

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 207 14 FEBRUARY 1971 6d (2½p)

Make 21 February a great 'kill the Bill' day

THE BIGGEST trade union demonstration in living memory takes place in London on Sunday 21 February. Workers from all parts of Britain will pour into London by plane, train and coach to join the TUC march and rally against the Tories' Industrial Relations Bill.

A TUC spokesman said on Wednesday that he expected 50,000 to take part — 'but that figure might easily be doubled.' The marchers will assemble in Hyde Park and move off at 1.30 for a rally in Trafalgar Square addressed by TUC leaders.

The massive response to the call for the march shows the growing determination by the trade union movement to kill the Tories' anti-strike measures. Socialist Worker calls on all its readers and supporters to join in the preparations for the demonstration and to back the march in London.

It is vital that the demonstration is a real show of working class strength. The march marks the end of the TUC's feeble campaign against the Bill — they now expect it to become law. Trade unionists have to declare

that the fight must go on after 21 February and that decisive action NOW by the unions can kill the Bill stone dead and stop it getting on the statute books.

Tories aim to break workers' power

Militants and socialists have a tremendous opportunity next Sunday to bring their policies to a wider audience of workers. They must emphasise that the current Tory offensive is a

political one aimed at breaking the power of shop floor workers and driving down wages and living standards.

International Socialists will be out in force on 21 February, marching with their trade union contingents and selling thousands of extra copies of Socialist Worker on the march, at stations and on trains and coaches.

It must be a day to remember — a day that will show the strength and potential of organised workers to the handful of rich parasites who control our society.

N. Ireland: army provokes violence



British troops in action, guns and tanks against the people of the beleaguered Belfast ghettos. The troops have been ordered to provoke fresh violence by the Westminster and Stormont governments. REPORT: page 2

STRIKERS FIGHT IS FOR THE 'PUBLIC'

IN SPITE of growing hardship, the postal workers have refused to surrender. Their strike is entering its fourth week and is absolutely solid even though the workers get no strike pay.

The Ford workers' strike is also 100 per cent firm. They are the lowest paid in the whole car industry while the company's profits are the highest.

The Tories have played an important role in both these major strikes. In the Post Office they were responsible for the management's miserable offer of 8 per cent at a time when the cost of living is rising by 10 per cent a year.

At Ford the Tories told the company to reject the claim for parity.

The Tories, the party of the rich, want to hold down wages. They are trying to make an example of workers in the public sector.

They gave 15 per cent to council workers, 12 per cent to the miners. They offered 10 per cent to the power workers and now only 8 per cent to the postmen.

Forced down

The trend is clear. If the Tories beat the postal workers and the Ford strikers, wage settlements will be forced even lower. In this way the living standards of millions of working people will be cut.

One of the government's favourite tricks is to claim that 'public opinion' is against strikes. They define the 'public' in a dishonest way.

If you are not on strike you are a member of the 'public'. But once you go on strike you are not.

Before the Ford strike, 45,000 workers were members of the public whose opinion was said to be opposed to the postal

workers. Now none of the Ford workers belongs to the public any more.

The Tories also claim that higher wages cause rising prices. It just is not true.

The facts prove that two-thirds of current inflation is caused by increased taxation, higher cost of borrowing money and extra interest charges. The government never mentions this.

The Tories lie for a reason. They want to hold down wages because their board-room friends want higher profits.

There is only one foolproof way of doing this: to cut workers' living standards.

That is why they are trying to introduce savage anti-union laws. If passed, the laws would make most strikes 'unfair' and would give employers the right to claim damages.

The government is also selling off the profitable parts of the nationalised industries to their business pals. They have abolished free milk, increased the price of school meals and introduced higher charges for teeth, glasses and prescriptions. Unemployment has risen to more than 650,000.

The Tory-employer offensive against our living standards has to be defeated. The postal and Ford workers are standing in the front line of resistance.

They deserve the support of the whole trade union movement. Only a united workers' movement can defeat the government.

Build Action Councils to kill the Bill

Harsh reality destroys Tory dream

SUPERFICIALLY, few sights could be more strange than that of a Tory government rushing in to nationalise an important firm like Rolls-Royce. Since the election they have hardly missed an opportunity to extol the virtues of private enterprise. The hiving-off of chunks of the Coal Board and the Post Office remains part of their policy. The auctioneer's hammer is already falling on Thomas Cook's and Carlisle beer.

The tens of thousands of medium and small businessmen, who constitute much of the basis of support for the Tories, regard nationalisation with horror and greet denationalisation with glee. Every time a profitable slice of the 'public sector' is sold at knockdown prices, a few among their number can boost their own personal wealth.

The most powerful interests in the ruling class also support the smoke-screen of rhetoric that is thrown up around the issue of nationalisation. For nationalisation has one disadvantage to them, regardless of whether it actually benefits workers.

By showing that industry can be run without all the paraphernalia of the present system — without shareholders and dividend payments and so on — it reveals the falsity of many of the arguments used by the eight per cent of the population that own 80 per cent of the wealth. Moreover, they hope that denationalisation will help their general attack on workers' living standards — they believe that the lack of profitability of the denuded public sector will provide a ready excuse for low wages.

Yet these same interests have been forced to push for nationalisation of Rolls-Royce as the last resort. The growing size and complexity of modern industry increasingly reveals the absurdity of organising industry on the basis of separate units that compete with one another, nationally and internationally. When a gigantic concern like Rolls-Royce looks as if it is about to be forced out of business, even a Conservative government feels compelled to act.

It cannot face the untold harm that would follow for other capitalist concerns. A state controlled by big business is compelled to intervene even more in order to try and hold together a chaotic and unplanned system of big business. But this intervention does not overcome that chaos and lack of planning.

Bankrupt system

After nationalisation Rolls-Royce will be dominated by a board of directors chosen from among the ranks of the large industrialists and big banks. Its aim will still be to make profits in competition with other aircraft manufacturers. Its workers will still be subject to the absurd system that means that they are told to keep down their wages in order to be competitive with foreign firms, and foreign firms tell their workers to endure low wages in order to compete with Rolls-Royce.

The fact that the Tories are forced to resort to measures of nationalisation shows how bankrupt the capitalist organisation of society is — it can only survive by relying on its opposite, socialisation of industry. Yet this can only put off for a period the problems of the capitalist class. And in its present form, it can do even less for the rest of us.

Workers at Rolls-Royce will still be faced with redundancy and resistance to wage increases. Even where they manage to keep their jobs, they will usually be working on military projects that might protect the profits of big business but do nothing to boost the wealth of society.

All this shows that what is needed is not nationalisation to hold up the present system of society but something quite different: the taking over of society's wealth by the majority, the organised working class, in the interests of the overwhelming majority.

By arguing now for nationalisation under workers' control, with those who produce the wealth making the key decisions about its use, we can begin to prepare a massive movement capable of effecting such a change.

ACTION KEY TO DEFEAT OF TORY BILL

THE DECISIONS by the AUEW and the TGWU to call for one day strikes against the anti-union Bill and for a boycott of the machinery that will be set up if the Bill becomes law represent a clear victory for militant policies.

As we have argued repeatedly in this paper, only decisive industrial action can defeat the Tory measures. And even if the law does come into effect, a decision by a sizeable section of the trade union movement to deliberately flout the law, by refusing to register, refusing to hold ballots and ordering their members to respect picket lines and black goods, could still put the Tories on the spot.

The government would be faced with the choice between admitting that no law can bind the organised working class or facing the eruptions that would follow any attempt to imprison prominent trade union leaders.

The AUEW and TGWU decisions represent an important step towards the adoption of such policies. But the struggle is still far from won.

Both unions intend to put such policies before the TUC Special Conference on 18 March. No doubt many of the more 'moderate' of the unions' leading bodies will try and withdraw from the most 'extreme' policies of boycott if the majority at the TUC disagrees with them. That is why it is essential that rank and file bodies and trade union branches in all industries put pressure on their unions to vote with the engineers and transport workers on 18 March.

As the law comes closer to implementation, all manner of pressure — from press, from the government, from the Labour Party leaders and from right wing elements inside the unions — will grow for the unions to 'remain within the law' and try to live with the anti-union measures. That is why, within the TGWU and the AUEW, the pressure for industrial action and a militant defiance of the government has to be kept up.

UNIONIST PANIC SPARKS BELFAST MURDER WAVE

by SEAN TREACY

A DESPERATE STRATEGY by the Chichester-Clark government to prevent its overthrow by Unionist right wingers lies behind the latest outburst of fighting in Northern Ireland. The violence in the Catholic ghettos in Belfast has been deliberately provoked, the result of a political decision by the Stormont bosses.

The decision to escalate the fighting followed Chichester-Clark's visit to London earlier this month. At a meeting with Maudling and other Tory leaders, the Stormont premier tried to persuade them that the only chance to stop his government being ousted by the extreme right led by William Craig was to get the go-ahead from London to open the internment camps.

Westminster was not enthusiastic about this policy. It would have made life even more difficult for Jack Lynch's government in Dublin.

British capital would lose more by unrest and the possible downfall of the Dublin Green Tories than by the fall of Chichester-Clark.

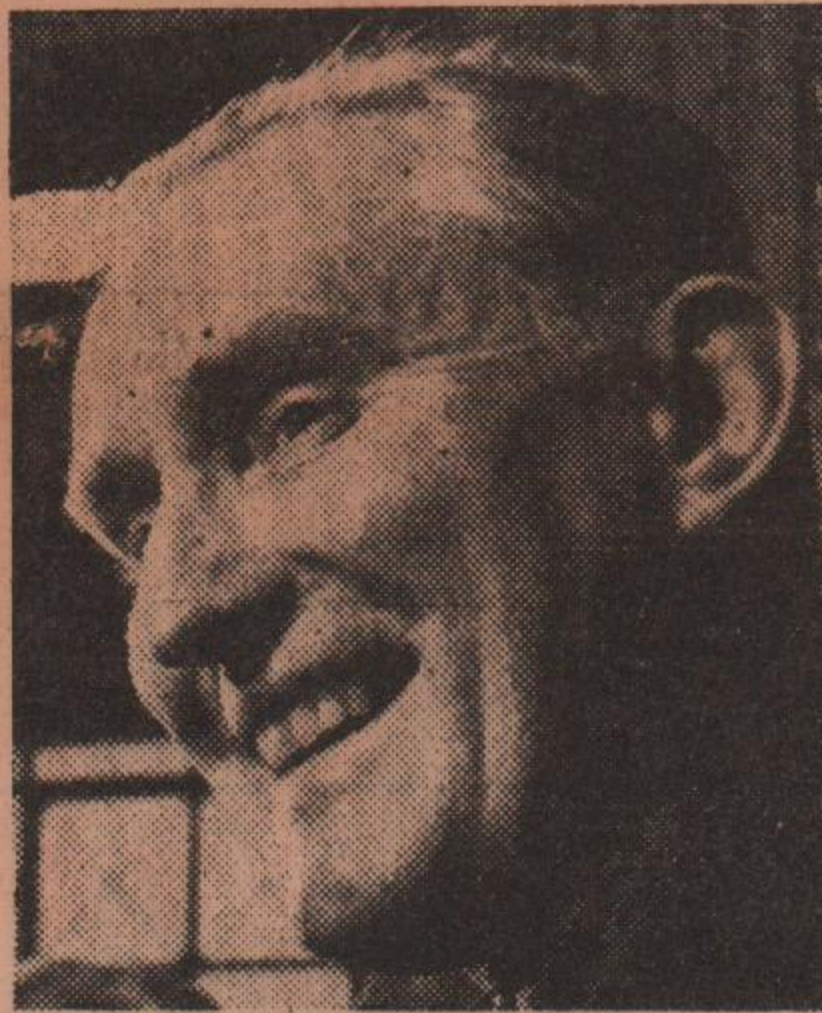
But they agreed on a compromise. Chichester-Clark was allowed to issue 'get tough' orders to the British army.

