

# Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 213 27 MARCH 1971 2½p

## BRITAIN'S LEGACY OF OPPRESSION

# N. IRELAND: WORKER UNITY HOLDS THE KEY

by CHRIS HARMAN

NORTHERN IRELAND once again faces an intense political crisis. Its second prime minister in less than two years has resigned. Extra British troops are being sent to 'restore order'. All the indications are that more bitter fighting in the streets can be expected.

But most workers in Britain have little idea what is happening. The press, radio and television talk of 'riots', 'terrorists' and 'religious bigots'. They print a picture of general chaos in which only the British government and 'men of good will' like Chichester-Clark stand for reason.

The reality is quite different. Ireland is Britain's oldest colony.

For hundreds of years most of its wealth and most of its industries have been owned by members of the same small ruling class that owns more than 80 per cent of the wealth in Britain.

The results can be seen in Northern Ireland today. The average level of unemployment is above seven per cent — more than twice as high as in this country.

In Derry, one man in four cannot get a job. On the Ballymurphy housing estate, one man in three is without work.

Housing is atrocious for most workers. In Derry 40 per cent of houses are sub-standard and 54 per cent have no bath.

Yet every year, vast sums of money flow abroad from Northern Ireland. In 1967, £45 millions drained away to subsidise the British balance of payments.

And that figure takes no account of much larger sums that big landowners like Chichester-Clark, businessmen like Brian Faulkner and their British counterparts take out of Ireland in search of bigger profits.

In the past such people set out deliberately to create religious bigotry. By turning one group of workers against another they aimed to stop any united movement against their control of the wealth.

### SUPERIOR

The Protestants of the north east were told that they were inherently superior to the Roman Catholics. They were given marginally more jobs and housing than the Catholics in order to stop them recognising how bad their own conditions were.

For example, in Belfast's biggest single industry, Harland and Wolff's shipyard, Catholics are permitted less than one job in 15, although they make up a third of the city's population.

The Orange Order was built up to enshrine this position of apparent superiority of Protestants. The rest of Ireland eventually won a degree of independence from Britain in the early 1920s.

But six counties in the north-east, where most of the industry lay at the time, were excluded artificially from this. The boundaries of this separate 'province' were carefully drawn to ensure that Protestants were in the majority. The running of it was handed



Faulkner: profiteer from bigotry

over to the Unionist Party, controlled by the landowners and industrialists.

A few years ago the British government was compelled to change this policy. British big business found that it could profitably build up industry under its own control in southern Ireland.

The southern government had given up any real claim to independence and did as London told it.

### THREATENED

Continuation of the policy of discrimination and repression in the north threatened disturbances that might upset this profitable arrangement in the south. And so, under Wilson and now under Heath, the attempt has been made to remove the most obvious examples of official anti-Catholicism in the north.

But such measures have outraged the Protestant bigots who control the ruling Unionist Party. That is why they forced O'Neil to resign as prime minister two years ago.

That is why pressure developed to force out Chichester-Clark.

Ordinary Protestant workers feel threatened as they see the privileges taken away that keep them marginally better off than the Catholics. Unfortunately, they do not yet draw the necessary conclusions.

They do not yet fight against those responsible for miserable conditions that make small privileges so important. Instead of moving towards a socialist position, they tend to support people like Paisley and to demand anti-Catholic action.

All this means that it becomes more and more difficult for British big business to keep Northern Ireland under control. It dare not let the Protestant bigots retain their old influence.

But it knows no easy alternative. It has tried increasingly to placate the

Orange Order by sending the British army, armed with CS gas, rubber and lead bullets, into the Catholic areas.

Houses have been torn apart and unarmed onlookers killed as the army 'searches' for weapons.

This does not pacify the Paisleyites but does infuriate the Catholic workers, who know that such arms are the only means of defence against any armed Paisleyite attack. Such an attack killed eight and left hundreds homeless 18 months ago.

For Protestant and Catholic workers, the way out of their problems is not the 'moderation' and 'reasonableness' preached by Heath and his big business friends.

There will be no solution until united action takes the wealth out of the hands of the British ruling class. And that means kicking British big business and its troops out of Ireland.

Many Catholic workers are beginning to see this, but in a confused manner. They understand that the British army is not there to protect their interests.

That is why they are willing to support the IRA that fights to keep the army out of their areas.

But most Catholic workers do not yet see that behind the British troops stands a British ruling class that has material interests in both north and south Ireland. Nor do they understand that only united action by the whole working class can really throw out this ruling class and its Irish hangers-on.

### HYPOCRISY

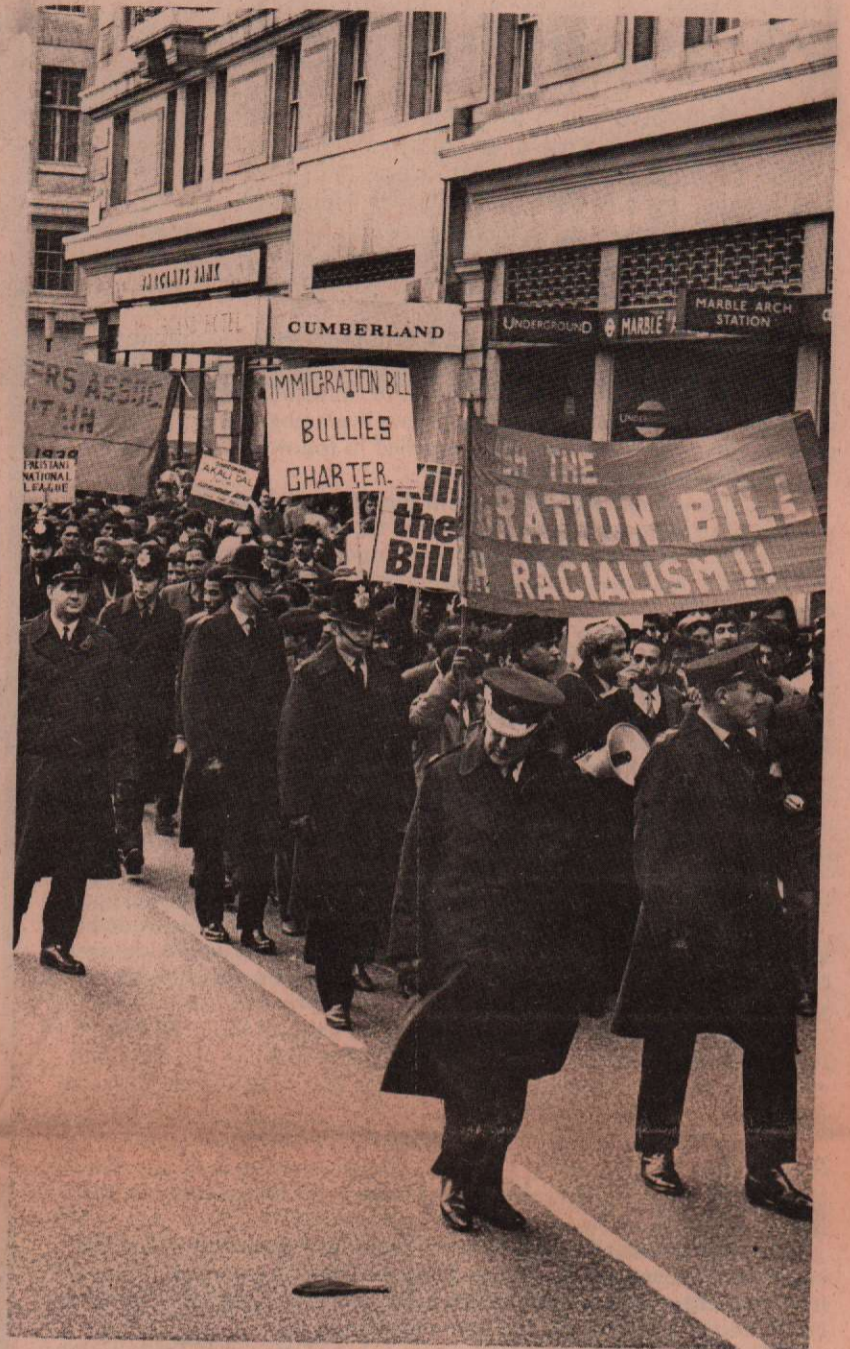
In any case, our own Tory government has difficulties in Ireland it can not easily solve. The working class in Britain should have no sympathy with its dilemmas.

They arise from the long history of the exploitation of Ireland by the British ruling class — a history that is far from over.

We must reject the hypocrisy of those who send troops to Ireland to protect such exploitation with violence, and then cry out when those troops occasionally get hurt.

And finally, we must give our support to those who are trying to solve the problems of Ireland in the interests of the workers of Ireland.

Our solidarity is needed by those who are attempting to build a movement in Ireland to remove it from the control of the minority that lives off the backs of the workers of this country too.



## 5000 condemn Bill

by MIKE CAFFOOR

MORE THAN 5000 black workers and socialists, including a large contingent of International Socialists, marched through central London last Sunday in a militant demonstration against the Tory Immigration Bill. The march, organised by the Indian Workers' Association, included contingents from all parts of the country. The largest groups marched under the banners of the IWA, but there were also Pakistani workers, West Indian organisations and Black Power groups.

Militant slogans on the march included 'Kill the Bill' and 'Smash Racialism'. The marchers were aware that both Tory and Labour governments had been responsible for introducing racist immigration controls and used black immigrants as a scapegoat. The demonstration should leave the Tories in no doubt as to the anger that is felt by the black community at the naked racism of the government. And socialists are united with them to kill the Bill.

