SHARES JUMP
£1000 million

Tories to sell arms to South Africa

Tories will get tough with the unions

TORY SNOUTS ARE BACK IN THE TOUGHER

by Nigel Harris

UP AND DOWN the country, thousands of contested Tory snouts have returned to gazing in the trough.

The small businessmen, the local builders and property speculators clustered like flies round the honey of local authority contracts, are toasting Heath in the Conservative Clubs, in the suburban golf and tennis pavilions.

And there is quiet satisfaction in the solemn boardrooms of the giant companies. The brief Stock Exchange boom is the visible lifting of their hearts.

But the problems of British capitalism have not been wished away. The hard driving inflation which is weekly robbing every worker's shopping basket, is also eating into British exports. The Tories have come to power on the basis of bashing the unions, but bashing the unions won't cure inflation and won't cut the strike rate.

KID GLOVES

In 1951 the Tory government treated the union leadership as if it were a glove. The Tories were happy to use the trade union leaders as a whipping horse for their own policies, a class supporter, but they did not want to increase open class warfare, to drive the trade union leadership into the arms of their more danger- ous rank and file.

Labour has provided them with a lot of cost-free precedents for the ruthless treatment of trade unione- ers, but at least in the short term, the Tories are not likely to copy them. The big employers do not want to scare their own wage negotia- tors and the immigrants, and demands for more 'law and order' — in the form of a Tory-dra- fted law to combat the TEC — could foresee a complete identity of interests with big business.

And the attitude towards the credit squeeze — as well as the cumulative effects of productivity deals and whatever attempts there are at trade union 'reforms' — could tempt some backbench workers to join Powell in the trough.

So that although the Tory govern- ment is likely to begin softly, by next year it should face very severe internal strains as Powell's followers call for blood and the constancy of speculations, fear an epidemic unless they take some strong counterpolicies.

IMPACT

The impact of deflation bites different areas differently. The declining regions always suffer most. In Wales and Scotland, local nationalism get a boost from every downturn in the economy.

If Powell in the Commons links up with Puxley and his backwords- men from Northern Ireland, then they might also link up with other local nationalisms — including the Scottish. Heath really cares about the popular movement. For that he would have to drop the Commons and the Tory Party.

But if Labour prepares the way for the Tories, Powell pressures the way for the British capitalism goes into total crisis.

The left needs to understand clearly what the main dangers are to the working class and what moves can be made to stem the tide. The Tory snouts are likely to be misled by Tory propaganda so that they miss the real attacks on the working class.

The fight in the factories against deflation, productivity deals against any proposed legislation for the trade union, has to get back on the agenda with a serious political attempt to win the workers against national- ism and reactionism to create real political militancy and organisation.

Michael Kidson, Who wears the knuckle-duster? p.4 Post-mortem on Communists and Liberals p.5

Bernadette Devlin waving the St George flag, as she is chaired by supporters after her victory last week.

BERNADETTE DEVLIN'S triumph in Mid-Ulster in the general election serves as a warning to all those in the Labour Party and the trade unions who believe that you can only beat the Tories by watering down your policies until they are virtually the same as the Party of Big Business.

There was not one single whisper of socialism in the Labour Party's election manifesto. The result: the party which had attacked welfare, living standards, trade union rights lost the election because the name workers and a few hands on election day.

Bernadette Devlin fought on an openly socialist platform, she had an alternative to the parliamentary system. She called for nationalisation of industry and workers control. She was viciously attacked by the church, the press, the bosses and the angry 'friends of the people' in Northern Ireland. She stood firm — and her majority shot up to 1796.

And in Derry, Eastern McCann snatched up nearly 6000 votes in a tough seat fought also by the Communists and the nationalist 'Green Torries'.

McCann's Manifesto is committed to revolutionising socialist policies which spoke of the need to end the grip of British big business in Ireland, north and south.

