ULSTER: BRITISH TROOPS OUT

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WORKERS CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM



Bogside, Sunday: baton-wielding police advance on demonstrators

May Day: strike against WITH MAY DAY now only a few days away support for a strike against anti-union laws anti-union laws continues to grow. It is clear that whatever the numbers out

cialist on strike, May 1st will symbolise a new resolve in the

a special

rs now to ailable at

emble Tower

s: Barbican and g sites to

y in London. will also be

and it is FAT will call

Socialist Worker Sun May 4.

ng House, High-ithebarn St, Liv-

arry Rothman on d the Russian

Teachers' mtg. achers' Charter. 7.30 pm Conway on Square WC1.

ON IS Aggregate, tute of Education, let Street, WC1. le 2/6 admission.

fe - spkr. Frank The George pub N1.8pm May 1st.

NG. May 1st,8.00 Hall, Brunswick WC1, Students WC1struggle spkrs.

leading socialist lutely essential every socialist, olutionary. Every ewsagents or 24 on EC1.

ge in Fleet

Ard wick

lington

labour movement.

The fight back is beginning
on a national scale.
It is a struggle against the
Labour government itself. It | The 'national interest' dem-

rule since 1964.

The proposed legislation to shackle the trade union movement is the result of the entire policy of this antiworking class government. For five years now all the ills of the British economy have been laid at the workers' door.

For five years the govern-ment have shown, slowly but surely, that their only interest is to modernise British capitalism. If welfare has to be sacrificed, a few crocodile tears may be shed. If rents have had to rise so much that they have lowered the standard of living of hundreds of thousands of workers, that is just too had.

The so-called 'national interest' is the interest of that tiny handful of people who control and decide on the destiny of vast masses of people.

It is the interest of the capitalist class. It is the that is just too bad.

Whose interest?

All this is being done in the 'national interest', Just

what is this national interest? Just what is this national interest? Was it in the national interest that the seamen's attempt to improve their appalling conditions of work should be belittled and blamed on a handful of agitators? That wages should be frozen for over a year be frozen for over a year, while prices and profits soared?

That Castle, Wilson, Jen-kins, Short and Benn in turn over the last few weeks should attack militants in industry as enemy number one?

What national interest is this which says that the highest priority of the Labour government must be to legis-

NIVERSITY stud-ind raising folk/ rid May 2 to help late against the trade unions?
It is clearly the hoary old capitalist search for ever greater profit at the expense of the workers which is being dressed up in a new guise. m demo. Tickets, or or from Robin st Society, Studffield University.

is not just one false step which is being opposed, but the whole pattern of Labour's rule since 1964.

The state of the workers pay ... Just who the hell do they think they're fooling?

In a class divided society mentally anti-working class.

there are only class interests.
The interests of the working class in a society where there is production for use not for profit, democratic control of industry and society was being accepted. Socialism had become something to be handed down from above by a wise and benevolent leadership.

So instead of modern technology liberating poorly from iety are the interests of the overwhelming majority people in our society.

Tiny handful

The so-called 'national interest' is the interest of that tiny handful of people who control and decide on the destiny of vast masses of

It is the interest of the capitalist class. It is the class the Labour government decided to serve when they came to power in 1964.

This was not an 'error' which a different leader could have avoided. The whole trend of the Labour Party for years before it came to power was in this direction. Remember the wild applause when Wilson made his speech about the new Britain to be forged 'in the white heat of the technological revolution'?

EDITORIAL

So instead of modern technology liberating people from the drudge of labour, it brings redundancy. Instead of spending on social services, on health and education, we still spend about £2,000m on arms. Just about enough to apply a Britain to send troops enable Britain to send troops to Anguilla . . .

To this notion of 'socialism from above' which turns out to be nothing but a recipe for continuous exploit-

ical revolution'?

Already a conception of what the Labour government would do which was funda
workers themselves can take power and abolish production for profit, and abolish classes.

The whole aim of the antitrade union legislation is to back page

attack working-class self-activity, to attack the very foundations of what makes socialism an alternative form

socialism an alternative form of society.

Shop floor organisation has always been the most important defense the workers have had against the employers' attacks. The shop stewards work with the men they represent and are in constant touch with the real needs of the workers and the day-to-day problems they face.

face.
It is on the basis of links between shop stewards in the same factories and industries, and between these in different industries that a meaningful working-class alternative to capitalism will be built.

Police agent

It is this possibility which the Labour government's legislation is designed to attack. Instead of trade union organisation being the instrument of defense of the workers the government would like it to be the police agent. The strategy behind prod-uctivity bargaining has been to take power out of the hands

of the stewards and to put it into those of union officials. But it is a slow process and officials in the more democr-atic unions are not going to be turned into policemen over-

WILSON'S decision to allow British troops to guard 'key installations' in Northern Ireland is an ominous threat to the embattled people of the Six Counties fighting for their basic civil rights. The troops will free the brutal RUC and the even more thuggish B-Specials to attack and terrorise demonstrators. There is little doubt that the acts of sabotage were carried out by extreme Paisleyites in order to bring in British troops who could be used to put down the people if civil war should break out. Socialist Worker demands the immediate withdrawal of British troops and expresses its complete solidarity with the heroic workers of

Police terror in Bogside

Eamonn McCann and Sean Reed

DERRY:- The moderate leadership of the Civil Rights movement was swamped last weekend as the people of Bogside fought to defend their area against the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Appeals to 'go home in peace' from John Hume, MP for Foyle, and members of the Citizens Action Committee were howled down as the residents fought off the riot police with sticks, stones and petrol bombs.