They were given instructions to extend their ruthless searches of homes in Catholic areas and their displays of armed might.

In this way Stormont hoped to provoke a response from the militants in the Catholic ghettos that would allow them to wipe out the 'provisional' wing of the IRA.

Chichester-Clark hoped to rally the Unionist faithful around him and to sabotage the take-over by the Craig right wing.

The troops have lived up to their new instructions in the past few days. Armoured cars have careered through the streets at high speed —



CHICHESTER-CLARK: rally the faithful

killing at least one child — and hundreds of infantry have been sent in to maintain permanent occupation.

Resistance from stones and petrol bomb throwers have been met with intensive and indiscriminate fire power. Several bystanders have been shot down who were in no way involved in the fighting.

In searches of Catholic homes, furniture and property have been damaged and householders roughed up. But the arms discovered have been negligible.

COLLAPSE

The strategy of the Unionists is now clear. One prominent Unionist gave the game away in a recent article in the Belfast Telegraph when he called on the authorities to allow the use of live ammunition instead of rubber bullets, to open the internment camps, to use firing squads against known republican activists ('without regard for age or sex') and deportation to Canada for other political dissidents.

The hysteria of this tirade is a measure of the panic of the Unionist regime.

In the background to the bloodshed and violence that stalk the mean streets of Belfast is the growing economic crisis. This week Belfast workers — Protestant and Catholic — heard of the collapse of Rolls-Royce.

This may lead to the loss of a further 8000 jobs in a part of Ireland where unemployment already averages 10 per cent and is as high as 30 per cent among unskilled workers.

Catholic workers are caught in a double vice. They feel the full impact of unemployment and discrimination in housing and welfare and are



Smoke pours into the Belfast air on Monday as crowds set fire to an army scout car

also surrounded by a hostile population that has been tragically misled to see them as an enemy.

In spite of the heroism of the young militants facing the armed might of the British military, Catholic workers cannot hope to break out of the ghetto trap unless a socialist leadership emerges capable of mobilising the full strength of the working class to break the tottering Unionist government.

Such a leadership will need a programme to unite all workers in the

north of Ireland.

In Britain it is the duty of socialists to pinpoint clearly the responsibility of the Tories and British capitalism for the loss of life and the violence in Northern Ireland.

To those who ask: 'Should young British soldiers be asked to operate in conditions like those in Belfast?' socialists should reply:

'The British army of occupation has no right to be in any part of Ireland and the sooner they clear out the better.'

LETTER

Narrow reporting on campaign

THE ARTICLE about May Hobbs and the campaign to unionise night cleaners (30 January) did not mention the help May has received from Women's Liberation Workshop, the Socialist Woman group, and Camden Women's Action Group. The article gave the impression that IS is the only group helping her. It is embarrassing for IS women working in the Women's Liberation movement, in unity with other left groups, to explain away the omissions in Socialist Worker. I am sure that Fergus Nicol did not intend to be sectarian but was merely tactless. — GILLIAN SIMMS, Harrow, Middx.

During the postal strike short letters and reports can be telephoned to Socialist Worker on 01-739 1878. If that number is busy, try 01-739 2639. Letters must be received on Mondays, reports and advertisements on Tuesdays.



CUT-THROATS IN CRISIS

THE COLLAPSE of Rolls-Royce, the pride of British industry, has exposed spectacularly just how shaky western capitalism really is.

The Tory press cannot even pretend to blame the 'greedy workers' for this crisis. Instead they have tried to lay responsibility for the biggest bankruptcy since the war at the door of a technology-mad Labour government pushing an incompetent management into a ridiculous contract.

This half-truth hides the fact that the Rolls-Royce affair is only a symptom of the crisis affecting the whole aerospace industry.

The crisis is rooted in the fantastic 'technology race' in the industry since the war. In 1953 the Dart engine sold for £7,000. In 1964 the Spey engine cost £65,000, while the now famous RB211 engine for the Lockheed TriStar would have sold - at a loss of £110,000 per engine - for about £250,000.

This great leap in costs is due largely to the enormous research and development expenses involved in producing these fantastically complex engines.

Huge loans

The falling rate of profit in the aircraft industry and the long gap between investment and return means that companies like Rolls-Royce have to rely on huge loans to finance such projects. But a loan has to be repaid and they can only do this if they make plenty of sales.

However, with the drive towards bigger and faster aircraft more passengers can be carried on fewer planes. Between 1950 and 1964, for example, BOAC's fleet was reduced from 68 to 53 even though there was a sixfold increase in traffic.

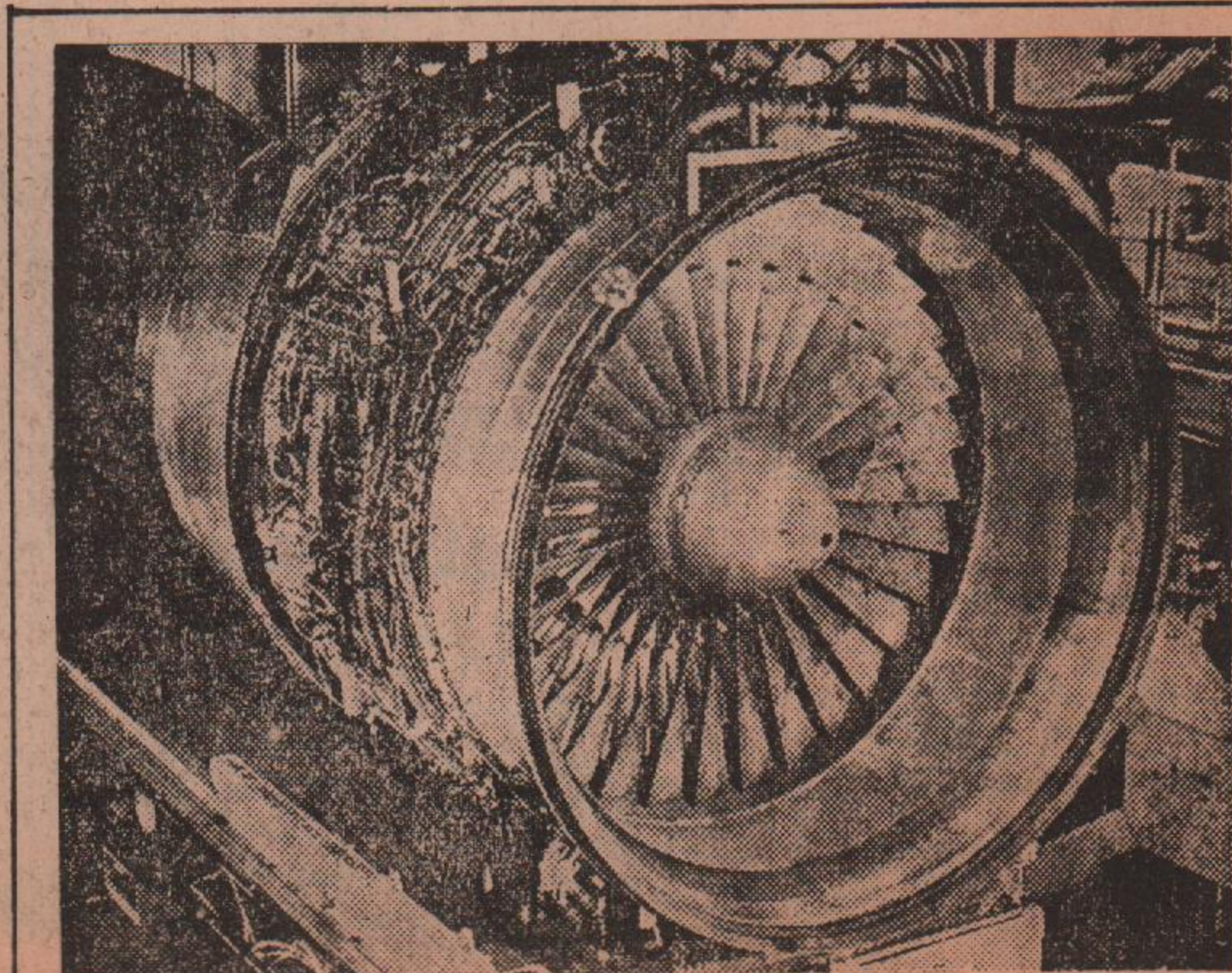
In America the bulk of airlines carry little more than 20 per cent of their possible load. So as costs shoot up the size of the sales market is reduced. The result is a perfect example of the anarchy of competition.

Manufacturers resort to even fiercer competition - Rolls-Royce spent £400,000 in persuading Lockheed to buy the RB211 - they spend more and more on research and quote lower and lower prices in the hope of getting a slight edge on the others and so capture the diminishing market.

