of changes in economic conditions.

All established workers got regular increments of pay every year until they retired; they also got big annual bonuses, amounting to two or three months' pay.

Any established worker who joined a trade union or caused trouble of any kind ran the risk of at least finding himself without bonus. So the labour force was neatly split.

The big, heavily capitalised firms were closely linked to the banks in the four great monopolies. Their output did not vary much, except upwards; so they could

put the main burden of unemployment on to the mass of small firms to which they subcontracted.

Now, however, the situation has started to change. There are not many peasants left, so any further growth has to come from absorbing small firms. As a result the bargaining power of the working class will grow; so we must expect the ruling class to take measures to counter this.

After the recent revaluation of the yen, the average wage for men in manufacturing industry is about £70 a month, with an annual bonus of £150 to £200. Outside manufacturing, wages are rather higher, about £100 a month.

But the recent crisis in world trade will cause Japanese industry to cut back production. The main burden will still fall on the small firms and the unestablished workers; but if the big firms have to lay off established workers and managers a new situation will develop.

In this situation the revolutionary groups in Japan will have new possibilities for mobilising wide sections of workers around class demands.

GRAMSCI:

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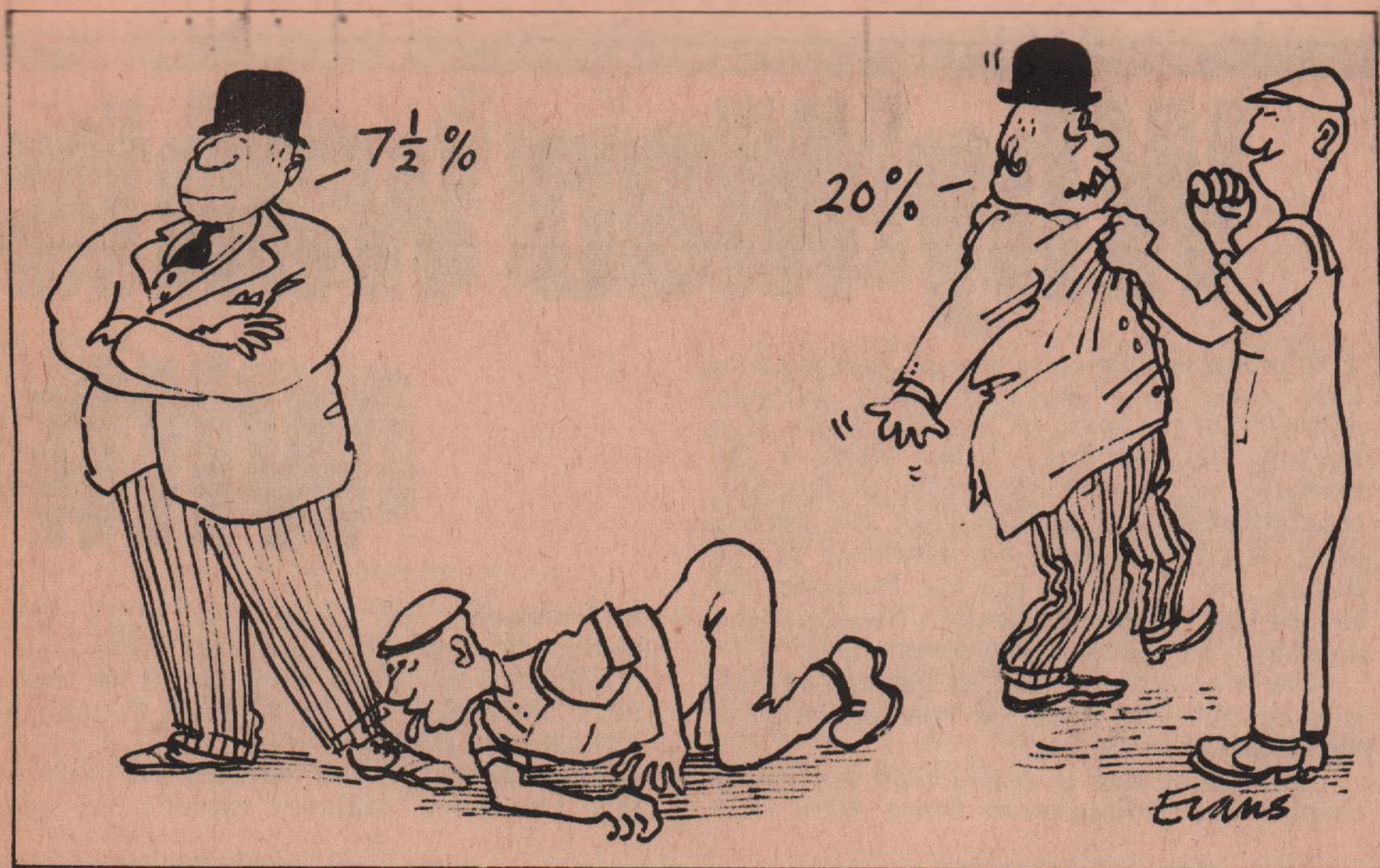
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COTTONS WARS

Stop press

OUR FREE PRESS is very much a bloodhound with rubber teeth these days. Both the Sunday Times and The Observer prepared major features on the Derry massacre last month that had to be spiked when the government set up the Widgery Tribunal. Articles commenting on the Derry events would have laid the papers open to legal proceedings for 'contempt'.

A number of commentators pointed out that it didn't say much for our powerful, fearless newspapers if they knuckled under as soon as Lord Widgery wagged his finger. What they didn't know was that, far from wagging his finger, the astonished Widgery found the press bloodhounds panting and begging to be banned.

The Sunday Times Insight team had produced one of their mammoth, 20 million word sagas on Derry. When fearless editor Harold (the miners must not win) Evans became aware of the legal problems caused by the setting up of the Tribunal, he personally rang Widgery and said would his lordship not be happier if the article did not appear.

Well, replied the astonished lord, actually he supposed he would be happier. Much relieved, Evans then rang his opposite number on The Observer, the Hon David Astor and told him the Sunday Times would not be running its Derry piece.

In that case, quoth Astor, neither will we. A decision which caused some last minute panic in Printing House Square.

A somewhat upside-down version of these events has seeped out into Fleet Street to justify the surrender of these two proud and independent papers. Sunday Times journalists were a little surprised to read Harold Evans' vitriolic letter in last week's New Statesman in which he justifies his right not to comment on Derry because of the Tribunal and says: 'For the record, we did not last Sunday have the full detailed account of 'the army's behaviour', still less of all that had gone on in Londonderry that day. We still do not have it. Nobody has.'



JONES: feeling blue

Nobody, that is, apart from the Sunday Times staff who have galley copies of the Insight report wrenched out of the paper at the last moment.

Jack's back

MILITANTS worrying about the disappearance of the 'left-wing' general secretary of the Transport Workers Union during the recent confrontations between Capital and Labour can now rest easy. He has been preparing for a new venture for the trade union movement: big adverts in the press are announcing the first concert tour by... Jack Jones.

We understand he will be singing such Duke Ellington favourites as 'Do Nothin' Till You Hear From Me' and 'I'm Beginning To See The Light'.

TALES BY CANDLELIGHT (1): A militant draughtsman, unemployed for 10 months on Clydebank, finally got a job in a small, unorganised engineering firm. On his second day he asked the man next to him if he could borrow some drawing instruments. 'Help yourself,' was the reply.

Opening the drawer, our hero was surprised to see a large candle lying next to the instruments. 'What's that for?' he asked.

'That's for when you're working late,' his mate replied. 'They turn the lights out at 10 o'clock'.

TALES BY CANDLELIGHT (2): Staff at Burnley Public Library, already staggered to find they're expected to stay open until 7 at night during power cuts, were even more astonished to find that they were issued with one candle apiece—and they had to sign for them. So far, matches have been distributed to each according to his needs...

Omo sapiens

MERSEYSIDE multi-millionaire, Lord Leverhulme, well known for his charitable works, has sacked his gardener and evicted him and his wife from their tied cottage. The crime committed by George and Sybil Gore is that when George applied for the job he stated that he was legally married to Sybil. In fact she was his common law wife.

For two months since the eviction,

George and Sybil have been forced to live in a mini van as the local Tory controlled council refuses to rehouse them. The van is damp and unhealthy and, as a result, Sybil has twice been taken to hospital. Meanwhile the Gore's £300 worth of furniture has been rotting in Leverhulme's grounds.

It is understood that Lord Leverhulme, in his capacity as advisory director of the giant Unilever soap firm, is seeking ways to develop a new brand of enzyme washing powder. It is hoped that this will inflict an especially painful form of skin disease on those users who are infringing points of the good lord's stern moral code. The name of the new powder is likely to be 'Scourge'.

DATA, the former draughtsmen's union, is now known as the Technical and Supervisory Section of the AUEW, and its journal's name has been changed from DATA to TASS. A wag writes in the current issue that although the political affiliations of some of the executive councillors are well known, is that any reason for the journal to be named after the Russian news agency?

Swan song

A NOBLE victory for the working class on Tynesdie. Alderman Bill Rickleton, chairman of Wallsend education committee and a full-time official of (yes, you've guessed) the General and Municipal Workers Union, moved at a council group meeting of Wallsend Labour Party that the freedom of the borough should be given to three staunch friends of the proletariat: William Leech, house builder, Sir John Hunter of Swan-Hunter shipbuilders, and a Mr Mann of Victor Products.

The recommendation went before the full council meeting from which Rickleton, MacFadyen, the Labour group chairman and six other Labour toilers, absented themselves. The Labour group secretary, bound by majority decisions, was forced to move the nomination and his comrades, including embarrassed shipyard boilermakers and engineers, had to raise their paws in support.

The only public protest came from the wild left of Wallsend Liberal Party and Labour veteran Herbie Bell, who has since been threatened with expulsion. Certain vicious tongues have put it about that Bro Rickleton is anxious to succeed to the chairmanship of Wallsend Labour Party when MacFadyen retires.

A few years' ago the party stalwarts refused to honour the memory of Jimmy Stewart, the socialist Clydesider, who founded Wallsend Labour Party more than 40 years' ago, thus breaking the grip of the Liberal Party on the working-class vote.

Socialist Worker

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Deathbed conversion to 'incomes policy'

NOW THAT THE MINERS have taken Ted Heath's advice and stood on their own two feet, knocking Heath's pay norm out of the ring in the process, the millionaire press has begun to discover the virtues of conciliation, co-operation, industrial peace and the mixed economy.

The Heath philosophy was 19th century liberalism—no lame ducks, the bracing winds of competition and the weakest to the wall. Of course it was never intended to apply all this to big business. Rolls-Royce was rescued and the biggest and lamest of all—Concorde—was nourished with endless subsidies. In fact modern monopoly capitalism cannot exist without continuous state intervention and regulation.

What was intended was the use of the reactionary ideology of 'free enterprise' as a smokescreen to cover up the attack on welfare services and real wages. In this the employers and their government had a great deal of success. They got away with successive welfare cuts and last year average real wages were reduced too.

As last week's International Labour Office report shows, average money wages increased a fraction more than prices in 1971, but the effect of tax and welfare changes was to cut average take-home pay. And that of course is for employed workers. When we add in the loss of earnings to the rapidly increasing number of unemployed workers, the reduction in real terms of what the bosses actually had to pay out to the working class was pretty substantial.

Heath was a success. He had not lost a major confrontation until the miners beat him. The miners' victory was not unqualified. There is no doubt that with a more determined leadership they could have won their full claim for Heath was on his knees. Nevertheless it was a victory, and a big one. The miners have driven a coach and horses through the pay norm. That is why we are now hearing about an 'incomes policy' once again.

The great beauty of the incomes policy swindle, from the point of view of our rulers, is the illusion of 'fairness' that can be developed around it. As long as the straightforward union-bashing, 'stand firm and not an inch given' strategy shows results, big business has no time for 'conciliation'. Thus the postal workers were battered into submission.

Sense of fairness

When the unity and solidarity of important groups of workers makes the outcome unfavourable to the profiteers, important voices, who yesterday applauded firm government, begin to deplore 'the law of the jungle' and point to the plight of nurses, old age pensioners and so on. What is needed, they say, is a just and equitable system of payments that will do away with the need for all these strikes.

There is no doubt that this propaganda meets a ready response among many groups of workers. The very sense of fairness that is deeply embedded in the outlook of the best sections of the working class makes them the more ready to listen to this siren song. The whole notion of 'every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost' is deeply offensive to millions of working men and women. So why not an incomes policy?

