

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 198 5 DECEMBER 1970 6d (2½p)

Rank and file unite to KILL THE BILL All out on Tuesday

THE NATIONWIDE STRIKE on Tuesday is the most important political and industrial action by the labour movement for 25 years and more. Hundreds of thousands of workers from every industry and every part of Britain will down tools and demonstrate their determination to kill the Tories' anti-union Bill.

The millionaire press, the Tory leaders, Labour's right wing and the TUC General Council have all condemned the strike. With such company against us, we are more than ever convinced that the strike is right.

The press shrieks about 'an attack on democracy', about a small minority trying to overturn the wishes of the majority. They tell us that the Tories have a mandate to introduce their harsh penalties against trade unionists.

They forget to tell you that the Tories were elected on a minority vote last June. Some mandate! But that's not to say we think a Labour government today would be acting any differently to the Tories.

Opened the door

It was the Wilson government that opened the door for the Tories by attempting to force through its infamous document In Place of Strife that differed only in details from the Tory Bill.

There are other minorities the press don't tell you about. The financiers and moneylenders who export capital and deliberately create a crisis every time the most timid of Labour governments is elected. Are they friends of democracy?

The captains of industry, the bosses of GEC-AEI for example, who close down factories and throw thousands onto the dole queues. No one elects them, yet they have more power than 600 MPs put together. Are they friends of democracy?

Ignore all the ranting about 'democracy'. On Tuesday we are counterposing the democratic decision to strike by hundreds of thousands of workers to the right of the 2 per cent of the population that owns 80 per cent of the country's wealth to take away our hard-won trade union rights.

Fine strike leaders

These 'democrats' want to fine and even jail strike leaders, smash the closed shop, ban sympathy strikes and break the back of shopfloor organisation. We have to mobilise to stop them.

Tuesday is the beginning, not the end of the struggle. We must prepare for bigger strikes and demonstrations in the New Year. We must demand that our union leaders declare NOW that they will fight the Bill and even if it does become law will refuse to co-operate with it.

Working class action in other countries shows that massive defiance can make such laws unworkable. What will the British employing class do - jail nine million trade unionists?

We have a big task on our hands, to convince millions more working men and women to join the fight. And that fight must be a political one, against the Tories, the Labour fakers and the whole rotten capitalist system, not just the Bill.

But 8 December is a great start. To all those striking and marching on Tuesday, we say: Well done - and go on fighting.

DEC 8



LONDON MARCH 8 DECEMBER: assemble Tower Hill 8.30am. March via Fleet Street to Speakers Corner.
Lobby parliament from 3pm. SOGAT rally Central Hall, Westminster, 2.30pm

Socialist Worker

6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN
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Councils of action must lead the fight

THE TORY ATTACK on the unions is an attack on the whole working class. It demands a response by the whole working class. The experience of workers faced with anti-union laws, both in Britain and abroad, shows one thing clearly. The only effective policy to defeat the laws is to be prepared to break them and to support all who come up against the laws. Nothing else will do the trick.

Such a policy cannot be sustained simply by fine resolutions and bold speeches. In every locality, we must strive to get together all those trade unionists — regardless of union or industry — who agree that the laws must be broken.

We need COUNCILS OF ACTION whose aim is the destruction of the proposed legislation.

What sort of body must these be? They must be authentic working-class organisations. To mean anything, they must be composed of delegates from the factories, the union branches and districts. These delegates must agree on one central question: the urgent need to fight against the introduction and operation of these laws, with all the weapons in the working-class arsenal.

Their guiding principle must be: we do not respect laws introduced by the bosses to attack the working class.

One thing they must not be is talking shops. That is why we proposed the title Councils of ACTION. They must be open to all trade unionists who are ready to contribute to meaningful action to defeat the laws. There must be no kow-towing to individuals because they are full-time officials. All workers' representatives who pledge themselves to assist in action must be invited to take part.

What must the Councils of Action do? They must, firstly, organise among local trade unionists, to explain the legislation and the need to oppose it. This means organising public meetings, leafletting industrial estates, visits to factories and union branches.

The councils must be outward looking. Whatever happens we must not be content with organising ourselves!

Secondly, they must co-ordinate the class for action against the laws — like the 8 December strikes — to make sure the widest possible section of workers hear and are involved in these actions.

Thirdly, they must press for all unions to adopt policies of total opposition to the laws, and non-co-operation with the state. They must fight to win stewards' meetings, branch and districts to these policies, to maintain the pressure on the national union leadership.

The need for these Councils of Action to fight in defence of working-class rights is urgent. The Tories are pushing ahead with their policies. We must not let them set the tempo.

THE CASE FOR SOCIALIST POLITICS

THE INTRODUCTION of anti-union laws is forcing many workers to see the need for political as well as trade union action. The reasons are simple.

In recent years many sections of workers have found that their industrial strength has enabled them to keep up with rising prices. The nature of the government's own measures are witness to this. After all, in the 1930s the employers did not consider anti-trade union legislation or an incomes policy to keep wages down — mass unemployment did the trick much more effectively.

Similarly, speed-up could take place then without meeting much resistance. Now, however, employers try to buy off such resistance with the sugar on the bitter pill of productivity dealing.

But not all sections of workers have enough power to keep up with inflation. Some, like busmen or teachers, cannot directly hit profits when they strike and they tend to fall behind in the struggle for decent wages.

And those who cannot work — the old, the sick, the unemployed — suffer as prices rise and their benefits do not. The Tory attack on the welfare state can only make their conditions worse.

Political action by workers is needed to: resist anti-union laws, support groups of workers without strength themselves, end health service charges, raise pensions and welfare benefits to a decent level and halt the government policy of increasing unemployment.

But let us be clear what we mean by political action.

People like Harold Wilson and Barbara Castle, pioneers of anti-union laws only eighteen months ago say now that only by voting for them in the next election can the anti-union laws and welfare cuts be ended.

But workers do not need to wait five years for the privilege of putting a cross on a piece of paper for a candidate who, when elected, will ignore the wishes of ordinary workers.

When groups of workers went on token strikes to demand improved wages for nurses, that was political action. Workers were trying to impose policies in the interests of the mass of the population on the government.

The 8 December strike is a political action. Again, it involves an attempt to make the interests of workers effective at a national level.

It is this kind of political action that will defeat the anti-union laws and welfare cuts.

But millions of workers who will fight to defend their own economic conditions are not yet prepared to support such political action. Even among those striking on 8 December are many who believe that politics means dependence on the parliamentary Labour Party.

That is why a revolutionary organisation has to be built within the working class. In every factory, mine, office and building site there needs to be militants who, at the same time as defending the economic interests of particular groups of workers, argue for united working-class action — in the short term to defeat the Tory measures, in the longer term to carry through a complete transformation of society.

ANGRY PO MEN



Post Office Engineers marching to parliament on Monday to protest at attacks on the Post Office

ON THE MARCH

by Jim Higgins POEU

POST OFFICE ENGINEERS and their union have not been noted for their militancy. A civil service tradition and a marked tendency for workers to forego the immediate benefits of comparatively high wages in return for job security with a pension at the end have contributed to this history.

In 1969, however, three years of productivity bargaining and the effects of a Labour government culminated in the first official POEU strike in 84 years.

Speed-up, loss of job satisfaction, ill-thought out and even more badly implemented changes of practice all contributed to a significant hardening of attitude on the part of engineers.

Wedgwood Benn during his time as PMG confirmed our worst fears when he suggested, in a typical piece of technological flummery, that the telephone service would be doubled in the next 10 years without any increase in staff.

The change from a civil service



HALL: a lucrative farewell

department to a public corporation, with its consequent upheaval and uncertainty, merely added fuel to the flames of militancy.

