Socialist Worker Exclusive

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

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

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

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

Participate

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

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

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

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

Collaborate

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

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

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

The Bill cannot be 'amended'. It can only be killed.

Trade unionists must demand that the TUC ends its deal with the Labour Party and campaigns openly for the total defeat of the Bill.

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

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Release Angela Davis!

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

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

And in an interview published in New York, Miss Davis declared: 'I am a black militant. The corrupt government of this country could not accept such a combination. That is why they use the courts at San Rafael to try to spin a web in order to smother me. I am a political prisoner.'

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

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

Socialist and trade union organisations should send delegations to Angela Davis expressing their solidarity with her and should float the American flag at their meetings and in the streets of Britain and the offices of the Governor of California, Ronald Reagan, with demands for her unconditional release.

All out 12 January against the Bill!
Why TUC wobbles as the pace hots up

December 1970 saw the end of the most important long-term period of industrial action in British car industry in the 1960s. The deal, signed at Linwood in 1969, marked the beginning of the end for the piecework system. Payment by Results in Chrysler's car plants followed in 1971. Blue Day Work was also brought in at the two Gladstone County factories at Ryton and Stoke. All the big car firms want MDW for three basic reasons:
1. To shift the argument on the shop floor from "how much cash for a certain level of production?" to "how much work can a man do in a day?"
2. To cut back the frequency of wage rises, thereby lowering wage levels, improving productivity and saving profits.
3. To break the influence of the workers' elected representatives, the shop stewards, over day-to-day working conditions on the shop floor.

This change from PIR to MDW took the Chrysler representation's UKholds into line with General Motors (Vauxhall) and Ford, whose management had introduced MDW in 1965 and now only British Leyland out of the "big four" car manufacturers in Britain is left mainly on PIR.

lowest rates

The effectiveness of MDW as a management weapon is shown by the fact that in the car industry, the average of all workers paid on MDW is the lowest at Vauxhall and then Chrysler. And the highest rates of all are now paid at some of the British Leyland factories still on PIR.

The MDW agreement at Linwood in 1969 was made after a series of walkouts, including an overall car workers' strike, by the union involved after a partial successful four-week walkout in January at the end of 1967. The strike was over the abolition of matured time-off or sick pay at the end of 30 years standard.

In other major unions, the National Union of Vehicle Builders and the TGWU, accepted the Le-Vauxhall offer without raising the "string". This didn't allow the management to win virtually everything it wanted.

In Coventry, the management were making a difficult case. The TGWU gave in. But in Ryton they held their ground and the half of the factory Rootes had bought from Ford.

In Coventry the men were making a determined job of it. The TGWU had raised the issue of sick pay for those who were employed at Ryton and the majority of the union was strongly opposed.

In Ryton, the men have six days a week "late starting and early finishing" on basis of 40 hour week (10 3/4 min.) over 489 hour. The Company doesn't even mention it. The protest of being late for work or failing to turn up.

workers' rights

In Linwood the workers are exposed to rigid working patterns "verbal "written" and "sanctions". Only one leave of absence for health reasons is another fallacy by the management. The other leave of absence is a notice to specific workers that is punishable by special investigations and discipline.

Maturity under MDW is different than under PIR. In the latter, the management is banned from interfering with the work demands of the worker to bargain piecework rates and to let "watchmen" watch his every move. Under MDW it really means the right of the management to interfere with the work loads with Supervision to prevent workers from "playing their cards". It can be used also to mean the right of the boss to make decisions after any agreement prior to changes in working patterns.

In Linwood the change in price is always to the disadvantage of the workers. The price is a matter of negotiation and action to defeat them.

If the right-wing attempted to censure them they would expose themselves to the anti-union laws and the TUC's inadequacy campaign of action to defeat them.

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

Time is growing short. Unless the campaign against the Tories is stepped up in the next few months, the Bill will become law and the right-wing will intensify any campaign for action to defeat them.