The first point to grasp is that what is being talked about is really a wages policy. There are, broadly speaking, two sorts of people: There are those, the vast majority, who depend on wages and salaries. And there are those, a tiny minority, whose income comes in the form of profits, rent and interest. This minority more or less owns Britain—10 per cent of the population owns more than 80 per cent of the wealth. They are doing very nicely.

A glance at the business section of a well known Sunday paper shows these titbits: 'Ladbroke makes counter offer for Caister confirming our view that the earlier bid was too low. Shares now up 175 per cent.' 'Higher profit forecast for Bernard Wardle helps shares to a 64 per cent gain.' 'Inchcape half year profits up 55 per cent.' And so on and so on. No talk of 8 per cent norms here.

Capitalist governments exist to protect and further the interests of Caister, Wardle, Inchcape and the like. They exist to keep down that share of the wealth which workers produce that is actually paid to the working class and to increase that share which goes to the owners of industry.

Any incomes policy under capitalism is a device to persuade workers to accept the system of private profiteering and exploitation. There is an alternative—a system based on production for human need, not for profit.

The first step towards it is to get rid of this big business government. That requires a fight on many fronts, but the wages struggle is the key one. The miners have rocked the Heath government. A series of such defeats, defying the Industrial Relations Act, can bring it down.



Pay pickets' fines

IF THE miners' strike is to win, it will be necessary to maintain an effective picket. This means there will probably be even more arrests than so far.

Instead of simply commenting on this, Socialist Worker should call for the demand to be put on the NUM leadership that all fines incurred in picketing be paid by the union. Those who are arguing for this demand in their branches will have to show that the NUM leaders' 'support' for the pickets in fact rests on capitalist ideas of 'law and order': ie 'non-violent' picketing, the 'impartial' role of the police, etc.

It is up to Socialist Worker to supply militants putting forward these demands with arguments to back them up.—PATRICK GOODE, MARK PERKINS, Brighton.

Letters

Ireland's missing national liberation

I DOUBT whether Padraig Yeates (Letters, 5 February) can find a statement in Eamonn McCann's or Sue Kelly's articles to substantiate his view that they see in the Provisional IRA the spearhead of a war of national liberation.

He says that even if this were the case it would be undesirable. What he forgets is that the Official Republican Movement—which he wishes to defend—has put forward the strategy of a national liberation movement. The 'stages' theory to which its leaders subscribe confines present perspectives to the struggle for democracy in the Six Counties and for 'national sovereignty' against the Common Market, i.e. not even national liberation.

The best outcome of a strategy successfully conducted on these lines could only be restructuring within the imperialist framework—a 'democratic administration' in the North and associate status with the Common Market.

Padraig Yeates quite correctly points to the limitations of the Provisionals' strategy. He will find much that is similar in the strategy of his own organisation. For sheer utopianism the idea of an autonomous Stormont, free to control capital movement and trade, is hard to beat.

Both sections of the republican movement believe—at least implicitly—in the possibility of re-emergence of national capital. Otherwise why advance such a limited opposition to the Common Market?

Tragedy

Neither section of the republican movement has a meaningful class strategy for the South. The Official Republican Movement—which Padraig Yeates says is revolutionary—has advanced no demands to fight unemployment, to fight the National Wage Agreement, or for the seizure of British property in the South.

It is a tragedy that there is no revolutionary organisation in Ireland with roots firmly in the working class. It is a particular tragedy that left-wingers in Ireland and elsewhere therefore resort to projecting their own views on to the republican movement. It is a tragedy when left-wingers engage in the self-righteous musing between the two sections.

The International Socialists believe that the vital need of the present time is a revolutionary party which can lead an offensive on the Southern regime. Padraig Yeates is quite correct in saying that the Northern Catholics alone cannot overthrow the Unionist regime. But he can hardly deny that the physical and civil resistance—including that of the Provisionals—has

brought its end nearer.

The struggle can only be won, however, if a movement is built throughout the 32 Counties with revolutionary socialist politics.

That is what the articles in Socialist Worker have been saying.—BRIAN TRENCH, Harlow.

I was proud of the miners

I WAS in London on the Sunday when the miners gathered for their march from Speakers' Corner to Trafalgar Square. These men needed no guns nor bombs to carry weight with their words—their strength was in their vast number and their sense of purpose.

They chatted with good humour with the police, at the same time remembering the seriousness of their mission. I asked a small group from Yorkshire why they had come and was told that the wage of an unmarried man was not in accordance with the amount of work he did. It has always been presumed that if he needed more money he could work overtime, but frequently his work is of the kind which could be detrimental to his health and overtime should be discouraged.

This was no negative attitude prompted by bitterness and jealousy against those people who were better paid—this was a responsible demonstration by decent people who want to be as proud of the wage they and their fellows draw as they are of the work they do.

As a Londoner who will never forget the good hospitality afforded to my family in the little mining valley of Glanamman in South Wales, I was proud to see the friendliness and sense of brotherhood prevalent at the demonstration which was carried out with patience and intelligence.

Here is our chance to improve the position of man in society—to give him more self-respect for the job that he does when we show our gratitude by seeing that justice is done.—MOLLIE WORTHY, Chessington, Surrey.

Why Mao wants with

THE events leading up to Nixon's visit to China have come as a shock to many left-wing militants. In the space of less than a year Mao Tse-tung has supported Yahya Khan in the massacre of tens of thousands of Bengalis, congratulated Mrs Bandaranaike for putting down a rebellion with the assistance of the British, the Americans and the Russians, and backed the Sudanese dictator Nimeiry, who murders trade unionists and communists.

Now Mao is welcoming to Peking the man who continues to order his bombers to burn, maim and kill in Vietnam.

Admirers of Mao have also been worried by changes taking place inside China. Until 1966

the president of China and Mao's chief lieutenant was Liu Shao-chi. Communists throughout the world were taught to regard Liu's book *How To Be A Good Communist* virtually as a textbook.

Then suddenly it was revealed five years ago that Liu was a 'capitalist roader', 'the main

How Mao came to power

THE present rulers of China came to power in 1948 after a long and bitter civil war. Although they called themselves 'communists' and spoke of the 'working class', the industrial workers played very little part indeed in their victory.

There had been a revolutionary workers' movement in China, but that had been destroyed by the counter-revolution way back in the twenties. As early as 1930 only 1.6 per cent of the Communist Party membership were workers.

In the years that followed, the party's activities were confined to the most backward parts of the country, where there was no industry. An indication of how little the communists did among workers is the fact that they did not call a conference of trade unions between 1929 and 1948.

What in fact happened was that the communist leaders, most of whom were drawn from the old Chinese middle class, succeeded in building up a massive peasant army.

The peasants were willing to fight because the old organisation of society offered them nothing but misery and starvation. The communists were promising to lighten the burden of rents and interest payments. In some areas they promised a radical redivision of the landowners' land though not where the landowners were prepared to support the communists.

Invasion

Meanwhile few people anywhere were prepared to put much faith in the old Kuomintang government of Chiang Kai-shek.

It was a government that had never managed to keep in check the rival warlords who dominated different parts of the country. It had failed miserably in defending China against Japanese invasion. A member of the US government was driven to describe Chiang's regime as 'just a bunch of crooks'.

But in 1948 even many of China's capitalists were regarding a victory for Mao as the lesser evil. Whole sections of Chiang's army deserted to the other side, sometimes led by their generals.

The removal of the Chiang Kai-shek clique undoubtedly improved life for the mass of Chinese people. But it did not involve any smashing of the bureaucratic and authoritarian set-up, nor did it involve workers gaining any control over industry or the state.

When the communist forces took over the cities, they tried to make sure that life there continued much as before. For instance, before entering Tientsin and Peking, Lin Piao issued orders for 'Kuomintang officials or police to remain at their posts'. Those who had protected the old regime were left in their



No handshakes here: Americans in Vietnam

old positions.

The new rulers carried through a programme that meant an eventual ending of private ownership of industry. But industry passed into their hands, not into the hands of the millions of workers or peasants.

Even during the civil war, the leaders of the Red Army had enjoyed incomes about three times those of the rank and file. Now the differentials grew even greater.

But the main aim of the new rulers was not personal consumption.

It was to create a united China, under their rule, which could stand up to the other world powers. And that meant, above all, developing industry in China on a scale comparable to that in the advanced countries.

Obstacles

Mao's model was Stalin's Russia, which had been able to build up industry, although only by denying the mass of workers and peasants the most elementary rights.

But China confronted immense obstacles in trying to follow the same path. In 1948 its industry was even more backward than Russia's had been in 1914. Meanwhile, the economies of the advanced capitalist countries had expanded enormously. The gap to be bridged was much greater than the Russians had faced.

For about ten years the Chinese seem to have believed that a close alliance with Russia could help them solve their problems. They backed up Russian policy all down the line. Stalin was continually praised, and when Krushchev

smashed the Hungarian revolution in 1956, he too was given unreserved backing.

But the alliance gave few real benefits to the Chinese. For instance, total aid from Russia between 1950 and 1963 was a mere 600m dollars. Yet the Egyptian government, which imprisoned communists, got 400m dollars in the year 1959 alone.

Bitter

Nor was aid to the Chinese a gift. Far from being free, Soviet aid was rendered mainly in the form of trade. What's more, the price of many goods from the Soviet Union were much higher than those in the world market.

Friction began to develop between the Russian and Chinese leaders which came to a head in the early 1960s. The Russians suddenly withdrew all their technicians from China, leaving many industrial projects half-finished and doing incalculable harm to the Chinese economy.

From that time on bitter polemics between the two powers gave way to physical clashes on their borders.

Socialists in the West sometimes tend to play down the depth of the antagonism between the two 'communist' powers. But the fact is that the Russians describe China as a 'military dictatorship', while the Chinese call Russia 'social imperialism' and its leaders 'the new czars'.

On the border between the two countries there are, according to Chou En-lai, 'a million Russian troops'. There are probably a similar number of Chinese.

A MATTER OF COMPETITION

I DON'T think that the International Socialists should be bothered to be insulted or offended by anything in Ken Geering's letter in Socialist Worker (5 February). I was a Communist Party member up to last year and he apparently still is one.

Of course the capitalists oppose the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union competes with them on their own terms, with nuclear weapons, and for world markets.

As Ken Geering didn't mention the IS position on socialism in one country I can't tell whether he has studied it. But I am not surprised that he considers consistently thorough criticism vituperative.

But does capitalism mount an all-out attack on the Communist Party? In their own words, frequently repeated: 'In the name of anti-communism the capitalists attack all progressives and left wingers... In Britain they attack the name of communism as much as the party itself.'

On 'job expectation' we might ask what sort of jobs? There seems to be a contradiction in the Communist Party on this subject.

Over the years many full-time union officials have resigned their party membership to keep their union jobs. The party seems to attract and tolerate a substantial number of people who are prepared to do so.

The Electrical Trade Union was a case in point and so was a previous general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers. Although the condition and tendency was always there nothing is said until they actually resign.

Now let's look at the IS in the light of 'job expectation'. It can be said that the IS membership was originally mainly middle-class professional and semi-professional, even ex-public school. They consciously formed the organisation with the set intention of attracting industrial workers.

Now the percentage of workers in IS has greatly increased and we can take it that all those who think like Ken Geering will expect the middle-class members to be scared off for fear of jeopardising their careers.

There's no reason to shirk the question of IS members concerned in industrial action. This is connected with the next question: will the capitalists begin to attack the IS as its influence in industry increases?

Further to this, will the IS replace the Communist Party in industrial leadership among the rank and file? I wish that all Communist Party members would read Ken's letter and keep the questions in the front of their minds.—FRANK MANN, London NW2.

to be friends Nixon

traitor, workers' thief and Kuomintang agent'. His place as officially designated successor to Mao was taken by Lin Piao. Hardly a reference or picture of Mao appeared without Lin being there too. All over the world followers of Mao coupled the two names together. But last autumn Lin too disappeared

The non-cultural non-revolution

THE CONFLICT with Russia has made the problems for China's rulers even greater. They need massive resources if they are to defend themselves against both the US and Russia at once. And industrialisation seems to be an even greater need than ever if that defence is to be maintained.

At present China, with less industry than Britain, maintains millions of men under arms, and is developing H-bombs and inter-continental ballistic missile systems. The cost must be enormous.

China is a country of hundreds of millions of peasants, most of whom live on the bread line. To build either massive armaments or massive industry means somehow forcing these peasants to part with some of their meagre produce so that it can be used to feed industrial workers.