A growing disenchantment with the Post Office found expression in the phrase: 'If they want us to work under factory style conditions then they must expect factory style responses.'

The election of a Tory government has strengthened the position of the militants. The government's pre-election cavorting had included countless references to denationalisation of the more profitable parts of the Post

Office, followed closely by a tightening of budgetary control and, in some areas, loose talk about redundancy.

The arbitrary sacking of the chairman of the Post Office Board has been met with a massive series of lightning stoppages all over the country. This is not because PO engineers either know or particularly care about Lord Hall.

HANDSHAKE

The general feeling about him is that his £70,000 golden handshake is more money than they could expect to earn in a lifetime of real work.

The strikes represent a culmination of the frustrations and difficulties of the past few years and a determination to fight in the only effective way that workers have Tory intentions in respect of the nationalised industries.

The current troubles are merely a prelude to the campaign that will be waged.

Post Office Engineers are prepared to fight on the issue of the future of their jobs. They are proving that they are no longer the pushover the Post Office and the government once thought they were.

Exposing the flesh market and the liberals

LETTERS

somewhere appreciates you for that. — Anna Paczuska, Alison Langan, London EC1.

Pakistani appeal

ON 6 April 1970, Tochir Ali, an immigrant worker, was brutally attacked and killed by racist thugs on the steps of his home in the East End of London.

Following this and similar attacks on immigrant workers, public meetings were called which were well attended both by several immigrant organisations and by progressive British people.

These incidents aroused a great deal of sympathy for the victims and anger against the perpetrators of the attacks. All this was several months ago. We have since heard from the family of Tochir Ali.

He had left four dependants behind him in Pakistan. These people have since been reduced to begging and living in conditions of the most abject kind of poverty. They have sent a letter to us. I include some extracts from this letter:

'Very regrettedly we are letting you know that the decision the London Court has made over the killing of my father has not been satisfactory at all. My brothers and sister and my mother were solely dependant on my father's income. After the death of my father our living has been so miserable that now we are begging for

our livelihood. We hope and pray that you will try to do something with the British government or the conscientious organisation for a bit of help for us.'

We have already started raising funds for Tochir Ali's family. We feel it necessary to draw to the attention of the public the above acts and ask people to show their support by helping to raise funds for Tochir Ali's family as a first step in setting up a broad front defence committee which would be responsible for dealing with similar cases as and when they arise in the future. — THE SECRETARY Pakistani Progressive Party, 91 Commercial Road, London E1.

International Socialism

The November/December issue of the International Socialists' theoretical magazine contains a broad range of articles of interest to revolutionary socialists.

Jim Higgins, a leading member of IS as well as a recently elected lay member of the POEU executive, writes on the experiences of the Minority Movement.

Ian Birchall assesses the literary and political work of the French left-winger writer, Jean-Paul Sartre.

3s 6d post paid from
IS, 6 Cottons Gardens,
London E28DN

The lessons of the 1920s

The 1920s — a decade of workers' militancy and determination broken by ruthless governments, rising unemployment and cowardly trade union leaders. As the British labour movement prepares to meet the new Tory-employer offensive, an analysis of the 1920s will help to arm us for the vital struggles ahead.

The coming anti-union legislation is the most serious attack on the working class movement since 1927 when the Conservatives under Baldwin introduced the Trades Disputes and Trade Unions Act. It was 20 years before this Act was repealed by the post-war Labour government.

What made possible the savage 1927 attack on the trade unions by the government and the employers? Will it take 20 years to defeat the new Tory plans?

Militants should take heart from a historical comparison which suggests that the working class movement is today in a far stronger position to repel the offensive of the capitalist class.

The 1927 Act — known as the "blacklegs' charter" — was brought in shortly after the shameful capitulation to the government by the General Council of the TUC in the General Strike of 1926.

Through the Act, the government made illegal not only future general strikes but also all sympathetic strikes which the courts judged were designed to coerce the government.

The Act also forbade mass picketing and severely hampered ordinary picketing by applying to it the blanket term 'intimidation'.

An unprecedented clause suggested that it might be illegal for anyone unemployed to refuse employment on the terms of the employer.

Unions of state employees were forbidden to affiliate to the TUC or the Labour Party. The Act also protected scabs from disciplinary action by their unions.

Heavy fine

Any trade unionist leading or taking part in a so-called 'illegal' strike was liable to a heavy fine or imprisonment of up to two years.

Union funds were made liable for civil damages by the employers, which removed the immunity granted by the Act of 1906.

Finally, a blow was struck at the political activity of the unions. Instead of having to 'contract out' of the political levy to the Labour Party, trade unionists now had to 'contract in'.

The Act was described as 'the most reactionary sample of British labour legislation placed on the statute book since the evil Combination Laws of 1799 - 1800.'

The trade union movement in 1927 was weak and dispirited after its defeat in the General Strike. There was little industrial resistance to the Act.

It was a far cry from the high tide of working class militancy that swelled up after the First World War, and threatened to sweep away the capitalist system throughout Europe.

The period immediately following the end of the First World War in 1918 was one of apparent prosperity, of sharply rising prices and wages and of a rapid increase in trade union and Labour Party membership.

In these boom years which lasted until the end of 1920, the working class was on the offensive against the employers. At the beginning of this period the struggle centred mainly around the question of hours.

In almost every trade, the unions demanded the eight-hour day or the 48 hour week, and in most organised industries these demands were won during the first part of 1919.

In January 1919, major strikes over hours were fought on the Clyde and in Belfast, extending over a number of industries. General strikes were declared in both these centres.

On the Clyde, the movement was in support of the 40 hour week, and was under the leadership of the Clyde Workers' Committee.



On the eve of the 20s: the red flag flies in George Square, Glasgow.

Workers raised the red flag, the unions waved the white...

to the employers, and in which the trade unions were rapidly losing members and fighting unsuccessful defensive battles.

The miners bore the brunt of the capitalist offensive, firstly because mining was the worst hit industry economically and secondly because it was politically necessary for the employers to smash the miners. They had traditionally been the militant vanguard of the organised working class.

Part one of a new series by SABBY SAGALL



Troops march in to restore order in Glasgow in February 1919

It was met by a large display of military force by the government. Neither the Clyde nor the Belfast strike was supported by the national trade union leaders, who were able to isolate both struggles.

Meanwhile, the miners were preparing for battle. In January 1919, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain drew up a programme of demands including a 30 per cent wage increase, a six-hour day, and nationalisation with a measure of workers' participation.

Mutual aid

The miners voted by 615,164 to 105,082 in favour of strike action to win these demands. In 1914, the Triple Alliance had been created by the unions of miners, railwaymen and transport workers. Formed on the initiative of the Miners' Federation, under pressure of their rank and file militants, it promised to be a powerful alliance for mutual aid.

The miners' leaders were now consulting with the leaders of the transport and railway unions, who had themselves put forward pay and hours demands. The government faced the possibility of a general strike with revolutionary potential.

Prime Minister Lloyd George managed to stave off this threat with a Royal Commission on the mines, the famous Sankey Commission, which

recommended nationalisation. But although the government broke its promise to implement the Commission's findings, the moment of gravest crisis had passed.

The government had bought time by using the Royal Commission as a safety-valve.

In the autumn of 1919 came the railwaymen's strike, denounced by Lloyd George as an 'anarchist conspiracy'. Within a week, a settlement favourable to the railwaymen was secured: there were to be no wage-cuts, as had been threatened, existing wage rates were stabilised, and the lowest grade won an increase.

There had been complete unity amongst the railwaymen, and the locomotive men were not bribed into scabbing by the separate concession of their own demands.

