

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 210 6 MARCH 1971 2½p (6d)

Striking engineers boost anti-Tory fight



On Monday 1½ million engineering workers staged an impressive one-day official strike against the Industrial Relations Bill. Big marches were held in most major centres and there were widespread

demands for a TUC-led General Strike to force the government to back down. More than 2000 workers joined a march in London (see picture) and 3000 marched through torrential rain in Glasgow.

New landlords' charter will force up rents

FURTHER CUTS in the living standards of millions of workers are likely as a result of the Francis Committee's report on the Rent Act. The report calls for measures that will force up the rents of more than a million families.

If the government accepts the committee's proposals, tenants will be hit in four ways:

1. 1,400,000 families with rents controlled since before 1967 will find themselves facing large increases.
2. Tens of thousands of tenants in homes with a rateable value of above £150 (£300 in London) will lose their present protection under the Rent Act.
3. Tenants of newly built buildings will also find themselves without such protection.

4. Landlords will no longer be prevented from imposing an arbitrary increase in those rents that have not been registered with the rent officer.

Attempts are made to justify the recommendations on the grounds that unless rents are higher there will be no incentive for landlords to build houses to let and the housing shortage will grow worse.

Such arguments, far from justifying higher rents, merely expose the inhumanity of the present system of society, in which the basic needs of the majority

of people cannot be met unless a minority of property owners make a profit.

Labour politicians will make loud noises in opposition to the report. But they prepared the ground for it.

Their own rent control measures actually worked in the interests of landlords, not tenants. In 1969, two-thirds of rent control measures by rent officers served to RAISE rents.

And finally, it was the Labour government that decided upon the composition of the Francis Committee itself.

FIGHTING UNITY OF UNIONS IS VITAL

FOR SIX WEEKS more than 200,000 postal workers have fought alone against the government's attempts to force down the real earnings of workers in the public sector of the economy. They have had to survive without strike pay and withstand bitter attacks by government ministers and the millionaire press.

The strategy of the government has been to force the postal strikers back to work on harsh conditions in order to set an example to the rest of the labour movement. The Tories hope to force the UPW to accept much harder working conditions and a further rundown of the postal service as the price of any pay rise above 8 per cent.

The lessons of the strike are clear. The postmen's dispute could have been won long ago if they had not been left to fight alone by other unions.

Many unions have given or lent them money but that alone has in no way measured up to the needs of the situation.

Sections of workers whose own wage claims are directly dependent on the success or failure of the UPW should have been fighting alongside the postmen.

WEAKER

The railwaymen's unions are next in line for the wages battle. If they fight after the government has been allowed to defeat the postmen, their own position will be much weaker.

But their union leaders could long ago have tied their wage demand to that of the postmen and announced that they would fight together against the single enemy, the government.

Such a united policy would have scotched the government's divide-and-rule plans for once and for all.

The least that should have been done was for the railwaymen's unions to have placed a complete ban on the movement of parcels while the post strike took place. Such a ban, especially if backed by the Transport Workers' Union in British Road Services and in the giant haulage firms, would have strengthened enormously the postmen's position.

ALLIANCE

Within the Post Office, the Post Office Engineering Union, whose own claim comes up in a few months time, should have taken positive action. The minimum

Key lesson of the post strike

that should have been done was to black those telephone exchanges where blackleg operators were working.

The government's attacks on public sector workers will not end with this strike. If living standards are not to fall as prices rise at record speed, then the call has to go out now for a united fight back.

An alliance of all unions in the public sector has to be built to ensure that such united action takes place.

If the postmen suffer, it is because the leaders of the unions in this sector have not been prepared to fight in a united, determined way.

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Mass movement must fight to kick the Tories out

THE MOVEMENT against the government's anti-working class policies continues to gather strength. More than a million engineering workers took direct action against the Industrial Relations Bill on Monday. And the postmen's strike, now entering its seventh week, has become the largest and most bitter industrial conflict since the war.

The government's refusal to make any concessions when faced with such pressure shows that their present measures are no passing mistake. They correspond to the deeply-felt needs of the small minority that owns and controls British industry.

An increasing number of militants are beginning to see that the only way to really defeat present attacks on living standards and shop floor organisation is to prepare for a struggle not just to advance the demands of sections of workers but to end the whole big business system for once and for all.

But it is also clear that the vast majority of organised workers — let alone the millions unorganised — are still a long way from such an understanding. Some still believe that, although particular Tory policies are bad, the government is trying to rule in workers' interests. Many more disagree with its policies, but hope that the TUC's verbal denunciation and attempts at compromise will be effective.

Yet no one can pretend that the mass of workers are content with a situation in which prices go on rising, unemployment increases, welfare services are curtailed, and the ability of the rank and file to protect itself through strike action is made illegal.

Socialist militants have to show ordinary workers that they can take action to remove the source of these problems. What is needed is a policy that relates to the attacks on the conditions of ordinary workers and is capable of producing a mass, unified action necessary to begin to confront the ruling class that launches these attacks.

Movement has strength

What should such a policy be?

The first point to be made is that the working class movement has the strength to defeat the anti-union laws and the onslaught on living standards. If all organised workers were to take industrial action against the Bill then the present government could not go ahead with the measure.

Even if the Bill formally becomes law, the refusal by major unions to co-operate with it — not only by refusing to register, but also by making official all strikes that broke the law and defying the courts by ordering the blacking of scab goods — could make it impossible to operate.

The trade union movement has enough strength to defeat the government's offensive against public sector workers. If the unions in that sector — postal workers, railwaymen and so on — were to band together, the Tories would not be able to take them on section by section.

Such defeats for the government's anti-working class policies could also be the end of the Tory government itself. The ruling class would find that all its present policies lay in ruins. As its different sections blamed one another for the chaos, the Tory government could not remain in power. The working class movement would effectively have shown that it could 'Kick out the Tories'.

But if we say that the working class can, if it acts in a united and militant way, get rid of the present government, we have also to be able to suggest what should replace it.

The only real alternative to the Tory government at the moment is the Labour Party. If Heath lost power tomorrow, he would be replaced by Harold Wilson. Yet Wilson is no real alternative to the Tories. We had such a government for six years. It prepared the way for the present attacks.

Put demands on Labour

Some people on the left argue that we can reconcile the need for socialist measures with the fact that Labour is still the only credible alternative by calling for a 'Labour government committed to socialist policies'. This demand is not only impracticable but helps to foster illusions in the real nature of the Labour Party.

What we can argue is that workers should use their organised strength in the trade unions to impose upon any future Labour government a programme of pro-working-class measures. Such a programme should include:

1. Repeal of the Industrial Relations Bill and of all anti-union measures.
2. No incomes policy under capitalism.
3. Restoration of all welfare services and no welfare charges.
4. Work or full maintenance at trade union rates for the unemployed.
5. Renationalisation without compensation of all industries sold off by the present government.

We have no illusions that a Labour government would actually put such a programme into practice. But the mass of workers who still look to Labour as the alternative to the Tories will be prepared to fight through the unions to impose such demands on the Labour Party. In the process they will see how opposed to their interests the Labour leaders are and learn how their strength as a class can be used to implement such demands.

Next week's Socialist Worker will feature a major article by PAUL FOOT on the Tories' new Aliens Bill. Make sure your workmates read it.

Stormont encourages mood of revenge RUC BULLY BOYS BEHIND FRESH ULSTER VIOLENCE

by Brian Trench

WITH EVERY ill-considered move the authorities make in Northern Ireland, they are re-creating the conditions for sectarian violence that existed in August 1969. With the declaration of war on the Irish Republican Army and the statement that the forces of law and order can and must win, Brian Faulkner, Chichester-Clark's powerful right-hand man, encourages the mood of revenge among the North's fascist elements.

Over a period of several months the idea has been implanted in the minds of the British and of the Irish 'public' that all disturbances in Northern Ireland have been caused by the 'Provisional' IRA. The British 'public' and the Ulster Unionists have never believed anything else.

MISFIRED

Among the nationalist population such statements carry little weight. They have been the object of a continued effort by the security forces to grind them down into inactivity.

The British army has tried to engineer a situation in which a shoot-out with the IRA will not cause massive retaliation. The first phase of the strategy has misfired and so will the second phase!

For every individual shooting of a fighter in the nationalist areas, the support for the IRA will grow.

The actions of the British army have led to the revival of a traditional republicanism underlined by the idea of defence of the communities — and insistence of the right to bear the symbols of support for the Irish nation. But political and military conditions in Belfast and Derry block almost completely the development of a political strategy that would bring the long-term objective of a united Ireland one step nearer.

BANNED

Not able to understand the value attached to such symbols, the Unionist government banned the wearing of republican 'uniforms'. Even from the point of view of enforcing law and order from day to day, this was quite unnecessary.

It was done to placate the die-hards in their own party who are offended by such symbolic flouting of authority.

The result was that women assembled with these uniforms outside a Belfast court on Friday where men were being tried in connection with wearing the same uniforms at an IRA funeral.

Royal Ulster Constabulary men, playing to a crowd of Protestant



British troops on guard in New Lodge Road, Belfast: their orders are to wipe out the IRA.

women waving Union Jacks, seized the women, pulled off their combat jackets and berets, and then pushed them among the loyalist counter-demonstrators.

More than 40 arrests were made, all without exception among the Catholics — 40 arrests in a crowd of little over 100.

Even lawyers who were far from sympathetic to the republicans and who had watched the police action from the windows of the Court House, complained subsequently to the police authority at the RUC's brutality and discrimination.

Retaliation was inevitable. Two policemen were shot later that night.

All the 'deploring' of 'senseless killings' failed to mention what had happened earlier. If the nationalists resort to terrorist acts and if they become entrenched in sectarian views, it is because everything the Unionist government and the security forces do encourage it.

Predictably, the call has come for the re-arming of the RUC, for internment and the arrest of suspects. This further reinforces the defensive attitudes of the republican community.

