100,000 Scots workers to stop on 11 November
CHALLENGE TO STRIKE LAWS

Robert Carste

ARE YOU sometimes confused — not to say sickened — by the make-believe squabbles of Labour and Tory politicians? Don't you feel that behind the flowery phrase and total condemnation of each other's policies lie people with one thing in common — a desire to club together ordinary working people and make them the scapegoats for the chaos of the capitalist system? We believe that politics is much simpler than the well-paid practitioners would like us to think. To prove the point we present the ideal "identikit" Minister of Unemployment and Productivity, Robert Carste, author of Strife — In the Place of a Fair Deal at Work — a charter designed to shake the trade union movement.

This document has a happy history that could be lifted almost from Alice in Wonderland. Before we announced it, Barbara Castle presented a document, In Place of Strife, that wanted legal restrictions on the rights of trade unionists, strike ballots, cooling-off periods and penalties against strikers. Robert Carr didn't think much of her ideas, even though most of them were lifted from his own humorous pamphlet: A Fair Deal at Work that called for (you guessed it) legal restrictions on the rights of trade unionists, etc., etc.

And now that Babs and Bob have swapped places she is bitterly attacking his plans which bear a strong resemblance to the ones put forward in In Place of Strife. How much simpler life is if we do away with all this hypocrisy and just lump them together as the trade-union and class bosses' agents they really are. Will the real Harold Heath please stand up...?

by SW Industrial Correspondent

100,000 WORKERS WILL BE CALLED OUT on 11 November on official strike to demonstrate against the Tory government's plans to attack and restrict the rights of the trade unions. This first big challenge to the government and its big business backers comes from the Clyde District Committee of the Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions.

The call to strike action first came from the Glasgow district committee of the AEF — the engineering union. Last Tuesday's meeting of the Clyde Confederation decided to back the AEF's call. The 100,000 Scottish workers will demonstrate against the Tories' ball-and-chain laws. The strikers will protest also about the crippling level of unemployment in Scotland and the rising rate of factory closures and redundancies. Leaders of the main unions affiliated to the Confederation — AEF, Transport Workers and Boilermakers — will speak to mass meetings on the need to fight the government's legislation.

This quick response by an important section of organized workers is in reaction to the mounting opposition to the Tories' proposals.

Militant action

And the decision to call a one-day strike shows that more and more workers are aware that militant action is the only way to stop the government.

The time for talk is over. Strikers are invited to demonstrate their determination to give the Tories a fair deal at work that will not be ignored by the government.

Striking unions are already represented in the National Side of the unions involved should be called to call out all their members on 11 November. These are unions affiliated to the Confederation. A nationwide stoppage by them, backed by other unions, could have an important impact on the rest of the labour movement.

Mass meetings, demonstrations and propaganda should be organized now to make sure that 11 November is supported by the whole movement.

The Tories plan to outlaw the closed shop, make ship building illegal and even jail workers who take strike action.

They can and must be stopped. 11 November should mark the day when a substantial section of trade unionists stand up and say No.

Welcome back, Bernadette

BERNADETTE DEVLIN MP — one of Britain's political prisoners — was released from jail on Wednesday. She was in prison from January 1970 for her part in the 'emergency' which was triggered by the 'Belfast Agreement' and ended with the police and British military's attack on the hunger strikers in the Maze Prison. The "emergency" is taking a growing toll at councils, and may well have increasing problems.

Worse to come

Workers face a grim winter with mounting fuel bills, soaring prices and fares plus an enforced reluctance to see the doctor because of the cost involved. The 'emergency' is taking a growing toll at councils, and may well have increasing problems.
Fine words alone won’t defeat the Tories

IF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT is to defeat the Tory plans to strip organised workers of many of their hard-won rights, it will need a fighting policy and fresh leadership.

Neither emerged last week from the special meeting of the TUC to discuss Robert Carr’s proposals. Instead of a call to all affiliated unions to make a concerted attack on the Government, the TUC leaders tamely said they would boycott future discussions with Carr until he agrees to ‘broaden the talks beyond matters of detail’.

What on earth can they want to talk to him about? Do they want to appeal to him to use handcuffs instead of a ball and chain?

In reality there is nothing to say to the Tories. They have made their position clear: they want to bring in legal shackles that will put the trade union at the mercy of the machine and the bosses. They will turn the clock back before 1906 when the Trade Disputes Act was introduced as a result of the anger and agitation of the unions following the Taff Vale judgment.

The only effective answer to the Tories is to mobilise workers to fight the plans with all the power at our command. And the power of 10 million trade unionists is more than enough to stop the Tories in their tracks.

The proposals suggested by the leaders of the two biggest unions Hugh Scanlon of the Engineers and Jack Jones of the Transport Workers, are more in tune with the needs of the movement. Scanlon said there should be a national campaign to get all unions to:

- Refuse to sign on with the new Registrar of Trade Unions
- Refuse to sign any binding agreements
- Refuse to nominate union members to the proposed industrial tribunals and courts and boycott the work of such bodies if they are set up.

Jack Jones said the unions must oppose the legislation with ‘everything in our power’.

Show they mean business

These demands are fine as far as they go. But they don’t go far enough. Verbal opposition to the laws is not enough, they need to be undermined by the active opposition of the rank and file.

The unions should show they mean business by calling for national strike action on the day the Bill is presented to parliament. A massive show of defiance on that day could force the government to think again.

That is why the strike call by the Glasgow Committee of the Confederation of British Mines Engineers is so important. Scanlon and Jones have the biggest vote in the Confed and a declaration from them that all Confed workers should support the strike would mean that three million trade unionists would throw down a mighty challenge to the government on 11 November.