There was considerable support for the railwaymen's struggle throughout the labour movement. It was sensed that the government had singled out the railwaymen in order to breach the trade union front. The leaders of the Triple Alliance had difficulty in restraining their members from taking sympathetic action in support of the railwaymen.

First test

It was only the conservative influence of the NUR leaders that prevented the strike from spreading and becoming the starting point of a new upsurge.

The following year, in October 1920, the miners conducted a brief and inconclusive national strike for wage increases. It was significant for the reason that the Triple Alliance failed in its first practical test.

The miners' leaders appealed to the leaders of the railway and transport unions, who managed to

wriggle out of their obligations. This occurred in spite of the rank and file railwaymen voting in favour of strike action to support the miners.

The onset of the 1921 slump gave rise to a concerted attack by the employers on wages and conditions. It ushered in a new period in which the offensive passed from the workers

Military force

In March 1921, the miners were locked out after rejecting the coal owners' demands for severe wage cuts. The MFGB requested the aid of the Triple Alliance and the call went out for a general strike of railway and transport workers.

The government made an extensive display of military force, the pits having been closed down in the most complete mining stoppage ever known.

But as the day fixed for the general transport strike drew near, the leaders of the Triple Alliance became increasingly nervous. On the afternoon of Friday 15 April, they calmly announced that the sympathetic strike was off. That day has become known as 'Black Friday'.

It revealed that, if pushed to the brink, the trade union leaders would withdraw in fear and throw in the towel. They could not be relied on to conduct any struggle in a militant and consistent manner.

The full extent of their readiness to capitulate was to be revealed in the General Strike of 1926.

VITAL READING FOR ALL MILITANTS

The Employers' Offensive
Productivity deals and how to fight them
by TONY CLIFF

7s including post

The Struggle for Socialism
The case for revolutionary politics

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NEXT WEEK: 1926
—the great betrayal

Rank and file action key to defeat of Tory laws

THE GOVERNMENT is looking with concern at the strength of the 8 December strikes against their plans for anti-union laws. They know that they can dismiss even the most militant speeches of trade union leaders as no more than verbal cannonballs, but if the mass of workers really decide to take action against the threat to their hard-won rights and living standards and make the factories and the streets the battleground, then the Tories could find themselves on a loser.

Just to get the new laws through parliament will not be enough. Then they would have to be implemented. As a Tory Minister at the Department of Employment, Mr Paul Bryan, has said, the Industrial Relations Bill would 'hardly be effective' unless the unions agreed to co-operate.

The co-operation they so badly need is that of some of the union leaders, men who can be bribed to sit on the new National Industrial Relations Court and the local Industrial Tribunals and who will support union registration, 'cooling off periods' and compulsory ballots.

There is no doubt that many union officials would be quite happy to see this legislation go through and to accept the well-paid jobs that go with it.

Those officials that are only to be seen when they come down and tell us to get back to work, the 'you've got all there is to get' brigade, those who oppose militant action at every step — the Tory laws would give them all the excuses they need to knuckle down to the boss.

by **DAVE LAWSON** Transport and General Workers Union

In an interview following the publication of the Tories' plans, Les Cannon, the electricians' leader found it almost impossible to find fault with them.

Lord Cooper of the General and Municipal Workers has come out against a boycott of the new anti-union machinery. His members, he says, will accept the law

Yet if it comes to it, the strength of rank and file action in opposing the laws will decide whether any union leaders dare collaborate with the Tories. Lord Cooper could ride the Pilkington storm because it was only an isolated section of workers in revolt. A broad based revolt over the union laws would stop him in his tracks.

While many workers turn naturally to the TUC to give a lead in fighting the attack on the unions there can be few who really believe that the TUC has either the will or the ability to launch an effective fight.

The plans for a rally at the Albert Hall on 12 January will hardly cause Robert Carr to lose much sleep. The main speaker is to be that well-known champion of union rights—Harold Wilson.

At the same time Vic Feather has been putting out feelers to see if the government would be willing to drop its legislation if the TUC — or rather the workers — would agree to a wage freeze. It's like going into battle holding a white flag.

Many TUC spokesmen view the problems of industry in much the same way as the Tories. Unofficial strikes are seen as 'crimes' instead of indications of workers' determination to win themselves a little justice in a glaringly unequal society.

the laws yet faced with the opposition of the GMWU, Jones lamely pointed out that there was no need to quarrel over this issue just now.

Scanlon himself has become strangely quiet since the present offensive against the working class began.

On the 8 December strike he joined the other union leaders sitting on the fence. In his view 'there are sufficient forces on the General Council of the TUC to ensure the challenge was met in no uncertain terms.'

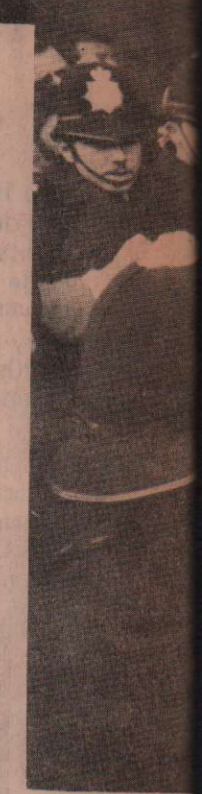
The duty

It's no good Scanlon, Jones and Co hiding behind their executives. Whatever policies these bodies may adopt the left leaders, elected on 'progressive' programmes, have the right — in fact the duty — to fight up and down the country inside their unions for the adoption of fighting policies.

Let's see them coming out clearly on the question of industrial action against the legislation. If there are good reasons against it, let's hear them, brothers. If not, then we expect to see you giving the lead you were elected to give.

There can be no doubt that only the rank and file itself can take the initiative in developing a really effective fight over the laws. It will be a long fight.

We will have to involve all sections of workers as we convince them that this is not a squabble between various bureaucrats but concerns intimately the future living standards and rights of us all.



Lawrence Da

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what we stand for

THE International Socialists is a democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and who are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations.

We believe in independent working-class action, that we must overthrow capitalism and not tinker with reforms to patch it up.

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

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

In Europe the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

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

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

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow.

To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world.

We believe in rank and file control of the trade unions and the



regular election of all full-time officials.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time.

Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of men's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.

It is no use just talking about it. Over a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it'. If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.



Hugh Scanlon sitting on the fence

In the last few years we have seen changes in leadership in the major unions — Hugh Scanlon and the AEF, Jack Jones and the TGWU and Lawrence Daly and the mineworkers—that have been hailed as important breakthroughs

Even if the old leaders of the TUC are dragging their feet we must surely see a militant and uncompromising lead from the left leaders. Yet in fact it is only DATA, SOGAT and the CEU that have come out with a direct call for industrial action against the laws.

Lawrence Daly has been far too embarrassed by his failure to lead the majority of miners who voted for strike action over their pay claim to come out strongly for the 8 December strike. Jack Jones, similarly compromised over the dockers' strikes earlier in the year, can find nothing more than fine words with which to fight.

At the TUC last week Hugh Scanlon of the AEF called for a pledge from unions that they would make the anti-union laws unworkable if they become law. Such a pledge would strengthen tremendously the fight to stop



Pilkington glassworkers set the pace for the revolt against

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

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

NORTH WEST
Lancaster/Manchester/Oldham

Bolton/Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan/Potteries

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

WALES and SOUTH WEST
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SOUTH
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NUM secretary, meeting some of his members last month

NEW POLITICS MUST SPEARHEAD THE STRUGGLE

by **STEPHEN MARKS**

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low wages and out-of-touch union officials.

mines shows clearly, the party is divided on basic issues whenever the rank and file begin to move. So where is the new politics to come from?