While it is understandable that this strategy should have developed, it is clear that unless they are overcome the goals which even 'traditional republicans' have set themselves can not be realised.

STRATEGY

As the economic situation worsens and the workers in the shipyards, engineering works and subsidiary plants throughout Northern Ireland are threatened with redundancy, it will become even more necessary for republicans to develop a strategy to win the support of Protestant workers.

On their own, in their ghettos, they cannot break the vicious circle of the system of violence.

LETTER

Aliens Bill is part of attack on trade union movement

GINNY WEST's article on the Aliens Bill (20 February) skipped over the basic issues in one sentence because of her almost total emphasis on racial discrimination.

She noted in passing that 'one certain effect of such legislation would be to deter newcomers to this country from joining unions or showing any sign of militancy'.

But this is the crucial point: the fight against the Aliens Bill is directly related to the fight against the Industrial Relations Bill.

They are both bosses' charters, designed to create a 'mobile' as well as docile labour force.

Measures similar to the Aliens Bill already exist on the Continent, for all immigrants, white as well as black. A 'sub-proletariat' has been created from immigrants in these countries, where such legislation is put forward in nationalistic terms.

It is largely an historical accident of British imperialism that the current Aliens Bill is racialist.

By the use of work permits, the Bill establishes the direction of labour for those whose grandparents were not British (non-patrials). By this heredity clause, exceptions can be made for those from the

white Commonwealth.

But this device will not cover many from Eire. This means that a large company will have a legal incentive and power to construct a permanent and mobile scab labour force, possibly composed largely of black workers whose option will be strike-breaking or repatriation.

Several thousand foreign workers were deported from France for striking in the May 1968 events.

Deputations to parliament are not enough. The struggle against the Aliens Bill must be linked in trade union branches and localities to the struggle against the IRB. — BOB KORNREICH, Bradford.



ERIC HEFFER MP

Eric Heffer, with Barbara Castle and Harold Walker, leads the parliamentary Labour Party's attack on the Tories' Industrial Relations Bill. Socialist Worker spoke to him at the House of Commons and discussed his role in the fight against the Bill's savage anti-union proposals — a fight compromised by Labour's own record, in particular Mrs Castle's notorious document In Place of Strife that set the pace in anti-union legislation.

'I am a trade union MP elected to do a job for the labour movement'

RP:- Don't you feel rather irrelevant as a Member of Parliament after the massive demonstration of 150,000 people on 21 February?

Not at all. The parliamentary struggle and the extra-parliamentary struggle have to be combined. We need to have people inside parliament fighting the Bill in a parliamentary way and the extra-parliamentary struggle. The two things have got to be integrated. I am a trade unionist in parliament who has been elected to do a job here on behalf of the labour movement. So I don't regard ourselves as irrelevant at all.

RP:- But do you think that the Labour Party has any credibility with the broader trade union movement in view of In Place of Strife?

I think that the credibility has certainly been damaged considerably by both the Prices and Incomes Policy and In Place of Strife. And it does mean that the Labour Party has got to prove over a period of time, in the House of Commons and outside, that they really are essentially with the trade union movement and the trade union movement is still the basis of the Labour Party.

But we did win the battle over In Place of Strife, which again was a fight inside and outside parliament. Because of the combined efforts of the trade union movement and the parliamentary representatives we did get In Place of Strife withdrawn and that was a great victory.

RP:- At a price though, because the TUC itself accepted the need to take steps to cut down on action at shop floor level.

I'm not sure what the declaration of the TUC really meant in strict real terms. My own view is that if trade union executives try to begin to discipline their members they would run into immense trouble.

Rank and file

And quite rightly so. The trade union movement is the rank and file of the movement, it's not just the people who are elected into positions.

RR:- Why do you think the Labour Party leadership introduced In Place of Strife?

I think it was introduced because some people were kidded by the civil service who felt they could put this over and there was also the pressures of the very nature of the society we live in. Of course we disagreed with it fundamentally. If it had gone through the Labour Party would have been split.

RR:- If you look at the Labour Party's record when it was in office, with such things as the Prices and Incomes Act, In Place of Strife, and the seamen's strike, don't you think that the government served the interests of big business and not the working people?

I wouldn't say they served the interests of big business. I think that is a rather crude statement.

They recoiled before the power of big business but they did introduce a whole series of measures which were very beneficial to the working class which big business would never have wanted. Things like wage-related sickness benefits and wage-related unemployment benefits.

They weren't bold enough, they didn't



CASTLE: Hypocritical role?

fight big business. They didn't stand up to them.

When we were faced with an outflow of capital, the first thing the Labour government should have done at that stage was to have taken control of the finance houses, control of the banks, insurance companies and so on. If we are ever to get socialism, that is what a Labour government will have to do.

If we are ever to really destroy the capitalist system in this country by democratic means we will have to take control of all the finance houses and the banks. Without doing this we can't, without the levers of real economic and financial power in our hands, build a socialist society. This is where the Labour government failed.

RP:- One of the main demands on the 21 February demonstration was the need to call a General Strike to kill the Bill. Do you support that?

If the lads mean all-out, continuous general strike — that they won't go back before the Bill is killed — I don't think I would particularly advocate that at this stage.

AUEW lead

But if it was meant that we should have a series of overall one-day disputes which would indicate our complete opposition to the Bill, then I think that the lead given by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers is one which we could definitely give our support to.

RR:- Do you think the TUC leadership is fighting hard enough to defeat the Bill?

The TUC leadership is not just one person. Vic Feather is a trade union official, he has to do what the General Council decide to do and the General Council is made up of people with varying opinions.

It is up to us who are members of trade unions to fight for our ideas within the movement so that when it gets to the level of the General Council they know what their membership think.

If they refuse to carry out what their membership want then we can talk in terms of running away. But at the moment I don't think we've done sufficient campaigning within the organisations.

RR:- The Finance and General Purposes Committee of the TUC refused to endorse the call for industrial action against the Bill. Do you think that was wrong?

It is a matter for people in the trade union movement to express their opinion within the movement at branch, district and regional level to get their executives to carry out the policies they want.

To believe that every member of the trade union movement at this particular moment is calling for a general strike is not real. There are many thousands of workers, perhaps tens of thousands, who still don't really understand the Bill.

Mass support

We have an educational job to do and having done that, the next stage is to say what sort of action we want. Now I would definitely like to see the General Council sit down and re-discuss where they are going from here, based upon the mass support there is for this in the country.

RR:- Do you think the TUC have a responsibility to give a lead?

Of course they do. But we also have a responsibility to tell them what we want done. It's a two-way thing. It's no good leaders being too far ahead of the troops and it's also important for the troops to constantly put our views to the leadership of the movement.

RP:- According to The Guardian, a meeting of Tribune MPs, discussing the attitude to the Industrial Relations Bill, said that unless they took the lead in the struggle against it, it would be impossible to 'contain' shop floor anger. Contain seems an odd word to use.

No I don't remember that. Do you believe everything you read in the newspapers?

RP:- I very rarely do. But you would see the role of a left wing Labour MP as not to contain the shop floor struggle but to widen it, broaden it and politicise it?

The Bill is directed particularly against the shop floor. If you had enforceable legal contracts then any action taken by workers at the shop floor level immediately becomes illegal.

Now the shop floor has to face that fact and they have to fight it with all the means available. I have never believed that



21 February: a political march against the Tories

one should contain the action of workers. **RP:-** What do you think of Socialist Worker's demand that the trade unions should not co-operate with the law in any way, should refuse to register?

I think it is very important that they should refuse to register and I think that a policy of non-co-operation is very essential. It's not as though this Bill in any way extends the rights of the people.

It does the very opposite. Heath said he didn't care what demonstrations there are, what the Labour Party says in the House of Commons or outside or what industrial action there is — as far as he is concerned the Bill is going in.

If it does go in on that basis, then the trade unions should not register and from that follows everything else.

RP:- This would include policies like the trade unions declaring every strike official to stop shop stewards being prosecuted under the law?

I am very much in favour. I think it's up to the lads in the trade union movement to get the rules changed so that when there is a democratic decision taken for strike action at shop floor level, then they should be made official and I think the unions have got to face this.

RR:- The Labour front bench which is opposing the Bill consists of Mrs Castle who was the prime architect of In Place of Strife. Do you believe that your presence on the front bench has been merely to appease the left by the Labour leadership?

Not at all. I'm on the front bench because the Labour Party in association with the trade unions opposed In Place of Strife.

It was never brought in as a Bill and we wanted to show that we are absolutely determined as a united party to fight this Bill and it was important that there should be people who in no way were associated with In Place of Strife.

When speaking from the front bench I

am speaking for trade unionists and workers against this Bill and that's what the whole object of the thing is.

RR:- But don't you think that Mrs Castle's role is incredibly hypocritical?

The Labour Party is united in its opposition to this Bill. I accept the fact that there were serious disagreements on In Place of Strife and on the Prices and Incomes Policy. But the thing that has to be stressed is that we won that battle.

RP:- But it opened the door to the Tories.

It made it much easier. I've never denied it. It was absolutely wrong and I've said so in the past and I shall continue to say so.

Kick out

I opposed In Place of Strife. We're not now fighting In Place of Strife. We are fighting this bloody Tory Bill and it's the Tories who've got to be defeated.

RR:- The Tories are determined to smash the postmen's strike and the fight for parity in Fords. There is growing unemployment. Don't you think that the policy that ought to be adopted is that the trade union movement should begin a campaign to kick the Tories out?

Of course we should kick the Tories out. I would have thought that the great demonstration on 21 February was a pretty good indication that the trade union movement does want the Tories out.

You could hardly say that a demonstration of 150,000 against a Tory Industrial Relations Bill was non-political. Because all the people were coming to demonstrate against the Bill, they were demonstrating against the Tory party.

The slogans that were clearly on the march indicated quite clearly that the overwhelming mass of trade unionists do want the Tories out. Of course I think we have got to fight to get the Tories out.