Once again, the responsibility for organising, developing and leading the fight rests with the rank and file. The Tories can be beaten – not by fine words alone but by the active opposition of the whole of the working movement.

Strike action is a vital weapon in the struggle. When Vic Feather says such action would be ‘irresponsible’ he should ask: ‘irresponsible to whom? the Tories, the bosses, the state?’

The workers are the overwhelming majority of society. It is the tiny minority who are content with the laws. It is the working class who are eager to take away our trade union rights. In such a situation, strike action by the majority in defence of the majority is highly responsible action.

OUR THANKS TO YOU

THIS WEEK we have a bigger and – we hope – better Socialist Worker. We launched our weekly paper in September 1968 from an office in North London with a staff of three – one printer, one typesetter and one journalist.

Today we have four-storey premises for a modern printshop, bookshop, editorial offices and headquarters of the International Socialists. All this has been made possible by the dedication of our members, readers and supporters. We have had to dig deep in the last two and a half years to finance all these improvements.

In other words, if you like the improvements in the paper, don’t thank us, thank our members in the shop and writers in the paper.

In a few weeks we will print the paper on our new web-offset printing press. This edition is set on a new typesetting equipment and when we get into the new presses, the quality of the product will improve even more. We have, in particular, we need bulk sales through factory organisations and trade union branches.

The working-class movement faces a testing time. The voice of revolution, socialism must be heard. By building Socialist Workers we can turn that voice from a whisper to a mighty shout. That is how we defend the democratic freedoms of the working class.

In miners act and in Bolivia swings to left

by Ian Birchall

WHAT IS THE meaning of the recent violent events in Bolivia? Is it merely another stage in the long battle of the workers against the nationalised mining corporations? Or is it the beginning of the re-emergence of a popular political movement which previously collapsed?

For耘 is a surprising development in the industry. They disbanded the mines’ special police forces and attacked the managers who, they claimed, were responsible for ‘causing a massive drain of resources needed for production’.

Torres is unlikely to carry out the left’s demands for an amnesty for political prisoners and substantial wage increases in full. Further conflict may be expected. Bolivians are small, with a poor country, with no sea coast. It cannot pull itself up by its own bootstraps. But in the present situation even a short working-class upsurge could have dramatic effects in other Latin American countries.

The recent campaign of kidnappings seems to have been the result of a reaction to the recent police elections. A radical lower middle class separatist party, Parti derecho, won a quarter of the votes but was only given a handful of seats.

There has been growing revulsion at the sackings and factory closures carried out by the Anglo-American industrial establishment in the province.

The kidnappings and killings have dramatically focused attention on the demands and justified anger of the French-Canadian people. But individual terrorism is no solution to the problems of Quebec workers. The existing French-speaking sympathisers of the FLP, realising that only by building a new working-class socialist movement in Quebec, allied with the revolutionary organisations of non-French Canadian workers, can the social system which oppresses and exploits all Canadian workers be overthrown.

In the real task of Canadian revolutionary socialists is to build this movement.

Cost-cutting bridges behind builders’ deaths

TWO Ferran-Fox designed bridges have collapsed during construction within the last six months – at Northend, Wexham in Maidenhead, Berkshire, and in Yarra in Melbourne. Australia. More than 40 construction workers have been killed.

Technical reports made available at the inquests into the Wexham and Yarra deaths reveal the technical flaws when it became clear that deck ‘loading of the bridge was designed 3½ times too heavy and collapsed at double-safe loading.

The cause of Yarra’s collapse cannot be known but the Australians are holding a public inquiry. No such thing happened here. The whole business was safely relegated to the coroner’s court.

The coroner commissioned a technical report that was circulated to the press. Only one small trade paper, Construction News, latched on to the fact that the bridge was bound to collapse.

Tiburcio said the coroner’s inquiry was insufficient and demanded that Ferran-Fox should make public all it knows about the collapse. But this is unlikely, even after the Yarra collapse.

Many of the new techniques in bridge building are, in high-risk fields like Roman Point, are nothing more than a short-cutting means and lethal. We have little confidence that the construction methods are lethal.

The bridge, as usual, is an outcome to be explained by the workers. The possible connection with the Yarra bridge is something that none of the usual sociologists, economists, etc. are likely to point out.
Miners' vital struggle

by JOHN CHARLTON

BRITISH MINERS have reached a very critical point in their history this autumn. What happens in the next few weeks will determine their future. Either they come out of the present struggle victorious, confident and prepared for the inevitable future battles on working hours, holidays, adequate redundancy provisions and working conditions — or they resume the downward slide into virtual political disintegration and the scrap heap.

Strong words? Yes, but justified. The shameful treatment of the past 25 years has left many miners a glimpse of what the Tory government and the National Coal Board will use to impose on the workers of a defeat.

Strong position

Fortunately defeat is not likely. The miners have the stronger bargaining position than at any time since the early 1970s, with the serious fuel shortage of the coming winter looming.

And there are welcome signs at least part of the national executive of the miners' union is aware of both the importance of the present struggle and the need to ensure its success.

But there is no room for complacency. The pressures on the leadership to make immediate advances and file to accept an offer that falls short of the demand will be tremendous.

These pressures must be fully understood and so must the strategy and the tactics to meet them.

First of all it must be clear that a successful miners' strike executive can easily go into this struggle with the greatest reluctance.

The miners are the men who have continued to sell their members short. Men who have been active agents of the employers.

Men who hope for well-paid directorships on the boards of nationalised industries or seats on anti-working class government commissions. Men who long for the New Year's Honours List.