The attack developed after the government banned a march from Burntollet Bridge, scene of last January's ambush of the People's Democracy march by B-Specials in civvies. Ulster's new Police Minister, Porter, visited Derry on Friday and was told by the local Tories that they would use firearms to stop the march. Porter then banned the march.

RIOT

To protest this partisan order, young civil rights supporters held a spontaneous sit-down in Guildhall Square. An ugly police riot ensued when the RUC moved in with haton charges, water cannons and armoured cars. At 3 am on Sunday morning an armoured car entered Hamilton Street. It was set on fire. A RUC

ed car entered Hamilton Street. It was set on fire. A RUC sergeant jumped out and fired five or six shots at random.

The resistance of the people. was so great that the cops got out of control, the police rank-and-file were unwilling to go into the Bogside and their officers were virtually beating them with batons to force them in. After several hours' fighting the riot squad took the Bogside.

Bogside.

OUTRAGES

When the police batoned their way into the area, serious outrages occurred. In one house the door had been left open. Children running to escape the police charges ran through the house and out of the back door.

door.

The police entered and brutally batoned the innocent people in the front room. The father, the father's friend and the father's 15 year old daughter — who was just out of hospital — all had their heads split open and were heads split open and their complicity in the oppn. The commission and their role as their complicity in the oppn. The commission and their role as their complicity in the oppn. The commission and their role as their complicity in the oppn. The commission and their role as their complicity in the oppn. The commission are specifically all their complicity in the oppn. The commission are specifically all their complicity in the oppn. The commission are specifically all the commission are specifically all their complicity in the oppn. The commission are specifically all ger children were covered in

ger children were covered in blood but unhurt because the adults had lain over them.

On Sunday morning the Bogside was evacuated and men, women and children moved to the Creggen heights. Reinforced by over 10,000 people from the Creggen Estate, a mass meeting was held and the RUC were given two hours to leave the Bogside.

Bogside.
With only 15 minutes to go the cops withdrew after a hastily negotiated agreement to take out the riot squad in return for an assurance that the barricades would not be

This laid the foundations for the present brittle peace which could be shattered at any moment by the simmering rage of the general populace. The street defence committees set up in the wake of the PD march last January have been reactivated.

been reactivated.

Defence plans are being laid and any further police attack will be met with organised and disciplined resistance. The fact that the police used guns on Sunday moming has led to discussion of the formation of a citizens' amy — a demand put forward by the new MP for Mid-Ulster Bernadette Devlin and Eamonn Melaugh.

Meanwhile Wilson has agreed to send in troops 'to guard key installations'.

guard key installations'.

In the long term it is an assertion of the fact that British capitalism will intervene more and more directly if O'Neill fails to maintain 'law and order'.

This is certainly on the cards. As O'Neill's position grows less credible every hour, as the antiquated brand of effete liberal-toryism neither serves adequately the needs of the system nor satisfies the aspirations of the people, he will go very soon.

SLOGAN

After him we will get a 'strong man' with the slogan 'Here's your one man, one vote — and the next Popehead who opens his mouth in public will be up and against the wall'.

British socialists must

wall'.

British socialists must organise to struggle for the withdrawal of British troops, who are being used to release RUC and B-Specials to suppress Derry. Only a major and immediate mobilisation to this end can have any real meaning.

this end can have any real meaning.
Socialist and civil rights supporters in the Six Counties must mount a campaign to lift the pressure on Deny by drawing off as many police as possible.
Comrades in the South should raise the demand that the Green Tory government arms Derry. Their refusal to do so can be used to expose their complicity in the oppression and their role as commission agents of

then only the united action of all the Irish working people and their allies can provide the material base to resist Orange reaction and their Westminster supporters.

"A demonstration has been fixed for this Friday (April 26) to the London Ulster Office in Berkeley St W1. For details of times ring 01-808 4847 on Thursday and Friday.

Fascists disrupt

NATIONAL FRONT fascists disrupted a meeting in Har-ingey on Tuesday called to protest at the council's plan to wreck comprehensive schools and disperse immigrant children.

When Socialist Worker editor Roger Protz spoke he was howled down and threat-

Certainly rank and file socialists of all persuasions will be discussing Left unity on the streets of Wolverhampton and demonstrating it "If you want to go to Wolverhampton from London ring Chris Russell at 01-340 5911. Return coach fare is 14s."

Cettor Roger Procz Spoke he was howled down and threatened by fascists — but it was Protz who was arrested and charged with "threatening behaviour".

International Socialists are planning a march against the schools plan this Saturday starting at 2.30 at Manor House station.

Sunday Black-white march on

WOLVERHAMPTON:- 3,000 parts of the country, and the call to come to Wolverhampton's are expected to march here on Sunday (April 27) in the Black-White Unity Mobilisation against racialism in the Strongest support has beart of Engel Powell's come from breaches of the Aberdaen and students.

ion against racialism in the heart of Enoch Powell's constituency.

Support for the mobilisation has poured in from many

ion against racialism in the Strongest support has come from branches of the Indian Workers' Association and IS, but local groups of the International Marxist contingents.

Delegates to the National Convention of the Left must decide between pressure groups and building a new workers' party

Welfare work or revolutionary politics the choice for the Left

THIS WEEKEND the National Convention of the Left will be meeting at St Pancras Town Hall in London.