The lesson for socialists in the Labour Party and particularly for members of the Communist Party, which did disastrously in a milk and water, reformist programme, to the only way forward for the working-class movement is to unite and fight around a revolutionary socialist programme. This means building a party which seeks to power away from the tiny capitalist ruling class and replace it with the rule of the workers, planning society in the interests of the people, not profit.

Get ready for action

BERNADETTE DEVLIN faces jail for her part in deposing Derry last year against the fascist hooligans of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the RUC Special. If her appeal to the House of Lords is rejected this week and she is sentenced to six months imprisonment, demonstrations and protests should be organised immediately in every major area.

FIGHT THE TORIES WITH SOCIALIST WORKER
Why it was right to say: 'Vote Labour'

LETTERS

PETER SEDGWICK's arguments against voting Labour are certainly valid in the central reason why the International Socialists advocated voting Labour.

But what about the arguments that Sedgwick uses?

Sedgwick says that a Tory defeat would not be a 'blow to the self-confidence of the working class' or 'divide and denigrate the establishment' because 'Big business has not been in the least worried by the chances of a Labour victory'.

This is why I have been a GKN, Powell, Duffryn, Sunley Investment Trusts etc. donated large sums to the Tory coffers.

It may be that the Labour Party in power no longer makes big business quake in its shoes (if it ever did), but certainly the NIT is NOT their party.

Sedgwick in no way denies that 'a Tory victory would give Labour leaders a new lease of life', but merely says that this argument 'commits us to permanent support for Labour'.

TRANSPORT UNION NOT ALTERNATIVE TO GMWU

FRED LINDIG (6 June) says that my letter on the Pitkington strike contained some statements which were incorrect or unfair but I do not think that these mistakes are as gross as I was told to do so.

If the GMWU and the TUC cannot be considered a satisfactory alternative for working men fed up with the General and Municipal.

To offer an alternative bureaucrati- cal - it cannot be considered to be

Czech student under attack

SINCE we published our appeal to support striking Czech students in the May 12 issue, we have received no reply that this case has not attracted the attention of the British government.

It concerns Lubomir Holacek, a leading member of the Students' Union before he fell under govern- ment influence.

We understand that Mr Holacek and some students who have been expelled from the university, they were refused permission to speak to the Czechoslovak authorities because he made a speech against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in the Redhouse Russell Peace Foundation in Florence, October 1968.

Mr Holacek is a socialist of the communist tradition who has been imprisoned for his beliefs.

We think it would be appropriate for socialists to protest to the Czechoslovak Embassy in London, and to any university that student socialists will take up a strong position in support of the Czechoslovak colleagues.

Ken Coates, Chairman, Russell Peace Foundation, Nottingham.

Socialist Worker likes to hear from its readers. If you should change your mind about the view, share it with the rest of our readers.

Letters - not more than 250 words typed or typed on one side of the paper only - must arrive first post Monday.

Czech student under attack

Czech student under attack

HERALDED

Owen set out to prove that in practice profit could be made by employing children to sweat and starve for wages. He was taken up, Owen sets out to

PIONEER

He insisted on looking at life as a problem in an intellectual way and not as a revolution.

signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the paper.

The working class gains the existence of the world and the power of society by constant struggle against the ruling class through the mass organisations that have been set up in the course of this struggle.

The working class must overcome the unevenness within the working class to gain, to draw and preserve the masses of people and then transmit them for the future, to fight against the pressure of bourgeois ideas in the working class, and to build the framework of a revolutionary struggle. The working class must be strong enough to build a new world.

The class organisation of work and conditions of work is a key point for the working class. It is not enough to talk about the working class in general. The working class is divided into different groups, each with its own specific interests and problems.

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his dream of a better society was a vital step forward for the labour movement.
Who wears the knuckle-duster?

Trade problems and the Powellites will push Heath further to the right

by MICHAEL KIDRON

THE TORIES' biggest immediate problem is inflation. This year prices have risen at an annual rate of 8 per cent. If they go on like that, three things could easily happen, each of them a threat for the new government.

First, their fixed-income support will wither and workers as salaries and pensions lose their stretch.

