SW to appear weekly from September

EVENTS IN BRITAIN AND FRANCE have stressed the urgent need for socialists to make an even greater impact on the working-class movement. The French strikes and demonstrations have shattered the “theory” that the workers are no longer a revolutionary force, but they have also underlined the need for a large socialist organisation to link up the factory struggles and raise the perspective of workers' power.

In Britain the growth of racist ideas among some sections of workers is a menacing challenge to all socialists to intensify their activity and speed the creation of a genuine revolutionary party. As we report in this issue, International Socialism has started talks with other socialist groups with a view to united action and discussions aimed at linking into one larger organisation.

International Socialism has also decided that, from September, Socialist Worker will appear as a weekly paper. The paper's circulation which has grown steadily for many months now, leaped up last month when the name was changed from Labour Worker. The response to the paper shows the potential that exists in the working class but with major events piling on top of one another, that potential cannot be adequately tapped by a monthly paper.

A weekly paper will immediately answer the lies and distortions of the big business papers and hammer home at the same time the socialist alternative to capitalism, its crises and its growing attacks on working people. We plan to make our weekly paper lively and agitational, packed with news and facts, plus bright features, reviews and cartoons. It will sell for only 2d, but if the circulation is boosted towards the 20,000 level we will more than cover our costs. We urge all our readers and supporters tocampaign now for bulk orders in factories and other sections of the labour movement.

The weekly paper is a tremendous step forward for IS. Make sure the paper is a success by planning your sales NOW. Further details will appear in our August issue.

FRANCE SHOWS THE WAY FOR WORKERS

APPROVAL

Holders of engineering shares will, no doubt, be watching with approval the efforts of employers and government to fight off the workers' claim for a modest increase. For if a rise was granted to the unions, it would spoil the excellent progress that their investments have made this year. Aircraft company shares are showing a 22 per cent rise this year and non
THE EXPLOSIVE CHALLENGE OF THE FRENCH WORKING CLASS to the Gaulist Government sounds both a warning to international capital and a challenge to socialists everywhere. In a month in which the might and the power of capitalist France was fundamentally shaken, the action of the French workers also struck a devastating blow at all those who had dismissed the revolutionary potential of working people in modern capitalist society. The struggle for generation of socialists for the idea of revolutionary socialism and working-class power has been dramatically vindicated.

The inspiration of the French working class challenge has already uplifted the whole political level of the debate in the labour movement in other countries, including Britain. It is the Tory millionaire press which fearfully asks the question: “Can it happen here?” It is we who must help to provide the answer “yes.”

For more than a decade we have been repeatedly told how the major European countries were crumbling before the advance of international monopoly capitalism: how the states of Europe were being eroded by the hand of the European Community and the EEC. Britain has been drawn closer together, to face similar problems and similar challenges. Their response must now be similar.

The problems facing French workers are similar to those confronting British workers: a wage freeze, cuts in the social services, erosion of civil and trade union rights, the threat of the direct action through so-called “spontaneity.” Direct action based on the power of workers themselves, which is the historic strength of French workers, has been shown to be a devastating alternative.

And what the French have shown is that the response of the working class need not be limited to the two-class—twoclassed—polities of the rival capitalist parties, or to opting out of the system through so-called “spontaneity.” The direct action based on the power of workers themselves is the way out of the system, which has turned the working class of Europe has faced not only to win the battle but also to win the war. British workers will be able to avoid many of the pitfalls that are facing the French during this last round of fascists’ take steps to build such an organisation now.

The republican socialist organisation linking the struggles of the workers and the growing influence of the Marxist and anarchist forces has been described by the French workers as not only to win the battle but also to win the war. British workers will be able to avoid many of the pitfalls that are facing the French during this last round of fascists’ take steps to build such an organisation now.

French left is banned and 30 are jailed

IN THE WAKE of the collapse of the French strikes last month came savage reprisals against the socialist left.

The Gaulist regime, frightened by the revolutionary potential of the workers and the growing influence of the Marxist and anarchist forces, banned several groups that had played a leading role in the attempt to turn the campaign for higher wages into a struggle for power.

Among those banned were Socialist Worker’s comrades of the Voix Ouvrières (Workers’ Voice) group, and two other Trotskyist organisations, PCI and OCI and their youth groups. The student March 22 movement was also driven underground by the government.

Several revolutionary parties have been banned. Exact numbers and hard to discover but Socialist Worker understands that 30 were arrested of whom 12 were released without trial. Still, the Pierre Frank of the PCI and comrades Schoolman (VO), Verlizier (ICR), Flesch and Schulman (22 Mars) and Chaussey (FPR) were arrested.

The French Communist Party condemned the socialist groups as “splitters” and “agents of the right.” It is strange that such sinister organisations should be banned by the very regime which they secretly support while the “party of the working class” goes free.

But in spite of de Gaulle’s election gimmickry of using the CP as a “red bogy” to frighten middle-class voters, the French ruling class is too keenly thankful of the openly counter-revolutionary role of the party during the recent upheaval. The establishment is also aware of the strength and potential of the real Marxist forces, particularly as Voix Ouvrières was engaged in unity meetings...

Print Shop Fund

THE PRINT SHOP FUND stands at well over £600. The response to our appeal has been excellent and one supporter donated £50. But we are still a long way from our £10,000 target and the plans for a weekly paper make it even more essential that we reach it as soon as possible.

The entire production of any paper, from typesetting to printing, will be undertaken in the print shop by a full-time, trained team of printers and designers. Our overheads will be heavy and it is vital that most of the equipment should be paid for as quickly as possible.

Please make an extra effort to raise donations and rush them to us.

Riot charge on militant

TOM HILLIER, well-known engineering militant in the North London area, was charged with assaulting a police officer during a demonstration outside the French Embassy in support of the workers and students in France.

He was arrested on the demonstration, as was visited by police officers who detained him overnight in the cells. His case was held over until June 21 but he was in formed before he appeared that “other charges” were being considered.

When Hillier appeared in court he was further charged with assaulting a police officer in the course of a section of the Race Relations Act, which superseded certain provisions of the 1936 Public Order Act. Both Acts were ostensibly introduced to combat racialism and fascism.

The case was again held over to allow witnesses and represen- tation to be arranged. Hillier is due to appear in court on July 5.

If you took part in the demonstration and feel you may be able to give evidence you are urgently requested to con- tact Tom Hillier at 59 Denzil Road, London N.W.10.

