HEROIC VIETNAMESE FIGHT ON
by Chris Harman

THE FORGOTTEN WAR in Vietnam has been pushed back into the headlines this week, much to the embarrassment of Nixon and his government. For two years the Americans have attempted to give the impression that the war was hardly costing them and that the Vietnamese problem had been solved. They boosted the Vietnamese side of their war effort.

American troops, apparently, were being withdrawn and the Saigon puppets were quite capable of defending themselves. This myth carefully concealed the reality of a massive American presence in terms of aircraft which continued to pour death and destruction onto the villages and paddies fields.

The US air force bases in Thailand are bigger than ever, and massive computer systems are used to pour a record tonnage of bombs into Laos.

The US is still determined to maintain its stronghold on this corner of Asia by one means or another. The American government had been hoping that its talks two months ago in China and next month in Moscow would bring pressure to bear on the Vietnamese to give up their fight and accept continued foreign domination.

Blow

Now the Vietnamese people have given a firm answer to this manoeuvre. They have proved once again that there can be no peace in the area until they are free to determine their own future—and the precondition for that is a complete end to the American presence.

The success of the North Vietnamese and National Liberation Front forces show that there is no easy path to peace for the Saigon government. Only the most corrupt and parasitic section of the South Vietnamese ruling class supports the US.

The massive US bombing is necessary because much of the South Vietnamese army is not prepared to fight to defend such a government.

Socialists in the West must give full support to the NLF and the North Vietnamese in their military campaign to defend the Vietnamese. Such a defeat would be a tremendous blow against the most and most rapacious ruling class in the world.

The Falls Road children arriving at Clifton Station on Saturday. Picture: Mike Cohen by SW Reporter

LONDON trade unionists gave a big welcome on Saturday to 15 children from the Falls Road area of Belfast. They arrived in Britain for a nine-day’s holiday financed by factory and pub collections in the Falls area.

The children all have fathers or brothers interned in Britain’s concentration camps in Northern Ireland for the crime of opposing foreign troops in their country.

Factories back holiday for Belfast children

by SW Reporter

THE £5000 fine imposed on the giant Transport Workers Union last week by the Tories’ Industrial Relations Court is a major challenge to the entire trade union movement. The heavy penalty comes just one month after the government’s anti-union Act became law.

It is a direct attack on the money paid by working people to build their own organisations to defend themselves against the employers and improve their wages and conditions. It is crucially important that the TGWU fight this court’s ruling, be prepared to mobilise its enormous industrial strength and win the backing of all other unions.

The TGWU followed a complaint to the Industrial Court under the anti-union laws by a St Helens transport firm called Heaton. Liverpool dockers—members of the TGWU—had blacked containers from Heaton.

The dispute was caused by the delivery of container packaging. Instead of cargo work being done by dockers, it was loaded into containers at transport depots inland and then craned on board ships.

Dockers have complained that this trend will destroy their jobs. They demand the right to do the work at the depots themselves.

Blacking

Heaton asked the Industrial Court to order the dockers to lift their blocking of the containers. Mr Donaldson, the court chairman, backed their appeal.

The TGWU refused to attend the court and give evidence, in line with TUC policy of non-co-operation with the Industrial Relations Act and its machinery. In its absence, the union was found guilty and ordered to stop the illegal blacking.

The dockers refused to obey the Tory judge and his decision that meant they could not fight to defend their jobs.

Then came the reaction. Donaldson declared the union to be ‘in contempt of court’. If the TGWU does not pay the fine, then the court has the power to impound all its funds.

The fine is the first major test for the trade unions under a law designed to weaken militancy. It gives employers the advantage of direct state intervention any time workers successfully oppose them.

If the fine is paid it will amount to an act of surrender to the government. It will encourage more employers to use the Act and denounce those workers who have fought it over the past year and a half.

Payment of the fine would undermine TUC policy and strengthen the influence of those unions that want to use the Act.

The TGWU must stand firm and refuse to pay the fine or to allow its agents to pay the fines by the agents of the employers. The union, with 1½ million members, has the power to smash the legislation.

General secretary Jack Jones now has the opportunity to turn his fine words of opposition to the Act into positive action. Every TGWU member must fight to make sure he does.

If there is no resistance to this challenge by the government, then other unions will be next in the firing line. That is why the entire trade union movement must come to the aid of the Transport Workers.

MILITANT trade unionists should fight for the following demands:

1. Non-payment of the fine. The TGWU should call official strikes if its funds are seized.

2. Maintenance of the blacking and refusal to break it until the Act is repealed.

3. Solidarity action from the TUC. Break off all talks with the Tory government. Total non-co-operation with the Act. Make socialist Heath in repudiation.

4. Full support for a one-day strike on May 25.

by ROGER ROSENTHAL
Socialist Worker Industrial Correspondent

What must be done...
Indian left Communists reap defeat

JOHN ASHDOWN reports from Bombay

Indian left Communists have suffered a major defeat in the Indian elections. The Communist Party of India (CPI), one of the main parties of the Left Front coalition, failed to win any seats in the elections. This is a significant setback for the left-wing parties in India, which have been struggling to gain political power for decades.

Gangsters

Now the CPI has begun to reap what it sowed. For it did not build a disciplined revolutionary workers’ party, but simply a leftist middle-class opposition, entirely focussed on winning power while keeping parliamentaryentrée intact. Its mass movement was not seen as the instrument of power, but as a tool for demonstrating in favour of the CPI in the government.

The state elections have shown who can play this game best. Mrs Gandhi’s Congress Party has always been an underdog, but she has unseated her opponents by paralysing their movement with violence.

The CPI, which was once a major party in Western Europe, has been weakened by the violent suppression of the Indian Army's invasion of Bangladesh. It has been burned, and that his death was part of a series of similar events over the explosion in a Milan bank in July 1969.

The organization argued that even though fascist may have actually committed the murder, it was not the middle class which was really responsible. Though the statement did not name the organization only, the authorities have allegedly selected the members to charge with the offence.