Second, the Tories' internal cohesion, already battered by the Powellite upsurge, will weaken even more. For every time workers win a price-beating wage rise, Powell's frustrated lower-middle-class supporters will want blood - Heath's blood and that of the business community of which he backs him.

Third, every rise in prices will lose markets abroad, suck in imports, wash away gold, and foreign currency reserves, encourage speculation against the Pound and eventually force another squeeze-out devaluation.

With only a narrow majority this is not a pleasant prospect for Heath. Somehow he must get a grip of prices, and that is one of the most difficult things to do. For one thing, skilled workers are still in short supply and can, if they are organized and know what they are about, drive a hard bargain. Other workers can usually manage to keep it up with the pace-makers.

And since skills are becoming more and more complex, wage drive will go on to real prices no matter how many unskilled unemployed queue up outside the gates.

HUGE

Business is also getting unaffordable to what happens outside. The companies that matter are so huge they can usually pass on most higher costs - including higher wages as higher prices to their domestic customers. And these companies are getting bigger every day in order to match their competitors abroad.

What can Heath do? The system he rates is becoming too congealed and rigid to be competitive. Business is becoming more national in the sense that it is being nationalized in its economic influences. But his main thrust must be along the route pioneered by the Labour government - direct wage control through incomes policy, productivity gains and labour legislation.

We can expect all this again soon. And we can expect them to be applied with greater urgency. For two things have happened since Labour tried them: international trade is moving into a relatively low-inflation phase. And the nationalization of British capital could do no better last year than produce an increase of 16 per cent in world trade than keep the volume of exports steady.

HURT

The inevitable fall-back from that astonishing 16 per cent jump is bound to hurt, and trigger off an export-or-die campaign even from frenzied and more anti-worker than Labour's.

The second thing that has happened is the upsurge in the Tory mood. Powell introduced the knuckle-duster into post-war Tory politics.

It has drawn black blood, and it has also hit Tory unity under Heath. To fight off Powell or even incorporate him, Heath will need both to win the party around a larger interest and to adopt an extremism of his own.

Economic need, party expediency and personal survival all point in one direction - Heath must pull on the knuckles himself and try them on the workers.

Private profiteers are milking the coal mines

by Jack Strawbridge

FOR THE last few weeks, we've lost all our overtime at the National Coal Board workshops at Carrcroft, near Doncaster. Our wages are down to the basic £18 1s 6d a week.

I'm a striker and to be quite honest I can get by. But most of the lads are family men and need the extra to make ends meet.

What makes us furious is why the overtime was cut. They cut it out because there was no work at the workshops.

But why is there no work? We knew why, because the NCB has been furloughing the work out to firms like Mining Supplies Ltd.

Our expense

And in the last month, two firms who do nothing else but workshop work have been advertising for men. At first there was only Mining Supplies, but in the last week or so, Dugdale Engineering have also advertised.

This is a direct attack on the NUM. The NUM have to compensate for the loss of overtime. (If the NCB wants to farm out the work, it's not going to do it at our expense.)

This affair shows the limited nature of Labour Party nationalization. Just as under private ownership, all power is at the top.

The workers in the industry should control it. We'd soon put an end to the milking of the industry.

COMING SOON

THE PILKINGTON STRIKE

—an important Socialist Worker pamphlet
Communists: down the British Road to lost deposits

by FRED HALL

Protest vote

Yet if it ever "British Roadside" — the "pale faced" and revolutionary in its cause — there was a radical tram that had a chance, it was in 1976. Six years of right-wing Labour rule, the collapse of the Labour Party "left", the general expectation of another Wilson victory — all this might have been expected to lead to a protest vote to the party.

It didn’t happen. The party lost votes to Labour. But overall, the low turnout, the "people before profits", the party moderate, was a radical straw man which was essentially the same kind. Since both parties were committed to parliamentary reform, leftist parties were in fact committed to the middle, middle-class, middle-class parties which may have had better appeal because they were less radical and had no intention of forming a government.