Secretly welcome

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

Abolition of the shop stewards' movement by any amendment to the legislation that will pass out of their control. And so while they speak out against the government, they are prepared to vote it through.

Divide and rule and the long-term effect of all these arrangements is to weaken the trade union movement. If these organizations were completely destroyed, the ruling class would no longer need to make an effort to ingratiate itself with union officials.

On the other hand, the basic to destroy the laws, the draftsmen are in no special hurry to take action on their own. For its control over workers' organizations is weakened and its special importance diminishes.

THE CURIOUS SILENCE OF SCANLON AND JONES

While a number of smaller unions have given official backing to the 12 trade union leaders, with the Transport Workers and the Engineers, have been conspicuous by their silence. Yet the leaders of the TGWU and AUEW, Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, are the two spokesmen who would have been reasonable to expect militant action from them at a time of great danger for the trade union movement.

The problem in the TGWU is curious. The 'foundry workers' section is dominated by a group who are in favour of militant action and the construction workers' section backed the 8 December strike. But the main AEU has issued no call to its members to take any action and Scanlon said recently that one should not go beyond the TUC's vigorously inadequate campaign of protest.

The main excuse for both these bodies is self imposed inactivity is that the AEU and TGWU have a 4-3 right-wing majority against them. But this should not prevent him from being the president of the union from speaking out in his own name and leading the TUC in the fight against the Tories and the right-wing in the trade union movement.

If the right-wing attempted to censure him they would expose themselves to the anti-union laws and the TUC's inadequate campaign of action to defeat them.

Time is growing short. Unless the campaign against the Tories is stepped up in the next few months, the Bill will become law and the right-wing will intensify any campaign for action to defeat them.

One or two TGWU members have been invited to say what they think of the Bill. The question of a joint statement of the trade union leaders, it is time for Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon to stand up and be counted.

Parity campaign starts at Linwood

By STEVE JEFFERYS, AEF store steward

Big Pay Fight at Chrysler's

As Chrysler's pay battle at Ryton and Ryton, the Chrysler management have laid down the law to the shop stewards after the launch of the new agreement.

"This agreement means that we are no longer employed under the conditions of the old agreement. We are now working under a new agreement and we must work under the new agreement."

"The agreement is in effect from today and we will be monitoring the workers' performance and if they do not meet the targets set out in the agreement, disciplinary action will be taken."

"It is important that all workers understand and comply with the new agreement in order to maintain the high standards of work that have been set."

How Europe's unions were split

Don't miss this important announcement by CAN BIRCHALL next week.
Union laws: mass action can rub them off the statute book...

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

Cooper, in the least surprising statement of 1973, came out firmly against militant action to either stop the Industrial Relations Bill or to force it to use if it gets on the statute book.

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

But society is dominated by the 2 per cent of the population (2 per cent of 15 million people) that owns nearly all the wealth, nearly all the states and most of the media. Lord Cooper, as chairman of the Select Committee on Industrial Relations, has made it his business to make it impossible for the government and bosses to use this. This is the strength of the working class - its size and its solidarity.

The laws can be broken and held up to speakers. Recent history shows how. In Britain during the Second World War, when the 1911 Miners' Strike Ordinance gave the coal mine owners power to operate strikes. But early on in the battle, the National Committee for Assistance against Victimization and drawn a cooper and picket through the mines. This had been trouble at the Britonham Colliery in 1911, over allowance for working a difficult seam. The miners agreed to take the issue to arbitration. But the arbitrator ruled that the management's allowances were reasonable and even excessive. The miners rejected his finding and 4000 miners stopped work. They were backed by local officials of the union. Under the terms of the National Arbitration Ordinance, the strike was illegal.

Hard labour

When the arbitrators met in Canterbury to consider the appeal, a mass demonstration accompanied the miners' leaders. Local people were hurt and the ground around the Miners' National Arbitration Ordinance was blocked with pickets.

The Defendants pleaded guilty. Three union officials were sent to prison. Thebranch secretary was dismissed from two months' hard labour and the local president of the British Steelworkers Union who had stopped work was fined £1 for every month. The miners were fined £1 or 14 days.