FIVE members of the Italian revolutionary organization Avanguardia Operaia have been charged with murder in the case of a factory worker killed in Turin in 1969.

The charge of false information” implies that the authorities know the name of the people involved.

Breviary

THE 1971 TUC passed a strong resolution on Southern Africa, which they have not yet been able to implement.

A RECENT Trade Union Congress on Southern Africa, sponsored by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, was attended by 40 trade unionists. Subjects discussed ranged from the Ovambaland strike (which is still going on) to how trade unionists can prevent sanctions on South Africa being removed after the Pearson Commission delivers its report.

As in Southern Africa was coveted, discussion centered on how to prevent trade unions from emigrating, and on how to isolate all-white South African unions from the international labour movement.

A NATSOA member told of efforts to take over union offices from members who emigrated. SLADE delegate Mr T Burgers reported that trade unionists were discussing how to ensure that forthcoming conferences would demand the expulsion from the International Transport Federation of the South African Typographers’ Union, which excludes Afrikaans from membership.

Trade unionists ready to fight apartheid

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Ireland: the struggle must go on

ALL the journals of official opinion in Britain and a good number of those in Ireland have been trying to give the impression that the struggle for the Irish people’s rights in the North is over. The British press, leading Labour spokesmen, the Catholic hierarchy, Jack Lynch, John Hume—all make it seem that, were it not for evildoers in the IRA, peace could at last be restored to the province.

Even some sections of the Catholic population in the ghettos of Belfast and Derry are responding to the propaganda of this situation, and in this respect it is to be hoped that Catholic businessmen and trade union militants in Britain are clear about one thing: the struggle in Ireland is not over. The grip of British big business, its Tory government and its army of occupation is as strong as ever. And the results of that grip—high unemployment, low wages, appalling housing conditions, sectarian bitterness, remain unchanged.

For the mass of the population, Protestant as well as Catholic, whether they realise it or not, there is no real way forward unless they kick outside the IRA框架 and run to run things for themselves. Heath’s ‘concessions’ do not represent any sort of move in this direction. The Tories have no intention to change their form of control and exploitation by a different formula. In the past they relied on the money machine and the Orange order to dominate the Six Counties. When the mixed group in Britain and the Ulster Unionist Congress has united along that path. So now Heath is trying to broaden the base of Tory rule by making concessions to the Catholic middle class. But this will in no way improve things for the mass of the Catholic population.

That is why the leaders of the IRA are absolutely correct to continue the struggle. Only if those who have been fighting in one way or another for three years now lay down their arms, they will throw away everything they have gained so far.

Socialists in Britain must be under no illusions. The efforts of the IRA to defend the Catholic community and to throw out those black troopers and their friends from their ranks as they were under rule from Stornm. That is why the International Socialists will continue to give unconditional support to them in their activities.

A real alternative

In the past we have criticised the political ideas and some of the military tactics of the IRA. We do not intend to stop making criticisms but we want to point out that in some ways they are more important now than they ever were before. As sections of the Catholic middle class desert the struggle and try to persuade people in the ghettos to follow their lead, the role of a genuine, democratic socialist revolutionary organisation becomes more and more clear.

Only such an organisation could provide real support for the struggle in the North by linking it up with the struggles of workers in the South of Ireland. Only such an organisation could clearly present a real alternative to those who are either misunderstood and confused Protestant workers at the moment marching behind the banner of William Craig in a desperate attempt to cling to their old privileges.

Again we believe that the present situation shows more clearly than before that some of the military tactics used by both wings of the IRA are counter-productive. For instance, the Provisionals’ tactic of bombing factories and shops is not going to force British imperialism in any way to relax its grip on the economy of the Six Counties. Big business is not going to give control of its investment to the Irish people just because a small part of it has been physically destroyed. But such actions do reinforce the already intense hostility of Protestant workers to republicanism, and the fact is now being used as an excuse to give up the struggle by the more faint hearted sections of the Catholic population.

In Britain the battle has not been over. Once the republican movement in the North of Ireland has made progress, the more the inappropriateness of many of the ideas and tactics of the IRA and its leaders are emphasised. We believe that the partial set-back it has received since direct rule was imposed shows this. Without the building of a socialist alternative that can cater to the needs of the struggle against British domination, such set-backs are inevitable.

But in Britain the main task remains to expose the hollowness of the Opposition’s “peace strategy” and to maintain continued solidarity with those who are struggling. There is a danger that the tremendous movement of opposition to British policy in Ireland will lose momentum. We must not lose our grip. In the last analysis we must do our utmost to resist by renewing our efforts to get the truth about the Irish situation across to the working-class movement of Britain.
HOW THE WORKERS CAN DEFEND THE ACT

HOW we fight the Act?

First we demand that the trade unions stick to the TUC policy of non-co-operation and opposition to legality-binding agreements.

But that is not enough. We must insist that the unions protect their mem-

bers by dealing directly with the individual on the shop floor to the best of their ability.

The Act does not attack the individual worker but aims to destroy the trade union or finance industrial action which the law considers useful. The support of trade union principles, con-

ditions and procedures is to be carried out by the union or its officials would be

The Act leaves us to the individual employer who is the one to whom we would think twice before taking on the plant.

As the Act is aimed more at creating a climate of opinion against militant action rather than using physical coerc-

ion it would strengthen and not weaken the shop stewards.

Blacklisting and sympathy action are being used as a means to weaken the original dispute is considered 'fair'. It is often administered while the labourer is

unimportant that official union backing is given to members who are touch blacklisted workers.

A picket in an unregistered union who 'persuades' a terry maker not to cross a picket is not liable to prosecution. To avoid all terry makers could be given specific instruc-

tions from their union, meeting the TGWU, not to cross picket lines. The Act again moves the attack from the indi-

vidual trade union to the union as a whole.

How will we fight the action on the closed shop? Unions should negotiate secure rights regulations for groups of workers.

These unions should be expelled from the national traditional national union as a whole.

How will we fight the Act?