Money is needed for his defence and readers are urged to send donations to the above address.

Readers will appreciate that the case is technically “sub judice.” Socialist Worker is un- able to comment on its impli- cations at this stage.

FUTURE

Total output per worker last year rose by 2.6 per cent compared with 1.3 per cent in 1966. But this pales into insignificance when compared with what the capital- ists planners have in mind for the future.

An unprecedented boom in mergers is rapidly leading to the spread of more ruthless methods of exploitation throughout the economy. Massive re- dundancies, accompanied by a brutal speed-up in production for those who remain, are now commonplace.

Some enthusiastic members of the Tory press newspaper The Guardian, “are now talking of a rise in productivity of 10 per cent expected rise in output gets under way.”

The breakdown of productivity performance by industry shows that the most spectacular in- crease in productivity has been in coal mining and textiles. Productivity, it now seems, is the cornerstone of the capitalist assault. Not productivity and redundancies are set to go hand in hand.
The trial of a giant drug firm gets under way— but is there any need to prove it guilty?

Thalidomide and the profits of death

by EWA WIDOWSON

had such side effects reported to them. This was not true; these effects were reported in the clinical trials. Four more complaints arrived by October 1959. They reported involuntary trembling of hands, excessive coldness in hands and feet, sickness and damage to nerve endings. The last complaint was to become the most important, and resulted in numbness of hands and feet from which most people did not recover when they stopped taking the drug.

The last of the four doctors who complained, Grunenthal replied: "Happily we can tell you that such disadvantageous effects have not been brought to our notice."

When the doctor persisted and three months later brought to their notice three more nerve damage cases they were promised to look into the matter in the course of further clinical studies." In fact no such studies were ever planned or carried out.

STUDIES

The doctor made his own studies and published them. Discontent was spreading through the medical world. In April 1960 the Grunenthal sales department wrote: "Unfortunately we are now receiving increasingly strong reports on the side effects of this preparation, as well as letters from doctors and chemists who want to put it on prescription. From our side everythings should be done to advertise the knowledge that the side effects of Thalidomide were directed at making thalidomide safer."

Desperately they wrote to doctors asking for favourable reports. A favourable article appeared in Medizinische Welt, a medical paper, when an unfavourable one had originally been planned.

By the start of 1961 the link between damage to nerve ends and thalidomide was so universally recognised that Grunenthal gave in. In the interests of "customer relations" (not in the interests of the patients) they decided to place the drug on a pro-

advertising knowledge of Grunenthal was directed at making thalidomide safer. Desperately they wrote to doctors asking for favourable reports. A favourable article appeared in Medizinische Welt, a medical paper, when an unfavourable one had originally been planned.

By the start of 1961 the link between damage to nerve ends and thalidomide was so universally recognised that Grunenthal gave in. In the interests of "customer relations" (not in the interests of the patients) they decided to place the drug on a prescription-only basis. In Germany alone at least 1000 adults became permanently affected.

But the main storm, the news that thalidomide affected unborn babies, had not yet broken. When it did Chemie Grunenthal reacted in characteristic fashion.

At first they were unconcerned and treated the matter lightly. Then they were convinced that it was serious and called in Lenz, the German doctor who had investigated the mystery and solved it.

Lenz himself wrote: "I had the impression that the Grunenthal representatives showed no interest in the facts, or the arguments, that pointed to thalidomide being the root cause of the deformities. Quite the reverse, they showed the most lively interest in every detail which showed up the quality of my research in an unfavorable light."

they were given an ultimatum by the Ministry. Either they would withdraw the drug or the Ministry would ban it.

On the circular announcing withdrawal they put "Publicity has removed the basis for scientific discussion."

Seven years later the court sits to judge whether a crime has been committed. Part of the reason for the enormous length of the trial is due to the number of cases which feature in the evidence. But extra length is added by considering the question of whether the defendants acted negligently or maliciously, whether all men were equally guilty and to what extent.

UNIQUE

The victims of thalidomide were the victims of human greed—the greed for profits. Typical of our society and certainly not unique in the extent of the damage done. Does it matter whether the damage was done deliberately or whether the bosses at Chemie Grunenthal just did not care what happened so long as their £600 a week was rolling in?

The facts should convince a jury that it was not a matter of unavoidable scientific error. Certainly within a year enough relevant evidence could be presented. Much of the concern of the defence is not so much with proving their clients innocent as with delaying the process and therefore...
THE APPEAL BY INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM for a regroupment of the revolutionary left in Britain—both to meet the threat of Powell and the challenge of France—has been modestly encouraging. The best response, as we expected, has been from former uncommitted socialists and trade union militants who have long waited such a development. The response from the socialist groups based on social movements has been, although not overwhelming, the appeal for a united socialist organisation, was seen as possible, and was supported. From the International Marxist Group, the May Day Manifesto, Solidarity the Independent Labour Party, Socialist Labour League, Socialist Current and Workers Fight. Only two of these groups, the IMG and the Manifesto group, have so far sought discussions about a possible basis for unity. Others have welcomed the prospect of “working together on particular issues” but shunned the prospect of unity as impractical or a utopia. The small has not replied. A series of discussions have been held with the IMG, with whom we share a similar work in such fields as the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. In response to our four point unity programme, the IMG have added a further seven detailed points of policy. These include a commitment to the building of a revolutionary party as well as support for the campaigns for black power and student power.

It is the opinion of the comrades from IS who have held these discussions that the suggested policy programme need not conflict with unity after a period of joint activity over a broader field of work. Both organisations will further discuss this together with a possible timetable for unity.

Necesarily discussions with the Manifesto comrades have assumed a different approach. It has been felt that there is the basis for much closer liaison in areas where we both have members (this already takes place in some areas) with everything to be said for joint membership in the meantime.

It is the view of IS that the united socialist organisation would have room for a broad range of views and on the left on many issues; that indeed the internal political development and shaping of the organisation could only benefit by this. Additionally, internationally socialist organisations hope that their plans to plan Socialist Worker into a weekly paper will be welcomed by many on the left who will feel able to write for it, promote it, and help determine its policies.

The new political situation we find ourselves in offers both great dangers—from a development of the extreme right—and great opportunities. In the student field alone many thousands of young people can be won to a libertarian revolutionary socialism, provided we are seen to be relevant and make concessions to their struggles than with peddling our own organisational identities. On a smaller scale—but even more important—the same applies to hundreds of trade unionists who are seeking a way out of the Labour Party/Communist Party cul-de-sacs in which many militants have become ensnared.