The British miners refused to give back. And the only man with the authority to call off the strike was in jail.

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

But the miners still refused to start work until their leaders were released. The miners decided to hold a mass meeting and the Secretary for Mines permitted the meeting. The miners assembled in the court and struck at them with bunches of thorns.

Mass rally

In Sydney, 5000 trade unionists attended a mass rally where Pat Clancy, secretary of the Building Workers' Industrial Union, successfully moved a motion that set a seven-day deadline for the union to call a strike and march on the industrial earners at Newcastle and Wollongong.

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

The key lessons from these examples are: militant action by the workers can defeat even the most tough and automatic justice systems. In most cases, the rank and file did not wait for national union officials to act for them. Instead they did the job themselves.

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

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

If the major union stands together and says all strikes will be made official, that the closed shop will be safeguarded by strike action and that sympathetic strikes and 'blacklegs' will be allowed, then the movement will have to think twice before they tried to get the unions into the Bill.

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

The rank and file have the strength. If they stand together and build Council of Action, and other workers' organisations, they will defeat the Taw and take a giant leap forward to building a real mass working class party fighting for socialism.

A massive demonstration in Melbourne in 1969 against the selling of union leaders.

VITAL ROLE OF
Councils of Action

THE INABILITY and unwillingness of the official trade union leaders to get the workers to fight and take decisive action being taken by organised workers. On the contrary, where the leaders' attitude is to increase the pressure on the TUC to do more than just pass a motion.

On 8 December, more than half a million workers from the trades most affected by the strike walked off the job and stopped work. This was a good start to the real campaign to defeat the Taw. On New Year's Day, 15,000 workers struck in Birmingham, and 5000 marched through London. This was the impressive demonstration the city has seen for years.

By the end of January, the workers who walked off, and stopped working and meeting will be held in many factories. But the demonstrations are vital to the fight against the Taw. What is needed now is to step up the campaign and to organise local Councils of Action. These should be formed in every area and should consist of trade union leaders and trade union officials. The Councils must be genuine bodies committed to action. Every Council of Action must build the employer's offensive.

The main task of the Councils should be to organise and coordinate the fight against the Taw in every locality. They should try to ensure that mass meetings are held in working hours in every workplace against the Taw. In particular, they should organise ballots of factory and branch meetings. They should campaign to get workers to take strike action against the government and arrange demonstrations and other forms of protest.

Call General Strike

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

Every Council of Action must insist the employer's offensive. They should explain that an attack on one group of workers is an attack on the whole working class. They should organise support for all workers in dispute and begin to build a movement strong enough to defeat the Taw and begin to advance the living standards and aspirations of millions of working people.

VITAL READING FOR ALL MILITANTS

The Employers' Offensive

Productivity deals and how to fight them by TONY CLIFF

The Struggle for Socialism

The case for revolutionary politics

PLUTO PRESS 6 Cottons Gardens E2 8DN
The Common Market and you...

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

Another safe prediction would be that the issues involved for working people will be subject to no analysis by anyone other. As the political ding-dong between different sections of the ruling class over the merits of entry into Europe keeps up, workers will be invited to line up with one or other section of the bosses and their political spokesmen. It is vitally important for trade unionists to have a clear view of the class struggle at stake and an equally clear and distinct socialist response to the issues that will be raised.

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

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

The Common Market countries, in the past, have attracted applications ( Britain, Norway, Denmark and southern Ireland) on paper, providing finance for the creation of the Common Market, governments would encourage British industry to specialise and win mastery over European industry in a number of important areas.

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

- European industry has got bigger and more competitive. It would be no easy task for other capitals to dominate. The export advantage, as a result, is less obvious.

The price of entry

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

- The price of entry has gone up. This, more than anything else, means the contribution which Britain would have to pay to subsidise its farmers in Europe and France and some other Common Market countries. Estimates of the amount of money which the trade agreements would cost range from £200 million to £400 million.