The recent history of the NUM teams with such examples. Lord Robens knows them. He drinks with them.

And you can bet your bottom dollar that he already has personal contact with them. He knows they are the soft underbelly. In time they will try to break the miners' unity.

What then of the left leaders? Lawrence Daly, the union secretary, has made some splendid fighting speeches in the past few weeks. He has campaigned vigorously for the strike and against any settlement that falls short of the full demand — including any settlement that has productivity string attached.

He has taken up a position much better than any NUM leader of recent years. But Lawrence Daly and the other left leaders are vulnerable.

Not in the same way as the right wing — that would be a stupid and ill-informed allegation. Their vulnerability arises from their concern over the years with winning offices — out-manoeuvring the right here and there — horse trading between Communist Party and Labour Left and their complete failure to build a militant rank and file base with an easily recognisable programme.

They live in a world of lodge secretaries and committees and committees. They regret the poor attendance at branch meetings, but do nothing to raise the rank and file members.

Small gains

The result is that in times of crisis they are uncertain of the rank and file backing. If the rank and file are suspicious of them.

They are held on to small gains at all costs — like the present shakey unity of the national executive. When this unity is threatened (always by the right wing) since there is no secure base to appeal to, a compromise is reached. And any compromise is on the NUM's terms. The pressures on the rank and file are immense, too. Lord Robens already has open access to television and the millionaire press.

In the next few weeks he will make countless appearances and he will hammer away at the miner and his family at home, away from the solidarity of the mass meeting — the working class' only weapon.

On the television and in the papers, Robens and his agents will concentrate on peddling the 'national interest', pandering to the very real fears of inflation and redundancy. And there'll be a lot of talk of rising prices and making ends meet aimed at the housewife. There'll probably be a number of pictures of pathetic and starving pensioners unable to get coal.

Shopping list

However when it comes to working on the union leaders, Robens' Track will be easier. Track, he will be concentrating on getting productivity concessions from them first.

He's already made the unnecessary offer of the full claim — over two years with productivity string attached. It's up to the left leaders to be on that. How about the full claim now and two years, no strings attached?

The sort of items he might have in his shopping list are: week-end working, continuous miners, reductions in manning, expansion of training and more flexibility in the use of outside overtime.

The dangers presented by this kind of deal are on eradication of the work and the attendant risks to safety and health, end, in an industry where government policy determined a fall in overall demand, a further reduction in coke usable.

Productivity concessions are a perfect recipe for redundancy.

Hard pressed

Productivity bargaining is attractive to trade union leaders right or left. All the emphasis can be placed on the money won.

It can also be attractive to the hard-pressed miner, especially since the strings may be caught in wage terms that appear to offer no immediate threat. It is necessary to explain how dangerous the dangers presented by this kind of deal.

Now Lawrence Daly is on record as opposing a settlement with strings. The extent to which he argues and campaigns against such a deal with a tooth and a nail. He is well aware that this is a vote in which Lord Robens will concentrate most of his efforts.

These are the pressure which will be on the miners in the current struggle. To resist them and come out victorious there are several steps which need to be taken.

Policy to fight Tory laws

THIS WEEKEND - 24, 25 October — an emergency conference called by the Institute for Workers' Control will be held in Birmingham to discuss the Tories' anti-trade union laws.

The conference believes that a national and consistent legislative programme and views the government's proposed laws as a series of moves in that direction. The attack it is seen as the Tories' reply to the debate on the motion of the House of Commons which had sections of British workers that has done for those involved just a little more of the fruits of their labour.

The conference believes that a united trade union movement can defeat these anti-union laws. It fears, however, that the Tories' proposals are aimed at dividing by small concessions to those willing to go over and by strengthening the hands of the authorities and anti-democratic elements among us.

The conference calls on trade unions to adopt a united front to co-operation with the Tories. We hold their legislation in contempt, for it seeks to preserve the power of a small minority — the 2 per cent of the population that own 80 per cent of the wealth.

This minority depends upon the support of the monopoly group; at present conducting a violent campaign of abuse against trade unionists who are defending their standard of living. We are thus fully justified in calling for:

1. The TUC to assume its full duties as defined by the government and announce its intention to resist the laws.

2. Woodcock and Pye to resign from the Commission on Industrial Relations and that trade unionists boycott this and other such bodies.

3. The execution of all union officials to announce that they will refuse to register or assist in the work of the proposed Industrial Court and that they will refuse to pay any fines imposed under this legislation or conduct or accept any government-imposed strike ballot.

4. Unions to further make it known that they will not enter into contracts that are legally binding.

5. In the event of legislation being passed, unions to instruct their members individually that they will have the full backing of their union in refusing to handle goods that are blacklisted across a picket line and in taking other sympathetic action.

6. Complete opposition to state-imposed and employer-picked 'agency shops' and to fight for 100 per cent trade union membership. Opposition to any 'seals' charters' and defence of our right to discipline fellow workers whose demands are not genuine.

7. Conference considers that those laws will not be defended by the fighting miners but the trade union leaders alone but only through the mass mobilization of the rank and file.

8. In our struggle for union recognition, we demand immediate reinstatement and on the factory floor that the employers government is not to infringe, it is clear that the fight back must be continued.

9. To achieve this mobilization, conference calls for:

1. A mass-the-shop stewards on the day that the Bill is introduced to parliament.

2. The setting up of local Councils of Action to oppose the laws and defend those who suffer under them if they become law.