Complain

Trade unions should defend and ex-

pand the closed shop. Where it exists, non-unionists should not be employed and existing union card-holders should not allow their dues to lapse. The check-off system must be stopped and no man or woman employed without a union card.

There should be regular inspections of union cards and industrial action taken where cards are not produced.

The Act also gives special powers to employers to deal with 'bad Rebel\'. Only certain cate-

gories of workers can complain to the courts if they have been unfairly dismissed—and then there is no legal obligation on the employer to reestablish them.

Withdrawn

The subscription obstructors action 1305 in the last week was smashed. It will be a lesson to all members of the Trades Union Congress that they are not to be allowed to play on the cards.

Thousands of London dockers struck in September for a day and a half before a 19 day to provide for it, to every constituency Labour Party and trade union to take place.

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The Glasgow Rent Strike of 1915 was one of the greatest battles ever fought in Britain over a housing issue. It was also one of the few occasions in which tenants had decisively defeated their landlords. As a result of the strike, the government ordered all working classes to be frozen during the First World War—not just in Glasgow, but over the whole country.

From the start of the war there had been a huge influx of workers into Glasgow. The demands of the war economy had brought thousands of new jobs, especially in the key engineering industries. Housing became desperately short. The landlords entered the opportunity to press home all kinds of ridiculous levies. When a further round of rent increases was proposed in 1915, tenants began to organize resistance.

A rent strike started and achieved widespread support. The story of the strike is vividly told in a book called Revolt On The Clyde, by Willie Gallagher.

Every method was used to build up support for the strike, and to keep up the united spirit of the women involved. There were meetings everywhere in the streets and back courts of Glasgow and Lanarkshire buildings.

The landlords got evictions orders from the courts, but could not put them into effect. As in Northern Ireland today, the approach of the enemy was signalled by the banning of rent strikes. An army of women would emerge from the tenement stairs and drive off the sheriff and his staff, removing them from their abodes in the process.

The landlords, unable to achieve any evictions, decided to sue tenants in the small debt court, and have the employers pay the rent arrears directly out of the landlord's wage packet. The courts were happy to oblige. Orders for the arrest of wages were issued, and at the same time the tenants were charged with the cost of the court action started by the landlords.

At this point the shop stewards in the local shipyards and engineering factories began to take action. In Glasgow at this time there were tremendous industrial militancy. In March 1915 the trade union leaders had made the famous Tram Strike, drawing the whole government. Overcome by the pressure of the strike, the TUC leaders had signed away for the length of the war all defence of ‘restrictive practices’ which the war had brought into being and which the employers were determined to prevent.

This historic settlement had been the result that in Glasgow and in the local industrial area, the shop stewards took over effective leadership of the trade union movement. In a series of bitter unofficial strikes Glasgow workers fought against the loss of wages and for the re-employment of workers, and for wage increases to compensate for soaring food prices.

Many leading shop stewards in Glasgow were revolutionary socialists. As such they were involved in the war which consumed so many working class lives in the defence of capitalist exploitation.

Under this militant, large sections of the Glasgow workers, who used their industrial power to back the rent strike.

On 17 November 1915, 18 munitions workers were summoned in court. They appeared in court and refused to pay the enforced payment of rent. Gallagher describes what happened:

On the day of the trial, Gallagher witnessed a demonstration of the kind of which had never been seen before. From early in the morning the women were marching to the centre of the town where the sheriff’s court is situated.

“Even as they turned, the mighty reinforcements were coming from the workshops and the yards, and in all the directions the dismayed army of the proletariat invaded the centre of the city. All the streets were packed. Traffic was completely stopped.

Now get ready for a 10 bob battle

This coming year will see widespread resistance to the massive increases in working class rents which the Tories intend to force through in the autumn. The organisation of a national campaign on the rents issue has become an urgent necessity.

In one way such a campaign has better prospects than in earlier years. The government is going to make local authorities increase rents according to a single national timetable. So council tenants all over the country will be hit simultaneously, instead of being picked off one area at a time as in the past.

Also the rent increases proposed for the autumn are really extortionate. At least 50% a week for the average council house, and the maximum for any individual house can be as high as a 75% increase per week.

If the local authority has brought in no rent increase since July 1971, then the government will insist that it should put up its rents by £1 a week from October 1972.

In Northern Ireland the current rent and rates strike in the Catholic working class areas has proved a spectacular success. Well over 30,000 of the 50,000 Catholic council tenants have firmly resisted the payment of rents and rates during recent months.

The loss of more than £1 million of revenue has played havoc with the finances of the Unionist government and local authorities. In many areas electricity bills are not being paid either, and official letters to cut off the supply have been held at bay by well-organised defensive action.

The Stormont government hit back by cutting off social security payments and by using the legal system to arrest wages. But the number of workers involved is so large, and their solidarity so strong, that the strike remains unbroken despite repression.

The fightback, that is going on in Northern Ireland would obviously be a great deal harder to organise in Britain—at any rate in the immediate situation. But the Glasgow Rent Strike shows that it has been done before.

The appeal of 1915 is clear. An effective rent strike is a great achievement. But if it is the end that really counts is the industrial power of workers in key sections of industry.

The Glasgow Rent Strike was won because it also became an industrial strike, though it was possible to get industrial action partly because the rent strike had evoked such exceptional fighting spirit and support. The combination of both forms of strike action proved unbeatable.
Once in the system's grip men can be exploited with ease

EVEN before the new tax regulations directed against labour-only subcontracting (the lump) were introduced on Thursday Britain's building employers had devised their tactics for getting around them.

The new rules oblige main contractors to deduct 30 per cent of the subcontract payments they make and turn them over to the Inland Revenue as an advance on income tax. So-called bona fide subcontractors—those who can show tax returns over recent years—will be exempted from the 30 per cent tax. But, as a director of one leading West Country firm of builders and civil engineers explains, you have three choices. You either make sure that your labour master is killed out as a registered company (costing which is typically about 40 per cent more than the original lump) or you employ less legally defined 'self-employed' operators. Or, like John Lavington on their £13 million St Thomas Hospital contract in London, you engage a sub-contractor directly and allow him to decide how the lump is treated for tax purposes.