VITAL READING FOR ALL TRADE UNIONISTS

The Employers' Offensive

productivity deals and how to fight them

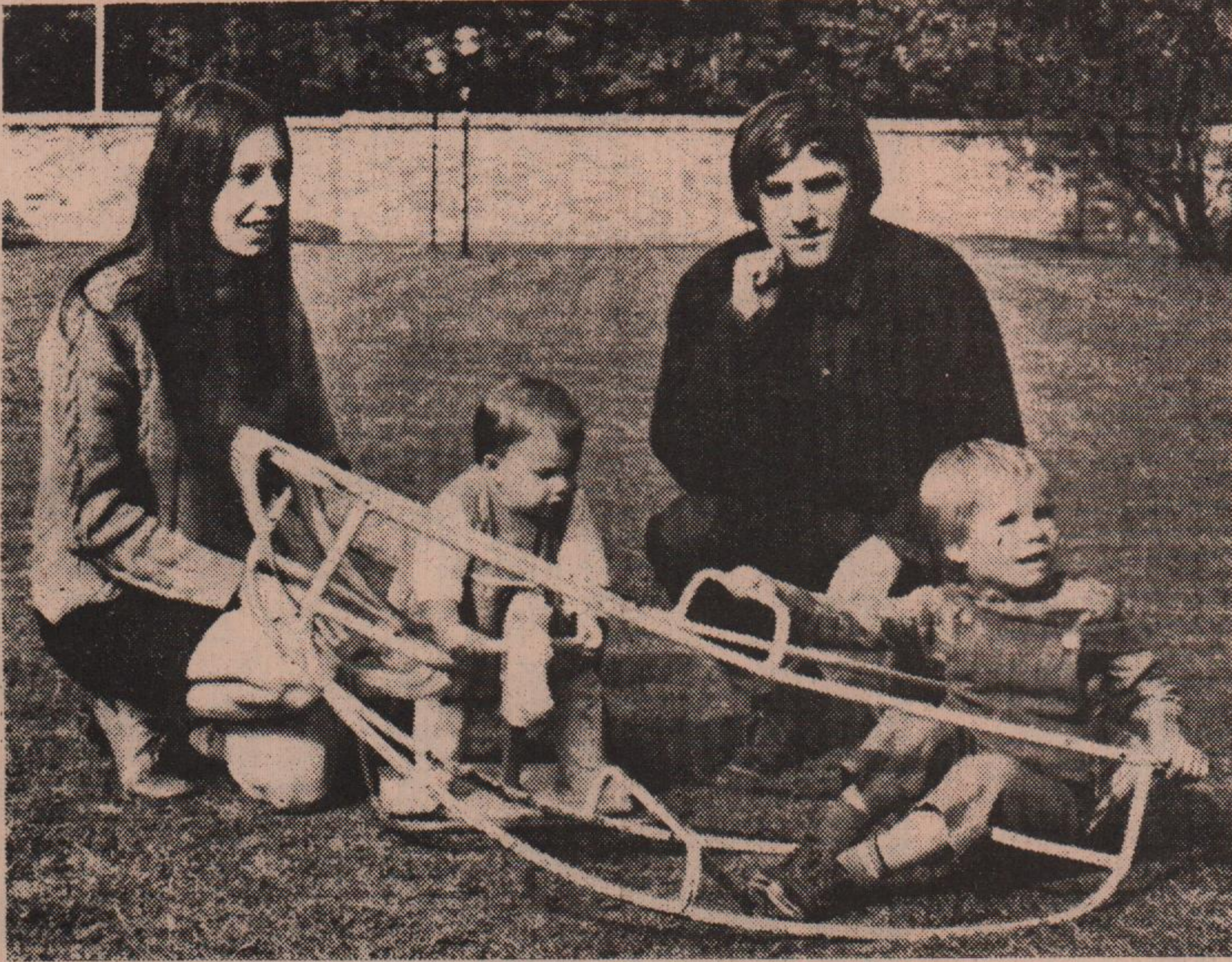
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Interviewed by Roger Protz and Roger Rosewell

RUDI DUTSCHKE: an interview the



The Dutschke family in Cambridge:
'recovering from a brain injury is not like a broken leg'

The Daily Mirror, that forceful, radical newspaper, decided to interview the former German revolutionary student leader Rudi Dutschke and to publish the interview on the day he was expelled from Britain last month. Mirror staff man Jim Render carried out the assignment - but his executives banned it from appearing when they saw the transcript. In the interests of free discussion and a free press, Socialist Worker is printing the interview in full.

YOU AND YOUR FAMILY are being forced to quit Britain after a stay of two years. Do you leave in sorrow - or in anger?

Clare Hall College, Cambridge, was an excellent place for studying, for us and our children and for my convalescence. We also have many friends in England. So we are very sad that I am forbidden to stay and study. But in a way this sadness makes one stronger. Even though we have lost our fight against official injustice, this has helped me to find I can once more fight if I have to.

If at all possible, would you ever come back?
Most probably. We have a British born daughter. Besides, everyone ought to be allowed to travel freely.

Do you still maintain that you kept your pledge not to engage in political activities while in this country?

Absolutely. I did keep my promise. Besides even apart from our visas having to be renewed very often (for me, on average, every three months) we were made to feel that there was some check kept on us. When Labour was in office, the Home Secretary once specially mentioned that I had kept my promise. He would hardly have said this if there had been no check on us.

The Tribunal found against you - largely, it seems on the basis of evidence given in secret by the security service and to which not even you or your lawyer were allowed to listen.

Such secret sessions themselves go against natural

justice. But after attending that secret session, Mr Callaghan publicly declared that there was little enough the security service had had to say against me. Anyway, Mr Maudling and the tribunal have hinted that the tribunal decided mainly on the basis of the open sessions. This at least makes it more easy to show up the injustice of their arguments.

What could they have had against you that is not already known?

The only thing I did was that - in our house or over the telephone - I often had discussions with German friends, mostly about Western Germany and West Berlin, but also with English friends about the situation in this country.

After all, I lived here. To discuss the news is not political activity. But to question any man's right to do so would be the beginning of the end of democracy, even of capitalist democracy.

Not a fair hearing

Do you think that it was at least a reasonably fair hearing? Or is your faith in British justice, if you had any, shaken?

No, it was not fair. If there had to be a secret session, why not at least at the very beginning? Then, afterwards, the members of the tribunal could have put more informed questions to the witnesses and to my wife and myself. They thereby also could have tried to find out if what they were told in the secret session was true or not. But there can be no justice without equal chances, and there were no equal chances right from the start.

Do you think that a tribunal such as this one - comprised as it was of five eminently 'establishment' figures - could possibly be impartial, particularly in dealing with an alleged student revolutionary?

No I do not think so. Do you think most readers of the Daily Mirror would trust such 'establishment figures' in a civil rights case or in a dispute about rent or wages? Would it not be far better to get a cross-section of the population on the tribunal.

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, that we must overthrow capitalism and not tinker with reforms to patch it up.

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 rank and file control of the trade unions and the

regular election of all full-time officials.

We are firmly opposed to secret negotiations and believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

We are for 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

We are against anti-trade union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

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

We support all demands for equal pay and for a better deal for young workers.

We believe that there should be a minimum wage of at least £25 per week.

We are opposed to unemployment, redundancy and lay offs and support the demand of five days' work or five days' pay.

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

We are opposed to racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

We are opposed to any immigration restrictions and fully support the right of black people to self-defence.

We are opposed to all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

We are opposed to secret diplomacy. Neither Washington nor Moscow but international socialism.

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

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

We are for the introduction of a democratic planned economy in which resources can be devoted to social need.

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 men'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. Over 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

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

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NORTH EAST
Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Teesside (Middlesbrough and Redcar)

MIDLANDS
Birmingham/Coventry/Northampton/Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

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NORTH
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cont

The Tories are planning to hive off some of the more profitable sections of the nationalised industries to their friends in big business. It is a move that must be resisted by all trade unionists concerned for it is a serious threat to the pay and security of the workers employed by the state.

But the collapse of Rolls-Royce and its take-over by a Tory government raises the whole question of what nationalisation within a capitalist economy really amounts to.

A Yorkshire secretary of a miners' union lodge recalled the joy with which most miners greeted the nationalisation of the mines by the post-war Labour government in 1945:

'It was our life-long dream coming true. It was a utopia. We were for it 100 per cent. What celebrations there were. The industry which had broken generations of miners was ours at last.'

Profiteering

For decades, nationalisation of certain key industries had been a central plank in the Labour Party's programme. It was identified in the minds of most militant workers with socialism itself.

The Labour Party's manifesto of 1918, Labour and the New Social Order, had boldly asserted that what needed reconstruction was not 'this or that piece of social machinery' but 'society itself'.

Labour claimed to be in favour of a 'scientific' reorganisation of the nation's industry on the basis of the 'common ownership of the means of production'. Only in this way could the harm caused by profiteering be eliminated.

Its concrete proposals for public ownership included nationalisation of the land, railways, mines, electric power, industrial insurance companies, canals, docks and steamship lines.

When Labour was swept into power in 1945, British capitalism was in the throes of a serious social and economic crisis. Over the years, Britain had lost her pre-eminence as the leading indus-

trial capitalist nation in the world.

In one field after another, Britain was overtaken by her competitive rivals. For example, the decline in textiles where Britain had traditionally led the world, was catastrophic: in 1913, Britain was exporting 6,791m sq yards of cotton, by 1938 she was exporting only 1,369m.

In 1938-39, Britain's textile production had dropped below that of both Japan and India and Japan's textile exports were 50 per cent higher than Britain's.

The same was true of other branches of industry. One by one, British capitalism lost the lead to newer, more modern, more enterprising overseas competitors. The loss was due mainly to growing technological backwardness.

In the inter-war period, Britain never staged an effective industrial recovery similar to that of the US or Germany. Capital investment during this period remained at a low level.

Efficiency

The Second World War further ravaged the economy and made Britain even more dependent than before on foreign raw materials.

