

Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 200 19 DECEMBER 1970 6d (2½p)

**Next step in the fight against union laws
— action to force TUC leaders to call:**

GENERAL STRIKE

**Workers must mobilise
for day of mass
action on 12 January**

THE NATIONAL STRIKE on 8 December was a successful start to the struggle to defeat the Tories' anti-union laws. The strike, which closed docks, factories and printshops, was supported by half a million workers.

It was the biggest political strike seen in this country since 1926. But the criticism of the strike by TUC general secretary Vic Feather and the statement by his assistant, Len Murray, that such action would harm the unions and probably result in a snap election and a bigger majority for the Tories, divided and confused many good trade union activists.

They also gave every scab the best of alibis. In factory after factory, the scene was the same. The handful of workers that always vote against any militant action, hate paying union dues and want to become foremen, stood up to oppose action on 8 December by quoting the general secretary of the TUC.

In other areas the strike was weakened by local trade union officials and the refusal of leaders such as Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones to support the protest. In Birmingham, for example, the Transport Workers Union and the Trades Council decided to call for a strike on 1 January and this split many factories.

Strong factories must strike

In spite of these pressures, 500,000 workers stopped on 8 December and showed that opposition to the laws does exist and has a potential of much greater size and action.

The TUC is organising a protest rally at the Albert Hall in London on 12 January. It is essential that militant action be taken on that day.

Factories that are strong enough should strike again. They should organise local demonstrations and elect delegates to a giant march in London and a lobby of the TUC rally.

There should be mass meetings during working hours to discuss 12 January. The meetings should discuss the Tory proposals, elect delegates to the lobby and demand that the General Council call a General Strike as the only way to stop the Tory proposals becoming law.

In every area Councils of Action should be formed to co-ordinate and organise the fight against the Bill. The Councils should attempt to win other workshops to militant opposition by leafleting and factory gate meetings and should join the campaign to force the TUC to call a general strike.

The role of the General Council is of vital importance. The Tories expected the TUC to object to their proposals. They had carefully discussed what the TUC's response was likely to be long before they first published their Consultative Document.

Heath and Carr are confident that the TUC will eventually co-operate. The TUC's refusal to lead a real fight against the Bill paves the way for it becoming law.

TUC must not co-operate

It is crucial that the Tories' calculations are wrecked. The Bill would be unworkable without the co-operation of the TUC.

Action must be taken on 12 January to demand a General Strike. The TUC must be forced to commit itself now to total non co-operation with the laws.

Such demands should insist that no trade union register, that no union will postpone a strike for 60 days and no secret ballots will be held under orders from the government.

They should insist that the closed shop will be maintained, extended and controlled by the democratic decisions of workers. Trade unions should instruct their members not to cross picket lines, to 'black' any work from factories in dispute and to take sympathy action when necessary.

Neither a General Strike nor a commitment to non co-operation will be decided without pressure from the rank and file. Unless an independent rank and file movement can be built and developed, no



Eddie Marsden, secretary of the constructional engineering section of the AEUW, speaking at the Hyde Park rally on 8 December

Polish food price riots shake government

by Chris Harman

SEVERAL demonstrators were shot in Poland this week during disturbances over food price increases. It is the third wave of popular discontent in the country in the last 15 years.

In the summer of 1956 the workers from the Zispo factory in Poznan struck for higher wages and demonstrated on the streets. This quickly developed into an uprising of the working population of the whole city.

That uprising was crushed. But soon after a new government under Gomulka took over and promised to carry through many of the reforms demanded in Poznan.

But the hopes of that year proved to be short lived. The new government regained complete control of the country by satisfying some of the economic grievances of the workers and by making a political alliance with the Roman Catholic leaders.

Within a few months it felt strong enough to use force to put down its opponents. The police broke a tram workers' strike in Lodz and attacked student demonstrations.

In the spring of 1968 Warsaw students demonstrated for freedom of speech. When police attacked them with rubber truncheons, thousands of young workers supported the students.

Crude force enabled the government to restore 'law and order'. But this time it

was unable to offer the ordinary people any improvement in their living standards.

Instead it tried to divert attention by stirring up anti-semitism. A wave of persecution drove most of Poland's Jews into exile.

Left-wing socialist critics of the regime were tried and sentenced to stiff terms in prison.

But the basic problems that give rise to discontent in Poland, as in other parts of Eastern Europe, were not solved.

Hit low paid

Although the rulers of Eastern Europe call themselves 'socialist', their basic concern is competition with the West. They try to build up industry at the fastest possible speed, while keeping the living standards of workers down — just as Western capitalists do.

This is shown by the measures that produced the current outbreak of Polish riots. The government has increased the price of foodstuffs by up to a fifth.

This will hit lower paid workers most. The aim is to reduce food consumption to

enable more food to be exported.

The fact is that for the countries of Eastern Europe as for those of Western Europe, the only way the rulers know to solve their problems is to attack workers' living standards. The reason is always the same — the 'needs of international competition'.

But ordinary workers have no interest in continual attacks on living standards to enable their rulers to compete with one another.

We must welcome the struggle of the Polish workers to resist such attacks. And we should support those socialists, often in prison, who are trying to overthrow the bureaucratic regime and establish a real socialist democracy based upon workers' councils.

Christmas break

Socialist Worker will not appear next week. Our next issue will be dated 2 January 1971. We wish all our readers a very happy Christmas and extend our best wishes for a militantly successful New Year.

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'Public opinion' vs. the power workers

THE POWER WORKERS' dispute should be an object lesson for militants everywhere. The government wants to solve the problems of British capitalism by forcing down the level of wage rises. Its aim has been to defeat one major section of workers to teach the rest a lesson.

So far it had failed. The most prominent groups of workers it had tackled proved capable of fighting back.

It was clear from the first day of the power workers' dispute that all the might of government and big business combined could not force the power workers to give in. In spite of ministerial threats, troops could not be sent in to man the power stations. Few soldiers have the necessary skills and, in any case, the stations were full of men working to rule. The government was forced to try another tactic.

The employers' paper the *Financial Times* pointed out what this tactic should be on 9 December: 'It might seem from an examination of the strength of the electricity workers that nothing can stop them winning their full demands. The situation, however, is not quite like that. For what has to be weighed at this point is the force of public opinion . . . There is a point when nobody likes to be unpopular, and this point may soon come for electricity workers.'

And so the powers that be set about creating 'public opinion'. The press swung into action with screaming headlines. The papers searched desperately for instances of hospitals that might have suffered, in however minor a way, from power cuts. Power workers were virtually called murderers.

The aim of the whole operation was simple: Make the power workers unpopular. Create a climate in which they would suffer individual abuse. Put pressure on those who knew nothing of the issues at stake to force them to give up the struggle.

Above all the aim was to weaken the determination of the power workers and make it easier for the official union leaders to cave in to the government.

No response to propaganda

The power worker stood in the front line of the struggle of all organised workers for decent wages and conditions. The propaganda of the government and newspaper owners should have been met with counter propaganda. In many work places there were individual militants arguing the case for the power men. But the fact remains that there was no immediate, organised response to the propaganda of the employing class.

The Transport and General Workers Union issued a press release pointing out that the generating boards, not the power workers, were to blame for any power cuts in hospitals. The press barons, by and large, refused any publicity to this statement. The TGWU could have produced hundreds of thousands of leaflets to let its one and a half million members know the facts. It did not.

There could hardly be a more glaring example of the contrast between the actions of the ruling class and the response of the labour movement. On the one hand an immediate and unanimous chorus of abuse, lies, slanders and vitriolic accusations. On the other, hesitation, ambiguity, evasiveness, above all a slowness to respond that gave ground to the Tories.

The power workers' dispute is only an early skirmish in the offensive the Tories are launching against organised workers. We have to learn the lessons. The most important of these is that militants have to be able to reply in a coherent, unified way to attacks as they occur.

Such a response can only take place if a political movement of militants rooted in industry is built — a political movement based not on waiting five years for the chance to vote, but replying now to the attacks of the government, showing to workers their common, class interests, and preparing to turn the Tory offensive into the Tories' rout.

A BLOW FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

WE'RE TOLD we have a 'free press'. It is a peculiar form of freedom when 90 per cent of the national, regional and local newspapers are controlled by six giant combines, most of which are owned and dominated by hard-line, anti-union Tories.

Neither newspaper readers nor the workers who write and produce them, have any control over editorial content. Editors and their proprietors wield vast power but are not subject to any democratic process. The 'freedom' they chant about is a myth: it is the freedom to lie and witchhunt workers in struggle and to prominently display every ignorant outburst by Lord George-Brown, Lord Robens and all the titled riff-raff thrown off by the labour movement.

The great mass of working people are voiceless and gagged in our society. Our freedom is the freedom of the cheap duplicator ranged against the giant presses of the Fleet Street millionaires.

The millionaires were furious last week when workers on the London Evening Standard refused to print an obscene cartoon attacking the power workers until a statement by them criticising the cartoon appeared in the paper. Contrary to the claims that this was a blow against press freedom, it was in fact a magnificent example of a group of workers using their collective strength to challenge the monopolies' gag.