From a radical point of view, they were quite right. If the problem of the working class can be solved by capitalism in its own way, then the only way to vote for reformism is clearly the only way to vote for reformism.

As Socialist Worker has said repeatedly, there is no room for a second reformist party in Britain.

What next? The logical outcome of the collapse of Labour is a compromise between all parties. These parties would be to dissolve the Labour into the new party, Force into the Labour Party, to fight the general election. The new party would have a new name, a new programme — but to join it is to join the new party that is going to happen to the right wing of the Labour Party in any event.

The electoral defeat and the very nature of the growing Conservative Party will now be able to win a verdict in the general election and will now be able to do so.

"That is the basic point which all the Liberal-Conservative Cabinets which create all our social and political relationships.

Counting the cost

Acceptance of the Communist proposal for equal access to TV and radio (the two would strengthen democratic basis of the electoral system, it would be a radical programme and the £156 deposit, so that money would largely be in the hands of a list of parties or in the hands of the party.

Who genuinely believe in reformism outside the Communist Party and into their natural home. The whole party itself will continue to decline, it will not dissolve itself — not yet anyway. There are too many vested interests — jobs, perks and prestige — at stake.

The leadership has no real perspective and no real hope, either. All that Bert Ramelson, the industrial lawyer, writing in the Sunday Times last Saturday, could offer is more of the same old drivel.

'Disappointing'

He admits that the "Communist vote was disappointing, even when we take into account the ideological electoral system heavily weighted against minority parties."

Jeremy Thorne said exactly the same thing for the Liberals: What is on earth do so-called "reformists"

expect? "Fairness" from the capitalist class?

For militants in and around the Communist Party, the 1979 election should be another clear demonstration of the bankruptcy of the party. It can no more go on one way down.

COTTONS COLUMN WILL BE BACK NEXT WEEK

'REd liberals' must liberate themselves

by TERRY LACEY

The strong band of Liberals in the House of Commons is now a small group.

The radical liberals are threatened not with eviction but with being made homeless through demolition.

The radicals thought they had a long while before the Green Party had a chance, it was in 1976. Six years of right-wing Labour rule, the collapse of the Labour Party "left", the general expectation of another Wilson victory — all this might have been expected to lead to a protest vote while the party.

But overall, the low turnout, the "people before profits", the party moderate, was a radical straw man which was essentially the same kind. Since both parties were committed to parliamentary reform, leftist parties were in fact committed to the middle, middle-class, middle-class parties which may have had better appeal because they were less radical and had no intention of forming a government.

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The electoral defeat and the very nature of the growing Conservative Party will now be able to win a verdict in the general election and will now be able to do so.

"That is the basic point which all the Liberal-Conservative Cabinets which create all our social and political relationships.

In so doing, their energies are diverted away from the centre of our society and turned towards the petty things of our society and turned towards the petty things of our society.

Sinister rumours

But first they should turn their attention to thefful and wide fundamental economic and social change. (In the 1939 elections of 1939, the ending of capitalism of the socialist) to liberating themselves from a capitalist society.

Those who felt that the Liberal "Red Haven" were too left wing should now the latest crop of sinister rumours concerning the Liberal Party.

Most of the Young Liberals will remain ambivalent in their ideas and revolutionary in their actions. (On paper they have already liberalised half the world.)

Evidently there were bigger connections with Marks and Spencer’s than with Marx and Engels.

NEXT ISSUE: an important article by a doctor on the state of the Health Service and the current salary dispute

Join the International Socialists

There are branches in the following areas:

SCOTLAND

Aberdeen/Dundee/Perthshire; Edinburgh/Dundee; Glasgow/Alloa;

NORTH EAST

Newcastle/Chopley/Coast/County Durham; Northumberland; Gateshead; Darlington; Teeside

NORTH WEST

Manchester/Alderley Edge; Lyme/Altrincham; Wirral; Warrington; Manchester; Salford; Deane; Bolton; Wigan

SOUTHERN COUNTIES

London/Reading/Exeter; South-West; Swindon; Southampton; Chichester; Salisbury; Bournemouth; Basingstoke; Guildford; Southampton