It was clear from the time the Attlee government took office in 1945 that their programme of nationalisation was not designed to achieve a socialist society based on workers' control of industry. Its sole purpose was to improve the overall efficiency of British capitalism.

During their term of office, Labour nationalised the mines, the railways,

* milch, a. (Of don mals) giving, kept cow, (fig.) source esp. person from wh is easily drawn. [se

Concise Oxford

electricity and gas, the F and, right at the end of iron and steel industry.

With the exception of the nationalisation mea that the Tories, white indignation, did not hav in accepting. As Attlee ed: 'There was not m sition to our nationalis only iron and steel rouse

Indeed, the plans for were based on recomm by a series of Conserv investigating committe the Sankey Commissio industry that recomm ation as early as 1919.

Why did the Labo nationalise the industr as the coal industry w had been clear for ma was totally disorganise inefficient methods of p

Compared to the U British coal industry was backward. In 1939, o

Special feature by SABBY SAGA

Daily Mirror refused to print...

including perhaps people from organisations for the protection of civil liberties, women, teachers, students and, last but not least, workers?

I understand that you now dispute part of the Tribunal's summary of the case - for instance where they record that 'you stated that in July, 1969, you had discussions with some friends about the flying of deserters from West Berlin to West Germany'?

Yes. That reads just as if we had plotted the flight of deserters, which would, indeed, have been political activity. But in fact these so called deserters or, more correctly, Germans who didn't like military service and had therefore moved to West Berlin where there is no conscription, were rounded up and deported to West Germany by the West Berlin City Senate.

The City Senate arranged their flying out by chartering planes from British Midland Airways. BEA had refused to fly them out, perhaps because the British element in the Allied Control Commission seemed unhappy since the action of the City Senate could hardly be reconciled with Allied regulations for West Berlin. When all this came out in papers and on the radio, German friends came and discussed it with me. Of course we were all against it, but there was no political activity on my part.

The British government of the time would have thrown me out if I had done anything dangerous or breach of my undertakings. There is no real difference between them and the Tories in their concern about national security. But look how the tribunal report twists it round. When they sum up I had 'discussions about the flying of deserters to West Germany' any reader must assume I helped to plot their flying out.

Where have the tribunal got it wrong?

Whenever the tribunal's report tries to accuse me of being politically active in England, it is always the same method: statements that are - technically - not exactly lies but are sure to mislead 99 per cent of all readers! When I asked an 82 year old gentleman about his memories of Germany 1919-23 which to me were important research

material for my PhD thesis, this becomes political activity!

When I wasn't allowed to speak to friends but was kept 20 to 30 yards away from them by two customs barriers in Calais so that we could just wave to each other, this becomes a 'brief meeting' at which the writing of a book was discussed! Some public servants seem to have worked very hard to get the Home Secretary off the hook. But is this justice?

You have said yourself that you are as much opposed to Stalinism as to Western capitalism. What type of society, simply and ideally, do you seek?

In the socialism of the future, the actual free individuals must control and really govern their own society. The people, the actual men, women and children, must not be dominated and controlled by an abstract state, by a bureaucracy, technocracy or a party.

Who profits by IRB?

Today the workers, the actual producers, are subjects. They are under the rule of Mr Heath's 'free society' as manifested in the new Industrial Relations Bill. Who profits by these new laws; the bosses, managers, shareholders and big international firms?

Evidence was given by at least two distinguished fellow Germans that in Berlin you did your best on occasions to dissuade students from violence. But are there situations in which you would actively encourage it?

Let me answer by putting two questions to you: First, if you had been a prisoner in an extermination camp, would you have blown up a gas chamber and have used violence against the Nazi Storm Troopers to save or avenge yourself and your fellow prisoners? (This actually happened in Auschwitz concentration camp.)

Second, don't you think that at least many of your Irish readers who know about CS-gas used by the British Army in Northern Ireland can somehow

understand why someone threw a sample of CS into the Chamber of the House of Commons? In the students' movement in Berlin we would have called this 'symbolical counter-violence' and seen it as a protest against many hundreds of CS canisters used against people in a much smaller space where often they could not get out.

Army and police and the Industrial Relations Bill we would also have called 'violence', namely 'institutionalised' violence which 'officially' somehow never counts as violence.

I think the reaction of many ordinary people (not all of them hostile to you) to the tribunal's decision was, 'Why doesn't Rudi Dutschke go back to his own country, anyway?' Why don't you?

To recover from brain injuries is not quite like having a broken leg. Even though I can speak again and attend university, I am not yet strong enough to stand up to the strain and to all the political demands that would immediately face me in my own country. Unfortunately I still need comparative rest and quiet.

Can you honestly find it surprising that Mr Maudling should consider you a 'security risk' - or fear, as the tribunal did, that you might well become one?

How can one critical foreign student subjected to restrictions be a risk to the security of the nation? Even the tribunal found I had not been a risk. As to their prophecy that in future, if I were freed from restrictions I might become a risk, there would have been no need to free me from restrictions and this kind of prophecy was rightly attacked by several newspapers as being meaningless and unjust.

Has it been unfair to label you 'Red Rudi' - and how much has this led to you being given a reputation for supporting violence which you may not deserve?

You have an old song 'The workers' flag is deepest red', and Rosa Luxemburg who said 'Freedom is only freedom if he who has a different

opinion is also free' was called 'Red Rosa'. So it is a privilege to be called Red Rudi. Anyone who knows the history of the red - and anarchist black - flags will know that they cannot just be identified with the more Stalinist Communist Parties in Europe and with the regime in Moscow.

In the militant students' movement, in the united action of workers and students in Czechoslovakia, in France in May and June 1968, and in the class struggles in Italy these flags have regained their liberating meaning.

During your stay here what has been your most favourable impression of Britain?

Above all, I think, British shop stewards, whose movement at present seems to be the only class organisation of the workers in your country. There, one senses decisive beginnings of direct democracy of the producers. I also noticed that they are beginning to fight against the anti-democratic separation between wages struggles and political struggles. I think this is most important.

Horrified by distortions

And what - apart, perhaps, from the tribunal itself - has horrified you most?

To be fundamentally horrified one has to be completely surprised. For this, I have learned too much about capitalism which, in spite of national differences, develops some common features. Still, I was somewhat horrified by the successful misrepresentation on TV and in some papers of the go-slow of the electricity workers who had given fair warning of what they were going to do.

Ghostly and very disturbing I also found racist tendencies in Britain, also amongst workers, and police methods against minorities such as negroes, students and women's lib demonstrators.

What is your farewell message?

All the best wishes for the future to the people of Britain and all our friends here. Only, unfortunately, one does not get a better future unless one learns, works and fights for it.

Bosses' control of workers?



The mines: after nationalisation the workers often found themselves bossed around by the former owners in managerial positions

was four times higher in the US than in Britain.

On the Continent, coal ownership had always been vested in the state, but in Britain ownership was dispersed among a large number of small and inefficient companies. In 1943, there were 816 mines producing more than 50,000 tons annually that accounted for 90 per cent of total output.

They were owned by 353 separate enterprises, with an annual average output of 228,000 tons per mine. Many of these mines were quite small, and many were capable of considerably increased output.

It was crucial to reorganise coal production on the basis of large-scale pit operations. This in turn would make possible the unified development of whole coalfields according to the latest technical methods.

Exploiters

The coal owners of the 19th century were the most ruthless and vicious exploiters of labour. Working conditions in the mines were appalling, and the miners had to suffer the severest health and occupational hazards.

Because of this, there was a gradual but continual flight from the industry by those workers who were able to find employment elsewhere. In particular, it was becoming increasingly difficult to recruit younger workers.

Production of coal had declined disastrously since 1913, and this vitally affected both British home industry and British exports.

The Labour government's plans for nationalisation were based on the need

to amalgamate the scattered industrial units to achieve economies of scale, to modernise production methods and to raise standards of safety in order to create a more stable labour force.

The goal was economic and technical rationalisation which, it was widely believed, could only be carried out through public or state ownership.

The Labour leaders never had the slightest intention of achieving workers' control over a basic industry as a step towards creating a socialist society.

Similar considerations were at the heart of Labour's plans to nationalise the railways. Britain's railways had become technically backward and the investment needed to reorganise the industry required finance on a scale that only the government could provide.

It was, in addition, vital for British capitalism that all the different elements of the transport system, road and rail, should be co-ordinated. To achieve this, it was necessary to create a single public authority supervising transport nationally instead of regionally.

Nationalisation of the railways was in fact advocated by many railway owners and managers as the only means of rationalising the industry. By the late 1930s, none of the railway companies were able to make any serious stand against the case for nationalisation.

Again the need for rationalisation and modernisation were the reasons that prompted the Attlee government to nationalise the electricity, gas and iron and steel industries.

Coal mining and the railways were both industries that had contributed enormously to Britain's industrialisation

in the 19th century and from which huge profits had been amassed by the owners.

But in the years before nationalisation, they had become decaying, derelict industries in which the rate of profit had slumped.

Some indication of why the owners of these industries were not too strongly opposed to nationalisation can be seen from the enormous compensation they received in return for their property. They all made excellent bargains, and in most cases did much better than if they had retained possession of their run-down industries.

The coal owners were paid more than £370 millions and the railway owners something like £908 millions altogether. With these astronomical sums in their pockets, the previous owners of dying industries were able to re-invest in more modern and technically advanced fields such as electronics, oil or chemical manufacturing.

Bureaucratic

In nationalising these industries, the Labour government reorganised them in a totally bureaucratic manner. The new public administrations consisted of men drawn either from industries taken over or from large private firms.

By 1956, 106 out of 272 seats on the boards of nationalised industries were occupied by men drawn from capitalist corporations such as big banks, insurance companies and building societies.

The experience of workers in the newly nationalised industries was that, in spite of their high hopes, very little

had changed. In most cases, they turned up for work to find the same foreman or manager issuing the same instructions as before.