International Socialism would like to see a regroupment of the left interested in unity organically or in action. We hope that the debate about a united response to the new political challenge will be echoed in every corner of the organised working-class movement.

SOCIALIST WORKER is the paper of International Socialism, a movement of revolutionary socialists who believe that a different form of society, with its blind inequalities, its periodic crises, wars and racialist hysteria must be replaced by a society based on a planned economy under full workers’ control; those who produce the wealth should own and control the means of production.

International Socialism is opposed to any incomes policy that seeks to restrict the wages of the workers in order to boost the profits of the employers. We unconditionally support all shop stewards and rank and file trade union members to take action in support. We demand an end to the policies that threaten the liberties of the labour movement. We support all strikes in defence of workers’ interests with the demand of no victimisation of trade unionists. Redundancy should be opposed with the demand: five days work or five days pay. Shop stewards’ organisations should strengthen and extend their influence by linking up on an industrial and ultimately a national basis.

We are opposed to racial discrimination, a policy used by the ruling class to divide the labour movement. Immigration control must be ended, ensuring the free movement of peoples regardless of race and colour. Black and white workers must unite and form their own defence organisations to fight fascism and racism.

The labour movement must demand the immediate recall of British troops abroad as the first step towards ending colonial exploitation.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to join workers in their struggles, to enrich those struggles with socialist ideas that will link up the various sections of the labour movement and help create a force that will lead on to workers’ power. If you would like to join IS or would like further details of our activities, fill in the form below:

Please send further details of the meetings and activities of International Socialism to:

Name ________________________________
Address ________________________________

The growth of the NPD is a sinister trend — but the unholy alliance of the Grand Coalition still poses the main problem

NPD leader Von Thadden: picked up protest votes

Nazi ‘menace’ obscures real threat to German workers

IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT elections in Bad-Wurttemberg in April, the Social Democratic Party of Germany (the SPD) lost 83 per cent of their votes, while the neo-fascist New Democrats (NPD) won some 10 per cent of the votes cast.

The SPD leadership put the blame for their poor showing on the students, but the decline of the SPD began not with the mass demonstrations at Easter against the Springer newspaper group but on the day the SPD formed the “Grand Coalition” with the conservative Christian Democrats (CDU). Since then the SPD has lost votes in all the local elections. It is true that the growth of the NPD started in 1965, but it was promoted by the Grand Coalition.

Public opinion, deeply shocked by the election results, interpreted the climb of the NPD as the successful return of the Nazis. But in Western Germany today there is no danger of a fascist coup d’état. The NPD is an embarrassment to the ruling classes, which knows that the coalition

CONTRAST

Hitler’s Nazi Party was the political spearhead of a fascist movement whose strength was not drawn just from electoral votes. A majority of the NSDAP voters were already organised in para-military youth, women’s and combat units, whose task was to intimidate the left through systematic terrorisation.

The bourgeois state machine in the Weimar Republic had been so weakened and limited in its scope by war, inflation and deep entanglement with the Social Democratic Party that the fascist combat units had to take over the task of fighting the left and altering the balance of power of the classes so that finally a “legal” coup d’état became possible in January 1933.

by VOLKHART MOSLER

in small towns with a stifling middle-class environment. A new phenomenon is the number of refugees who belong to the NPD.

But peasants, refugees and the threatened middle class are only part of the reservoir drawn on by the NPD. Recently the NPD has moved into the large towns and those working-class districts where the SPD has lost votes. Investigations show that the NPD’s support comes from “protest votes,” reflecting above all dissatisfaction with the coalition parties.

Thus 24 per cent of the NPD voters, but only 20 per cent of CDU voters think that the student demonstrations are partly or completely justified. The call for “more drastic measures” against the students was more frequent among CDU voters (55 per cent) than among NPD voters (52 per cent). The attitudes of many NPD voters are different from the majority of voters.

It is true that the official cadres and the membership of the NPD are recruited from old and young Nazis. But in small towns with a stifling middle-class environment. A new phenomenon is the number of refugees who belong to the NPD.

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But neither the political nor the economic circumstances exist today which then forced the ruling class to rely on the support of a fascist movement. In contrast to the NSDAP, the NPD is a typical voters' party. It can win 10 or even 15 per cent of the votes, but, apart from a few spectacular demonstrations, it is not yet a mass movement. The relationship between electorate and party is just as loose in the NPD as in the other parties.

Many causes have contributed to the NPD's success. It is strong where the Nazis were strong, in certain rural areas where peasants are threatened just as much as workers in the agricultural crisis today as they were before 1933, and the Nazi class struggle against the left is neither possible nor necessary. A state incorporating policy through integration of small farmers into the trade union system, the threat of emergency laws and the "legal" use of the state against small groups outside the parliamentary system are still an adequate instrument of domination today. At the moment the NPD can not take over either the structure or the function of the NSDAP.

The latest election results show that the Left opposition has not been able to win support from disillusioned workers. The Communist Party and other sections of the left have been driven to the conclusion that the protest vote should be provided with a left alternative. But the elections in Bad-Württemberg themselves showed how wrong this calculation is. The "Democratic Left"--an electoral alliance between Communists and left liberals--could only win 2.3 per cent of the votes. The worker who did not vote in either of the NPD and protest saw no reason to trust in the promises of the other parties in the NPD. This defeat of the Democratic Left must be a warning to all socialists that a Socialist Party can grow from electoral successes to a battle in, but only in real class struggles.

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It is not the fight against the apparent threat of fascism and the need to maintain bourgeois democracy but the fight to maintain the political and economic rights of the working class which can turn into an immediate danger of an authoritarian state.

The real threat comes from the CDU/CSU government which is now pushing through reactionary emergency laws. This anti-strike law and the reactionary social policy of the coalition are the real dangers for the German working class.

Up to now the NPD has been hindered by the symptom of a misdirected protest which reflects the weakness of the left. The fight for this reason must be directed primarily against the coalition and must be carried out so that the workers can recognize their own interests in the activities of the growing opposition outside parliament.

The party seems to have little influence on the situation. The question is whether they will be able to push these workers around for much longer.

A critical study by TONY CLIFF
5s 6d (including postage) from
36 Gilden Road London NW5
VITAL LINK OF REVOLUTIONARY PARTY STILL NEEDED

THE FRENCH CRISIS is beginning, not ending, but it is now possible to attempt a preliminary estimate of the first phase of the struggle.