The occasion has an ambitious title which so far seems to be justified by the sheer number and variety of the socialist individuals and groups that have agreed to participate.

People from single-issue groups like Child Poverty Action Group or the Save Biafra Committee, representatives of the Young Liberals, the Tribune Socialist Charter, the Young Communist League and the Communist Party, as well as members of IS and other revolutionary formations, will be in attendance in order (in the terms of the organisers) to:

radicals, the central issues of contemporary politics
discuss forms of action in relation to these issues, and generate new and connected campaigns campaigns establish some continuing

form of liaison

demonstrate the existence of a real alternative to the

present system that is real and worth fighting for."

Laudable aims indeed. What can be expected from the convention?

Influenced

The impulsion for the convention has come from the May Day Manifesto group, a small group of professional socialists, some of whom are heavily influenced by the style of politics manifested in the American students. in the American student move-ment before the latter went

marxist.

The virtues and vices of this style are: a glad-handed openness of approach which helps to break the ice on the Left; an insufferable tendency

to fuzzy and loose verbiage with absolutely no practical meaning of any consequence.

The politics of May Day Manifesto are, at an explicit level: "the formation of a political movement radical level: "the formation of a political movement, radical and socialist, primarily extraparliamentary but accepting the significance of a national presence while rejecting the notion of parliamentary socialism represented by the day."

PETER SEDGWICK

Labour Party."
Yet the convention it has summoned will include Tribunites and CPers who are still committed to 'parliamentary socialism' as well as a host of people with a primarily single-issue commitment and others whose politics are at present poorly defined.
Clearly, then, no consensus on the most elementary practical points can be expected from the convention as a whole. For example, the problem of the General Election will not receive any firm

problem of the General Election will not receive any firm answer, since the right wing of the audience will undoubtedly prefer orthodox parliamentary procedures.

Many of the bodies present consist of a national 'head' (i.e. an intellectual position as manifested in publications: Catholic-Radical. Pacifist-

as manifested in publications:
Catholic-Radical, PacifistMilitant, Third-World Revolutionary) but no local limbs
that could put any actual
proposals into action.
Previous attempts to gain
unity on the Left on this kind
of 'umbrella' basis have meant
that comredes with a rimerily

hat comrades with a primarily local-work orientation(such as the International Socialists have found themselves loaded with organisational commit-ments on behalf of others who

at all. So some of us will be very careful about getting lumbered again.

The best work of the convention, as is usual at events of this kind, will probably be done at the specialised groups which will meet when the jamboree sessions break up.

The best work of the convention, as is usual at events of this kind, will probably be done at the specialised groups which will meet when the jamboree sessions break up.

There is, for instance, one on trade unions, another on race, another on imperialism. Even here, however, it will be all too easy to generate trains of 'transitional programmes' and 'structural demands' which may sound very comforting inside the small group discussing them, but appear to pale somewhat when one is confronted by the stark realities of one's workplace or locality on the following day.

The best work of the conius and peace'?

Is it a collection like that, defined by some specialised charitable concern, or is it basically defined in class terms. If the latter, the basic constituency of the Left is the working class, and any 'common strategy' depends on and focuses around the workers' own struggle.

And such a strategy must imply, not perhaps as an immediate end but as a declared foreseeable aim, the establishment of a revolutionary working-class party to achieve what no rank and file political resistance to capitalism and ad hoc federation of a socialist order.

Socialist Worker

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Editor Roger Protz

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One comrade in the latest and in honour May Day Manifesto Bulletin has come out with a tremendous programme for the Left, ranging from "Residents and households of the United Kingdom not to be allowed France.

On exactly the first day of May, a Thursday, 138 towns stopped work in France.

answer to productivity deals?
Can any further pressurising and lobbying of MPs be
any use? Isn't it time for the
single-issue welfare reforminterior production. ists to realise that revolution-

ary politics is the only way they will get reforms?

Why has there been no campaign on Biafra to compare with the Vietnam movement? Why not start one?

Charitable

Finally, what is this 'Left,' which the organisers of the convention appear to think of ments on behalf of others who were either unable or unwilling to take on anything serious at all. So some of us will be social welfare to workers' control, the democratisation of education to anti-imperialism and peace'?

DIRE

1890 saw a tremendous leap in the revolutionary potential of the world's workers—but the leaders of the Socialist International, their sights fixed on parliament, were unable to grasp the opportunities

strate the power of labour, and in honour of that

On exactly the first day

battle.

That May Day was a great breakthrough for the international working-class movement. It made the new Second

general one-day stoppage for the eight-hour day. The Americans had finally called one for May 1st 1890 and the first international congress of the Second International coordinated their decision with it.

There was solidarity of action for this day between the workers exploited by the rising dynamic capitalism of America, the old imperialism utionary marxist party with a million members and having inherited (almost by default) the theoretical mantle of Engels when he died.

And yet it was this party that had failed to declare for a one-day strike, that had refused to use the opportunity to involve their trade union members more directly in socialist consciousness or to involve the previously unorganised workers.

IN 1890 the first worldwide of westem Europe and the stoppage of work to demon- developed capitalism/feudal

ism of eastern Europe.
There was however, in this simple act which gave enormous prestige to the Second International, some cause for concern.

towns stopped work in France.

So did the large north Italian towns of Milan and Turin. The numbers of work-the decision they were makers actually demonstrating on ing

households of the United Kingdom not to be allowed more than one bank account" to "The Ericson Company in Sweden to be engaged to instal a telephone in every household within five years."