The presence of large numbers of directors of private firms on the boards of nationalised industries can be understood if you examine the relations established by Tory and Labour governments between the private and public sectors.

The so-called 'public' sector, far from being in competition with or opposed to the private sector, became on the contrary a very useful service to it. During the whole period since nationalisation, the public sector has been systematically exploited by private industry.

The nationalised industries have provided goods and services to private industry at well below their true cost. During the 1950s, for example, rail transport and electricity tariffs charged to private industry went up by much less than the average for other industrial prices. Special concessions were regularly granted to the steel bosses by the Coal Board and the Transport Commission.

The nationalised industries were deliberately prevented by successive governments from developing their own supply industries that would have enabled them to reduce their costs through economies of scale.

But while the public sector has been exploited by the private sector, the standards dominating the administration of the nationalised industries have been purely commercial. The objective was not to satisfy social needs but how to make ends meet.

The most notorious examples were Dr Beeching's plans for reorganising the railways and Lord Robens' plans for rationalising the mines. In the case of Dr Beeching, he set about slashing railway services in the interest of profitability without regard to the social costs, without considering, for example, the effect on outlying rural areas.

But most important of all, perhaps, is the extent to which Labour and Tory governments have used workers in the public sector as chopping blocks to discipline the working class as a whole. Year after year, they try to keep down the wages of public sector workers in order to encourage private employers to be tough.

Mobilise

It is in the interests of capitalism as a whole that certain basic industries should be under state ownership and control. To this extent, workers in the nationalised industries must wage a determined fight against any attempt by the Tories to sell off the more profitable sectors.

But as long as capitalism lasts, the state will be run in the interests of the bosses and their profits. Workers fighting in any sector of private industry, such as the car industry, cannot simply mobilise under the slogan of nationalisation as this would only maintain any illusions they might still have in state ownership under capitalism.

To assist in the mobilisation of workers on a socialist basis, the slogan of nationalisation has to be replaced by that of 'nationalisation without compensation under full workers' control'.

MID-EAST TALKS COVER UP FOR HUSSEIN'S ROLE

by SW Reporter

IMAGINE the Ford strike continuing for three months, finally being defeated and the workers forced back with a cut in wages and 20 per cent redundancies.

Then four months later a conference is called to discuss parity at which the world's greatest authorities on the motor industry are invited yet which refuses to discuss and analyse the recent strike.

This would be almost an exact replica of what happened at the Second International Symposium on Palestine held in Kuwait at the end of February.

Last September, King Hussein of Jordan, with the direct complicity of almost all Arab governments and the Soviet Union, together with arms from the USA brought in specially for the job, brutally murdered 5000 Palestinians and Jordanians and injured 10-15,000 others.

REFUSED

Yet throughout the whole of the symposium, more than 300 delegates from all over the world, all supposedly supporters of the Palestinian cause, refused to discuss the events of last September and the effects they had had on the Palestinian revolution.

In an attempt to change the form of the conference, Fred Halliday of New Left Review, on behalf of the few revolutionary socialists present, appealed for discussion of the September events.

He pointed out the kudos the Kuwait governments would gain from putting on such a conference while at the same time it was supporting the efforts of the RAF to wipe out the guerrilla movements in other gulf states.

The appeal was made in vain and the conference went on with its agenda drawn up before last September's events.

Time after time, delegates put forward such views as 'US imperialism had nothing to do with the creation of the state of Israel' or 'the US is not an imperialist power - Vietnam and the Middle East are just mistakes.'

APPEAL

One speaker advised the Palestinians to lay down their arms and concentrate on 'changing people's minds'. Others said we should appeal to Nixon and the 'open democratic societies of the western world.'

It was never once pointed out that the Israeli state was forced to seek the support of the leading imperialist power



The Palestine refugees left to rot in their camps

in the Middle East or that this support would only be guaranteed as long as its existence was beneficial to that power.

One of the few interesting and useful lectures was given by Dr Nabil Sha'ath who outlined the development of an apartheid situation on the occupied west bank of the Jordan. 40,000 Arabs are transported daily to and from Israel to work for £6 a week less than native Israeli labour.

This means that the rate of exploitation of the Arab workers in the west bank territories actually pays for the Israeli defence of the area.

CONDEMNED

On the last day of the conference, Steve Emms, IS delegate, reached the platform. He condemned the refusal of the conference to discuss the September war, the complicity of Hussein and all the Arab regimes except Syria.

He attacked the idea that western governments could assist the Palestinian struggle and that Zionism would be combatted by getting favourable publicity in the western capitalist press.

He said: 'The friends of the Palestinians do not lie within the bounds of the White House or the Houses of Parliament or the classes that these represent, but with revolutionary socialists and militant workers in the advanced capitalist countries and the liberation movements in the underdeveloped countries.'

He was greeted with tumultuous applause from many delegates, particularly the Palestinian observers. Some delegates later expressed agreement with the senti-



HUSSEIN: backed by Russia and US ment of the speech. They said they had been too overwhelmed by the presence of so many 'intellectual authorities' to make an intervention.

Even the organiser of the conference, Franji Abdulla, of the Palestinian Students' Organisation, said, 'This is the last symposium on Palestine that will be held under any Arab regime. In future we will depend on the support of those forces that have interests with us in the fight against Zionism.'

Barber plans to hit strikers and the sick

TORY CHANCELLOR Anthony Barber is considering a new tax structure that could be brought in with this year's Budget. It is a crude plan to switch the main burden of taxation further on to the working class and to hit, in particular, those who take strike action or are off work through sickness or injury.

The changeover the Tories are contemplating involves reducing the number of PAYE tax codes to three or four. This implies a great deal.

Under the present system, the Inland Revenue have to add up your year's earnings and assign you a code related to expected earnings. The code is a measure of the rate of tax deductions.

If your annual earnings fall below this level of expected earnings, for being ill or unemployed or on strike, then you get a tax rebate at the end of the year.

This system needs a large number of codes to fit as many people as possible and so minimise the number of tax rebates at the end of the financial year.

Glorified swindle

The government will have to streamline the administration of the Inland Revenue to reduce the number of codes. And the biggest problem of running this glorified swindle shop is that one-third of the costs go on updating the files of people who change their jobs.

But this chase is only necessary in order to make an annual averaging out of a worker's income to see if any tax rebate is necessary. To cut the number of codes therefore means they are planning to put an end to the annual assessment of income and shifting to a weekly basis.

Instead of granting tax allowances for all the year's income, there will be allowances only for those weeks in the year which were worked.

Under the proposed scheme, a postman on strike for two months fighting for a living wage would have to continue paying tax when back at work as if he was employed for 12 months instead of 10 months under the present scheme.

Bosses' evasion

On top of this, marriage, wife and child tax allowances would be cut into by absence from work. A sick miner or unskilled worker unemployed for six months of the year loses half of his single man allowance, half of his wife allowance and half of his child allowance. For a married man with two children that's a loss of more than £330 a year.

It is quite all right for the bosses to evade surtax and death duties to the tune of £650 million a year. Yet to be on strike or out on the cobbles is a crime under this latest

New tax threat



BARBER

scheme.

The penalty is a fine on your family tax allowances and on your tax rebate.

At the same time prices are increasing at around 15 per cent a year. To make up the loss in wages through rising prices you need a wage increase of at least 25 per cent a year.

For any wage increase is subject to a one-third tax deduction and the national income is increasing by 2 per cent a year. Wages must be increased by at least one quarter, 25 per cent, merely for workers to keep their present share of the cake.

Yet the government offers 8 per cent as the ceiling for wage increases. If you accept their ceiling then you are two-thirds below the wage rise needed to stand still.

If you fight for a higher rise, then these third-rate Tory conjurers intend to pitch the entire weight of the Inland Revenue against you.

Lionel Sims

Alienation, Anarchism, Accumulation, Bolshevism, Bakunin, Bourgeois Bonapartism, Capitalism, Communism, Class, Chartism, Quality, Quisling, Revolution, Commodity, Crisis, Co-operation, Consciousness, Democracy, Determinism, Democratic Centralism, Dialectics, Exploitation, Reformism, Refutation, Repression, Expropriation, Egotism, Economics, Empiricism, Feudalism, Fascism, Freedom, Feudalism, Gramsci, Hegel, Internationalism, Stalinism, the State, Surplus Value, Industrialisation, Imperialism, Ideology, Jingoism, Junta, Lares, Kautskyism, Lenin, Kropotkin, Trotsky, Luxemburg, Syndicalism, State Capitalism, Labourism, Labour, Left Opposition, Merxism, Militarism, Materialism, Mensheviks, Narodniks, Philistinism, Nationalism, Quislingism, Trotskyism, Trade Unions, Oligopoly, Owenism, Proletariat, Production, Productivity, Peasants, Philosophy, Poverty, Pragmatism, Pacifism, Quantity, Union Leaders, Voluntarism, Workers

Many people anxious to read socialist publications feel that the language in which they are written creates an unnecessary barrier. The use of jargon, of obscure references to history or economics, seems merely to confuse what should be a simple message.

It is, of course true, that the left has a long tradition of using language to conceal meaning. One of George Orwell's imaginary examples reads as follows: 'While freely conceding that the Soviet regime exhibits certain features which the humanitarian may be inclined to deplore, we must, I think, agree that a certain curtailment of the right to political opposition is an unavoidable concomitant of transitional periods, and that the rigours which the Russian people have been called upon to undergo have been amply justified in the sphere of concrete achievement.'

In plain English: 'I believe in killing off your opponents when you can get good results by doing so.'

But this is quite different from the serious concern of a socialist to use the right word in the right way. When Karl Marx wrote Capital he devoted several lengthy chapters to giving a precise explanation of what he meant by terms like 'commodity' and the distinction between use-value and exchange-value. Marxism is a science, and like any other science requires a terminology.

Imprecise use of words can have tragic consequences. It is tempting to many on the left to use 'fascist' as a term of abuse rather than a precise description. But the use of the word by the German Communists in the early 1930s

to describe some admittedly very unpleasant Social Democrats, led to the disunity that allowed Hitler to take power.