To answer this we must understand why the Tories and Labour before them are trying to attack the workers' organisations. It isn't just out of the old Tory spite against the unions. That's nothing new.

The Tory attack is due to the changes which make many think the capitalism of today is different to that of the 1930s.

The Tories aren't stupid. They know full employment has led to a shift of power to the shop floor, with the growth in the strength of shop stewards and unofficial rank and file organisation.

That is what their Bill is out to smash. The same full employment of the last 20 years has meant the employers need to plan and control wages more, especially with the longer life of modern investment.

This accounts for the drive in every country for incomes policy and restrictions on the freedom of

workers' organisations. The only difference between Tory and Labour is over how best to do this in the interests of the employers.

But the centres of shop floor power the employers want to smash are fragmented and isolated from each other. Unless the militants can link up across the fragments of factory and shop into combine-wide, industry-wide, national and increasingly also international organisations, the employing class will be able to pick off each group separately.

A national rank and file organisation with international links is essential to beat off the present attacks and go onto the offensive. But this can only be built on the basis of a political understanding of why at this particular moment the employing class needs to attack workers' organisations.

ORGANISATION

The new politics in the labour movement can only come from a political organisation of a new type, that sees the struggle as a total one to change society.

The domination of capitalism and capitalist ideas make most workers accept the system most of the time through the unending routine of a lifetime of factory work, the pressures of the school, the family, the press and television.

Only through struggle against the employing class can workers gain a sense of their collective power. But these struggles are short-lived, fragmented, uneven. Their lessons are easily lost, forgotten, or never clearly understood.

Because the workers' only strength is in their collective power they cannot leave the job of seeing society as a whole to a small specialised group. The capitalist class can do this.

Their power lies not in their numbers but in their ownership and control of wealth and the means of producing it. So each group of employers can be left to follow their own private interests, and leave it to the employers' state and the employers' politicians to manage their collective affairs.

In spite of all the pressures of capitalism the working class has its militants with a knowledge of the traditions and history of the

labour movement. They can look beyond each isolated struggle to the general struggle between capital and labour.

But if these militants are not grouped in a common democratic and centralised organisation their power to carry the rest of the class with them is weakened and the ruling class, with its centralised state, will carry the day.

Such a workers' organisation can pool the separate experiences of each of its members in different sections of the working class, together with the skills and abilities of socialist intellectuals. Only within such an organisation can militants get an overall view of capitalist society as a whole, as it changes, and as the strategy of the employing class changes.



Harold Wilson
Late convert to union cause

And only through such an organisation can a counter-strategy be worked out and carried into each section of the working class, to make workers conscious of their collective power and how it can be used to match each move of the employers. The clear-cut aim of such a party must be the struggle for a socialist society based on workers' control.

Such a party does not yet exist. But the employers and their government are creating the conditions in which it can be built as they teach us the lesson that to fight the employers is to fight the state.

If the workers' movement is to respond and go back on the offensive, it must learn that lesson better than the other side.

To do that job the tools we need are a party of a new type, rooted in a national rank and file movement. The International Socialists exist to help bring both into being.

THE SAD SPECTACLE OF LAWRENCE DALY

PERHAPS the sorriest spectacle of the last week was that of leader Lawrence Daly being protected from the anger of strikers by a line of policemen. Even more pitiful was his willingness to let witch-hunters refer to 'intimidation and violence by a

WHAT WE SAID ON 21 NOVEMBER

Lawrence Daly on Socialist Worker's 'sad spectacle'

YOUR EDITORIAL 'The Sad Spectacle of Lawrence Daly' (21 November) was unworthy of any publication claiming to be socialist. You describe as witch-hunting my condemnation of intimidation and violence by a small minority of miners, but that in fact was the unanimous view of the executive of the NUM, right, left and centre, because it happens to be true.

The very small minority of lobbyists who indulged in such tactics did a disservice to themselves and to the others who participated in the lobby. Does Socialist Worker approve of these tactics, or does it not? Presumably it does and it will be correspondingly judged by those miners who may read it.

Prior to my election, and since, I advocated selective strikes as the official policy of the union. That, however, remains the minority view. It is true that, whilst saying last year's strike was over a justified grievance on surface hours, I did not back it — not because it was premature but because, as secretary, I have no authority to support an official strike.

To suggest that for me to openly campaign then, and more recently, for an unofficial strike is 'permissible within the constitution of the NUM' is at worst a lie, and at best a confession of abysmal ignorance. Ginny West said: 'They had a duty to fight for a stoppage after a majority vote in its favour'. We could not do so, as a national strike requires a two-thirds majority by rule, but some of us did advocate selective official strikes and found ourselves heavily outvoted (though, of course, as you are probably not aware, I have no vote on the executive).

What is the alternative? 'Resign over principles' says Ginny West. Easy advice, which no doubt the anti-left forces would love us to fall for. The miners have already given their verdict and the result was known last week. It will obviously bring no joy to Socialist Worker.

The disillusionment of the Doncaster miners takes more than one form. According to one of the Doncaster militants, Mr J McMahon, in a recent press report, 'the International Socialists were getting us a bad name and we are well rid of them'.

A not unlikely consequence of hopping around on the ultra-left foot, without regard to the nature of the terrain. A sad spectacle indeed — for Socialist Worker. — LAWRENCE DALY, secretary, National Union of Mineworkers, Euston Road, London NW1.

DONCASTER INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS REPLY

NO, MR DALY, we do not condone intimidation and violence — but neither are we aware of any. Despite the frantic efforts of the Tory press, Baron Robens and certain leaders of the NUM, not one actual incident has been discovered — and that includes the meeting at NUM headquarters at Euston Road.

All we've had are a great many generalisations and witch-hunting of militants, aimed at undermining the strike. As a socialist paper, we are entitled to call to account a recognised and self-proclaimed socialist trade union leader who gives encouragement to the witch-hunters by refusing to dissociate himself from the lying utterances of the forces fundamentally opposed to the miners' case.

We stand by our assertion that Mr Daly and the other left wing members of the executive should have openly campaigned for the strike to be spread and made official.

After all, it wasn't just any old strike but the one which Mr Daly and the other left-wing leaders had been calling a 'make it or break it' strike, one which was crucial to the whole future of the miners. We did not say that, Mr Daly, you did.

The argument about resignation playing into the hands of the right wing holds no water at all. You are prisoners of the right and your recent actions ensure that you will remain so. With a majority of miners in a secret ballot clearly

ready to respond to a militant lead, you failed them. You could have defeated the right wing by appealing to these miners. You failed.

True, a second secret ballot caused no joy to Socialist Worker. We trust it gives none to you either, although you bear the heavy responsibility for its coming about.

You cite the individual miner's objection to the International Socialists. No doubt he speaks for many more and this we regret.

However, we prefer the evidence of our own reception by the Yorkshire Post (a newspaper not widely found to be friendly to socialists or miners) which carried out a blatant denigration of the strikers and of us.

Our first leaflet of the strike, of which we published a modest initial 400 arguing carefully for the strike and suggesting tactics for victory, had to be reprinted and ran to almost 7000. We did not print them for the good of our health but at the demand of the rank and file miners at Brodsworth, Bentley, Carcroft, Askern, Hatfield, Goldthorpe, Glasshoughton, Kellingley, South Kirby and Prince of Wales pits.

We know that we made enemies in the strike — the right wing, the defeatists, the Tory press, the TV and Lord Robens but we also made a number of friends delighted that at least somebody was prepared to stand up and be counted as supporters of the miners in their heroic struggle. — JOHN CHARLTON, Doncaster IS.