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UNIONS MUST FIGHT

DATA leader Mike Cooley on Tory threats and the Rolls Royce lockdown

TALKING TO DAVID PEERS

DO YOU SEE any connection between the new tough attitude of employers such as Rolls Royce and the Tory government's proposals for introducing anti-trade union laws? I think it is all part of a fairly long term process which actually started under the Labour government, because the Labour government ignored the pattern for the kind of things we see today.

They created this hysterical self-satisfied approach and I believe that the Tories are simply building on this. I think, in a broader context, that the ruling classes in all of the metropolitan countries will find it necessary to strangle any organized working class because the national liberation movement is limiting their ability to exploit the most intensive exploitation.

I believe it is coming back on the shoulders of the metropolitan working class and that it is part of a general pattern. Clearly the Tories added a new level in the legislation.

How do you feel the trade union movement should meet the threat of the new legislation?

Real danger

I think the trade union movement should meet the threat of the new legislation by working closely with the mass of workers and officials. We are firmly opposed to secret negotiations and believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

We are opposed to any other form of trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards. We are against anti-trades union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strike is 'official' or ' unofficial'.

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

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

We believe that there should be a minimum wage of at least £5 a week. We are opposed to unemploying redundancy and lay off and support any demand for five days' work or five days' pay.

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

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

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

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

We believe in rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials.

OFFICIALS

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THE ROLLS ROYCE lockout continues, the only tactics are a dead-end. How can the situation be changed in the dispute?

Our members at Coventry submitted a claim for a very substantial increase. They did not get the full amount of the increase and they have the company to blame, because they have not made the claim for the proper amount.

We have had their claim for local criteria, that is, comparison with other firms in the locality and with manual workers in the firm. The county the firm is in, is earning 90p a week more than draughtsmen.

We welcome the fact that these workers get higher wages, but we think that if the design has improved there should be a wage that reflects their skill and knowledge.

Determined

In Coventry itself there are other firms such as Roots where our members earn more than £19 a week. The company had no reply to the claim in a reasonably satisfied manner. We have applied for strike action and the company has accepted the entire workforce out.

I believe the reason for this was that the company felt that if we had settled for a high figure in Coventry we would attempt to spread that across the rest of the group.

Last year Rolls Royce were the major claim for the annual agreement and I believe that the company had a strategy to fight DATA and had actually planned this confrontation in advance.

It was the labour of a meeting of the employees' Federation to organize a national and it is now time to fight DATA and to get back to work.

I believe that this is a victory for us that has suggested a meeting point. We are now in the position where the basis of this attack upon DATA was already prepared.

That was when we had a stable government.

Yes. In fact the Labour government did lend Rolls Royce, through the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation, something like £100m. We are absolutely convinced that there were strings attached to this money which included nationalisation - which means redundancy - and holding down wages.

And I believe that Lord Beeching, who was put on the board at the time, was put there precisely to do what he can to hold down the wages of the government. And the Tory government, of course, are now carrying on roughly the same kind of politics.

If DATA can secure the withdrawal of the productivity strings at Rolls Royce, will you regard

The fight against anti-trade union legislation got off to a flying start.

Petty will resurrect all the old left wingers to give the impression that there has been a defeat and I think that what the trade union movement should do is to create its own industrial strength.

What is your reaction to Hugh Todd's proposal for a special recall Trades Union Congress to present alternative proposals to the government?

I think this would be useful to recall the TUC, but I think we should be quite clear that any such proposal must be based upon a real call to the working class to fight the anti-trade union legislation.

I think there is a danger that the TUC will put itself in an alternative form of wages control, in other words they become industrial policemen for the government. And I think there is a real danger that they will porce it in way.

Not in any group attempt to divide the working class by creating unions. The leaders must refuse to register or allow to be represented in favour of any such legislation.

Impeccable

I think the working againstworking class to protest against attempts to do this if people did say it I think there is just or just or sacrifice. On the other hand to see people we

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What are the International Socialists

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

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

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

Capitalism is international. The past has investment throughout the world and owe allegiance to themselves and to the economic system they maintain.

In Europe the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms. The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot fight alone. Socialism will only happen if workers of other countries actively come to our aid and expand the socialist revolution.

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

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

We believe in rank and file control of the trade union and the regular election of all full-time officials.
50 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH ONE OF AMERICAN LABOUR'S GREATEST LEADERS WAS FORCED TO SEEK EXILE IN RUSSIA

BY WENDEY HENRY

On 30 December 1925, former Governor Frank Steunenberg of Idaho, USA, was killed by a bomb as he sped home at high speed down the Eastern Express. It is now known that he was assassinated by agents of the KGB in exile in Russia. Heywood never once gave up the fight for the IWW.

Heywood grew up amid the suffering and the struggle of the Western mining camps, where the cruelty of the miners was known no boundaries and the courage of the miners knew no limits. At the age of nine, already hard-pressed by the loss of one eye, he worked down the mine and was only able to escape 18 years later, when for a short time he had his own homestead in Nevada.

The escape was short-lived and when the government seized his land for the mining companies, Bill once more found himself down the mines.

The New Party

I believe that this is quite different from what we thought of as the old parties. It isn't quite the same as being a party to get a job. It isn't even the same as being part of a union. It is not the same as being part of a government. It is not the same as being part of a political party. It is not the same as being part of a management. It is not the same as being part of a trade union. It is not the same as being part of a business. It is not the same as being part of a family. It is not the same as being part of a community. It is not the same as being part of a society. It is not the same as being part of a nation. It is not the same as being part of a world. It is not the same as being part of a universe. It is not the same as being part of a cosmos. It is not the same as being part of a galaxy. It is not the same as being part of a star. It is not the same as being part of a planet. It is not the same as being part of a moon. It is not the same as being part of a cloud. It is not the same as being part of a cell. It is not the same as being part of a molecule. It is not the same as being part of a virus. It is not the same as being part of a bacteria. It is not the same as being part of a virus. It is not the same as being part of a virus.