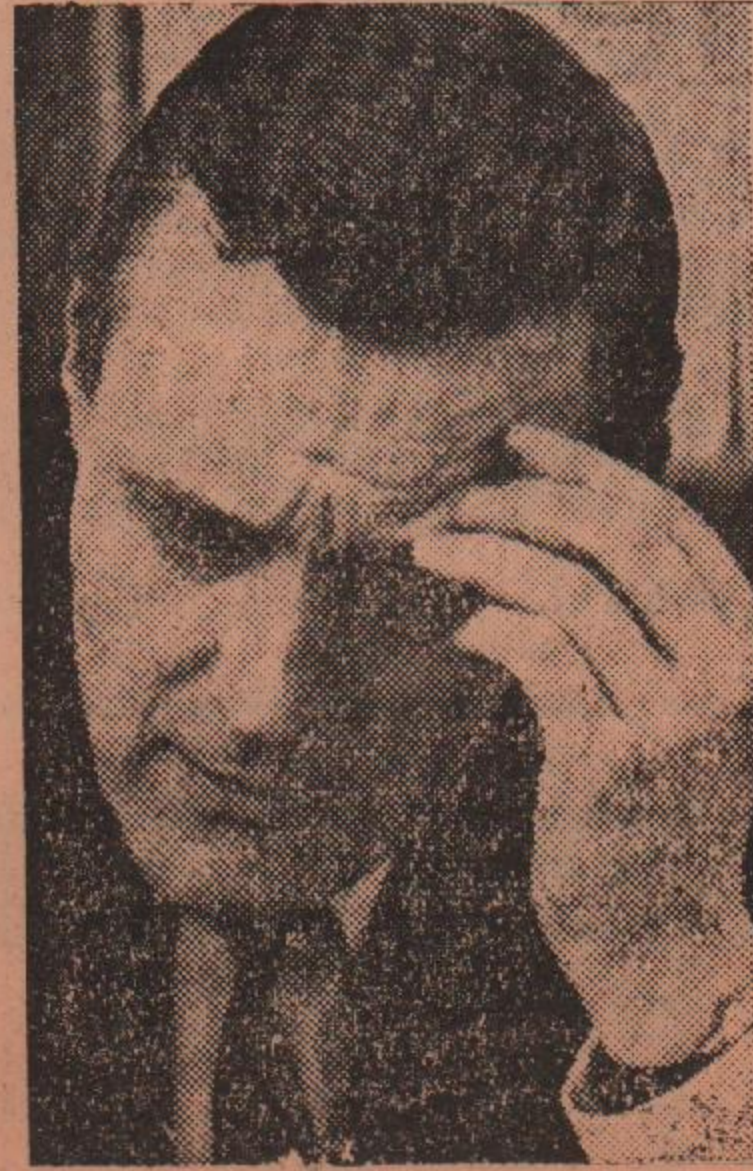
In such a cut-throat world ever more risks have to be taken and the situation has become so explosive that one mistake can bank-

As more crashes loom, workers must fight to save their jobs

**Report from
DAVE
BUTTRICK
in Bristol**



The RB211 engine: £400,000 just to clinch the deal



BENN: goodbye to whizz-kidder

bankruptcy and large redundancies are expected in British Leyland.

The Tories are hoping that this will be the big stick to beat the workers into submission. But the action of the Glasgow stewards in pushing a £5 wage claim regardless of the crisis suggests a different response.

The unique combination of a disheartened ruling class, severe unemployment, continuing shop floor militancy and growing political awareness must be explosive. The Tories could get a good deal more than they bargained for.

Little time

The senior Rolls-Royce shop stewards will meet in Derby to discuss what action to take. In spite of the widely reported meetings with Labour's Tony Wedgwood Benn, the stewards have already made it quite clear that they have little time for him or the parliamentary charade.

The immediate task is the long-drawn-out fight against redundancies and in this the stewards know they can rely on nobody but themselves.

The employers will undoubtedly try to exploit old intersectional and inter-factory divisions and solidarity of all the Rolls-Royce workers must be maintained. The fight will be long and hard.

Many lessons can be drawn from this affair. But the most important lesson is now being learnt by the Rolls-Royce workers themselves.

As one of them said to me: 'You know, they're suddenly talking politics. They're not scared off now by words like 'capitalism' and 'workers' control'.

If more Rolls' workers can see the relevance of politics in their struggle, that, at least, is a great step forward.

rupt an industrial empire providing engines for 200 airlines and more than 80 airforces.

Many workers have been as surprised by the Tories' nationalisation plan as they were by the bankruptcy itself, but this merely proves that nationalisation is not the great inter-party issue it once was.

Whichever party is in power, it is the demands of capitalism that determine policy.

Crucial role

The Tories could not possibly allow Rolls-Royce to collapse or be taken over by the Americans. First, it plays too crucial a role in the defence, economy and technology of the country.

Second, they hope to use the promise of Rolls-Royce as part of a united European aerospace industry as a lever in getting more favourable terms of entry into the Common Market.

Nationalisation is just another

card which the system can play when necessary. So the 'Sun' headline last Friday: 'The People take over Rolls-Royce' is clearly nonsense.

That day will come, but for the time being 'the people' remain as firmly ruled by big business interests as before.

Whatever nationalisation means, it will certainly involve massive redundancies and the complete rubbing out of the life savings of Rolls' workers who invested in the company.

If the RB211 is scrapped, 20,000 men will lose their jobs, and even if it stays about 5000 will be sacked.

Derby, already suffering the worst unemployment for seven years, will be hardest hit with a rumoured 10,000 redundancies. But the factories in Bristol - 5000 jobs in danger - Coventry, Glasgow and Belfast - in danger of complete shutdown - will all be seriously affected.

However, it is not only Rolls-

Royce workers who will suffer. At least 75 companies are directly involved in the RB211 contract alone. 3000 Lucas workers and 1000 workers at Short Brothers and Harland of Belfast are in real danger.

The many thousands of redundancies expected will have a catastrophic effect on areas like the South West that depend so much on sub-contracting work for the aircraft industry.

Big stick

The repercussions are likely to be even wider. The Lockheed company is said to be in immediate danger of bankruptcy.

But even more, the enforced cutback of production among the many Rolls-Royce sub-contractors and the lack of confidence resulting from the whole affair can only worsen the present slump and could lead to a severe recession.

Certain shipbuilding and machine tool concerns are in danger of

Uproar over STUC call to amend Tory Bill

by John Devenport

DUNDEE: 2000 militant workers marched on Sunday in an officially sponsored trade union demonstration against the Industrial Relations Bill. It was supported by workers from the nearby towns of Perth, Forfar and Brechin.

The trade unionists marched through the town to a meeting attended by 3000 in the Caird Hall. In the chair was Alexander Dunnet, chairman of the Scottish TUC and the main speakers were Jim Sellars, Labour MP for South Ayrshire and James Milne, deputy secretary of the STUC.

The speakers quickly found themselves out of touch with the militant mood of the audience. Uproar broke out when Jimmy Milne declared: 'If opposition to the Bill could be demonstrated in the cities of Britain and the trade union movement worked

hand in hand with the parliamentary Labour Party, then we would be able to win some amendments to the Bill.'

Lack of fight

Cries of 'Kill the Bill!' drowned Milne's voice and woke Dundee MP Peter Doig who had been dozing on the platform. Rank and file workers who had carried the burden of organising the demonstration and meeting were angry at the lack of fight by the STUC leaders.

After two hours of platform platitudes, only 10 minutes were allowed for speakers from the floor. But they made up for the lack of time with the

clarity of their demands for militant action.

A UPW striker received a warm reception for his speech in which he demanded that the TUC leaders must call a national general strike to kill the Bill. And an engineering worker said the marchers had shown they were looking for leadership but it was lacking at the meeting.

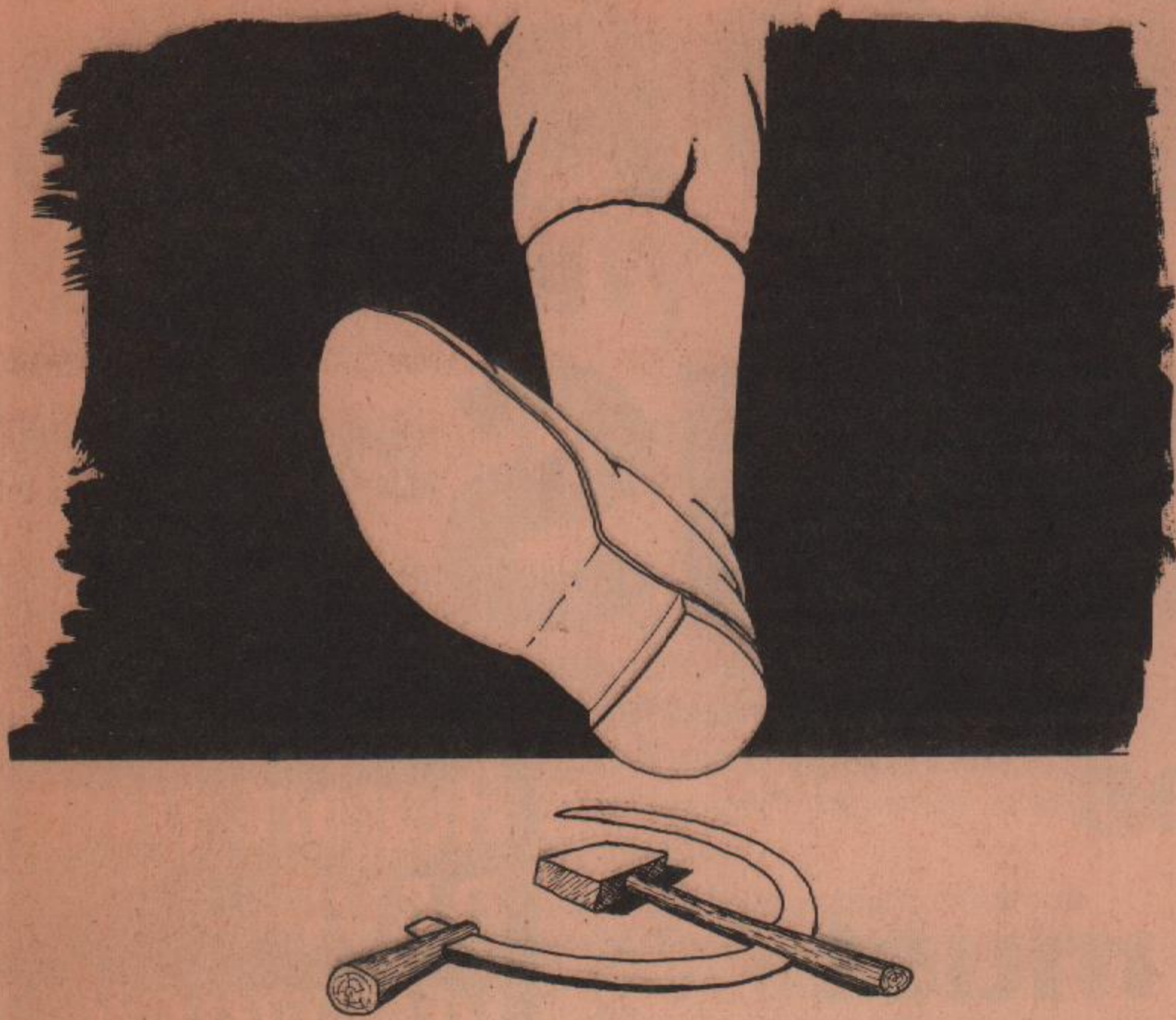
Every speaker from the floor echoed the demand for the TUC to call a general strike to defeat the Tories' anti-union laws.