It is clear that although the particular form and timing of the French events took the revolutionary left by surprise as much as anyone else, in its essential features the general strike has confirmed the perspective that this paper has put forward over recent years.

Firstly, France has shown, more clearly than Hungary or the Belgian general strike, that the working class of the advanced countries has not been bribed or integrated into complacency, but retains enormous revolutionary potential—even though France has the most sophisticated form of planned Western capitalism.

The exceptional militancy of workers in the most modern sectors of industry, including motors and electronics, has shown that such militancy is in no way a hangover from the past, but a crucial portent for the future.

Secondly, the crisis has clearly indicated the role of such social groups as students. The French students played a central part, acting, as it were, as "detonator" for the social explosion—but they themselves were not able to act as the agents of social change, but merely to set the stage for the working class. Nor were the students able to hold out on their own after the workers returned to their jobs.

Thirdly, the position of the Communist Party in a direct confrontation with the bosses and their state machine has been shown to be, not merely insufficiently radical and militant, but completely counter-revolutionary.

But when all this has been said, the real problem remains: Why was the French working class unable to carry its initial victory through to the establishment of workers' councils and a workers' government?

Setback

The acceptance of elections is quite clearly a setback. In many situations the possession of democratic liberties and a representative assembly are positive assets for the working class, worth struggling for and defending.
Comrades, comrades! But then came the student fascist group, the National Defense Law where the more conservative committee of occupation had allowed them to set up a stall, but now called for help to throw them out because of threats of violence.
The student fascist group, the National Defense Law, was ultimately forced to leave the event, but the conflict continued between the students and the faculty.

That evening we attended a Vois Ouvriére meeting in the Sorbonne. It was a gathering of workers from all over Paris, some 250 strong. Comrade A. gave a quick situation report and analysis of the workers' struggle, urging all workers to get back to work, but many sectors were resisting.

Another communique from the运动s for the Kennedy assassination. One of us made a short speech about the need for unity in the face of the French events, and then we heard a business-like report from the factories of the day's events.

The meeting ended with the distribution of tasks for the following day to everyone—leafleting, picketing, and participation in Comités d'Action.

VO's analysis was that the strikes were led by a militant minority of workers who had rejected the reformism and Stalinism of the Communist-led CGT (Central). It was still necessary to win the majority of workers to a revolutionary position. The CP had not yet played a revolutionary role, and only a mass revolutionary movement or party could offer a real alternative.

VO and the JCR had formed a joint co-ordinating committee and were working closely together, but both had to face the practical problems of organizing and action. But even if not completely united, the revolutionary movement was growing and gaining strength.

Further violent demonstrations took place the next day, after the announce ment that two workers had been killed by the CRS at the Sorbonne. Guerrilla bands spread their message: "Power to the workers!" and sang songs. By evening, the workers were demanding a meeting with the police, but it was not held. The CP was not ready to risk a confrontation.

A new phase in the struggle started on Wednesday June 12. The government banned all university and secondary school classes, shaming slogans such as "Power to the workers!" and singing the songs of the previous night. Leaflets and discussions with pickets outside factories were on the agenda.

Perhaps a majority of the demonstrators were students, but there were many young workers and a few older ones who were actively involved in the group; the most influential group in that commune d'action was the Workers' Front, which maintained a very low profile on the streets without much political direction.

The DECISION TO OPEN Britain's largest research establishment into the world of chemical and biology research seems to be a standard reaction to any large wave of adverse publicity. For example, in 1962 in Salisbury, researchers used the plant Datura stramonium, which contains the alkaloid stramonine, to test the effects of the drug on rats. The research was funded by the pharmaceutical company, but the media reported the findings, leading to public outrage and a subsequent investigation. The scientists involved were eventually cleared, but the incident highlighted the need for greater transparency in scientific research.

By STEVE BOLCHER

BRITAIN'S HORROR

Disposal, and defence against the weapons.

There are a large number of potential targets for chemical attack: nerve agents, biologic compounds and disease organisms. They are not necessarily primarily utilized by the state, but the public, in fact, is often more vulnerable to such attacks. For example, wide use is made of the plant hor- mones 2,4-D and 2,4-TC, which are used to destroy crops in the "restriction of food supply" programme and are estimated to destroy 15-20% of the crop in the areas sprayed.

Tear gas is an important weapon. It is often used to flush out rioters or to flush enemy out of bunkers. The gas was developed at Porton Down, in the UK, and is used by the army and police in the French strikes and marches. It is also used in Vietnam, where it was proved to be lethal when an Australian, Captain Bowdell, entered a civilian house where the gas had been used and was overcome by the fumes and died, although it had had two hours to disperse and he was wearing a gas mask.

Most of the gases used in the 1914-18 war are now obsolete. They have been replaced by newer, more effective and less dangerous weapons. For example, the newest, most effective and most likely to be used are chemical agents.

Chemical weapons are highly mobile and can be delivered by aircraft, ships, or submarines. They can also be delivered by spacecraft or missiles. The most commonly used chemical weapons are nerve agents, which are effective against both humans and animals. They work by attacking the nervous system and can cause a wide range of effects, including paralysis and death.

In conclusion, the use of chemical weapons is a serious threat to human security. It is essential that countries work together to prevent their use and to develop effective countermeasures. This requires international cooperation and a commitment to the goals of peace and security.
In this context the rôle of the CFTD is of particular interest. Originally a Catholic union, it broke its formal religious ties in 1964, and has developed its position as a “non-political” union ever since. Although its industrial base does not compare with that of the CGT, it has made significant inroads into the technological industries such as electronics.

In the present crisis it has at almost every point outflanked the CGT on the left, and in fact forced the CGT to support many actions to which it was originally opposed. In a recent statement, Seguy, secretary-general of the CGT, gave as one of his main reasons for not pursuing unity with the CFTD the fear of “ultra-left” groupings.

This is not to deny the essentially bureaucratic and reformist nature of the CFTD. It is rather to point out the extremely complex relation of political and economic demands; a situation in which concrete economic demands may be more revolutionary than an abstract political line imposed from outside. Even the enormous social explosion of the last months has only begun to fracture the deep-rooted structure of authoritarianism.

This of course brings us to the most crucial factor in the whole situation—the rôle of the French Communist Party. For all too long the revolutionary left has thought that it was sufficient to expose Stalinism—to reveal its zigs-zags, its opportunism and its betrayals.