HOME SECRETARY'S LINKS WITH FINANCIAL RACKETEERS

MR MAUDLING'S NASTY FRIENDS

by PAUL FOOT

MR REGINALD MAUDLING, the Home Secretary, is finding it increasingly difficult to apply his mind to important matters of state like the designation of undesirable aliens because of the constant embarrassment caused him by a highly undesirable alien — Mr Jerome D Hoffman.

Mr Hoffman is the founder of an 'off-shore property fund' called International Investors Group, and the success of the fund was due almost entirely to the 'big names' originally associated with it.

These included former Belgian Prime Minister Paul Henri-Spaak, former New York Mayor Wagner and the first President of the Fund, Hoffman's biggest prize, The Right Hon. Reginald Maudling.

RECOMMENDED

Maudling scuttled from the presidency as soon as the Sunday Times queried its integrity but he still held 50,000 shares in the company. He continued to recommend the fund to investors all over the world in highly-publicised statements.

Today he still owns his shares (he can only sell them to the company, and the company will not buy them back)

In the meantime, the fund has virtually collapsed. Hoffman has run to Rome. The bailiffs have moved in on his London offices and the Board of Trade are investigating the company documents.

This must be the first occasion in history where the second senior minister in the land holds a substantial shareholding in a company investigated by a government department.

The Maudling affair, however, is only the most recent chapter in the long and sordid saga of offshore property.

The operation works like this. A speculator buys a building or a group of buildings, preferably in America. He needs only about a quarter of the price, and raises the rest in mortgage.

He then pays off the mortgage by raising money outside the country concerned, and then raises more money in a 'mutual fund' whose security is the property. The more money flows in, the more property he buys — and so on.

There is, however, a major difficulty. Most countries of the world have rigid exchange control regulations which ban the export of money to a fund abroad.

SMUGGLE

So the money for the funds either has to be raised in areas where the exchange control regulations are very weak — the gambling dens of modern capitalism like Kuwait and the other Arab sheikhdoms — or they have to break the law to smuggle private funds out of their country of origin.

Secondly, the funds are very susceptible to what is known as a 'lapse in confidence'. The moment a selling wave starts in an offshore property fund, it can smash the entire fund to pieces in a matter of months.

Thus the now notorious IOS which at its peak had built up more than £2,000 million pounds from the pockets of the greedy rich all over the world despite being banned



MAUDLING: in the company of fascists and rum-peddlers

in America, was driven to ruin this summer by a selling wave.

What stopped its final disaster was its very size. So vast had IOS become that capitalism itself could not stand so great a bankruptcy.

So in an orgy of wheeler-dealing, and after sacrificing the wretched crooks-turned-millionaires who had started IOS off, the respectable bastions of international capital moved in to insure IOS against final collapse.

Soon after the IOS disaster came another, Gramco. Gramco had been started by Cuban exiles, supporters of Batista, who had set up shop in fascist Spain.

The 'big names' on which it sold its prestige were those of the entourage of the late President Kennedy — his press secretary, Pierre Salinger, his staff assistant, Charles Daly, William Mahoney, Kennedy's Ambassador to Ghana, Ivan Nestinger, Kennedy's Health and Welfare Under Secretary and many others.

PIRITICAL

These warriors of the New Frontier joined a band of fascists and piratical rum-peddlers in what turned out to be the world's second biggest offshore property bubble.

Last month, the bubble burst. Gramco salesmen were paid off in hundreds and the directors had to use

all their Kennedy soft talk to explain to their investors the level of the disaster.

The collapse of Gramco was followed almost at once by the collapse of Hoffman's (and Maudling's) IIG, whose salesmen had had much less success than their rivals in the other two bigger companies.

Reading the various Business News accounts of these operations is like reading sophisticated sports pages. For financial journalists and experts it is all a game. The workers, they can safely assume, will never be able to fight their way through the financial jargon in which the game and its rules are described.

ROBBERY

Yet the vast fortunes which are amassed for countless, nameless wealthy cliques from offshore property do not materialise out of the atmosphere. They represent the robbed labour of workers all over the world, most of whom can scarcely make enough for themselves and their families to survive.

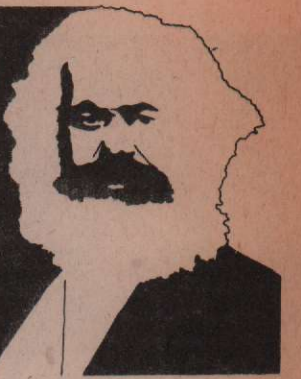
The same men who urge workers to work harder for less reward and who seek to create a 'framework' in which trade unionists can be fined and humiliated in the courts are the same men who indulge in and explain away the piracy of the offshore property funds.

The framework for all manner of gangsters and thugs to make fortunes from such funds remains secure.

The spectacle of the deputy-leader of the Conservative Party hopelessly seeking to dissociate himself from a fund which he had formerly recommended, while not uttering a word against the methods which such funds employ, is symbolic of the reality behind his government's non-stop cant about 'pride', 'discipline', 'responsibility' and 'individual initiative'.

THE MEANING OF MARXISM

A weekly column by Duncan Hallas



ROBERT OWEN, in his earlier years, was a typical big capitalist of the first half of the 19th century. He was a self-made man, son of a small shop-keeper. Starting as a shop assistant he became manager in a Manchester cotton spinning mill, then a partner in the business and then, after only seven years, owner of the largest spinning mill in the world, New Lanark.

New Lanark Company was first a partnership and then a one man business. Big as it was it produced only a small fraction of the total output of cotton yarn. Owen had no control over the prices he paid for raw materials and machinery, nor over the prices he could charge for his products.

Impersonal market forces ensured that prices kept close to values. No one capitalist could seriously affect them.

Competition ruled supreme and capitalists like Owen obeyed the dictates of the 'invisible hand' or went bankrupt.

This world of tens of thousands of competing enterprises was the world of the economic theorists of all schools, classical, marxian and neo-classical. In fact the very idea of an economic law depends on the assumption that capitalists as well as workers are *compelled* to act in certain ways by forces over which they have no control.

The United States Steel Corporation is a typical capitalist of today. It is not a self-made man. It is not a man at all but a vast complex organisation.

The men who control its policies are wealthy but they do not own more than a tiny fraction of the enterprise they control. The vast majority of the 'owners' — the stockholders — have about as much influence on company policy as you or I.

Dominate

Nor are actual controllers of US Steel in the same position as Owen in respect to price policy.

J K Galbraith summarises the situation as follows:

'The executives of the US Steel Corporation, the longtime price leaders in the steel industry, do have authority to raise and lower the prices they charge for their own steel. When they exercise that power the rest of the industry normally follows.'

'The same executives make decisions on where to build new plants and how much plant to build, what to pay in dividends and, subject to a periodic trial of strength with the union, what wages to pay.'

'They have latitude on all these matters; they are not the automatons of market forces..... As with steel so with the great core of American industry.' And European industry too.

A comparatively small number of giant firms, many of them multinational, dominate production and these giant firms do more than simply respond to the market. They can, and do, seriously influence it.

Now Marx, like the orthodox economists foresaw the inevitability of competitive capitalism developing into international monopoly capitalism.

'One capitalist always kills many', he wrote. 'Hand in hand with this centralisation, or this expropriation of many capitalists by few, develops... the entanglement of all people in the net of the world market and the international character of the capitalist regime.'

Collapses

The fact remains that Marx's economic analysis assumes effective competition between capitalists. Take that away and the whole structure collapses.

This point was first made by the German Social-Democrat 'revisionist' Edward Bernstein. Bernstein drew attention to the simultaneous growth of giant firms and cartels and the increasingly mild character of the depressions in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

He looked forward to the growth of an increasingly 'organised capitalism' on a world scale which by planning and control of markets could eliminate the system's instability.