The printworkers were speaking not just for themselves or the power workers but for the millions of working people denied any real say in capitalist society. Their action proved the strength of workers: when they stand together and say No, the mighty presses stop and the owners are impotent. It is a lesson for all trade unionists.

Bolivia's new president makes radical noises

TORRES TURNS TO THE WORKERS

by Joan McKenna

THE LATEST GOVERNMENT to come to power with the aid of Bolivian workers and students is that of 'leftist' General Juan Jose Torres.

Gen Torres is a comparative newcomer to left circles in Bolivia. Described by close acquaintances as 'strongly ambitious and opportunist', Torres had a reputation as a right winger because of his opposition to revolution and left ideas.

Early in his career he supported the military junta that overthrew the legally elected government of Paz Estenssoro. As Chief of Staff he planned the operation against the guerrillas led by Che Guevara and was one of the group that approved the order that Che be executed if captured.

Later Torres joined the cabinet of General Ovando, but was fired last July as a concession to the right-wing military leaders. It was then, it appears, that he began talking about 'revolution'.

Organised labour played a dominant role in the national revolution of 1952 led by the MNR, the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement. Armed miners took control of the mining camps and nearby cities, and together with the national police, defeated the ruling military junta and brought the MNR to power.

Armed workers

The new government, ruling in conjunction with the trade union organisation, the COB, immediately disbanded the regular military forces, weakened the police and replaced them with armed mine workers, factory workers and peasants.

The most important contribution of the MNR government was the mobilisation of the workers and newly emancipated Indian peasants. It was through the revolutionary actions of the population that the most important measures of the government were enacted.

The long-promised agrarian reform Bill was passed after the peasants had seized the land themselves. The nationalisation of mines was legalised after many of the mines had been taken over by the miners.

Although they used the working class to maintain power, the MNR had no intention of letting the workers take over the economy and democratically run it in the interests of all the people.

By 1956 the MNR was capitulating to the demands of American imperialism. The MNR had attempted to industrialise within the framework of the capitalist world.



TORRES: respect commitments

When faced with inflation and a drop in the world price of tin, which had previously accounted for up to 80 per cent of the country's export value, the MNR chose to accept the monetary stabilisation programme imposed upon it by the International Monetary Fund.

In its battle with the radical wing of the party led by the labour movement, the MNR began to develop a new 'classless' army to counteract the threat of the civilian militia. The US backed this military buildup, particularly after Castro came to power. Bolivia became the largest recipient of US aid in Latin America, most of which was used to overcome Bolivia's budget deficit, not for economic development. The MNR became increasingly dependent upon the military for support and was eventually overthrown by a military coup in 1964, with the aid of General Torres, among others.

Once again in September 1969, Bolivian workers witnessed the return of a group of 'leftist' military officers to power. Led by General Ovando Candia, calling himself a 'revolutionary nationalist', the new government nationalised the American-owned Gulf Oil Company and monopolised the export of minerals.

Ovando had nationalised Gulf Oil only to gain civilian backing while he made secure his own position with the military. However, Gulf Oil and its allies retaliated by organising an international blockade.

They also shut off US west coast oil markets and subsidised civilian groups opposing the Bolivian government. The US imposed a freeze on foreign aid.

By May of 1970, Ovando was ready

to protect his position by apologising to Gulf Oil and bringing it back to Bolivia in a more favourable economic position than it had before the nationalisation.

During the past few months guerrillas of the National Liberation Army have become active again, both in the jungle and urban areas. More importantly, protests against the government's policies have included strikes in tin mines and hunger strikes by labour unions.

As a result, when General Torres took power from the right-wing junta that overthrew Ovando in October, he wisely called for a 'popular nationalist government' resting on four pillars—peasants, workers, students and the military.

Economically Bolivia is dependent on its major exports, tin and oil, increasing its vulnerability to the pressures of imperialist powers. Those limited social reforms that have been put into effect by previous governments have been dependent upon the flow of US aid, more recently given in the form of loans rather than grants.

General Torres does not promise any real solutions to these problems. He says he will respect all the commitments of the Bolivian government. Presumably this includes the \$78 million promised to Gulf Oil.

He promises the nationalisation of Bolivian financial institutions and foreign enterprises but he intends to promote the confidence of foreign investors.

Purge army

Though it supported Torres' takeover, the labour movement is being cautious about further support. The COB did not accept Torres' offer that COB name eight members of his cabinet, and it cancelled a planned rally in support of Torres.

One of the most important demands made by the labour movement and its allies is that Torres purge the armed forces, the majority of whom are conservative and do not support Torres. Torres, however, prefers to use both the military and the unions to support his rule.

The miners, however, are once again arming themselves and still control the tin mines. The miners know that 'co-rule' will not work.

Their experience with it in 1952 only added up to a means for the ruling class to control the workers and hold their movement back. It will not be long before Torres or the right wing military steps in to regain control of the tin industry.

If the miners have learned from the experience of the past they will know that at that point they will have to fight for state power.

Reprinted from Workers Power, paper of the American International Socialists

IN THE CITY

Stock market blacklist against the 'lame ducks'

CHRISTMAS finds the stock markets in a most uncharitable frame of mind. The gloss that the Tory victory gave to share prices has long since disappeared.

Uncertainty has taken over from joy and the spirit of stockbrokers has fallen as low as the price of their favourite stocks.

In these dark days, the offices of most of the country's stockbrokers have embarked on a new and grim past time. They are compiling a blacklist.

Any firm which finds itself on one of these documents will find no friendly ear in the City of London to tell its difficulties to. No merchant bank will be forthcoming with vital short-term funds, no big investor will be on the scene to prop up its share price.

For the Tories are gunning for 'lame ducks' and stockbrokers can hear the patter of webbed feet in all directions.

The blacklists are scientific documents. All stockbrokers now have huge research departments where highly skilled economists and statisticians work, often with the aid of a computer, at detailed analysis of all public companies. In this way, they hope to forecast those companies where inflation has caused irreparable damage.

Abuse

When workers have the temerity to go on strike at a not-so-healthy company, the management and the press indulge in uncontrollable abuse about the workers 'cutting their own throats', etc. What is not mentioned is that the real problem is not workers withdrawing their labour but capitalists withdrawing their capital.

Right now, capitalists are pulling out of a host of prospective lame ducks. For example, the return on British Leyland's fixed interest stocks is well over 16 per cent, the sort of return offered by second-

rate HP companies.

This reflects a belief in many City quarters that Lord Stokes' empire may be nearing the end of the road. Certainly it would be almost impossible for him to raise any more money for the company.

The near-collapse of Harland and Wolff and Rolls-Royce was only averted by government money. In the case of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, the government stood aside as a warning to investors to be more choosy in future.

They have taken the hint. And stockbrokers are only too willing to tell them which companies to avoid.

Apart from British Leyland, companies like Alfred Herbert, Weir Group, Hawker Siddeley and Cadbury Schweppes — to name but a few — all figure prominently on City blacklists.

The list is long. But so too are the problems of British capitalism.

Arthur Millium

INFLATION

Why prices are soaring— and your pockets are empty...

IN 1971 THE POUND in your pocket will probably lose another 7 per cent in value — thanks to rising prices. And next year you may also run the risk of losing your job thanks to the upward trend in unemployment. Before the war prices were stable when unemployment went up — or jobs were plentiful when there was price inflation.

Not anymore. The crisis of modern capitalism means that we get both types of dirty medicine at the same time.

It is important for trade union militants struggling to defend their jobs and wage packet to understand this growing economic crisis. Failure to appreciate the causes of the crisis can lead to militants being led up the garden path by vote-catching politicians.

At present Harold Wilson and the Labour leaders are suggesting that the crisis is caused by the stupidity and wickedness of the Tories as individuals. No one would deny that the Tories are both. But it does not explain why the government is being driven to one violently reactionary measure after another to deal with the crisis.

After all, Labour fared no better — and they have their fair share of knaves and fools. Unemployment and price inflation reached record post war levels under the last Labour government.

The first thing to understand is that economic stagnation and accelerating inflation are both international problems. In nearly all the advanced capitalist states growth slowed down this year.

In the giant American economy growth fell from +2.8 per cent to -0.2 per cent. Next year most observers think that they will be lucky to get back to 3 per cent.

In West Germany (home of the 'economic miracle') growth slowed from 8 per cent to 5 per cent and it fell by a third in France as well. Even the Japanese are reconciled to abandoning growth rates in double figures for the first time in many years.

Hardship

Inflation is hitting all these countries, too. In some countries such as West Germany it is faster than in Britain.

Because inflation is world-wide, each capitalist economy passes on the disease to the next. No ruling class can find the answer because each capitalist economy is now so internationally linked.

The stagnation and inflation has brought hardship to workers but it is also worrying the ruling class. For the first time in 30 years establishment economists and financiers display

by JOHN PALMER

little optimism about economic prospects.

In the new mood of despondency members of the ruling class — not yet representative — are getting hysterical. There are cries for massive unemployment to teach the workers a lesson.