## Jail for Czech socialists

SIXTEEN Czech left-wing socialists who were on trial in Prague have now been sentenced to terms of imprisonment. One of the leaders of the group, Peter Uhl, is to be jailed for four years and the others from between one and 2½ years.

The official charge against the 16 was 'subversion'. Their real 'crime' was to have organised a political group, the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

They called for the overthrow of both the 'communist' regimes of Eastern Europe and the capitalist system of the west. They stood for an organisation of society based on workers' control and workers' councils. Their slogan was 'socialism yes — bureaucracy no'.

In the courtroom they denounced

bravely those who put them on trial. Socialists and trade unionists in this country must condemn such vicious treatment for those who fight for the same aims as us. Members of the Communist Party, in particular, should demand that its leaders, who claimed to oppose the invasion of Czechoslovakia 18 months ago, now denounce the repression against the left.

TUC: Comment page 2, report page 3

# Socialist Worker

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## TUC decisions must be implemented

TENS OF THOUSANDS of militants up and down the country are now faced with a major problem: What is to be done to further the fight against the anti-union laws following the decisions of last week's special TUC conference?

It is quite clear that the TUC did not opt for a fighting policy against the Bill. It refused industrial action. It refused to make it a condition of membership of the TUC that unions do not co-operate in the implementation of the new laws.

All that the conference did decide was to recommend to unions that they give the government the cold-shoulder. But right-wing union leaders are already preparing to break with that recommendation, even if they voted for it. And some left-wing leaders are beginning to signify that if some unions register they will be compelled to follow suit in order to 'protect their members and their funds'.

If a policy of non-co-operation with the laws was really followed by a number of sizeable unions, it would make the government's legislation unworkable. The government could only impose its will by a head-on collision with millions of organised workers. It would not be able to divide and rule.

But because they fear that in a collision of that sort their own special positions of privilege and power might be undermined, many national union leaders shy away from such a prospect. In practice they will ignore even the TUC's feeble stand, co-operate with the law, and make it easier for the government to isolate and defeat those who do fight.

All this means that a struggle has to be started now in every union for implementation of the TUC recommendation of non-registration and non-co-operation. And a campaign should begin now for a further one day strike — on the first day that the new legislation takes effect.

This would not be just one more token strike. It would be a massive gesture of defiance by hundreds of thousands of organised workers.

It would show that it is possible to defy the harshest law, provided the working class stands together, united and determined. It would give new heart to many militants who might otherwise be demoralised by the apparent power of the law.

Such policies cannot be won by relying on national union leaders. Fighting bodies have to be built in every locality that can make the rank and file of every union aware of the need for determined struggle around the issue.

Where local 'liaison' or 'action' committees exist, they must be strengthened. Where they do not exist, they must be built. Now is the time to put real life into rank and file bodies if the struggle against the Bill is not to flag.

Every effort must be made to turn them into representative fighting organisations, based upon genuine delegates from all branches of industry, into 'councils of action' from which every element of tiredness, of bureaucratic inertia or of idle talk has been removed.

We think that the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions recall conference on 24 April can play a key role in bringing together those in every union and in every locality who are fighting to impose such policies on the national unions. We think every rank and file body should prepare now to be represented at this conference.

The TUC recall conference was dominated by those who were running away from the battle. The Liaison Committee conference should be a gathering of all those who intend to stand firm.

But it can do so only on one condition — that the opportunity exists for as many rank and file militants as possible, regardless of title, honour, or dubious qualifications (like the initials MP) to express their opinions and determine the future policy and organisation of the Liaison Committee.

## LAOS ROUT: NEW SETBACK FOR US IMPERIALISM

THE AMERICAN-BACKED invasion of Laos has failed. Even the western press has been forced to admit the truth as the invading forces attempt to avoid complete destruction with a headlong retreat.

The US government spread the war into Laos in a desperate attempt to salvage its whole position in Vietnam. All its efforts to subdue that country's population have failed. Instead it has found that American big business is unable increasingly to afford the cost of the war, while ordinary people in the US are less and less prepared to tolerate the loss of life involved.

Nixon has had to start a slow withdrawal of US ground forces. But America's rulers are afraid to admit that they have been defeated in Vietnam. They fear it would be an encouragement to revolution elsewhere in the world. While withdrawing their troops, they try to give the impression that they are winning the war.

They justify this with the myth of 'Vietnamisation' — the pretence that South Vietnam troops are taking over the fighting role. The trouble is that these troops, who by and large have no interest in the war, are completely incapable of fighting alone.

The invasion of Laos, like the invasion of Cambodia a year ago, was intended to conceal such weaknesses. What was disguised as a 'South Vietnamese' invasion in reality depended on massive US air support. The defeat in Laos is a big setback to the US ruling class's attempt to hide its defeat in Vietnam.

Now it has two choices. It can either admit defeat in the whole of Indo-China and get out. Or it can once again try to conceal what is happening beneath a blanket of increased bombing, killing, maiming and burning over a still wider area.

Socialists and trade unionists in the west must support the National Liberation Front, North Vietnamese and other forces in the area who are trying to force the US out. This is the only way in which the horror of the war against the people of Indo-China can be brought to an end.

## Impoverished masses fight military regime

# TURMOIL SHAKES PAKISTAN RULERS

SOUTH ASIA IS IN TURMOIL. In India — in West Bengal, in Ceylon, and, above all, in Pakistan, the mass of the poor are in increasingly violent collision with the power of local ruling classes and their foreign backers. In Pakistan, the fuse of revolution has been burning for more than two years. In early 1969, the military regime of Ayub Khan collapsed. It was pushed over by two forces.

First, a popular socialist movement in West Pakistan, led by students and middle class professional people, but with increasing support from industrial workers. Its hero was the erratic ex-foreign minister of Ayub's Cabinet, Z A Bhutto. And second, by an even more powerful movement in East Pakistan, encompassing the whole Bengali population, and led by the mildly Left Awami League under Mujib-ur-Rahman.

The province of the Punjab in West Pakistan dominates both the West (which includes three other provinces) and the whole country. It is here that a high rate of economic growth has been fostered over the past decade at the expense of the other provinces.

A thousand miles away from the West, on the other side of India, is the impoverished East. It has a majority of the population, and for long produced the major chunk of the national exports.

Yet, in every respect, it has been the poor stepchild of the national government. With the 1948 partition of British India, the Bengali Muslims of what is now the East swapped the domination of the Hindus of West Bengal for that of the Muslims of the Punjab.

Locked into the whole Pakistan explosion are two parallel issues. First, a revolt by the mass of the population against the military and West Pakistan capitalism, a class movement.

And second, a revolt of the Bengalis and oppressed national groups in the West (Sindhis, Pathans, Baluchis) against Punjabi domination.

### PROMISE

Only exceptional revolutionary leadership could have directed the national struggles so that they intensified the class issues, rather than dividing the movement. And in West Pakistan, the leadership of Bhutto and his Pakistan People's Party (PPP) is neither revolutionary nor exceptional.

The two movements in East and West overthrew Ayub Khan. But neither provided a clear revolutionary alternative.

In the short term, a new military regime — with General Yahya Khan as President — was thrown together. But it could survive only by promising the first general elections with universal suffrage in Pakistan's history and a speedy transfer of power to civilians.

Last December, the elections showed starkly the real popular spirit as well as the contradictions military rule had repressed. The Rightist and religious parties took a heavy beating (the biggest Islamic party won five of the 140 seats contested).

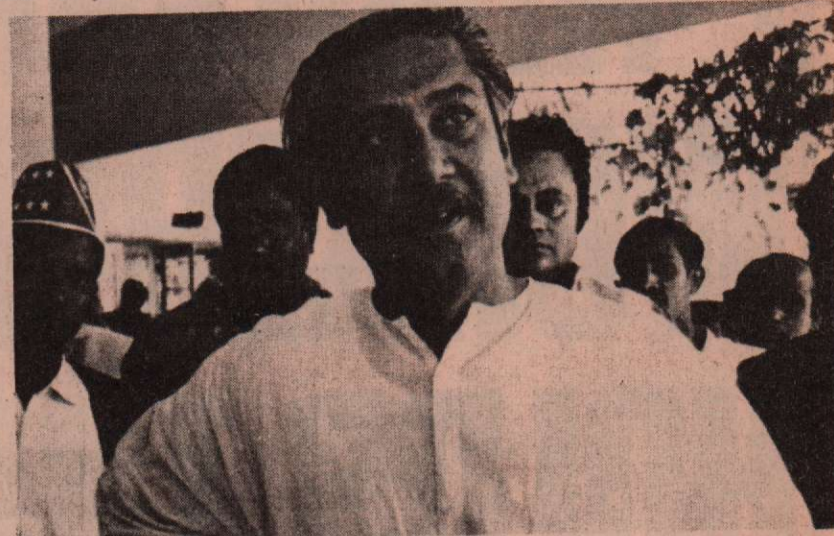
In the East, the Awami League swamped the polls and secured an absolute majority in the Assembly (167 seats). Bhutto in the West won 83 seats.

### WINDY

Both Bhutto and Mujib-ur-Rahman won as much as they did by offering the same brand of windy 'Leftish' rhetoric. They are both for extensive nationalisation (banks, insurance, 'heavy industry', 'large companies'), although neither are revolutionaries.

But Bhutto makes the centrepiece of his programme hostility to India — a 'thousand year war' as he once put it.

But for the East, the problem is not bashing India but keeping what



Mujib: a popular movement could outstrip him

it has in the face of robbery by West Pakistan capitalism. Indeed, the East wants trade with India, a treacherous demand as far as the Punjabis are concerned.

Mujib's Six Points on which he fought the election demand virtual autonomy for the East, with a weak army. With Bhutto and Mujib as the only two serious alternatives, quite clearly the West Pakistan establishment would back Bhutto.