What is required is a much more profound analysis of the sources of the enormous strength and resilience of the Communist Party. To do this requires a recognition that Stalinist has a coherent logic. Whatever the motives of the leadership, the rank and file militants who have beaten up leftists and turned students away from the factories do so out of a sincere acceptance of a political position.

Policy

In 1936 and 1945 the strategy of the Communist Party was largely directed from Moscow. Today, though Moscow has been cut off by the “stability,” nuclear weapons have replaced the international communist movement as its main instrument of foreign policy. The Communist Party must be understood more and more in terms of the traditional social democratic parties, with a growing gulf between leaders and rank and file.

In view of the fact that it has been universally recognised that the CPGB is an effective force driving the working class in all struggles,

and not on the basis of personal knowledge of and contact with the representatives, as in the British shop stewards’ movement. As the strongest trade union body, the CGT has kept a firm grip on shop-floor organisation, a grip which continued through the recent strike.

In more general terms, the CP has all the plausibility of the accomplished fact. In the minds of most workers it is identified with the left and is the only left they know. In these circumstances a general movement to the left will benefit the CP. The Party may now be finished among the students, but its distintegration among the workers has hardly begun. It is not through exposure that the CP will be defeated among the workers, but through the breakdown of revolutionary thought. Therefore the exposure of the Communist line must always be accompanied with the united front with rank and file CP member in all concrete struggles.

Experience

The French struggle will not be resolved quickly. What happens will depend on the emergence of alternative forces to the left. The call for a “new leadership” is not an elitist demand; it is a simple recognition of the fact that the CPGB is an effective force driving the working class in all struggles.

Meanwhile the CP enjoyed full radio and TV facilities in the election campaign. The Trotskyist groups of Voix Ouvrière and the Jeunesse Communistes Révolutionnaires played a valuable rôle, and the permanent liaison committee established between them is an important step forward to regrouping on the left. But, in spite of the CP’s sectarian attitudes and adapted to the real conditions, maist and anarchist groups played a useful part, too.

Penetrate

It is not for us to suggest to the French comrades how to respond to the legal dissolution. But revolutionary ideas are like nails—the harder you knock them, the deeper they penetrate. The long haul ahead will depend on protecting, by patient propaganda and discussion, from the disilluision with the CP, especially among the most militant sectors and those slowest to return to work. This will be the work of years rather than months.

French workers are returning to work with substantial gains, not only on economic terms, but in experience. At the same time there is inevitably a feeling of retreat from the total victory that seemed possible in May. What happens next will be a crucial test of tactics and militancy. Many, mostly the workers of the Popular Front of 1936 were rapidly lost through devaluation and rising prices. The consequent demoralisation made possible the capitulation to fascism in 1940.

In the short term the French ruling class is willing to make concessions, rather than lose everything. Cuts will be made in other sectors—already it has been announced that there will be a reduction in the independent nuclear striking force (a vindication of the old slogan “The blow against the boss is a blow against the bomb”).

But in the long term severe attacks will be made on the French workers’ gains. This is especially true in the context of international competition, and in a situation where much employment depends on the sitting of US subsidiaries in Europe.

If French wages are higher and management rights limited, US firms will shift production elsewhere. So now a European strategy for the French workers is more urgent than ever.
The French trade-union movement, growing up at a time when paralysis, corruption, and rent were the order of the day, and each person strove to enrich himself at the expense of the other, it is not surprising to learn that the party has gained in strength and support during recent weeks. But this is in accordance with the party’s historical development.

Its two greatest periods of growth were the period of the First World War (1914-1918) and the period of the Popular Front of 1936 and the Liberation of 1945; both were occasions when it had to face a new situation and to take a new path. The same is true of the period under discussion. The party has benefited from the fact that the French trade-union movement has been divided since the war into several factions, one of which has been defeated in the elections of May 1936, but is still strong enough to continue its struggle for power and divert it into safe parliamentary channels.

The close connection between the French trade-union movement and the Communist Party was shown at the time of the Hungarian Revolution. Certainly there was no question of support from the Soviet Union. The French trade-union movement, on the other hand, was ready to support the Russian action, and had left it to the leaders of the party to decide whether to support the Soviet action or to remain neutral. The party finally decided to support the Soviet action, and the party lost few members or votes over the question, because there was no question of support for the alternative working-class party in view.

The political strike—of the one-day stoppage variety—was originated by the CGT, both during the Algerian war and against the Guattist economic policy. It has served mainly to support the CGT’s campaign of propaganda and to increase the prestige of the party in the eyes of the workers of conventional political circles.

Some of the factors which contributed to the success of the strike were the simplicity of the issue, the support of the workers of the factories, and the general support of the public. The strike was not only a success, but it was also a victory for the CGT, which had been able to show that it was necessary to have a strong organization in order to be able to influence the government and the public.

The French crisis was beyond a doubt the most serious one since the war. It was a crisis of confidence, of anxiety, of fear. The workers of the factories, the workers of the mines, the workers of the towns, were all afraid of the future. They were afraid of the Government, of the banking system, of the economy. They were afraid of the working class. They were afraid of the workers of the other factories.

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Mortimer the militant decamps to the PIB.

by TERRY ROGERS (DATA)

IN THE LAST TEN YEARS, DATA, the draughtsman's union, has established a reputation for militant trade unionism in support of its conference policies. During this period Jim Mortimer, the former editor of the Data Journal, has played an outstanding part in the development of progressive policies and his exceptional abilities as a spokesman and writer have been a source of inspiration to numerous activists in the movement.

The union has consistently rejected the incomes policy as totally irrelevant to Britain's problems, pointing out the failure of the policy to maintain growth, provide full employment, restrict prices and profits, prove the standard of living of workers or redistribute wealth in favour of the working class.

The acceptance by Jim Mortimer last month of a position on the Prices and Incomes Board has shocked many members, at all levels in the union and people outside. What is the explanation?

**Strategy**

The present crisis in the British labour movement due to the bankruptcy of social democracy is causing many Labour Party members, and even some Labour Party members, to re-examine the raison d'etre of their party and to build a revolutionary party is becoming increasingly obvious.

With that in mind, a consistent supporter of the Soviet Union, an admirer of the Swedish pattern of industrial relations, and an avowed supporter of the Communist Party policy document the British Road to Socialism, Jim Mortimer has been out of step with his general leftward trend. His attitude is typified by his criticism of activity which goes outside the bounds of peaceful picketing such as the Grovesnor Square demonstration.