"Double-dipping" on labour-only contracts will extend to include even the costs of petrol, oil, hire of tools and equipment, and business rates. And, as usual, the happy knowledge that you avoid paying the country faster than the tax man anyway.

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BIRMINGHAM: VICTORY ON THE SITES

RECENT pronouncements by Martin Grafton, boss of Britain's building employers' federation, have focussed the world's attention on the serious problem that exists within the British construction industry. This is not the alarming number of bridges and tower blocks which fall down, the low productivity, the conditions of high unemployment, or even the terrible toll of industrial accidents.

But for Grafton, the current concern is the disturbing number of communist agitators trained, it is claimed, in East Germany, and sent back to this country to interfere with the normal civilised progress of British construction.

Grafton's information is very wrong. The agitators have actually been trained in better schools, all of them owned by members of Grafton's own federation.

The real problem is that Grafton has not been making the preposterous allegations that something very unusual has happened which affects the whole future of trade unionism and the British construction industry.

In fact, for the past year, building workers have organised on a city by city basis and beaten the local monopoly employer. They have seen the council of the lump off his and all the other main sites and extracted a revolutionary new pay deal.

The pay and conditions deal signed with Bryant's last month involves a 30 per cent increase in the basic wage (formerly £20) are now guaranteed £30 per week, and this represents an increase of just under £17.50.

General provisions in the deal provide that the company will observe the 40- hour week, and the new agreement that, there will be 100 per cent increase in pay, which will be seen by the courts, the police, anything, to prevent such a deal. Bryant replied to the effect that he had done all these things and more when he had been in office.

He said he had no alternatives and that the union had failed to make a statement that they could in no way be associated with the terms of the Birmingham deal.

Pathetic

As Bryant's employers were forced to jock their national wage offer up to a still pathetic £46, his comments can only look as if they are using a set of figures, found itself in the headlines situation where no clerk of works from Barking monolith ever comes near to working for any other employer in the area. The building contractors have repeatedly refused to offer a contract to workers who had been sacked on the state of Gascoigne that there was no labour-only contracting and no jerry-building. To a degree, least, Mr Bryant was informed.

The men themselves started to show some concern over the poor working conditions and to ask awkward questions about why Barking Council seemed to encourage such a situation, and if all the council's contracts forbid the lump, why was this so-called militancy of labour used widely.

Then the federation steward was asked for representations two other men who had booked off and gone for a drink. All three were dismissed.

Happily for the construction business, all is now back to normal on Gascoigne. The scheme will be completed in the spirit with which it was started. Building workers, council tenants and the Borough of Barking housing revenue account (already generously milked by banking the other parasitical) alone will suffer.

Maybe it is these minor factors which help to explain the appearance of certain ascendant intellectuals in the area, takaing £20 million pounds, council complacency and elegance backhanders. But these will be greeted with the same bureaucratic silence as usual.

Building Workers' Charter
THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE
Saturday 29 April, from 11am to 5pm
Trinity Hall, Suite, Smallbrook Ringway, Birmingham.
Delegates to be welcomed by Ken Barlow, Midlands Secretary UCATT Information from D Duggen, 22 Duffield Road, Salford 6, Lancs.

BIRMINGHAM: VICTORY ON THE SITES

The shabby work that boosts builders' profits

IT IS not long since the £8 million Gascoigne housing estate in Barking, in London, was talked of as a marvellous project of slum replacement. A fine, model complex of council flats would rise where once there was squatter. A new life would start there for many of East London's young married couples.

The construction work is mostly finished now. And already the dreams are shattered. Quite simply, the working class people of Barking have been cheated, with the usual efficiency of big business construction, it will not be many years before the 'new, modern, Gascoigne housing estate' will have the same "grand".

Late in January the borough architect, Matthew Marxby, announced an unofficial inquiry into work standards on the Gascoigne estate. The inquiry had concluded that nothing was amiss, concrete of perfect noot strength was being poured into the foundations of the last part of the site to be built.

The concrete is deliberately watered down to reduce the spread materials' cost. In defence of the most elementary building practices and regulations, no concrete is tested for strength.

The contracts specify that pipe and sewer trenches are to be dug to a certain depth. The contractor is paid accordingly for the labour and pipes involved. If he can get away with shallower trenches his profits are of course much greater.

On Gascoigne some trenches were due to be 15 feet below ground. The excavator used to do the work simply couldn't dig that deep.

Pipe which are supposed to be cast iron end up as soft glass, with consequent savings on materials for the contractor. Little or no reinforced steel is put into the sidewalks. Wood- work is inane timber, cheap but prone to warping after the contractor has gone.

The getter for one promised proved rather difficult to lie into the surface water mains. It was quickly announced as the nearest sewer main. In the summer, of course, the stink will be widely noticeable.

This situation has not arisen as some accident. Main contractor for the job at Carton Construction, a subsidiary of the giant Trafalgar House Investments, have three of the financial press and the City of London.

This firm has used every known dubious labour practice—from soft fighting contractors to worst labour conditions to getting rid of the few trade unionists who try to organise the site. It is not unusual, found itself in the headlines situation where no clerk of works from Barking monolith ever comes near to working for any other employer in the area. The building contractors have repeatedly refused to offer a contract to workers who had been sacked on the state of Gascoigne that there was no labour-only contracting and no jerry-building. To a degree, least, Mr Bryant was informed.

The men themselves started to show some concern over the poor working conditions and to ask awkward questions about why Barking Council seemed to encourage such a situation, and if all the council's contracts forbid the lump, why was this so-called militancy of labour used widely.

Then the federation steward was asked for representations two other men who had booked off and gone for a drink. All three were dismissed.

Happily for the construction business, all is now back to normal on Gascoigne. The scheme will be completed in the spirit with which it was started. Building workers, council tenants and the Borough of Barking housing revenue account (already generously milked by banking the other parasitical) alone will suffer.