Even everyday words need to be carefully looked at. The whole argument about whether you use 'class' to mean how people talk, or who controls production. To define the state as 'armed bodies of men, prisons, etc' cuts through acres of empty verbiage about the 'common interest'.

For this reason, we will compile a brief dictionary of words used in the marxist movement. Marxism can not be learnt in alphabetical order - it has to be studied systematically in theory and in practice. But these short definitions will, we hope, make it easier to approach marxist writing. - IAN BIRCHALL, RICHARD KUPER.

Alienation

In the labour process man acts upon nature and produces objects. But how he stands in relation to these objects, that is to what he has produced by means of his own labour, is different in different kinds of societies. Under capitalism, instead of these objects satisfying some human and social need, they stand in a peculiar relationship to the worker. They dominate him and Marx describes this condition in which the worker finds himself as one of alienation.

This concept has a number of aspects. Firstly, the worker doesn't find fulfilment in his work, but instead is 'physically exhausted and mentally debased. The worker, therefore, feels himself at home only during his leisure

time, whereas at work he feels homeless. His work is not voluntary but imposed, forced labour.' The worker is alienated in the process of production itself.

Secondly, what the worker produces does not belong to him but to someone else - the capitalist. So his alienation in the process of production goes hand in hand with his alienation from the product of his own labour.

Thirdly, human life is social life, yet under capitalism the social basis on which production is carried out doesn't unite men but divides them from each other - labouring only becomes a means for the individual's existence. Man finds himself alienated from his fellowmen and from himself as a social being.

Alienation is a descriptive term for the condition in which workers find themselves under capitalism, for the loss of control over their activity which occurs inevitably in such a society. The root of alienation lies in the way production is organised, and Marx's later analysis of the laws of motion of capitalist society shows how alienation is rooted in the exploitation of the worker.

Alienation is a general term for life under capitalism. Marx even goes so far as to say that the capitalists are also alienated but find pleasure in this condition. The study of exploitation shows how the working class can collectively overcome this alienated condition and free all oppressed groups in society.

Anarchism

The Russian anarchist Kropotkin wrote:

'The anarchists conceive a society in which all the mutual relations of its members are regulated, not by laws, not by authorities, whether self-imposed or elected, but by mutual agreements between the members of that society, and by a sum of social customs and habits ... No ruling authorities, then. No government of man by man.'

Anarchism has included many tendencies, from the individualist anarchism of Max Stirner, which looked forward to a Union of Egoists drawn together by respect for each other's ruthlessness, to anarcho-syndicalism, which sees revolutionary trade unions as the means of social transformation.

In times of crisis these divisions are put to the test, and many anarchists have co-operated closely with marxists, while others have taken positively reactionary positions. For example, after the Russian Revolution, many anarcho-syndicalists came over to support the Third International.

But anarchists - like liberal democrats - always start from the idea of individual freedom, not from the relation of classes. So they reject the need for either a revolutionary party or a workers' state as a means towards the end of a free and equal society. As Lenin wrote: 'We do not at all disagree with the anarchists on the question of the abolition of the state as the aim. We maintain that, to achieve this aim, we must temporarily make use of the instruments, resources and methods of the state power against the exploiters.'

NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN!



Police step up attacks on left

ONE RESULT of the explosion at Employment Minister Robert Carr's house on 12 January has been a series of police raids on the houses of known left-wingers. Police visits have been widespread but haphazard and have included people who have been politically inactive for many years.

Methods used have included dawn raids, ripping up of floorboards, forcible detention for questioning, taking away of clothes for traces of gelignite plus press smears against certain individuals.

These developments have been accompanied by a massive increase in general police harassment of known political activists and seem to be the prelude to an even greater attack on the civil rights of left-wing militants.

The events of recent weeks can only be viewed with grave alarm and concern by socialists. First, three key witnesses at the Miss World trial were forcibly detained for questioning at a key stage in the trial.

No lawyers

Secondly, two men were held for questioning for 48 hours by Detective Inspector Habershon, the man leading the investigation into the Carr bombing. The two men were held without access to their lawyers despite repeated requests on their part.

Eventually, one man, Jack Prescott, was charged with causing the explosion at Carr's house while the other was released with no charge having been made against him.

At the remand hearing, Prescott was at first again denied access to his lawyer, Mr Bernard Rosen, who said: 'Words fail me to describe this outrageous use of police power'.

Prescott also charged Detective Inspector Habershon with having tried to persuade him to change his lawyer for someone more 'politically independent'. The Inspector denied the charge.

Mr Rosen told the court that 'my instructions are that this is a completely bogus charge'. Since the hearing, Prescott has been further remanded in custody.

NOTICES

ALL IS branch secretaries must phone the national secretary 01-739 1878 by Friday.

LONDON IS branch secretaries' school: this Saturday 6 March 2.30pm at 6 Cottons Gardens, E2.

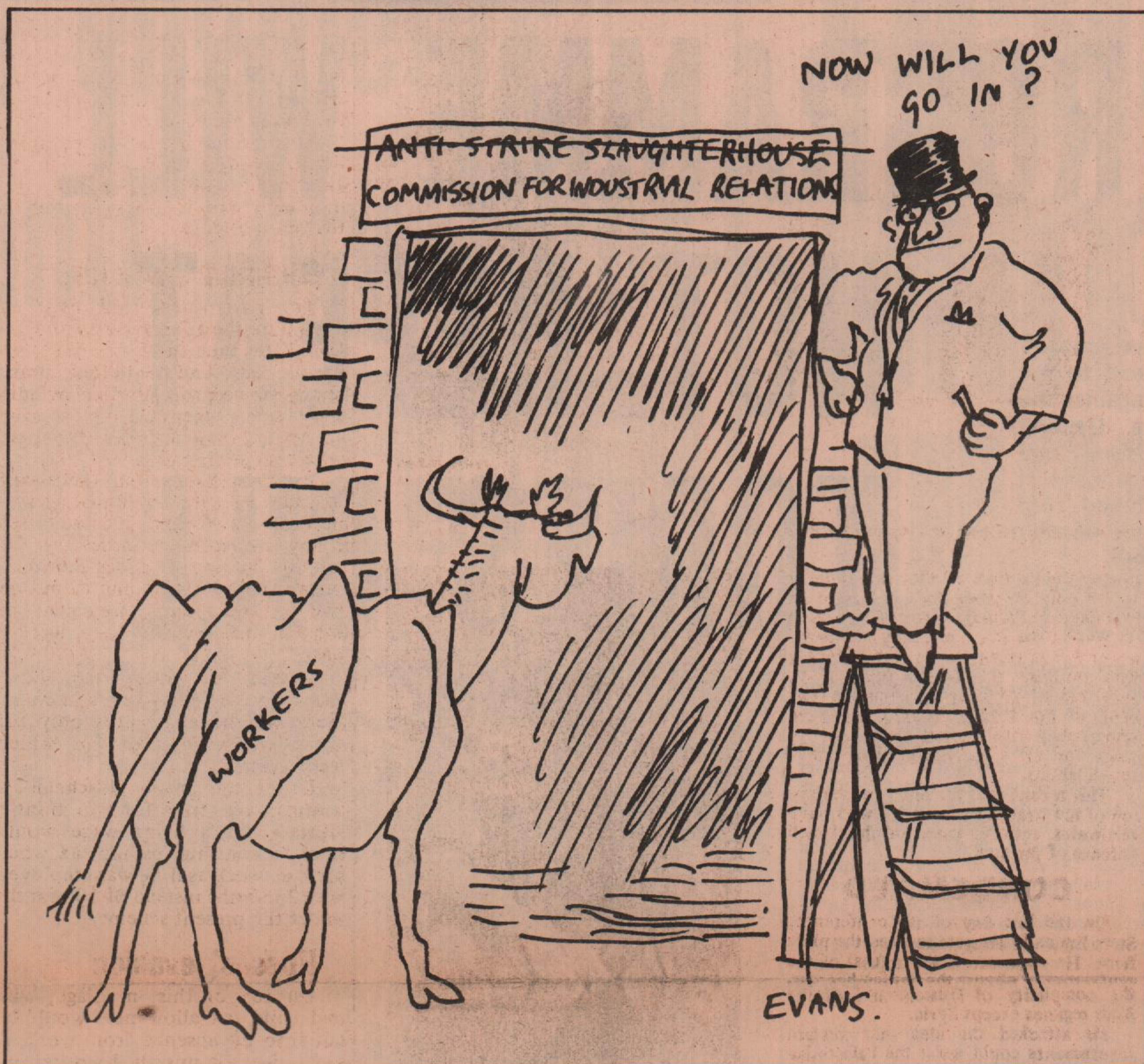
WOMEN'S DAY March, Saturday 6 March. Assemble Hyde Park, 1.30pm, march to rally in Trafalgar Square, 4pm. 'NO passage for this Bill' - STUC. All Scotland demo in Glasgow on Sunday 7 March. IS Assemble John Street at 1.45pm.

SWANSEA Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions: Bernadette Devlin on the Industrial Relations Bill and how to fight it. Saturday 13 March, 6.30pm, Bishop Gore School, Sketty.

MANCHESTER IS: Paul Foot on How to Fight the Tories. 7.30pm 11 March at Chorlton Town Hall, All Saints.

GLASGOW IS Day School, Community House, Clyde Street, Saturday 20 March. 11am: Rank and file trade unionism, 1920s and 1930s. 2.30pm: TUC recall congress and role of the General Council. 4pm: Next steps to kill the Bill. Speaker Jim Higgins, POEU executive council, in personal capacity.

'RED SCIENTIST' London group meeting Weds 10 March, 7pm at The George, Liverpool Rd N1. (Angel tube). S Zienau introduces discussion on 'Science and Neo-capitalism'.



COTTONS COLUMN

A SIGN OF THE TIMES: The right-wings march of the Tories and the deliberate attempts to create racial antagonisms through the new Aliens Bill are encouraging the small nazi and fascist organisations to show their snouts again in public.

