

Socialist Worker

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TUC DEAL OVER TORY UNION BILL

Socialist Worker Exclusive

TUC leaders have virtually surrendered to the Tory government's anti-union proposals. They have reached a secret agreement with the parliamentary Labour Party to put down amendments to the 'worst features' of the Bill.

The union leaders will not mount any campaign to stop the Bill becoming law. Turning their backs on their members, they have entered into a futile parliamentary wrangle in which the Tories have a built-in majority.

A letter from Victor Feather, TUC general secretary, went out just before Christmas to the leaders of all affiliated unions asking for information about specific areas of special difficulty in their industries 'on which it might prove useful to put down amendments' to the Bill. No public statement has been made on this move.

The publicly declared face of TUC General Council policy is: opposition to horsetrading with the government, a petition for the withdrawal of the Bill, a recall conference of the TUC in March 'should it reach the statute book' and a national day of protest next Tuesday, 12 January.

Participate

But Mr Feather's letter, dated 18 December and unquestionably the policy of the whole of the General Council agreed in secret — indicates that the TUC leaders are privately geared up to participate in the actual shaping of the legislation that goes onto the statute book.

The scheme for amending the Bill in 'specific areas of special difficulty' (presumably the agency shop clauses) is to be operated through a liaison committee with the parliamentary Labour Party on which the General Council of the TUC is represented.

The TUC leaders are willing to become party to the castration of the labour movement. They retract statements of principle as readily as they make them.

In a TV interview after the publication of the so-called consultative document, Mr Feather stated: 'It has been made plain that there is no possibility of changing the principles of the proposed legislation ... the trade union movement will not want to know more about details.'

Collaborate

But now, and without any mandate, the TUC line is reversed and its leaders will collaborate in amending the Bill. This will enable the employers and the government to say: 'You have had a hand in the legislation and so are bound to abide by it.'

The TUC leaders are like a prisoner who feels certain to be condemned and so demands a place on the appeal jury in the vain hope that he can somehow commute his inevitable sentence.

As workers prepare for a day of mass action on Tuesday against the Bill, it becomes more and more vital to ram home to all working people that the government will only be defeated by rank and file action. To rely on the union leaders alone is to pave the way for disaster.

The Bill cannot be 'amended'. It can only be killed. Trade unionists must demand that the TUC ends its deal with the Labour Party and campaigns openly for the total defeat of the Bill.

And the only effective way to do this is to build Councils of Action in every area to link up on a national basis and force the union leaders to fight.

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Birmingham, New Year's Day: part of the 4000-strong march through the city by trade unionists against the Tory Bill

Release Angela Davis!

BLACK MILITANT and communist, Angela Davis, is on trial for her life in California. When she appeared in San Rafael court on Tuesday she was charged with murder, kidnapping and conspiracy.

Miss Davis gave the clenched fist salute when she entered the heavily-guarded court room. She said: 'I want to declare publicly before the court and the people of this country that I am innocent of all charges brought

against me by the state of California.'

And in an interview published in New York, Miss Davis declared: 'I am a black communist. The corrupt government of this country could not accept such a combination. That is why they use the events at San Rafael to launch an effort to murder me. I am a political prisoner.'

The charges are related to events in the same court last year when a black prisoner, Jonathan Jackson, brought guns into court. In an ensuing gun battle with police, four people died,

including the judge.

The prosecution maintains that Miss Davis was the owner of three of the guns. The case is a clear attempt to frame a leading member of the black movement.

Socialist and trade union organisations should send telegrams to Angela Davis expressing their solidarity with her and should flood the American Embassy in Britain and the office of the Governor of California, Ronald Reagan, with demands for her unconditional release.

All out 12 January against the Bill!

Why TUC wobbles as the pace hots up

NO ONE SHOULD BE SURPRISED at the news that the TUC is preparing to abandon its original stand of outright opposition to the government's anti-union laws and instead will attempt to amend it in parliament. It has been clear all along that the 'official' leadership of the trade union movement will not put up a serious fight against the Tory measures unless forced to by rank and file action.

On 8 December TUC spokesmen went out of their way to criticise workers who took strike action against the laws. The TUC has been less openly hostile to action on 12 January. It has even said that workers should continue lunch-time workplace meetings into working hours where this is in line with the 'traditions' of the industry.

But what is significant is that the TUC and most of the national union leaders have not taken the initiative in organising such protests. This has been left to 'unofficial' organisations.

Under modern capitalism, the trade union bureaucracy exists as a social group with interests of its own distinct from the mass of the working class. Union officials lead lives vastly different from those of their members. The employing class treat them almost as equals and help them to enjoy considerable privileges.

But the trade union bureaucracy as a whole can never fully break its ties with the working class. Its special position within capitalism depends on the existence of genuine workers' organisations under its control.

If these organisations were completely destroyed the ruling class would no longer need to make an effort to ingratiate itself with union officials. On the other hand, the bureaucracy is frightened when the workers begin to take action on their own. For its control over workers' organisations is weakened and its special importance diminishes.

Secretly welcome

Vacillation in face of the government's attack is natural for such people. They fear that any weakening of the unions will lessen their own importance. But any 'unofficial' movement also lessens their importance. So some trade union leaders secretly welcome parts of the legislation that will strengthen their hand against the rank and file.

Above all, the TUC leaders fear unleashing any movement against the legislation that will pass out of their control. And so while they speak out against the government, they are preparing to surrender to it.

Decisive and militant action by the whole organised working class could defeat the Tory measures. The government knows this, but is banking on the union leaders to successfully resist pressure from below.

Rank and file organisation is necessary if there is to be a united fight against the anti-union offensive. On page 3 we explain the need to build Councils of Action.

Such local rank and file organisations must press the demand inside the trade union movement that there must be a complete boycott of the government's laws and of any courts or other legal bodies they set up. The only real answer to the government is mass industrial action, a General Strike called by the trade union movement as a whole. In this we will both expose the shortcomings of leaders in whom many workers still place all their trust and prepare for real action to kill the Bill.

THE CURIOUS SILENCE OF SCANLON AND JONES

WHILE A NUMBER of smaller unions have given official backing to the 12 January strikes, the two giant unions, the Transport Workers and the Engineers, have been conspicuous by their silence. Yet the leaders of the TGWU and AUEW, Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, are the chief spokesmen of the official Left and it would be reasonable to expect militant action from them at a time of great danger for the trade union movement.

When the Tory proposals were first announced, Jones and Scanlon both declared their outright opposition to the government and said they would refuse to register if the Bill became law. Since then — silence. Hundreds of thousands of workers have stopped work, held meetings and mass demonstrations, but they have received no backing from the two men whom the press — including most left-wing papers — say are the biggest threat to the government laws.

The position in the AUEW is curious. The foundry workers' section is calling for a national strike to defeat the laws, the draughtsmen are in favour of militant action and the construction workers' section backed the 8 December strike. But the main AEU has issued no call to its members to take any action and Scanlon said recently that no one should go beyond the TUC's miserably inadequate campaign of protest.

The usual excuse trotted out for Scanlon's self-imposed inactivity is that the AEU executive has a 4-3 right-wing majority against him. But this should not prevent him as president of the union from speaking out in his personal capacity against the Tory laws and calling for a militant campaign of action to defeat them.

If the right-wing attempted to censure him they would expose themselves as supporters of anti-union legislation. There is no doubt that such action by the right-wing would increase Scanlon's support from the rank and file.

Jack Jones has even less excuse for silence. His executive is nominally left-wing and would almost certainly give him full support if he spoke out for militant action.

Time is growing short. Unless the campaign against the Tories is stepped up in the next few, short months, the Bill will become law and the employers will have the right to decimate the trade unions. It is time for Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon to stand up and be counted.

Parity campaign starts at Linwood BIG PAY FIGHT AT CHRYSLERS

by STEVE JEFFERYS, AEF shop steward

DECEMBER 1970 saw the end of the most important long-term productivity deal signed in the British car industry in the 1960s.

The deal, signed at Linwood in 1968, marked the beginning of the end for the piecework system, Payment by Results in Chrysler's car plants. The following year, Measured Day Work was also brought in at the two Chrysler Coventry factories at Ryton and Stoke.