The Series of Violent Strikes

Soon after helping set up the WFM, Bill became the natural leader of the metalworkers and then led them in a series of violent at Cripple Creek, Colorado. Every strike ran its course of court injunctions, evictions, harassment, imprisonment in bull-pens, beatings and death. The mine laws were changed, the support of the law, and the milita, would stop at nothing. Bill went on toils and toils with the government and with the "Big Bill". But he was not deterred by the government's threats.

The reason is that DATA is one of the most effective and powerful unions in Britain today.

The "Big Bill"

WEHYWOOD's speech summed up all the hopes and aspirations of the new party. His belief in industrial unionism, his call for solidarity with black and white miners, his fight for a new and fair society coupled with his determination to fight for this society at all costs, proved him to be the true voice of the American working class.

The Trumpered Murder Charge

"We are here today, to explain, to confederate the workers' movement that shall have for its purpose the emancipation of the working class from the slave bondage of capital. This is his aim and this is for this he was to be hounded and persecuted all his life."

The autobiography of BIG BILL HEYWOOD 136th dec. post from IS BOOKS 6 Cottons Grds London E2 8DN
I CAN RELIABLY reveal that the most commonly used word at the Tory Party Conference in Blackpool was "socialism".

"The last six bleak years of socialism," the red years of Harold Wilson," the socialist priorities of the late 1960s these words were often spoken in the pleasantlychnorous remarks of businessmen who have never been richer.

There were endless definitions of this socialism. Perhaps the last and most dramatic of the changes since the Churchill-Exchequer, Mr Anthony Barber, Public expenditure "he said to the exponents of socialism." And then, drawing on his rich reserve of intellect and oratory, "The real road to socialism is to tax people to the hilt so that they cannot stand on their own feet..."

The passionate hatred and contempt for the outgoing Labour government voiced by Tories of all types in Blackpool was not merely the expression of party sectarianism.

It carried with it a class ideology vitally different from the class politics in which the Labour government had in fact engaged. Although the Labour government had strengthened capital against labour, had widened the gap between rich and poor, had streamlined and rationalised British industry at the expense of the smaller, locally-based, and style had irritated the Tories into the belief that Labour must have been socialist.

As the debates proceeded at Blackpool it became clear that what the Tory nucleus of soft defence, and what the Tory leadership wishes to tell the people is the importance of Labour's war, on the overall interests of the country, to the narrow, sectarian interests.

Many of these interests are not only irrelevant but also obstructive to the development of modern technology.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Minister of Education, torpedoed the fine Tory reform agenda (written into the constitution of the Tory Suburbs) by indulging in the traditional Conservative objection of education for the masses.

Her remedies were based on giving priority to primary education at the expense of higher education. Changing the titles of "little ones" was coupled with the raising of the money for many Tories feel for the modern universities which a former Conservative Minister, Sir Edward Boyle, set in train.

"Everything she said at Blackpool seemed to reverse the minimalist Boyle-inspired Tory education policy which was designed to keep out the middle ranks of technological capitalism.

Cries of shame
In this, she was followed even more enthusiastically by the delegates. When one of these pointed out that more was spent on education than on defence, the young, and one of the Conservative Action Committee declared that the 11-plus was a "blight on our society" and was greeted with boos.

Similarly, for all his moderate appearance and respect for local institutions, Mr Robert Home was thrown out of the local government not because he stepped into the shoes of Lord Monckton (as The Guardian put it) but because he had denounced from the road taken by Walter Monckton himself, first Tory post-war Minister of Labour.

While Monckton had scrupulously refrained from suggesting laws to curtail union power and had seduced the union leaders into the Labour government, now he was initiating an anti-unlaw union and antidemocratic code.

From the virility of the attacks on even such mild union leaders as Mr John Carr, most of the Tory delegates have not even considered the possibility of wounding the union leadership into the bodies of Poland and western Rumania and standards.

Instead they charged their Minis- ter almost without qualification to salvage all the trade unions, including the railways.

The same attitude dominated the discussion of industry and the economy. Instead of recognising the importance of the Labour state agencies in bolstering and streamlining British industry, the Tories went out of their way to attack them.

John Davies, former CBI chief and now Minister of Trade and Industry, suffered as a result of the abolition of the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation and the little NEDDCs, the decentralisation of research bodies and (even) the slashing of investment in prestige projects in industries as textiles. At the same time, he spoke of direct government intervention in power operations to private enterprise, piling in at such a rate as to demand from the floor of the hoot from nationalised industries to private concerns.

Gains, electricity, railways, telephones, airlines, railways - all these and many others were mentioned as areas where in the name of the area of the socialists the Minister's former friends could not make a profit.

Davies' lines once more seemed in sharp contrast to that taken by Macmillan's Ministers in the early 1960s when the Government set up the National Economic Development Council, incentive investment grants under the Local Employment Acts, and even the first attempt at an incomes policy.

Floundering Home
The pattern was followed in the debates on foreign affairs and defence. Public expenditure in defence, socialism, but, on the other hand you can't have them," was the Tory way. The EEC, ended more than amenable to building three new aircraft carriers, fleet of new combat aircraft and the re-establishment of most of the disbanded infantry regiments.

"Pledge" would be maintained even to the stand of Douglas Home, floundering around in the minute details of military tactics, left the delegates in no doubt that Macmillan's "block of ships" in Africa had blown away and that racial solidarity between the British and South African governments would be reconfirmed.