The peasants will only do so willingly if in return they get the goods produced by industry. But then industry would be used to satisfy peasant needs, rather than to build up more industry or to make arms. In other words, there would be overall industrial stagnation.

The alternative would be to use force to compel the peasants to give up their produce. This is what Stalin did with Russia's so-called collective farms.

Devastating

In 1958-9 Mao tried to follow a 'collectivisation' policy. Tens of thousands of peasants were herded together into 'People's Communes', from which it was hoped to get a massive surplus of food—so that industry could be built more quickly. This was the 'Great Leap Forward'.

The effects on the economy, however, were devastating. Agricultural production did not rise, but fell. The years that followed, 1960 and 1961, were of terrible hardship—made worse by the Russian withdrawal of aid and

from public life. Now it has been officially announced that he has been 'eliminated'.

The people who are supposed, according to Maoist statements, to be running China, the masses, have at no stage been consulted in any way about the removal of Lin. Months after the event, no-one knows what the issues at stake were.

Socialists in the West have to have some understanding about the real nature of Chinese society and the real character of the revolution that brought it into being. Otherwise the conclusion is all too readily drawn that 'revolutions always fail'.

technicians.

China's rulers had no choice but to beat a sharp retreat and follow a policy of placating the peasants. But the pressures that had produced the 'Great Leap Forward' were still there. A section of China's rulers, around Mao, remained worried about the need to build up industry as fast as possible.

This group began to believe that the responsibility for the state of affairs lay with those other rulers most identified with implementing economic policy. They began to claim that from the top downwards the Communist Party and the government apparatus were full of people who had given up fighting to expand industry and instead were content to coexist with the mass of better off peasants, while building up privileges for themselves.

Supporters

In 1966 Mao and his followers tried to oust these officials, in particular focussing attention on Liu Shao-chi. Mao closed down the schools and colleges and instructed the students to physically force Liu's supporters from office.

However, this 'proletarian cultural revolution' was not a genuine revolution. It was initiated from above, and careful instructions were given that the core of the Chinese ruling group, the leaders of the army, were not to be touched.

When, in the spring of 1967, industrial workers began to be involved in massive strikes, and sections of the Red Guards began to call for the overthrow of all the 'red capitalists', Mao and his supporters abandoned the cultural revolution.

The Cultural Revolution caused chaos throughout the country. But it neither removed the old ruling group nor contributed to solving its economic problems.

SPECIAL FEATURE
by Chris Harman



Mao Tse-tung: the lesser evil?



Chou En-lai: 'a million troops'



Lin Piao: eliminated

Poverty the key to failure

WESTERN commentators have—no doubt influenced by the new cordiality between Peking and Washington—tended recently to draw a fairly glowing picture of the Chinese economy. This is true insofar as the peasants seem, since the curtailment of the Cultural Revolution, to have been allowed to keep much of their produce and raise their miserable living standards a bit.

But from the point of view of China's rulers this is not nearly good enough. It means that industry is not growing at a speed that will ever enable them to catch up with Russia and the West. It also means increasing difficulties for them in keeping up the arms race.

Lin Piao's downfall shows that in reaction to these problems China's rulers and generals are more and more falling out among themselves.

The pressing economic problems explain their foreign policy. They feel that if they can make deals

with the rulers of other countries, however reactionary their politics, they will be able to increase the leeway and ease the burden of their economic problems.

To get these deals they are prepared to offer not only help at the diplomatic level, but also help with the internal problems facing the ruling classes. Their attitude to the Pakistani generals' and to Mrs Bandaranaike proves this.

Friendly

But that behaviour is not new. As long ago as 1954 the Chinese joined with the Russians to pressurise the Vietnamese into accepting a continued division of their country and, in 1955 at the Bandung Conference they preached 'peaceful co-existence'.

The friendly attitude towards Nixon is merely the culmination of a trend that has existed since the beginning. The ideal of the Chinese

leaders has always been to build up industry on a national basis and to subordinate everything else to that end.

This does not prove that revolution as such must fail. But it does point to the limits of the sort of revolution that happened in China, which was not based upon the working class and which had as its goal merely the building of the economy of one country, in isolation.

Only a genuine working class revolution, which saw itself as the first bridgehead towards revolution throughout the world, could have stood a chance of avoiding the problems that have faced China's rulers. Such a revolution could take the wealth needed to overcome the poverty of China from the hands of the ruling classes of the advanced countries, instead of attempting the impossible job of squeezing it from the already impoverished Chinese peasants.

Fight for union rights

A SERIES OF ARTICLES
ON THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT
by Roger Rosewell

PART TWO

Law aims to smash the organised workers

UNDER the Industrial Relations Act, every worker has the right 'to be a member of no trade union . . . or to refuse to be a member of any particular trade union.' In order to protect 'nons', the Act declares that it is an unfair industrial practice for an employer to discriminate against any individual for exercising his right to be a non-unionist.

Where such discrimination does take place, if the employer can prove that he was pressured into it, then the person causing the pressure is liable to pay compensation.

By giving a worker the legal right not to belong to a union, registered or not, the Act effectively destroys the basis of the closed shop.

It is estimated that two out of five of Britain's 10 million trade unionists belong to some form of closed shop. The Act is not merely concerned with hampering trade unionism, but is intent on smashing those well-organised sections who lead the battle for better wages and conditions.

It attempts to do this through the invention of the 'agency shop' agreement, which allows workers the benefit of trade unionism without their participation.

An arrangement stating that a person must be a member of a certain union before he can be employed—known as the pre-entry closed shop—therefore comes under attack. This applies whether a written agreement or merely informal custom covers it.

It needs only one worker to go to the National Industrial Relations Court to appeal for a pre-entry closed shop to be declared void. He would also be entitled to compensation if his 'democratic rights' had been infringed.

Closed shops that exist where the worker has to join the union after he has been employed are also outlawed.

Seamen

But there is a special provision for 'approved' post-entry closed shops. An application for such an agreement must come jointly from the union and the employer. It must then be studied by the Commission on Industrial Relations.

The CIR must be convinced that such an agreement is necessary, and that an agency shop would be inadequate. The conditions are so restrictive that the only unions to qualify would probably be the National Union of Seamen, and Equity, the actors' union.

All other unions can be covered only by the agency shop. Although this applies only to registered unions, it is of central importance to the Act.

Unions that abide by the TUC decision not to register will not be directly affected by this provision. But if a union does register, members of an unregistered union can be affected by the agency shop where it is introduced to cover sections of workers that include members of unregistered unions.

This means that in a large engineering plant the only recognised bargaining agent could be the General and Municipal, a right wing, registered union.

It is vital that trade unionists have no truck with the Act. Compliance with those sections which appear to benefit you only opens the door to the man-traps littered throughout the Act. Registration, which gives certain tax exemption, enables unions to make agency shop agreements.

Ballot

An agency shop can be established voluntarily between an employer and a registered union, or it can be enforced through NIRC-CIR procedures but then only for a single employer.

An agency shop can be established after the CIR conducts a ballot in which a majority of those eligible for voting, or two-thirds of those actually voting, declare for such a shop.

The provisions of the shop give three different alternatives to workers: 1. To be a member of one of the trade unions in the shop. 2. Not to be a member but to pay the union an appropriate 'agency fee' in lieu of membership. 3. Where genuine conscientious objections can be proved (by an industrial tribunal), to pay a similar amount to an agreed charity.

New employees are given one month to decide which they will choose. Existing employees are allowed three months.

Where the agency shop is agreed, the NIRC would enforce the decision, lasting for two years. If the agency shop is rejected, then no similar attempt can be made for two years. Where accepted, after two years another ballot can be held to change the decision, only if one-fifth of the workers involved have signed in writing the necessary application. The whole rigmarole is then repeated.

For unregistered unions the danger is not so much the agency shop, as the right of workers not to belong to the union. We stand not merely for the defence of the closed shop, but also for its extension into areas where it does not yet hold.

To defeat this pernicious legislation, factory meetings must be held at which it is decided that if it is ever found that there are non-unionists on the premises, then an immediate stoppage of work will take place. Trade unions must give official backing to such policy.

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Socialist Worker looks at the destruction caused by

DEATH AND MINING FAMILIES: ONE DOCTOR'S GRIM FINDINGS

Throughout the miners' strike the newspapers have been covered with tales of picket line 'violence', of miners holding the nation to ransom by their techniques of mass picketing. Little or nothing is said or written of the systematic violence inflicted on the mining community in the National Coal Board's ceaseless pursuit of profit.

In the main this takes the form of industrial maimings, killings and chest diseases for miners themselves. But just as lousy wages are shared out and suffered by the whole community—wives, husbands and children—so too is the havoc caused by the mining industry.

This is shown by the work of a General Practitioner in South Wales, Doctor Julian Tudor Hart of Glyncoirwg. He has shown conclusively how the gap between the health of the miner and his family and that of the rest of the population has been growing progressively wider for the last 50 years. It's bad news for those with any faith left in the 'welfare state'.

RELUCTANT

In 1962 Tudor Hart left a mixed working and middle class residential area in London to practise medicine in South Wales. In those days Glyncoirwg had four pits. The last closed a year ago.

This means more work for the doctor. When pits are open miners are reluctant to disclose symptoms that might lead to his being moved from the face to lower-paid work elsewhere or even to being classified as unfit to work.

Tudor Hart is dedicated to the care of the community and research which tends to demonstrate the inadequacy of the present medical services. Shunning interviews and publicity, he has become a legend in the area.

Cliff Jones, compensation secretary for Cym Colliery, explained how Doctor Tudor Hart is one of only two doctors in South Wales whom miners can rely on to support them against the local inquisition, the medical boards: 'With these two socialist doctors we have won the day in three cases

out of four. On these medical boards and the pneumoconiosis board it's all British Medical Association men. They know that if they were to back two miners' cases on the same day it wouldn't be long before they were off the medical panel.'

Doctor Tudor Hart has repeatedly pointed to the haggling of industrial injury tribunals and the administrative indecision, all leaving the injured miner in a state of suspense.

He suggests a double remedy: 'We must help men to participate in decisions about themselves at every stage from the time of an accident, which means permitting



Maerdy, South Wales, a mining village where poor health and the quest for profit go hand in hand



by AUBREY
GORDON

and encouraging them to ask us questions and to insist upon reasonable answers.

'Any man out for more than 12 months really needs a case conference, which must include someone who knew him well before his accident. In practise neither of these lessons is generally accepted despite any amount of lip service.'

What happens at present is well illustrated by the recent experiences of Alan Jones, a 31 year old face worker of Maerdy colliery, in Merionethshire. He tore a cartilage in his knee in November last year, and got a sickness certificate. He was given £15 a week from Social Security.

When the strike started he was sent back to the Coal Board doctor in Pontypridd who told him that although his knee was still bad he was fit for work.

So he went back to his own doctor in Maerdy, Doctor Singh Gupha, who gave him another certificate. When he took this in to the Social Security office they refused to accept it.

PRESSURE

The result is that his benefit is now cut back to £9 a week—to keep himself and his wife and the two children.

But connections between the so-called welfare services and doctors often work the other way round, with employment exchanges applying pressure to get doctors to certify men as unfit for work when they can't find work for them.

But that isn't the only medical problem in the area. Doctor Tudor Hart shows that infant mortality for England and Wales as a whole has fallen by more than two thirds over the last 50 years, from 76 to 18 per 1000 live births. In 1921 the difference between Glyncoirwg and the rest of the country was only 2 per cent.

But today there are now more than twice as many cases of infant mortality in Glyncoirwg than in

the country at large. The figures show only too clearly that in a capitalist society the function of medicine is to keep the workers in production. If an area of production is contracting the health of the next generation of workers can be neglected.

BRUTAL

Doctor Tudor Hart makes no bones about the reasons for the growing ill-health of mining communities. 'The really big difference lies in social history, including contemporary history, a past of mass unemployment and emigration of the healthiest young men on a mass scale, together with brutal working conditions in coal mines, steel works and foundries, malnutrition in infancy and youth, remote government—and a good deal more of these in the present than many care to admit'.

He concludes: 'The health of

mining and probably of other residual industrial populations is getting worse relative to that of the nation as a whole. Most of this probably arises from differences in earnings, housing, education and social amenity, rather than access to medical care.

'The problems of industrial and consequent social decay, like the parallel problem of urban slums, are a hitherto permanent feature of our society, and as the pace of technological change accelerates in an essentially unplanned economy without agreed social objectives, they may become relatively worse off than they are.'