Some employers seem intent on using the Carr anti-union laws whether or not the government or the employers as a whole think the time is right.

The gradual disruption of growth and economic stability is reflected in the speed with which a balance of payments crisis turns into an international financial and currency crisis. Most experts agree that 1971 may see even bigger alarms of this kind as sections of the west European ruling classes try to steal a march on the Americans by forcing devaluation of the dollar.

All of this stands in contrast with the picture of sustained economic growth, monetary order and low price inflation since the end of the Second World War. What has changed? Why should the disruption break through the placid surface of capitalism at this time?

The truth is that the stability of capitalism in the last 25 years has been superficial. It was bought at the

terrible social price of dependence in the main centres of western capital on massive and sustained expenditure on arms.

The Cold War may have squandered untold millions of pounds of wealth produced by workers, it may have brought the world time and again to the brink of nuclear holocaust, but it did enable the capitalist system to avoid the periodic lurch into slump and mass unemployment that had previously characterised it.

Arms production provided the system with a built-in additional market for the immense (and constantly growing) productive capacity of industry. It was a market that dealt in the production of the means of destruction (not the production of the means of production or consumption) and so enabled the system to maintain the over-all rate of profit.

Once this stability had been established through the Cold War arms race, other things followed: a high rate of world trade and a high rate of technological investment for weapons research.

Big snags

Both these factors added an immense new stimulus to growth and productivity. That in turn has enabled the system to offset the inflationary impact of massive arms spending.

But the permanent arms economy in the west has been very much American centred. US arms spending has equalled more than half the annual surplus generated by the American economy — surpluses which would otherwise have been invested in the production of goods that would have led eventually to overproduction, falling profit and slump.

But the American arms economy involved big snags for the US ruling class. Foremost was the big balance of payments expense in maintaining military bases, missile installations and wars abroad.

In the past, the Americans have got their 'allies' to subsidise this world wide operation by forcing the countries trading with America to hold over-valued dollars in place of goods or services.

Now the European ruling classes are strong enough to challenge the dollar domination of US imperialism. The result has been a money war which

has forced up the rate of interest.

As far as it is possible to see, the big increase in the cost of money has been crucial in sparking the recent wave of world wide inflation. Once started, inflation today is accelerated by the role of the international firms who are able to pass cost increases on instantly without having to try and absorb them. The inflation timelag between cost and price increases is narrowing.

The arms economy has changed in other ways. It is narrowing in its industrial base. Today the missile complex is far more inflationary in its demands on economic resources than conventional weapons 15 years ago, but fewer industries feel the benefit.

And the creation of new jobs with every increase in arms spending is getting smaller.

The arms economy today is a law unto itself. The technology it gives birth too is less and less relevant to the needs of civil industry.

As a result, capitalism is less able to absorb the shock of cost inflation through increased investment. The contradiction in the arms economy is between the purely military aspect which dictates more inflation and

fewer jobs and the economic needs of the system.

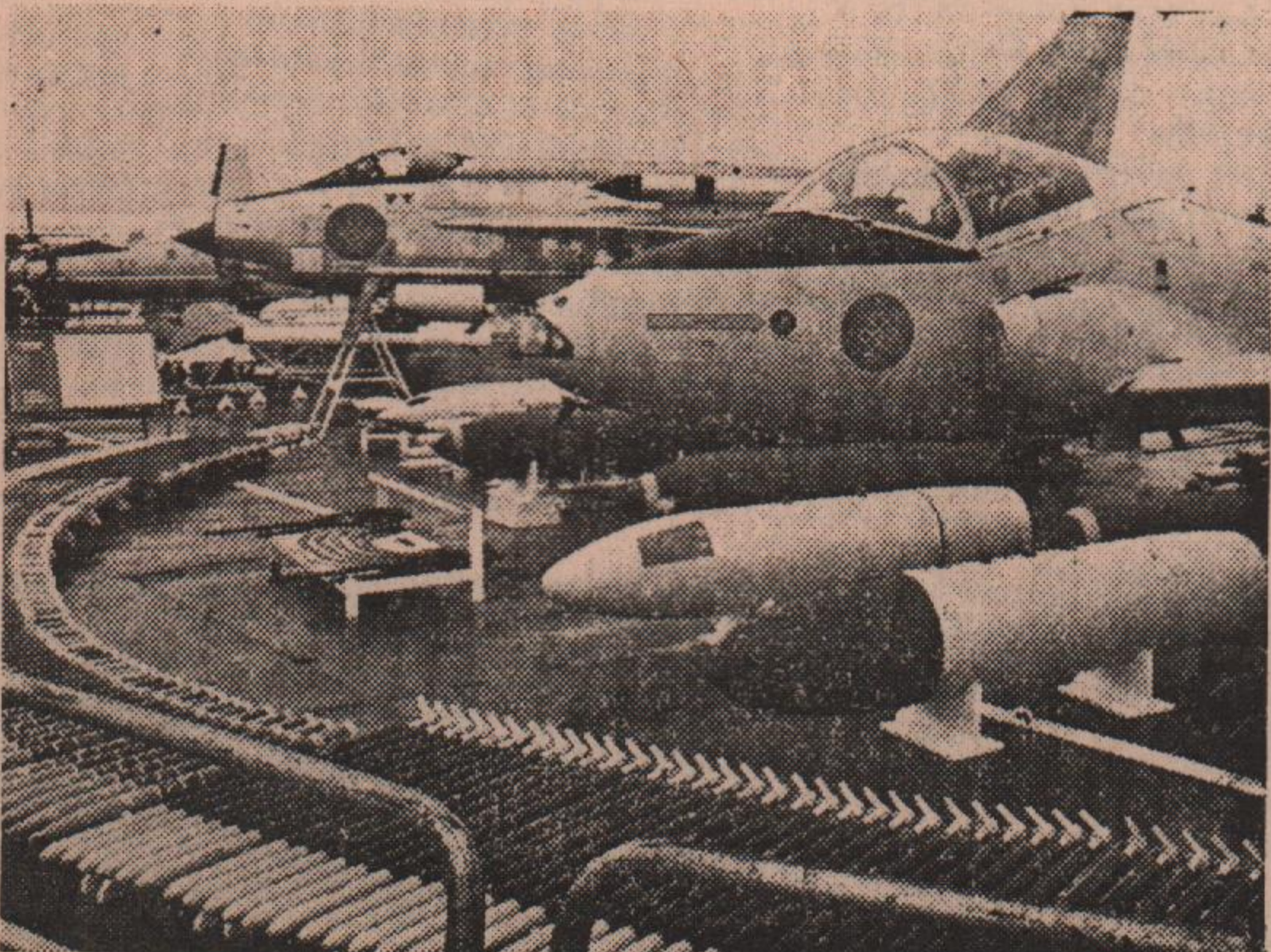
With growth slowing while inflation continues no ruling class dare make a break for expansion because of the fear that the resulting price explosion will start a balance of payments crisis and loss of world markets. As a result the ruling classes are looking for other solutions. Some want a currency free-for-all while others aim to protect their trade by quotas and tariffs (particularly in the US) although this must make the problem worse in the longer run.

Onslaught

But above all they aim to cut working-class living standards by any weapon open to them — unemployment, wage freeze or anti-union laws.

Socialists should understand that the present Tory onslaught on working people reflects a deep-rooted crisis in the system that cannot be removed by trade union militancy alone.

The time to mobilise for fundamental social and political change in this country is now.



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Choke or freeze to

-the choice is yours

AS SURE AS BOXING DAY follows Christmas Day, a dispute concerning power workers is accompanied by press and television hysteria about the workers 'threatening the lives of the old and the young'.

It is quite right for responsible journalists to be concerned at any threats to life through cold or pollution. It is a pity they don't dig a little deeper and discover that the government, while busily condemning the power workers, has taken measures that will certainly increase deaths and sickness this winter.

In the last week of October, Mr Eldon Griffiths of the Department of Environment announced that, in many parts of Britain, the smoke control regulations would no longer apply. Domestic fires would not have to burn smokeless coal or coke-fired.

The Tory's main contribution to European Conservation Year is to sanction pouring more smoke into an already polluted atmosphere.

To keep warm this winter you will either use coal (or coke), electricity, gas or oil burning stoves to heat your home. The first three fuels, coal, electricity and gas are produced by state-owned industries.

When they were nationalised under the Labour government after the war, they were run, right from the start, to supply cheap fuel to private industry.

It is one of the most closely guarded secrets in the land how much private industry pays for its coal. There are figures however, which show the price of electricity for working people's homes compared to what the bosses paid for it.

You can see that the gap between what private industry (industrial) paid for its electricity and what working families (domestic) paid for its electricity widened when the Labour government was in power. Under Attlee in the 1940's and under Wilson in the 1960's, the relative difference was higher than under the Tories. Coal's monopoly as a source of power has declined in recent years. The greater cleanliness and ease of transportability of oil, gas and electricity, combined with deteriorating seam quality of British coal, has led to a steady decline in coal demand and a rise in oil production.

by LIONEL SIMS

The average weekly income of old age pensioners in 1969 was £11 19s 3d. One third, or almost £4 of that went in direct and indirect taxation, 27 per cent went on food, 17 per cent went on rent.