John Devenport is a member of the National Union of Railwaymen and the Dundee Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions.

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Eastern Europe:

'Revolution' from a by a small minority

by CHRIS HARMAN, editor of International Socialist

Strikes and demonstrations in Poland and now the trial of young socialists in Czechoslovakia once again raise the questions: what kind of regimes exist in these countries and are they fundamentally different to the capitalist west?

RECENT EVENTS in Poland — the shooting down of demonstrating workers before Christmas, strikes and go-slows since — have once again forced many militants and socialists in the west to ask themselves what the regimes of Eastern Europe have got to do with socialism.

The first thing to understand about these regimes is that none of them came to power through a workers' revolution. 'Communist' leaders were able to come to power in these countries because of an agreement between Stalin and the western leaders Roosevelt and Churchill at the close of the Second World War.

At the Yalta conference, a division of Europe into 'spheres of influence' was agreed. Stalin was allowed a free hand in Eastern Europe.

In return he ordered Communists in the west to aid in the rebuilding of a discredited capitalism. Communists entered the governments of France and Italy while Churchill indicated that 'he was very much obliged to Marshall Stalin for not having taken too great an interest in Greek affairs.'

Before the coming of the Russian army, the Communist Parties in most of Eastern Europe were weak and exercised little influence.

Poland is a good example. It had no Communist Party at all from 1938 to

1941. Stalin had dissolved the party and executed at least 12 of its leaders.

Even when reformed, the membership was still small — less than 4000 in 1942.

But when the Russian army entered Poland, Communists were able from the start to enjoy positions of pre-dominance in the government, although the majority of Polish workers supported the Socialist Party (PPS). In factory committee elections in 1945 PPS candidates gained 64 per cent of the votes as against only 32 per cent for the CP.

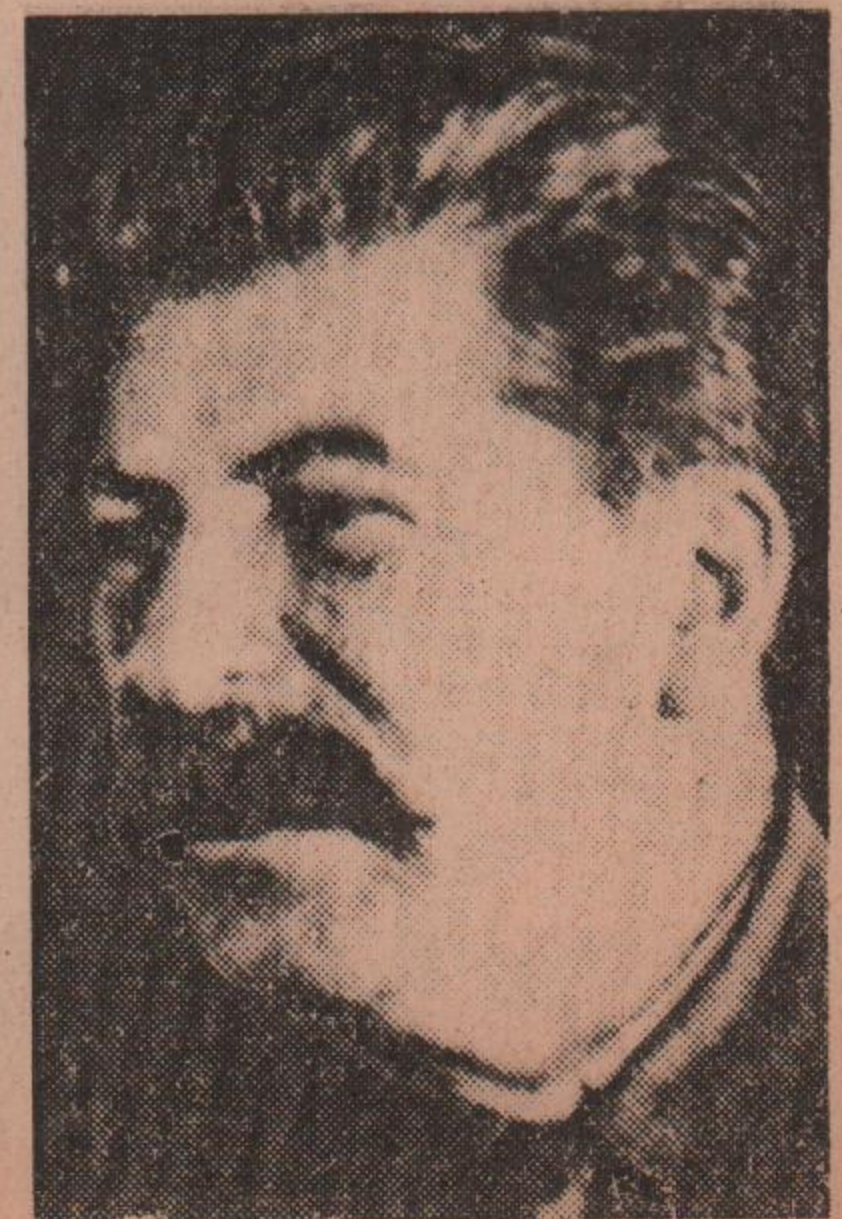
'Self-seeking clique'

Until 1948 the trade unions remained under PPS control. And their leaders expressed the feelings of many workers towards the new government. Kurulowicz, the trade unions' general secretary, could write that:

'From all parts of the country reports are coming in of injustices suffered by the workers. Elements alien to the working class behave like "bosses" ... A clique of self-seeking politicians is being formed.'

Yet the new governments claimed they were acting in the name of the workers, even if the workers opposed them. At first the 'Communists' ruled in coalitions with the other parties who had opposed fascism.

But the 'Communist' leaders quickly took advantage of their control of the police and the presence of Russian troops to end the independence of the other parties, whether capitalist or working class. Politicians were given the choice between physical elimination by the secret police, fleeing to the west, or becoming puppets for the new rulers. In Poland, prominent socialists like



STALIN: a deal with the West

Puzak, Zdanowski, Cohn, Pajdak and many others were imprisoned, while a few like Cyrankiewicz were given positions of eminence in the regime.

By this mixture of terror and bribery, a massive machine was built up which could dominate all other sections of society, subordinating everybody to its control.

Who ruled over this machine? Not the working class, which had played no part in its construction and which suffered from it as much as any other class.

Nor even those Communists who had fought heroically to change society before and during the war. This was shown from 1948 onwards when,

throughout Eastern Europe, workers who had formed underground organisations were imprisoned, and some were executed on charges, and

Kostov in Bulgaria, and many in Czechoslovakia were the most persecuted, but dozens of ministers and party members were also

way. In fact, power was in the hands of a layer of people's bureaucracy — a condition that the leaders wanted.

Smash

When Karl Marx said that the proletarian revolution would be through by the interests of the workers,

the need for the workers to smash the bourgeoisie and rule of the workers through democracy or workers' control.

The 'Communist' regimes in Eastern Europe ignored both Marx and Lenin's teachings.

And it didn't matter how many workers were mobilised to smash the bourgeoisie above, using the proletarian army to inflict its will against all opposition.

What took place was actually the oppression of the workers by the generations of so-called

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:

SCOTLAND

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

NORTH EAST

Durham/Newcastle upon Tyne/Teesside (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

Living standards for to aid competition

MANY SOCIALISTS who will criticise all sorts of features of the Eastern European states still want to argue that they are better than private capitalism.

After all, it is said, the priorities of the economies there are planned to satisfy human needs, not a result of blind competition between rival capitalists.

But human need has, in fact, been the last thing taken into account in the development of these countries' economies.

After the Communist regimes had fully established their power in 1948, they set about making industry grow at the fastest possible speed.

No advantage

For instance, the Hungarian five year plan of this period aimed to increase total production by 200 per cent. And industry did indeed grow, although not by this huge figure.

But this was to be of no advantage to Hungary's workers. A Budapest economist, I T Berend, has recently written that 'The real value of wages diminished in Hungary by 20 per cent during the period of the first long term plan.'

Everywhere in Eastern Europe, real wages fell by more than 10 per cent between 1949 and 1955. The continual pressure to expand industry could not satisfy the needs of the workers.

Recent figures from Poland illustrate the same point. Between 1963 and 1968 the proportion of that country's national income spent on investment in industry rose from 17.2 per



cent to 19.5 per cent.

But at the same time the proportion spent on satisfying consumers' needs fell from 66 per cent to 62.2 per cent.

Industry expands, but living standards for the mass of the population (as opposed to a small minority of bureaucrats) hardly improve. It is not human need, but something else which determines the priorities of the economy. What is this something?

International competition is the decisive factor. The Russian leaders have often made this clear. For instance, Brezhnev emphasised in a speech last April 'the question of the economic competition between the world systems'.

Russia's rulers feel they can only survive provided they are continually developing industry, so as to never fall behind the Americans in the race to produce newer and more advanced

types of armaments.

So they hold standards, using to build up industry build up industry East European same policy.

Sell

The rulers of Czechoslovakia face the problem of competition. They are capitalists in the world survive without goods abroad.

The Czechoslovak government was caused by buyers for the Polish riots at the time of government cutting the arms

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Hungary 1956: death and destruction as Russia's military might crushed the workers' uprising

The working class fights back... and the tanks roll in

THE HISTORY of Eastern Europe since the war has not only been a history of oppression but also a history of the fight back against oppression by the working class.

On 16 June 1953 building workers in East Berlin went on strike against increased work norms. When they demonstrated through the streets thousands of other workers joined them.

By the next morning the whole city was gripped by a general strike as demonstrations continued.

Intervention by Russian troops provoked bitter fighting. They eventually managed to clear the streets, but not before the revolt had spread to every industrial centre in East Germany, with prisons being broken into and government buildings being burnt down.

Only massive use of force enabled the authorities to put the revolt down.

A similar spontaneous revolt, growing out of strike action by a key group of workers, hit the Polish town of Poznan almost exactly three years later, in 1956. Again police stations were attacked and government buildings burnt down.

Again rapid intervention by troops succeeded in quelling the disturbances.