All the big car firms want MDW for three basic reasons:

1. To shift the argument on the shop floor from 'How much cash for a certain level of production?' to 'How much work can a man do in a day?'
2. To cut back the frequency of wage rises, thereby lowering wage levels, improving cost-stability and increasing profits.
3. To break the influence of the workers' elected representatives, the shop stewards, over day-to-day working conditions on the shop floor.

This change from PBR to MDW took the Chrysler Corporation's UK subsidiary into line with General Motors (Vauxhall) and Ford. Vauxhall made the jump in 1965 and now only British Leyland out of the four major car producers in Britain is left mainly on PBR.

Lowest rates

The effectiveness of MDW as a management weapon is shown by the fact that in the car industry today the lowest rates are paid at Ford — the longest on MDW — the next lowest at Vauxhall and then Chrysler. And the highest rates of all are paid at some of the British Leyland factories still on PBR.

The MDW agreement at Linwood in 1968 was finally signed by all the unions involved after a partly successful four-week strike by sections of the engineering union. The strike was over the abolition of mates and mutuality in setting work standards.

The other major unions, the National Union of Vehicle Builders and the TGWU, accepted the £6-over-2½ years offer without fighting the "strings". This disunity allowed the management to win virtually everything it wanted.

The Linwood deal was worse for the workers than those agreed later at Ryton and Stoke. The disunity of the unions was largely responsible.

Half the Linwood complex had always been on MDW since Rootes (taken over by Chrysler in 1967) built the Imp assembly plant there. And over the previous three years PBR had been gradually eroded in the half of the factory Rootes had bought from BMC.

In Coventry the men were making a direct transition from PBR to MDW and they therefore held out for better working conditions and a much greater degree of written-in mutuality than at Linwood.

At Linwood, 'bell-to-bell' working is enforced. A third 'offence' of leaving the job even 30 seconds early is punishable by dismissal.

In Ryton, the men have six minutes a day 'late starting and early finishing' written into their agreement and at Stoke 13 minutes. The Coventry deals don't even mention the 'crimes' of being late for work or failing to turn up.

Workers' rights

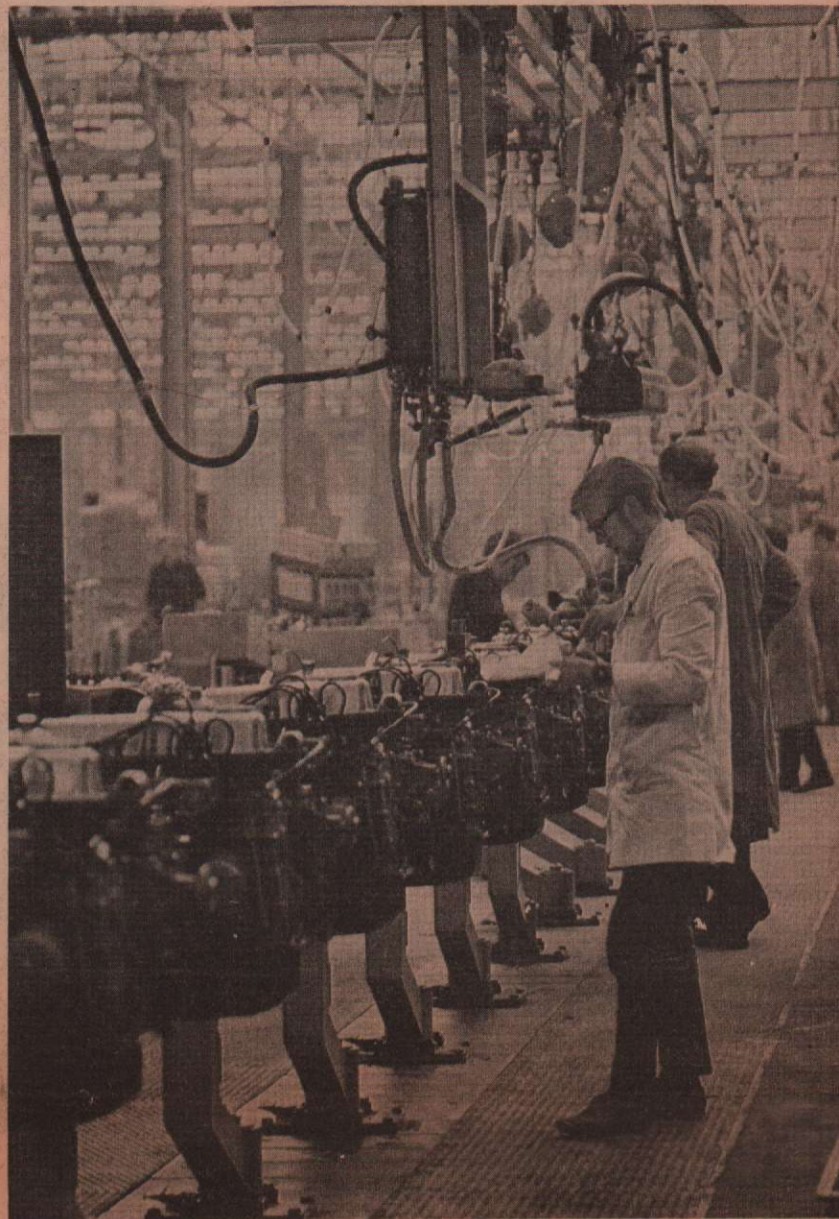
At Linwood the workers are subject to rigid policing with 'verbal', 'written' and 'final warnings' constantly being handed out. Repeated absence for health reasons is another failure by the workers to comply with Chrysler's profit motive that is punishable by special investigations and procedures.

Mutuality under MDW is different than under PBR where basically it is the right of the worker to bargain piecework rates with the time-study man and the foreman. Under MDW it really means the right of the shop stewards to bargain job times and work loads with Supervision to prevent workers being overloaded with work.

It can be used also to mean the right of the workers to negotiations with management prior to changes in working patterns — negotiations in which both sides have a veto.

In a struggle over speed-up for example what counts is the strength of the shop floor rather than a form of words in a productivity deal. But there is no doubt that if mutuality is written into MDW then it strengthens the shop floor.

This has proved the case at Chrysler. At Ryton the company agreed 'to use all the means provided by the procedure to reach mutual agreement with the unions before



Avenger engines being assembled at Stoke

implementing changes in wages, or other conditions of employment'. And on the vital issue of work standards workers are only supposed to 'perform at a fair effort' while they're disputing a job.

This written-in defence meant that despite the wholesale changes introduced at Ryton by the introduction of the Avenger model there have been no major disputes over man-assignments, work loads or effort ratings since MDW was started.

Forced to fight

At Linwood, on the contrary, the only written-in mutuality in the 1968 agreement concerns the work standards in the Press Shop. The other production areas in the factory had no mutuality defence at all and have been constantly forced to fight arbitrary management decisions by strike action. This is what is behind Chrysler's complaint that striker-hours at Linwood are many times greater than at any of the other plants in the group.

With this in mind the Linwood shop stewards submitted terms of reference for a new agreement last October. These terms were for a one-year agreement giving improvements in a wide range of fringe benefits and an across-the-board wage rise to bring the top rates into line with Coventry.

Production operators at Linwood now get 13s5d per hour as against the 18s9½d paid at Stoke and 19s1d at Ryton. The terms also included 'No furtherance of Measured Day Work, and Mutual Agreement on all Times and Standards'.

The present situation is deadlocked. Chrysler's reply to the stewards' terms was a new document, aimed basically at limiting even further the right to fight back on the shop floor. Their monetary offer was 2s3d per hour.

Talks have taken place on this document, but it is unlikely to be signed at virtually any price. But bearing in mind the experience of 1968 when the full-time union officials were ready to negotiate and agree on conditions above the heads of the men and stewards, the shop stewards made a serious attempt at clearing the conditions out of the way to allow a straight fight on money.

This attempt has only been partly successful. On mutuality Chrysler will only shift when forced to. And the confidence of the men on the shop floor in their negotiators has been weakened by the length of time the talks have gone on.

Unity has been maintained at an unprecedented level at Linwood. There have been more Joint Shop Stewards' meetings in the last two months than in the previous 2½ years.

But now under severe pressure, with the expiry of the old agreement and without a clear view of the road ahead, some cracks are beginning to show.

Mass meetings of Linwood workers are taking place. If a united struggle for parity of wages and an equal degree of mutuality with those working for the same company in Coventry proves impossible, it may be necessary for those unions and sections of workers who favour it to go it alone.