That is 77 per cent gone on the barest means of survival - £9 2s 6d in all. On average each pensioner spends 10 per cent, or £1 4s on fuel, lighting and electric power.

Sixty-four per cent of pensioners - and there are 7½ million in this country - have less than £15 a week to live on.

Every year the poorest 80,000 of those 7½ million can never make that 10 per cent fuel expenditure. So, huddled up with a pathetic little quilt wrapped around them, they quietly freeze to death.

This is not 'natural' death. Why do 80,000 people die from cold, when the fuel industries stoke up profits?

Blurted out

In 1964 the gas industry made £15 million profit out of 121,000 workers, and by 1969 was squeezing £17½ million profit from 120,000 workers.

The statistics for coal are revealing. In a debate on the coal industry in parliament on 29 October, tempers got so heated that one of them actually blurted out the truth. The reason for the high price of coal to the consumer was not the usual one we are given - high costs of production.

It only costs £5 - £6 to raise a ton of the average British coal to the surface. By the time it gets into your back yard, however, the price is £23 7s 6d a ton - after the coal distributors have taken their wack.

Nationalise coal distribution

you say? The Labour wouldn't touch the barge pole. The Coal distributor and financial backer of Party. Its not in interest'.

So with welfare the least organised working class first disabled, single wold - its charcoal this Christmas's fire keep the number of cold at about the same. With one difference be no smoke cont and more sulphur d out of chimney pots

Disabled

The Beaver Report 1952 smog disaster that is the domestic at a lower temperature trial furnaces that cause of a long w. In all 4,000 people many thousands momentarily disabled through illness.

It was that report which put the regulations on the

A recent report Medical Journal has even for children ages of 6 - 10, be up smoking, the pollution on their quite clearly identified. This means that 1,000 children between years of age who have middle class parents live in the country Rural), 48 of them from a chronic cough them will have bronchitis.

But if the children were semi- or unsk

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



HEATH: cynical move

In 1950 coal accounted for 90 per cent of the energy market but by 1969 it only cornered 50 per cent. Oil, which in 1950 had accounted for 10 per cent of the market, had risen to 40 per cent of the energy market by 1969 only.

The greater utility of oil even invaded coal's supremacy in gas production and, with the discovery of natural gas in the early 1960s coal demand dropped drastically.

This scrapping of coal-based gas plants has been going on for a decade. But it is these plants that provided most of the coke for domestic hearths.

The result of these trends has been to decrease production of cheap fuels. Since the high price of gas puts it beyond the reach of many working-class families, and since old houses are in any case equipped to burn only solid fuel, they must go back to using coal or an expensive smokeless substitute.

That is where the top civil servants came up with a bright idea. They told Heath to import a very cheap fuel: French charcoal briquettes, a fuel which makes much more smoke and much less heat than coke.

The utter cynicism of this move is unbelievable. Every winter, regularly, 80,000 old people freeze to death. They simply cannot afford to heat their rooms.

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

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Bolton//Merseyside/St Helens/Wigan/Potteries

MIDLANDS

Birmingham/Coventry/Northampton/Leicester/Oxford/Nottingham

WALES and SOUTH WEST

Bath/Bristol/Cardiff/Exeter/Swansea/Plymouth

SOUTH

Ashford/Brighton/Crawley/Folkestone/Portsmouth/Southampton

EAST

Cambridge/Harlow/Ipswich/Lowestoft/Norwich/Colchester

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

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

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TABLE ONE

	Electricity Supply: average price per unit		
	1948/49	1952/53	1956/57
Domestic	1.34	1.47	1.58
Industrial	0.95	1.08	1.27
Domestic as % of industrial	140%	136%	125%

death

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government idea with a p is the main a powerful the Labour ne 'national

cuts hitting ctions of the - the sick, en and the riques for e. That will aths through e as last year. ce. There will gulations xide pouring

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f the disaster oke control tute book. n the British shown that, between the re they take effect of air ings can be d (Table 2). ut of every en 6 and 10 e upper and (I & II) and ide (English will suffer n and 74 of ffered from

en's parents ed workers



SHELTER picture

As the fight for parity mounts at Ford, GINNY WEST talks to a shop steward about his role in the factory

DENIS O'FLYNN is a 36-year-old shop steward at the Ford Dagenham foundry plant. He has worked at Ford for 17 years, and has been a shop steward for 10.

'I have been called a political animal', he said. 'That is because I believe that every shop steward should have a political education. A shop steward, branch committee member or branch officer who has no political knowledge, is caught flat-footed in any struggle.'

'This has been born out on many an occasion in my own work. For instance, when the Labour government introduced the second stage of the Prices and Incomes policy in 1966, Ford told my work committee that there would be a freeze on merit money, (a kind of bonus system).

'I had read the policy, and I knew the company were jumping the bandwagon. The committee however, comprising six men with no political education, accepted the merit money freeze thinking misguidedly they were being loyal to the Labour government.'

'I went back to the men, explained the Prices and Incomes policy to them, and how it would affect wages, and they told me to fight Ford on the issue of merit money.'

'Anything I feel needs discussing I pin on the main noticeboard and when talking to the men I talk about things which not only affect them on immediate local levels, but general questions.'

Excuse to make money

'What I try to get over is that workers should have a fair share of the common wealth. Everything has a political significance. I raise the question of class exploitation and I also try to personalise it in relation to the men's specific jobs.'

'Other stewards at Fords were resentful of the freeze on merit money but did not know how to fight it.'

'Firstly, I said that the company was using the Prices and Incomes policy as a weak excuse to make more money. Secondly, I attacked the Labour government for making the workers pay for the debt left over from the Tories.'

'The two things could not be isolated from one another. If we were to be equipped to defend ourselves against Ford attacks on our money, we had to know exactly what the government was up to.'

'A political education was necessary. Men had to know who the enemy was, and why we the workers had a right to fight back. To do this, the shop steward has a duty to make his men on the shop floor more aware of their own position and their potential power.'

'I also raise the question of nationalisation with workers' control.'

Responsibility to others

'If workers were managing industry, they would be catering for overall requirements. If workers decide to take over Ford, they have a responsibility to people like old age pensioners, fellow workers, to the community in general.'

'It's not a question of dividing vast profits into Ford workers pockets, but to help the society with that money where it most needs help. In medical research, building hospitals and schools, in housing and so on. This the men understand.'

'The shop steward is the direct representative of the men. He is the man who gets things sorted out. This is called procedure.'

'One case of instant action taken without going through official channels was when we were told the line was to be speeded up and it was not negotiable.'

'The men just walked out. The union did not back us. After 10 days we came back and then operated a go-slow for six weeks. We were 100 per cent success-

Unity can beat Tory laws

ful. Now I go down the line with a stop watch checking speed and if it is one second over that time fixed those years ago, I have it adjusted.'

'One example of how a steward is made ineffectual unless the 'procedure' of industrial relations and communications are improved is the lack of facilities to contact men. The worker is the most important man in industry, and yet he is only informed of agreements made, second-hand. The Steward must try and report back to him first hand.'

'If a steward tries to hold a meeting in working hours, say in the canteen, the likelihood is he will be sacked. 17 men have suffered this way at Ford.'

'The ingredients are available for a national shop stewards movement, which could mobilise and properly help and represent workers.'

Workers ready to fight

'I don't place any trust in union leaders. In times of crisis, as in 1926, leadership came from the shop floor. In future struggle, as with the vicious anti-trade union laws, it will only be pressure from the rank and file which will defeat the Tory plans.'

'I would say to all shop stewards that the workers are ready to fight. There have been more strikes this year than 1926, I wanted 8 December and I want more.'

'We will not be shackled. Any threat or penalisation against me or anybody else, and my men will be out. They have indicated this to me quite plainly.'

'And to those stewards in backward industries, I advise them to stretch their arms out to the 'Big Brothers' industries, in their own areas. United we will beat the legislation.'

living in the countryside 96 out of 1,000 have a chronic cough and 88 past bronchitis. This is in the countryside in fresh air.

Living in more built up towns and cities where, of course, most working class kids live, the class differences grow.

While for middle class children the chances of contracting a chronic cough increase by 17 per cent on moving to places like Newcastle and Bolton, for a working class child the chances increase 55 per cent. Between them, the working class child is three times more likely to get a chronic cough living in cities than a middle class child.

You can see from the table that a middle class child's chances

of getting bronchitis actually goes down by 7 per cent on moving to the city, while a working class child's chances go up by 41 per cent. Between them the working class child is twice as likely to get bronchitis living in cities than middle class children.

Care and protect

This medical survey was made in 1969 when smoke control regulations were in force. Even then the higher incomes of the middle class provided them with the means to care for and protect their children from the harmful polluted air in the cities. The working class had no such right.

With an attack on wages through rising prices and rising

unemployment, an attack on the welfare state and now the demolition of the smoke control regulations, working people have nothing to gain from industry and government run for profit in the future.