But the outcome of the rising was different. At first the authorities tried to blame 'imperialist agents and the reactionary underground' for the rising.

Big concessions

The tune was changed as it became clear that only massive concessions to the workers could placate popular unrest. Gomulka, previously in prison himself, was brought into the government. Considerable wage increases were given to workers. Workers' councils were promised the right to control the factories.

Yet the gains of the workers were to be short-lived. Within a year the workers' councils had been relieved of most of their powers.



SLANSKY: purge victim

Police were once again to use force to smash strikes. And wages once more stagnated.

While Poland was witnessing these events, much more dramatic changes took place in Hungary. On the evening of 23 October 1956 a large peaceful demonstration of all sections of the population was fired upon by the political police.

Within hours fighting was taking place throughout Budapest and the other Hungarian cities. What had seemed an all-powerful bureaucratic machine collapsed before the general insurrection.

In the factories — where a general strike was proclaimed — workers' coun-

cils sprang up everywhere.

Only an assault on Budapest and other centres by Russian troops and tanks 13 days later brought the revolutionary process to an end. Even then fighting continued for another week, and the general strike for much longer.

Although troops occupied Budapest, the workers' councils, linked up through the Budapest Central Workers' Council, continued to control industry and to have more real authority than the Russian backed government of Kadar, until their members were arrested on 10 December.

Czechoslovakia in 1968 and 1969 once again saw the working class move into action against the ruling bureaucracy.

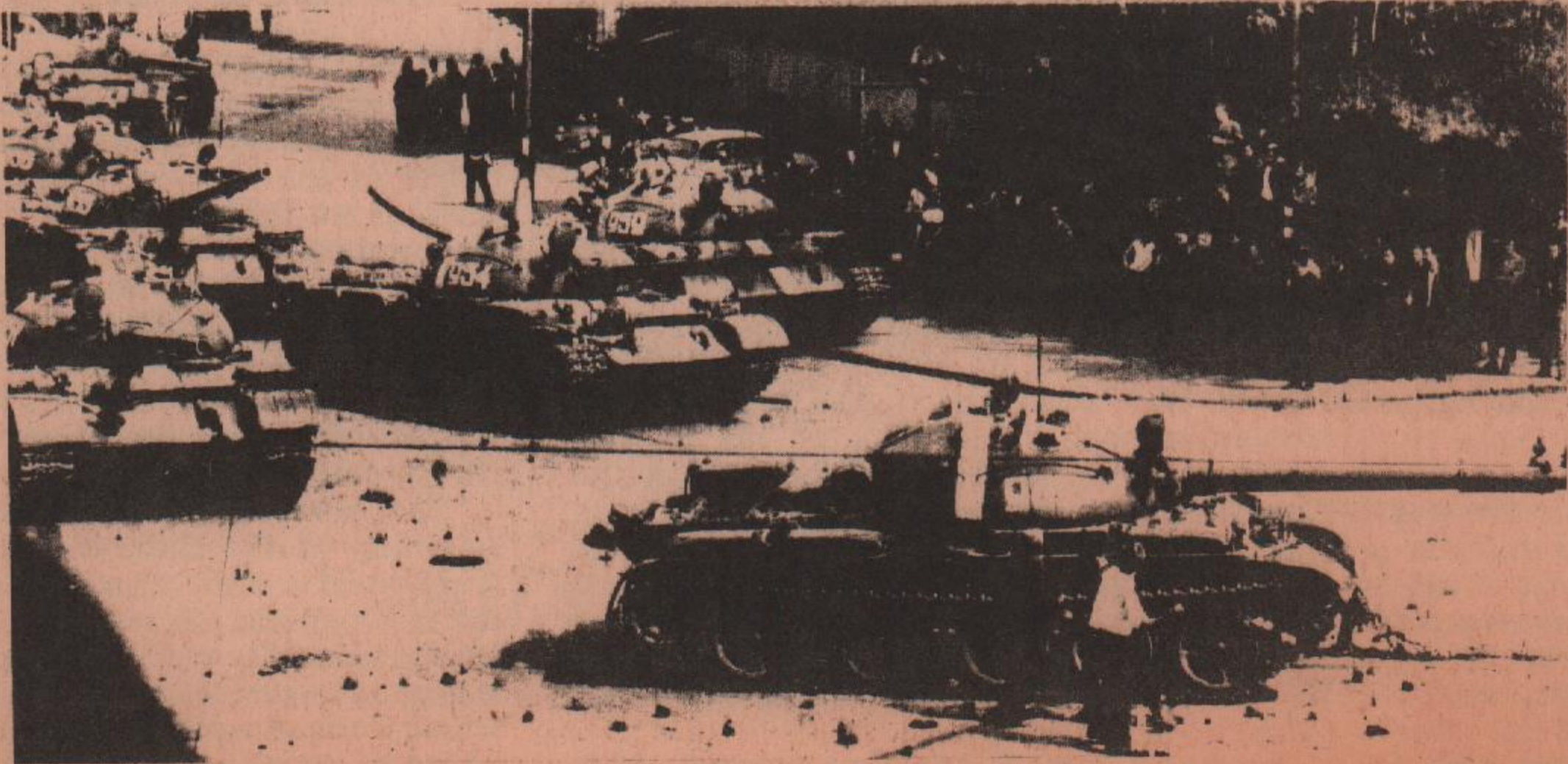
Although the 'reform movement' began among a section of the bureaucracy itself, together with intellectuals and students, the working class became the chief force pushing for democratisation of society after the Russian intervention of August 1968.

Workers' disgust

Mass meetings of workers in the factories and certain trade unions — particularly the Metal Workers' Union — continued to resist the demands of the Russians long after many of the original 'reformers' had changed sides.

The December fighting in Gdansk, Gdynia and Stettin are only the latest in a series of expressions of the disgust of workers with the so-called 'Communist' regimes.

And reports that workers' councils are again being established in Poland indicate that workers there are beginning to understand that the real alternative to the present system of state capitalism is not what exists in the west, but an organisation of society on the basis of workers' control of industry and workers' councils.



Prague:
tanks
in the
streets

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TUC knights back Labour's wage freeze

Second of two articles by MIKE CAFFOOR

THE CHIEF distinguishing feature of the TUC leaders' incorporation into the state machine is their abysmal failure to gain any influence there. Even a Fabian, William McCarthy, writing in 'The Future of the Unions' could see the reality: 'The growing frustration experienced by the Council can be seen from a study of the reports which its specialist committees make to Congress.

'Here one can read of the failure of the Economic Committee to influence budgetary policy; the Production Committee records its criticism of government plans for high unemployment areas; the Education Committee records its unsuccessful attempts to secure the implementation of the Crowther Report. But the decline in influence can be seen at its most tragic in the field of Social Insurance and Industrial Welfare, topics of great concern to the unions.'

But the General Council are not weak men to be deterred by the harsh and unpleasant truth, once they had made up their minds. So they ploughed

on, now once again under a Labour government.

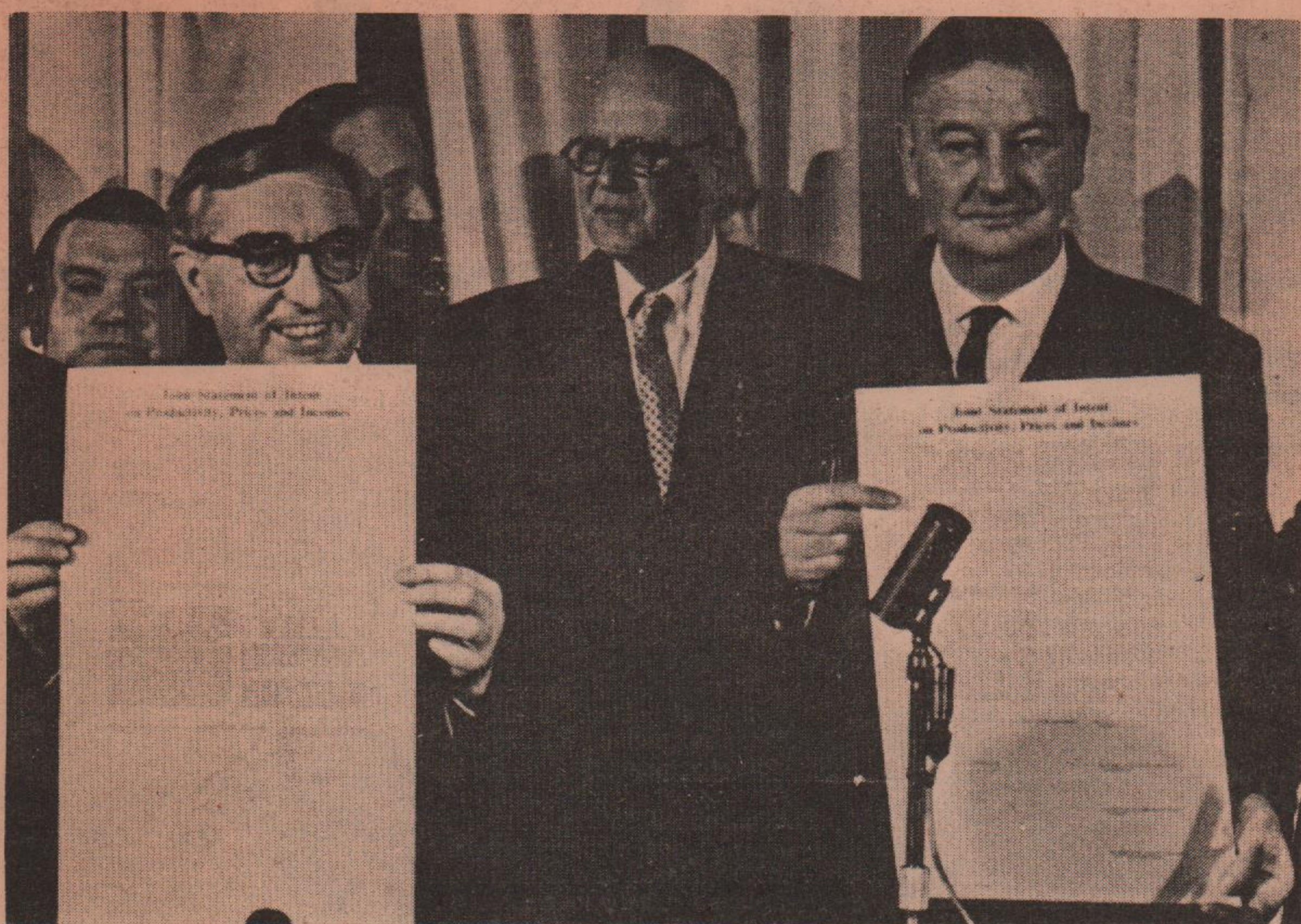
The declining position of British capitalism on the world market led the Labour government to attempt to impose a 'prices and incomes policy', in reality a disguised policy of wage restraint. The TUC immediately fell in and signed the "Joint Statement on Intent" and under pressure from the government agreed to administer its own 'incomes policy'.