No doubt there will be many other participants bursting to tell the convention their bit. It would be a pity, if in the general enthusiasm of togetherness, some important points were to be overlooked, such as:

What should be the orientation of local campaigns concerned with housing and rents. Social work or politics?

What confidence can workers that can any further pressuris
BEAKTHROUGH

Tanne.

So did the large north Italian towns of Milan and Turin. The numbers of work of the decision they were maken the streets that day, as well as striking, were 340,000 in Barcelona 120,000 in Barcelona 120,000 in Stockholm.

Despite Tsarist police repression 20,000 dared to come out in Warsaw; despite repression 10,000 in Portugal.

Other parties in other wars of their own origins in recountries had settled for evening meetings on the 1st, or for demonstrations on Sunday, May 4. Engels was an eyewitness at one of ling of increases?

What confidence can workers was the London demonstration in Hyde Park:

BREAKTHROUGH

'Around the seven plater of the conference in Paris. None of the delegates had grasped the significance of the decision they were maken the world to this symbolic act would have been anticipated in the streets that day, as well as striking, were 340,000 in Barcelona 120,000 in Barcelon

'Around the seven platforms of the central committee thick crowds in countless numbers, approaching with music and flags, were more than 100,000 in a column, swelled by almost as many who had come on their own.

'On the 4th May 1890 the English working class joined up in the great international army ... Its long winter sleep is broken at last ... The grandchildren of the old Chartists are in the line of battle.'

movement among the inter-national working class, which was to leap forward and encompass new, unreached layers of workers on May 1st.

ional working-class movement. It made the new Second (Socialist) International founded the year before a reality in the minds of millions of workers throughout the world. The French, American and Belgian trade union congresses had already discussed a general one-day stoppage for the sight-hour day. The American members and having



GEORGE CRAVELEY

ENGINEERS & CONTRACTORS

The revolutionary marxists of the western world, while not turning themselves fully around into gradual-change reformists, had turned themselves into gradual-change revolutionaries. And while this isn't at all the same thing as far as theory goes, it became very much the same thing in practice.

Therefore the SPD did not apathy that ca

Therefore the SPD did not come out on May 1st. Having opted for a general political encroachment through elections, the party refused to toy with the 'syndicalist' notion of the 'general strike'.

COMFORTABLE

Eighteen years had passed since the Paris Commune and they had settled themselves into the comfortable assumption of a gradual build-up of working class consciousness working class consciousness into revolutionary socialist consciousness. The SPD was involved in putting up several candidates in the German parliament, the Reichstag, where they had no power, because the Reichstag had no power.

Although formally adhering to the theory of revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state (recognising that

alist state (recognising that you certainly can't take it over through its own institutions and parliamentarianism

take place in o struggle and losses into m apathy that ca that mass st joined. The tragedy

immense socia ion ame the the leader hip the leade, hip ional did not tat the head of with its own in fused with the capitalism, a m would either world or collap Instead it the leadership national revolutist parties wi

ist parties wi no depression conscious acti at the head of apart from th conferences an platforms). Jus tobogganing

Britain and Ireland:don't der

JUST TWO of the many points that should be made on the article on the 1916 Irish rising (April 12):

Trotsky is — falsely — lumped with those who saw 1916 as a putsch, and dismissed "Trotsky, while defending the Rising, thought that the basis for a national revolution in Ireland had disappeared.

disappeared.'
Trotsky in fact, having analysed the erosion of the agrarian basis of the traditional Irish nationalist movement, and noted the abstention of the peasants in 1916, wrote: 'The historical' (my emphasis) 'basis for the national revolution, even in



emphasis) 'basis for the national revolution, even in Ireland, had been swept away.'

He explained the growth of a conservative peasantry (1881-1903 land reforms) and how the 'independent Irish bourgeoisie, insofar as it had formed in the last decade, immediately adopted an antagonistic position towards the young Irish proletariat. Because of this the independent bourgeoisie gave up the national revolutionary struggle and went into the camp of the imperialists.'

He goes on: 'The young Irish working class, taking shape in an atmosphere saturated with the heroic recollections of national rebellion, clashed with the egoistic, narrow-minded, imperial arrogance of English trade unionism, and naturally swung between nationalism

of the Irish proletariat is only just beginning. Already into this uprising — under an archaic banner — it carried its class indignation against militarism and imperialism.

'That indignation from now on will not subside. On the contrary, it will find an echo throughout Great Britain. The

throughout Great Britain. The Scottish soldiers smashed the Dublin barricades, but in Scotland itself coalminers are rallying around the red banner raised by John MacLean and his comrades.

Those very workers, who at the moment Henderson is trying to chain to the bloody chariot of imperialism, will revenge themselves against hangman I.loyd George: (Nashe Slovo. 4.6.1916. Translated by Sandra Milligan.)

Trotsky's brief comment Trotsky's brief comment didn't foresee the re-emergence of a limited agrarian struggle after 1916. He did see and indicate the fundamental class forces and relationships which were to unfold between 1916 and 1922 and between 1916 and 1922 and result in the present set-up. That is, the relationship between the working class and the southern bourgeoisie.

After Easter, a mass upleadership of the surge. The urban movement the bourgeoisie grew. The drying up, in the feverish financial heat of the leadership war, of government-financed ants.

LETTERS

In response, to markedly absent adapted their control the risis ment. When Law counterpose the successes of 'S Republican Par of the 'Green Topposed 1916', the process w the process w mention.