Holds the key

The logic for taking Chrysler on now on these issues as opposed to leaving it for another six months or year is overwhelming. Today Linwood holds the key to all Chrysler's UK operations—the Imp, Arrow range and Avenger cars. The time is ripe in a way it hasn't been since Rootes moved to Scotland, and possibly in a way it won't be again. The opportunity should not be missed.

If a battle does take place at Linwood there is little doubt that the employers and government will make it a test case. For in a few months time both Vauxhall and Ford workers have parity claims coming up, and in six months time Chrysler's Coventry workers will also be negotiating for parity with higher paid British Leyland factories.

A battle at Linwood would be won or lost on two fronts — at home in Scotland and in the amount of support coming from the rest of Britain. In emerging from the most significant productivity deal of the car industry of the 1960s, Chrysler's Linwood workers may find themselves again in the front line of the employers' offensive of the 1970s.

HOW EUROPE'S
UNIONS WERE SPLIT

Don't miss this important
article by IAN BIRCHALL
next week.

Hands off the unions: all out 12 January

Union laws: mass action can rub them off the statute book...



A massive demonstration in Melbourne in 1969 against the jailing of union leader Clarrie O'Shea. Marchers fought their way through a police cordon to reach the Industrial Court building.

'MY MEMBERS will not break the law.' So said Lord Cooper, secretary of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, when the TUC General Council discussed its attitude to the government's Industrial Relations Bill.

Cooper, in the least surprising statement of 1970, came out flatly against militant action to either stop the Bill becoming law or to make it impossible to use if it gets on the statute book.

Such remarks are music to the Tories' ears. Their battle with the unions is, above all, a battle for ideas, a campaign to force workers to think that they are responsible for the state of the economy and that laws are drawn up by fair and liberal-minded people.

But society is dominated by the 2 per cent of the population (yes, 2 per cent of 55 million people) that owns nearly all the wealth, nearly all the shares and most of the 'means of production' — the factories and the machines.

It stands to reason that any laws drawn up by an arch-capitalist government will be in favour of the capitalists. The intention of the Tories' law for the unions is to break the strength of the rank and file so that the bosses can squeeze more profits from them.

If the Tory law goes through, trade unionists must band together to make it impossible for the government and bosses to use. This is the strength of the working class — its size and its solidarity.

The laws can be broken and held up to ridicule. Recent history shows how.

In Britain during the Second World War an Act called the National Arbitration Order gave the coalition government of Tories and Labour sweeping powers to outlaw strikes. But early on in the war, Kent miners stood together against victimisation and drove a coach and pit ponies through the law.

There had been trouble at the Bett-

eshanger Colliery in 1941 over allowances for working a difficult seam.

The men agreed to take the issue to arbitration. But the arbitrator ruled that the management's allowances were reasonable and even excessive.

The miners rejected his finding and 4000 men stopped work. They were backed by local officials of the union. Under the terms of the National Arbitration Order, the strike was illegal.

Hard labour

When the magistrates met in Canterbury to consider the affair, a massive demonstration accompanied the miners' local leaders.

The Kent coalfield stopped work. Colliery bands headed the procession. Coaches were chartered to take wives and children to the court.

The defendants pleaded guilty. Three union officials were sent to prison. The branch secretary was sentenced to two months hard labour and the local presi-

dent and a member of the local executive were each given one month's hard labour.

Thirty-five men were fined £3 or one month's jail and nearly 1000 workers were fined £1 or 14 days.

The Betteshanger men refused to go back. And the only men with the authority to call off the strike were in jail.

The Secretary for Mines and the president of the miners' union went to Kent. Negotiations were re-opened and five days later an agreement was signed that, between some face-saving words, gave the miners what they wanted.

But the men still refused to start work until their leaders were released from jail. The Secretary for Mines petitioned the Home Secretary and the strikers' leaders were freed after just 11 days in jail.

The miners had the last word. Only nine of the 1000 paid their fines — and no one went to prison.

A more recent example of how



LORD COOPER: don't fight bosses' laws

working-class solidarity and action can make reactionary laws laughable comes from Australia in May 1969.

A Federal Industrial Court had been set up in 1948 by the Australian Labour government (how reformists enjoy doing dirty work for the bosses!). The court had sweeping powers to break strikes and fine militants.

On 15 May 1969, Clarrie O'Shea, leader of the small Victoria Tramways Union, was jailed for contempt of court when he refused to disclose his union's books to the Federal Industrial Court.

O'Shea had not paid fines totalling 8000 Australian dollars for unauthorised strikes. Neither had he paid the penalties for refusing to comply with the court order.

The biggest strike wave in Australia's history shook the country. One million workers downed tools from Sydney to Perth, from the far north of Queensland to Tasmania.

In Melbourne, 3000 strikers marched through the streets to the Industrial Court building to demand the release of O'Shea from Pentridge Jail. Ugly scenes developed as police, on foot and horseback, viciously attacked the marchers and struck at them with truncheons.

Mass rally

In Sydney, 5000 trade unionists attended a mass rally where Pat Clancy, secretary of the Building Workers' Industrial Union, successfully moved a motion that set a seven-day deadline for the release of O'Shea. Similar stoppages and marches hit the main industrial centres at Newcastle and Wollongong.

O'Shea was quickly released. An

'anonymous' donor paid his fines. It is no secret that the mysterious benefactor was the Australian government anxious to get itself off the hook.

The key lesson from these examples is that united, mass action by workers can defeat even the most tough and reactionary laws. In both cases, the rank and file did not wait for national union officials to act for them — they did the job themselves.

This does not mean for one minute that trade unionists should relax their efforts to stop the Tory Bill becoming law. But if it is pushed through parliament then a campaign to make the laws unworkable will be vitally necessary.

Trade union members should be demanding now that their organisations declare in advance that, even if the Bill goes through, they will not register with the New Registrar for Trade Unions and will refuse to accept cooling-off periods and secret ballots before strikes.

If the major unions stand together and say that all strikes will be made official, that the closed shop will be safeguarded by strike action and that sympathy strikes and 'blacking' will receive official backing, then the Tories would have to think twice before they tried to use their new laws.

And if nationwide stoppages take place whenever any trade unionist is threatened with fines or imprisonment, then the law can be rubbed right off the statute book.

The rank and file have the strength. If they stand together and build Councils of Action and other grass-roots organisations, they will defeat the Tories and take a giant step along the road to building a real mass working class party fighting for socialism.

Vital role of Councils of Action

THE INABILITY and unwillingness of the official trade union leaders or the Labour Party to fight seriously the Tories' union laws must not prevent decisive action being taken by organised workers. On the contrary — the more action the better, for it will increase the pressure on the TUC to do more than just talk and grumble.

On 8 December, more than half a million workers took part in a national one-day protest strike against the proposed laws. This was a good start to the real campaign to defeat the Tories. On New Year's Day, 45,000 workers struck in Birmingham and 5000 marched through the city in the most impressive demonstration the city has seen for years.

On 12 January, thousands of workers will strike again and mass meetings will be held in many factories. All of these activities are vital to the fight against the Bill. What is needed now is to step up the campaign and to organise local Councils of Action. These should be formed in every area and should consist of trade union branch and workshop committee delegates. The Councils must be genuine bodies committed to action.

Trade unionists should sponsor such Councils and contact every neighbouring factory to join them. The bigger the Councils are, the more influential they can be.

The main task of the Councils should be to organise and co-ordinate the fight against the Bill in every locality. They should try to ensure that mass meetings are held in working hours in every workplace against the Tory proposals. They should organise leafletting of factories and lunch-time meetings. They should campaign for workers to take strike action against the government and arrange demonstrations and other forms of protest.

Call General Strike

They should mobilise the whole of the active trade union movement to demand that the TUC call a General Strike to defeat the proposals and that every trade union pledge — here and now — that under no circumstances will they co-operate or obey any anti-union laws.

Every Council of Action must resist the employer-Tory offensive. They should explain that an attack on one group of workers is an attack on the whole working class. They should organise support for all workers in dispute and begin to build a movement strong enough not only to defeat the Tory laws but also to advance the living standards and aspirations of millions of working people.

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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A Belgian miner: workers must link up with their brothers in all European countries.

The Common Market and you...

BOSSES' EU

IF I WERE asked to pick a political subject about which more nonsense will be written in the papers in 1971, the Common Market would be a safe choice. 1971 is 'make or break year' for Britain's effort to gain entry into the market.