In the wake of the magnificent 1972 strike, the miners can begin to travel the road of putting this robbery and exploitation to rights. Though different in detail, they have a common case with millions of other workers and their families.



Cliff Jones



Miner Alan Jones with his family: an injury at the pit left them with £9-a-week to live on

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Work-ins, sit-ins
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The Communist
Party, 1945-64

Critique of the 'British
Road to Socialism'

Victor Serge on
Party and Class

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

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Profiteers and the real role of courts and judges



Glad to see the back of you . . . The law as most trade unionists know it—'controlling' demonstrations

When 13 pickets appeared in Dunfermline court last week after clashes with police at Longannet power station, the charge against them said that they 'formed part of a riotous mob of evil disposed persons which, acting with a common purpose, did conduct itself in a violent, riotous manner to the great terror and alarm of the lieges and in breach of the peace did curse, swear and utter threats of violence.'

The men were taken to court in handcuffs and were refused bail. The tone of the charge and the treatment of the pickets, as though they were 19th century felons ready for shipment to Australia, shows that when workers take militant action and defy government and bosses then the alleged 'impartiality' of the law disappears as quickly as a 7 per cent wage increase.

In spite of their feudal and outdated appearance, lawyers and judges have a most important, and difficult part to play in modern capitalist society. They cement an exploitative society together at three key points. These are the court, the state machine itself and the centres of wealth and finance.

The court

This is all-important, as it is the most immediate and commonplace meeting point between the ordinary man and woman and 'the majesty of the law'. The offence may be trivial, the punishment a small fine, but every effort is made to impress and intimidate people by the use of strange rituals and language.

At the lowest level, which is the magistrate's court, simple class justice prevails. The magistrates are almost always 'lay', that is unpaid for their services, and so are invariably local middle or upper class worthies with time on their uncalloused hands.

But it is further up the ladder that the real skulduggery begins, and the real professional sharks operate. These are the solicitors, the barristers and the judges.

Straight away we are up against one of the most 'restrictive practices' of all time. In Britain, lawyers are divided up into solicitors and barristers. Only barristers are allowed to appear for a client in a High Court.

This division only occurs (outside Britain) in South Africa, Rhodesia, parts of Australia and Ceylon. It is a gigantic fiddle, forcing the client to pay for the services of two windbags, neither of them cheap.

Once a barrister's services have been engaged, a client is not allowed even to talk to him without the solicitor being present as well and drawing his fee.

But it is the judges who really take the biscuit. There are only about eight of them to every million of us, which makes them both an elite and a law unto themselves. Almost all of them are ex-barristers, so they are fairly case hardened by the time they get on the bench.

And they are solid allies of the ruling class. Most of them, in fact,

The law—'impartial' system that props up the rule of rich and powerful



Jake Prescott: 15 years from . . .

RULING-CLASS MILITANTS HAND OUT ROUGH JUSTICE...



. . . Melford 'Truncheons' Stevenson

by Martin Piper

are part of that class. Of the 359 judges on the 1968 Law List, 292 had been to public school, 273 to either Oxford or Cambridge.

Take as examples the two most famous 'disciplinary' judges, the two most famous for their hard treatment of 'agitators'. Melford Stevenson, who sent the Cambridge students to prison for demonstrating against the Greek dictatorship, and who sentenced Jake Prescott to 15 years, is an ex-Tory candidate who lives in a house named 'Truncheons'.

Sir Frederick Lawton, who sent Welsh demonstrators to prison for interrupting his court, was a Fascist candidate in the Hamersmith election of 1936. His father was a prison governor.

These two ruling-class militants may look stupid in their robes and wigs, but they have an instinctive sense of what is good for them and their wealthy set.

At the top of the legal pyramid in Britain are the Law Lords. They are the supreme authority.

There are 10 of them. Three have been Tory candidates and one was a Unionist MP. All but one went to public school and to Oxford or Cambridge. The youngest is 60, the eldest 81.

It is men like these who form the link between the legal system and the state.

The state

As a general rule, whenever there is trouble in the colonies, or among the workers, an 'independent inquiry' is not far behind. This is a cheap, easy and reliable method of getting results for the Establishment.

It also has the merit of seeming impartial. It is always headed by a Lord, and usually by a Law Lord. Take three examples.

In 1966 the striking seamen had their case referred to an inquiry headed by Lord Pearson,

a Law Lord (St Pauls School and Oxford). In paragraph seven the report says that seamen don't have it so rough, and mentions 'the pleasure and interest of a sea voyage' as compensation. It went on in the 'national interest' language which such reports always employ.

In 1970, the electricity supply workers' case was referred to an inquiry headed by our old friend Lord Wilberforce (Winchester and Oxford). He is another Law Lord and one time Tory candidate, assisted by a tycoon (Sir Raymond Brookes of GKN) and a trade union official turned employer.

Once again, the national interest was invoked, and the workers got an agreement with manning and productivity strings and little pay advance.

Last month, the Tories made a deal with Ian Smith that will sell five million Rhodesian Africans into slavery. A Commission has been set up under Lord Pearce (not yet a Law Lord, but a lawyer all right) to discover, without a vote, what the five million think about it.

Of the 15 members of the commission, not one is black (so as to avoid 'bias'), and almost half are still on the British government payroll as colonial civil servants.

It is no good asking for these inquiries to be run by men who had secondary school education. The state itself is not neutral.

The rich

The third function of lawyers in our society is to act as trouble-shooters for the rich. The top lawyers and the moneybags go together like peaches and cream, and are bound to each other by a series of favours and contacts.

It stands to reason that the lawyers whose services are so pricey will be on the side of those who can afford to pay them what

they ask.

In the first place both solicitors and barristers live a very rarified existence. Solicitors are following the general trend towards monopoly by combining into large multi-partner firms and serving big business more efficiently.

Barristers are doing the same in a more gentlemanly way. In November 1970 a Bar Association Survey found that the (already large) earnings of barristers had risen by 44 per cent over the

previous three years, due mainly to the closer ties between barristers and big business.

The Inns of Court are the headquarters of British barristers, discreet but powerful, and very rich. Nobody knows quite how rich, because they are exempted from publishing their accounts.

A field in which lawyers (and accountants) make especially rich pickings, is that of tax laws. The evasion or 'interpretation' of these is a goldmine for the clever advisor.

In 1955, the Royal Commission on Taxation reckoned that £12,500,000 was prevented by 'deeds of covenant' from leaving the pockets of the rich in tax to the government. The real figure is likely to be very much larger.

Finally, apart from living in the same income bracket as the rich and powerful, the lawyers and the legal system also help to preserve the system that is necessary for the privilege and wealth to occur in the first place.

When dealing with organised working men, the courts have always been particularly harsh and arbitrary, from Taff Vale onwards. As late as 1965, Professor Wedderburn wrote in his book *The Worker and the Law* that the Rookes/Barnard judgement 'knocked the bottom out of the certainty of the right to strike'.

Or, as one of the Law Lords put it 'the injury and suffering caused by strike action is often very widespread as well as devastating, and a threat to strike would be expected to be certainly no less serious than a threat of violence'.

There you have it. Trade unionism equated with crime by one of the highest legal figures in the land. Never let anybody tell you that the law is impartial.

Never let anybody get away with talking rubbish about 'British Justice'. Never let anybody forget that the judges and lawyers serve the class from which they spring.

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by Colin Barker
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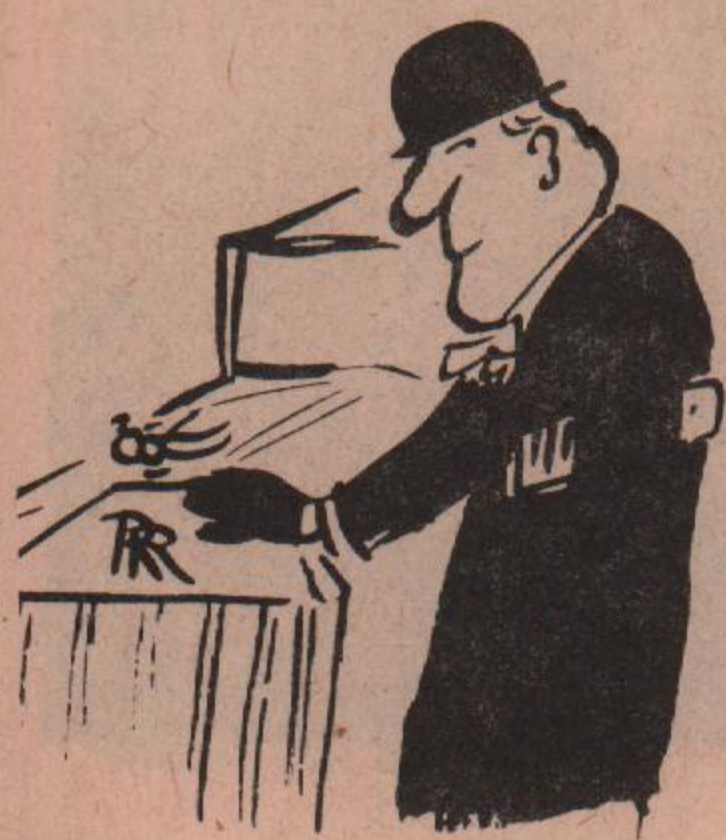


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Pop stars who make cash for the big landlords

IN THE CITY



with T.H. Rogmorton

YOU WILL no doubt have heard of Engelbert Humperdinck and Tom Jones. We've heard of them down in the City too, as they do a nice job in the way of keeping property developers in pocket and creating leisure playgrounds for the rich.

Engelbert Humperdinck and Tom Jones are owned by a company called Management Agency and Music, which made £2,410,000 pre-tax profits last year.

In September the company announced an 'exciting' new plan. In conjunction with Town and City Properties they were going to re-develop an area in Covent Garden for £15 million. This was part of the illustrious Covent Garden Development Plan that aims to push thousands of working people out of their community in the centre of

London, and create flats, hotels and offices for the rich, and a new road to the City, so business men can drive in in greater ease.

And the MAMS scheme did not disappoint: it was to create 36 flats, 19 shops and 200,000 square feet of office space as well as a theatre for 1,600 and a cultural and sports centre.

Marina

But before you get the wrong idea: MAMS, who are putting up 25 per cent of the money, are to get all the profits from these facilities and 25 per cent of the profits from the offices and shops, so there won't be much charitable support of the arts around.

Not long after this another

scheme was announced: a £300,000 marina near Burnham in Essex, with room for 300 boats and 250 dinghies in its 40 acres. First year profits were expected to reach £60,000.

And on the board of the new company, those well known representatives of the working class and buyers of Engelbert's and Tom's records: MAMS directors Major General Sir Gerald Duke and Lt Col T McMullen.

This story is not exceptional: most of Britain's pop stars are owned by companies, who are using the profits to ravage towns and cities in property redevelopments and are pouring the money of ordinary people into profitable schemes providing luxurious leisure pursuits for the rich and idle.



Engelbert Humperdinck



Tom Jones

PRICES...

RISING PRICES are one of the great scandals of our time. While Tories and bosses blame workers for the faults of the economy, our living standards are being systematically slashed by soaring prices, rents, fares and welfare charges.

As the housekeeping money buys less, so working-class housewives are more and more fed up with the jargon of economists and the promises of the governments. No amount of sophisticated explanations or promises of 'better times ahead' will pay the rent.

A few examples will show the size of the problem. Last year butter went up by 48 per cent, fresh fish 43 per cent and, in just over three years, bread has gone up by 37 per cent.

1971 also brought an increase of more than 11 per cent in council house rents. And when the government's 'fair rents' scheme becomes law it will take another £1 out of a rapidly shrinking wage packet.

Far from wage demands being unreasonable, they have been too moderate. The latest government wage 'norm' of 7 per cent is farcical when at least 20 per cent is needed just to pay last year's price increases.

The TUC is seeking a solution to the problem through 'threshold agreements'. The idea is that if prices rise beyond a certain point—the 'threshold', say 7 per cent—then wages should be 'adjusted'.

While the TUC must be given credit for attempting to find a formula that will increase wages automatically when prices go up, it cannot be done in this half-hearted way.

Compromise

If prices can be held just below the threshold, workers will suffer. If they go above it, most workers are too experienced to rely on the goodwill of the employers to make a reasonable 'adjustment'.

As long as employers are out to maximise their profits and workers to increase their wages, there must be a struggle between them. This fact is ignored by the policy of threshold agreements.