The National Democratic Party, an umbrella organisation that includes such jackbooted charmers as the Racial Preservation Society, has booked Trafalgar Square for Sunday 28 March for a 'kick out the black' rally. The National Front, Britain's best known fascist outfit, is backing the rally.

In more ways than one, the rally appears courtesy of the Tory government. It is the first time a fascist organisation has been allowed to use the square since the uproar and violence sparked off by a Mosley meeting there in 1962.

The NDP's request was cleared by none other than Julian Amery, Minister of Housing and Construction. He is a member of the extreme right Monday Club, the racist, pro-Smith ginger group within the Tory Party. Amery's brother Leo was shot by the British government in the last war as a Nazi sympathiser.

Anti-fascist organisations have appealed to the broad left to raise a hue and cry against the purveyors of race hate and anti-unionism being allowed to air their poisonous views in public. They want the rally banned and, if that fails, to mobilise a massive counter-demonstration on that day. Watch this space.

Recount

POSTSCRIPTS to the 21 February monster demo. First an apology to



AMERY: cleared fascist rally

Vic Feather (positively the first and only one): we quoted the TUC gensec as saying that every one of the 150,000 marchers represented five other workers. In fact, he said 50, not five. If he's right, that's a fair slice of 'public opinion' against the Bill.

Members of Addlestone Labour Party carried a placard made up from pillaged front covers of Socialist Workers. The title of the paper and the word International had been removed so that the end result read: 'Socialists say kill the Bill - Kick out the Tories'. We are consulting our lawyers.

Workers Press, which likes to be further left and into the wilderness than anybody else, raised the slogan: 'Call a General Strike for May Day.' Which is not as revolutionary as you might think: May Day falls on a Saturday this year. Spare calendars and copies of Old Moore's Almanack should be forwarded to their Clapham High Street headquarters.

THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT

is bidding for a contract to build an alumina plant for making metallic aluminium for multi-millionaire Aristotle Onassis. The plant is part of Onassis's £250 million investment deal with the Greek colonels' dictatorship. Looks like some of those 'fascist counter-revolutionaries' from 1956 are still exercising some influence in Budapest.

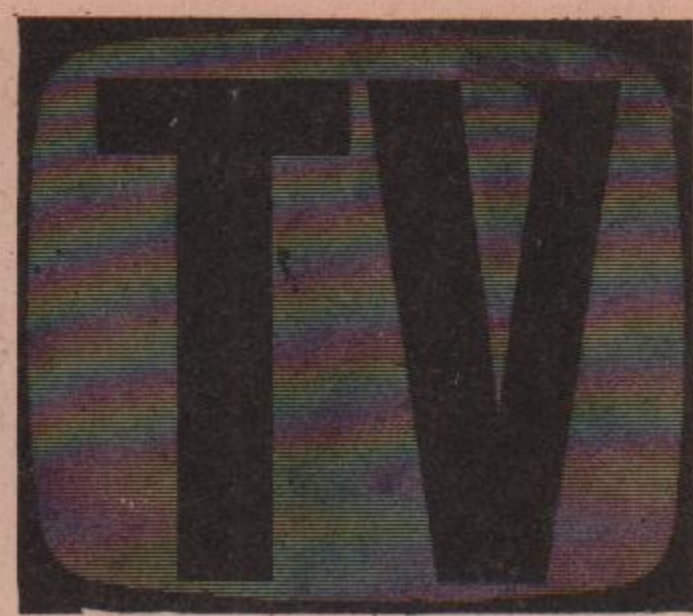
Unfair cop

THERE's no doubt the police deserve their 20 per cent pay rise, considering the extensive amounts of overtime they put in to harass and intimidate members of the black community.

Take the case of Vince Hines, a West Indian journalist who specialises in reporting on immigrant affairs. Last summer, while covering a demonstration, he was sandwiched in the crowd and arrested for 'obstruction'. He pleaded not guilty but he was convicted and given a four months' suspended prison sentence.

Recently, when he attempted to cover the trial of black people arrested on a demonstration in Notting Hill, Mr Hines, along with our own Ginny West, was refused admittance to the court by the police while Fleet Street reporters were allowed in. Both are NUJ members.

Last week, Mr Hines was fined £15 at Marylebone Court following his arrest for alleged assault on the police in Paddington. He was stopped outside his flat at 12.45am and taken to the local police station after a discussion about an 'offensive weapon' he was carrying. It was a tape recorder.



THIS COLUMN can claim to be unique in one respect: it is the only review of television by someone who doesn't have a colour set.

That is how it should be. Something like 95 per cent of the viewing public watch in 'old fashioned' black and white and a reviewer must keep his readers constantly in mind.

When other telly writers jibber with delight at the 'brilliant' colour of, say, the costumes in Elizabeth R, are they aware that most of their readers cannot share that delight because they are not in the market for £250 sets or hire fees of £1.50 a week, plus licence?

The coming of colour television is a symptom of a society in which small privileged groups - TV critics and BBC governors, who get their sets free and the rich who can afford them - are pandered to to the detriment of the majority. Television producers and directors who have no formal connection with their audience, are given a free hand to produce glorious programmes seen by only a tiny minority.

The very development of colour programmes means an actual loss of picture quality for viewers of black and white. The Sunday Times telly man this week almost wept with joy at the beautiful pastel shades of a particular incident in last week's Elizabeth R - Leicester and Cecil sitting in a darkened room with sunlight pouring through a window.

But on my set, that scene was fuzzy and indistinct, just as most people in talk programmes look over made up, with lips shining like black plums and every wrinkle deepened by liberal powdering.

The Association of Cinematograph and Television Technicians has provided a real service to the labour movement with its study on television news bias: perhaps it could discuss with its members the possibility of putting pressure on producers and directors to keep in mind the viewers, to remind them that very few people have colour sets and that the majority, who finance BBC and ITV, have rights as well.

They could even be careful about programme titles. It's hard to answer a question such as: 'Daddy, why is it called "Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Colour"?'

PETER COOK, in company with Dudley Moore, has been responsible for some of the funniest and most inventive light entertainment of recent years. It therefore gives me no pleasure to say that the first two shows in his new Friday night series on BBC2, *Where Do I Sit?*, have been embarrassing disasters.

The fault is probably not Cook's. Let's give Peter Cook a chat show of his own - let him 'do his own thing' - it's bound to be great. It isn't. As last week's programme shuddered to an inarticulate halt, Cook desperately peered at the camera and exclaimed, 'I'm proud to be an amateur.'

It's a funny sort of amateur who is paid vast sums of money to parade a boringly predictable array of personalities before us and then to fail to spark off any meaningful conversation due to lack of planning and foresight. Long live professionalism.

Jude the Obscure (BBC2, Saturdays) is working up to quite a climax. The heavy atmosphere of religious bigotry, repressed sexual desire and class division is like an overcast sky before the storm breaks. I doubt if Thomas Hardy actually described in detail all the clothes ripping and bare bosom heaving that goes on and I am not certain whether it is reasonable artistic licence or just an attempt to keep up with the permissive Joneses. But it would be churlish to complain.

David East

Socialist Worker

Call to stop S. African coal

BRISTOL Trades Council has launched a campaign to stop a cargo of 2500 tons of South African coal being unloaded at Avonmouth Docks.

The request for trade union action against the coal came from the Somerset branch of the National Union of Mineworkers. Dai Francis, leader of the South Wales NUM, told Bristol Trades Council on Monday that he would press his executive for action at

by SW Reporter

its meeting on Thursday.

A press statement from the Trades Council, issued by President Jessie Stephens and secretary Ted Key, protests at the plan to import the coal and adds:

'This coal has been mined by labour in receipt of pittance wages and working on migrant contracts forced upon them by the economic and social consequences of apartheid.'

'The maximum degree of resistance should be exerted against British support for the South African regime. This cargo is an insult to British miners who live under a continual threat of redundancy.'

TUC PROGRAMME WILL NOT DEFEAT TORIES' BILL

by SW Industrial Reporter

THE TUC's plans for opposing the government's Industrial Relations Bill offer no lead to the trade union movement in its fight against the Tories' anti-union measures. The General Council has been forced to move some way from its position of almost total surrender last autumn, not because of any death-bed conversion but as a result of the rising tide of rank and file determination to kill Carr's Bill.

But there is still a long way to go before the General Council adopts a position of outright opposition to the Bill. The council's proposals, published this week, for

the recall congress on 18 March flatly reject any idea of using the industrial strength of the trade union movement to smash the Bill.

The report trots out the tired old argument that strikes would only antagonise 'public' feeling against the unions and play into the hands of the government. Such attitudes only serve to underline the bankrupt ideas of the union leaders, who fail to understand that the 'public' is made up primarily of millions of working people - 10 million of them in trade unions.

BINDING

A massive campaign to rouse the entire labour movement to the dangers of the Bill could show exactly whose side 'public' opinion' is on.

The report stresses that the government's decision to make all unions register with a new Registrar of Trade Unions is 'to impose an alien concept of authority on the internal workings of trade unions.'

The General Council therefore will advise unions not to register. This is a policy of defeat.

If the council acted as the real leadership of the trade unions it would seek a binding declaration from all unions that they would refuse to register.

Such a declaration now would force the government to think about proceeding with its Bill if the entire trade union movement had agreed to boycott its central authority.

SURRENDER

By merely advising unions not to register, the General Council gives the green light to right-wing dominated unions like the GMWU to surrender to the government, leaving more militant, non-registered unions at the mercy of the law.

The General Council offers an even more spineless surrender on the question of 'legally enforceable agreements'. Under Carr's proposals, wage contracts would be legally binding and any union that broke the terms of such a contract in order to win an interim cost-of-living increase could be sued by the employers.

But the General Council again opens the door to right-wing union officials by

suggesting that binding contracts may have some appeal if the employers offer slightly higher wage increases in return for a legal contract.