First to feel the effect will be the old people. After years and years of work, smoking as one little pleasure in life, and now the danger of smog on an ever increasing scale, their lungs will not be able to last out the winter.

Inferior grade

The Tories and civil servants hope to shift the blame for what would have been increasing cases of old people freezing to death because of profitable fuel policies, to an increasing number of cases of choking and bronchial illness through encouraging the use of an inferior grade of fuel for the poor and aged.

One thing is clear. Under an industrial system run for profit, this winter tens of thousands of old people face the prospect of freezing to death because of the high price of coal, or choking to death through the increasing use of a second-rate fuel.

TABLE TWO

Age (in pence)	Age-adjusted morbidity ratios for chronic cough and past bronchitis for children in different social classes	Chronic Cough			Past Bronchitis		
		I and II	III	IV and V	I and II	III	IV and V
		1966/67	1966/67	1966/67	1966/67	1966/67	1966/67
1.95							
1.48	Newcastle & Bolton	56	105	149	69	104	124
132%	Bristol & Reading	69	104	126	88	95	98
	English Rural	48	89	96	74	80	88

1927: the unions throw in the towel

The struggles of the 1920s, up to the General Strike of 1926, were very different from those of the previous years. Most of the strikes that occurred during World War One and even earlier, from about 1910, were spontaneous, unco-ordinated outbursts in which the leadership was unofficial.

The official leaders remained hostile to these struggles, especially during the war when the unions at national level had become part of the machinery of state.

After 1919, however, official trade unionism was directly involved, and the struggles took the form of confrontations between large, disciplined forces on both sides.

The defeat of these struggles and of the General Strike in particular revealed the true nature of trade union officials.

With the capitalist system in a deepening slump, the trade union leaders in the 1920s vacillated between defending the interests of their members against intensifying employers' attacks, and defending their own privileged positions as bureaucrats of the labour movement.

As the crisis grew worse, and the onslaught on wages and conditions became more severe, the union leaders were forced to go beyond mere words. There was evidence that in spite of the renewed downward trend in the economy from 1925, the rank and file were in a fighting mood whose limits the leaders did not know and whose potential they feared.

Faced with such a massive onslaught by the employers and the state, the labour movement could in the end have only defended itself by going over to the offensive. This meant mobilising the working class to prepare it for a revolutionary challenge to the system.

Surrender

Nothing could have frightened the union leaders more. When it came to the crunch, they preferred to surrender to the ruling class rather than deepen a struggle that would have unleashed new sources of energy and confidence in their own rank and file.

Even the 'left' leaders on the General Council, Purcell and Hicks, accepted the final betrayal without a fight against the right wing.

The union leaders used the aftermath of the surrender to consolidate their own power against their militant members. About a month after the enactment of the anti-union legislation of 1927, Hicks in his presidential address to the TUC offered to collaborate with the employers 'in a common endeavour to improve the efficiency of industry and to raise the workers' standard of life.'

The invitation was taken up by a group of leading industrialists headed by Sir Alfred Mond, founder of ICI. 'Mondism', as it became known, was a policy of peace with the employers.

It involved as Emanuel Shinwell said at the time, the 'blunt bargain whereby the trade union keeps the men in order, the employer in return agrees to employ union men only.'

The real meaning of 'Mondism' soon made itself clear. Conditions got worse throughout industry, with extensive speedup, the breaking of piece rates and the violation of agreements. Union membership declined, TUC affiliations dropping by half a million from 1926-8.

The Tories lost the 1929 election on an upsurge of working class resentment against the Baldwin government, the crushing of the miners and

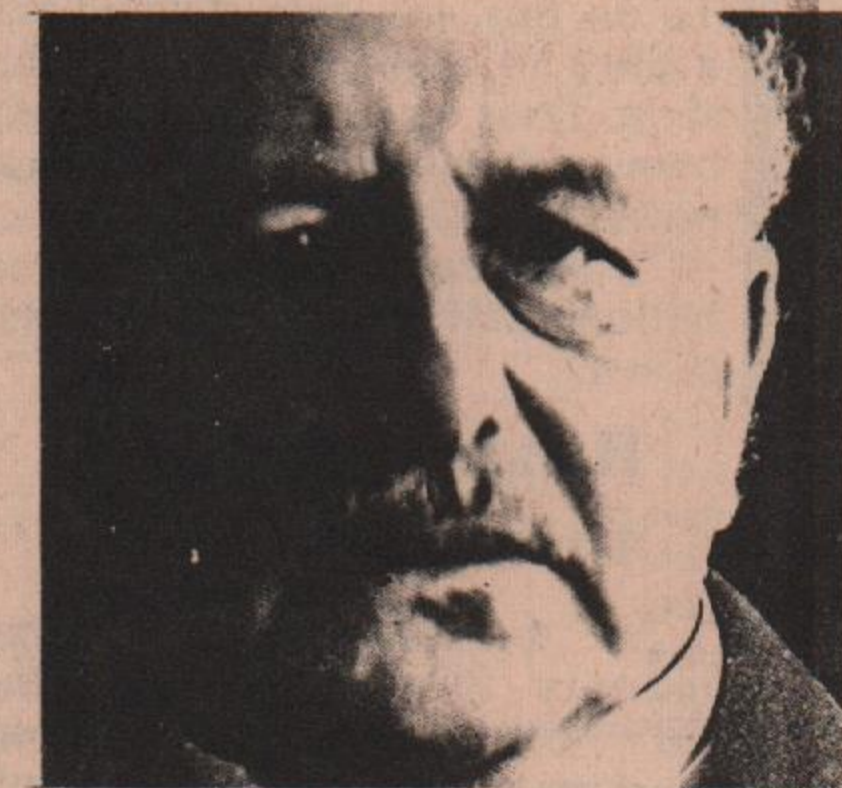


A TUC demonstration in London, 1927, against union laws.

Part three of a series by SABBY SAGALL

the anti-union legislation. But the new Labour government proved itself even more timid than its 1924 predecessor.

A surging flood of unemployment followed the world economic crash of 1929. The Labour government tried to deal with the crisis by imposing economies at the expense of the working class and the unemployed in particular.



MOND: a policy of 'peace'

After 1931, the 'National' government continued this policy. At no point was there any concerted struggle against it on the part of the trade union leadership.

With the exception of the cotton industry, there were to be no more large-scale official strikes. Even when the start of re-armament introduced a revival from about 1935, the union leadership remained passive and defeatist.

The struggles in the 1930s against massive unemployment (nearly three million in 1932), against cuts in unemployment benefits and the means test were conducted by the National Unemployed Workers' Movement

The attitude of the TUC General Council to the NUWM was one of unceremonious rejection. Although the NUWM were able in March 1932 to mobilise crowds of 100,000 and 150,000 to greet their national hunger marches, their annual deputations to the TUC were always refused admission.

The notoriously right-wing secretary of the TUC, Sir Walter Citrine, denounced the NUWM as 'a subsidiary of the Communist Party'.

The anti-union legislation of 1927 provided a useful cover for the class collaborationist policies of Citrine and co. After the 1933 TUC conference had heard an ASLEF resolution calling for a general strike in the event of war, Citrine declared that such an act would be illegal!

During the General Strike and after, the Communist Party were not strong enough to organise any effective opposition to the TUC. But the evidence suggests that the process of Stalinist degeneration had already set in: too much reliance was placed on 'left' leaders like Purcell and Hicks.

But after the onset of the great depression, the tasks of even a genuine revolutionary leadership were becoming progressively tougher. Mass unemployment paralysed trade union activity and union membership continued to fall until 1933.

Only in 1935 did the TUC announce the first increase in membership since 1930.

Although productivity increased by 20 per cent between 1932 and 1937, real net wages were static or declining, while, in relation to the total wealth produced wages fell tremendously. It was estimated in the 1930s that 80 per cent of miners were below the poverty line, 57 per cent of public utility workers, 50 per cent of building workers and 46 per cent of textile workers.

It was only with the relative full employment produced by the war and the post-war boom that there was a resurgence of trade union activity, and a growth in the militancy and confidence of the organised working class.

THE MEANING OF MARXISM

A weekly column by Duncan Hallas



'BY 1968 THE FREE WORLD'S ECONOMY will be dominated by some 300 large companies, responsible for most of the world's industrial output... It is possible that 200 out of the 300 mentioned... will be American... Already the rise in the USA share of international companies is overwhelming.

'Before the war foreign investments of companies engaged in international business was 15,000 million dollars. Now it is 100,000 million dollars and is still rising. The total book value of the foreign investments of USA companies in overseas affiliates amounts to about 60 per cent of the total.'

This is not an extract from an updated version of 'New Data for Lenin's "Imperialism"'. It is quoted from a speech made in Jerusalem in 1969 by Mr. Peter Parker, Chairman of Booker's, one of the household names of British colonial enterprise.

Imperialism is still with us. It still blights the lives of the majority of the world's people. It is still responsible for numerous 'dirty wars', of which Vietnam is only the biggest, bloodiest and best known.

From the Congo in 1960 to Muscat and Oman in 1970, the imperialist powers still intervene in the interests of the international profiteers.