But with an absolute majority in the Constituent Assembly, Mujib could drive through his constitutional proposals, subject only — if he chose to accept it — to the veto of President Yahya.

Bhutto could have aligned himself with Mujib in order to unify the popular opposition to the national capitalist class which is West Pakistan based. But he chose — not at all unexpectedly — to line up with the army.

### BOYCOTT

In consultation with Yahya, he announced he would boycott the Assembly unless Mujib would agree to water down his Six Points. This gave President Yahya the excuse to postpone the Assembly in order to try and weaken Mujib's position before it met.

This was only the headlines. For in the East, popular feeling exploded. The overwhelming majority of the population swung behind the demand for an independent East Pakistan, a Bengali 'socialist state of workers and peasants'.

The only obstacle to the declaration of complete independence seemed to be ... Mujib-ur-Rahman. When Yahya postponed the Assembly, Mujib did not call his own East Assembly in defiance.

If he declared independence now, the West could not hold the East by military force. But probably Mujib could not hold the East either. Once the popular movement was given its head, it would sweep forward to a revolutionary conclusion.

And Mujib is not a revolutionary, nor does he have an organised political force capable of damping down a popular revolution.

So just as Bhutto is effectively blocking the revolution in the West, so is Mujib in the East. Bhutto, by refusing Bengali demands for autonomy and encouraging Punjabi chauvinism is supporting Yahya Khan.

Bhutto needs the army, otherwise he too would become subject to powerful popular demands, to the pressure of the organised workers' movement of the West. By opposing the demands of the East, he pushes popular class hostility in the West into a chauvinism that serves the interests only of the West's ruling

class.

In Pakistan, a molten revolutionary situation is dominated by entirely unrevolutionary leaders. The demand by the East for national self-determination — for independence — is the most revolutionary demand in the country.

If it were achieved, it would not just unlock the class revolutionary forces in both East and West. It would also rock the foundations of neighbouring India.

At the moment, the situation is a stalemate. Yahya Khan is in Dacca, capital of the East, for talks with Mujib, and Mujib has agreed to talk. Yahya Khan is offering a coalition government to persuade Mujib to dilute his demands for autonomy.

At the same time, troops are being moved from West to East to give the President's wishes a cutting edge. Perhaps a massacre will do what appeals cannot.

But Mujib cannot move too fast to sell out, for he has a powerful movement which could turn on him if betrayed. But he cannot play it too tough, or the West Pakistan ruling class might decide that the price of Pakistani unity was too high and Bengal should be allowed to rot in its own poverty.

### CRIPPLED

In the short term, West Pakistan capitalism needs its captive markets in the East, but only in the short term. Yahya Khan has announced the meeting of the Assembly for Thursday, and Bhutto — now in Dacca to join the cosy Yahya-Mujib talks — has agreed to attend.

All that needs to be settled is on what terms Mujib will attend, and on what terms the East will allow him to attend.

The Left — the various fragments of the National Awami Party — has been crippled by its failure to grasp the cause of Bengali national independence. Until it champions this demand, it cannot expose the false nationalism of Mujib by calling for an independent socialist republic.

The weakness of the Left — symbolised in its withdrawal from the elections last December — has given Mujib a free run. And it will allow him to betray the movement.

Without a clear class programme without leadership and organisation success is accidental. It could still be that in spite of the best efforts of Yahya, Bhutto and Mujib, that the Bengalis will break through to revolution and begin the transformation of South Asia. But time and Mujib are not on their side.

NIGEL HARRIS

After the Croydon TUC, Councils of Action are more vital than ever

# Rank and file have lost a battle—but they can still win the war



Hugh Scanlon at Croydon: Supporting the Bridlington Agreement will mean defying the new Tory anti-union laws.

THE Croydon TUC decisions were a defeat for the left and for the whole working class movement. There can be no glossing over this. The joy of the millionaire press and the bosses' tame TV and radio commentators was fully justified.

Short of totally unexpected developments, the Bill will now become law and the TUC will not lift a finger to stop it. The sole further action they propose — a lobby of parliament — is so pathetic that even Victor Feather, Commander of the British Empire, didn't pretend it would do any good.

But the defeat was not a rout. We lost the battle. We haven't lost the war.

## Sliding out

In order to defeat the left the General Council was compelled to put forward proposals that, if vigorously pursued, can make it as difficult to enforce the provisions of the Bill as it was to enforce prohibition in the USA.

If vigorously enforced — that's the point. Right wing speakers at Croydon made it pretty obvious that they had every intention of sliding out of the commitments they voted for.

The fight now is to compel them to stand by the policy of total non-cooperation and to resist the inevitable victimisations.

The best way to start would be a massive strike on the day the Bill becomes law. It would show just how helpless the government and the employers are in the face of united working class resistance. It would increase immensely the confidence of advanced workers.

This demand should be pushed

by **DUNCAN HALLAS**

vigorously at the Liaison Committee Conference of 24 April.

The first of the seven resolutions stated: 'Affiliated unions shall be strongly advised not to become registered under the Act'. But it went on to make provision for unions to register nonetheless, provided that they 'inform the General Council of their reasons for doing so, and give the General Council the opportunity to express a view'.

Even if the General Council 'expresses the view' that registration is undesirable there is no obligation on a union to pay any attention. This was carried by 5,055,000 to 4,284,000. What it means was spelt out by many speakers.

Jack Jones, Transport Workers' general secretary, said: 'It is an escape route for registration'. Danny McGarvey, Boilermakers' president, called it: 'An excuse for those "moderates" who want to capitulate'.

Norman Stagg, Post Office Workers' deputy general secretary said: 'The first union to register will be breaking the dam — and will be seen to do so by all our enemies. Non-registration should be a condition of TUC affiliation'.

Perhaps the most telling point was that of Hugh Scanlon, Engineers' president: 'The Municipal and General Workers have said a good deal about loyalty. I ask them to state categorically that if this clause is carried they will refuse to register. Complete silence from the GMWU delegation.'

An attempt was made by the right to make the issue appear one of meeting the special difficulties of white collar unions. Disgraceful speeches by Walter Anderson of the Local Government Officers, who threatened to take his union out of

**SID GREENE: 'What advantages?'**

the TUC if the General Council was defeated, and Ted Britton of the National Union of Teachers peddled this myth.

In fact it is quite clear that this was just another excuse to surrender. The cat was let out of the bag by Sid Greene of the Railwaymen and Frank Chapple of the Electricians.

'We can't see,' said Sir Sidney, 'what the advantages are of registration or de-registration. You are going to be registered anyway.'

'We say the Bill is unworkable,' said Chapple. 'Why don't we cooperate and prove it? Why do the Registrar's work for him?' This got the slow handclap and the noble Lord Cooper had to come to the rescue from the chair.

## Defying the law

Apart from Resolution 2, 'The General Council shall seek from the Parliamentary Labour Party an explicit and unconditional assurance on the repeal of the Act', the whole programme of 'non-cooperation' hangs on non-registration.

The proposals themselves are correct. No signing of legally binding agreements, no cooperation with the Commission on Industrial Relations or the National Industrial

Relations Court, defence of the Bridlington Agreement — which, as Scanlon correctly pointed out, means defying the law — no application to the NIRC for recognition rights or an agency shop, no trade unionist to serve on Industrial Tribunals, CIR or NIRC.

But once registration begins the rot will set in. Not only on the right but on the left as well, the cry will be 'they have registered, we have to do the same in self-defence — and if we register we have to cooperate to some extent.'

This can and must be stopped. Every militant has the duty to do his utmost to force his union to stand for total non-cooperation.

It has been clear from the beginning that the real object of the Bill is to hamstring the shop floor organisations and to strengthen the union bureaucracies against the rank and file.

The struggle for democratic control of the unions by the membership and the struggle against the Bill are inseparable.

We have to fight to defend existing rule books against the anti-democratic attentions of the Registrar who will always seek to weaken control from below.

We have also to press for the elementary democratic demands — election and periodic re-election of officials, officials' pay to be tied to wage agreements negotiated, all policy decisions to be taken by representative elected bodies.

The job of Councils of Action is now still more vital. The primary tasks are now propaganda and agitation against registration, for non-cooperation, and for the organisation of defence of militants against victimisation.

Every time legal action is taken against trade unionists we must work for a massive response of industrial action.

There are other jobs too. What has just been said is 'inducement to an unfair industrial action' under the Bill which would, if the Bill was law, render the writer and this paper liable to legal penalties.

Councils of Action will be vital here. All Councils of Action should be urged to affiliate to the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions and to fight for militant policies within it.

This government is out tostrate the working class movement by a many-pronged attack. Anti-union legislation, productivity deals, rising unemployment, cuts in social service benefits, attacks on free speech, racist laws — all these are part of a concerted offensive by the employing class and its political tools.

We need a real rank and file movement with a comprehensive programme to defeat this menace. Councils of Action can be the starting point of such a movement.

## Fundamental demand

But only the starting point. By themselves they are not enough.

We are not syndicalists. We do not believe that trade union action alone can do the job.

The point made by some right wing speakers at Croydon, that political action is needed, was correct. But they see political action as sitting on their bottoms until Heath chooses to call a general election.

We see political action as the building of a revolutionary socialist movement that is part and parcel of the struggle on the shop floor, that bases itself on that struggle, that extends and generalises it and that can enable the working people of this country to stand on their own two feet and enforce the fundamental demand we make of the bosses:

**Get off our backs!**

## WHERE DO THE ENGINEERS GO FROM HERE?

THE ENGINEERING UNION has led the mass political strikes against the Industrial Relations Bill. It has also led the opposition against the moderates of the TUC.