Another safe prediction would be that the issues involved for working people will be subject to more distortion than any other. As the political ding-dong between different sections of the ruling class over the merits of entry into Europe heats up, workers will be invited to line up with one or other section of the bosses and their political spokesmen. It is vitally important for trade unionists to have a clear view of the class issues at stake and an equally clear and distinct socialist response to the issues that will be raised.

It is an issue first and foremost for British big business. Bluntly, unless big business continues to get bigger it cannot survive in the rat race of international competition between the giant commercial empires.

Growth is tied closely to the size of the 'home' market available for an international firm. The huge American corporations, which increasingly dominate the world market, became huge in part because of the vast domestic, tariff-free market of nearly 200 million people in the US.

The Common Market countries, plus the present applicants (Britain, Norway, Denmark and southern Ireland) would, on paper, provide an even bigger home market. Big markets would also encourage British industry to specialise more and win mastery over European industry in a number of important areas.

The result - bigger exports, faster growth, faster modernisation and more competition - in theory. The trouble for British big business is that reality is increasingly less attractive than the theory. In the 15 years since the Common Market has got under way and, in particular, since the failure of the last two British attempts to enter the market, a number of factors have changed for the worse:

- European industry has got bigger and more competitive. It would be no easy meat for British capital to dominate. The export advantages, as a result, are less obvious.

The price of entry

Many big British firms are already operating behind the Common Market tariff walls.

- The price of entry has gone up. This, more than anything else, means the contribution that Britain would have to pay to subsidise uncompetitive farmers in France and some other Common Market countries. Estimates of the annual cost to the British balance payments range from £200 millions to £400 millions.

- Because industry in the Common Market is more productive and profitable partly because of the faster growth rate of the EEC countries in the past 15 years, Britain would also be expected to lose investment capital from here to the continent. Since this cannot be prohibited under the Treaty of Rome, there would be a further big loss to the balance of payments.

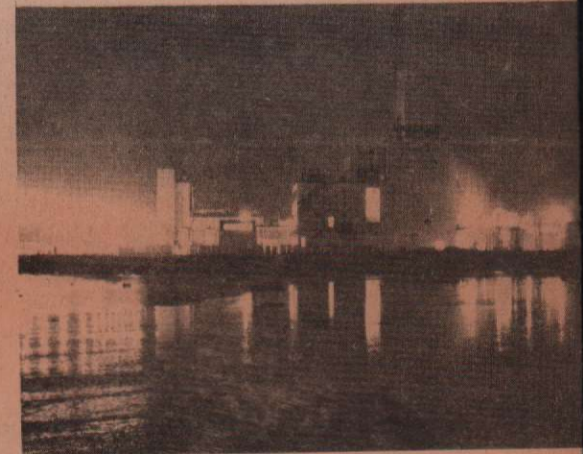
Ruling class is split

Some sections of British industry have been slow in making the transition from markets based on the old and doomed so-called Commonwealth to the faster growing, more technologically advanced European industries. As a result some important British firms would lose badly if Britain is forced to raise tariff barriers against Commonwealth trade.

Because of the snags, ruling

SOO
EU

Special survey by JOHN PALMI



The march of the giants: ICI's plant near Rotterdam

class opinion is split. The three capitalist parties (above all the Labour Party) are split too.

On balance, big industry remains convinced that there is no alternative to entry into Europe if Britain is not to be completely submerged by American business and becomes an off-shore semi-colony of the USA.

The outlook is bleak

More to the point, trade barriers look like going up all over the advanced capitalist world, in response to the international crisis of low growth and rising inflation. Unless British industry gets behind the partial protection of the Common Market's tariff walls, the outlook is bleak in the extreme for British capital. Either way, the prospect for British workers and their families is glum.

British capitalism has missed the boat when it comes to taking advantage of the booming growth in the EEC. Economic growth is slowing down noticeably in all the other major Common Market countries.

Entry will provide British capital with no magic, painless solution to its problems. And in particular British workers will still be

called on to make sacrifices as no other.

The view is pessimistic. Workers' wages are higher from union pressure than in other parts of the European Market countries. As a result, their wages are comparable with those in Germany, France and Italy.

In addition, workers' wages are high. This has to do with food prices which have risen into line with the rest of the continent. Some estimate the cost of living in the early years of the 1970s to be an additional 20% above the expected level. There are three reasons for this: 1. Prices would rise. 2. Unemployment. 3. Entry would provide stimulus to the

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

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The only alterna

EUROPE OR A SOCIALIST EUROPE?

ER



Prices: British entry would mean a sharp rise in the cost of living

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as British firms tried to get into shape to survive the competition from European firms. Technological specialisation would have the same result. In a sentence: more GEC-AEIs.

Entry would also worsen the decline of regions such as Northern Ireland, Scotland and the North of England. Some observers refer to a 'golden industrial triangle' linking Milan, Stuttgart and Birmingham, sucking in labour and capital from outlying regions. We can expect the problem of long-term unemployment in the regions to get worse.

Tougher credit squeeze

Entry would have to be paid for both by loss of investment capital and contributions to the European common agricultural price and subsidy system. But no British government dare allow a balance of payments deficit to grow. The deficit caused by entry would have to be met by an even tougher credit squeeze and more taxes. That means deflation — and deflation always means more unemployment.

To summarise: British capital in the EEC would be under greater not less compulsion to increase

productivity: that is, increase the rate of exploitation of workers. Entry must therefore mean a new turn in the employers' offensive on the shop floor.

The drive for ruthless productivity deals and all that goes with them will be stepped up. And to back this offensive we can expect the British ruling class state, no matter whether Labour or Tories are in office, to increase its powers over trade unions and militants.

Socialists have to distinguish between short term, defensive issues — which we have to raise through the trade union movement to protect wages and conditions — and a positive programme for workers to go on the counter offensive against capital in Europe. The immediate defensive issues suggest themselves:

1. Wages and benefits to be at the highest level for the industry in the Common Market.
2. No loss of jobs through mergers or other manoeuvres of big business.
3. Complete rejection of all increased prices or higher unemployment to 'pay the price' for entry into the EEC.

The trade union leaders must be made to fight on these issues, not on spurious 'patriotic' objections to the Common Market.

More important, trade unionists themselves will have to realise

that as big business goes international so must workers' organisations.

There can be no protection against the power of big 'supra-national' firms like ICI and Ford (the latter has plants in five different European countries) unless workers themselves link up.

And by link up, we do not just mean pow-wows between trade union officials in the various countries, but the building of international liaison committees linking shop stewards and rank and file militants in the same industries across national frontiers. This has already started to happen in some industries.

Reject cheap patriotism

The struggle against international capital in the period of the Common Market cannot be a purely trade union struggle. Politics are raised for working people with every turn in the international economic crisis and every new offensive of the employers and their state.

Socialists know that capital can not be beaten decisively in any one country. Socialism can only triumph when we build an international movement capable of

leading the workers of all countries to political power.

For us in Europe this means an immediate prospect of closer liaison and unity in action with revolutionary socialists in the Common Market countries. We will go into battle on all the issues raised by the attacks on workers' living standards on entry into the EEC.

But we will have as our common objective, on all our banners, the only decent, human and meaningful alternative to the Europe of the monopolies and the faceless bureaucrats — the United Socialist States of Europe.

On the road to that goal we will reject all the spurious nationalistic and patriotic alternatives offered by the anti-Common Marketters of the National Front, the Daily Express, the Douglas Jay Labour right wing or even Tribune and the leaders of the British Communist Party.

There is no future for working people whichever way the decision goes about entry into the Common Market. The only real future lies in workers' power in Europe and international socialism.

Pictures courtesy European Community Information Service and ICI

DOCKERS BACK 200 SACKED AT PILKINGTON

by Gerry Bold

MAGNIFICENT solidarity action by Hull dockers has convinced leaders of the Pilkington rank and file committee that they can win their long struggle to have all the workers reinstated that were sacked from the St Helens glassworks last summer.

Gerry Caughey, chairman of the rank and file committee, told me this week: 'Events are coming to a head. The support we are getting is increasing.'

'The way the pressure of militant trade unionism from the base is building up, it may result in us negotiating rather than just accepting a return to work. The management probably realise already that they would lose less face to take the men back now rather than later.'