All that has changed, at first sight, is the ideology. We have progressed from 'the white man's burden' to 'defence of the free world'.

And yet there have been real changes since Lenin's day. One of the key points in Lenin's theory was the overwhelming importance of the export of capital from the 'developed' capitalist countries to the 'third world'.

Another was the corruption of the 'labour aristocracy' in the west by the crumbs from the 'superprofits' of imperialism. This, in Lenin's view, was the real basis of the Labour and Social Democratic leaderships' abandonment of socialism and the class struggle.

'Bought off'

Later theorists have carried this idea further and argued that not just a labour aristocracy but the entire working class of the 'developed' countries have been 'bought off' by imperialism.

'The developed countries succeeded in exporting their internal problems and transferring the conflict between rich and poor from the national to the international stage,' writes Kwame Nkrumah.

'When Africa becomes economically free and politically united, the monopolists will come face to face with the working class in their own countries, and a new struggle will arise within which the liquidation and collapse of imperialism will be complete.'

In fact neither the export of capital nor the 'superprofits' of imperialism play the role they once did. The export of capital from 'advanced' to 'backward' areas, a major stabilising influence on capitalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, is now relatively unimportant.

Certainly it is far too small to account for the profound modification of the boom-slump cycle that has been so marked in the last 20 years.

Decline

In the case of Britain, the largest capital exporter in 1914, 'the significance of capital exports has declined enormously: latterly they have been running at slightly over 2 per cent of gross national product compared with 8 per cent in the period before World War I, they now absorb less than 10 per cent of savings compared with some 50 per cent before, and returns on foreign investments have been running slightly over 2 per cent of national income compared with 4 per cent in the 1880s, 7 per cent in 1907 and 10 per cent in 1914.'

Between 1895 and 1913, 61 per cent of all new capital issues were on overseas account, by 1938 they were down to 30 per cent and more recently accounted for no more than 20 per cent of the total.'

True the decline in British overseas investment has gone hand in hand

Exports no longer the key

with an increase in that of the USA. In 1914 the UK had 50 per cent of all foreign investment and the USA 6 per cent. In 1960 the proportions were: UK, 24 per cent, USA, 59 per cent.

In spite of this the total flow of capital exports from Europe and the USA to the 'third world' is relatively small. In fact, if the oil industry is excluded, it is arguable that there has been no net capital export at all for long periods in the recent past.

Nor is this picture much modified if 'aid' is taken into account. 'Such "aid" is estimated on the annual average to have amounted to 6000 million dollars between 1960 and 1962. But the sums taken out of the aided countries by donors in a sample year 1961 are estimated at 5000 million dollars in profits.'

Vital role

Export of capital plays a vital role in modern capitalism but it is, overwhelmingly, export from one developed country to another. Its economic significance is thus entirely different.

It cannot be a major factor in permitting the growth of capital accumulation whilst offsetting the rising demand for labour power. It cannot account for the 'corruption', either of 'labour aristocracies' or of whole working classes by the crumbs of 'superprofits'.

These parts of Lenin's theory had a lot of relevance in 1920. They have very little today.

The inherent instability of capitalism is not mainly offset by capital exports today and has not been so offset since World War I. The great slump of 1929-32 is proof enough of that.

To understand the great expansion of capitalist production since World War II it is necessary to examine the expansion of that part of the total output which consists neither of 'Wage goods' nor of 'capital goods'.

The Struggle for Socialism

A simple outline of the International Socialists' case for revolutionary politics

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NEXT WEEK: boom years of the 50s

Seven times seven



APOLOGIES for returning again to The Frost Programme, but last weekend's obscene pillorying of the power station workers requires comment.

David Frost proclaims his programme to be a glowing confirmation of the fact that free speech and uncensored opinion really do exist in our society. In reality it is a mockery of free speech.

Frost is a hypocrite. When 'celebrities' such as King Hussein appear on the programme they are treated with grovelling respect by our toothy hero. The questions carefully avoid controversy and the audience is left in the back-ground to add polite applause before the commercial break.

Compare that attitude to the one adopted when people such as hippies or strikers appear. Frost doesn't attempt to interpret their ideas. He stands aside and lets the audience give voice to their prejudices.

Last weekend, five power workers confronted an audience of 200 people, most of whom were convinced that the five were personally responsible for murder. When a fascist farmer declared that, given a shotgun, he would personally shoot all five, he was cheered.

If Frost was really concerned about 'free speech' and getting the power workers to put their case, he should have used his undoubted interviewing skill to draw the facts from the five men.

Twenty minutes spent establishing the men's case would have prepared the ground for a sensible discussion with members of the audience. As it was the workers were left to be shouted down, mocked at by Frost for their verbal clumsiness and totally unable to reply to the prejudice and ignorance of their inquisitors.

On such occasions, The Frost Programme is a modern gladiators' contest, with 'minority' groups that refuse to conform to the middle-class consensus thrown to the lions for the greater profit of the network bosses, the advertisers — and Mr David Frost.

Marvellous

EVELYN WAUGH was a dreadful reactionary. He hated blacks, Jews, socialism and progress and he despised and feared the working class.

But because he was a hangover from an earlier, feudal time, when aristocrats ruled and everyone from baron to peasant knew his place in society without question, he also hated capitalism and the squalid and grubby middle class upstarts who run it.

The result was a series of novels that are among the funniest of the century, remorselessly stripping away the values, morals and attitudes of the upper and middle classes.

The BBC always rises to the occasion when they dramatise Waugh's novels. It may have something to do with the substantial number of feudal relics that inhabit Broadcasting House and Television Centre.

For the past two Wednesdays, BBC 2 has presented brilliant versions of *Vile Bodies* and *Put Out More Flags*, the first showing the decay of the Bright Young Things as the 1930s drag inevitably towards bloody disaster, the second following the fortunes of these ageing hippies of a previous era during the Second World War.

'Brilliantly acted, with the humour underscored by a savage cynicism of our worthless society, the plays brought comfort to socialists with their picture of a weak and spineless ruling class.

They will be followed for the next two Wednesdays by adaptations of two novels by another satirist, Aldous Huxley. Don't miss them.

David East

GOEBBELS IS ALIVE AND WORKING AT THE EVENING STANDARD...

Dreaming of a Red Christmas

LORD ROBENS, chairman of the National Coal Board, has issued the following statement:

'I feel it is my duty to warn you all of a plot I have uncovered to attack the hearts and minds of the nation's children.

'I have information in my possession which suggests that over the Yuletide season a bunch of dangerous agitators will be visiting these shores. They will be wearing red cloaks and big black boots. They have long hair and beards.

'They travel under various aliases—S Claus and F Christmas. These unlawful immigrants arrive secretly by night — their country of origin is unknown.

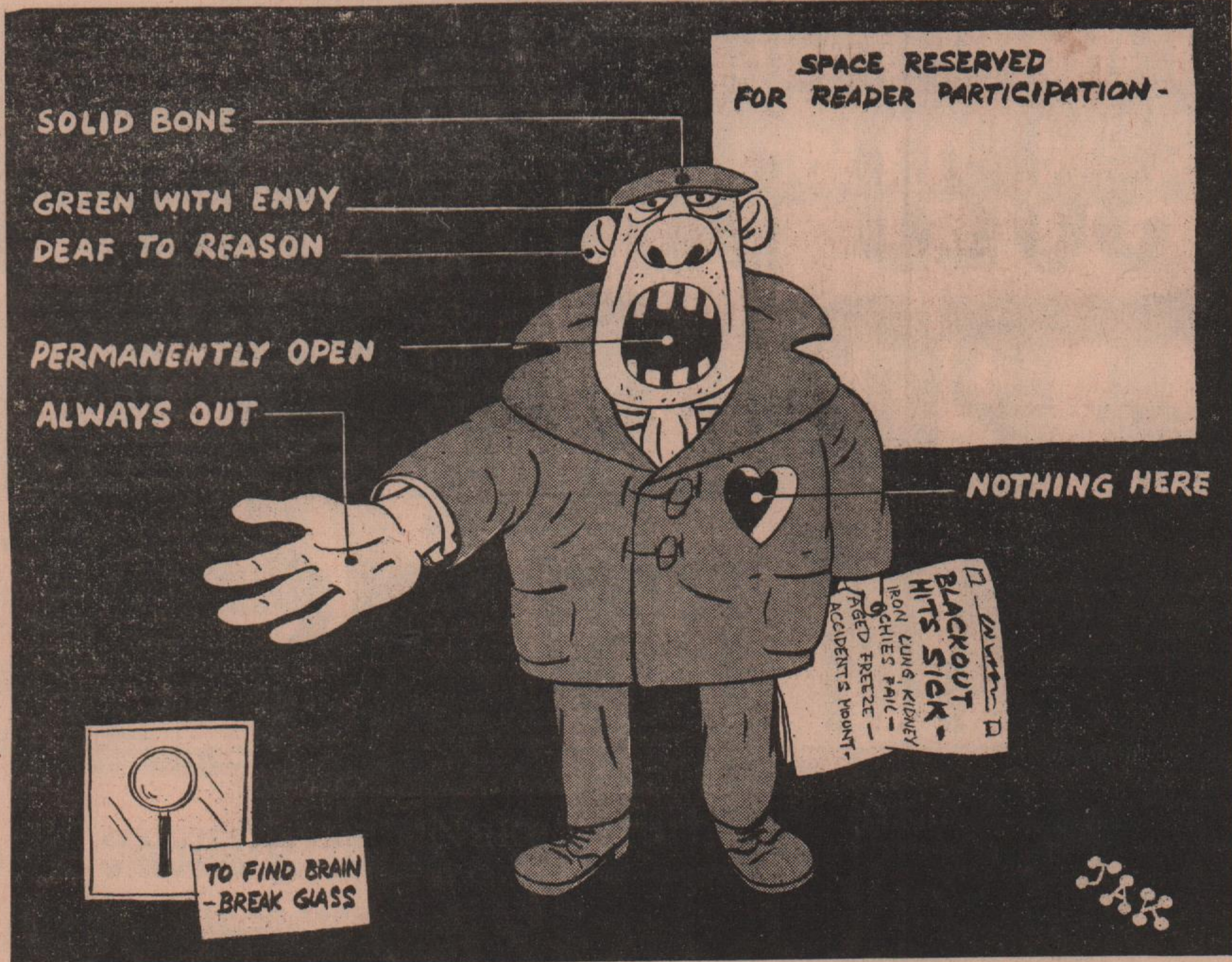
'Their stated intention is to visit every home in the UK, but will they be open about their activities?