After Croydon will the Engineers continue to lead the battle against the Tories' savage attacks on the working class? Or will their leaders sit back and explain that they have already done their bit and to do anymore would be disastrous?

It is no secret that Hugh Scanlon spoke against strike action when it was first raised on the executive council of the union. The executive voted 5 to 2 in favour of strike action.

Bill John and the right wing leader, John Boyd, voted against.

The impetus of the executive's decision mobilised the votes at the special national conference of the AUEW. The National conference is the lay policy-

making body of the union. It voted 64 to 5 in favour of action.

Since the executive's decision, Scanlon has campaigned for industrial action. But he has never made any public statement of his personal views on using the strike weapon.

At the 21 February Trafalgar Square rally, he told the demonstrators not to accept the line of the TUC General Council, but to fight within their different unions to gain a majority for a militant policy, including strikes, to defeat the Bill.

On the BBC television programme 24 Hours on 1 March, he said that the engineers' strike was not political. Its aim was not to overthrow the government or establish a new social order but to demonstrate the union's total opposition to the Bill.

He also stated that if the TUC vote went against strike action the engineers would loyally abide by the Congress

decision.

The following Saturday at an Engineering Voice national assembly in Birmingham, Scanlon was tackled over his promise.

He replied, in an impassioned speech, that there were two issues at stake. He considered that there was no chance of getting the vote for industrial action but there was a possibility of making non-registration a condition of affiliation to the TUC.

## ISOLATION

Even if Scanlon never made his promise, the executive council will not recommend strike action in the present situation. They feel that this would lead to isolation from the rest of the movement.

There has also been disillusionment because there were no tangible results from the two stoppages. A further strike would create demoralisation and the AU-

EW right wing, claiming to be TUC loyalists, would organise mass revolts to strengthen their own position.

The National Committee of the AEU (the engineering section) and the main force in the national conference of the AUEW, will not independently adopt any radical proposals. It is virtually the same body that last year rejected the executive's proposal that the control of the union journal should pass from the general secretary to the executive.

The committee also stated that general secretary Jim Conway was entitled to write editorials that contravened union policy.

1. What Hugh Scanlon said at Trafalgar Square about changing the policy of other unions is correct. But the fight is not over just because one vote is lost.

2. What he said on television about the political nature of the strike is half true. The strike was political but as yet there is no political alternative. That is the

reason for the disillusionment.

3. The Bill is aimed at destroying the power of the shop steward. Therefore his power must be strengthened.

4. The Bill is only part of the Tories' attack on the working class. Therefore the whole of the working class must organise to defend themselves and defeat their attackers.

These four points can only begin to be satisfied by the union instructing all of its district committees to actively promote the idea of local Councils of Action.

The union journal should act as the co-ordinator of this movement. Its control should be in the hands of an elected editorial board, its function to report on and campaign for the new political unionism needed to win the struggle.

Only by adopting these measures can the struggle advance.

**Dave Stone, AUEW**

# Exclusive: move to crack down on wages and step

# Engineering employers secret plan to dodge equal pay for women



A CONFIDENTIAL document prepared by the Engineering Employers' Federation on equal pay advises its members that they can avoid paying women workers the male rate for the job by replacing women by 'labour-saving' machines, introducing job evaluation and having strict segregation of sexes at the workplace.

The Equal Pay Act was brought in by the last Labour government in 1970 and seeks to bridge the wide gap between male and female workers that allows women to be ruthlessly exploited and used as cheap labour.

The Labour Party's reasons were not wholly humanitarian. The government realised that a section of the workforce that was noticeably and drastically underpaid was a source of grievance and a weak link in their scheme for a tightly-disciplined, highly-productive labour force.

But socialists also realise that, whatever the government's motives the Act will move some way towards ending the double exploitation of women workers and will encourage them to play a more active and militant role in the trade union movement.

The employers, of course, are not humanitarian at all. Their hearts are always firmly in

their pockets. They are alarmed at the extra cost of equal pay and the resulting increase of militancy

and solidarity that it will bring. The act does not come into force until 1975, but the Engineer-

ing Employers' Federation, a powerful body with members in most of the key sections of the industry is already drawing up plans to avoid the extra cost and the danger to their profits.

The EEF's report (ACL No 13/71, dated 15 January 1971) deals with the implications of equal pay in white-collar areas of the industry. A previous report dealt with blue-collar workers and it is likely that both reports make similar recommendations.

The report sets out the basic requirements of the Act:

1. Equal treatment between individual men and women where men and women are engaged on work of the same or broadly similar nature.
2. Equal treatment where a woman's job had been rated as equivalent to a man's job as a result of a job evaluation exercise.

## Anxious to resist

This means, the report stresses, that the EEF will have to ensure that there will not be separate minimum rates for males and females in any national agreements by 29 December 1975. Female minimum rates will have to be brought up to the corresponding male rate.

The EEF is anxious to resist equal pay as far as possible. It is worried that 'where the concept of "a rate for the job" is non-existent and where large numbers of workpeople may work under a

## by a correspondent

general title of "clerical staff", an employer's resistance to a claim for an increase for all females ... could be undermined considerably.

The case for equal pay and the glaring inequality between male and female workers is spelt out by the report itself. The last EEF survey in February 1970 showed the following average wage rates:

Male clerical workers aged 21 and over in the provinces (excluding inner London):	£21.56
Female clerical workers aged 21 and over in the provinces (excluding inner London):	£14.46

The figures are a condemnation of the engineering employers but the only lesson they draw is the need to make every effort to either maintain this disgraceful state of affairs, or at least, contain the wage explosion that may occur when the Act comes in.

The EEF is committed, under the terms of the present national agreement, to discuss female pay in June this year. It feels that the unions may take this opportunity to raise the whole issue of equal pay then rather than wait until May 1975.

The Federation is anxious that its members should take decisive action now to ward off any demands made by the unions this summer. It suggests that federated firms should work out the cost of equal pay to give them an indicat-

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## No more

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The report's question of job

## 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 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

### SCOTLAND

Aberdeen/Clydebank/Dundee/Edinburgh/Glasgow N/Glasgow S/Stirling/Fife

### NORTH EAST

Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Tees-side (Middlesbrough and Redcar)

### NORTH

Barnsley/Bradford/Derby/Doncaster/Huddersfield/Hull/Leeds/York/Selby/Sheffield

### NORTH WEST

Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham/

Bolton//Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan/Potteries

### MIDLANDS

Birmingham/Coventry/Northampton/Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham

### WALES and SOUTH WEST

Bath/Bristol/Cardiff/Exeter/Swansea/Plymouth

### SOUTH

Ashford/Brighton/Crawley/Folkestone/Portsmouth/Southampton

### EAST

Cambridge/Harlow/Ipswich/Lowestoft/Norwich/Colchester

### GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

Acton/Angel/Bletchley/Camden/Chertsey/Croydon/Dagenham/Enfield/Erith/Fulham/Greenford/Harrow/Hemel Hempstead/Hornsey/Ilford/Kilburn/Kingston/Lambeth/Lewisham/Merton/Newham/Reading/Richmond/Stoke Newington/Slough/South Ealing/Tottenham/Walthamstow/Wandsworth/Watford/Victoria

## JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Name .....

Address .....

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

## Solid front down in So

After the collapse of Tom Jackson and the UPW executive, Ford workers are left in the forefront of the fight against Tory plans to hold down wages. Southampton is not an area noted for its militancy but the Ford workers here have responded solidly both in the 1969 strike and in the present battle for parity with car workers in the Midlands. I talked to AUEW shop steward Rupert Martin

### How did the strike start in the Southampton plant? (cont)

Contrary to much of the talk in the press, the stewards had no part in it. The lads just walked out. When the night shift heard about the management's £2 offer, they just put their coats on and headed for the gate. That offer was just an insult.

What is your reaction to the current slightly improved offer of £3.20?

As far as we're concerned it's not really an improved offer - it's just a gag to fool the public but it doesn't fool the workers. This

offer only adds up to anything if it's tied to overtime, but we want a straight across-the-board increase.

Over the years Ford have had everything imaginable in the way of higher productivity and we have got nothing out of it.

Last year Ford workers accepted a £4 offer without a fight. What explains the men's determination this time round?

First, whatever labour boss Bob Ramsey says, we know the money is there. Ford are top of the car league when it comes to profits but bottom on wage rates.

### Forefront

Second, what we resent most strongly is government influence on Ford. We know that managing director Bill Batty has had meetings with Robert Carr.

At the moment we're absolutely solid. I've heard no one crib at being out. This time we've had people in the forefront of the strike who normally have to be dragged out.

It has been strike has cost £30m Ford plant built elsewhere action to this so

This plant for Britain at our national of the fact a just the usual political black opinion'. But the blokes became truth.

Why are they paid than the industry?

Because of which means negotiated on by officials rat ards locally.

The only productivity an evil. And fol of 17 stewards apathy until years.

Until the 19 National Joint

# Discipline



**Women workers are doubly exploited — and the engineering bosses want it to stay that way . . .**

...nique used by employers to squeeze more work from employees, tighten up on discipline and cut down on the size of the workforce through job 'mobility' and 'flexibility'.

The report says bluntly that 'equal pay has to be paid for and the costs will have to be recovered 'from within the firm', that is through redundancies and 'self-financing' productivity concessions.

## Useful tool

'Job evaluation is a useful management tool for identifying the content and relative complexity of jobs and may assist management in rebutting unreasonable equal pay claims,' the EEF says. The aim of job evaluation should be to set up a whole variety of new work categories in order to make the unions' task of working out parity demands that much harder.