Already in ruled by bandw anti-Rising bou ied by Griffith 1916, who was leader of Sinn F after 1917).

Their domin mass movemen Fein had one The peasants roused, could auxiliary role, i workers' organi trial and political activity leadership of the bourgeoisie matically also

ment of revolutionary socialists who believe that the present form of society, with its blatant in-equalities, its periodic crises, wars and racialist hysteria must be replaced by one based on a planned economy under full workers' control; those who pro-duce the wealth should own and control the means of production. International Socialism is opposed to any incomes policy that seeks to restrict the wages of the workers in order to boost the profits of the employers. We unconditionally support all shop stewards and rank and file trade union members in their struggles for better wages and conditions and oppose all reactionary laws that threaten the

SOCIALIST WORKER is the paper

of International Socialism, a move-

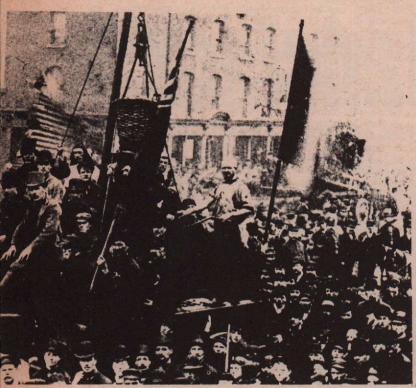
unionists. Redundancy should be opposed with the demand: five days work or five days pay. Shop We support all strikes in defence of workers' interests with the destewards organisations should strengthen and extend their in-

fluence by linking up on an industrial and ultimately a national basis.

We are opposed to racial discrimination, a weapon used by the ruling class to divide the labour movement. Immigration control must be ended, ensuring the free movement of peoples regardless of race and colour. Black and white workers must unite and form their own defence organisations to fight fascism and racialism. The labour movement must demand the immediate recall British troops from abroad as the first step towards ending colonial exploitation.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to join workers in their struggles socialist ideas that will Jp the various sections of the abour movement and help create a force that will lead on to workers power and international socialism

ANADANY



Smith

nomous leaps ciousness and celing that can ne day of mass the enormous take place if nuggle is not

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sm. No peaks,
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e intervention ass struggles, interminable

socialism.
It was all very simple, ign-It was all very simple, ignoring the even simpler fact, that the MASS strike was the developing weapon of the proletariat. That the means by which the ordinary workers and their unorganised, unskilled brothers were educating themselves about the class struggle was the political/economic mass strike—a weapon, an educator, an a weapon, an educator, an organiser for the working class by the working class.

HOLD BACK

Any revolutionary socialist party as large as the SPD that did not respond to this development, could hold back the development of socialist consciousness in that country by refusing to lead such strikes.

This the SPD did. In 1906 it lost half its deputies in the Reichstag and one-seventh of its votes in a wave of nationalism.

The SPD showed itself in

The London dock strike 1889: part of the growing militancy that sparked the first May Day in 1890.

tactic in the they were not they were not o anything to throw.

to take into normous leaps ciousness and ceeling that can be added in the tagget and tagget

It is noticeable that the only international revolutionaries of this period who expressed the relationship between action, theory and class consciousness in anything like a developing and responsible theory are the Polish/Russian marxists—Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky Russia and Poland were experiencing in this period capitalist development in contradiction with the autocratic states. Therefore the full movement to and fro of class forces and the effects of mass actions like the 1905 revolutions in Russia and Poland were a part of the It is noticeable that the

Dubcek's downfall:

ruling group is attempting to resolve the crisis that has been developing since last summer.

When the Russians invaded Czechoslovakia, Dubcek remained in power because of two factors. The mass of Czech people were overwhelming by behind him and he persuaded the Russians to trust him to dampen down the discussion over political and social issues threatening to go beyond

over political and social issues threatening to go beyond the Czech borders.

For a period he was successful in both directions. Other politicians who had seemed more willing to cooperate with the Russians lost all prestige and were removed from positions of power.

At the same time, critical articles about the Russians stopped appearing in newspapers and periodicals, vigorous debate was no longer a feature of radio and TV.

'Amazing triumph'

Dubcek, balancing between the Russians and the mass of Czech people, seemed to be raised higher than either. Western journalists referred to an amazing triumph of 'dignified non-violence'.

In this period, too, those aspects of Dubcek's policy that might separate him off from the mass of Czech workers were cloaked by the Russian

presence.

If he was basically a product of the Stalinist bureaucracy and had survived for many years within it without many years within it without too many problems, and if his economic policies implied wage cuts, increased differentials and large scale 'redeployment', the Russian presence could divert attention from these.

from these.

But over the months it became clear that there were huge differences between the demands of the Russians and those of the mass of Czechs that even Dubcek could not resolve. The more that Dubcek and the section of the bureaucracy behind him were bound to try to implement policies demanded by the Russians, the more the Czechoslovak population began to oslovak population began to organise to take action independently of the Communist Party.

Demanded control

or at the simhought which whole world one day and the day one day and the day one day the day on the factories. The day one day the day one day the day one day and day remained unfeld come day one day and of last year they found they had immense support from workers in the factories. The trade universities at the end of last year they found of last year they found of last year they found

The Russians had invaded Czechoslovakia in order to curtail free debate. Yet that debate was now involving more people than ever before. One Russian newspaper complained that the situation was even worse than before the invasion.

Threatened coup

As the two planks upon which it was resting moved further and further apart, the 'progressive' section of the bureaucracy around Dubcek became more and more unsure of itself.