The committee has been given heart by the successful 'blacking' of Pilkington glass by dockers in Hull. They feel that an extension of such solidarity action will force the glass bosses to give in and take back the 200 militants sacked last year.

The General and Municipal Workers' Union — which has sole negotiating rights at Pilkington's — has supported the management's tough line with the militants. Last month, GMWU regional secretary Walter Aldritt spoke for 3½ hours with Hull dockers who had gone to St Helens to discuss the blacking campaign with the rank and file committee.

After the meeting, Arthur Atkinson, secretary of the dockworkers' committee, declared: 'This is not trade unionism that we have seen here today. Far from lifting the ban, we shall prolong it indefinitely and try to spread it to every port in the country.'



GERRY CAUGHEY

A few days later, 13 dockers were suspended for refusing to load Pilkington glass on board a ship bound for Denmark. 3000 dockers stopped work in protest and a week later the Dock Labour Board reduced the suspensions to 'warnings'.

Pilkington's are angry with the GMWU for their ham-handling of the issue. The firm has tried to maintain that it is not affected by the blacking but it is having to re-route shipping and trade with Benelux, Sweden and East European ports is being hit.

Gerry Caughey and his colleagues believe firmly that only the spreading of solidarity action will break the united front of management and union.

Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport Workers' Union, has written to the rank and file committee and expressed a sincere desire to give any assistance he can to the committee.

'We welcome this move,' Gerry Caughey told me. 'Not only Pilkington's but the whole employing class and the Tory government shake at the prospect of any widespread industrial action over an issue of principle.'

'The trade union movement could advance 50 years at one stroke if a confrontation over principle developed,' he added.

'The rank and file committee have wondered whether the mighty Vic Feather himself might be hard-faced enough to try to step in to honour the "pledges" he made to end the first seven-week strike in St Helens last spring. I really believe the situation could soon become such that the union leaders would try anything to be rid of the problem.'

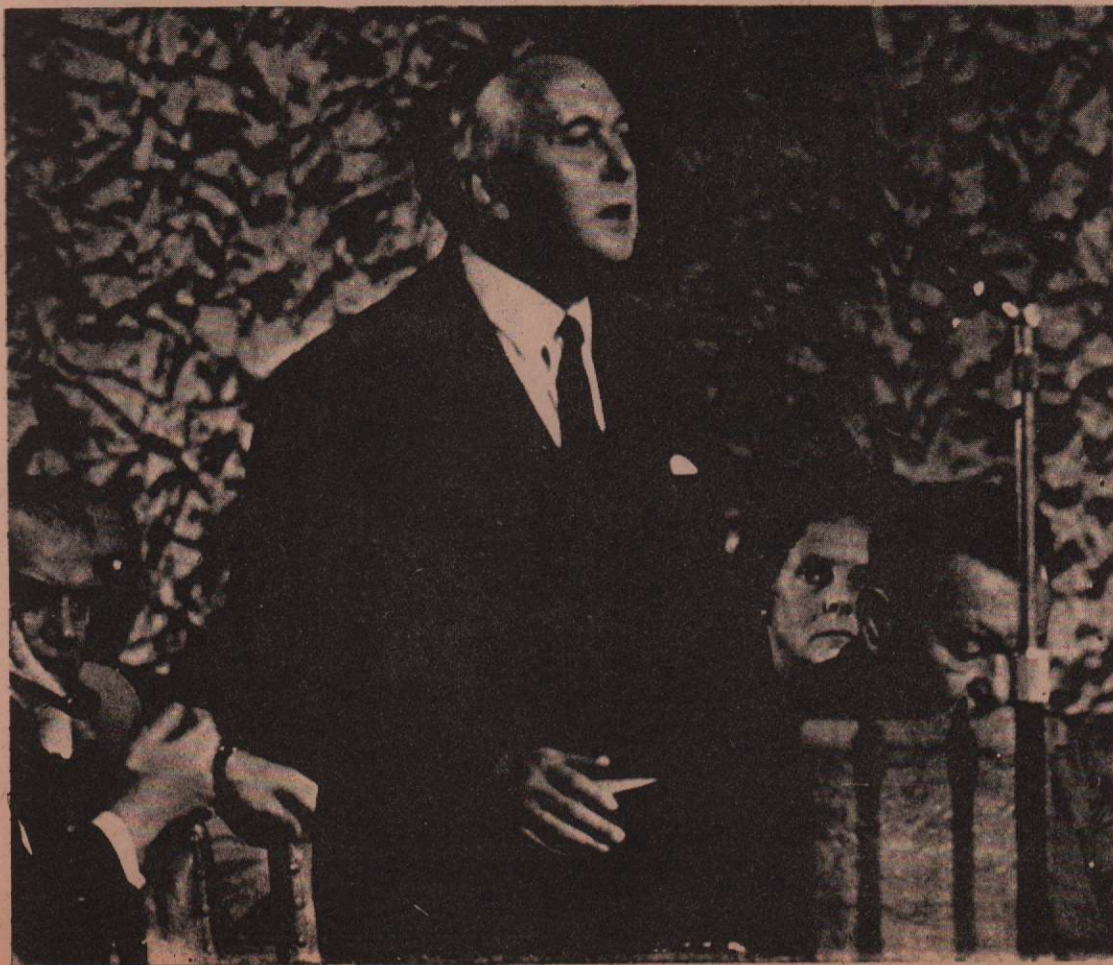
Finally, Gerry Caughey added a plea for political unity in action by socialist organisations to aid the sacked men.

He said: 'What is needed at this stage is a measure of unity of the International Socialists, the Socialist Labour League, plus maybe some others. Someone must give a lead.'

'We've got solid opposition. Let's take an example from the other side.'

Alternative: workers' power in Europe

Politics: key to defeat of Tories



Wilson addressing the TUC in 1964: he paved the way for Tory laws

The Tories, following the lead given by the Wilson government, are engaged in a long-term offensive against the working class. Its purpose is to cripple factory organisation in order to push down workers' living standards.

Heath, like Wilson before him, hopes to solve the problems of the British capitalist class by carrying out a massive shift of resources from consumption to investment. The less given out to workers in wages, the more will be available to rich investors. The strategy pursued by both Labour and the Tories is a three-pronged one. Although attention at present is centred on the need to fight anti-union legislation, it is vital for militants to recognise that the most serious weapon in the arsenal of the ruling class remains productivity deals, based on such methods as Measured Day Work and job evaluation.

Unemployment

The second prong is the revival of the traditional weapon of large-scale unemployment. The bosses' journal Management Today forecasts a figure of 800,000 unemployed by the end of 1971.

In recent years, workers have been conditioned to accept a figure of half a million or more unemployed as normal. The working class is now being prepared to accept a level of a million and a half.

The third prong of the offensive is the anti-union legislation itself. Its fundamental aim is an ideological attack on the working class.

The object is to frighten rank and file leaders, to undermine the confidence of the workers in their shop stewards and to reinforce the notion that strikes are bad and against the 'national interest'.

The intention is not to destroy the unions but to cripple them by transforming them into effective instruments for controlling the workers. The weak response so far by the TUC and the union leaders to the Tory threat reveals the extent to which they welcome those aspects of the proposals that strengthen the power of the full-time officials over the rank and file.

Anti-union legislation is therefore a means of intimidating militants, of softening them up to accepting productivity deals, deteriorating working

Concluding a series by SABBY SAGALL

conditions and worsening living standards.

In the 1930s massive unemployment was enough to discipline the working class. Although the 1927 'blacklegs' charter was on the statute books, it did not feature prominently in the minds of workers.

They were already sufficiently demoralised by the great defeats of the 1920s and by the Great Depression. It is a sign of the fighting spirit and resilience of the working class today that one weapon alone is not enough for the ruling class.

In the past 30 years, the confidence of workers has grown steadily against the background of relatively full employment. The result is that, even with rising unemployment, workers will fight for improved wages and conditions.

The ruling class needs new weapons to soften up the workers.

The basic problem facing the working class in this period of increasing capitalist offensive is its lack of unity. For years workers were able to win wage rises through their organised strength at local level. In many cases, improvements were won without any struggle.

Strong links

The great battles of the 1920s involved huge battalions of workers united in common action against the employers and the state. Through these struggles, the workers created or reinforced a class consciousness that was national in its scope.

Workers throughout British industry — miners, transport workers, engineers — developed strong links, a sense that they were all in it together.