It suggests that employers should carry out a rigorous examination of shop-floor practices in order to ensure maximum discipline.

The EEF says that employers must keep the Equal Pay Act in mind when negotiating with their workers. 'In particular the domestic male unskilled rate must be kept as low as possible to avoid unnecessarily increasing the costs of equal pay.'

Forewarned is forearmed. It is clear that engineering employers will not only attempt to dodge the issue of equal pay but, will in preparation for the Act, make an all-out drive to hold down wages, introduce 'labour-saving' techniques to make employees redundant and generally intensify work discipline and productivity.

## Common policy

These measures affect both white and blue collar workers in the engineering industry. Rank and file trade unionists should begin to demand now that all the unions concerned should work out a common policy that will say to the employers:

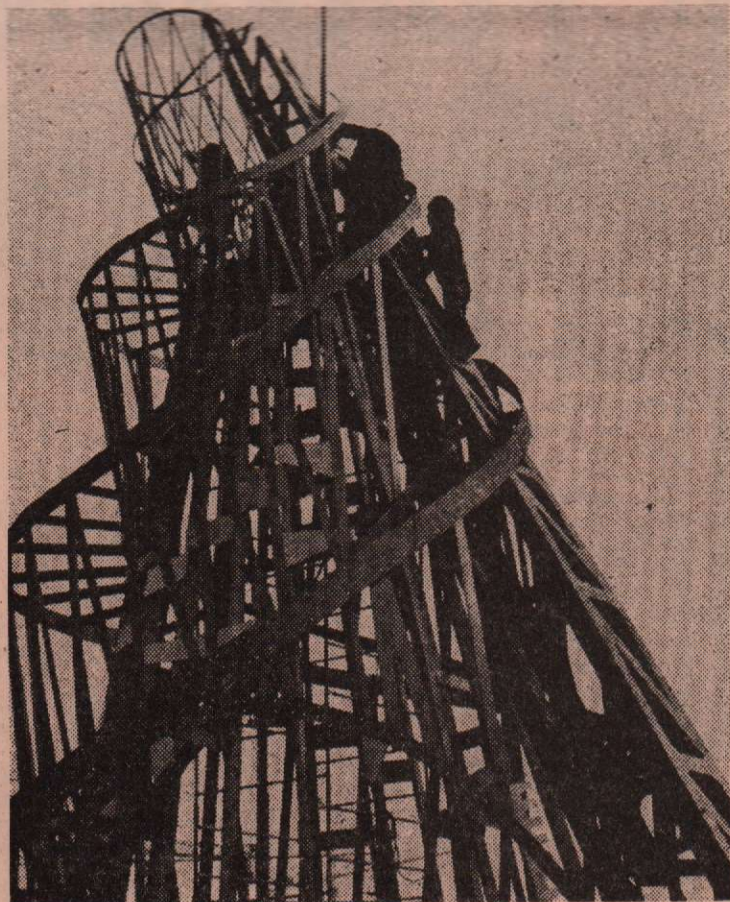
**No retreat on equal pay. All negotiations should anticipate the 1975 Act.**

**Complete opposition to job evaluation, grading and other productivity measures.**

**No redundancies and no 'labour saving' techniques.**

**Complete opposition to anti-social shift working.**

**No wage 'differentials' based upon sex. In plants and offices where equal pay is won, further wage demands should be for all workers irrespective of their sex.**



# DESIGN FOR REVOLUTION

Art in Revolution, Hayward Gallery, London, until 18 April, 1971; catalogue (112pp) from Arts Council of Great Britain, 105 Piccadilly, London, W1V 0AU, 45p.

PAINTED RED it shows up well against the grey concrete of the gallery at the south end of Waterloo Bridge. The reconstructed model of Tatlin's tower 'Monument to the Third International' was put up outside the exhibition at the insistence of the Arts Council's Russian 'collaborators' who would not allow it inside the exhibition. It serves as a signpost not only to the show, but also to the cultural revolution it records.

For October 1917 signalled the breaking down — among other things — of the frontiers between writing and painting, 'fine' and applied arts, education and propaganda, architecture and engineering, and in doing so expanded art into a tool for showing people what they could do. From this followed a much closer connection between the new art and everyday life.

More alive, less reassuring. For the monument — if the resources had been there to build it — would have been a disturbing, symbol-rich blend of the future and the

past, or new science and old magic: very large, it was to contain three revolving (symbolising revolution) chambers, each taking a different Ideal form — cube/pyramid/cylinder — for the different functions of the International: legislative / executive / informative.

These were to be suspended in position by an exposed skeleton of two intersecting spirals, vaulting into space, constructed of iron and glass. Iron and glass, partly because they were ordinary factory materials, not marble and bronze; and glass, above all as a symbol of clarity and light — to illuminate the openness of the deliberations of the Party of World Revolution, sending its messages from the city to the fields and forests, from Russia to the world.

But the model was made of timber from those forests; the marble and bronze were to come 14 years later dragging the vision down to earth, four-square, and symmetrical, to impress Stalin's reassuring 'realism', promising the stability of his new ruling class.

Meanwhile, however, the tower showed artists and designers how to put materials and ideas

together in new ways in the service of the revolution. In the classic example of *agitational propaganda* (above, right), Rodchenko sticks down a copy of *Workers' Path* to make Lenin's platform of 'Peace! Bread! Land!'

Lenin himself recognised the cinema to be the most powerful vehicle for graphic communication: and a major achievement of the exhibition — which spills into the National Film Theatre alongside — is the opportunity it provides of seeing the work of the pioneer of film graphics — Dziga Vertov (the still below comes from his 'Man with a Movie-Camera').

His films are thick with symbols: electrification for enlightenment; forests of telegraph poles; city lettering for civilisation; tram and railway lines for the direct path to socialism.

But the symbols are handled with tremendous conviction, tricks are used only for *meaning*: he tilts the camera's view of a sunlit street to exchange shadows for reality, and remind us that the reality we see on the screen is a shadow itself: or he reverses a sequence of a woman going to the private enterprise market for

meat to show the alternative possibility of the co-op.

But in his later films, when possibilities in Russia were rapidly diminishing, when the difference between shadow and reality was becoming harder to distinguish, some of his humour and humanity remain.

The intention behind the graphic language — of the cinema, posters, agitprop trains and steamers was both to loosen the grip of the ideas of the old ruling class state-church on the minds of workers and peasants by establishing mass literacy and thereby mass liberation.

It didn't work out like that: the cultural vanguard broke up under the pressures that broke their political comrades; but their vision survives. That the 'soviet' artocrats attempt to obscure it is witness to its power — in presenting a connection between what was achieved in the Revolution and how much more is possible.

To present this disturbing truth was the artists' job. As Trotsky pointed out 'art can be the revolution's great ally only insofar as it remains true to itself'.

**Robin Fior**



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# Southampton...

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...mittee was not only weak but actually under the thumb of the Ford management — the treachery of TGWU negotiator Les Kealey showed that.

Now the NJNC has been reorganised and revitalised — its leadership is better than it's ever been, though there's still room for improvement. And there are now lay members on it, not just officials.

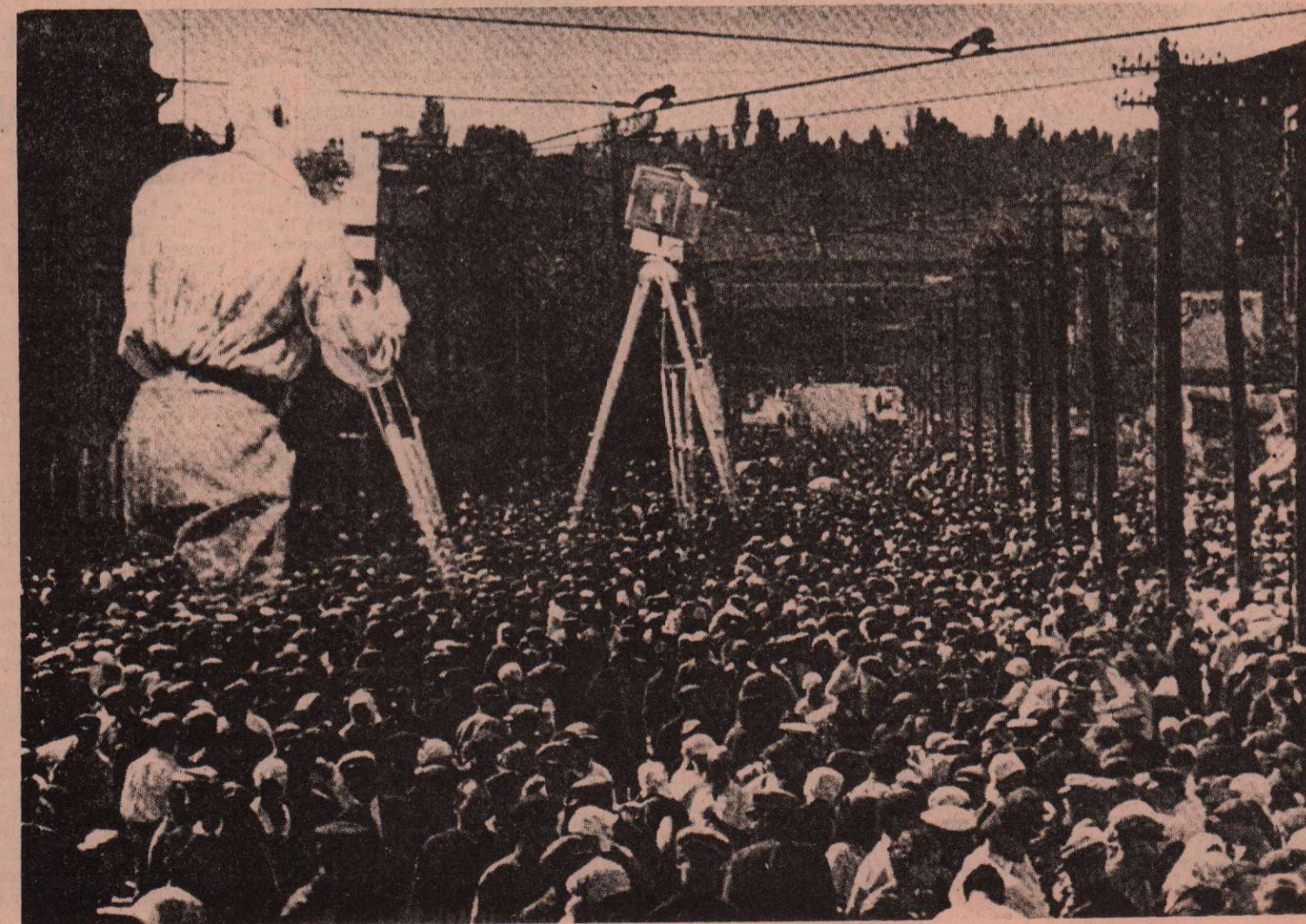
**Do you see the strike as having a particular political significance?**

This strike and the government interference is a taste of what's to come with the Industrial Relations Bill. That is why we must violently oppose the Bill.