His political position was crystallized in his March editorial when he seized on the apparent difference between the government and the TUC as suggested by the TUC Economic Review. The argument was whether we were to enjoy an economic growth and a standard of living enjoyed elsewhere, or continue on the present course.

Jim Mortimer supported 6 per cent and in doing so rejected his previous arguments in support of trade union militancy. Without economic expansion, he argued, inflation would bring about a redistribution of wealth or a general increase in living standards, he argued. This could only be done by taxation and increased social security benefits and the TUC had shown the way forward.

Carrying the fantasy further, Jim Mortimer projected the TUC as a new body developing a strategy for the whole of the movement, within which problems of equal pay for women, a national minimum wage, etc., could be solved. It all depended on achieving the 6 per cent growth rate. This was the crucial point. The slogan was not a call for the replacement of capitalism and the establishment of workers' power but a demand for economic growth.

It is significant that Jim Mortimer made two well remembered contributions at the DATA annual conference in May. In one he attempted to whitewash George Woodcock and in the second he spoke in favour of the Labour Party document on democracy and against a demand for workers control.

Reports that he believes he can make a contribution to working class struggle by sitting on the PIB, seeing price rises are ludicrous. He knows the score.

In the February issue of the Journal he wrote: "There is no point in beating about the bush when discussing the government's intentions in relation to the living standards of the people in 1968. It is that living standards shall be cut... The forecast could not be more explicit. Living standards are to be cut. Prices will rise but as far as possible the government intends to hold down wages."

Jim Mortimer is an example of a socialist who is not prepared to face up to the challenge of the period. Unable to support the development of a revolutionary party based on workers power he preferred to cut himself off from that class and has accepted a job within the establishment.

As one who over the last four years has enjoyed a friendly dialogue on economic issues with Jim Mortimer, this is a sad comment on the political allegiances that the Data Journal has been forced to accept.

**Bonanza for steel shareholders, redundancy for workers**

by PETER INGHAM

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE state-owned steel industry show how futile it is to expect that workers will benefit from nationalisation while private bankers and capitalists control both the industry and the economy.

The publication of the accounts of the British Steel Corporation from July 1967 to March 1968 show that £62m. was used in this period but of this amount only £3m. was spent on the actual business of making steel. The rest, £24m., was spent on paying dividend interest and loan repayments to the former shareholders. The corporation has in its nationalised life in a disastrously weak financial position.

The chairman, Lord Melchett, and his financial advisers can no doubt claim that in the last year of private ownership profits were seriously down due to the cut-back in production and the cost of maintaining idle plant. But in anticipation of nationalisation, the owners paid themselves £72m., even though this dividend was not covered by earnings. They paid the dividends out of a total value of assets which they estimated at £114m.

**Milked**

The state has now found that the assets were worth only £100m. and it is clear that the industry was milked financially before nationalisation.

inland plant, such as that at Sheffield and Corby, and the removal of one third of steel workers from the payroll. They hope that by 1980 steel output from plant constructed on the North East coast will produce 50 per cent more steel with only two out of three of the present labour force.

The main savings will come from the reduced labour force and wages with increased productivity. Meanwhile, the share-owning private capitalists will continue to receive interest on their compensation stock of £50m a year.

Just how steel workers can be persuaded to accept such a giant fraud in the name of nationalisation is best explained by the structure of the unions in the industry.

Before nationalisation, the TUC and the main steel unions agreed that all employees of BSC should belong to only one of the six recognised unions or one of the additional eight recognised on the National Craftsman's Co-ordinating Committee.

This meant that large numbers of clerical and administrative workers who were previously not in any union or in the management-dominated staff associations, were required to join the BISAKTA (British Iron, Steel and Allied Trades) trade union.

Many steel workers know that the strength of local BISAKTA branches depends more on their own efforts than on those of full-time officials.

Most white-collar workers with any respect for trade unionism realise that separate recognition is fundamental to representation, but is that of all the effective for men and women not involved in direct production and who have nothing bargaining power.

Where white-collar workers in areas like Scunthorpe have been recruited into BISAKTA their position has been so weak that they have broken away to join the clerical workers (CAWU) or the supervisory (STMS, formerly ASIET). Both CAWU and STMS are now engaged in strikes to win recognition, with a large measure of support from the rank and file of BISAKTA, whose leaders have instructed their members to do the work of clerks and technicians during stoppages to keep production going.

**Bleak**

If this is to be the pattern of representation by the official unions in the BSC then the future prospects for steel workers and staff are bleak.

Like the workers at another famous nationalised firm, Renaul Cars in France, steel workers in Britain must learn that firm action from the organisation is the only way.
Railmen fight for pay but jobs battle still to come

by DAVE PERCIVAL (NUR)

The Overtime Ban and work to rule called last month by the two rail unions, NUR and ASLEF, in support of an all-round wage increase was in direct contradiction to the policy that the leaders of both organisations have pursued in recent years.

Both unions have been involved in talks with management since 1965 to establish a system of escalator clauses, and this latest wave of activity is part of a campaign to make the system applicable for all workers.

This demand has been resisted by the railway companies, who argue that it would lead to increased costs and reduced efficiency.

Sidney Greene 'Unreal demands'

NUR general secretary Sidney Greene has attacked the demand for an all-round increase as "unreal" and "irresponsible." He said that the unions were trying to "create a situation where the railway companies cannot refuse to agree to the demands of their members for a substantial increase.

While the main drawback to the overtime ban is that it demands a greater sacrifice from some railwaymen than others, those who resist the ban lose little, but the rest of us have to pay as much or more as 10 a week.

An overtime ban will be very hard to check except where staff are employed in large numbers and a few blacklegs can cause havoc in maintaining the unity of the workers.

The NUR and ASLEF executives have made it clear that they will only agree to a ban if they are confident that the companies will comply with their demands.

The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the two unions are controlled by different political parties, with ASLEF supporting the Labour Party and NUR backing the Conservative Party.

However, there is a growing consensus among both unions that the ban is necessary to keep the railway companies in check and to ensure that the workers get their fair share of the pie.

In the longer term, the railway industry needs to modernise and develop new technologies to reduce costs and improve efficiency. This will require a massive investment in new equipment and infrastructure, which cannot be achieved without the support of the workers.

In the meantime, the workers must be prepared to fight for their rights and to show the railway companies that they are not prepared to be exploited.

Orthodox structure of the unions, district councils, annual meetings, executives, bodies etc. which have not been strong enough to fight the influence of the government and the union bureaucracy around the general secretary.