Because the strength of the working class has been built up over the last 30 years, mainly through local action at the level of the plant, the consciousness created in this process has been a sectional one.

In many factories, workers do not feel they have anything in common with workers outside that factory or even outside their particular shop. An

example of this was the failure of most British Leyland factories in the Midlands to join the 8 December strike.

But the signs are that many sections of workers are beginning to break out of these narrow limits. The parity campaign in the car industry, launched by the Ford shop stewards, indicates that important groups of workers are looking outwards.

They are realising that, faced with the threat of being deprived of all they have won in the last 30 years, they cannot fight back in isolated units.

The parity campaign also echoes the aggressive confidence of other sections of workers, especially the lower paid. The size of increases demanded by many groups of workers, some of whom were not previously noted for their militancy, is a heartening sign of the tremendous potential for a fight-back against anti-union legislation.

Hard hit

The working class as a whole is not yet armed to meet the offensive. Many groups will be particularly hard hit by the legislation if it is allowed to go through.

Small factories, whose struggles depend for their success on the 'blacking' activities of other workers, are likely to find the going tough.

The working class did sustain some knocks last year. The sell-out of the dockers' strike and the power workers work-to-rule gave heart to the Tories.

The crucial lesson for militants is that the anti-union legislation cannot be fought defensively or by sticking to narrow trade union questions. A total offensive can only be resisted by a total counter-offensive.

The whole capitalist system must be brought into question on the shop floor. 'Politics' must come to mean not what goes on in parliament but the activity of the workers themselves in resisting the state.

The isolated fragments within which workers have struggled for over a generation must be knitted together. A revolutionary party must be built that will include the leading elements in the working class.

It is only on the basis of a clear view of the revolutionary socialist alternative to capitalism that the Tories' plans can be smashed.

THE MEANING OF MARXISM

A weekly column by Duncan Hallas



IN 1962 THE UNITED NATIONS published a survey which showed that about £43,000 million a year was being spent on arms. This was nearly a tenth of the total world output of all goods and services and was roughly equal to the value of all exports from all countries.

Still more important 'arms expenditure corresponded to about one half of gross capital formation throughout the world' (M Kidron: *Western Capitalism since the War*, Penguin). This huge expenditure is largely concentrated in the capital goods industries — Marx's 'Department 1', the very sector of the economy most sensitive to economic fluctuations.

A US government report issued in 1965 summarised the effect: 'The greatly enlarged public sector since World War II, resulting from heavy defence expenditures, has provided additional protection against depressions, since this sector is not responsive to contraction in the private sector and provides a sort of buffer or balance wheel in the economy' (my italics).

Writing during the great depression of the 1930s, the economist Keynes ironically proposed a cure: 'If the Treasury were to fill old bottles with banknotes, bury them at suitable depths in disused coal mines which are then filled up to the surface with town rubbish, and leave it to private enterprise on the well-tried principles of laissez-faire to dig the notes up again (the right to do so being obtained, of course, by tendering for the leases of the note-bearing territory), there need be no more unemployment and, with the help of the repercussions, the real income of the community, and its capital wealth also, would probably become a good deal greater than it actually is.'

Sensible

This is what has actually happened. Military expenditure corresponds exactly, from the economic point of view, to the mining of buried banknotes. The permanent arms economy is practically applied Keynesianism.

But why military expenditure? Keynes himself remarked: 'It would, indeed, be more sensible to build houses and the like.' What prevents the replacement of the irrational and dangerous production of armaments by socially useful expenditure? Why not abolish poverty?

There are a number of reasons. The famous 'Report from Iron Mountain' emphasised one:

'As an economic substitute for war it is inadequate because it would be far too cheap . . . the maximum programme that could be physically effected . . . could approach the established level of military spending only for a limited time — in our opinion . . . less than 10 years. In this short period, at any rate, the major goals of the programme would have been achieved. Its capital investment phase would have been completed . . .'

There is a more fundamental difficulty. Production under capitalism is production for profit by competing enterprises. If some are more heavily burdened with 'social expenditure' than others, they will, other things being equal, be at a competitive disadvantage.

Sacrifice

The great advantage of arms spending from a capitalist point of view is that equivalent spending is forced on competitors. A rough 'equality of sacrifice' is imposed by the arms race itself.

It was never more than a rough equality. 'In the countries of western capitalism military expenditure . . . has ranged . . . as a proportion of gross domestic fixed capital formation from nearly 60 per cent in the US to 12 per cent in Norway (Britain 42 per cent).'

The real difference is rather less than the figures suggest because the use of the dollar as the international currency has enabled the US to maintain a near permanent balance of payments deficit: that is to say the rest of the world has been giving the US a near permanent subsidy. Still, the inequality of the arms burden is a growing problem.

Japanese industry, for example,

The end of postwar stability

has expanded enormously during the arms boom — much more proportionately than US or British industry — because it enjoys the benefits of the boom without having to bear more than a small fraction of its cost. This is one of the factors that is now undermining the long stabilisation.

Another is the increasingly capital-intensive nature of military production. Tank production requires a lot of capital plus a large amount of skilled and semi-skilled labour.

Inter-Continental Ballistic missile production requires an enormous mass of capital plus a relatively small amount of highly skilled labour. Hence the creeping rise in unemployment that is occurring throughout the West. The balance wheel is beginning to wobble.

Inflation

Yet this rising unemployment goes hand in hand with an accelerating inflation. Some degree of inflation is inevitable under monopoly capitalism in the absence of big slumps.

From the late 1940s to the late 1960s prices have been rising everywhere in the West by an average of 2 per cent to 3 per cent a year. A high demand for labour-power is bound to drive up prices and wages and the increases are passed on — or more than passed on.

What is happening now is quite new. Prices are increasing at an unprecedented rate at the same time as the demand for labour-power is slowly declining.

Part of the explanation is the US Anti-Ballistic Missile Programme, the most expensive arms programme in history, which is spreading inflationary pressure throughout the system by creating a huge demand for certain kinds of scarce resources without making the corresponding demand for labour.

Concentrate

Another source of instability is the growth of huge international firms which can and do shift vast resources from one country to another. The tendency is to concentrate capital accumulation in a rather small number of highly developed areas — giving a further upward twist to inflation, while running down development elsewhere — giving an upward twist to unemployment.

The development of an uncontrolled credit system — the Euro-currency market — is yet another force sapping the foundations of Western capitalist stabilisation.

History never repeats itself exactly. There will never be another 1929. Yet the instability of the capitalist system is reasserting itself. The long stabilisation is ending.

NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN! NOW THEN!



Let those trumpets blow

Part of an essay in the *London Daily News* in 1908 in which G.K. Chesterton commented on a speech by H.G. Wells at the City Temple.

MR H.G. WELLS was endeavouring to soothe the audience or congregation on the subject of socialism. He assured them that socialism would not be a sudden revolution, the success of which would be announced 'with trumpets from Tower Hill.'

It would be a slow and scientific process which would gradually adapt itself to us or us to itself. Why is it comforting to be told that a thing will come slowly and alarming to be told that it will come quickly? To my simple mind it would always seem that it all depended what the thing was.

If socialism is the best human solution of our hideous modern problem, if socialism can really make men comfortable, if it really is a human answer to an inhuman riddle, if it really will lift off all our consciences the unbearable burden and waking nightmare of human poverty, if it will do this without interfering with any necessary human freedom or essential human dignity, then in God's name fight for it and blow from Tower Hill every trumpet you can find.

If socialism is a rescue, let it come quick: that is the essence of a rescue. If it is a disease, there is nothing pleasant about the idea that it comes slowly, like the worst diseases.

In Mr Hilaire Belloc's *Book of Rhymes*—called 'Cautionary Verses for Children' and intended partly to please children but more especially to displease politicians—there occurs the excellent description of how Jim left his nurse in a crowd and was in consequence eaten by a lion: 'Bang! With open jaws a lion sprang.'

This strikes the note of dogma and revolution and there is nothing necessarily evil about it. The lion may be the noble animal of medieval legend who spared the weak, especially the virgin and the dead. But having once discovered that the lion was of the cruel and devouring sort, it is no pleasure to us to learn in the simple words of Mr Belloc that 'Began to eat/The boy, beginning with his feet.'