It had to 'keep order' for the Russians, but the moment it tried to do this seriously, it would lose its popularity with the Czechs. Meanwhile the forces of the state — particularly the army — were becoming more and more demoralised.

At the top, a few generals

At the top, a few generals

WITH THE REMOVAL of Dubcek, the imposition of virtually complete censorship and the carrying out of mass arrests, the Czech to 'orthodox' repression...

by CHRIS HARMAN

were threatening a coup against the government. At the bottom, the rank and file shared the sentiments of the masses. For instance, when the soldiers were sent out to patrol the streets with the police, few seemed to take the task seriously.

The very basis of the independent existence of the Czech ruling bureaucracy was being undermined. In the factories the mass meetings of workers were a growing shared the sentiments of the masses. For instance, when the soldiers were sent out to patrol the streets with the police, few seemed to take the task seriously.

The very basis of the independent existence of the Czech ruling bureaucracy was being undermined. In the factories the mass meetings of workers were a growing power.

The trade unions increasingly operated like an oppositional political party. Ministers and party officials began to speak about the dangers of anarchy. What they really feared was that their own power was being undermined.

And the economic situation of the goods produced by the industry it controlled on the world market.

But developments since the Russian invasion have made economic conditions still worse. The existence of independent trade unions has forced wages up. But the knowledge they still have that industry is controlled and operated in someone else's interests has prevented the mass of workers of mass democracy.

The removal of Dubcek symbolises its determination to follow such a course even though Dubcek himself did not seem unwilling to follow it.

This means that increasingly the lines of opposition to the Russians will coincide with the class divisions in the country. The ruling class, the bureaucracy both 'progressive' and 'conservative' will he on one side, the

All this has forced the In the country. The filling and the economic situation of the country was growing worse. What caused the 'progressives' around Dubcek to break with the old regime to break with the old regime and its control, isations on the other.



DUBCEK balancing act



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Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the international socialists to

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parliamentary plain, skilful or at the simhought which whole world one day and world one day and world one day and world one day and world this period to be what it later fully developed into — a talkRussian Revolution, too weak.

he bourgeoisie t at the start, ine so as to g mass move-less and Gray 1918 election inn Fein, the y' to the rout bries who had they obscure they obscure ich produced mination they

1918 SF was agon-jumping, geois — typif-s, absent in the practical ein (before and

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Potsky's analysis grasped the essence here. Because the working class proved unable to take the lead and put its stamp on it, the national revolution was aborted. No traditional national revolution was in fact possible. Trotsky's conclusions, emphasis and perspectives for Ireland were more right 50 years ago than are those of the authors today.

For example, in 1916 he linked the workers of Dublin with the British class struggle, counterposing MacLean to Henderson. Lawless and Gray emphasise only the criminal complicity of official British labour. But there was another British labour movement — the matl-Hyndman majority of the BSP, the SLP, the MacLean ILP element, the great shop stewards movement—which had no sympathy with the work of the Empire in great snop stewards movement-which had no sympathy with the work of the Empire in Ireland, nor with chauvinism, nor pacifism.

The emotional one-sided-ness of this section expres-ses the feelings of some of the best emigre Irish workers

who see only the official movement. But in a paper like Socialist Worker it's a senseless incitement to history-conscious Irish work-

International Socialism 36

contains an important article on Ireland and the role of British imperialism

plus perspectives for revolutionaries, students, Mandel's 'Maginot' marxism

3s post paid 15s for a year 36 Gilden Road LondonNW5.

BUILDING DEAL PUTS SHACKLES ON STEWARDS

Dave Warby ASPD

THE NATIONAL Federation of Building Trades Operatives faces trouble over a new 'working rule' it has agreed in the industry. Shop stewards claim it puts them under the virtual control of the employ-

under the new rule, which is an amendment to a national agreement covering conditions of employment and procedural arrangements, shop stewards will have to be recognised by

the employer.

The original agreement provided for automatic recogprovided for automatic recognition of shop stewards once they had been given credentials by their union. Now the arrangement will be that once a shop steward has been accredited, "The union shall notify the employer in writing of the appointment with a view to his recognition by the employer."

Although the new rule adds that 'recognition shall not be unreasonatly held or withdrawn', shop stewards say that this is meaningless

withdrawn', shop stewards say that this is meaningless and that the end result is to give the employer right of veto over their appointment.

SERIOUS

An agreement like this is likely to have particularly serious effects in the building industry which operates an efficient black-list of competent shop stewards

Another new provision that has angered shop stewards gives employers the right to see the minutes of stewards' committees. The clause states. 'The convenor shall be responsible for making available to the NFBTO regional secretary and to the employer a written report of the proceedings of each meeting within seven days.' seven days.'
Another objectional amen-

dment is that the federation steward who is responsible for the whole site will now have to be employed by the main contractor.

INCREASED

The trend to put more and more work out to sub-contractors means that there will be increasingly less scope for choosing the federation steward. And since the black-list is operated by the main con-tractors, the chances of keeping a militant out are increas-

chances are also Ine chances are also increased through a new clause which says that a man cannot be elected shop steward during his first seven days in employment. Under the building industry's 'six day rule' a man can be sacked with solv two bours' notice. with only two hours' notice during his first six days on during the job.

The new working rule came into effect on April 7 but it only became known to the rank and file last week although it was agreed last October between unions and employers. It was in October that the last increase on basic rates was negotiated and the shop stewards in the industry claim this is the idden price that was paid for

To speed up the whole operation the Labour government wishes to legislate directly against the men on the shop floor and to try to outlaw unofficial strikes.