- Because industry in the Common Market is more competitive and profitable partly because of the high growth rates of the EEC countries in the past 15 years, Britain would also be expected to lose its share of the EEC market to the continent. Since this cannot be prohibited under the Treaty of Rome, there would be a further big loss to the balance of payments.

The outlook is bleak

More to the point, trade barriers look like going up all over the advanced capitalist world, in response to the international crisis of credit and rising inflation. Unless British industry gains behind the partial protection of the Common Market's tariff walls, the outlook is bleak in the extreme for British capital. Either way, the prospect for British workers and their families is grim. British capitalism has missed the boat when it comes to taking advantage of the booming growth in the EEC. Economic growth is slowing down noticeably in all the other major Common Market countries. Entry will provide British capitalism with a chance to hold on to a few of the advantages it has against Commonwealth trade.

Call on us to make sacrifices in Britain.

The view is a workers union needs to enter the Common Market, come what may, from now on. But the costs of entry are too much for the British capital. Non-sale in Britain faces the possibility of being dominated by any other major capital. It is an issue first and foremost for British big business. Bluntly, unless big business continues to get bigger it cannot hope to survive in the rat race of international competition.

The only alternative

Ruling class is split

Some sections of British industry have been slow in making the transition from British to the more technologically advanced Common Market. As a result, more technologically advanced UK firms would lose badly if Britain is forced to enter the Common Market's tariff walls.

The match of the giants: Citic's plant near Rotterdam

Special survey by JOHN PALMIERI

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

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

To summarise: British capital in the EC would be under greater not less competition to increase productivity: that is, increase the rate of exploitation of workers. Entry must therefore mean a new turn in the employers' offensive on the shop floor.

The drive for ruthless productivity deals and all that goes with them will be stepped up. And to back this offensive we can expect the British ruling class state, no matter whether Labour or Tories are in office, to increase its powers over trade unions and militants. Socialists have to distinguish between short term, defensive issues - which we have to raise through the trade union movement to protect wages and conditions - and a positive programme for workers to go on the counter offensive against capital in Europe. The immediate defensive issues suggest themselves:

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

The trade union leaders must be made to fight on these issues, not on spurious 'patriotic' objection to the Common Market. More important, trade unionists themselves will have to realise that as big business goes international so must workers' organisations.

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

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

Reject cheap patriotism

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

Socialists know that capital cannot be beaten decisively in any one country. Socialism can only triumph when we build an international movement capable of leading the workers of all countries to political power.

For Britain, for Europe, for the world.

Dockers back 200 sacked at Pilkginton by Gerry Bold

MAGNIFICENT solidarity action of the members and the shop stewards of Pilkginton, and the committee that they can win their long struggle to have all the workers reinstated that were sacked from the St Helen's glassworks last summer.

Gerry Caughey, chairman of the rank and file committee, told me this week: 'Events are coming to a head. The support we are getting is increasing. We are not getting what we want. The pressure of militant trade unionism from the base is building up. It can result in no negotiating other than just accepting our demands. Management probably realise already that they will have to change their ways.'

The committee has been given heart by the news of the 'victory' of Pilkginton glass dockers in Hull. They feel that so much of such solidarity action will force the glass bosses to give in and take back the 200 sacked last year.

The General Worker's Unions - which has sole bargaining rights in St Helen's - has supported the management's tough line with us.

Last month, GWWU regional secretary, a leader of the cleaners and office workers with Hull dockers who had gone on St Helen's to discuss the blocking campaign with the rank and file committee.

Atkinson, secretary of the dockers, said: 'In my opinion, this is not trade unionists that we have in this country. We are notitioning and we say it to them.'

A few days later, 13 dockers were suspended for refusing to load Pilkginton. Now there is a strike bound for Denmark. 3000 dockers are meeting today to consider large-scale strike. Last week, the Dock Labour Board told the Liverpool docks to block the export of Pilkginton's', 'Pilkington's are angry with the GMWU because of the strike - in fact, they are blocking the issue. The firm has tried to put pressure on the Union by stating that it is blocking the business, but it is having to respect that.