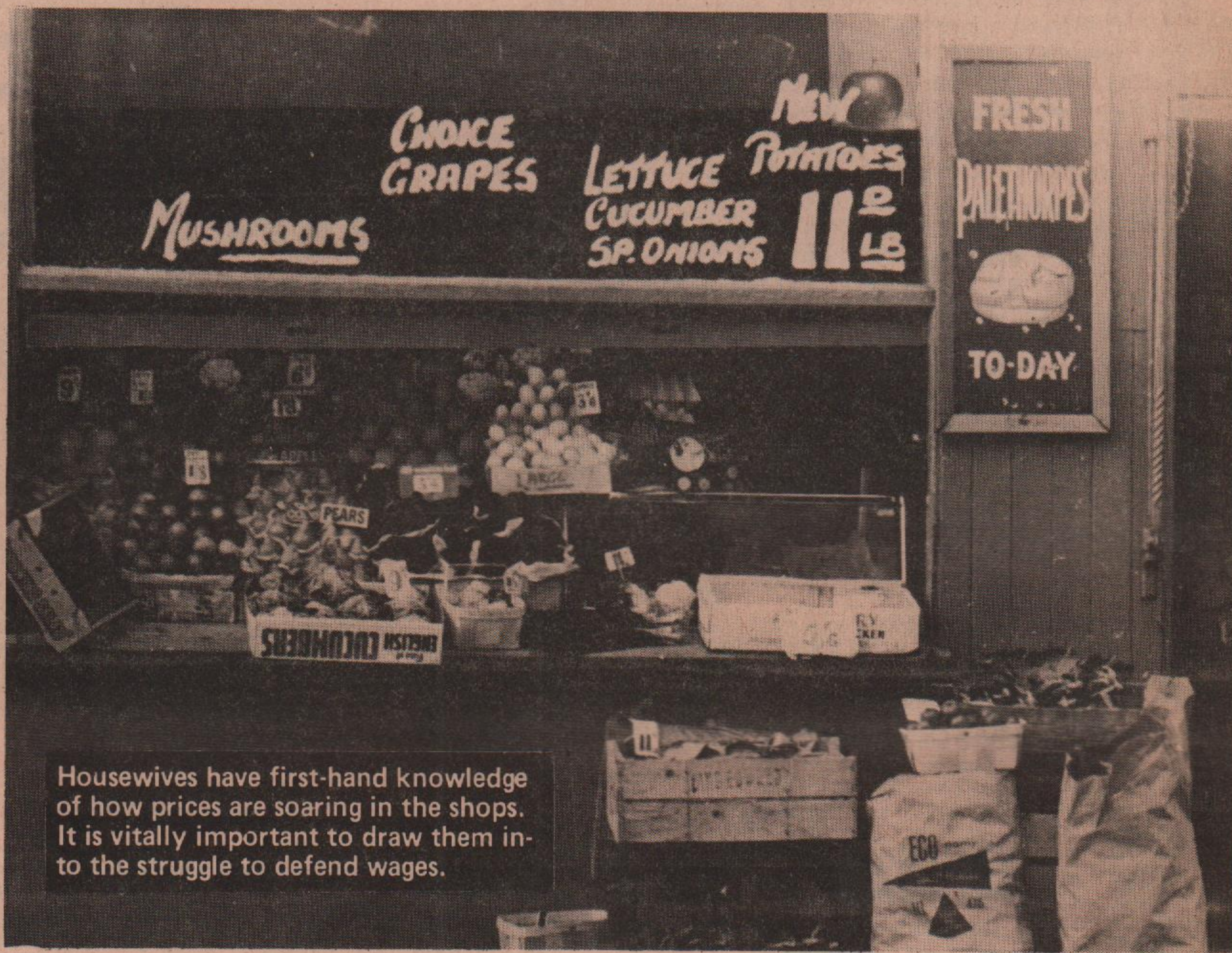
It was born out of a political attitude of compromise that accepts that workers share a measure of responsibility for rising prices.

It is high time that workers fought through the trade union movement for an independent policy for fighting price increases. This would mean an immediate wage increase to compensate for the rise in prices over the last year and provide an improvement in the standard of living.

This should be backed by a rising scale of wages, which provides full and automatic compensation for increases in the cost of living. Only such a measure will really give any protection to the purchasing power of wages.

What we

must do to keep them down



Housewives have first-hand knowledge of how prices are soaring in the shops. It is vitally important to draw them into the struggle to defend wages.

For such a policy to work we need to be able to measure the increase in the cost of living as it applies to working-class families. Existing methods don't do this.

The general index of retail prices gives no indication of the differences between the cost of living for a working-class family and that of a well-off middle-class family.

Disguise

The index excludes only the wealthiest one-tenth of the population from its calculations and lumps the rest of us, rich and poor alike, together. Then everything is worked out in averages: 'we' spend so much on beer, food, clothes and so on.

These averages disguise the fact that some families have to spend more on some things than others. For example, the broad pattern of food consumption shows considerable differences in diet and con-

by KEVIN WHITSTON

sequently the amount of money spent on different kinds of food.

In general the middle class eats more high quality products such as meat, fish, cheese and fruit while workers buy more meat and fish products like pies and fish cakes as well as more bread, vegetables (especially potatoes) and fats like margarine and lard.

The biggest gaps appear with the most common necessities of life. In 1969 working-class families ate more than 8 oz per head more white bread and nearly 14 oz per head more potatoes.

If the price of goods that workers buy goes up faster than the whole range of

goods then the cost of living will go up more for the working class than will show on the index of retail prices. There is some evidence from the mass of averages that this has been happening.

Between 1969 and 1970, for example, two-thirds of the increase in food prices was accounted for by things such as bread, potatoes, milk and cheaper meats like sausages and pies. What is true of food is likely to be even more apparent in the other other items that go to make up the index.

If the cost of living rises by 10 per cent, a working-class family will have to buy cheaper things or go without while high income families can defend their standard of living by spending more of their savings.

Instead of relying on the government's army of paid bureaucrats, the union leaders should mobilise their own army of millions of rank and file workers and housewives

who know much more about the cost of living than the statisticians of Whitehall.

Committees of housewives and trade unionists should be set up in every area to draw up their own cost of living index.

It is essential for housewives to be involved in this. They manage the daily expenditure of the family and are the best source of information about how prices are affecting a working-class budget. They can give the most accurate assessment of how wages need to move to keep pace with the cost of living.

Such committees need not limit themselves to collecting information on prices but should develop into investigating committees to find out why prices are so high. A look at the costs and profits of food manufacture and distribution for instance would show that huge quantities of food are destroyed every year to keep prices high.

Far cry

A call by the trade unions for such committees to be set up could meet with a tremendous response. They would not be hard to organise since trade unionists, housewives and shop stewards' committees could be linked through trades councils.

But the policy of a rising scale of wages backed by committees of housewives and trade unionists is a far cry from the course being pursued by the trade union leaders. They are trying to keep a foot in both camps.

On one side they represent workers and bargain for better wages. On the other they accept responsibility with the employers for running capitalism.

If the working class is to defend itself from a falling standard of living then rank and file workers must challenge the union leaders to abandon a course of compromise and collaboration with the ruling class in favour of a real independent working-class policy.



REVIEW

BRECHT'S
BACK
IN TOWN

BERTOLT BRECHT began working and writing in the German theatre at the end of the First World War. As the doomed German republic moved towards fascism so his work moved from uncertain anarchism towards committed marxism.

He was not just a revolutionary in his politics but in his entire approach to the theatre. He wasn't interested in pretty plays for the middle classes, but in displaying the idiocies of our political system.

The two revivals dealt with here, plus *The Fears and Miseries of The Third Reich* at the Bristol Little Theatre and the ironic mixture of texts by Kipling and Brecht at the Mermaid, London, are certainly timely.

The intensifying economic and political struggle for a revival of interest in the great German playwright. If anybody found a politically effective and artistic way of expressing the revolutionary aspirations of the working class—then it was Brecht.

In *The Jungle of the Cities* (Half Moon Theatre, Aldgate, London) is an early work, written in 1921-22 when Brecht was in his early twenties, literary manager at a Munich theatre, his political outlook still relatively unformed and his taste for anarchic romanticism wild and uncontrolled.

It is a very complex play, set in a comically grotesque pre-First World War Chicago, and deals with the apparently motiveless fight between Garga, a naively idealistic young library clerk, and Shlink, a middle-aged Malay lumber dealer. Shlink is obsessed with the desire to dominate Garga and his opening gambit is to try and buy Garga's opinion about a book.

REVENGE

Garga refuses to be bought and then the fight (consciously conceived by Brecht in the form of a boxing match, reflecting his youthful enthusiasm for the sport) is on in deadly earnest.

Shlink next tries to win Garga over by making him a gift of his thriving business. Garga takes it and revenges himself by perpetrating a deliberate fraud designed to bring about Shlink's arrest as a swindler. When Shlink is about to be arrested, Garga, to shame him, takes the blame and goes to prison himself, not before depositing a letter with a newspaper, to be opened just before his release is due, accusing Shlink of raping Garga's sister (in fact, deeply in love with Shlink).

The news is certain to lead to Shlink's lynching, he being a yellow man involved with a white girl. As the lynch mob approaches, Shlink and Garga come to a short-term realisation that human loneliness is so great that not even a fight like theirs can establish real contact.

Brecht was wise to warn his audience, faced with such complications, not to worry its head about the motives for the fight but 'concentrate on the stakes',



Bertolt Brecht

'judge impartially the technique of the contenders' and keep its eyes fixed on the finish. The play's overall meaning is confused and confusing; it has no overt political content, is negatively anarchistic and full of the young Brecht's psychological repressions (most obviously in the frank admission by Shlink in the play's climactic scene of his homosexual love for Garga).

But it would be wrong to dismiss the play entirely. In structure, it has the beginnings of the famous 'alienation effect' that is at the core of Brecht's great plays like *The Threepenny Opera*, *St Joan of the Stockyards* and *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*. Many of its scenes also have a beautiful lyric, poetic quality influenced by the French poet Rimbaud.

The fight between the natures of the two protagonists is a forerunner of Brecht's later internal struggle between his dedicated Marxist commitment and his devious, short-term political machinations designed to help him retain his artistic freedom. The moving admission by Shlink, at the end, of his loneliness ('Man's infinite isolation makes enmity an unattainable goal') indicates not only Brecht's psychological confusion but also, unconsciously, the kinds of alienation that capitalist society creates between individuals.

Guy Spring's production at the Half Moon faithfully mirrored the play's virtues and defects. On one level, it conveyed the integrity of the play's truthful, though partial, picture of alienation, on another the author's inability to place this picture within a firm political and economic context.

This is a promising beginning by a new theatre in a working-class area

Macheath (left) (no relation) and Tiger Brown in a scene from *The Threepenny Opera*

looking for a predominantly working-class audience.

The Threepenny Opera (Prince of Wales), written six years later at the beginning of the death throes of the Weimar Republic, signifies a remarkable political and creative advance in Brecht's thought and technique from the earlier play. It shows the 'alienation effect' fully working for the first time, that is to say, the conscious use of characters and situations, not just because they are 'interesting' as in the conventional theatre, but as models to communicate particular truths about capitalist society.

The play is a re-working of John Gay's 18th-century *Beggar's Opera*, with a stunning musical score by Kurt Weill (who had a great influence on Brecht in the development of his ideas), its plot a succession of scenes showing different aspects of the essential workings of modern capitalism. Set in a mythical Soho, its central figure is the robber Macheath, king of London's underworld and hand in glove with the police chief Brown.

QUEEN

Macheath bigamously marries the virginal daughter of Jonathan Jeremiah Peachum, who makes his living profitably directing the activities of London's beggars and taking a large cut of the proceeds. The infuriated Peachum and his wife successfully contrive to 'shop' Macheath to the authorities in such a way that the benevolence shown to him by Brown is no protection.

Macheath is due to be hanged but is forgiven at the last moment by the newly crowned Queen who recognises

him as a prop of the capitalist system. Macheath 'reforms', becomes a banker and a peer and therefore a much more effective robber than before.

The structure of the scenes is clear-cut where the early play's is confused. Each caricatured character and situation shows individually and in their totality the intricate, conspiratorial network of relationships created by the needs of capitalism (Macheath robs rich and poor alike, gives the police their cut, Peachum develops the insidious idea of 'charity', crucial to the workings of a country like this one, by his manipulation of the beggars); and the play is funny, witty and entertaining as well as instructive.