Trade unions were told to submit their claims to the TUC for vetting by the General Council and only claims that were sufficiently moderate were approved.

PRESSURE

Even the 'left' Jack Jones, TGWU general secretary, participated in this venture of holding back wage increases although he was formally opposed to the Prices and Incomes policy. The Financial Times of 8 September 1966 stated that 280 of the 686 pay claims submitted to the TUC during the past year had come from the TGWU.

When Harold Wilson imposed a wage freeze in July 1966, the TUC acquiesced and agreed to a further six months of a 'nil' norm. As the pressure on the Labour leaders by the employers increased, Wilson and Barbara Castle attempted to introduce legislation against



December 1964: George Brown, economics overlord in the Labour government, and Lord Collison, chairman of the TUC General Council, at the signing of the 'Statement of Intent'.

the trade unions.

For once the General Council opposed the legislation, but only verbally. Eventually when Wilson was forced to withdraw his plan due to the industrial action that had been taken by rank and file trade unionists and the threat of a massive break-up of the Labour Party, the TUC went to his rescue.

They offered him, if he agreed to withdraw In Place of Strife, a 'solemn and binding' declaration that they would control unofficial and unconstitutional strikes. As a result the General Council strengthened their rules and made provision to intervene in unofficial strikes to either stop them or bring them to an early settlement — thus stamping on the justifiable demands of rank and file trade unionists.

And once again the 'left' Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon were a party to this decision.

In recent weeks the TUC leaders have again said they are opposed to the present Industrial Relations Bill. But some of the reasons for their opposition is enlightening, to say the least.

A TUC educational publication on the Bill says the following: 'The govern-

ment's proposals are clearly not based upon any sound analysis of the problems in industrial relations. Far from promoting the national interest by encouraging order, they are a recipe for chaos. What a memorable defence of trade unionism!

It is not accidental that one of the first public statements on the Carr document by the TUC leaders was to offer the Tories a wage freeze in return for scrapping the Bill. The Tories, fully aware that they had the TUC leaders on the run, refused.

PATHETIC

Since then we have been subjected to a pathetic exhibition by the General Council of how not to fight the Bill.

A national petition has been launched. A mass advertising and publicity campaign is to be held. An educational programme is to be launched — all measures that are hardly likely to cause Heath to lose much sleep.

At the same time, a lot of the venom has been reserved for militants who have taken industrial action. The General Council condemned the strikes on

8 December and 12 January, and the logic of their position has led them to the situation where they are seeking to put 'reasoned' amendments to the Bill through the agency of that champion of trade union rights, Harold Wilson and the parliamentary Labour Party.

There is a continuity of action that distinguishes the TUC leaders. That is their abject failure to mobilise the trade union movement against the Tories and their system on any issue whatsoever.

And it will be no different now. Today the 35 members of the General Council consist entirely of full-time trade union officials whose way of life is far removed from the members they claim to represent.

The peers, knights and other trade union leaders of the General Council are incapable of fighting the Tory Bill, and they will never call a General Strike on their own initiative, as their past record so clearly shows.

It is only by building Councils of Action, incorporating rank and file trade unionists on the shop floor and creating a fighting working-class leadership, that we will be successful in defeating the Tory legislation.

THE MEANING OF MARXISM

A weekly column by Duncan Hallas



Out of isolation, the rise of Stalin's dictatorship

THE DEFEAT of the German revolution early in 1919 emphasised the need for an effective revolutionary international and a decisive break with the unreliable 'independent' and 'centrist' leaders. The Communist International held its founding conference in Moscow in March 1919.

Within three years it had gained the support of mass Communist parties in Germany, France, Czechoslovakia and some smaller European countries, on the basis of an uncompromising internationalist and revolutionary programme.

Unfortunately by that time the crisis had passed, European capitalism had been temporarily stabilised and the Soviets outside Russia destroyed. But the next crisis would, it was hoped, find well-established revolutionary parties with a strong working-class base.

Yet the Communist International was inevitably critically influenced by what happened in Russia. And by 1921 the Russian Soviet regime was facing a desperate situation. The long term outcome of that crisis was to demoralise and ultimately destroy the International and to paralyse the working-class movement for half a century.

The end of the civil war left the Soviet government isolated in a hostile world and isolated also from the mass of the Russian people — the peasants. So long as there was a real danger that the Tsarist landowners might be restored, large sections of the peasantry supported the Bolsheviks. Once this danger had passed they became actively hostile to a government that had been driven to rely on forced requisitioning of grain to feed the cities.

'The entire system rests on the discipline of the party, on organised famine in the cities, on

requisitions in the country,' wrote the communist Victor Serge. The rising of the sailors in Kronstadt and, even more ominous, the strikes in support of it showed that the regime was losing working class support too. It was becoming a dictatorship not of but over the peasantry and the remnants of the working class.

Reactionaries argue that this was the inevitable consequence of the 'original sin' of revolution. Some people on the left, who ought to know better, argue that it was due to the ruthlessness of Lenin and the existence of a disciplined party. This is rubbish.

The essence of the matter had been stated by Marx 60 years earlier. 'If the working class destroy the political rule of the capitalists, that will only be a temporary victory ... so long as ... the material conditions are not yet created which make necessary the abolition of the capitalist mode of production.'

Renegades' sabotage

On an all European scale these conditions had been created. In Russia by itself they had not. This was well understood by the founders of the Communist movement. Since there has been so much misrepresentation of this basic truth, it is necessary to emphasise it.

Speaking at the third Congress of the Communist International, Lenin stated: 'It was clear to us that without the aid from the international world revolution, a victory of the proletarian revolution is impossible. Even prior to the revolution, as well as after it, we thought that the revolution would occur either immediately or at least very soon in other backward countries and in the more highly developed capitalist countries, otherwise we

would perish. Notwithstanding this conviction, we did our utmost to preserve the Soviet system, under any circumstances and at all costs, because we know we are working not only for ourselves, but also for the international revolution.'

In the event the renegade leaders of the social democratic parties succeeded, in the critical year 1919, in sabotaging what would otherwise have been successful revolutions in several European countries. The Soviet regime — the rule of the working class through democratically controlled workers' councils — did indeed perish.

But there was no restoration of the Tsarist landlords and capitalists. Instead a system still calling itself a 'Soviet Socialist Republic', but in fact a totalitarian dictatorship, developed in Russia. It is not possible here to trace the struggles that led to the rise of Stalinism. A good short summary is given in the IS pamphlet 'How the Revolution Was Lost' by Chris Harman (5p). But the effect of this development on the Communist International changed the whole course of events outside Russia.

The parties of the Communist International contained the cream of the working class. In their early years these parties were far from being subservient to Moscow. In 1923 the French and Polish parties had protested vigorously against the attacks of the Russian bureaucracy — the Stalin faction — on the Communist opposition in the USSR. But with the receding of the revolutionary mood in Europe the parties became more attached to the one surviving 'Soviet' regime and more dependent on it. Advice from Moscow became the most important source of their political ideas.

Increasingly the Russian bureaucracy, which dominated the executive of the International,

began to interfere with the internal life of the parties. Telegrams from the executive became more frequent. A wit described the CP of the USA in the mid-twenties as 'suspended by wires from Moscow'. The Stalinists used genuine political disputes within the movement to promote leaders for whom the decision of Moscow was final. Gradually the more independent leaders and the more serious marxists were eliminated.

The policies that Stalin and his colleagues pressed on the CI were partly determined by the factional struggles inside the Russian party — until 1929 when Stalin became the supreme boss — and partly by the requirements of Russian foreign policy.

Defeat in China

In the middle-twenties semi-reformist tactics were adopted and they led to a number of avoidable defeats. Most spectacular was the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. Stalin urged the Chinese CP to 'unite' with the Kuomintang — the party of Chinese capitalism.

The Kuomintang was to be pushed into power and the Communists were to curb the violent risings of workers and peasants in the interest of 'national unity'. Chiang Kai-shek was actually made an 'honorary member' of the executive of the International!

The results of this adventure were the smashing of the Chinese revolution and the creation of a right wing military dictatorship under 'Comrade' Chiang.

Worse was to come. The German party, the strongest in the International, and with it the whole German working class movement, was to be led to catastrophic defeat. The consequence was the victory of fascism in Germany.



CINEMA

A SEVERED HEAD is the film version of the novel by Iris Murdoch and the stage play by her and J B Priestley.

I have not read either play or book and I cannot say whether the film is a worthy interpretation of them. But there is little substance in it except for shallow fantasy and as transparent and thin a story as the film it was made on.

Of course there is nothing wrong with fantasy, but if you are looking for relaxation, away from the searing social issues and 'class struggle' type of film, then there are better films around than this one.

The characters have little credibility. The dialogue is neat and 'trendy'. The action is pretentious and the people belong to a world alien to anything I know or understand.

Absurd and decadent figures appear like Palmer Anderson played by Richard Attenborough. He is a phony psycho-analyst whose catch phrase is, 'Now let's be lucid and honest about this'.

Antonia, the middle-aged spoilt brat around whom all action revolves (played by Lee Remick), is an irritating figure, frivolous and totally uncommitted to any stable relationship.

Most of the characters are like her in so far as they fail to relate to anything or anybody.

Michael, the wealthy wine merchant for example, played amusingly by the excellent Shakespearean actor, Ian Holm, takes the role of an adulterous husband. He is not in love with his wife (although he pretends to be) nor his girlfriend.

Nevertheless when his wife says she has been having an affair with Anderson, her analyst, Michael is shocked and somewhat piqued at this 'treachery'.

Antonia flits from husband to analyst, back to husband and then to husband's brother. Husband flits more cautiously from wife to girl friend, back to wife and then to analyst's half-sister.

Analyst takes Antonia while at the same time having sexual relations with his half-sister Iris — the eternal triangle multiplied.

Half-sister, Oxford Don, Dr Honor Klein, played by Claire Bloom, is like a prowling panther, secretive and witch-like. Michael is fascinated by her. Honor has a passion for Japanese art and culture, and only she provides the answer to why the film is called A Severed Head.