If the Bill was law they'd have tried to clobber someone by now for what we've been doing.

I think the TUC should be calling for national industrial action to oppose this Bill. All this shilly-shallying from Feather is a sign of weakness. What's needed is a positive lead.

**John Molyneux**



# FOREIGN FIRMS BLEED IRELAND

from DALE FOX in Dublin

MINING in Ireland today amounts to licensed banditry by foreign companies and their Irish political lapdogs. This is revealed in a carefully documented report just released by a Resources Study Group that investigated the Irish mining industry.

The group succeeded in unravelling the secrecy surrounding the foreign-based exploitation of Irish resources. Their report provides an indictment of the expropriation of a nation's wealth.

The report notes the unpublicised wealth of Irish reserves of lead, zinc, copper, silver and many other valuable minerals. It shows that, far from these riches being used to benefit the Irish people or provide a basis for native industrial development, they are simply lining the pockets of foreign investors in a handful of North American mining corporations.

In recent years, Irish governments have attracted foreign interests with offers of unrestricted profits, the complete absence of tax on profits and boasts in the official literature pushed around America that 'there is no popular movement to exploit the division of labour between workers and management. Few countries are as united behind the concept of democratic capitalism as Ireland'.

So in rushed the 'developers' like wolves around a

sheep pen. By the time the presently-worked mineral resources are exhausted — mainly within 10 years — foreign corporations will have exported profits of between £250-300 million out of Ireland. This sum represents a profit of between £120,000 and £150,000 on every person employed in the mines.

The researchers estimated that one North American subsidiary working lead, zinc, copper and silver deposits at Tynagh is making £194 in tax-free profits for every £27 paid out in miners' wages.

## Urgent demand

The control of Irish mining by a handful of foreign companies, operating in disguise through a network of subsidiaries, is revealed in the report. So is the web of inter-directorships, with some directors sitting on the boards of almost all the major companies involved in the pillage of Irish resources.

The report concludes with an urgent demand for the nationalisation of the mining companies, without compensation, and their replacement by a state mining company to carry out all prospecting, extraction, smelting and marketing processes. This is simply a call for an end to government connivance in the rape of a nation's wealth.



'Of course you'll get a fair trial. The jury is made up of some of the most respectable employers in the country.'

Cartoon by Michael Heath of the Sunday Times used in TUC propaganda against the Industrial Relations Bill

## Silence in court —for anti-union, Tory judges

THE COURTS are not impartial. Neither are the judges. This is a fact which will be learned the hard way by working-class militants if Carr's Industrial Relations Bill is not defeated.

But the judges have always represented the interests of the ruling class. They are not born of the working class nor do they die in the working class. Lord Justice Upjohn, for example, who died in January, left £169,000 and a well-appointed house in London's posh Dolphin Square.

Judges come from the ranks of the barristers, whose professional 'restrictive practices' are unrivalled by any in industry.

Fenton Bresler in an academic study of the British legal system put it mildly: 'Working class origins are not recommended for anyone with judicial ambitions.'

An Economist survey a few years ago showed that 76 per cent of High Court judges went to public schools while Henry Cecil, a retired judge, said that of 36 judges in the High Court and Court of Appeal 31 went to public school, out of 12 House of Lords judges, 10 went to public school while out of 24 qualified, full-time stipendiary magistrates, 20 went to public schools.

### Their duties

This ruling class background reflects in the way the judges perform their duties. It is impossible to expect impartiality.

Lord Justice Scrutton put it very well: 'This (ie impartiality) is rather difficult to attain. I am not speaking of conscious partiality, but the habits you are trained in. The people with whom you mix lead to you having a certain class of ideas of such a nature that when you have to deal with other ideas you do not give as sound and accurate a judgement as you would wish.'

But the facts speak for themselves. Not one judge spoke out against the disgraceful procedures used in the Dutschke inquiry.

Again, in all cases of appeal by students against being sent down from university last year the High Court ruled against them, even though the expulsions defied every fair trial procedure.

It is only necessary to wander in to any magistrates court. Listen to the evidence and see how the magistrates invariably accept police testimony even where it is transparently incredible.

by  
a socialist  
barrister

In such cases at Quarter Sessions, the judge's summing up, far from being fair, is all too often a second speech for the prosecution.

In trade union matters judicial bias has been even more clear. In the recent case of *Associated Newspapers v Flynn* the court held that the one day strike called on 8 December last year by SOGAT Division A against the Industrial Relations Bill was not industrial but political.

The court could equally well have held the other way. It was a pure case of interpretation in the interests of the employers.

Or take the London Rent Rebels' case or the squatters, where homeless families were told that they could not occupy empty property even if their homelessness led to illness.

### Liable for fines

The court expressed its sympathy with the families — but this sympathy did not prevent it making the families liable for the legal fees of the local authority involved as well as their own.

Judicial attitudes to industrial conflict are invariably similar to those of the employers. This can be seen in courts' attitude to picketing, where effective action by pickets has been restricted by recent decisions.

The fact is that the law in a capitalist society is capitalist law. Many workers still do not realise this and have illusions in the possibility of using the law to remove widespread social evils.

It is important for socialists to explain the courts, the judges and their role in our society.

## Dublin conference agrees on new left alliance

SW Reporter

A 'SOCIALIST-REPUBLICAN' unity conference held in Dublin on 13-14 March marks an important stage in the history of repeated efforts to establish an effective linking of socialist and republican forces in Ireland.

The conference was attended by a number of organisations, including Labour Party and Labour Party Young Socialists branches, People's Democracy, the League for a Workers' Republic, Irish Young Socialists and Saor Eire (Free Ireland). The result was a decision to set up the Socialist Labour Alliance.

The alliance was formed on the basis of a seven-point programme that includes the aim of forming a revolutionary party.

### Great interest

The immediate impetus for the conference was a walk-out by 150 delegates at a special Labour Party congress in Cork which overthrew the previous policy of refusing to enter a coalition with either of the two Irish capitalist parties.

The unity conference aroused a great deal of interest within the Labour Party and other left-wing circles. Fewer Labour Party members attended than had been expected but that was the result of an official threat to expel any party members who took part in the conference.

It is certain that, if the Alliance can become a political and organisational force, it will have a powerful attraction to the many discontented rank and file members of the Labour Party.

The republican movement also showed an interest in the conference. Both the 'official' and 'provisional' wings of the IRA had observers at the discussions.

The programme adopted by the conference stated the determination to fight for socialist policies in the trade unions, opposing all wage freezes and repressive laws.

It supports the struggle for civil rights in Northern Ireland, calls for immediate withdrawal of British troops and opposes religious control in education and civil affairs.

### Strength and clarity

The Alliance opposes the Common Market and declares its objective to be the overthrow of both existing states in Ireland as part of the struggle for international socialism.

The Alliance contains groups with different political attitudes but it is likely that the increasing difficulties of Irish capitalism, North and South and the growing working-class opposition will give the Alliance the necessary strength and clarity.

The Alliance will also be discussing the perspectives for creating a mass revolutionary party. Branches will be set up throughout the country in the coming months and the next conference will be held in Belfast in June.



Socialist Labour Alliance demands the withdrawal of British troops.

As in Britain, the main signs of the crisis in capitalism are increasingly repressive measures by the government and the ruling class and mounting unemployment.

Irish workers have had considerable experience of heavy unemployment. But due to the artificial boom of the 1960s the rise in living standards and the closing of

the emigration escape route, they will not accept the present situation.

With this background, the prospects for the Socialist Labour Alliance, set up by a conference where the majority of delegates were young workers, are good. It needs and deserves the support of the socialist movement in Britain.

## LETTERS

### GENERAL STRIKE CALL AND COUNCILS OF ACTION

THE DEMAND that the TUC call a General Strike to kill the Bill and to kick the Tories out has been taken up by wide sections of the working class. Yet this demand has not been adequately represented in the pages of Socialist Worker.

Moreover where it has been taken up there has been no effort to integrate the demand into the strategy of non-co-operation put forward by the paper or to relate it to the campaign to build Councils of Action. Indeed, there has been a tendency to pose the demand for a General Strike and that for non-co-operation as if they were mutually exclusive alternatives, rather than seeing them as complementing each other.