There was a certain rich irony in the fact that the play is presented by a capitalist management at a theatre primarily renowned for showing American musicals, variety shows and comedies (the previous inhabitants of the theatre having been Jimmy Edwards and Eric Sykes in *Big Bad Mouse*). This basic handicap, augmented by a predominantly middle-class audience out for 'entertainment', neutered a lot of the play's political content.

Despite this, Tony Richardson's production worked brilliantly stylistically and on a performance level. Vanessa Redgrave as Peachum's daughter, Polly was played with a beautifully calculated blend of naivety and low cunning. There was a whole host of superbly timed and calculated performances in the right didactic style, apart from Miss Redgrave's: Ronald Radd as Peachum, Hermione Baddley as Mrs Peachum, Dan Meaden as Brown and above all Joe Melia as Macheath.

One member of the audience cackled gleefully like Madame Defarge at the

guillotine at all of the play's specifically anti-capitalist moments and this helped the more intelligent part of the audience's appreciation of the political nature of the play.

DOMINANT

The play's relevance to the current political situation hardly needs stressing. There are obvious affinities between Macheath and the Prime Minister, apart from the similarity of names, in the way they ruthlessly strive to keep economic power in a small number of hands. The play establishes more clearly than any of Brecht's other works the nature of the mystifications created by the bosses in their efforts to retain their dominant position.

Brecht's mature plays like *The Threepenny Opera* should serve as a model to aspiring young socialist writers seeking to understand and communicate the nature of our present political and economic dilemma. His greatest plays present in popular and easily digestible forms, without any traces of oversimplification or condescension, the grasping, scheming nature of our society and how it can be replaced by socialism.

That is why, for the working class, he is an essential figure to understand and absorb and why his sudden reappearance on the theatrical scene is so timely. In the late fifties and early sixties, he became a cult figure for liberal intellectuals: it is time the working class reclaimed him as its own and used his successful marriage of art and political commitment as a weapon in the present political and economic struggle.

JONATHAN HAMMOND

Mr Watkins gives us a caning

PETER WATKINS was the director of *The War Game*, in which, using the style of the television documentary, he showed Britain under nuclear attack. Though Watkins showed himself unable to think about the politics of this situation, *The War Game* was a brilliant and harrowing exposure of official nonsense.

Punishment Park (Essoldo, Chelsea) uses the same techniques to portray America as (presumably) Watkins thinks it could soon become. Provision already exists for detention after a summary tribunal hearing in a state of emergency. Watkins invents a form of detention which consists of an endurance test across the desert with the detainees earning (they

think) freedom if they complete it without being caught.

In fact, they are watched all the way and, win or lose, they all die. The sheer cruelty of the process is well portrayed but the film reveals the limitations both of Watkins' techniques and of his 'non-political' approach. By concentrating on this single part of the situation he avoids any question of what is happening in the outside world.

The technique is static and unimaginative largely because (apart from the notion of the 'Park' itself) Watkins has not used his imagination in the content either. The detainees are an exact cross-section of the Youth/Pacifist/Black movement that protested at

Chicago in 1968. Some of the tribunal scenes are taken straight from the trial that followed—even to the point of having a bound and gagged black militant like Bobby Seale. There is no sense of the possibility of new forces entering the stage.

The working class appears only in the form of a tame trade union representative on the tribunal. The only politics is in the stereotyped responses of the tribunal members (in some ways quite well shown) and in the arguments among the detainees between those (liberals and pacifists) who want to try to complete the course within the 'rules' and those who want to fight. The latter are proved right but both groups die, so neither has a solution.

The result is a basically pessimistic film. This is the inevitable result of trying to deal with the complex issues of social and political conflicts by the method of a (fake) 'unbiased' description. Without a theory of society, of social conflicts, social forces, social alternatives, Watkins produces a film which is fundamentally dead, a deadness which shows itself as much in the fact of portraying 'types' rather than real people as it does in the absence of any political understanding in a film which has been mislabelled 'radical'.

RICHARD KIRKWOOD

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The International Socialists is a democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and who are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations

We believe in independent working-class action for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a classless society with production for use and not for profit.

We work in the mass organisations of the working class and are firmly committed to a policy of internationalism.

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the economic system they maintain.

In Europe, the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow. To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world.

We believe in the necessity to unite socialist theory with the day-to-day struggles of working people and therefore support all genuine demands that tend to improve the position and self-confidence of the working class.

We fight:

For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials.

Against secret negotiations. We believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

Against anti-trade union laws and any

curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

Against productivity deals and job evaluation and for militant trade union unity and joint shop stewards committees both in the plant and on a combine basis.

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

For a minimum wage of at least £25 a week.

Against unemployment redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

For all workers in struggle. We seek to build militant groups within industry.

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

For the right of coloured people and all oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Against secret diplomacy.

Against all forms of imperialism. We unconditionally give support to and solidarity with all genuine national liberation movements.

For the nationalisation of the land, banks and major industries without compensation and under workers' control.

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time. Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of man's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.

It is no use just talking about it. More than a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it.' If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.

SW breaks all records —but we're not satisfied!

by the Editor

TWENTY-SEVEN THOUSAND copies of Socialist Worker were printed and distributed last week. It is an all-time record for the paper and means that it is now without doubt the biggest selling socialist weekly in Britain.

The paper's rising circulation is a result of two connected factors:—

1. The mounting tempo of the industrial and political crisis in Britain. The magnificent struggle of the miners has not only rocked the Tories but has shown every other section of the labour movement the way to smash the wages freeze.

Socialist Worker was on sale in every mining area of Britain and was greeted with enthusiasm by the strikers.

One Yorkshire miner rushed into a working man's club, brandishing our front page with the headline MINERS MUST WIN! and declared: 'When did you last see a paper saying that?'

Miners and other groups of workers recognise our paper as one that fights with them and for them, argues their case and presents calm and reasoned ways of winning their battles. And unlike reformist papers

like Tribune and the Morning Star, we don't fight shy of criticising union leaders who sit on their hands and refuse to lead real solidarity action.

2. The growth of the International Socialists. With more and more industrial workers joining IS, our political programme, along with the paper, is reaching a far wider audience of working people.

Of course, we are not satisfied. There should be no dropping off in sales following the miners' strike. We need to consolidate our sales in mining areas and to encourage new readers gained during the strike to take a dozen copies or so regularly for their workplace.

And there are crucial struggles ahead among railwaymen, engineers and 5½ million council tenants, which mean fresh opportunities for increasing our sales and political influence.

On a more sombre note, the massacre in Derry and the concen-

tration camps in Northern Ireland show to what lengths the British ruling class will go to defend its profits and property. The Industrial Relations Act comes into full force this week and gives a glimpse of the authoritarian steps the state will take against the labour movement.

The Tory-employer offensive is a political offensive. Industrial militancy alone will not defeat it. We need to build a mass movement with a revolutionary programme aimed at workers' power and socialism.

Our paper is an invaluable weapon for fighting the Tories, for linking up the struggles of workers in action and in leading the fight for a real socialist movement dedicated to ending capitalism for once and all.

Our next step is to reach a print order of 30,000. We hope to hit that target in time for the International Socialists' annual conference at Easter.

I would like to thank IS members and supporters for their tremendous efforts in the last few weeks. We must now consolidate the support for the paper gained in recent weeks through bulk orders for factory and work-place selling.

IS NEWS

RECENT EVENTS in Ireland have shown the possibilities for an extension of the struggle against British domination to the South. The stalemate which has been reached in the North has indicated clearly the crucial importance of the struggle in the South.

Socialist Worker has argued consistently that a strategy which confined the fight against imperialism to the Northern Six Counties was doomed to failure. This does not deny the heroic achievements of the republican movement in defending the working class under attack.

Both sections of the republican movement now recognise—although in a confused way—that the attack on the Southern regime must be an integral part of their struggle. But neither section has the orientation to the working class to make this a challenge on class demands.

Conditions in Ireland during the past three years have made it difficult for a revolutionary socialist tendency to maintain its distinct identity. But the period since internment has seen the emergence of a socialist grouping based predominantly on workers in the South, the Socialist Workers Movement.

Recognising that even in the very particular circumstances of Ireland the working class, and working-class politics, must play a leading role, the Socialist Workers Movement is seeking to extend its base and its influence in the Irish working

class through a monthly paper, The Worker. The second edition of the paper is published this week. It carries commentary on the Common Market, unemployment, and notes on local struggles throughout the 32 Counties.

The Worker is essential reading for all militants with an interest in Ireland. It argues the socialist solution to the problems of the Irish people. It can be obtained, 80p for a year, through IS Books, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN. Bulk orders should be sent to: P Prenderville at 24 Ferme Park Road, London N4.

RUGBY:—With unemployment on the rise in the town, more than 30 claimants, unemployed workers and active trade unionists attended a meeting to form a Claimants and Unemployed Workers Union last week.

Local International Socialists assisted in initial activity at Social Security offices and in holding the meeting.

George Hope, DATA divisional officer, spoke of the important role for claimants unions in the fight against unemployment. He stressed the need for the unemployed to keep up their trade union membership and work to force the official trade union movement into action to fight sackings.

Active trade unionists promised their support and urged a joint fight by employed and unemployed to gain affiliation to the trade council and to win support from

shop stewards' committees and union branches.

Mary Holland: a correction

I FEEL I must make it clear to your readers that I did not write the front page article on Derry's Bloody Sunday which appeared under my name in your issue of 4 February.

I was not in Derry on Bloody Sunday and I am not in the habit of writing eye-witness accounts of events I did not see.

I did interview several of the families of the dead men and an extract of about 100 words from one of these interviews did appear in your paper:—MARY HOLLAND, London N1.

We regret the error and any embarrassment caused to Mary Holland. The mistake occurred due to a telephone misunderstanding on our part. The article in question was the work of Eamonn McCann:—EDITOR.

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Cumbernauld
Dundee
Edinburgh
Fife
Glasgow N
Glasgow S
Stirling
St Andrews

NORTH EAST
Durham
Newcastle upon Tyne
Spennymoor
Sunderland
Teesside (Middlesbrough & Redcar)

NORTH
Barnsley
Bradford
Doncaster
Grimsby
Halifax
Huddersfield
Hull
Leeds
Mid-Derbyshire
Ossett
Scarborough
Selby
Sheffield
York

NORTH WEST
Barrow
Blackburn
Bolton
Crewe
Kirkby
Lancaster
Manchester
Merseyside
Oldham
Potteries
Preston
St Helens
Wigan
Wrexham

MIDLANDS
Birmingham
Coventry
Leamington
Leicester
Northampton
Nottingham
Oxford
Redditch
Rugby
Telford
Wolverhampton

WALES and SOUTH WEST
Bath
Bristol
Cardiff
Exeter
Gloucester
Mid-Devon

Plymouth
Swansea

SOUTH
Ashford
Brighton
Canterbury
Crawley
Folkestone
Gurdford
Portsmouth
Southampton

EAST
Basilidon
Beccles
Cambridge
Colchester
Harlow

Ipswich
Leiston
Lowestoft
Norwich
Peterborough

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES
Acton
Camden
Chertsey
Croydon

Dagenham
East London
Enfield
Erith
Fulham
Greenford
Hackney & Islington
Havering
Harrow
Hemel Hempstead
Hornsey
Hounslow
Ilford
Kilburn
Kingston
Lambeth
Lewisham
Merton
Newham
Paddington
Reading
St Albans
Slough
South Ealing
Tottenham
Walthamstow
Wandsworth
Watford
Woolwich

WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive first post Monday or phoned Monday morning. Notices are charged at 5p per line. Semi-display 10p per line. Cash with copy. No insertions without payment—invoices cannot be sent.

MEETINGS

UNEMPLOYMENT—A TORY DISEASE: Socialist Medical Association meeting, Tues 14 March, 7.30pm, room 15, House of Commons. Spkrs Ernie Roberts, assistant general secretary AUEW, and Dr J. Dunwoody.

GLASGOW Socialist Worker meetings: Lessons From the Miners' Strike, Thurs 2 March. Speaker Wally Preston, secretary Manchester and District Electricity Supply Shop Stewards Combine. 7.30pm, McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street.

A 'REBEL' EVENING of Revolutionary Theatre and Folk: Sat 4 March, 7.30pm-1am, including the Cartoon Archetypal Slogan Theatre. Pitt Street Union building. Glasgow. Admission 40p.