'They will sneak down your chimneys at dead of night and to win over your children they will put smuggled presents in their socks.

'They will try to organise a General Strike on 25 December just for fun. Their slogan 'Ho, Ho, Ho' is a clear reference to the late North Vietnamese leader.

'At present they are to be found in the big stores in our great cities, openly flaunting themselves in their grottoes and whispering in the ears of our children.

'Workers of England: Awake!' Reprinted from the GEC (Manchester, Trafford Park) Bulletin.



The infamous Jak cartoon from last week's London Evening Standard

COTTONS COLUMN

MILITANT JOURNALISTS' hearts skipped a beat or two last week when they heard that the Federated House Chapel at the London Evening Standard had refused to print the paper containing Jack's Nazi-style cartoon (reproduced above) until a statement of dissociation appeared alongside.

The federated chapel links all the unions within the paper — so they thought. Here at long last was united action by journalists and printworkers against witchhunting and vilification.

But hearts soon stopped skipping and started dropping. For when the Standard finally appeared in the late afternoon with the federated chapel's statement, the paper also published a resolution from the journalists' chapel.

The blue pencil men of the NUJ wanted it to be known that they were no partner to the disgraceful behaviour of the 'mechanical' unions downstairs. In fact, the NUJ was not even part of the federated chapel.

The toffee-nosed white-collar warriors stabbed their fellow trade unionists smartly in the back by strongly protesting at the stoppage of work. It is the editor's right to decide what goes in the paper's column, they solemnly intoned. Not surprisingly, the NUJ chapel were the heroes of Fleet Street, given front page prominence in the next day's papers.

Fortunately, the Standard men do not speak for the whole union. On Monday the 4000-strong Magazine and Book branch of the NUJ carried a strongly-worded resolution congratulating the Standard printworkers and deploring the hypocritical attitude of the journalists.

Browned off

LORD GEORGE-BROWN of Belper attacked the Standard printworkers in The Times last week. He had not seen Jak's cartoon but 'the situation is too reminiscent of 1926 for me to



BROWN: like 1926

keep quiet'.

Now that's interesting. What the noble Belper is alluding to is the action of printworkers on the Daily Mail in 1926 when they refused to print an inflammatory anti-union editorial.

The editorial was almost certainly a put-up job between the paper and the government. The Tories were ready and anxious for a showdown with the unions but Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin was thwarted by the TUC leaders who were only too willing to come to a wretched agreement over cutting the miners' pay.

The printers' action was the excuse used by Baldwin to call off further talks. The General Strike, to the horror of the union leaders, was under way.

So whose side was Lord George on — the Tory government's or the workers'? Don't bother to write in...

SOLIDARITY CORNER: the dental section of the Socialist Medical Association announced before the end of the power dispute that they would treat free of charge any of the workers who came to them for attention.

And on Teesside a bus conductress stopped her bus and ordered off a group of passengers who were threatening some power workers. 'We've just had a work to rule and we know what it's like,' she declared.

Naked truth

MEANWHILE, back with the aristo-

cracy. The Dowager Lady Birdwood has received some notoriety of late for her attempts to close down plays such as Hair and Oh! Calcutta in which some of the thespians remove their clothing.

The Dowager, who, praise be, always appears fully clothed in public, has now switched her attention to strikers. She has formed a poison-pen club with a group of fellow titled parasites and retired generals who will send letters to workers in dispute, telling them to get back to work and stop ruining the economy.

We suggest that strikers thus abused should parade outside Lady Birdwood's residence — in the nude, of course.

Sogat to'em

THERE WAS little press coverage for the speeches made after the London demonstration on 8 December against the anti-union laws. Not surprising — they wanted to paint a picture of a totally unofficial day of action.

In fact, the rally in the Central Hall was officially organised by SOGAT Division A and the highlight of the meeting was the contribution of Vincent Flynn, general secretary of the printworkers' union.

'The Tories may have difficulties with the national unions but they can live with them,' he said. 'And, by God, if we look at some of the so-called leaders of the trade union movement, they can live with anyone.'

In one scorching sentence, he dismissed the absurdity of lobbying MPs: 'I have a great respect for the dead and I don't believe in disturbing them.'

THE LABOUR PARTY's diary for 1971 proudly lists the 'achievements' of the last Labour government. Included in the list are: 'Doubling the cost of expenditure on new equipment for the police and enrolling 10,000 new policemen.'

Last word from Lawrence Daly

DUE TO the fact that I have been away in the coal fields, I have only now seen John Charlton's reply (5 December).

As we remain unimpressed by the other's viewpoint, further argument would be futile. — LAWRENCE DALY, secretary, National Union of Mineworkers, Euston Road, London NW1.

NOTICES

IS MEMBER seeks accommodation in MANCHESTER to share with other comrade(s). Monday-Friday. Write R Hill, 142 Princes Road, Liverpool 8.

TO the Bristol branch, a new member, Garrick Barker, born 27 November. Long live the membership campaign!

SOCIALIST WORKER urgently requires typewriters, any condition, preferably free.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 45. Now out. Includes Jim Higgins on the Minority Movement, Ian Birchall on Jean-Paul Sartre, the Tory offensive, book reviews, 356d post paid, £1 for a year, from IS magazine, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

HISTORY WORKSHOP: workers' control in 19th century England. Victorian shop stewards/Victorian strikers/printers vs machinery/journeymen coopers/Liverpool dockers/West End Tailors/Victorian railwaymen/Lancashire mill girls/workers' opposition in Nazi Germany/History Workshop Theatre, 'The Factory Lad', a socialist realist drama of 1832, etc, etc. Sleeping floor accommodation. Saturday 13 February, Sunday 14. Tickets and programme 10s. from History Workshop, Ruskin College, Oxford.

LAST MINUTE present problem? Rush to IS Books for a wide selection of marxist and socialist classics, modern paperbacks and novels. 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN. Tel: 739 2639. Nearest tubes: Liverpool Street, Old Street. Cottons Gardens is first turning on right in Kingsland High Road.

Socialist Worker

AEUW call for national strike

THE FOUNDRY WORKERS section of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers has called on the TUC General Council to make 12 January a national one-day strike against the Tories' anti-union Bill.

And the Foundry Workers will table the following resolution at a special AEUW conference in February:

'This AEUW conference believes that only a national strike will defeat the Indus-

trial Relations Bill and therefore calls on the General Council of the TUC to instigate such action, a national strike to continue until the Bill is withdrawn.'

Newsmen to act

JOURNALISTS will take action on 12 January as well - the TUC's 'day of protest' against the Bill.

On Monday the Magazine and Book branch of the NUJ, the second biggest branch of the union with 4000 members, voted to hold a demonstration on 12 January in working time. It called on the union executive to authorise such action and to instruct all their 24,000 members to take similar action.

A delegation from the branch met the union leaders on Friday to discuss the resolution.

Strike demands shake union brass

by SW Reporter

AN UNEXPECTED chill wind of militancy invaded the cosy warmth of Congress House last Saturday when more than a thousand delegates attended a TUC London regional conference on the anti-union laws.

Vic Feather reserved his venom for those involved in the 8 December strike. He warned trade unionists not to be exploited by 'unofficial factions for their own purposes' on 12 January - the day of protest should not interfere with normal working.

The speech boiled down to continuing the TUC's educational campaign 'directed at all fair-minded people' - there would be a specially recalled congress in March to decide TUC policy if the Bill was made law.

Basking briefly in the lukewarm applause for his speech, Feather left abruptly for another engagement - leaving the delegates to Len Murray (his assistant) and Lord Cooper, (GMWU) both of whom were heckled. A call from the floor for support for the power workers was warmly received by the delegates.