Few if any of these changes in Tory philosophy and tactics have anything to do with the reality of modern capitalism. Two possibilities emerge for the coming months.

Prove their mettle
Either the Tories will realise that their premises are ridiculous (as they have already done with their main programme) and realign their policies with those of the then Labour Government.

In this instance they will become increasingly petty to the Powellites, whose views were far from clear at this "victory conference." Heath and his colleagues will have to prove their mettle with still more savage cuts in the local government and services and education.

Or, if they will continue with their Blackpool line, underwritten by the damage it will do to their own British capitalism.

The other way, the people who will suffer first and longest will be the workers, the oil workers, the poor, the unorganised and the black.

"The meaning of Marxism
A weekly column by Duncan Hallas

'Historical', said the late Henry Ford, 'is bunk.' A lot of people agree with him. After all, what does it matter to anyone today whether Alfred burned the cakes or James Watt got the idea of the steam engine by watching a kettle boil over?

These stories are probably fair tales, like a lot of other things taught in schools, whether they are true or not, without any pennyworth of difference to any of the problems we have to live with.

Leave aside fairy tale history and look at actual events. Apart from the questions serious historians have tried to answer. For example, how did Britain become the first industrialised country? Or what made it possible for the Russian Communist Party to take power?

Interesting problems for students but do the answers really make any historian or to an average person any sense to be done and can't be altered.

Karl Marx argued that the past does matter because you can't understand what exists today unless you have some idea of how things came to be the way they are.

More important still, if working people are conscious of what is happening, and that means knowing something of what has happened, they can be less passive and less likely to assist the capitalist system.

Social change
Marxism is, among other things, a theory of class struggle. But why a theory of history? Can't the facts speak for themselves? The world is actually facts, not theories.

As a well-known modern historian put it, "The facts speak for themselves". When the historian calls on them, it is he who decides which facts to give the floor and in what order. ...the matters of detail, the givens of the occasion, the belief in a hard core of historical facts objectively independent of what we think or what we are told of the interpretation of the historian is a preposterous fable.

There are countless millions of "facts". Some are important depends on what kind of theory you have to this in turn depends on what you are interested in, on what you are trying to do.

Marx was interested, first and foremost, in social change. His 'Geography of History' is essentially a guide to the present in the light of the past. In his view the capitalist mode of production is an inefficient and rational form of production and established in the common ruin of the contending classes.

Good and bad
The capitalist society springing from the wreck of feudal society, has not abolished class antagonisms. It has only substituted new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of exploitation, for the old.

Classes rather than 'great men' are the important and irreducible units. The new classes are made up of individual people, and some individuals are much more important than others. But 'bad King John' or 'George IV' or, from a Marxist point of view, much more important for the ideas they represented than for their personal virtues or vices.

That immediately brings up another point. If the struggle between 8d a copy including post from 1S BOOKS 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN

Don't miss "Flight to former days" by Paul Foot

"Why we need a theory classes is the real motor of history then 'good' and 'bad' are relative terms.

What is good for one class may be bad for another. The great French revolution in the late 1700s was a good thing from the point of view of the property owners who were the people who got most out of the revolution, the people who lost their privileges and lands and, in some cases, their heads.

There can, in fact, be no impartial theory. What is important is that everyone is part of some society and of some class in a power relation.

The historian who claims to be 'impartial' is in fact headed towards some part of the world, the process of the construction of power which is the common sense of the immense majority.'

Built-up Barriers
There is still more basic reason. The kind of knowledge we need enters into a particular place at a particular time depending on what men are able to earn their living.

Stone axes and wooden spears go to a world that is based on fighting and without class divisions. Every kind of sequential development, the wooden plough, water-driven machinery, the steam engine - has had social consequences.

Assume particular stages of development in production, commerce and consumption wrote Marx and you have a corresponding social constitution, a corresponding organisation of the family, of orders or of class, in a word, a corresponding civil society . . . particular political conditions.

All forms of society before capitalism had this common. The technical level, or, to put it another way, the productive potential of a society, is too low to allow everyone a decent standard of living.

The existence of oppressed and exploited is a constant of any society, capitalist or not. Capitalism has changed all that.

The development of techniques of production has been so great as to make possible, for the first time in history, a society free from a desperate struggle for social existence. It has made it possible but at the same time has barred barriers to prevent it coming about.

In fighting to overthrow capitalism and replace it with a new, more humane society, we are fighting for the only way forward for the whole human race.
The last word on madness of war

CATCH 22. Joseph Heller's famous novel of World War II life in the American Air Force has now sold more than five million copies and is for many people the final word about the insanity of modern war.

The book's staggering popularity seems to stem from the way in which Heller succeeds in merging his own highly personalised war experiences with the universal idiocy of official army life. We find ourselves in the minds of thousands of men, knew, sensed and felt has now become a part of a new paper with amazingly telling effect.

The central theme of the book is insanity. Against the backdrop of a world gone mad with war, Heller illustrates the ways in which men either come to terms with it by becoming more or less mad themselves or they are quickly destroyed.

Those who succeed in the tragic and funny way are those who can sublimate the essential fact of survival and who are capable of the self-discipline demanded by the system.

There is the lumbering, self-deprecating, the sissy neurotic, failing from a birthright burdened with an inordinate and inevitable neurosis.

The book was born in the United States, where the artist is at least for the moment not only a simple way of being part of the American scene, but also a way of living.

Hungry belly

The belly is not as easy to stuff as the head, for few can stuff their bellies as the head, and that is why there is so much hunger and so much of the belly that is not filled.