GLASGOW AREA IS: Mon 13 March, Patrick Burgh Hall, 7.30pm. End Internment, Withdraw British Troops. Main spkr Eamonn McCann. Tickets 10p from Glasgow IS or write to 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

ANTI-INTERMENT LEAGUE CONFERENCE for trade unionists: Sun 5 March, NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Field, London WC1. Open to delegates from trade union branches, shop stewards committees, etc. also individual trade unionists as observers. Speakers from British and Irish labour movements.

WATFORD IS public mtng: Brian Trench on The Struggle in Ireland. Wednes 1 March 8pm, Leviathan pub, 151 St Albans Rd, Watford.

NEATH: Bernadette Devlin speaks on Unemployment And How To Fight It, 12.30am, Neath Town Hall, Sat. 26 Feb.

ALL GRADES POSTAL WORKERS mtng at 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2, 10.30am Sun 5 March. IS members only. Details from branch secretaries.

BLACKBURN IS public meeting HOW TO FIGHT THE TORIES
Speaker Tony Cliff
Thursday 2 March 8pm
Duke of York, Darwen Street Bridge.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS YOUTH CONFERENCE
Saturday 4 March 10am
New Merlin's Cave
Margery Street, London WC1
Sessions on:
Apprentices and young workers
Rebel
Building a youth movement

TEESSIDE IS RALLY
The Struggle for Socialism
Speaker Tony Cliff
Singer Alex Glasgow
Friday 25 Feb 7.30pm
James Finegan Hall, Fabian Rd, Teesside

IS Conference WOMEN IN ACTION
Women's Liberation
Tenants, Claimants and social workers
Women in Industry
Sat 26 Feb 10am-6pm in London
Details from branch secretary or IS Women, 18 Dickinson Rd, London N8

NOTICES

BLACKBOD 4 now out: For teachers/students. On: James Report, Edtheory, Against Deschooling. For Socialist Curriculum. 7p each, post free, from 125 Vansittart Rd, Windsor, Berks. Ten or more copies 6p each.

IS BOOKS opening hours: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday 2-5pm, Thursday 2-7pm.

JOB WANTED until October: BA (Hons), 22, anything considered—Loughlin, 12 Hillsborough Ave, Exeter.

ANTI-INTERMENT LEAGUE under attack: 3 leading members charged with conspiracy. Picket Bow Street Magistrates Court, 10am, Mon 28 Feb.

THE Anti-Internment League wishes to contact all those arrested and charged on the 5 Feb demo; witnesses to arrests and beatings; all those beaten up in police stations—write or phone John Gray, basement flat, 139 Holland Rd, London W14. Tel: 01-603-3085.

ACCOMMODATION NEEDED in London area on night of Sat 11 March for Fine Tubes strikers and their families coming up to London for Benefit Concert on 12 March. Please phone Joyce Rosser, 01-340-5911, if you can help.

Telephone
01 739 2639
business

Assembly is a red herring

AN 'Assembly of the Scottish people', organised by the Scottish TUC, met in Edinburgh last week with 1500 delegates, including MPs from all parties, representatives of the churches, and the Confederation of British Industries, as well as trade unionists.

The idea for the assembly was first suggested by Jimmy Reid of the UCS shop stewards last October.

Given the composition of the meeting, it was not surprising that it came up with no real ideas on how to deal with Scotland's unemployment problem. After all, those behind the problem, the owners of big business and the Tory government, were represented there.

The organisers had decided in advance that the aim was talk with them about dealing with the problem 'in a spirit of partnership', and the vice-president of the Scottish TUC, Alex Day, a member of the Communist Party, appealed at the Glasgow Trades Council for delegates to 'discipline' themselves in view of the composition of the gathering.

The official speakers at the conference had nothing to say on how to deal with unemployment. Instead they confined themselves to insipid generalities about the need to develop 'the traditional industries' and to demand that life be made more profitable for businessmen who invest in Scotland by granting them bigger investment allowances and lower interest rates.

Demands

The tone of the STUC's statements was such that Sir William McEwan Younger, chairman of the Scottish Tories, could congratulate them on calling the assembly. He must have felt quite happy that the question of a real fight against unemployment and the present government hardly emerged at all.

A few speakers did manage to inject specifically working class demands into the discussion. Brother Walker of ASLEF called for an end to productivity bargaining, and Gerry Ross, from UCS, expressed grave doubts about the effectiveness of the assembly's proposals.

Only action by rank-and-file workers can resist the upward toll of redundancies and force employers to take on more workers. Those who spread illusions that somehow the solution lies in meetings like that of the assembly, bringing together those who create unemployment and those who suffer from it, only serve to divert attention from the real struggle and make it more difficult.



A RECORD released this week is in aid of the miners' strike fund. On one side is The Miners' Song, by John and City Lights, and on the B side is Colourful Man, by City Lights. The record plays at 45rpm and costs 50p. It is available from IS Books, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

STEWARDS HOLD KEY TO CAR MEN'S FIGHT

by Steve Jefferys

THE 3250 workers at the British Leyland trucks and tractors factory at Bathgate are now entering their eighth week on strike. They began their struggle on the same day as the men at Chrysler, Linwood, and two days before the miners, and have seen both those groups of workers winning rises of £5 a week.

British Leyland have so far made only one move in the strike, when last week they convened a meeting of trade union executive members at Chester. The stewards were not invited,

and the national officials under the chairmanship of John Boyd, of the AUEW, did not see fit to ensure that they were present.

As it turned out, the 'improved' offer, above the £2 a week for the better paid and the £1.50 for the lower paid that was rejected eight weeks ago, did not even persuade the trade union side at Chester.

There are some signs that the strike is beginn-

ing to bite. Lord Stokes has resorted yet again to his favourite trick of threatening the complete closure of Bathgate unless the workers surrender.

And last week the stewards were asked by local management to allow the completion of 40 truck orders. British Leyland promised that no one would be paid until after the end of the strike and that no invoices would be sent to the customers until then as well. The strikers took a long two minutes to answer this one... and then decided to step up to a 24-hour picket.

The fight is becoming an increasingly militant one. As Stan McKeown, chairman of the joint shop stewards, puts it: 'For years we've put up with getting coppers. Now, the longer the strike lasts, the more determined the lads are becoming.'

'Just to show British Leyland who's really in charge here, the committee and pickets marched into the factory a few days back and gave them a real fright. We're really determined to win this one and want them to know it.'

The key to the Bathgate battle lies with the British Leyland shop steward combine. The moral support given so far is not enough.

And Lord Stokes must be given a warning that if his Scottish car workers are not given parity, then he will face solidarity action elsewhere in his empire.

Donations to P Reston, Blackburn Football Club, Riddochill Rd, Blackburn, Bathgate, Scotland.

Building sites strike big

BIRMINGHAM:—15 major building sites stopped work for a day last week, and 800 workers demonstrated outside the head office of the biggest employer of building labour in the city, Bryant's.

They were protesting at the victimisation of leading militants in the area, Pete Carter and John Shortland, and putting some demands to the Bryant's management.

The demonstration was organised by the newly formed Bryant's co-ordinating committee and the Bryant's workers were supported by those from Wimpey's, New Town, McAlpine's, Laing's, Mowlems, Lowes and Pickering's.

A delegation led by co-ordinating committee chairman Mike Shillock, demanded:

- £1 an hour for tradesmen and 85p an hour for labourers.
- 35-hour guaranteed week.
- 100 per cent trade unionism.
- An end of blacklisting and victimisation of militant stewards.
- The employment of Pete Carter and John Shortland.
- The end of court proceedings and of a claim for £800 damages against leading militants.
- Re-opening of Bryant's training school. Bryant's have been given a week in which to reply to these demands.

LATE NOTICES

HACKNEY AND ISLINGTON IS public meeting: 29 Feb 8pm, R Kuper on How The Workers Are Robbed, Rose and Crown, corner of Stoke Newington Church St and Albion Road.

BRISTOL IS public meeting: Sun 27 Feb, The Workers' Response To The Bosses' Attack. Speaker: a Chrysler shop steward. Crown and Dove, Bridewell Street, opposite fire station, at 7.30pm.

WANDSWORTH IS public meeting: Frank Campbell (ACATT) on The Present Industrial Struggle, 8pm Thurs 2 March. The Spotted Dog, 72 Garrett Lane, SW18.

The political life and death of Captain Ray Gunter

AS the Tory government tottered last week Captain Raymond Gunter, Labour MP for Southwark, found time to interrupt the free holiday the South African government were giving him in that happy land.

He announced that he was resigning from the parliamentary Labour Party because he could not bring himself to vote against the Tory government's Common Market policy.

Discipline has always been close to Gunter's heart wherever that may be found. Right through 1962, he could be found warning that the real problem of modern Britain was lack of discipline. If the trade union leaders did not sort out the disruptives who caused strikes then the state would, he repeated time and time again.

By 1964 Captain Gunter was Minister of Labour in the Labour government. All his prescriptions could be freely dispensed.

In October 1964, he denounced the unofficial docks strike as leading to anarchy. In July 1965, with deep feeling, he told the House of Commons that he would say a prayer for early resumption of negotiations to end a railway go slow. Come 1966, prayers were failing and he reinvented the red plot and led the witch-hunt against the striking seamen.

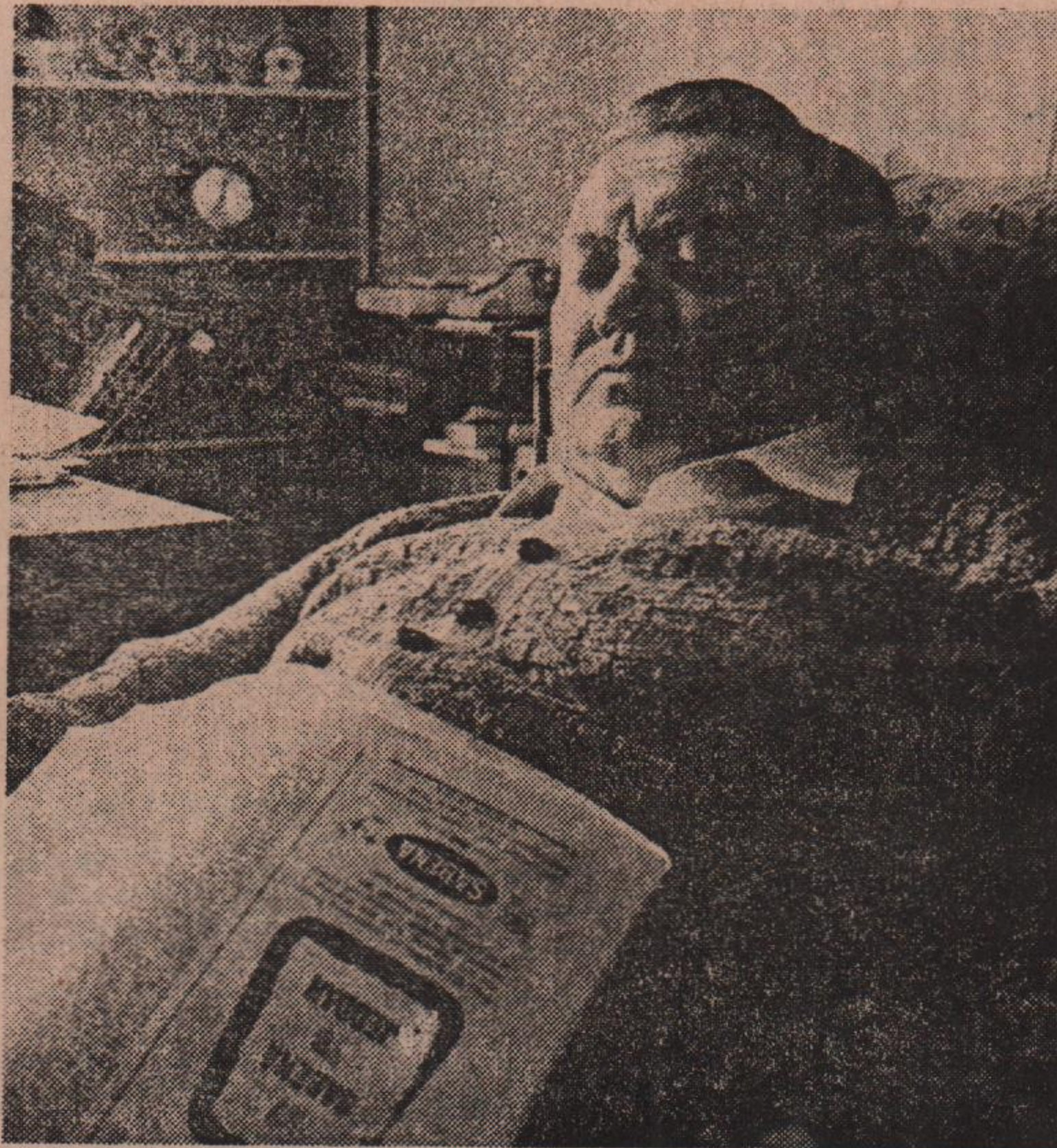
Private army

When Labour published its first racist white paper on immigration Gunter was its most sturdy defender. Once again it was a 'lead us not into temptation' speech. We should not, he said, open the floodgates to such an extent that we cannot contain the flood.