He also pointed to the increasingly close connections between the big firms and the state. The 'night watch-

The march of the giants

man state' of the mid-19th century was giving way to a state that was heavily involved in supporting and regulatory activities in the economy, a development particularly marked in his native Germany.

The same facts were noted by Lenin. 'This transformation of competition into monopoly,' he wrote in 1916, 'is one of the most important phenomena of modern capitalist economy... For Europe, the time when the new capitalism definitely superseded the old can be established with fair precision: it was the beginning of the 20th century.'

A year later he was writing of 'the process of transformation of monopoly capitalism' of the state 'becoming merged more and more with the all powerful capitalist combines.'

Lenin drew the opposite conclusion from Bernstein. Monopoly and state monopoly capitalism, he argued, are not more but less stable than competitive capitalism.

Struggle

Economic crisis and wars — which Bernstein thought 'organised capitalism' would abolish — will become more frequent and severe. There is no doubt that the history of the first half of the 20th century proved Bernstein wrong and Lenin right. Whatever else it did, the growth of monopoly did not ultimately stabilise the system.

The reason is clear. In Lenin's words 'monopoly, which has grown out of free competition, does not abolish the latter.' Though the giant firm is no longer a puppet of the market it is engaged in a constant struggle with other giant firms to amass more and more surplus value to expand its capital.

The penalty for the failure is no longer bankruptcy — big firms do not go bankrupt — it is takeover. The controllers of the big combines have great power but not the power to opt out of this struggle. Competition is reproduced on a higher level and because of this Marx's analysis is still relevant.

Why then did the growth of monopoly coincide with a lessening of slumps? Lenin's explanation, the export of capital, has now to be examined.

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Seven times seven

Bobby Seale tears off the gag

SEIZE THE TIME, the story of the Black Panther Party by Bobby Seale (Arrow, 9s)

AMERICA in 1970 is the richest society in the world. It is also the sickest.

In spite of its relatively democratic beginnings, American society has been built up on decades of racial oppression and exploitation. Like a cancer, this disease has been gnawing away at the innards of this powerful society, until today America is in a virtual state of siege, siege from within from its own black inhabitants.

As Malcolm X said when President Kennedy was killed: 'The chickens are coming home to roost'. But even he would have been surprised at the aptness of his words today, five years after his own assassination.

Authentic voice

Bobby Seale's magnificent book traces the brief history of one part of this development, the growth of the revolutionary Black Panther Party.

Seale shows how, starting from small beginnings on the West Coast, the Black Panther Party has grown until it is today the authentic voice for all the oppressed black masses of America. He shows how the party had to throw off all the racist elements within their own movement in order to develop a true revolutionary consciousness and to be able to unite with white revolutionaries.

He effectively demolishes the myth that the Black Panther Party is in itself racist. The Black Panthers are revolutionaries and as such feel at one with the exploited masses of the world, in Vietnam, in South Africa and in Western Europe too.

American justice

The power and effectiveness of Seale's ideas can best be illustrated by Judge Hoffmann's vicious and farcical efforts to silence him at the trial of the Chicago Eight. Hoffmann ordered Seale to be manacled and gagged in a courtroom scene which at one blow effectively showed millions of Americans both black and white just what American 'justice' meant.

To cap it all, Hoffmann sentenced Seale to four years in jail for 'contempt of court'. In this way he thought he would be able to silence Seale.

Hoffmann's action was the greatest possible proof of the correctness of Seale's revolutionary philosophy.

Seize the Time is a book that should be read by anyone who wants to understand contemporary America. In simple, straightforward language, Seale speaks of the revolutionary ideas of his party, applying and developing marxism within their environment.

The book should be on the bookshelves of all revolutionaries.

Martin Tomkinson



Black Panthers on the march in America

COTTONS COLUMN

THE TORY PRESS and sundry barons and earls are attacking constantly the 'violence' of strikers and workers in general. As in so many matters, the Tories rarely practice what they preach.

Last Sunday's pop papers had a great time reporting the shindig at a Tory Party ball at Brentwood in Essex. The boozing and nosing was going at a fine lick until they were requested to rise and toast the Royal layabouts of Buckingham Palace.

One guest, a Mr Eric Barker, suffers from a collapsed lung and couldn't get to his feet. The assembled Blues stared in horror at this disloyal geriatric, then all hell broke out.

Mr Barker was smashed in the face. A solicitor's wife had her dress ruined by a carefully aimed drink. A leading local Tory received a black eye.

And a Mr John Brodie was hit over the head with a bottle and taken to hospital with a hairline fracture of the skull, a cut eye and two broken bones in his right hand.

Brother, just wait until they're turned loose on strikers...

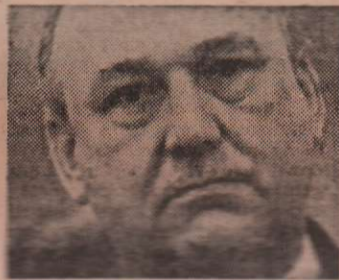
The Bootle in

TOWN HALL workers at Bootle in Lancashire are breathing fire and damnation on a London firm of management consultants brought in to improve efficiency in the corporation.

They've been there for 18 months and the town hall trade unionists - members of NALGO - are getting a mite restive at their inactivity.

The firm has been paid £40,000 in fees so far and the local NALGO branch has told them it is time they delivered the goods.

So far, after 18 months' deliber-



ROBENS: watch the knuckle-duster

ation, the only suggestions from the consultants are that, to save time, 'dear sir' and 'yours faithfully' should be dropped from letters and grave-diggers should have longer spades so they can dig more graves.

Including one for the consultants?

THE COMMUNIST PARTY has fallen foul of one of its members. He complains in Monday's Morning Star about the party's 'hands off the unions' poster that shows a giant hand gripping Ted Heath until the blood runs.

'I am of the opinion,' says the reader 'that displaying this poster will have a detrimental effect on the already distorted image of the party. This poster illustrates the 'bloody revolution' aspect of Communism that we should be working to dispel rather than promulgate.'

The member's name: I M Leppard. He thinks it's time the party changed its spots.

Classy squeak

WE ADMIT DEFEAT. We have always argued that the upper classes, in spite of their wealth and privilege, have no monopoly of brains or beauty.

We will have to re-think our attitude. Winner of the Mouse of Britain competition was a rodent with blue blood named Lady Tracey Joanne of Holmlea. If titled mice are a cut above the rest, what chance have mere plebeian humans?

But all is not lost. When Lady Tracey was invited to chew through the ribbon to open a new PDSA shop in Nottingham, she failed and the task had to be done with scissors.

It takes a working-class mouse to do a job like that.

Roben's kite

ONCE AGAIN, Red-baiter Robens. Speaking on Monday on Industry and Government, the Baron of

Aberfan made his obligatory twice-weekly attack on militants and called for stern laws against unofficial strikers and picketers.

But Robens went on to develop an argument that his lords and masters would do well to think about. He came out strongly against any laws that would inhibit the unions from calling official strikes.

He pointed out that when he was Minister of Labour in the post-war Labour government he lifted the war-time legislation that banned all strikes, whether official or wildcat.

Robens is worried that Carr's Bill will alienate some union officials and push them into the arms of the militants. Like the more far-sighted members of the employing class, he is anxious to continue the process whereby union leaders are drawn into the running of capitalism through well-paid jobs on state boards or industrial tribunals.

Heath and co seem anxious to smash this delicate relationship with their laws that are upsetting some union leaders who turn faint at the thought of strike action.