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

'The general secretary of the Transport Workers' Union, has written to the rank and file committee and expressed a sincere desire to give a permanent place on the committee.

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

The trade union movement must be active. The workers must not strike if a confrontation over principle brings them back to work. The rank and file committee have been effective. They have fought. They have been a beacon to other workers.

If Vic Feather himself might be hard-faced, he has had to be fighting to ensure that the friendliness of the 'pilgrims' to the other workers. The workers of St Helen's last spring, I really believe was the start of something and I believe that because the union leaders had the principle and the will to fight. Finally, Gerry Caughey added a plea for militant action by socialist organisations to aid the workers.
Politics. key to defeat of Tories

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

Really, like Wilson before him, hopes to solve the problems of the British capitalist class by carrying out a massive shift of resources from consumption to investment. The less given out to workers in wages, the more will be available to rich investors.

The strategy pursued by both Labour and the Tories is a three-pronged one. Although attention is present on the need to limit in-union legislation, it is vital for militants to recognise that the most serious weapon in the arsenal of the ruling class remains productivity deals, based on such methods as measured Day Work and job eval-

Unemployment

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

In recent years, workers have been conditioned to accept a figure of a million or more unemployed as normal. The working class is now being prepared to accept a level of unemployment and a level of benefit that are not merely worse, but are not acceptable.

The intention is to destroy the unions but to cripple them by transforming them into effective instruments for controlling the workers. The workers as a mass, in the words of the TUC and the government, are the agents of their own destruction.

The intention is not to destroy the unions but to cripple them by transforming them into effective instruments for controlling the workers. The workers as a mass, in the words of the TUC and the government, are the agents of their own destruction.

Strong links

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

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

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

In many factories, workers do not feel they have anything in common with workers outside that factory or even outside their particular shop. An example of this was the failure of the Miners' and the Jocks to join the 6 December struggle.

But the signs are far that many sections of the workers are beginning to break out of these narrow limits. The party campaign in the car industry, initiated by the TUC, and the fact that the TUC has indicated that important groups of workers are looking outwards.

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

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

Concluding a series by SABBACH (A package)

The basic problem facing the working class in this period of increasing capitalist offensive is its task of unifying the working class against the common interests.

In 1920s unemployment was enough to discipline the working class. Although the 1927 'blacklegs' charters' was on the statute books, it did not feature prominently in the minds of workers.

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

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

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

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

The working class must defend its gains and break the chains that knock us last year. The sell-out of the old Podmusic is forcing the power workers work to rule gave heart to the Tories.

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

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

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

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

The meaning of Marxism

Sensible

This is what has actually happened. Military expenditure corresponds exactly, from the economic point of view, to what the banks have said. The permanent arms economy is a major factor in the economy.

But why military expenditure? Keynes once said: 'It would, indeed, be more sensible to build houses as against tanks, to maintain the replacement of the residential and dangerous population of armaments by social expenditure and not abolish poverty?'

In any case, this is an economic reason. The famous 'Report from Iron Mountain' emphasised this point.

As an economic substitute for war it is inadequate because it would be far too expensive. The programme that could be physically and psychologically undertaken would be established level of military spending only for 3 years at the current scale of opinion... less than 10 years. In short, the armament programme was a far more effective way to use its capital investment than the military programme would be.

Sacrifice

The great advantage of arms spending from a capitalist point of view is that equips us to outspend our competitors. A rough 'equality of sacrifice' is imposed by the arms race itself.

It was never more than a rough equality. Where there are arms agreements, then capitalisation in one country. The US has the largest domestic fixed capital formation from nearly 60 per cent in the US to 10 per cent in the UK (Britain 42 per cent).

The US has also a balance of payments deficit of 60 million, which enables the US to maintain a near permanent balance of payments deficit: that is to the advantage of the US, but it gives the US a near permanent surplus.