Maybe it is these minor factors which help to explain the appearance of certain ascendant intellectuals in the area, takaing £20 million pounds, council complacency and elegance backhanders. But these will be greeted with the same bureaucratic silence as usual.
WITH 150,000 steel workers demanding a substantial pay rise from the British Steel Corporation the industry could soon be a battleground. But one group of men will be absolutely determined to prevent this. They are the leadership of the biggest steel union—the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation—and have a long tradition of close co-operation with the industry’s bosses.

For when 500 crane drivers at the Corby steelworks were sacked for going on strike the union’s general secretary said: “This is the right action for the management to take. Blackmail is an ugly thing and it is no less ugly if it is operated by trade unionists. The only way to meet blackmail is to stand up and fight it.”

The outburst was nothing new. The whole history and recent activity of this union has shown it to be dominated by a right-wing leadership utterly opposed to militancy and ruthlessly implementing one of the most undemocratic rule books in the whole experience of trade unions.

The appalling conduct of this régime has been revealed in its manifest failure to tackle two of the most serious problems facing its steelworkers membership—nondemocracy and pay.

Since the steel industry was nationalised in 1967 30,000 jobs have been permanently axed and 12,000 men sacked. Between May 1970 and May 1971 underemployment among steelworkers increased by 82 per cent and in the past few months that trend has been accelerated.

The union’s reaction has been to do very little. On the contrary it is about to blame for the hardships its members suffer.

Not only has the union negotiated productivity deals that have thrown its own members into the ranks of the unemployed but it has refused any real fight against sackings caused or threatened by the vile of the profitable parts of the nationalised steel industry to private firms.

MISERABLE

The full extent of the union’s devotion to the interests of Big Business can be quickly judged from its recent refusal of a demand by some of its members that it oppose privatisation interests being allowed to buy shares in the British Steel Corporation.

During the steel strike the union agreed to a new pay deal for its 130,000 members. Although the steel bosses are the leading Labour Party member Del Vallese called to the national press conference after the settlement was “reasonable”.

The steel strike cost the union 6.6 per cent and substantially below the year’s rate of profits the bosses.

The bosses of the British Steel Corporation have used this miserable offer in the near century that it would be reasonably acceptable to members as a principle objection to strikes and hasn’t had any results.

The union’s hostility to militancy absolutistic and is even written into its notorious rule book. It shall not be permissible for any member or members to strike at any time without the authority and sanction of the executive committee.

And this hasn’t been given for the past 45 years.

But the union’s members do take their union seriously. The workers attitude is shown the union immediately for the past 45 years.

The attack on the right of ‘blackmail’ and their leaders suspended from holding office, while others have been condemned as ‘maknees of mischief’ and ‘troublemakers’.

The union’s opposition to militancy is constantly documented in its executive committee’s report. These are full of complaints against strikers and official warnings from the general secretary ordering immediate recommissioning of strike action.

The union leadership is also opposed to militancy. General secretary Sir Lincoln Evans, once explained why: “We believe in trade unionism—all, without which a trade union becomes a rabble. If membership has to be sacrificed in order to maintain its . . . better.”

None of the moderate national and many of the local agreements the union negotiated and insists are carried out in a “disciplined” manner are referred to the membership for approval or rejection. The union leadership simply doesn’t allow them any choice in the matter.

Evans once explained: “It is not laudable in a society in which the responsibility for making decisions must be thrown on the masses that they have no opportunity for having the case argued; it is the slumber of it.”

Inevitably, of course, this attitude drifted towards its logical conclusion. If the workers weren’t capable of deciding upon the merits of an agreement after it had been negotiated then what was wrong in demanding that they approve the agreement even before it had been decided. The result is that for nearly a year the union’s rulers brutally declared:

RULES

The executive must receive adequate assurance that the principles upon which our negotiating machinery rests will be scrupulously and the decisions arrived at by duly elected representatives observed before any further negotiations can take place.

The attitude of the union is the executive will require agreement.

These must be accepted in advance.

If they are not disciplinary action will be taken.

No strikes must occur.

If they do, disciplinary action will be taken.

Naturally, many union members have fought against these policies and in buses have therefore constructed a system where by this is not allowed.

This process began in the 1870s. Then the biggest steel union was the National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. It was totally controlled by a gang of right-wing officials who, when challenged by rising opinion, simply dissolved the union and formed a new one: the Association of Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain. It had disbanded the former to the British Iron and Steel and Kindled Trades Association and recently to the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. Every time the name changed so did the policies.

The union holds no annual conference. The executive committee has power to remove anyone from office or prevent them from holding or standing for office on the vague grounds that they have “aggravated the work of the union or have otherwise conducted themselves in a manner prejudicial to the interests of the union or have reason to believe them to be guilty of such acts that they are likely to prejudice the interests of the union or have reason to believe them to be guilty of such acts that they are likely to prejudice the interests of the union.”

The union also has power to prevent any candidate from standing for office on the vague grounds that it might be thought that his conduct has discredited or count to the interests of the Association.” The régime, armed with these rules, does not have to prove any allegation. Appeals against the decision of the executive can be made only to the executive itself.

The executive also has the power to close any branch or order the removal of any officer, delegate or representative.

Steelworkers will face many new problems. 1972. The urgent task of overthrowing the union leadership and making its trade unions democratic will be one of the biggest jobs.

It must be done. Already many militant skilled and produce a product. Another two millions must be in the fight to retain control of the trade unions, if the workers are to prevent their leaders from doing everything to stop them.”

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ARTISTS in Eastern Europe have learnt to be discreet about politics. While a steroid and anesthetising film industry has its studios and the cinemas, oppositional artists have returned to allegorical novels and privately circulated, carbon-copied notes.

Within Russia the thunder of the Bolshoi and the Red Army choir has almost drowned the cryptic and ambiguous silences of the poets and the bleak ironies of the film makers. In the West, socialists have to politically de-code the films and novels which reach us, often via the CIA.

The important Russian film director and social critic, Stanislav Avadjan, has created a new image of the revolutionary montage figure. A 'socialist realism' montage figure 'Korolyov' uses Reich's life and death to provide its theme.