Robens is flying a kite, but get ready for more spokesmen of big business to start putting pressure on the government to rephrase their legislation in order that the knuckle-duster is reserved strictly for the militants

YOUNG MAPAM, the 'radical socialist zionists', have written to Cottons Gardens requesting a speaker from the 'Intellectual Socialists'

Not quite right, but thanks all the same...

New frontier

FUNNY how yesterday's bitter enemies become today's bosom pals. The Times Diary reported last week that Gavin Kennedy is joining a pro-Common Market group, the European Movement, to advise on trade union affairs.

Readers active in the Labour Party Young Socialists in the early 1960's will recall the fiery Kennedy, chief spokesman for the independent youth paper, Keep Left. He later broke with marxism and became a right-wing champion of the Wilson government.

Kennedy's new boss is Alan Lee Williams, former Labour Party youth organiser. He blandly told The Times that, years ago, 'I spent some time collecting information on him in order to get him expelled.'



IT'S BAD PENNY TIME again. When the bosses get worried about their profit margins, the mass media falls into line with well-worn programmes aimed at softening up the workers.

Ten years or so ago, when a series of strikes in the car industry had the press hopping with rage, Richard Attenborough and Bryan Forbes produced that vicious anti-union film The Angry Silence.

You remember how it began: dour-faced troublemaker (played by Alfred Burke of Marker fame, as I recall) arrives to take up a job in a big factory at the request of 'the party'. The moderate convenor doesn't like the Red but gives in and gets him a job.

Before you can say 'next cliché', the sheep are baaing their way through the gates and the strike is under way.

ITV's new Tuesday series Grady covers familiar ground. Grady the rebel arrives back from a prison sentence and persuades the moderate factory convenor to get him a job.

Undermined

Before long he has removed the convenor and undermined a new pay deal by getting all the workers to bust the rate and flood the factory with parts.

Grady's motivations are not made clear. He is not a 'party' man - his first act is to reduce the Communist shop steward to ridicule for attempting to call a 'political' strike and has him thrown out of the factory.

But contrary to some interpretations, Grady is not a 'Trotsky' either. He tells the Communist steward: 'The only organisation I belong to stops with a membership of one.'

He is against the system for vague, anarchist reasons and seems determined to organise strikes or stoppages just out of spite for the bosses.

This is ignorant tosh. No militant who wasn't genuinely concerned for his workmates' pay and conditions would survive in a well-organised engineering plant.

The most ludicrous episode of the first instalment came at the end when Grady accepted his cards from the boss with scarcely a murmur and left the factory without the rest of the workforce raising a finger. Some leader!

Grady has a meaning: it is designed to portray militants as mindless 'troublemakers' who start strikes just for the hell of it. And it shows the rank and file in the time-worn tradition of sheep who trot mindlessly through the gates when the Red blows his whistle.

The producer, in all fairness, should add onto the credits from an idea by Lord Robens

Commercial

SAD that BBC 1's Star Trek (Wednesdays) is spoken of as Science Fiction. It is nothing of the sort - BBC 2's recent Out of the Unknown series was Science Fiction - and there wasn't a spaceship to be seen.

Star Trek is sub-standard cowboys and indians set in the future. Each instalment is utterly predictable - Star Ship Enterprise lands on hostile (pronounced hostel) planet with, to save on the props, sufficient oxygen to allow the crew to breathe.

They encounter strange aliens, usually living in some form of socialist slavery or dreadful non-competitive communal society, do battle with them, prove the superiority of western (sorry, earthly) values and depart to spread the morals of 20th century capitalism to another far-flung corner of galactic space.

What is the BBC up to? It is not supposed to carry advertising, yet Star Trek is just a corny commercial for American imperialism.

David East

NOTICES

IS Industrial Conference: coach leaves Saturday 5 December 7.30am sharp Shepherds Bush Green (BBC theatre) and Kings Cross (Pancras Road) 8am. Book seats from Chris Davison 01-977 4662. Fare 15s.

COMRADE to share flat: Ring 01-348 7335.

SWANSEA 15: Discussion on France, May 1968. Red Cow pub, High Street, Friday 11 December 1970, 7.30pm.

LAMBETH 15/YCL debate: The struggle against anti-union laws. Friday 4 December 8.15pm. The Library, South Island Place, SW9.

CAMDEN 15 public meeting on anti-union laws. 8pm, Friday 4 December, The Hall, Camden Studios, Camden Street, NW1. Speakers Don Cook (AUEW) and Ross Pritchard (NGA).

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Socialist Worker

A taste of things to come in the High Court
SW Reporter

A TASTE of things to come emerged from the High Court in London on Tuesday when the Vice-Chancellor, Sir John Pennycuik, granted an injunction to nine newspaper proprietors against the executive of Division A of the print union SOGAT.

The order restrains the union executive from taking any further action to induce its members to take part in next Tuesday's national strike against the Tories' anti-union Bill.

SOGAT is the only union to have issued an unequivocal call for strike action on 8 December. It has organised demonstrations and meetings in several major centres and has produced tens of thousands of broadsheets denouncing the government's 'blackleg's charter'.

Prior to the court hearing, it was certain that all the national newspapers would stop on Tuesday when the SOGAT men struck work for the day.

Withdraw strike call

The bosses of the Daily Mail group, the Express group, the Telegraph, Financial Times, Guardian, Mirror, News of the World, Observer and The Times - all members of the powerful Newspaper Proprietors Association - moved against the union.

They sued seven members of the Division A executive and sought injunctions that would restrain them from issuing any further calls for strike action. They also want an order demanding that the union leaders withdraw the strike call.

On Tuesday Sir John Pennycuik issued an injunction that met the first demand of the proprietors. A further hearing was called for Friday when the Vice-Chancellor will consider whether or not SOGAT will have to withdraw the strike call completely.

The main argument used by the bosses' QC was that the strike was 'political' and therefore unlawful as it fell outside the provisions of the 1906 Trades Disputes Act. The union had no 'trade dispute' with the employers.

Politics illegal

The decision is an ominous one. It spells out the 'rights' of trade unionists in our 'democratic' society - they may withdraw their labour for industrial purposes but any political action outside of the five-yearly ritual of the ballot box is 'illegal'.

And if the Tory Bill goes through, the right to strike for purely industrial reasons will be severely limited.

This is the first test case for the unions in the battle for their freedom. We hope the SOGAT leaders, whatever Friday's High Court decision, will stick to their guns and continue with the 8 December strike.

With 170,000 SOGAT Division A members ranged against nine newspaper bosses, we will put our money on the union to win.

Builders out for two months

ST HELENS:- A dispute between Rowlinson's building firm and 60 sacked workers is now in its eighth week. The men supported a demonstration by sacked Pilkington glassworkers in October and were dismissed when they returned to work on the council site in the town centre.

Management claimed they had not been told that the men were stopping work in support of the glassworkers, but the site agent later admitted that this was not true.

Rowlinson's were anxious to get rid of the militants. St Helens is their only organised site and the firm is notorious for using 'lump' labour.

Millionaire owner Rowlinson told the press that it was the 'dangerous militancy' on the site that forced him to act.

The dispute went to the regional panel of bosses and unions in Manchester last month. A unanimous decision was reached to reopen the site and take back all the

sacked men.

Rowlinson's refused to accept the decision. They say they refuse to reopen the site until 'certain points' are cleared up. These points include an average £8 a week wage cut.

125 families were due to move from slum houses into new council dwellings on the site early next year. Rowlinson's action will keep them in the slums for some time yet.

ICI BREAKS AGREEMENT TO PUSH PRODUCTION DEAL THROUGH

by ROB CLAY

TEESSIDE:- 200 members of the AEF, the engineering union, are on strike at ICI's giant Wilton complex.