Ended in chaos

Speaker after speaker slammed Feather and the TUC for their ineffectual action and supported 8 December stoppage.

The meeting ended in chaos with Lord Cooper shouting 'no' in panicky response to loud chants for a resolution to be accepted calling for a general strike on 12 January. What could have been a valuable step forward in the fight against the laws fizzled out as it had begun - with hot air from the corridors of TUC power.

But what was heartening was the militancy from the floor and the increasing political awareness of what is at stake in this fight. Both passed unnoticed in the press (including the Morning Star) which contented themselves with merely reporting Feather's speech.

MORRIS MOTORS: A CORRECTION

LAST WEEK'S edition contained a headline that suggested that workers at the Austin Morris car assembly plant (Morris Motors) at Cowley, Oxford, had accepted Measured Day Work.

This is not the case. In fact, an interim payment on the ADO 28 line has been accepted by one section only, pending the negotiation of payment for the new line. This does not commit the workers to accepting Measured Day Work.

This was made clear in the text of the article. The incorrect headline was the result of a wrong interpretation of the article at editorial level and was not the responsibility of our Oxford reporter. We apologise to him and to the workers at Morris Motors.

'SOLD DOWN THE RIVER' - POWER MEN SLAM UNIONS

SW Reporter

THE WORK TO RULE by the electricity power workers ended on Monday with the total surrender by the trade union leaders to the government. By accepting a Court of Inquiry with the 'public and national interest' as terms of reference, the union leaders made sure that their members will be offered no more than the employers' 'final offer' of 10 per cent.

Frank Chapple, chairman of the union negotiators, threw in the towel with the remark that 'the public have had enough'. Such talk accepts the lies and

hysteria of the press that attempts to portray workers as a tiny minority battling against the majority.

Had the unions used their strength and finances to counter the press barrage they could have won substantial support for the power men's case.

It is a strong case. Wages are low, battered by inflation and productivity bargaining. Rock-bottom rates for labourers are £15 17s 6d a week and the highest paid craft workers only average £25.

WITCHHUNT

As the average overtime per week is only 1½ hours, it is difficult for the workers to boost their low wages. And in recent years the working of productivity deals, encouraged by the union leaders, has cut severely the number of workers in the industry, from 141,509 in 1966 to 115,278 now.

The workers were the subject of the most vicious witchhunt seen for many years. Stories of possible deaths and disasters were given headline treatment, without any attempt to substantiate them.

And none of the papers made it clear that it is a management decision to cut off power supplies, not the workers'. Cuts were stepped up deliberately and unnecessarily in order to whip up feeling against the workers.

Two leading militants in the power industry in Manchester hit out sharply at the role of the union leaders this week in an interview with Socialist Worker.

Wally Preston and Ted Kelly are both members of the editorial board of the rank and file power workers' paper Advance.

'We've been sold down the river by the officials,' they declared. 'They were more worried about what the government thought than about their own members.'

'The government was very astute. Heath whipped up the public for his own ends.'

'The government has spent huge sums of money, running into tens of millions, on new plant for the industry that is way behind schedule or not working well,' they added. 'But they scream when workers ask for a small wage increase.'

RESENTMENT

'The union leaders made no effort to put our case. There is a lot of resentment in the stations. We bore the brunt of the attacks and we feel let down.'

'The officials did not contact their members in other nationalised industries to give us support. Action from men in gas and water supply could have been decisive.'

They laughed at the idea of an 'impartial' Court of Inquiry. 'It is impossible, particularly when the "national interest" is involved - that means the bosses' interest.'

'But there's no need for an inquiry,' they went on. 'The facts are clear.'

'Thousands of leaflets should have been produced. We'll have to do it ourselves next time.'

'The rank and file will have to be better organised. We will have to have more say in the running of the unions.'

'A delegate conference led to the unions taking action in the first place. The unions' decision was taken without discussion with the rank and file.'

Copies of Advance are obtainable from 68 Fountains Road, Stretford, Lancs. The International Socialists produced 120,000 leaflets putting the power workers' case.

Vicious smear on militant printworkers

by SW Reporter

A VICIOUS smear campaign against members of the International Socialists in the printing industry is being carried out by the wide distribution of an anonymous leaflet.

The leaflet is addressed to 'all NATSOPAS' - members of Division 1 of SOGAT whose executive recently decided to split from Division A.

The writers of the leaflet - which has no printer's imprint or publisher's address - equate International Socialist printers with the semi-fascist Edward Martell. It says that their aim is to weaken the trade unions, acting as agents of the employers.

On Tuesday, Mr Charles Fulford, assistant secretary of the London Machine Branch of NATSOPA (SOGAT Division 1) and chairman of the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, which links all the printing unions, said: 'The leaflet has nothing to do with NATSOPA'.

He asked for copies of the leaflet to be sent to him so that efforts could be made to discover the people responsible for putting it out.

A statement by IS Printworkers said: 'We have been accused by certain elements of seeking the destruction of NATSOPA. On the contrary, we have always been in favour of stronger trade unions in the print.'

'Where the difference lies of course is that we, as socialists, have been in favour of one union for the industry based on shop floor unity.'

'SOGAT we saw as a step towards this unity and therefore we support any efforts to maintain SOGAT, short of taking the issue into the capitalist courts.'

'If, however, SOGAT cannot be maintained we shall work with and within NATSOPA along with all other print unions for the socialist principles we believe in.'

TO ALL NATSOPAS

PRINT UNIONS MAIN TARGET FOR WRECKERS THE SO CALLED INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Remember the right wing Tory, Edward Martell? He tried to break the Print Unions. He failed but these people never give up. Now in a new guise masquerading as Socialists they are at it again.

Our Union is being attacked as the main target, the more efficient, stable and militant a Union is the more it draws the attacks from the so called International Socialists.

WHO ARE THE SO CALLED INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS?

The International Socialists are mainly broken down intellectuals and nutter students and many others who have a vested interest in seeing a weakened Trade Union Movement. There are possibly a few misguided, mistaken idealists among them who to them are just the tools to be put up as front-men but they can be vicious and dangerous if left unchecked. So Beware! Be vigilant and realise that the right wing forces of reaction and anti Trade Union groups do not rely only on frontal attacks on the Trade Union movement but are quite capable of putting in Agent Provocators.

WHAT ARE THEY UP TO?

They are actually against Socialism, the Trade Unions and the Working Class. Their activities in seeking to weaken the Organised Trade Union Movement is deliberate and for a special purpose.

By attempting to destroy the faith of the rank and file Trade Unionists in their democratically elected leaders, they hope the rank and file will then be confused and turn to them to provide the leadership which they in turn can use for their own ends.

In the coming confrontation between the whole of the Working Class movement and the Employers ruling class the Trade Union movement will be lead like lambs to the slaughter. That is their purpose.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

Some people seem afraid to attack them and take them on. We are not. When the International Socialists met at the Africa Centre on Sunday November 15th the rank and file loyal NATSOPA members went along and told them to mind their own business and leave our Union alone and that the rank and file did not need organising into their lunatic set-up because they were already organised into a disciplined Trade Union.

We sent them away feeling sorry for themselves but we must make them feel sorer yet. We must attack them wherever they show themselves because if we do not keep it up and we leave it to these maniacs we will have no living left.

The few people they have conned in the Print Unions must be exposed as the stooges of the ruling class that they are. They do not act openly but attempt to infiltrate into Chapels and firms in the most insidious way and it is up to everyone who believes in a strong disciplined Trade Union Organisation to watch for them and stop them in whatever guise they appear. We as a rank and file defensive group are determined to stop this mob and expose them wherever they appear.

The Trade Unions are strong and we want to keep them strong and appeal to all members to wake up to this menace and fight it.

They are trying it in all the Unions and in particular the Print Trade Unions, and so we would urge that the rank and file from all Unions to Beware and join our fight to stop these lunatics.

A copy of the slanderous leaflet

GENERAL STRIKE

from page one

official action capable of defeating the Tory proposals will be taken and the way will be cleared for a 'reluctant' surrender by the General Council.

Savage attacks on power workers, standing firm to 'excessive' wage demands, cuts in social services, growing unemployment and the spread of productivity deals are all part of the offensive by the employers and the government against the working class.

The fight against the Tory laws cannot be separated from the daily struggle for a better standard of living, opposition to redundancies and control over workshop conditions.

Throughout the current battle against the government and the employers, one fact has been clearly proved: the cowardice and incapacity of either the so-called 'left' or right-wing trade union leaderships to conduct a militant fight.

It is impossible to successfully defeat the Tories without stepping up the fight within the unions for democracy and a militant policy.

This is what must be done:

1. Step up the fight against the Bill. Make 12 January a day of mass action.
2. Demand that the TUC call a general strike and commit itself to disobeying the anti-union laws.
3. Build Councils of Action in every area to organise the fight against the Bill and give assistance to workers in struggle.
4. Carry on the fight for better pay and conditions.
5. Democratise the trade unions and kick out the leaders who won't fight.

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