To break this dreary routine, work must be done to link up the various "fronts of activity and expose at every point the root of continuing to support a Labour Party that is the new mover in all the attempts to cut back on railway workers' wages, and conditions.
Derby—despair saps militancy as pit closures mount

by CLIVE BURNETT (NUM)

SOON ALL THAT will be left of the Derbyshire pits will be the tips and the writings of D.H. Lawrence. Throughout the regions collieries are rapidly being closed.

Around Ripley five years ago there were eight pits. Now there is only one and its future is uncertain.

The Coal Board gives two main reasons for closures: some pits run out of coal reserves; others are uneconomic to run. Both methods are open to manipulation by the NCB.

The board can force a pit to close by declaring seams to adjacent collieries. At Coppice colliery, for example, a seam that held plenty of coal was allocated to nearby Ormonde colliery by the NCB. It was considered more economic to run it from that side.

The viability of a pit is determined by its output per man-shift, plus the price for the type of coal it produces. The two important factors are output and manpower. If output decreases or manpower increases, the pit becomes uneconomic.

The NCB can make use of both these factors when it wants to destroy a pit. With other surrounding collieries closed there is a pool of labour that can be employed at the pit under the hammer. It is flooded with additional workers and the output-manpower balance is disturbed.

Some miners suspect deliberate mismanagement as yet another way of closing an unwanted pit. The use of wrong machinery for certain types of coal, antagonising the men into low production and letting a face develop a bend that makes conditions more difficult are all possible ways of destroying a pit’s life.

Like any other industry, it is hard to fight a closure from inside. Closures develop a pool of unemployment, which snips and demoralises the men and destroys any attempt at solidarity between the men at work and those outside. Many older miners think that new men are endangering the security of their jobs.

All these factors add up to a situation in which a pit can be designated a “long life” one with a span of 15 to 20 years and yet it can be condemned as uneconomic within six months.

Betrayed

And now there is the added difficulty of political expression. The miners have been betrayed by the Labour government. They cannot turn to the Tories or Liberals, for they have never understood the miners or had influence in the past. The Communist Party offers no alternative or any action save for feeble protests to the House of Commons.

The only way pit closures can be fought is by forging links with the miners in other pits that do not face the immediate danger of shut-down. And miners must go beyond the narrow confines of the industry and build links with workers in other industries in every region.

But in the pits despair and defeat are sapping militancy. Miners committed to socialism must attempt to win support for the demand of workers’ control of condemned pits in an effort to keep them producing, not for profit and compensation for former shareholders but to provide cheap fuel for family use. If the campaign for workers’ control can spread to strong pits and to other industries then the miners could force the Coal Board and the government to rethink their fuel policy.

Only a party dedicated to socialism and workers’ control can lead the miners out of their despair. The struggle to build that party, to expand it and give it power at rank and file level must be the chief task for all militant miners.

When that is done, the miners will once again take their place in the leadership of the working class. Until it is done, the outlook for miners in Derbyshire and throughout the industry is grim indeed.

TUC centenary — happy birthday to who?

NOTHING MORE CLEARLY reveals the relationship between the state and organised labour than the postscript to the Queen’s Speech and the TUC. Today, the knights of the General Council belong to the Establishment.

They are necessary for the smooth running of the system. They act as a transmission belt, bringing capitalist ideology into the working class movement.

Unpalatable proposals, ones that would be quite unacceptable had they simply come from the bosses, are agreed to because of them. They occasionally voice workers’ discontent, but these would gain expression anyway. Far better, for the ruling class, that the spokesmen should be trade union leaders, speaking in moderate tones, than rank-and-file agitators. Protests are channellised into harmless, institutionalised forms. By helping to preserve the stability of society, union leaders are, to use Daniel De Leon’s apt phrase “the labour lieutenants of capitalism.”

But has this always been so? Last month saw the centenary of the formation of the TUC. A lot of claptrap was spoken. Speeches idolised the pioneers of the movement.

Most contributors came from the Webbsian School of Falsehood. For instance, when they spoke of Applethorpe, Allan & Co., a group of highly influential union leaders, they called them the Junta, the term first owner of that name.

Macdonald represented an important trend among union leaders. As Dr. Kevlen Harrison points out, in his book Before the Socialists (p. 38): “Special relationships grew up between particular employers and trade union politicians. For example, such relationships existed between A. J. Mundella and Robert Applethorpe; Lord Elcho and Alexander MacDonald; Samuel Morley and George Howell; Crawford, the ironmaster, and John Kane.”

Therefore, in the celebrations of the TUC centenary, we should be quite clear what the Establishment is happy about. Harold Wilson, opposed to working-class unity today, is not rejoicing because the TUC’s formation represented an addition to working-class strength a hundred years ago. No, the significance of the creation of the TUC was that it marked an important stage in the integration of the union bureaucracy within the capitalist system.

FAILURE

From this standpoint, as a judge on a hundred years of industrial activity conducted in the overwhelming majority of instances by leaders who fervently believed in class collaboration, the balance-sheet of the past 106 years needs drawing up. The failure to increase the share of the

Linwood strike sparked by productivity deal
From our Scottish correspondent

the men as "rebels without a cause."

The management dug their heels in. They later admitted that the productivity deal was not accepted it would mean an extra £2 million on the expenditure programmes. They started to pay off the rest of the workers at the end of the first week of the dispute.

When 2,500 workers were laid off and 1,000 men at the Bathgate works were laid off because of the shortage of spare parts. But Bathgate works stewards sent a message of support to Linwood.

On May 24, Barbara Castle ordered a court of inquiry into the dispute which was boycotted by the AEF. By the first of June the management were forced to concede a 1,600 a week in sales and announced a possible solution, which was put to a meeting of national and local union officials.

This arrived at a settlement which substantially conceded the point made by the AEF workers that any new proposals must be agreed before they are put into operation. The eight rates were to remain, and the Press would return at their old rates without a bonus, which had never added a great deal to the workers earnings. With the girls averaging £4.50 per week, those were appropriate to a May 1966 agreement. These were 95 per cent of the standards set under the new agreement.

As shop stewards' convenor Ian McAngus told the Glasgow Trades Council, there were no changes in political or industrial action. The management's productivity proposals are what the incomes policy and the PIB report traditional incentive schemes have permitted workers a greater control over job conditions than management are now prepared to tolerate and May 1966 is now history.