Its final advice is that unions should take steps to ensure that they do not enter into legally binding agreements, an attitude that again imposes no all-embracing unity on the entire trade union movement.

It is essential that all trade union branches should flood their head offices with resolutions demanding that the General Council's proposals be rejected on 18 March as totally inadequate.

In its place, rank and file trade unionists should campaign for their organisations to declare now that even if the Bill goes through they will:

Refuse to register.
Refuse to cooperate with any government-created courts.

Declare all strikes official to defend shop-floor leaders.

Give official support to all 'blacking' and sympathy strikes.

Defend the closed shop, with strike action where necessary.

Refuse to sign legally binding contracts.

Demand that the TUC create a central defence fund to support any unions attacked under the laws.

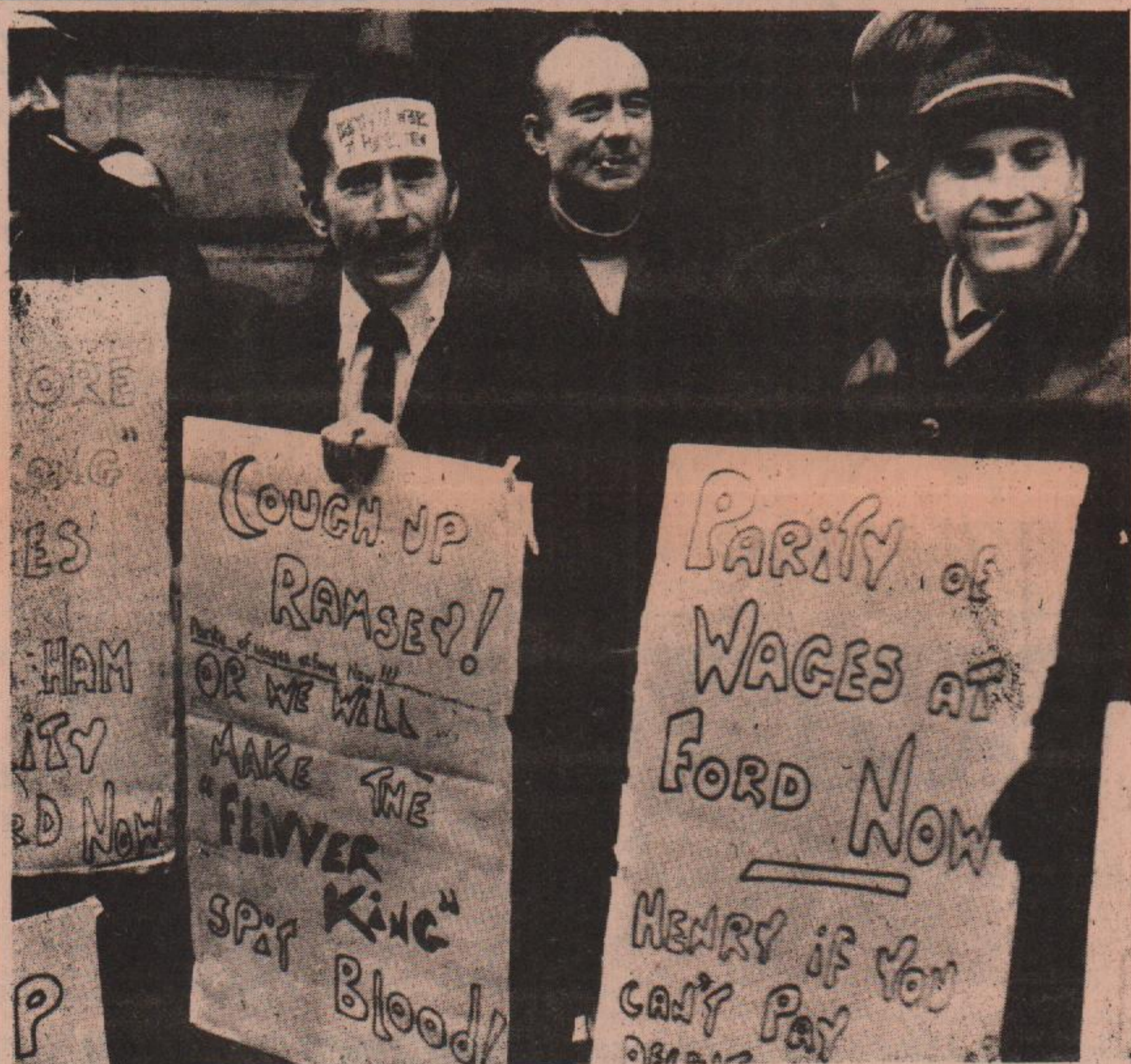
STRENGTHENS

If the TUC's miserable proposals are rejected, the debate will be re-opened and there will be the possibility of winning the major unions to such a position. The AUEW's conference adopted proposals similar to those outlined above but Hugh Scanlon's tame statement on Monday that his union will abide by the 18 March decision strengthens the hand of Feather and co.

A militant stand by the AUEW and TGWU now and calls from them for other unions to demand militant action at the congress could swing the balance away from the right wing.

The 21 February demonstration and Monday's engineering strike show the widespread anger at the Tories and the growing determination of the rank and file to fight the Bill.

That fight can be successful if every effort is made in the next few weeks to commit unions to total opposition to the Bill and to win a majority that will force the TUC to call a general strike until this profiteer's government surrenders.



Ford Dagenham strikers seen lobbying Tuesday's pay talks

UNIONS NO TO FORDS

by Colin Beadle, Dagenham Body Plant, TGWU

THE UNION side of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee rejected the company's latest offer of 36p on Tuesday as the countrywide strike entered its fourth week.

The offer brought the management's pay proposals up to a total of £3.20 in reply to the unions' demand of £12-£16 to achieve parity with top Midlands car rates.

Ford's new offer included a demand for a one-year standstill on grading grievances in the pipeline at Dagenham, with workers on one pay scale demanding to be upgraded because of the complexity or changing nature of their work. The management want to clamp down on this form of 'plant wage drift'.

After Tuesday's meeting, Reg Birch of the AUEW and secretary of the union side of the NJNC, declared: 'They made so meagre an offer that it's enough to try anybody's patience.'

Mass meetings at Dagenham and Halewood were planned for later this week to discuss the situation following a further meeting of the NJNC on Thursday. Shop floor militants at Halewood told me that there was widespread contempt for Tuesday's offer and solid determination to stick out for parity.

Meanwhile in Manila, Henry Ford II, on a nationwide tour of his property, threatened to reduce production of components in Britain for Ford plants in other coun-

tries. Here is yet another crude example of one man who has amassed millions from the skill of his workers threatening the jobs of thousands.

In contrast, striking members of the TGWU collected almost £300 last week for the postal workers at the union's pay-out at Dagenham.

Women march

WOMEN WORKERS from all parts of Britain are expected to join a demonstration in London this Saturday called by the Women's National Co-ordinating Committee.

The demonstration will raise four main demands:

1. Equal pay now: Many thousands of women earn less than £9 for a full week
2. 24 hour nursery facilities.
3. An end to discrimination against girls in education that pushes many women into the lowest paid, unskilled jobs.
4. Free and easily obtained contraception advice and abortions.

The march starts at Hyde Park at 1.30 pm and ends with a rally in Trafalgar Square at 4pm

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

TGWU to ban all prod deals

by SW Reporter

IN AN IMPORTANT move to ease the burden of unemployment, the Midlands district committee of the Transport and General Workers' Union decided on Tuesday to refuse to negotiate any further productivity deals.

The committee, which represents 130,000 members in the region, estimates that redundancies are running at 1500 a week.

The committee will request all district and branch officers, convenors and shop stewards to restrict productivity agreements that involve any restriction on new jobs.

'Any productivity proposals put forward by management containing clauses of this character should not be accepted without first seeking the ratification of the district committee,' Tuesday's resolution declared.

The committee also decided to ban all overtime in order to provide extra jobs and help reduce the widening pool of unemployment.

'Pretty drastic'

George Wright, TGWU district secretary, said after the meeting: 'If the unemployment rate in Birmingham is only 2.7 per cent, it is still worse than it has been since 1940 and if that is so here, then the situation elsewhere must be pretty drastic.'

The decision on productivity deals by the Midlands committee marks a radical departure from national TGWU policy. In spite of the left-sounding attitudes of TGWU leaders, they have been willing partners in the government-backed campaign to thrust productivity agreements on to wide areas of industry.

Such agreements are 'self-financing'. Workers pay for their own wage increases by accepting dangerous productivity strings that include work flexibility, removal of defensive practices and reductions in the labour force.

Strong opposition was expressed by workplace representatives at the meeting at the union's weak policy towards the Industrial Relations Bill. The platform only just managed to ward off resolutions calling for tougher action than 'non-co-operation'.

But the meeting did decide to back the AUEW's official strike against the Bill on 18 March. This means there will be a massive stoppage in the Midlands on the day the TUC meets to discuss the Bill.

Railmen press for action on pay claim.

A STRONG POSSIBILITY of strike action by railway workers emerged this week when the three unions involved rejected the management's latest offer of 8 per cent.

The National Union of Railwaymen is asking for 25 per cent and the footplate men (ASLEF) and clerks (TSSA) both want 15 per cent.

ASLEF's executive demanded on Tuesday that the talks be speeded up. It is under considerable pressure from its members to start a work-to-rule unless the management concede their demands.

The executive defeated by six votes to three a call for a work-to-rule by its 29,000 members on Monday.

Fresh talks were fixed for Friday. In the meantime, rank and file members of all three unions should demand a campaign to win support from other unions if strike action takes place.

In particular, the giant TGWU should be asked to take sympathy action to black the transfer of rail goods to road services. Railway workers must not be left in isolation for several weeks like the postal strikers.'

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS London Region Organiser

Applications are invited from 15 members only for the post of full-time London organiser. Applications, written or verbal, must be in the hands of the National Secretary (01-739 1878) by 15 March. Full details on request.

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