This is a serious weakness in your otherwise excellent coverage of the growing struggle against the Tories. The fact is that many thousands of working class people see a General Strike as the way to smash the Tories.

Socialist Worker should not be ignoring this. Instead the paper should be pointing out the need to build the rank and file organisations that are necessary to force the TUC to fight back.

After all, when the TUC called the 1926 General Strike, it was under considerable pressure from the Minority Movement which represented approaching a million militants. The paper should be giving much more space to urging the need to build such a movement today, to build rank and file organisations that can put backbone into those union officials born without it.

To raise the demand for a General Strike is not to underestimate the need to

build Councils of Action and a rank and file movement. It can just as easily be a means to demonstrate the urgency of building such a movement.

The demand for a General Strike is not an alternative to the demand for non-co-operation. To think that, demonstrates an unnecessarily rigid idea of the way that the struggle is going to develop.

The more unions that refuse to accept the Bill, if and when it becomes law, the better. The more working men and women won over to the idea of opposing any attempt to use the Bill by a General Strike, the better.

The stronger and more widespread the Councils of Action Movement the better. Then let the Tories try using their Bill. They won't know what hit them. — JOHN NEWSINGER, Hull, Yorks.

### Permanent relations outside marriage?

KATHY SIMS' view of marriage (13 March) is grossly distorted. She is right in asserting that capitalist society exploits working people, and women in particular, but wrong surely in regarding human love simply as a means of escape and consolation.

Human emotions will not be so easily placed in a politico-economic pigeonhole. In any case, how does Kathy Sims think creative, permanent relationships between man and woman, parent and child, are to be fostered outside of marriage? — BRENDAN P McMAHON, Swansea.

NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE! NOW THERE!



# Great music, unhappy composer

UNTIL we live in a socialist society, it is inevitable that artists will remain a tiny minority of society. It seems equally likely that creative workers will continue, both in their work and in their own lives, to reflect the tensions of the wider society in their most extreme form.

The difficulties of 'this fine madness' of being an artist is a theme that Ken Russell has dealt with frequently both on television and on the wider screen. His latest film, 'The Music-Lovers' (Odeon, Haymarket) is another view of this problem, seen in the context of the life of the Russian composer Peter Tchaikovsky.

Tchaikovsky's life lends itself aptly to dramatic presentation. He was a homosexual who, partly to satisfy the demands of society, married a woman who turned out to be a virtual nymphomaniac.

At a very early age he had witnessed the unspeakable death agony of his mother caused by the ravages of cholera and the experience remained to haunt him until his own identical death. Finally, the two women who were closest to him, his wife and his patron, Madame von Meck, both died insane.

The great merit of Russell's film is that he succeeds in fusing these facts succinctly into the composer's life story without either flinching from what might appear sordid or, conversely, indulging in sensationalism.

## Constant theme

He follows Tchaikovsky's development through the years, underlining the one constant theme in the composer's troubled life — his almost obsessive need to express himself by writing music. The music is given great prominence in the film, serving to illuminate all the features of Tchaikovsky's tortured existence.

This most sentimental and emotional of composers is shown creating his own romantic world of image and sound against the depressing backdrop of incessant quarrels with his wife and the general lack of understanding from a hostile conservative music establishment.

Once again we are given startling evidence of a man transcending the miseries of his immediate surroundings.

Though Richard Chamberlain is scarcely adequate as the composer, Glenda Jackson gives yet another brilliant portrayal as Tchaikovsky's shrewish wife, Antonina. So convincing is she that we are left with more sympathy for her than history would suggest is actually deserved.

But in the final analysis what remains is Tchaikovsky's music as a permanent monument to his trials and sufferings. Loud vibrant, sentimental, mawkish even — none of these words can explain the staggering popularity of this mild, unhappy musical poet of emotion.

One is left, quite fittingly, marvelling at the way in which human creativity triumphs over all adversity.

In the lives and work of all great artists we can see a glimpse of all that human beings can and will achieve. Tchaikovsky was no exception to this rule.

**Martin Tomkinson**



# COTTONS COLUMN

PETER WALKER, boss of the absurdly-titled 'Ministry of the Environment' is in charge of Tory housing policy. He told local Tory-run councils not to go on building council houses for 'seemingly good reasons'.

That arrogant disregard for the plight of the homeless doesn't stop Tory ministers acquiring vast slices of property for themselves. Mr Walker has just bought a country house and farm near Droitwich.

The farm has 270 acres, the house contains four bedrooms, and the grounds include two spare cottages. The cost is thought to be in the region of £40,000.

Some eight council flats could be built for that sort of money. But if you feel like protesting at Mr Walker's disgusting opulence, be warned — the grounds of his new estate contain an ancient whipping post for dealing with uppity peasants.

*CENSORSHIP is so virulent in 'people's' Czechoslovakia that even the most revered of socialist playwrights, Bertolt Brecht, has come under attack.*

*The Communist Party censor ordered cuts to be made in Brecht's play Mother Courage that deals with the Thirty Years War of the 17th century. A reference to King Gustavus of Sweden, the conqueror of Poland and Germany, was considered a bit too up-to-date.*

*A character says of the King: 'At first he wanted only to protect Poland from all people, particularly the Kaiser. But then his appetite increased as he ate and he protected all of Germany'.*

*The censor's nervousness is understandable. The official reason*



Brecht: too near the mark

for the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 was to 'protect socialism'.

## Shelling out

THE TORIES have launched a campaign to weed out the 'scroungers', all of those unemployed layabouts living off social security and driving to the dole offices in Daimlers and Bentleys.

Civil servants will be hired for the task, thousands of pounds of the taxpayers' money will be used and — as happened the last time this exercise was carried out — they will discover two people in every major city receiving more than they are 'entitled' to from the benevolent state.

Meanwhile the real fiddlers and diddlers get off scot free. Millions of pounds are lost every year through tax evasion by the rich and a Tory government, with its priority geared to bashing the poor, turns a blind eye to it.

A new dodge has just come to light. It is run by British-based international companies who can claim that their executives have to work

for a couple of weeks each year in a foreign country.

An executive who works for two weeks in Switzerland is paid a separate salary to his British one. He opens a Swiss bank account and his 'second' salary is then exempt from British tax.

The foreign accounts are used to buy luxury goods such as yachts, expensive cars and country villas. Big combines such as Shell and British Oxygen use this dodge to swell the earnings of their top men.

The City Editor of The Guardian estimates that this international tax fiddle makes nonsense of the claims by top executives that their vast salaries are meaningless because of British tax. One top company director who has let it be known that tax reduces his income to a 'mere' £7000 or £8000 actually rakes in something like £38,000.

Who are the patriots?

*MEANWHILE back at the class struggle, a heartwarming little tale about Lord Cooper, gensec of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, that will restore your jaundiced faith in trade union officials.*

*A paragraph in the GMWU journal tells us that the noble Jack and Lady Cooper have a 'lively and amusing travelling companion' — Maxie, a six-years old budgerigar who often accompanies them on their road journeys on union business.*

*According to Lord Cooper, the bird recognises landmarks and knows all the turnings on the M1 and M6.*

*It is rumoured by GMWU malcontents that when the Cooper car approaches St Helens, Maxie screeches: 'Keep right, keep right'.*



IN SPITE OF the continuing cold, summer has arrived early at the BBC. June to September are normally times of depleted viewing figures and endless repeats of old plays, serials and comedy shows.

But we are already into the season of repeats. Thursday's BBC1 plays have all been seen before but are being re-run on the pretext of being the best. If the first in the series — a banal and embarrassing 'pop musical' about Liverpool by Alun Owen — is an example of the best the Corporation has to offer, there should be a nationwide withdrawal of licence money in protest.

There is one valid reason for repeats: that only half the viewing public can receive BBC2 programmes and it is a service to the other half to show the best of BBC2 on the main channel. That is fair enough, as long as you accept the BBC's definition of what is 'good'.

There are several series that originated on BBC2 that deserve a second showing to a wider public. The magnificent David Turner dramatisation of Zola's winning epic Germinal springs to mind, as does the more recent serial of Sartre's *Roads to Freedom*.

But the BBC have decided that *Roads to Freedom* will not be thought suitable for BBC1 viewers and *Germinal* has faded into the mists of fully history while romantic froth like *Henry VIII* and *Nana* have been re-run.

## Boring epic

The Corporation's attitude is a mixture of contempt for BBC1 viewers — they don't want "intellectual" stuff like Sartre — and a fervent desire to stay on top in the ratings battle with ITV. And so we are left with repeats like the current Saturday night offering of the serialisation of Arnold Bennett's *Imperial Palace*, a nasty, reactionary and boring epic about life in a five star London hotel in the 1920s.

The book is a product of the period when the adventures of the idle rich were considered of great interest to the 'lower classes'. Capitalism may remain but at least that part of its sub-culture has been thrown onto the scrapheap.

A lacklustre production, that has no feel of the 1920s, and wooden acting underline the emptiness of the plot, with gay young things flitting from Paris to London, rich tycoons plotting their mergers and the steely-eyed manager maintaining iron discipline over the hotel's vast staff.

When one of the hotel workers has the temerity to say that their hours are rather long — 9am to midnight, with a half-day off every week — the manager holds his head despairingly. What is the world coming to, he asks. What indeed.

I have no nostalgia for the 1920s. The 1950s marked my formative years and I am glad to see the return of Robert Robinson's *The Fifties* at 8.50 on Thursdays. I find the politics — about little men in Anthony Eden hats and toothbrush moustaches — boring and intrusive.

They get in the way of the real heroes — Denis Compton, the Brylcreem boy, and Stanley Matthews, the Wizard of Dribble and the other star names that recall the days of short-back-and-sides and long shorts.