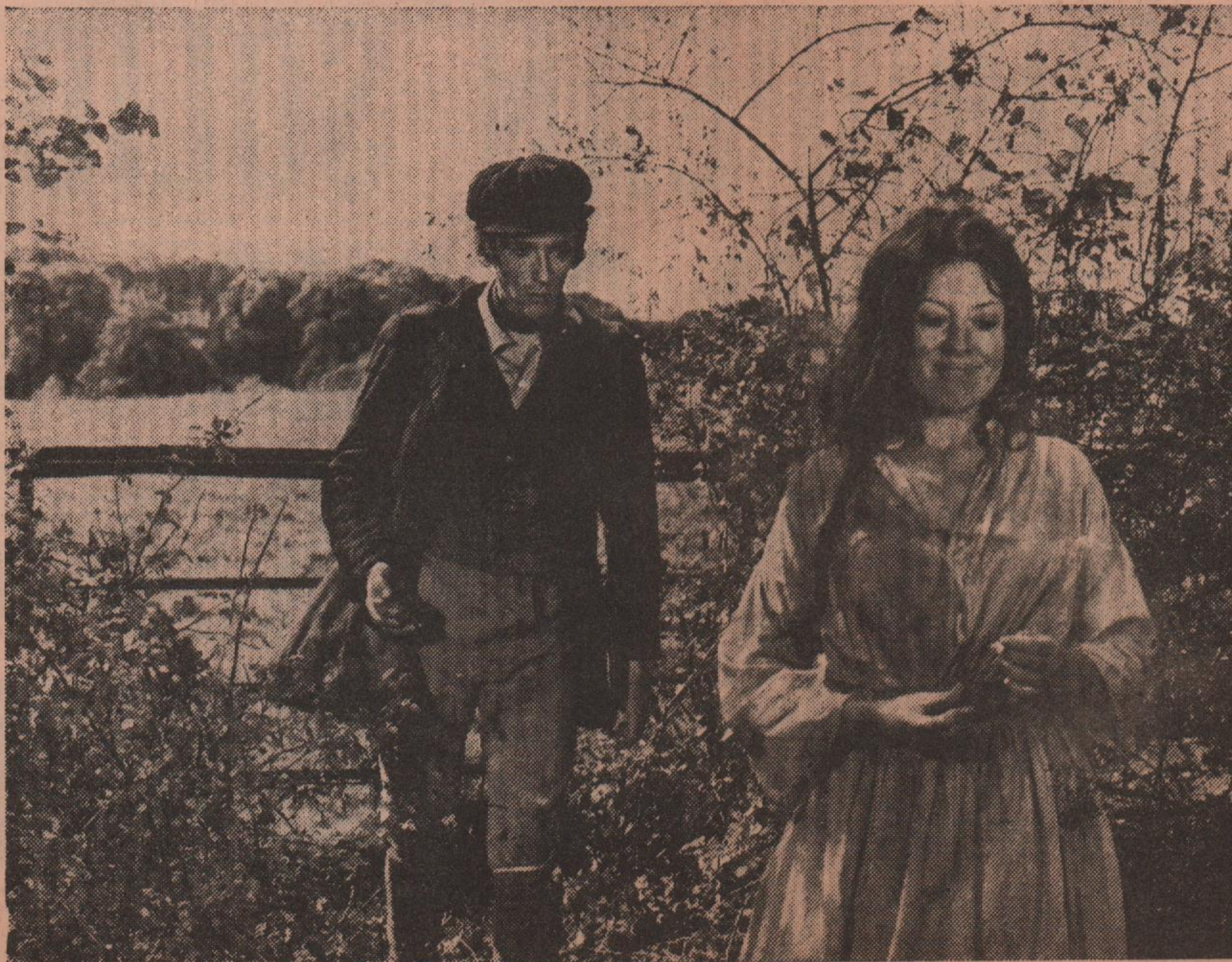
The guide and mentor of all the characters is the maxim so often used by the analyst, 'we are all civilised people'. Using this meaningless phrase, the individual characters interpret it as they will, while quietly swapping partners in a seemingly endless barn dance.

Ginny West

'CAPTAIN SWING at the Penny Gaff' is the title of the new play opening at Unity Theatre, London, on Friday 19 February. The subject of the play is the 1830 uprising of agricultural workers who had been reduced to starvation.

Captain Swing never actually existed but his name was enough to strike terror into farmers and landowners when they received threatening letters with his signature. The workers' movement spread from county to county throughout the south of England.

The play will be performed every Friday, Saturday and Sunday from 19 February to 28 March. Tickets are 8s (40p) with reductions for block bookings. Details from Unity Theatre, 1 Goldington Street, NW1, 387 8647.



Robert Powell (Jude) and Alex Marshall as his wife, Arabella, in BBC2's serialisation of Jude the Obscure — see TV column

COTTONS COLUMN

REGULAR climbers of this column will recall our recent item about apartheid in the South African building industry. A major building project in a posh white area had come to a halt when the government discovered that its apartheid labour code was being flaunted by the use of black labour to do skilled jobs such as plasterers and bricklayers.

The contractors, concerned more with their profits than principle, got round the difficulty by arming their black workers with garden trowels, pieces of wood and rag to do their jobs. This reclassified them as 'unskilled' and the work could continue.

Under pressure from the building bosses, the government has now decided to regularise the position. This week it allowed the building industry, suffering acutely from a shortage of labour, to employ black workers in the skilled jobs of bricklayer and plasterer.

But enter a whitey in the woodpile. Leaders of the whites-only building trade union complained bitterly at the decision and walked out of talks with the Minister of Labour.

Said 'Brother' Gert Beetge, the union secretary, 'the decision is shocking, the funeral of white building workers.' The Minister, he added, had 'struck the union representatives dumb'.

That alone could be construed as a small blow for progress.

A TOP-SECRET committee has been set up by the government to co-ordinate the work of the police and the army in the event of civil revolt in Britain. Perhaps they'd like to give us a ring when it breaks out.

Alf's nest-egg

IN CASE you were worried about genial workers' friend Lord Robens



GIEREK: wish you were here... having a tough time making ends meet on his pension, we are happy to report that the sacked Coal Board chief has just lined up two part-time jobs.

He is to become chairman of two firms, Johnson Matthey, the precious metals firm and Vickers, the giant engineering combine. Both will pay him more than £10,000 a year. A little more than retired miners.

And just so he feels at home, Johnson Matthey have a fine record of anti-union strike busting.

Deadly fun

ROMANCE AND REALITY: In Monday's Morning Star, Barbara Champion waxed enthusiastic about the delights of Poland: 'Poland was the first socialist country I visited. Since then I have had holidays in three others but the memory of the exhilarating experience of being for the first time in a land owned and governed by and for its working people remains fresh.

'Not only is it a change from everyday, workaday life, it is a change to a new and brighter world, a world which still has many problems but where the working man — unlike the Rolls-Royce workers — is

in control of his destiny.'

A speech by Polish party leader Edward Gierek in Warsaw on Sunday showed graphically what the real situation of the workers is. He accused the previous party leadership of deciding to use force against shipyard workers last December without consulting the party's central committee.

In a two-hour television speech, Gierek said that a total of 45 people had been killed in the disorders. Some destiny for Polish workers, some tourist attraction. Know any redundant Rolls-Royce workers going to Poland this year?

THE HARSH capitalist world invades even union branch meetings. At Monday's conflagration of the Magazine and Book branch of the journalists' union, Steve Marks of Haymarket Press moved an amendment to an annual conference resolution, followed by another amendment from John Spencer of Workers Press. It was, said the chairman, a choice between Marks and Spencer. They might not have God on their side, but we bet St Michael is rooting for them.

Cough up

MORE THAN 2000 working and retired miners are planning to sue the Coal Board for damages because they have contracted the dust disease pneumoconiosis. Their cases are being handled by solicitors instructed by the miners' union.

This is not a result of action by the NUM. It has always been noted for its reluctance to do anything on this issue. The miners were spurred into action when one ex-miner sued the Coal Board off his own bat and received £7500 in an out-of-court settlement. It makes a change from giving public money to the former owners of the pits.



THE DEVELOPMENT of television in the 1950s from the cosy, middle-class narrowness of the BBC into the dominating sector of the mass media caused many people to say that we would quickly become a nation of cultural idiots and would forget how to read. In fact, the opposite is the case and the sale of books and borrowing from public libraries have increased steadily in the last 15 years or so.

The BBC's high standard of 'classic' serials has played an important part in this development. The series are a great stimulator: I, for one, have been encouraged to read Zola and Sartre by the serialisation of their works.

Now it is the turn of Thomas Hardy, a writer of whom I must confess total ignorance. I had always assumed from its strange title that *Jude the Obscure* was a religious book but an informative article by D A N Jones in the current Radio Times says it is just the opposite, an outspoken attack on religious bigotry and the class system.

The book is now being serialised by BBC2 on Saturday evenings (repeats on Fridays). Jude is a young country apprentice stonemason with a burning ambition to become educated in the nearby university town of 'Christminster' (Oxford). He is held back by the village attitude that education is not 'for the likes of us' and by the solid class walls of the university that keep out the working class.

The first instalment was taken at quite a pace, with a spoken introduction dispensing with a sizeable chunk of the book's opening. In no time at all, Jude had grown up, drifted into a hopeless marriage, shown his distaste for farm life by refusing to kill a pig and, losing his wife, more determined than ever to move to the university town.

Having picked us up by the scruff of the neck and carried us into the story at breakneck speed, the serial needs to pause for breath and allow time for a deeper characterisation and story line to appear.

Torture

WATCHING SPORT on television is a strange experience. I like football but I cannot bear to watch it because, in the first place, I am a West Ham supporter and I don't find torture entertaining and, secondly, the sound of those hysterical commentators is more than my flesh and blood can stand.

But at least only local patriotism enters into English soccer matches. Last Saturday a BBC man called Alan Weeks was almost sobbing with emotion as a British ice-skater cavorted around the rink in the European championship. 'What a performance, what a job for Britain, the whole country will be proud of him,' the appalling Weeks ranted on and on. Then a sharp change of gear and, no emotion as a Russian and Czech took the ice and turned in performances that were several streets ahead of the British champ.

They came first and second, of course, and 'our' lad squeezed into third position. But there was no doubt in bulldog Weeks' mind about who should have won.

We cut from the skating to the next sport: Commandér Shepard playing golf on the moon. Mixing the lunar adventure in with the sports programmes is a clever move: it's all just a jolly game, totally unconnected with world politics and the struggle for domination between two competing imperialisms.

How about Alan Weeks going on the next moon trip to send back on-the-spot reports? With a bit of luck, he might be on the first rocket to fail to make the return trip...