The only way in which you can stuff your belly is by making a film that is not only a good film, but also a film that is not just for the film industry, but also for the film that is not just for the film industry, but also for the film that is for everyone.

To attempt to transcend this vast, Catch 23 is a fine and deadly misinterpretation of the material that is really what is going on.

Catch 23 (Paramount: X) manages superficially to transcend the claustrophobic, urban and studio-bound milieu of its source.

However, the film's attempt to transcend this vast material is ultimately undermined by the studio-bound milieu that is really what is going on.

Inevitably there will be some people who will be disappointed by the film. Such an insubstantial novel of Catch 23 must automatically call forth the reader's own ideas of what the young man does and none of these, unlike our preconceptions, will be systematically so well.

Heller, however, against the overall excellence of the camera work and the total passion that is directed unwillingly to be at war, these problems fade into the background.

These are some of the essentially effective shots in the film that might make a strong impression on a young man who has come from the streets and can understand the pain and suffering of the young man.

So total is the grip that the scene establishes that it is as if one were looking into the eyes of the dead man who is held by the council of Rome - a Rome populated solely by madmen, pervets and madmen.

Toally

The third represents the 250 workers sacked from the Pilkington's glass factories in Siel Helena stayed the

Old 'Kith and Kin' Ian Smith and his racist buddies who run the Rhodesia police state are having a rough time proving the 'superiority' of the white race.

One of the country's biggest tourist attractions are the Zimbabwe ruins, site of an ancient African civilisation. It has been a well-documented fact for many years in architectural and historical circles that when last Smith's ancestors in Britain were running around in wood and earth incomprehensibly, an advanced civilisation was living in the Zimbabwe region.

The Smith regime has postulated such dreadful theories and has denied that the present African population are direct descendents of the old civilisation. But government-sponsored tourist publications have been a little too liberal on the subject for the far right.

The magazine Property and Finance complained recently about 'totally unproven assertions' against the 'African claims', for centuries Rhodesia was the centre of a sophisticated Nguni civilisation. The political implications are clear, if the claims are justified there should be no legitimate opposition to a black takeover of the country.

Last week the senior inspector of the Rhodesian Historical Monuments Commission resigned to take up a post in Nigeria. He said that research in Rhodesia was threatened by politics and attacks on the integrity of archaeologists.

Unshackled, Smitty is ordering tourist brochures to be re-written to reflect 'all shades of opinion on the origins of the ruins'. We have one original idea: Zimbabwe was actually built by the ancient city of Tarim-Woodrow - why else would it have fallen down?

Two PYE representatives of the 250 workers sacked from Pilkington's glass factories in Shelby Helena stayed the

SMITH: dreadful theories

Russian embassy in London last week. The idea was to appeal to the Russell government to scrap a contract with Pilkington to build afloat glass plant near Kirby until the British government gives full trade union rights to its workers.

Rank and file leaders John Potter and Gerry Coughsey were inside the embassy for some time. The bored Daily Express men outside became more and more restless. 'What the hell's going on there?' he finally asked the patient Polks men.

'Well, lad,' the Polks manic reply 'it takes a long time to fill out 250 emigration forms.'

Taking the rise

Travelers in the London Borough of Islington may have been wondering about the gale of news coming from the direction of local council. Cause of the bemusement is a letter sent to local tenants by the council headed 'BUYING a Council flat'.

The humorous intent of the publication soon becomes clear when the headpiece of a three-bedroomed maisonette is revealed as £6,950 - £7,250. The writer tries to temper the tenant's thrust with the promise of a tempting discount of up to 20 per cent - but the maximum is only available to tenants of 20 years standing, that is, those who have already paid their present flat in rent alone. And the full discount is only available on some flats 'where it will not reduce the selling price below the cost of the flat'.

Then comes the hilarious finale: 'Payments on a £700 mortgage loan will be £24 a month for 30 years or £61 a month for 20 years—and this cannot be more than a quarter of the buyer's income (which includes only 10 per cent of regular overtime and a proportion of the wife's income).'

When they tot it up, the tenants of Islington realize the full liability of the offer: £14,700 for a cardboard maisonette over 30 years.

SOUTHAMPTON. International Socialists booked a room in a local pub for a series of weekly public meetings. The first one was duly advertised in the local paper: 'How to fight the Tories.'

But when they turned up for the meeting the local councillors were told by the advertising people that the booking had been cancelled.

'The brewers are Whardebards, who have just given several thousand pounds to the Tory party.'

He who pays the piper calls the tune...

NOTICES

TEACH-IN on socialist armed forces. Alan Brook, Anti-Anti-Armistice, Battersea Library. 10am, 11am, 2pm, 3pm. Admission free.

DEFEND BLACK PANTHERS! Meeting. to discuss communication of Black Panthet and campaign to stop it. Friday, 25 October, 7.30pm. Earl's Court pub, 9 Pimlico Rd (near King's Cross).

TERENCE MACKINNON Commemoration. 40th in Kiln at Fryatt's. 23 December, Kings Hall. Entrance free. Door. 11am. Admission 2s. 6d. Points: 3s 6d. 4pm. admission 2s. 6d. 7pm. admission 2s. 6d.

Notices.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SWANSEA. Senior fellowships in order to reduce the numbers for full-time study. 10am, 11am, 2pm, 3pm. Admission free.

SCS 178 News. 21st birthday friendship party. 21st October, 9pm, Riverside. Admission £1, premium £1.50. Points: 3s 6d. 6pm. admission £1.50.