These include attacks on the failures of the Yugoslavian revolution, the rise of the 'Red Bourgeoisie' and the Cult of the Personality.

Its stars are a murderous Russian ice-skater and a not so sexual revolutionary who decoles his revolt is a 'teddy toy ballroom'. And it's edited like a Marxist Monty Python, as a series of plays which wrinkle, manipulate and release, creating a visual structure which echoes Reich's own ideas about the nervous system.

But no matter how it does it and its viewers are brown-beaten into a disappointingly right-wing view of America, Russia and Reich. Makaveyev extracts from the American-steam machine, the now apolitical and exploitative aspects of the sexual liberation industry, thereby denying the entire first half of Reich's active life.

GOD IN A DOCK

His American documentary sequences delight in the chaos and extremism of American life. His sexual travels are delightful, meaningful, a scabbling of ideas and a look to provide them with no more illuminating than Pathe News.

But it's a grotesque of America and to say America's grotesque is not new or enough. We see people nonsensically sexing may editors' penises rather than Black Panthers, we see public nudity as a symbol rather than a war, we see New York painter who dabble in 'Women's Lib' rather than an actual woman's movement. It's a crazy world and a hopeless one.

Reich's remaining followers, with the exception of producers, publishers and enthusiasts for flying saucers, seem far better off in the rest of western Europe than in the U.S., a penitentiary where he died a judicial suicide. The same is true for his works which burned his banned books shows just how paranoid-making.

McCarthy's fifties America actually was.

Just as, in the forties and fifties, Freud's revolutionary ideas were used to fit a highly profitable office 'psycho-analysis' service for the anxious American businessmen, so in the sixties, Reich's socialist ideas have been abandoned by his followers who provide instead expensive encounter therapy for the worried flower child.

Reich did argue that this system's ideological forms of power are anchored in the character structure of the individual, that ideology is not only embedded in the mind as false consciousness but could produce physical and emotional effects, tense muscles, perceiving ulcers and a type of person out of touch with their emotions and incapable of sexual release.

But until his death, he specifically argued against the liberal sex reformers who said that all you needed was better sexual techniques, that you could fuck your way to freedom. Instead he tried to make a materialist analysis of psychology into how it was that the individual's personality was shaped, how it was that social and economic structures of society and how one could be changed without changing the other.

These ideas are tossed about in a curious Russian film which intercuts with the American version of a Yugoslavian film and ethnic violence, the seduction of a Soviet ice-skater, nameless voice of an1918. He is pursued by Milena, a Yugoslavian and a notion that it has been an essay with a stream of milima men and a multicultural charabanc which yields drunken insults against the Red Bourgeoisie.

The Leninist ice-skater is furibished and pompos, full of patristicism and a Marxist platitudes about Soviet achievements and Socialist Internationalism. He is bewildered by her passionate demands that life itself and men and women's relationship to each other must change after the Revolution. He does not use liberation of spirits to combine harvesters. But when he finds that he's been repressed emotions, he becomes uncontrollable.

It was a real revolution. But which from the moment it was launched against Milena, beheads her with one of his ice skates.

BANNED

Makaveyev wants to attack the western film industry in Russia by suggesting, like Reich did about Hitler, that publishers seek to subordinate themselves before great leaders is connected with sexual repression, particularly an authoritarian family upbringing.

The film was banned in Yugoslavia, remains a disappointment in Britain. It ended up viewing sexuality as either painful or insufficient. Muses of America is not so muted and its attacks on Stalin so cut, that one might expect from a Yugoslav liberal intellectual, it is hostile to social realism.

The part of Reich's life which is of most interest is amputated in the conventional picture of a mad scientist. The film skates over Reich's ideas, giving the impression, the beta version, which is that all that's lacking in Eastern Europe is some missing transvestite, and publishers of Reich's What is Consciousness were told by the KGB they had to sell the pamphlet. People are here for the sex not the politics.

The task of combining them politically, in real movements, rather than merely justifying them visually, is not made easier by this film.

East, west: no home for Reich

THE PERIOD of Reich's exile from 1938 onwards in the United States is better known than his earlier work as a Marxist in the 1920s and early 30s. In 1934 the United States Food and Drug Administration placed an injunction against the distribution of his 'orgon' and 'orgone' apparatus.

When his work and equipment were destroyed they took a group of workers who worked in Berlin attacking reparative institutions. Much of the equipment was later sold into England.

Reich joined the Austrian Communist Party in 1926 after seeing two workers killed in a small technical dispute. In 1935 a small group of workers came out in solidarity, the police opened fire and several dozens were killed.

He had already learnt about the connection between the sexual, social and psychological conditions of workers in a concrete way as Freud's assistant in a Vienna free clinic. Most working-class patients who lived in one room, the birth of a child could be a disaster, contraceptive information was non-existent and many women died from abortion. Freud resigned and went to the U.S. in 1918. The one in Vienna had been preceded in Berlin, where it had met with far less resistance from the medical and political authorities.

Through his work, he began to feel disillusioned with some of Freud's ideas. He became convinced that rather than defending civilization against the individual, evil lay in institutions and social organisations. He began to resist as it was an illusion to make the psychological misery by just opening clinics—the patients were returned to the poor and middle class which had created the system.

When he joined the Communist Party he was invited to give a series of lectures for workers and students on psychoanalysis. He started feeling that he was talking over his audience's heads. He dropped the academic phrases and made it more down to earth, speaking about living conditions and their consequences in sexual terms.

Reich's socialist society for sex advice came out of some lectures. In 1929 six sex education centres were opened with psychoanalysts and charlatans and agitation began to legalise abortion. In September of that year Reich went to Russia where he met Vera Schlesin whose experiments in child education he describes in his Sexual Revolution. His Dialectical Materialism and Psychoanalysis was published in Moscow, in Russia the early debate on sexual liberation was hardening and Reich's guidance on the link between the repression of youthful sexuality and the acceptance of authority which he felt was necessary to change the family as well as the organizations of production and working conditions was increasing embarrassing. This, combined with the party's fear of the Academy, which would challenge the authority of the communists, led to the banning of his books.