Gunter drove hardest of all in the Labour Cabinet for an Industrial Relations Act. Once the government caved in to trade union opposition, the Captain decided to leave his post.

Remaining a Labour MP, he took up a position on the board of directors of that well known private army Securicor, famed for its services of screening prospective employees and reporting on any worker suspected of inciting his fellows to defection. Securicor agreed what the nation needs is discipline. Perhaps they will go on to found a new political party together.

Before long he was voting with the Tories in favour of the Industrial Relations Act and writing for the



Ray Gunter: man of discipline

magazine of the Confederation of British Industry, the biggest bosses' journal in the country, to explain the advantages of this legislation.

Actually the appalling Gunter's political career is more a reflection on the party he has now left than on himself. He has the merit of a vicious consistency.

Dealing

And above all, he has always been completely honest, a quality he has always urged on all us lesser human beings. 'We had all better understand very quickly that there are some ancient virtues that still remain fundamental to the health and well being of the nation, and at this moment honesty is the greatest of these virtues,' he announced on 24 January 1965.

All his sterling qualities were in evidence in his dealings with Labour

MP George Strauss over Robert Smith, an employee of the Bermondsey firm, Central Asbestos.

Strauss wrote to him in his capacity as Minister in charge of industrial safety about the murderous conditions in the factory where concentrations of dust were officially recorded as up to 700 times the permissible limit. Gunter replied that the matter had been dealt with and the Factory Inspectorate had cleaned the place up. Gunter was 'mistaken', for workers were still dying in the pursuit of profit. Nothing had been done.

As Gunter said himself in 1967: 'I do wish so many of the comrades would stop equating profits with incest or lechery. If you have a profitable industry you have the means for further investment and further development and more jobs.' Undertaking expanded fast in Southwark.

Sack threat to women

by Stella Cawood

WAKEFIELD:—The Wakefield Shirt Company has announced that with the government's Equal Pay Act it will sack many of the 95 per cent of its workers who are women, and will replace them by men.

It gives as its principal reasons the arguments that it is more profitable to employ men because they can work shifts and overtime, which is increasingly important as new machines are introduced, that they are more 'reliable', seldom needing time off to look after sick children, and that they do not leave to have families soon after completing their training.

The firm give as a further reason its desire to help reduce the number of men unemployed, and ignores the fact that most women work not for 'pin money', but because the low wages of their husbands do

not allow them to raise a family in any other way.

The factory is unionised, but the officials admit they do not know what is going on.

The production manager has said that it will be two or three years before most of the redundancies happen.

Women workers must begin to organise to ensure that such moves are prevented. They must force their unions to begin to really fight for their rights, and demand:

1. Written guarantees that there are no redundancies because of the Equal Pay Act.
2. Equal pay without job evaluation, shift work or overtime.
3. The right to paid maternity leave with full job security.
4. Full pay, for either parent, to look after sick children.

Tenants ready for rents fight

HALSTEAD:—At a big meeting in this little Essex town last week, council tenants listened to speakers on the 'Fair Rents' Bill.

The meeting, organised by Halstead Labour Party, heard first from Brian Bastin, a Labour Greater London councillor and expert on housing. He could offer little to fight rent rises except to wait for the return of a socialist administration.

Hugh Kerr spoke for the International Socialists and showed how the rent rises were part of a general offensive on the working class.

At the end of the meeting most of the audience decided that it was not enough to wait for the return of a Labour government, and put their names down to help form a Halstead Tenants Association to fight the rent rises directly.



I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name _____

Address _____

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

Socialist Worker

The fighting the Tories fund

OUR £5000 Fighting Fund has reached £2041 this week.

'£1 to express my solidarity with the fight against the government,' writes a donor from London W14.

'I am an old age pensioner but hope my small donation will be of some assistance to you and help bring about the downfall

of this vicious Tory government, says a letter from Lowestoft.

With a £20 cheque from Exeter was a note saying: 'Socialists, communists and all trade union members like myself must unite to get Ted Heath and his awful Tory government out of power once and for all time.'

Many contributions are anonymous, but nearly all are for the same reason.

The fight to bring down the Tories is our first priority. For this we need your financial support.

Please send contributions to: Jim Nichol, IS national treasurer, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

Miners rock Tories - but there are snags ahead

MINERS throughout Britain are welcoming the significant pay increases that their six-week strike forced from the government. But there are also several features of the settlement which militants must note carefully.

Firstly, the union had the strength to win even more than it did. As a miner from Grimthorpe pit in Yorkshire told Socialist Worker, the willingness of the union leadership to reduce the amount of the claim half way through the strike did not help matters.

'We should have pushed the claim up by two quid, not down by two quid—to pay for our inconvenience.'

Again, many militants have been critical of the decision to call off the pickets before the ballot was taken, which effectively meant that the ballot was regarded as a mere formality, with the real decision taken in advance.

The democratic control of the rank and file was undermined as it would have been very difficult to put the pickets back on and get other trade unionists to start blacking coal and coke again if the settlement had been rejected.

Determined

The agreement itself contains several points miners will have to be aware of in the months ahead. It lasts 16 months, which means that it runs out at the end of February next year. There is the danger that miners could be forced next year to fight for their claim in the spring rather than in the much more favourable winter.

The union leadership has also accepted that discussions will begin on further productivity deals, aimed to come in effect in October. Unless there is determined rank and file pressure on the union leaders, further pit closures, cuts in the labour force and worse conditions could be accepted.

All this makes it imperative that rank and file militants in the industry get together now to prepare for the fight ahead and to press for a programme of union reform to make it responsive to the needs of working miners. At the moment only two of the 28 members of the national executive actually work in the pits.

As a contribution to building up such a movement, the International Socialists are calling a conference of miners in Leeds on 19 March.

For details, write to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

BOSSSES' £1M WAR AGAINST STRIKERS

A MASSIVE £1 million press campaign by the right-wing Aims of Industry group will be launched in April designed to influence some workers from taking part in unofficial strike action.

Advertising copy is centred on 'Work together and we'll make it together' and other versions of the 'stop grousing and rally round the flag for the sake of the country' theme. But an internal memo

by SW Reporter

from the advertising agency handling the campaign admits the real purpose.

'I believe that the segment we are after is made up of about five per cent manual, semi-skilled and skilled workers who find themselves 'on the margin' when unofficial strikes are brewing and whose actions in this circumstance could be

affected by the type of propaganda we shall be putting out,' writes David Williams, the executive in charge.

The 'Work together' campaign, which will be much bigger than the ill-fated Backing Britain venture, is the inspiration of Hubert G Starley, managing director of the Champion sparking plug company, of Feltham. It was put into the planning stage right after the Tories won the last general election.

In October 1970, the Aims of Industry Council agreed to sponsor the campaign. Council members include Lord

Rank, chairman of the flour-to-cinemas empire, Sir John Reiss, head of the massive Associated Portland Cement monopoly, Frank Taylor, of Taylor Woodrow, Colonel Whitbread, Peter Cadbury and Sir George Harriman (ex-BMC).

By December 1970 Henry Ford II and his UK board of directors agreed to 'carry the main interest' and put up £100,000 starting expenses.

As planning went on, fund raising was stepped up. By September last year Starley reported that £400,000 had been collected and there was little doubt that 'the fund would reach £1 million by Christmas'.

Ford, Champion, Lucas Industries and Portland Industries had each promised £50,000 over two years. There were 'excellent prospects of at least a similar amount' from GKN (who would probably double that sum later), from Whitbreads, from Taylor Woodrow and from Rank Hovis McDougall.

Frank Taylor had agreed to call a meeting of the 10 leading building firms to enlist their support and Whitbreads would make the same approach to the seven big brewers.

Spike guns

In May 1971, representatives were to meet Robert Carr, the Minister of Employment. 'Several discussions have been carried out to obtain his co-operation.'

David Wilson mapped out a strategy to win the opposition. 'First, I still think Hubert (Starley) should present the campaign to Harold Wilson explaining that it is no further away from In Place Of Strife than it was from the Industrial Relations Act. I suggested he should enlist the aid of Harold Lever before going to Wilson.'

'Secondly I believe we should spike any opposition guns by running nothing but anti-management advertisements for the first week of the campaign.'

The phoney 'Work together' campaign is now ready for the off. A plush room in London's Savoy Hotel has already been booked for the launching press conference. Car stickers, lapel badges and bill posters have been prepared in addition to the newspaper ads.

William Barnetson, chairman and managing director of United Newspapers, which owns the Yorkshire Post and a chain of other papers, has promised that the ads will be backed up with favourable editorials and articles.

Aims of Industry has also decided to try to place the ads in five major trade union journals, those belonging to the Transport Workers' Union, the General and Municipal, the Electricians and Plumbers, ASTMS and DATA. It will be interesting to see which unions accept them.



THESE lorries were three of the many which were carrying Polish coal across the border from the Irish Republic into the Six Counties during the miners' strike. The coal was being imported through Southern Irish ports.

In solidarity with the striking miners a local unit of the Official IRA in the border area near Dundalk seized six lorries at the border and burnt them.

Special case

From page one

movement is mobilised at rank and file level. No reliance can be placed on union leaders soaked in compromise and retreat.

The fight to defeat the Tories is a political fight. Industrial militancy must be geared to a political programme that recognises Labour as a partner in crime of the Tories that must also be defeated on the road to building a real socialist society.

The miners have shown us the possibilities of achieving that aim. The finest tribute we can pay them is to take up the gauntlet they have thrown down and prepare for all-out battle with the Tories and their system.

London bus workers reject pay offer that sticks to 'norm'

by Chris Davison TGWU

LONDON'S 25,000 bus men and women have rejected a pay offer worth between 7 and 7½ per cent, despite appeals from union officials.

The pay claim goes back to last September when busworkers' delegates voted to go for an interim rise. They said the increase awarded last April had already been eaten away by the rocketing cost of living.

Transport Union officials submitted this in the form of a claim for a shift allowance—despite the fact that a previous 'shift allowance' had been consolidated into the basic rate only a year before.

This manoeuvre, designed to avoid a straight pay claim, resulted in the loss of so much time that when the employers finally rejected it the time for submitting the normal annual claim had been reached. This suited both London Transport and the union officials, for a demand for 15 per cent was submitted.

No more

Even if paid in full, this increase would only just have made up for the cost of living rise in the past year. As it is the present offer, if accepted, will mean that for the second year running London's bus workers will have suffered a cut in the standard of living.

But the decision to reject the offer was made by only 38 votes to 30 and many delegates feel that the officials will treat further negotiations as just a formality. Larry Smith, the national bus officer of the union, told the delegate conference that it

was no good going back as there was 'no more in the kitty'.

The excuse put up by both the leadership and many in the rank and file for accepting meekly the punishment handed out by London Transport is that we busworkers do not have industrial strength like the miners—and the defeat of 1958 is evidence of this. What 1958 did show was that left on their own busworkers will go to the wall.

Alliance

But the victory of the miners in 1972 makes it even more urgent that the trade union movement takes action to see that this does not happen again. Only by building an alliance between public service workers can the Tories be defeated. If all London Transport's workers were to submit a joint claim and take action together they would have the same strength as the miners.

LAGGERS PROTEST OVER UNION'S REFUSAL

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE: -150 lagggers—thermal insulation workers—protested this week at the regional offices of the General and Municipal Workers Union at the refusal of the union to make their 13-week-old strike official.

The strike is a demand for parity with lagggers elsewhere, who earn 16½p an hour more. North-East employers pay the full rates to North-Eastern workers on sites in other parts of the country, but not in their own region.

Six hundred lagggers were threatened that if they did not return to work by this Thursday they would be given their cards. Despite pressure from the men and from some union officials, the regional boss, Alderman Andrew Cunningham, has stopped attempts to have the strike made official.

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