Then the poet, unconsciously alluding surely to the theory of humanity transformed by a slow and scientific process, goes on to say pathetically:

'Now just imagine how it feels
When first your toes and then your heels,
And then by gradual degrees
Your shins and ankles, calves and knees
Are slowly eaten bit by bit.
No wonder Jim detested it.'

And no wonder, I should say, humanity has always detested it and will continue to do so. A bad revolution is a much worse evolution. A good evolution would be a much better revolution.

Humanity loves the trumpet: the fierce and final note. It cannot understand that sort of semi-Fabian intellect which can take the huge responsibility of scheming for a thing and yet cannot take the responsibility of fighting for it.



COTTONS COLUMN

BIG CHIEF White Feather and the Congress House braves have come up with a trendy, expensive way to fight (sic) the government's Industrial Relations Bill. They have hired an advertising agency to draw up a £75,000 press campaign against the Bill.

Chairman of the agency—called Boase Massimi Pollitt (not you, Harry, lie down)—is that doughty champion of the working class, Ernie Marples, one-time Minister of Transport in the Macmillan government. Main claim to fame of his agency is pushing a variety of instant mashed potato, good training for making minced meat of the TUC, no doubt.

Said Motorway Marples: 'I agree with most of the government's policy but it is important that the TUC's case is put in the best possible way.'

And Our Vic chipped in with the opinion that Mr Marples' presence in the advertising campaign was 'irrelevant and immaterial'. So don't go on strike, lads, it hits the economy—just fork out £75,000 of union subs to line Ernie Marples' pocket.

QUOTE of the week from Mr William Shriver, a Baltimore radio commentator on a visit to Britain. He said that sponsored radio did not inhibit his right to say what he liked. His sponsor only told him to keep clear of three topics: race, religion and politics.

'Bad game'

ANOTHER victory for the huntin', shootin' and fishin' brigade. A



'MAD MITCH': the song is you

donkey that was the pet of a blind boy aged 12 was so frightened by the hounds of the Cotswold Hunt in Gloucestershire as they chased a fox that it ran off, broke through a wire fence on to a main road, collided with a van and died.

Some of the hounds stopped chasing the fox to take after the donkey.

The master of the hounds, Captain Brian Bell, was fined £10 at Cheltenham court. He said: 'It was really a question of the hounds romping with the donkey—a bad game, no more than that.'

A good game, as opposed to a bad game, for Captain Bell, is his hounds tearing a live fox to pieces.

THE SONG is over but the malady lingers on: during the third anniversary of independence in Aden to mark the withdrawal of British troops, the massed pipe and drum band of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen Army marched past the presidential dais playing Scotland the Brave and Colonel Bogey.

Mind you, the second number could have been a slighting reference to Colonel 'Mad Mitch' Mitchell.

Don't call us...

THE PRIZE for arrogant elitism goes this week to the vanguard comrades of Workers Press. Reporting a demonstration outside the Spanish embassy in support of the Basque prisoners, WP said with a straight face: 'Young Socialists were supported by Basques, Catalans and Galicians...' They just wouldn't have thought of going if the YS hadn't been there. That's leadership for you.

Stop press

MEMO to printworkers and journalists at Associated Newspapers, publishers of the Mail, Sketch and London Evening News. The bosses are preparing plans for heavy redundancies to offset the losses they claim the papers are making.

Don't be fooled: Associated Newspapers and the Daily Mail and General Trust are both highly profitable firms with interests that extend far beyond Fleet Street. Associated Newspapers made more than £3 million profits last year and its assets in 1968 were £11,641,460. In 1968 the Daily Mail and General Trust made a profit of £1,238,012 and its assets were £13,984,143.

A reasonable demand would be: no sackings.

SACKING Lord Robens seems inconsistent with Tory policy towards the nationalised industries. Why don't they sell off his most profitable parts to private industry? His mouth ought to bring in a tidy sum for a start.



AS **GEORGE ORWELL** might have said, inside every internationalist there is a patriot struggling to get out. Long suppressed feelings of 'Britain is best' come swimming to the surface at this time of the year when the dreary round of commercials for White Turdo and Pork Bounty margarine give way to the even more unspeakable puffs for 'holidays in the sun'.

I don't know what cunning varieties are dished up in the regions, but in the capital we get 'London Sunspots' every 15 or 20 minutes with hearty, sun-tanned people inviting us to wing or sail our way to several desirable fascist or state-capitalist tyrannies. As a committed introvert, I find the snaps of jolly beach parties and shipboard capers quite horrifying and I plan immediately to pack my tent and compass and head for the depths of Epping Forest.

Causes inflation

My antipathy to holidays abroad are motivated by sound, socialist principles. There are better reasons than just liberal, moral dislike of Franco or the Greek colonels to prevent us from ultra-violeting it on the Costa del Sol or Athens-super-Mare. An influx of comparatively well-heeled tourists into such desperately poor countries causes inflation and sends the cost of living spiralling upwards and actually increases the poverty of ordinary working people there.

One myth we can expect not to be exploded by ITV this or any year is the well-cherished one that we help all those cheery peasants by visiting their sun-drenched lands. Book now for Bognor Regis.

SATURDAY NIGHT on London Weekend came up with a real eyeball-jerker at peak time—John Goldschmidt's brilliant documentary on children's songs and games, *Buckets and Spades and Handgrenades*. Stunningly cross-cutting from a working-class school in West London to interviews with several little upper class horrors and their snooty 'public' schools, writer-director Goldschmidt presented a magnificent cameo of our class society and the enormous differences of wealth and attitudes that exist.

Separate worlds

What I found particularly fascinating was the juxtaposition of two quite separate worlds, the playground of the Paddington kids who play together, act and sing as a collective and the isolated little cocoons of the children of the rich. While the young Londoners play football, a rugged team game, the modern Lord Snooty learn golf, the game that epitomises the comfy individualism of the middle class.

And how distressingly violent the sons of the rich are encouraged to be: there were grotesque shots of very young boys at their small educational establishment being taken through the grisly ritual of army drill and manoeuvres. For them the working class were, variously, 'the poor', 'common' or 'silly people'.

While a small Paddington girl in cheap National Health specs said of 'them': 'They might have more money than us but I don't think they're any happier.'

My other lingering memory is the way that working-class songs are handed down from generation to generation: although some have been updated and contain references to Cilla Black, others are still rooted in the 1940s and nostalgically call back Betty Grable and Henry Hall.

Henry Hall—ye gods! And it says a lot for the quality of school dinners that a number of other songs compare the food to some of the least desirable products of the nasal tracts.

David East

Socialist Worker

Grim start to the New Year for jobless in Hull

HULL:- As the weather gets colder, so the dole queues get longer. As early as September, unemployment was up to 6000 or more than 4 per cent of the local working population. Last month the Hull Daily Mail put the number at 7700. But according to the Mail, workers can take heart because the local Department of Employment has forecast that 2000 new jobs will become available in the next 12 months.

Some comfort to those on the dole this winter, especially since the local car components firm, Armstrong Patents, are to close down one of their factories in Beverley, employing 400 workers. Nearly 50 workers at the plant have been made redundant in the last few months.

Lucrative

A management 'pledge' that it is expanding production at its two other factories can be taken with a pinch of salt, since it announced several weeks ago that it is to move a good deal of equipment from Hull to Canada, where a subsidiary caters for the lucrative Canadian and American markets.

Workers who are absorbed into the two other plants will almost certainly have to sign vicious Measured Day Work agreements.

To add to this bleak situation, the Fenner Engineering Group whose chairman recently announced an increase in profits, has said that it will also be expanding production. But the location for the new and larger factory is in the Highlands of Scotland.

Redundancy

The employers are holding a knife under the throats of militant Fenner's workers who came out against the Tory Bill on 8 December.

The words 'redundancy' and 'lay off' are common here. In the docks, 2000 dockers have been made redundant since Devlin Stage

SW Reporter

One was implemented. Containerised freight from Hull is booming.

Redundancies on the corporation buses go full speed ahead with the completion of a one-man-operated fleet due in March.

What is the solution to these problems? What does one do about the constant undermanning of trawlers that makes a permanent pool of 200 unemployed trawlermen?

The Guardian claimed in December that when communications—the M62 road link and the Humberside Bridge—are improved the problem of unemployment will be solved. That is, if workers are prepared to wait until 1976, the year of completion of both projects.

No solution

It is clear that big business chaos offers no solution at all to unemployment or to low pay—women in Hull are the lowest paid in the country.