The anti-trade union legislation is the logical outcome of Labour's policy of modernising British capitalism. The best of the left-wing MPs have merely carped here and there on the side-lines. What is needed is a total political alternative. Such an organisation can only arise

political alternative. Such an organisation can only arise out of long sustained effort within the sections of the working class that oppose the government in a partial, fragmented manner.

One thing is clear: there is almost total vacuum on the left.

Left. The present crisis within the Labour Party and the complete disarray of the Labour left merely heightens the absence of an alternative

revolutionary organisation.

MAY DAY STRIKE



Plessey women end pay strike

Lionel Sims

committee and officials of the electricians' union.

The 750 women production workers had been on strike since April 9. They want to abolish piece-work and to be paid by a 'consolidated rate' system that would end wide differentials in wages.

The ETU did not declare the strike official, although the women's claim had been going through procedure for 14 months. They were given an assurance on Tuesday of fresh talks with the management, but the Plessey bosses have not yet agreed to negotiate.

Electrical engineering has been the leading sector in an economy geared to arms production and the Plessey management has been the most advanced section

The results have been sizeable profit rates and fat payouts to shareholders. From a turnover of £145 million in

also transformed the situation. They cannot be answered on a local level, in fragmented struggles.

Raised struggle They are political offenses against the working

They are political offensives against the working class as a whole. They have raised the struggle about workers' control of conditions of work in the factory to the centre of the political arena. It is impossible now to be just an industrial militant without interest in national politics as many were in the fifties and early sixties.

This May Day strike is the most important recognition to date of the need for a new fusion between industrial and political militancy.

political militancy.

The hallmark of all reform-

ILFORD:- Women workers at the local Plessey electrical engineering factories voted on Tuesday to return to work on the advice of their strike committee and officials of the electricians' union.

year or two would be aimed at raising efficiency.

Thus the great god efficiency stalked the streets of Ilford — or rather redundant Plessey workers were on the streets.

Strict discipline

'small period' of redundancy has involved phasing out the machine shops of the production unit and the electrical systems division. 'Efficiency' also involved

a strict discipline on the workers. The current system of piece work means that the fastest women can get £12 a week, but there are many women who receive much less, sometimes down to £7 for a full week's work. Rather full week's work. Rather than kowtow to this most

a turnover of £145 million in 1967. Plessey made £15m before tax profit, of which £5.7m went to the share-holders.

But technical progress for management's profit is nothing to do with social progress for workers' needs—

than kowtow to this most grabbing of managements, the women struck for a consolidated rate system of wages.

It was the first major years, and the women showed the determination with which they began the strike, right through to the end.

employer-government

answer:

To the problems which beset the labour movement both nationally and internationally there is only one

WORKERS' POWER IN PLACE OF STRIFE

from page one

'The government's Incomes ist politics has been to keep Policy, wage freeze, productivity bargains and now antitrade union legislation have ive is based on their compli

LSE call to spread the strike

Martin Shaw
THE STUDENT STRIKE at the London School of Economics is gathering momentum. At the end of its second day on Tuesday, support is more solid and most lectures and classes have emptied.

Among the staff, too,

have emptied.

Among the staff, too, support has grown, with 19 out of 25 sociology lecturers voting to call on the Association of University Teachers to call a strike. While it remains doubtful that the AUT will call a strike, the more militant research workers (and a few academic staff) in the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs are likely to come out.

CRUCIAL

Their support will lend weight to the students' call to trade unionists to 'black' the LSE: a call which could be crucial to the effective-

be crucial to the effective-ness of the strike.

The demands of the stud-ent strike are for the rein-statement of two sacked lect-urers, Robin Blackbum and Nick Bateson and for the revision of examinations, work for which has been constantly disrupted by the authority's actions, especial-ly last term's lockout.

ly last term's lockout.

The students are also demanding an end to disciplinary action and for democratic staff-student control over future appointments and dismissals.

BLATANT

The Students' Union meet-The Students' Union meeting which made these demands called for support from staff and students in other universities and colleges. It is clear that the dismissal of the two lecturers is a blatant case of political victimisation.

ion.

Both were sacked merely for expressing their opinions—in Blackburn's case for the expressing support for the students who took down the anti-student gates after the action took place.

If these sackings are successful, at least one other LSE lecturer and 10 or more students will also

or more students will also go very shortly. And a precedent will have been set which will affect staff and students throughout Britain.

The Students' Union also called for a national student demonstration in London on May Day in support of the general strike against the government's union laws. anti-trade

CHALLINOR's CHOICE

IN 1968, capital gains reached an all-time record; an expansion of £7000 million in a year. Shareholders, without lifting a finger, saw their fortunes grow enomously. They could eat their cake and still have it, spend their money and still have more at the end than at the beginning.

Thus the rich could enjoy themselves in luxurious idleness, turning day into night, night into day, gadding around in fast cars, without a thought about where the money was coming from.

But there are sometimes exceptions. The Times mentioned the sad case of a former managing director of Bowmaker Ltd., the industrial bankers, who was staying in Her Majesty's rest centre at Wormwood Scrubs. He had been found guilty of some financial irregularities. Nevertheless the breeze of the rising stock market gently waf-ted through the prison bars, and The Times reported:

'A prisoner serving a sentence of seven years' impr-isonment at Wormwood Scrubs has repaid £200,000 to the

people he defrauded and has had his sentence reduced by two years ... The value of the shares held by nominees (for the prisoner) during his prison sentence had increased to such an extent that he has been able to repay the

Doubtless, the former managing director must have been very happy. But what about the poor bloke in the next cell? Might he not, by comparison, consider himself to be an honest thief since, at least he has worked for 'his money?