In the wilderness Reich found ironically that political arguments about how to organize persists in the same-sexual revolution that the anarchists who were against the existence of any party, he could not discuss, although, although he did not fully agree with him.

He then joined the Austrian Communist Party. He experienced the disillusionment of the period after the Moscow Congress of the Communist International. The Cold War. Impounded in the USA for some time, he was put in a mental hospital and his organs bequeathed to dissection, Reich was diagnosed as a sado-masochist and sexual anachronism, that he was read as "legally insane and competent." He died in prison in 1957.
The International Socialists is a democratic organization whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles. Its members are willing to make contributions and to work in one of its organizations.

We believe in independent working-class action in the struggle for society's ownership and its replacement by a classless society produced for use and not for profit.

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

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

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

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

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

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organization in this country we pay the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international of which all friends of the kindred spirit of our American socialist tradition may be members, regardless of number of other socialist organizations through which they may work.

We believe in the necessity to unite national workers with the day-by-day struggles of working people and there is no other way to do this except by the formation and support of a new Socialist party to tend to improve the position and self-confidence of the working class.

We support the Print and File Control of the trade unions to prevent the political election of all-time officials.

Against secret negotiations. We believe that all workers should be able to accept or reject by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism and the number of these unions.

Against anti-trade union lies and anti-

There are 15 branches in the following areas:

SCOTLAND
Glasgow
Edinburgh
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Glasgow S
St Andrews
NORTH EAST
Durham
Newcastle
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Tynemouth
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NORTH
Belfast
Bradford
Exeter
Halifax
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Leeds
Mid Derbyshire
Grantham
Sheffield
York
NORTH WEST
Manchester
Chester
Bolton
Rochdale
Wigan
Manchester (Dewsbury & Redcar)
Lancashire
Plymouth
South
Southampton
East
Bridgend
Bolton
Brighton
Crawley
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Perth
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Leeds
Luton
Paddington
St Albans
South East
South
West
Woolwich
Uxbridge
Birkenhead
Birmingham
Coventry
Reading
Southampton
VITAL MEETING of all 15 members Sunday, 10th April 6.30 pm at 5 Cottons Gardens, EDINBURGH.

WHAT'S ON

COPY FOR WHAT'S ON MUST ARRIVE FIRST POST TO HENRY LAMB, WILLS STREET, NEWCASTLE. NOTICES ARE CHARGED AT 50p PER LINE. SIMILARLY FOR WHAT'S ON. ADDITIONS AFTER 5PM INSCRIPTIONS WITHOUT PAYMENT—INVICTES CANNOT BE HONORED.

MEETINGS

MAY DAY MEETINGS reach the biggest audience on the left through Solidarity in the Trades. You can't afford to miss it. Come early, bring your union banner, Trade union badge, newspaper, posters. Entry, in the docks. Small fee, or book-space problem. What's in it for you. The Morning Star. 18th May, 11.30 a.m. In St Andrews (Southampton) under the old arches. 18th May, 3 p.m. at 5 Cottons Gardens, EDINBURGH.

BOOZE speakeasy begins Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Fridays 3.30 p.m. Phone 440 5464.

COMRADES (female wanted for large, unpretentious party 40.000 strong. Ten '000-50.000. Address: COMRADES, 54, St John St, LONDON, EC1.

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SWANSEA's Folk singer Alex Gorb and I will be performing at the Big Head's, Sunday, 10th April. Join the fun! WELCOME to SWANSEA'S OWN DIAMOND HEAD! A 69th in 130 years, Swansea.

IS SOOK speaks heavy Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Fridays 3.30 p.m. Phone 440 5464.

COPYING for your local daily paper is a big operation. We need a structure that develops all our members. There will be a time when we need Factory branches when we have
Delegate voting during the conference debate on Ireland

many thousands of members. The main problem now is the integration of new members.

NUR shop steward Andreas Negliamtsos told delegates that without factory branches we would never have 20,000 members.

The key factor is how workers at work stand up to their task. In the factory you can approach debates on issues like racism

and Ireland on the most favourable basis. It is an evasion of responsibility to avoid building factory branches—that is where the power is.

Mike McKechnie (Eastfield) said we needed to fuse the theory of the 'radical intellectual' with the practice of workers. Factory branches meant a major revision of Marxism.

Colin Barker (Manchester) said Mike McKechnie was living in the last century. "It was ridiculous to say there are no working class intellectuals."

He pointed out that in many areas many workers had travelled 10 or 20 miles and the factory was the only place where they could be brought together politically and industrially.

Isolated

Cohoby Williamsson (Swansea) said the revolutionary party was the key way to break down the divisions between workers and other sections of the working class by uniting them by separating off workers—neither will you harm the workers into shape.

Factory branches are schizophrenic. We must transform the colonial situation and unite the workers and workers.'

From the building worker Gerry Kelly said: We need to build industrial strength in the factories and intellectuals in the workshops.

We need factory branches in the long term. If we don't we could isolate people from the politics of the revolutionary party.

But Coventry car worker Dave Edwards thought the party was "too isolated". He went to a Coventry car branch than to a 'cell'.

"This is an industrial party. It has to be a national party. It has to just make propaganda. We must build contact. Coventry factory branches must work under the discipline of the town branch but we must intrude in factories with political ideas.

WOMEN: EXPOSING THE MYTHS

DISCUSSING the report from the women's sub-committee, conference decided that the main emphasis of work should be towards working-class women.

A successful Coventry resolution on IS: male propaganda should 'have the aim of impressing and counteracting the myths spread by capitalists about women and between these myths as women's everyday lives, show the validity of socialist ideas.

INTRODUCING a report on Ireland, Chris Harrison said that the abolition of Stormont was a decisive victory in the Irish struggle that opened up great possibilities and great.

"Direct rule is a paradox. It was brought about by the military activity of the IRA and that is the only possible way Ireland has been occupied and the structure of Irish society has come into view."