The immediate solution is to strengthen rank and file organisation to meet the full onslaught of the employers and their Tory champions. It is on the docks, where dockers have just won a fight against suspension over blacking Pilkington glass, and at factories like Fenner's, with a long tradition of militancy, that workers in Hull can draw inspiration for the struggle to live.

NOTICES

STOKE NEWINGTON IS: public meeting on inflation. Speaker Michael Kidron author of Western Capitalism since the War. 8pm Monday 11 January, Rose & Crown pub (upstairs room) cnr Church Street/Albion Road. Bus: 73.

MERTON IS: Roger Protz on Is the Labour Party an alternative? 17 January 8pm William Morris Hall, Wimbledon Broadway, SW19.

BERNADETTE DEVLIN speaks at Waltham Forest Council of Action, Wednesday 20 January, 8pm, Gas Show Rooms, Walthamstow High Street, E17. (near Walthamstow Central station.)

ANTI-APARTHEID: meeting against arms to South Africa. Monday 18 January, 7.30pm, Central Hall, Westminster

SOCIALIST MEDICAL ASSOCIATION: day school on the Social Causes and Consequences of Addiction. Sunday 28 March at NUFTO Hall, Jockey Fields, London WC1. Credentials from T C Thomas, 54 Finchley Court, Bards Lane, London N3.

CABORA BASSA dam picket 11.45am Wednesday 13 January outside Shareholders mtg of Barclays Bank DCO 54 Lombard St EC3.

Power workers may act again

MILITANT electricity supply workers called on Monday for a return to industrial action if the court of inquiry into their pay dispute does not recommend more than a 10 per cent increase.

Delegates to the London area of the Transport and General Workers' Union power group, representing 12,000 of the industry's 125,000 workers, gave a warning that they expect to receive 11 to 12½ per cent.

There is a strong likelihood of a return

to militant action. The court of inquiry is openly biased and hostile to the unions: the chairman, Lord Wilberforce, is a former Tory candidate and another member, Mr Raymond Brookes, £35,000 a year boss of Guest, Keen and Nettlefold, is an outspoken opponent of the unions.

Even right-wing union leader Frank Chapple, of the Electricians' Union, aware of the anger from the rank and file, has forecast militant action if the inquiry restricts itself to 10 per cent.

Monday's TGWU meeting called for delegate conference by the four unions involved to approve any settlement

During this week's bitterly cold weather, the electricity boards have cut supplies by as much as 7 per cent — but there have been no blackouts. It is clear that the blackouts during the work-to-rule last month were staged deliberately by management to both whip up public feeling against the workers and to conserve supplies for the extra cold weather.

TUESDAY: ALL OUT TO KILL TORY UNION THREATS

SW Reporter

NEXT TUESDAY — 12 January — marks the next stage in the nationwide campaign to kill the Tory government's anti-union Bill. All the signs are that key sectors of industry will come to a halt as tens of thousands of workers stop work to hold meetings and demonstrate against the government's proposals.

The impressive fact about the campaign is that it is organised almost solely by rank and file workers. Most trade union officials have been struck dumb in recent weeks and have issued no call to their members to take militant action.

12 January is the TUC's day of 'protest'. It is staging a rally at the Albert Hall in London where the main speaker will be Harold Wilson, the man who started the anti-union bandwagon rolling.

But Wilson is unlikely to get a cold reception. Precautions have been taken to keep militants out of the all-ticket meeting, which will be packed by loyal union bureaucrats.

Timid demand

The TUC has called for workplace meetings during the lunch break to discuss the Bill. But up and down the country, workers will go beyond this timid demand by staging one-day or half-day strikes and demonstrations.

Television programmes are likely to be blacked out on Tuesday. An official meeting of the cine-technicians' union, ACTT, voted on Sunday to strike on 12 January to register their protest against the government's measures. But they will allow news programmes to appear so that reports of the day's strikes and demonstrations will be seen.

Buses may not run in London on Tuesday. Delegates to a busworkers' conference voted overwhelmingly to withdraw services to register their protest.

Disrupt docks

The Watermen, Lightermen, Tugmen and Bargemen's Union is officially backing strike action on Tuesday and the withdrawal of their labour will seriously disrupt work in the London docks. Dockers on Merseyside and Hull are also expected to stop work for the day.

In London, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions is organising a rally in Hyde Park at 3pm. This will be followed by a mass meeting at the Albert Memorial at 5pm, called by the London trade unions' co-ordinating committee. This will be followed by a lobby of the TUC rally across the road at the Albert Hall.

It is vitally necessary for all sections of industry to add their voice to the swelling opposition to the Tories' plans.

Send delegates

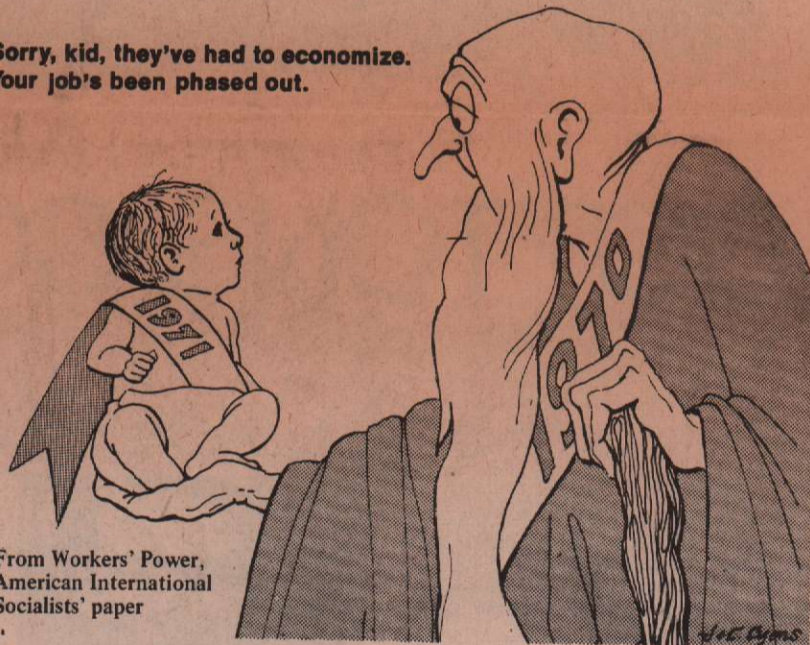
Factories should organise mass meetings to discuss the Bill and to send delegates to the London lobby of the TUC rally. All local demonstrations should be given maximum support.

But it is not enough to protest. The campaign must be turned into an all-out fight to destroy the Bill and the Tory government.

The government and its big business backers have launched the most serious attack on organised workers for many years and only massive rank and file action can stop them.

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From Workers' Power, American International Socialists' paper

Angry newsmen slam sell-out role of leaders

SW Reporter

THE UNOFFICIAL STRIKES last week by journalists at the Daily Mirror and Sun brought into the open the smouldering discontent of the rank and file with their union leaders.

The militant journalists were demanding the right to negotiate their own house agreements with management — a right taken away from them in the terms of a new pay deal signed by the National Union of Journalists and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association.

In one of the most flagrant pieces of strike-busting seen for some time, NUJ General Secretary Ken Morgan told Mirror and Sun executives to bring their papers out 'at all costs' and ignore the 'unconstitutional' strikes.

The strikers went back on Sunday still determined to use guerrilla tactics to win the right to negotiate agreements. Their main weakness was the ability of newspaper executives and a handful of scabs to bring the papers out.

The only way in which journalists can successfully challenge the press barons is to build strong rank and file links with the

printing unions, who have the power to stop the presses.

Meanwhile, the campaign to democratise the NUJ and kick out the conservative leaders is gathering pace. In a three-cornered contest for a vacancy on the national executive's biggest Magazine and Book section, militant Father of the Chapel (shop steward) Bill MacGregor from the Mirror group's business magazines won a comfortable victory.

Condemn

Next Monday Mr MacGregor will move a resolution at the Magazine and Book branch in the presence of Ken Morgan that condemns him for his conduct during the strike.

More than 400 members attended the Central London branch on Tuesday — the Fleet Street branch — and voted to continue the fight for house agreements. The meeting decided to nominate Bryn Jones and Malcolm Withers — FoCs at the Mirror and the Sun — for the executive. The branch had voted previously for the resignation of Ken Morgan

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