The AEF has refused to negotiate the Weekly Staff Agreement productivity deal and has put in a straight £7 10s a week pay claim. WSA poses a major threat to shop-floor organisation and threatens massive sackings.

The decision by the AEF was a severe blow to the company's determination to force WSA through. The engineers have encouraged many other ICI workers throughout Britain to step up the fight against the productivity deal.

Last week, the Wilton management moved against the AEF. In a blatant and provocative manner, they declared they would no longer work to an agreement signed in 1951 by the AEU and the Electrical Trades Union.

The agreement laid down that the trade of instrument artificer would be recruited equally from both unions. It also declared that there could be no change to this agreement without discussion and agreement by all the parties concerned.

But the management are now using WSA grading assessments with ETU instrument artificers. The AEF has not been consulted.

AEF fitters replied by blacking all work entering or leaving their shop and AEF artificers blacked areas of their work that needed a fitter. The blacking hit other plants when fitters refused to instal vital parts.

'COLLISION'

Management hit back by taking three AEF fitters off pay who had refused to do blacked work.

A mass meeting voted for strike action and the suspension of talks between the ETU artificers and management until the dispute has been settled at national level. Management have refused to accept the demand.

AEF district secretary Harold Robson said: 'This is an absolute head-on collision between us and the management. They are hell-bent on endeavouring to get our members onto WSA'.

A second mass meeting on Monday decided to stay out and not to meet again for a week.

The AEF district committee is giving the men complete support and official backing is expected from the union executive.

ICI militants regard the affair as a planned attack by the company. ICI's action must be seen in the light of the drastic slump in profit announced last week and the appointment of a new company chairman.

SCARE OFF

There has been talk from top local management about a decline in investment in ICI's Teesside complex. This has been designed to scare off militancy.

Mr Harvey-Jones, boss of the company's Heavy Organic Chemicals division, has even talked in terms of Wilton - which employs 15,000 workers - disappearing altogether.

Using such threats and alarms, the company are determined to introduce a productivity deal that will deprive their already badly paid workers of the chance to organise for better pay and conditions.

If the AEF members are to win they must fight to overcome their differences with other unions at Wilton and appeal for an all-out campaign for a large pay rise without strings. Despite all the gloom in the City, ICI still raked off a cool £28 million profit for the most recent quarter of this year.

IS LONDON REGION
A Strategy for Socialism
Debate between
Monty Johnstone (CP)
Tom Bell (YCL) and
Duncan Hallas, Roger Protz (IS)
Friday 11 December, 7pm
Friends House, Euston Road, NW1

Students clash with police over traffic

by Emmett Grogan

WALTER ADAMS, director of the London School of Economics, has announced proudly that the school authorities have spent 11 years trying to get Houghton Street - which runs through the school buildings - closed to traffic 'through the proper channels'.

He must be relieved that the students have put up with his ineffectual efforts for so long.

Last week, the police showed that they were also far more devoted to defence of 'the proper channels' than the prevention of life and limb. It is clear that the police have been given the go ahead for a bout of 'student bashing'.

KNOCKED DOWN

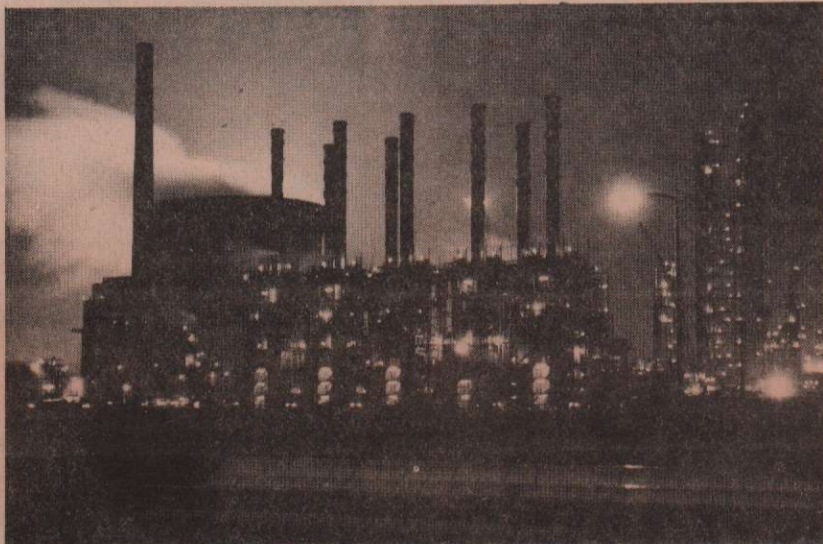
Students put up barricades in a bid to cut off Houghton Street from traffic after a student had been knocked down and injured. Police swarmed into the LSE buildings and seized the student union's loudspeaker equipment that was being used to give support to the roadblock.

One student was arrested when he called on other students to support the barricades. He was charged under the Public Order Act. More students were arrested during a second demonstration.

This was the first confrontation with the police for some LSE students. Many were surprised at the militancy of the police and at their unquestioning belief that the preservation of 'law and order' could be equated with the preservation of Houghton Street as a death trap.

ELECTRICIAN'S BALLOT

We regret that we omitted last week one progressive candidate from the list contesting the executive ballot in the Electrician's and Plumber's Trade Union. He is J Aitken of Division 11 (Essex).



ICI's Teesside complex, scene of a head-on collision between management and AEF

Ford stewards link parity fight to Tory laws

SW Industrial Correspondent

TWO HUNDRED Ford shop stewards representing 48,000 manual workers issued a call for joint political and industrial action on 8 December when they met in Coventry last week.

Jock McCrae, a Dagenham convenor, moved a successful motion that called on Ford workers to support Tuesday's strike by demanding parity with Midlands car rates and expressing their opposition to the Tory Bill.

Some of the stewards said that the two issues should not be linked, but Sid

Haraway, another Dagenham convenor, spoke for the majority when he declared: 'There is no future for parity unless we defeat the Tory proposals.'

Moss Evans, TGWU official and chairman of the union side of the joint negotiating body, reported on the latest pay claim for parity.

He said: 'The parity we seek will require a substantial once-and-for-all increase across the board for all grades.'

No exact figure had been given to the management - the unions would wait to hear their reaction before submitting a figure in January.

But the unions say that their Ford members are on rates £12 to £16 a week lower than those doing similar work at British Leyland and Chrysler plants.

The stewards agreed that the pay claim would have to be backed by strike action if necessary.

Newspapermen condemn agreement

FLEET STREET Journalists on Monday strongly condemned a new pay agreement signed by their union, the NUJ, and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association.

The deal, which will last for 18 months, will give most journalists an £8 a week pay increase in two instalments. The NUJ members are angry over a clause in the agreement that bans any separate house agreements while the new deal is in operation.

In recent years, militant chapels (office branches) have won substantial improvements on the basic pay through agreements with individual employers. Monday's meeting of chapel officers condemned the clause by 41 to three.

Ship cancelled

THE launching of the biggest ship ever to be built in Aberdeen has been cancelled because more than 200 finishing tradesmen - engineers, coppermiths, plumbers, painters, joiners, electricians, brass-finishers - have been on strike at Hall Russell's yard since 4 November.

They took this action when wage negotiations broke down between the unions and the East Coast Shipbuilders Association.

Hall Russell boilermaker shop stewards recently negotiated an agreement at yard level. The finishing trades intend to do the same but the employers deny their right to do so.

The Aberdeen District Committee of the AEF has approved the strike and has asked for backing from the executive.

Donations for hardship fund to: Chas Mathieson, c/o AEF, Adelphi, Aberdeen.

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