GREAT LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES

ACTION: Angel/Camden/Chelsea/Deptford/Deptford; Balham/Bermondsey; Bow/Deptford; Croydon; Harrow; Islington/Jericho; Lewisham; Paddington; Poplar; Reading/Richmond; Stepney; Walthamstow; Balham/Hampstead; Wandsworth; Wimbledon; Putney

Please see further details of the meetings and activities of the International Socialists to:

Name: __________________________
Address: _________________________

Send to: B. Cottons, London WC2
Dockers ready for first clash with Tories

by Harold Youd

TGWU, Manchester Docks

When 24,000 dockers came out on an unofficial one-day strike on Monday they showed the new Tory government what to expect from port workers.

And in the light of the official National Delegates Conference (TGWU) meeting in London last week to discuss pay and conditions in the contracting industry.

Docker strike was only the beginning.

Fake militants

DOCUMENTS being distributed by the 'Militant Trade Union Commitee' which call for a general strike and violence are fakes designed to discredit the Left. They should be ignored.

NOTICES

This Sunday: Which war for industry? Is the Labour party a class party? Lecture by TomNation, 11-2, 11-31.9.78, St Mary's Hall, Westminster.

The Tory 'green' minister is a liar, William. Another lie was revealed last week when the MAA announced that the steel plant would remain open. However, the MAA later announced that the plant would shut.

The Rivett Report was too much for the employers, who were shocked into silence when Barbara Castle ignored it. Robert Carr seems certain to follow her example.

Dockers, whose bread and butter is at stake, and who are faced with a drastic decline in traditional dockers' work, cannot afford to be left at it. A dockers' strike was only the beginning.

Masked electricians discuss militant policy

Secrecy was the order of the day when masked electricians from Secondary Schools gathered in London last weekend to discuss pay and conditions in the contracting industry.

Masked electricians agreed to advise their fellow unskilled in the Electricians and Plumbers Union not to reveal their identity when speaking for fear of being reported by the management.

The meeting called for an immediate national rate of £6 an hour to meet rising prices and rents, a 24-hour working week and four day week.

AASPC's 1976-77 Annual Report was also debated. It included a balance sheet showing a deficit of £15,000. The report was read by the chairman, Mr. J. M. A. Thomas, and was passed by the members.

NEXT WEEK

How to fight the Tories don't miss this statement

IS launches £5000 fund appeal

Statement by the National Committee of the International Socialists

With the Tories back in power, it is clear that we face a new period of intensified political and industrial struggle.

The capitalist system is beset by problems on every side. In depression, sections of the establishment are looking to Powell and the extreme right to save their bacon.

Monday's dress rehearsal shows the temper of the men. It was organized by the National Shop Stewards Committee in protest against the use of non-docks labour.

The committee has threatened more strikes unless dockers get satisfaction on their demands.

The issue is: what is docks work? With the coming of containerisation, with more and more cargoes being shipped in huge metal containers, packed and unpacked away from the docks, there is no dockers' work.

Huge 'inland ports' are expected to spring up and be used for loading and unloading containers. Dockers say that the work they do is at stake in this 'inland' work. Naturally the employers want to remove dockers from the docks, to save money, they hope, less militant labour.

COUMRER

The Rivett Report, set up to inquire into dockers' work, recommended a 'dockers' corridor' five miles along the south coast of England and 10 miles for containers.

The new container ports would be on the south coast. What has not been announced is what will happen to dockers. One dockers' union boss said: "They would be because of saving in wages."

In fact no geographical definition of dockers' work offers any protection: only a straight guarantee that no work is done by dockers' work, at dockers' wages, would be sufficient.

But even the Rivett Report was too much for the employers, who were shocked into silence when Barbara Castle ignored it. Robert Carr seems certain to follow her example.

Dockers, whose bread and butter is at stake, and who are faced with a drastic decline in traditional dockers' work, cannot afford to be left at it. A dockers' strike was only the beginning.

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