KARL MARX believed that within the framework of capitalist society criminals make a contribution which bourgeois respectability is loath to acknowledge. In his Theories of Surplus Value, he argues that the criminal breaks the monotony of capitalist life, arousing moral and aesthetic sentiments. Without violations of the law as the theme, much of great literature could not have been produced.

Also, Marx argues, the criminal helps to advance technological innovation: 'Would the locksmith's trade have attained its present perfection if there had been no thieves? Would the manufacture of banknotes have arrived at its present excellence if there has been no counterfeiters? Would the microscope have entered ordinary commercial life had there been no forgers? Is not the development of applied chemistry as much due to the adulteration of wares, and the attempts to discover it, as to honest productive effort? Crime, by its ceaseless development of new means of attacking property, calls into existence new measures of defence, and its productive efforts are as great as those strikes in stimulating the invention of machines.'

Marx contended that criminals also helped to increase the number of jobs available. Without their activities, there would be no need for judges, policemen, jailers, probation officers, professors of criminology and countless other occupations.

If all these peor'e were to suddenly lose their jobs, think of the chaos there would be. Judges, now getting £14,000 a year, would not merely be unemployed but unemployable. What a pitiful spectacle it would be to see Lord Justice Parker signing on at the Labour Exchange.

Dangerous man

LET ME ISSUE a serious warning to IS branches in the London area. They are liable to be visited by a dangerous wrecker. He is described in a leaflet as 'Mr R. Tearse, a third-rate inefficient shop steward from London, who heads the Militant Workers' Federation - the Trotskyist strikepromoting organisation. There is probably no one less qualified to lead a strike anywhere.'

I am quoting from an article by J. R. Campbell in the Daily Worker of April 10, 1944, which was reprinted as a leaflet for free distribution so the masses could be aware

of Tearse's nefarious activities. At that time, the Communist Party was supporting Conservative candidates in parliamentary by-elections and strike-breaking in industrial disputes. Campbell's complaint about Tearse was that he was inflaming relationships between workers and employers, advising trade unionists to disregard the negotiating machinery for remedying grievances, and being abusive to the official

A quarter of a century later, Roy Tearse is still doing the same things. Will the man never learn?

RAY CHALLINOR

Angry nurses fight pay as you starve plan RANK & The Class Friday, May Hall, Red

IF EVER THERE WAS a crying scandal, it's the present exploitation of student nurses, many of whom are expected to house, clothe and feed themselves on a training allowance of less than £8 a nurse in Selly Oak, Birming week. ete unity, on bringing the mass activity of the working

week mass activity of the working class back into politics.

This May Day marks the end of the isolation which has beset militants in industry for so long.

It points the way to a new organisation of revolutionaries who will oppose all attacks on the working class, who will support all efforts and struggles of the working class against the combined employer-government offen-Out of this meagre 'grant' they have to pay income tax, national insurance and super

another rise till next April.

Three students from a London teaching hospital public and politicians accept said they had to pay 3s 1d for breakfast instead of 1s8d.

And now student nurses are to be further impoverished by a new 'pay-as-you-eat' scheme.

Under the old system, they were given free meals and f106 was added to their board-and-lodging bill. The new scheme, 'pay-as-you-starve' as one nurse calls it, will give students a £106 rebate, out of which they will pay for their own meals at the hospital.

Protests are already flood
Stead of the negotiated stand.

Three students from a London teaching hospital and of their tether. Both public and politicians accept the fact that in the interests of their patients nurses will not go on strike.

Astaff nurse I spoke to in a Manchester hospital said she was worried that the girls would fill themselves up on bread and potatoes if the new scheme proves too expensive.

Although they are afraid of victimisation, nurses in Manchester are discussing protest plans. Two suggestions have already been madents of their patients nurses will not go on strike.

But how long will that last? This shameful exploitation must stop. 'Because, as the Nursing Times said last week, 'if it does not there will be no one to staff the hospitals in the future.'

Although they are afraid of their getients nurses will not go on strike.

But how long will that last? This shameful exploitation must stop. 'Because, as the Nursing Times said last week, 'if it does not there will be no one to staff the hospitals in the future.'

Published by the International Publicand of their tether. Both public and of their tether. Both public and politicians accept the fact that in the interests of their patients nurses will not go on strike.

But how long will that last? This shameful exploitation must stop. 'Because.'

Friday from the red of their extend of their developments are deaching the public and of their tether. Both public and of their developments are reaching the not of their tether. Both publ

ham, said she was being charged 3s 8d for dinner instead of the negotiated standard price of 2s 10d.

Three students from Nurses Association.

This decision ignores an agreement which says that student nurses cannot have another rise till next April.

Nurses are received.

Action is also being taken in other parts of the country. The Royal College of Nurses Council is pressing for a £1 rise after studying evidence collected by the Student Nurses' Association.

Nurses are reaching the end of their tether. Both public and politicians accept the fact that in the interests of their patients nurses will T. Oliff, S.

Next week

Worker will SIX PAGE Ring your 01-808 484 leaflets ar 21 a 1000. May Day m London -Hill 11. 30 Manches te Green 12.0 Liverpool Square 10.

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