POLICING UNDER THE RULE OF LAW. The Tonty offensive and how to stop it. Friday, 10 November, 8pm, University College. Admission free. Points: 3s 6d. 6pm. admission £1.50.
Glassworkers appeal for cash

TROOPS MAY STRIKE-BREAK:
UNIONS MUST CALL COUNCIL WORKERS TO STAND TOGETHER

by John Deason

NOT SATISFIED with offering money to local councils that employ blackleg labour in the municipal workers' strike, the Tories are now threatening to use troops as sewage pumping stations.

The government needs an example of its power to pave the way for its anti-strike laws. It is attempting to smash one of the weakest sections of the working class.

Hospital staff join council pay struggle by Jack Sutton

HOSPITAL STAFF have joined the council workers' strike for a minimum basic wage of £16 10s. The current wage claim on behalf of 250,000 hospital ancillary staff - men and women - is the highest ever and is for £24 a week.

The main demand is for a 55s increase without stringers for all grades. Ancillary staff - porters, orderlies, domestics, kitchen staff and so on - earn more than the current minimum wage.

The claim was due to be discussed at a meeting of the Ancillary Staffs Council on 9 October but the four unions involved decided to cancel the meeting.

Traditionally, the manual workers' claim is presented first and any ethics are almost automatically applied to the ancillary grades, because of the present deadlock between the unions and the local government employers it is likely that a satisfactory settlement will be reached.

For these reasons the unions have decided to present their claim for a meeting of the Ancillary Staffs Council to be held late this month. Increasingly it would be useless to do so.

It is essential that the trade union leaders are not allowed to compromise on this issue. The unionists in the council workers' strike must extend the struggle to the rest of the country so that other local authorities can be brought into line with those who have already decided to pay the strike demands.

At the same time, the present pressure must also be brought to bear on the Health Service employers through strikes, pickets, over-time bans and working committee action.

In spite of all the talk of the trade union leaders (and the TUC) of their determination to fight the government and employers on this line, a successful conclusion of the strike would depend largely on the attitude of the rank and file involvement.

The PINKFOLD rank and file strike committee has issued an urgent appeal for money to Socialist Worker readers and the International Socialist Federation to pay the bills for supporting the St Helens militants. Only last week, 1500 members of the St Helens Glassworkers sent an appeal to the International Socialist Federation to pay the strike bills.

Many of the members came from the factories. They took a day off to take part in the demonstration.

The unionists are finding it hard to get jobs. Many of them have suffered personal problems, with families breaking up and wives leaving homes.

The committee also faces a heavy bill for legal fees during the strike. The strike committee must be defended to the last.

It is vital for all trade union branches, political organisations and trade union federations to honour their promises to the Bank and File Committee, 10 Greenfield Road, St Helens, Lancs.

Against picketing

One Greenfield striker told us: "We hear more about the strike from the media than we do from our own union officials."

Pickets are being run by local unions with many battalions. Public Employers and General and Municipal officials have threatened against effective mass picketing.

"A rolling strike of key sections should be formed immediately. But the lack of rank and file involvement in the organisation of the strike is causing small groups of strikers to fast food.

"Many strikers, the only way forward is an all-out strike. But the most effective step would be to bring out key sections that will hurt the councils most."

"Pickets are apathy. Stick to one picket demoralises the whole strike."

Bucking, Harlow, Sheffield and Norwich councils, with a few more likely to follow, they have already agreed to pay the 55s. Now is the time for more pressure to be put on the local borough councils.

Support needed

Many picketing must be stepped up and contractors must be stopped from bunking industrial refuse by all trade unions in factories and work places.

If picketing is successful then Solidarity action must be launched by all sections of the trade union movement.

"This strike is a last case for the whole trade union movement. The council workers must be left on the Tory union/banker/such-like list."

York busmen set strike action

SW Reporter

LEEDS: Corporation transport busmen have staged a three hour strike last Sunday to attend a mass meeting in the TUC Hall.

They unanimously voted to extend the weekly strikes to Fridays and Saturdays with the added threat of a prolonged picketing campaign.

In line with busmen throughout Yorkshire the Leeds union has been striking on Fridays during the last five weeks for £2 10s basic wage for a 40 hour week.

Sunday's meeting discussed the desirability of the Transport Union's strike against national negotiations. Agreement must now be reached on a local level but the TUC council seems determined to hold.

The strike has had a number of its由於 the Leeds council has been striking on Fridays for the last five weeks for £2 10s basic wage for a 40 hour week.

The executive of Leeds City Transport (controlled by Tory sympathisers) decided to strike by running coaches for new students. An agreement on the new picket for strikers, prevented most of the traffic getting through.

Censure motion

A University Union meeting last evening had passed a resolution censuring the Executive, supporting the strike and opposing the strike to all other strike.

Tories of the West Yorkshire College Road (WY) Company, who joined the strike at the last minute, have been censured by the Council of their decision to call off their one-day strikes for picketing.

They face the prospect of a producti strike, financial cutbacks and other methods. One Man Opposite boxes and shackles them, but they must consider tactics that will be managed to ensure their picket line is allowed to remain. It is essential to organise strike breakers using a combination of the following:

1. Extended and lighting strikers to break up pickets and utilise strikers' capacity.
2. No picketing, no admission of any kind.
3. No picketing or closures.
4. No productivity stragglers.

Alcoa strikers claim a victory

SWANSEA: Maintenance men on strike for 11 weeks at the Alcoa metal plant went back to work on Tuesday claiming a substantial victory. The management of the American-owned firm gave the men an increase of £4 6d. a week. The workers' "efficacy" will be investigated but the management findings will not be binding. The management men said there was no question of a productivity deal being involved.

The workers convened: "It's a victory!"