"But direct rule makes the issues clearer. Those who want independence will be pushed towards becoming a party but it is bound to parasite. Opponents of direct rule will take up the struggle again, but we can't be made to see the connection between unemployment and imperialism.

We are speaking to solidarity action in Britain and Britain must continue to support the anti-direct rule movement. We have a real role to play in showing that direct rule is imperialist rule.

The St Boniface Amendment was defeated and the conference voted against sustaining direct rule by a 2,000 to 77 vote. Transport House said: "The National Executive has no one group position re:-

decolonisation to the likely effects of the Bill after October 1, 1973. The ESRC should now discuss the political and economic implications of the Bill and take note of the report's conclusions about the likely effects of the Bill and take note of the report's conclusions about the likely effects of the Bill after October 1, 1973."

It was agreed that the conference could consider the implications of the Bill and for the right to self-determination of Ireland, for the British imperialist domination North and South.

A speech on Leopold's theme that the British government should be held accountable for the Irish revolution of 1916, which ended in 1922, was vigorously opposed by the Policing of the Anti-International League.

The conference said the attitude to such incidents as Aldershot were not based on morals, Chris Bousfield pointed out the shooting of John Taylor. An integral part of building the workers' movement in Ireland is to criticise the republican movement and its inability to defeat imperialism in Ireland.

Brian Truscott said against unopposed force or the IRA means an understanding of the oppressive role of the British Army. We had to support the armed struggle against their oppression.

He said that the distinction between offensive and defensive action was false. The IRA has the overwhelming support of the Catholics. It does have a mass base but we cannot impose conditions for a ceasefire.

The conference heard that attacks on the British Army were to be constant, as long as the army are in Ireland. Tony Clifford said we are fighting for a smashing unconditional and uncontrolled withdrawal of British troops and to campaign for the right to self-determination of Ireland, free from imperialist domination North and South.

The conference accepted an amendment that the conference was not in favour of the Bill. The transfer of assets from landlords in Ireland to British royalty was to call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops and to campaign for the right to self-determination of Ireland, free from imperialist domination North and South.

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It was agreed that the conference could consider the implications of the Bill and for the right to self-determination of Ireland, for the British imperialist domination North and South.

A speech on Leopold's theme that the British government should be held accountable for the Irish revolution of 1916, which ended in 1922, was vigorously opposed by the Policing of the Anti-International League.

The conference said the attitude to such incidents as Aldershot were not based on morals, Chris Bousfield pointed out the shooting of John Taylor. An integral part of building the workers' movement in Ireland is to criticise the republican movement and its inability to defeat imperialism in Ireland.

Brian Truscott said against unopposed force or the IRA means an understanding of the oppressive role of the British Army. We had to support the armed struggle against their oppression.

He said that the distinction between offensive and defensive action was false. The IRA has the overwhelming support of the Catholics. It does have a mass base but we cannot impose conditions for a ceasefire.

The conference heard that attacks on the British Army were to be constant, as long as the army are in Ireland. Tony Clifford said we are fighting for a smashing unconditional and uncontrolled withdrawal of British troops and to campaign for the right to self-determination of Ireland, free from imperialist domination North and South.

The conference accepted an amendment that the conference was not in favour of the Bill. The transfer of assets from landlords in Ireland to British royalty was to call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops and to campaign for the right to self-determination of Ireland, free from imperialist domination North and South. This was rejected on the grounds that the British government had failed to take action to support the liberation movement in Ireland and Ireland is to be colonised.

But the conference resolved that the work of the Anti-International League in Britain must be increased and that the conference should support the work of the Anti-International League in Britain.

It was pointed out that the conference had only just drawn the Bill and it is not possible to give advice to local authorities on a national level.

This was a call to action among Labour councillors. The conference has lost any confidence in the local trading standards. The conference was unanimous that the conference should support the work of the Anti-International League in Britain and pledged in Britain to develop the work of the Anti-International League.

It also called for an explanation of the political question in the SWP's Women's paper. The delegates rejected a motion that said "the conference is against" it and a motion to support the conference campaign at the Anti-International League in Britain. The conference voted for the conference campaign at the Anti-International League in Britain.

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Students prepare for vital conference

THIS YEAR'S National Union of Students' Conference is the most important it has ever faced.

The government is attacking all forms of spending on education, health and welfare. In education, its long-term goal is to limit grants for students in higher education to service the needs of industry, but without increasing the cost. We need without provoking a militant student revolt, the TUC (first decided to establish the "union for students" that regard it as a sort of club for students) to turn them into safe social clubs where funds would be spent on expensive athletic pursuits rather than on supporting striking workers or African liberation fighters.

Students in striking action with the effects of the policies adopted by the National Union of Students are absolutely crucial.

The NUS leadership mobilised the membership on the eve of the conference. On the eve of the conference, the NUS leadership mobilised the membership on the eve of the conference. In fact Tory attacks are dangerous. If students in striking action put to the TUC a political attack, we will be mobilised in support of the campaign. The National Union of Students' Conference is the most important it has ever faced.

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Angry teachers turn their backs on Mrs Thatcher

BLACKPOOL—Even the smile of Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Secretary of State for Education, could not persuade 1,500 teachers gathered at the teachers' conference on Tuesday to reverse their strike action. The teachers turned their backs on the prime minister, prompting a walk-out of some delegates.

A telephone strike in the printing industry has forced the Daily Worker to postpone publication of today's issue.

The final report of the employers' conference, which ended last week, is to be published in the near future.

A rumour of a strike by the National Union of Teachers was denied by the union.

The Daily Worker reported that teachers were angry because they had not been consulted on the terms of the agreement.

The strike, which began on Monday, is expected to last for at least a week.

A national strike by teachers was also reported to be planned for next week.

A large demonstration is expected in London later today.

The Daily Worker reported that the government was preparing to introduce new education legislation, but the details have not been announced.

The Daily Worker also reported that the government was considering introducing a new education law to allow schools to charge fees.

The Daily Worker reported that the government was planning to introduce a new education policy to allow schools to charge fees.

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