A similar productivity deal has been put to the Rootus factories in Coventry, but there the workers have been offered £33 a week immediately while Linwood will reach a maximum of £35 in two years, but certain that Rootus are planning to largely abandon England and transfer their work to Rootus in Linwood. That is why it is important for them to push the new deal through now, to ensure lower wages in the future.

The Linwood workers are in a strong position and a fight for parity with Britain and England and a rejection of authorishtor of management control could force a major victory.

COMMISSION

In 1868, the Lancashire miners struck against a 15 per cent wage reduction. After failing to get the men to return to work, the miners' leaders went to London where the Secretary of State for Mines, Mr. A. R. MacDonald testified before a Royal Commission on Trade Unions (yes, indeed it was them too) on the advantages of a miners' strike. That was fifty years ago when he found every delegate had come to the meeting with a blank sheet of paper and a rejection of authorishtor of management control could force a major victory.

Rejection

The Transport and Vehicle Builders union accepted the deal. For them it was "as good as giving their members their rates of pay, but..."

Letters

Miners what they really get

YOUR CORRESPONDENT on the problems in miners of the North East (June) has got his facts quite wrong and he refers to the Redundancy Payments Scheme.

The Fuel Policy White Paper published last November said the terms of the agreement meant that the redundancy of mine workers in the North West on previous take-home pay. In fact, the draft order for this scheme, now before Parliament, makes it clear that the dependent children whose pre-redundancy earnings were £13 a week would have their income supplemented to £31.69 a week (not £8.16 a week). You suggest that in this position would get more from the Ministry of Social Security, probably as much as was used to be called National Assistance. A married man with no dependent children would get his income made up to £13 a week, plus rent. But to get this he must submit to a means test and from this figure will be deducted, among other things, any earnings of his wife over £2 a week, any disablement pension over £2 a week. Under the terms of the new agreement, income from savings are also taken into account.

Under this scheme our men get his income made up to £31.69 a week, irrespective of what his wife earns or what disablement pension he might have. In addition, it was as a result of a conference with an NCB employee his rent goes up, he can get out of the scheme and be made up to the new wages.

W. Paynter, Secretary, National Union of Mineworkers, Easton Road, London, N.W.1.

Ish police states

MALACHY McKENNA was correct to point out to your readers (June) that Northern Ireland is a police state in Britain's backyard.

However he should also have informed them that there are two supported police states Ireland. All of the draconian provisions of the Northern Special Powers Act can be found in the Irish Police Offences Against the State Acts. That is why Irish revolutionary socialism has been driven underground and on to the streets North and South — Gerry Lawless, Duncaan Terrace, London, N.1.

Raymond Chalmers

(Continued on page 2)
FORD WOMEN RETURN - BUT EQUAL PAY IS BACK ON THE AGENDA

by SABBY SAGALL
(Who wrote this before the decision to call off the strike)

ON JUNE 7, after many months of protracted and fruitless negotiations at all levels within Ford's grading machinery at Dagenham for the re-appraisal of the grade, the women reached the decision that they were left with no alternative but to withdraw their labour.

The struggle is over the ancient problem of sex-discrimination. The women, fully trained in their trade, have been allowed a grade within the semi-skilled male grades - even after having to submit themselves to a Ford trade test. The company went to extraordinary lengths to maintain the women within the semi-skilled grade, contrary to all the evidence produced by the Review Committee during the period of job evaluation.

This committee unanimously agreed on a profile which unambiguously placed the women into the skilled grade. The company, however, disqualified this profile after the Review Committee had been disbanded to avoid any reference back.

Barbara Castle has unambiguously come out in favour of equal pay for equal work, with the sole proviso that whatever increases the "economy" can afford to grant the women at present will have to be counterbalanced by a slower rate of increase in the wages of male workers.

In other words, she has followed the lead of the Ford management who have laid off 5000 men in an attempt to arouse animosity on the part of the men towards the women.

ATTEMPT

The company did this in spite of the unprecedented prosperity they have enjoyed since January, during which the shop stewards and convenors pointed out in a vain attempt to persuade the management to retain the workers on full pay. The women were determined to stay out until they receive their extra 5. an hour.

The Dagenham machinists seen lobbying MPs during their strike

Teesside tenants prepare for rents struggle

by BRIAN EBBATSON

MASSIVE OPPOSITION is building up against rent increases proposed by the Tory Council of the new Teeside Borough. 47,000 tenants in the old boroughs of Middlesbrough, Stockton, Billingham, Redcar and Thornaby are affected. Rents are due to be increased, mainly by an amount of 10% of the total increases. And a rent rebate scheme, together with a means test, is also proposed. The first increase is due in October.

The rate contribution to be abolished, which alone accounts for 10%. The second increase is due in December.

Thousands of tenants are already protesting against the increases. A petition is being circulated, asking the rebate scheme will affect only one of them, and no one will pay less rent than they pay now.

The Council's "Revised Rent Structure and Rent Rebate Scheme" has been simply and aptly named, "Rent Increase Scheme." The chairman of the Teeside Federation of Tenants' Associations. The Federation was formed in May.

Donovan: the velvet glove stays on - bosses not ready for the knuckle duster

by COLIN BARKER

AFTER THREE YEARS' labour, the Royal Commission on Trade Unions has finally reported. The 352-page report (price £1) looks at industrial relations from the point of view of a section of the ruling class today. It is written in the strong enough to overthrow it.

So the Royal Commission doesn't recommend such use of legal action. Instead they suggest, to control workshop bargaining, firms should be required to register their factory agreements with the government.

A new Industrial Relations Commission is part of second
STRATEGY

This demoralisation enabled the Ford management to enforce their strategy of upholding all costs at the same time. The national agreement on production rates was agreed by the National Joint Negotiating Committee, which merely paid lip service to the principle of plant autonomy. There have been statutory monthly meetings between the management and the Joint Works Committees of the various plants, but these are subject to a number of conditions such as shift allowances—referred to as the NJNC in the contract. A number of such issues are dealt with under the heading of "union recognitions." Any major issue involving national economic policy—price increases, wages, strike pay, etc.—is referred to the National Joint Negotiating Committee and so on. As a result of the 1962 defeat, the collapse of the national management brought the management even more harshly than before, especially at the PTA plant.

ACTIVITY

The stewards have faced a tremendous hard task rebuilding the confidence of the Dagenham workers, but the task is not easy. The House of Commons has been a great disappointment, and with the capital strike of 1962, the management have been forced more harshly than ever, especially at the PTA plant.