Last week we had a glimpse of that old radio show *Educating Archie*, with Peter Brough and Archie Andrews. Can you imagine — a radio show featuring a ventriloquist and his dummy that nobody could see.

Like most of television today, it's like a sketch from Monty Python.

**David East**

# Socialist Worker

## RAIL UNION CALLS WORK TO RULE BUT DISUNITY THREATENS WAGES CAMPAIGN

TRAIN SERVICES may come to a halt from Monday week if ASLEF, the train drivers' union, goes ahead with its plans to stage a work-to-rule in protest at the latest pay offer from the management.

Rising anger and militancy from ASLEF members forced the union executive to vote for action when they met on Tuesday.

The main danger in the present situation is the lack of unity between

the three unions concerned. Although they are involved in joint negotiations with the British Rail management, they have separate claims and have failed to plan a joint campaign of action.

ASLEF and the railway clerks (TSA) have claims in for 15 per cent while the biggest union, the NUR, is demanding 25 per cent. The management has offered 9 per cent to all three which would work out to less than £1.50 for many railwaymen.

The right wing on the ASLEF executive managed to hold off the work-to-rule for a week in the hope that the management will improve their offer slightly. All three unions are thought to be willing to accept 10 per cent.

The rank and file of the unions should demand joint action from their unions and that any industrial action should be supported by railway workshops workers.

## Sell-out by power unions

SW Reporter

THE AGREEMENT reached on Monday between the unions and management in the power industry adds up to a sell-out for the workers.

The talks have dragged on for weeks, following the Wilberforce Court of Inquiry into the power workers' work-to-rule last December.

The Electricity Council insisted on redundancies in return for a wage increase. There was widespread opposition to this among the workforce.

Monday's agreement says there will be no compulsory redundancies until 31 December this year. But in the meantime, any worker who leaves the industry will not be replaced.

### Victimisation

Management expects 10,000 workers to leave in this way this year.

The only workers liable for compulsory redundancies in 1971 will be those who do not co-operate with the productivity schemes the Electricity Council will try to bring in. If successful, the scheme will lead to the victimisation of militants and will result in more long-term sackings.

The agreement is completely contrary to the interest of the power workers. It is not, as the Communist Party's paper the Morning Star says, a 'concession' won by the union negotiators.

The union leaders responsible for the sell-out are Frank Chapple of the Electricians and Bob Wright of the Engineers.

Their conduct has proved that power workers will not be able to improve their pay and conditions unless a militant policy is adopted and a serious fight is waged for internal union democracy.

# FORD - VAUXHALL UNITY CAN WIN KEY PARITY FIGHT

by COLIN BEADLE, TGWU

THE FORD STRIKE is in its eighth week, with 50,000 workers determined to win their long-overdue fight for parity of pay with Midland car workers.

In spite of press lies, extravagant company advertisements, threats of redundancy and biased television coverage, there has been no attempt to return to work at any of the Ford plants.

The strength and unity of the strike has shaken the Ford owners and their Tory allies. It has become a fight to the finish.

The Ford Motor Company has made huge profits from its workers for years. In both 1968 and 1969, it made more than £1,000 or £20 a week from every employee.

Because we are now demanding a decent standard of living, Henry Ford II, boss of the international combine, accuses us of threatening his fat profits.

On Monday the unions and the Vauxhall management agreed to meet again in a week's time to discuss the workers' claim for parity. They were originally offered increases of £3.40 and £3.80 a week for those with more than one year's service, but this was rejected.

### MISTAKE

The Vauxhall management are watching closely the Ford dispute and waiting for its final settlement. The trade unions are making the mistake of following the management's policy.

If the Vauxhall workers were to strike as well, the campaign for parity would be strengthened enormously. The motor bosses would have little alternative but to settle quickly.

The fight for parity must be won this year. Next year the government's Industrial Relations Bill might well be law and it will be much harder for car workers to succeed.

The present Ford strike, for example, would be illegal under the proposed anti-union legislation.

An international trade union conference is being held at the TUC headquarters in London this week. Representatives from motor unions in the United States, Germany and Australia are among those attending.

### SUPPORT

The conference should declare its support for the Ford workers and discuss practical and meaningful ways of helping.

Giant international companies like Ford are trying to play one group of workers off against another. Just like Enoch Powell, they try to divide us by threatening to move work from one country to another.

Only international unity and action can defeat these tactics and ensure Ford workers of victory.

### Woodcock joins picket

LEONARD WOODCOCK, President of the American Auto Workers' Union, and other international trade union leaders, visited the picket line at Ford's Dagenham plant on Wednesday morning. They expressed their full support for the strike.

### Press ban on union advertisement

THE POWERFUL Westminster Press group of provincial papers - owned by the Financial Times - acted in advance of the Industrial Relations Bill becoming law by refusing to carry advertisements from the Engineering Union last week.

The AUEW decided to advertise its official strike and details of local demonstrations against the Bill on 18 March. All 43 papers owned by Westminster Press refused to carry such advertisements on instructions from their head office.

A memorandum from Mr W B Morrell to all Westminster Press local managers said the AUEW strikes were political and were an inducement to workers to break their contracts.

Section 85 of the IRB will, when it becomes law, seek to gag the press, particularly the socialist press, on the question of 'inducement'. It seems that the bosses' press welcomes such a gag and is using it already in order to deny trade unionists any voice.

## NOTICES

LIAISON COMMITTEE Conference 24 April. Credentials are obtainable from J Hiles, 137 Wanstead Park Rd, Ilford, Essex.

KILL the Industrial Relations Bill: Lewisham IS public meeting, Lewisham Town Hall, Friday 1 April, 7.30pm. Speakers: Bernadette Devlin MP, Roger Rosewell.

NEWCASTLE IS public meeting: Paul Foot on Socialism in the 70s. Friday 26 March 8pm, Connaught Hall, Blackett St, Newcastle.

HORNSEY IS public meeting: Fight the Racialist Bill. Speakers: Mike Caffoor and Augustine Paul. 1 April, 8pm Community Hall, West Green Rd, N15.

N LONDON Women's Group. Next mtg 28 March, 3pm at 10 Venetia Rd, N4 Perspectives and future work.

IS WOMEN'S Newsletter. All contributions to Anna Paczucska, 43a Darwin Road, Shirley, Southampton immediately. New issue out by conference.

HOW TO FIGHT the Tories: Bernadette Devlin MP, Roger Rosewell, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham, 7 April, 8pm.

STOKE NEWINGTON IS public mtg: Fight the Racialist Bill. Spkr: Mike Caffoor. Friday 2 April 8pm. Mozart House, 66 Albion Rd N16.

### Poly sit-in ends on militant note

LAST WEEK students at London's North Western Polytechnic called off their three week occupation on a militant note. As a result of the intensive political debates that went on during the occupation, the initial demands for the removal of the new Principal, Professor Terrence Miller and a re-appraisal of the appointment system have been added to.

The students are now demanding 50 per cent student/staff representation on all boards and the right of student-staff veto on all administrative decisions.

Even more important was the passing of motions of militant action for the future. The students realise the weakness of their isolated position and intend to extend the campaign not only to other colleges, but to the labour movement and to other sections of the population.

They now realise that the struggle for democracy within the colleges is part of the same struggle against the Industrial Relations Bill and the new Immigration Bill.

A section of rank and file trade unionists who lobbied the TUC special congress at Croydon on 18 March.



## POLICE ATTACK PROTESTERS AT HEATH MEETING

SW Reporter

EDWARD HEATH was guest speaker at the Sheffield Cutlers' Company's Annual Feast last Thursday - an exclusive dinner of local industrialists and big-wigs. The menu included ham, tongue, pimento, plaice, roast venison and lemon sorbet.

You may remember Annie Glossop, the pensioner who almost died of starvation last winter in Sheffield. 300 students, workers and housewives certainly remembered her and the countless others who suffer in our society.

They demonstrated outside the Cutlers' Hall against the Industrial Relations Bill and the Immigration Bill, measures designed to attack the living standards of workers. The demonstrators were peaceful enough though naturally noisy and angry.

### GRABBED

The police had other ideas. They removed a child from the crowd as a preparation for a deliberate and unprovoked 'snatch' of demonstrators. They picked out individual demonstrators, moved into the crowd and grabbed them viciously.

The police deliberately and consciously decided to victimise the students in the crowd - picking on a section of the community against whom prejudice has been whipped up. There had been no trouble in the morning on a march of 700 workers organised by the AUEW against the Industrial Relations Bill.

The action of the police shows clearly the repressive nature of Tory policies towards 'minority groups' such as students and immigrants. They give a foretaste of the repression that is to be carried out when the Industrial Relations Bill and the

Immigration Bill are law. Socialists must not only resist, but go on to the offensive against this attack.

Seven of the 11 people arrested have been fined a total of £55. The final total of fines will probably be more than £100.

IS branches, college socialist societies, trade union branches, shop stewards committees are asked to raise cash to help to pay the fines.

Donations to: Fine Fund Committee, c/o 136 Broomspring Lane, Sheffield 10.

### Thanks from S. Africa

BRISTOL Trades Council members gave a standing ovation last week to John Gaetzewe of the South African Congress of Trades Unions when he thanked the council for their action that helped turn away a cargo of South African anthracite coal from Avonmouth docks.

The trades council sees the action as only the first round of a battle against apartheid. Importers of South African goods will know from now on that they face the loss of their cargoes if they attempt to use Avonmouth docks.

### CORRECTION

Last week's issue reported on a dispute at Enfield Rolling Mills, North London and said the firm was part of the Delta group. This is incorrect. Enfield Rolling Mills has no connection with Delta. We regret the error.

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

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