David East

Socialist Worker

Wilberforce toes Tory line

THE TORY GOVERNMENT'S hand-picked Court of Inquiry into the power workers' pay claim has done the job it was selected to do. The report of the Wilberforce Inquiry - published on Wednesday afternoon - recommends an insulting £2 a week more.

The union had asked for an extra £5 a week - about 25 per cent. But Lord Wilberforce, an ex-Tory candidate, Mr Raymond Brookes, wealthy anti-union boss of GKN and former trade union official Jim Mortimer, have toed the Tory line at 10 per cent.

There is a strong possibility of a return to industrial action by the power station workers. They were the victims of a vicious smear attack by the press during their work-to-rule.

The report is a sharp kick in the teeth for the weak trade union officials who called off the work-to-rule in favour of a Court of Inquiry even though Electricians' secretary Frank Chapple admitted that such an inquiry would be loaded against the workers.

It is also a warning to other union

leaders who have anticipated a favourable report to help them with their own claims. The lessons of the Inquiry are sharp and to the point: any 'independent' inquiry set up by the Tories will favour the bosses.

If the power workers resume their industrial action, they must have the support of the whole trade union movement and not left to the mercy of the bosses' press. Solidarity action, leaflets and public meetings putting the power men's case must be organised in every area.

Postal strikers fight on

by Dave Percival

THE POSTAL WORKERS are still battling on. At the start of the dispute the press was full of tales about a collapse of the strike but they never refer to it now.

Union leaders are confident that the management will come up with an improved offer this week.

The strike has given both the Post Office and the government a shock. They thought it would be easy to defeat the postmen.

They were confident that without strike pay the postal workers would quickly run back to work. But the impressive solidarity of the 220,000 strikers has proved them wrong.

The strike leaders have said repeatedly that the strike is not a political dispute. They are wrong.

The Tories are attacking all the public sector workers. Railwaymen are the next in line.

The only way this offensive can be fought is by forming an Industrial Alliance of all the trade unions involved.

The Tories would then be faced with a united public sector alliance. Under such circumstances it would be difficult for them to continue with their present policy of trying to fight each group of workers separately.

Such an industrial alliance would have ensured a much speedier victory for the postal workers in their present dispute.

Sackings threat: Styles

HEAVY REDUNDANCIES threatened the Post Office. UPW executive member Maurice Styles told a large rally in Leeds on Monday.

Describing Post Office acting chairman Bill Ryland as 'living in the Middle Ages' and 'a baron with a feudal estate', Mr Styles said the union and management had agreed to a reduction of parcel centres from 1200 to 34 mechanised units.

One of the mechanised units was opened last September but the Post Office now threatened to transfer it to British Rail, abandoning £15m of capital expenditure. 'It will be transferred over our dead bodies,' Mr Styles said.

A resolution moved from the floor of the meeting called on other Post Office unions to give one week's notice of strike action if talks between the UPW and the management did not start this week. Mr Styles, a Communist Party member, attacked the resolution and said the union had no right to make such a call.

He said such action would convert the union into a political body attempting to bring down the government. 'This is not the job of the unions,' he said. 'Politics must be confined to the ballot box.'

The chairman refused to put the resolution to the vote in spite of considerable verbal support for it.

EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY ACTION BACKS FORD STRIKERS

by COLIN BEADLE

Dagenham Body Plant, TGWU

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY action from Ford's European plants will strengthen British strikers in their fight for parity with Midlands car rates. The strike is now entering its second week and there is 100 per cent support for it at every plant in the country.

Convenors from all Ford's British and European plants met in Belgium last weekend to hammer out a programme of action to strengthen the strike. One immediate result is an overtime ban at Genk and Cologne.

Production of the Cortina and the Pinto will be curtailed and will stop Ford switching extra production abroad from its strike-bound British plants.

Moves may also be taken to get backing from the Auto Workers' Union in the United States. These steps illustrate the practical value of workers' international links to fight the strength of the multinational combines.

CONVINCED

The determination of the British strikers has shaken the Ford management. With official backing from their unions, the workers are convinced they can force the giant company to concede their demand for equal rates with the Midlands.

As a result of Measured Day Work, Ford workers are at the bottom of the car workers' wages league and are as much as £17 a week behind the rates at Chrysler's Coventry factories.

6000 on anti-Bill march

BRADFORD:- 6000 workers marched through the town on Sunday against the Industrial Relations Bill. The demonstration was organised by the Trades Council and was supported by large contingents from Hepworth and Grandage, English Electric, Crofts and International Harvesters.

Workers from Metal Box, Shipley, who have been on strike for two weeks, also joined the march and postal workers were out in force. Eight separate marches converged on the three halls booked to hold the demonstrators.

Five hundred women workers from Baird's television factory defied threats of an afternoon lock-out to take part on the march. Main speakers at the meeting were the local AUEW district secretary and Jim Conway, general secretary of the AUEW who said the Bill was part of the ruling class fight to maintain profit margins.

NOTICES

TEESSIDE IS public meeting: The threat from the right. Speaker Roger Protz, editor Socialist Worker, 7.30pm, The Settlement, Newport Road, Middlesbrough, Friday 12 February.

DURHAM IS and Socialist Society public meeting on The Millionaire Press. This Saturday, 13 February, 10.30am, Dunelm House, New Elvet. Speaker Roger Protz.

NORTH LONDON IS branches afternoon school on Industrial Relations Bill. Saturday 13 February, 2.30-6.15 at YMCA, 628 High Road, Tottenham N17. Speakers: Duncan Hallas and Mike Caffoor.

WEST LONDON IS education school on struggle in Ireland. Speakers: Brian Trench, Eamonn McCann, Jimmy Greely. 11.30-1.25.30, St Matthews' Church Hall, North Common Rd, W5, between Ealing Common and Ealing Broadway. Sunday 14 Feb.

SOUTH LONDON IS branches public mtg: Michael Kidron on the Common Market. William Morris Hall, Wimbledon, 8pm Sun 14 Feb.

ALL LONDON IS members MUST attend special aggregate on Saturday 20 February at 2.30-5pm. Old Town Hall, Haverstock Hill, opp Belsize Park stn, Northern Line. Buses 187, 268. Subject: Our present political tasks. Speakers Tony Cliff and Roger Rosewell. Admittance to IS members only.

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

TO FORD EMPLOYEES NOW ON STRIKE

6

FACTS DISTORTIONS

you ought to know

1. Ford pays the same rate for the same job whether it is being done in Swansea, Southampton, Liverpool, Langley, Dagenham or anywhere else in Britain. That is why comparisons with motor manufacturers who don't are red herrings.
2. Ford intends to protect your job security—you know that can't be done by paying ruinous rates.
3. The average pay for manual workers at Ford plants is £35.6s. and the average hours worked in a week are 44½. There is nothing phoney about these figures. They come from an independent survey made in consultation with the Trades Union Congress.
4. Of course there are people who earn less than £35.6s. otherwise it wouldn't be an average. There are also thousands of others, now on strike, who earn considerably more. Almost a third earn over £40.
5. If the Ford wage offer and 'S' Plan were accepted that overall average would go up to about £38.16s. That's over £2,000 a year. It includes overtime.
6. But people are not statistical averages. They are individuals. So these are examples of earnings under the new offer for people who have been with the company for four years or over and are on alternating shiftwork:
 - A cleaner would get £30. 2s. 0d.
 - A man who puts in the seats would get £33. 2s. 9d.
 - If he is a metal finisher his pay would be £34. 6. 0d.
 - Blacksmiths would get £35. 14s. 0d.
 - Toolmakers would rate £38. 0. 9d.

AND THAT'S FOR A 40 HOUR WEEK BEFORE ANY OVERTIME AT ALL.



Published by Ford Motor Company Ltd. as an employee communication in view of the cessation of postal services.

Strikers in press protest

This costly advertisement appeared in the national press this week, putting the Ford management's case for refusing parity. Angered by distortions, Dagenham strikers protested on Tuesday outside the offices of the Daily Mirror and London Evening News.

The truth about Ford's 'facts'

FORD workers have angrily denounced the misleading advertisements in the national press this week designed to split the strikers.

Here is a point-by-point refutation of Ford's 'facts':

FACT 1: Of course all Ford workers in Britain are paid the same. That is why they are all the lowest paid.

FACT 2: Ford make the highest profits of all car firms. In 1968, their profits were £75m. In 1969, with 65,000 employees, profits were £70m. The other three major car firms had 256,000 workers in 1969 and had combined profits of £106m. When Ford speaks of 'ruinous' pay rates they are speaking nonsense. They are simply afraid that if they paid higher wages their profits would fall.

FACT 3: The average pay of Ford workers is £35.30 a week. After four years the rate is 62½p an hour. For 40 hours this amounts to £25 a week. 30,000 of Ford's 45,000 production workers are on this grade of pay.

The company's figures include shift allowances and 4½ hours' overtime a week. On these calculations, Ford workers are even worse off compared to other car workers. The rate of 95½p an hour at Chrysler is without shift allowance or overtime.

FACT 4: Most workers can earn more than their 40 hours' pay. They can do this by working excessive overtime and disruptive shift patterns. A man on £25 a week can earn £40, provided he works 64 hours a week.

FACT 5: The average is wrong. Overtime cannot be included as it might be scrapped. It can't be relied upon.

FACT 6: A cleaner is on A grade. The hourly rate after one year is 53p. After a further three years it is 56½p. For 40 hours this is £22.63½p. The advert says a cleaner, under the new offer will get £30.10, but the firm is not increasing anybody's wages by £7.46½. If they were, perhaps the strike would not have started.

MILITANT CAR WORKERS PLAN GRASS-ROOTS PAPER

A SUCCESSFUL car workers' conference was held in Birmingham last Sunday. Delegates from 17 factories attended the meeting and discussions took place on parity, Measured Day Work and the general situation in the industry.

The conference agreed to set up a rank and file car workers' paper with the following programme:

1. Opposition to anti-trade union legislation and any restrictions or penalties on the right to strike.
2. Support to all strikes in defence of workers' interests.
3. Opposition to Measured Day Work, job evaluation and productivity deals.
4. Support for 'mutuality' on all items.
5. Five days work or five days pay instead of lay-offs and short time.

6. Support for all demands for parity and equal pay.

7. Opposition to redundancies and factory closures. Support for the demand for a shorter working week.

8. For effective combine organisations of workers in the same company and throughout the whole industry.

9. For international co-operation and solidarity action between car workers.

10. For rank and file democratic control of the trade unions.

11. For nationalisation of the motor industry under full workers' control.

The conference agreed to an early publication of the paper. Details can be obtained from: The Business Manager, 48 Lloyd Baker Street, London WC1, 01-837 0470.

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