Still, the inequality of the arms race is an interesting problem that the US and other countries.

The end of postwar stability

has expanded enormously during the postwar period. At the same time, most of the equipment has been produced in the West, with a smaller amount of hardware produced in other countries. Western Intersystemic Ballistic missile production requires an enormous amount of capital plus a relatively small amount of highly skilled labour. Hence, the creeping rise in unemployment that is occurring throughout the West.

Inflation

Yet this rising unemployment has been coupled with a modestly rising inflation. Some degree of inflation is inevitable in monopoly capitalism in the absence of big slump.

From the late 1940s to the late 1960s prices have risen everywhere in the West by an average of 2 per cent to 3 per cent a year. A high demand for dodging the radar local or national is driven up prices and wage increases as the success of these methods. Inflation is not passed on.

Inflation now is quite new. Prices are increasing at an unprecedented rate at the same time as unemployment is steadily declining. Part of the explanation is the US Anti-Ballistic Missile Programme, the most expensive arms programme in history, which is spreading inflationary pressure throughout the system by creating a high demand for scarce resources without the corresponding demand for labour.

Concentrate

Another source of instability is the growth of huge international firms which can and do shift vast resources between countries and workers. The tendency is to concentrate a small number of highly developed areas, at the often considerable cost to inflation, while running down production elsewhere - giving up one week to employment.

The development of an uncontrollable credit system - the Eurocurrency market is - yet another force which is incapable of Western capitalist stabilisation.

History never repeals itself exactly. There will never be another 1929. Yet the instability of the capitalist system and the power of the Japanese industry, for example,
Let those trumpets blow

Part of an essay in the London Daily News in 1968 in which G.K. Chesterton commented on a speech by H G Wells at the City Temple.

MR H G WELLS was endeavouring to soothe the audience or congregation on the subject of socialism. He assured them that socialism could not be a sudden revolution, the success of which would be attended with 'trumpets from Tower Hill'. It would be a slow and scientific process which would gradually adapt itself to us or us to it. Why is it comforting to be told that a thing will come slowly and alarming to be told that it will come quickly? To my simple mind it would always seem that it has appeared the thing that way.

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

But if socialism is a rescue, let it come quick: that is the essence of a rescue. He who delays makes it nothing pleasant about the idea that it comes slowly, like the worst diseases.

In Mr Hilaire Belloc's Book of Knaves Mr Chesterton says that in handling the knaves of power and politics it is necessary to dispise politicians - there occurs the excellent description of how Jim left his nurse in a crowd and in consequence eaten by a lion. Bang! With that I agree.

This strikes the note of drama and really this is a subject which needs a dramatic and scientific process, goes on to say pathetically: 'Now just imagine how it feels when your feet and your heels and then by gradual degrees Your shine and shale, calves and knees Are slowly eaten bit by bit. No wonder Jim deserted it and will continue to do so. A bad revolution is a revolution. A good evolution would be a much better revolution.'

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

BIG CHIEF White Feather and the Congress House speakers have come up with a trendy, expensive way to fight the government: Write a novel. Industrial Relations Bill. They have hired an advertising agency to draw up a £75,000 press campaign against the Bill.

Chairman of the agency - called Boast Massim Pulitti (not you, Harry, he's down) - says that doughty champion of the working class, Ernie Marples, one-time Minister of Transport in the Macmillan government. His claim to fame of his agency is putting a vast amount of instant mash potato, mash potato, good training for making munched meat of the TUC, no doubt.

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

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

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

Bad game'

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

AS GEORGE ORWELL might have said, for every internationalist there is a patriot struggling to get a fair share of the feelings of 'Britain is best' comes swimming to the surface at this time of the year when the dreary round of conventions are set to be held in Turold and Pork Bunioning gloss over any more unspeakable profits for 'holidays in the sun'.

I don't know what cunning variations tourists have managed to evolve in the regions, but in the capital we get 'Low Fares for Jockeys', '15 or 20 minutes with hearty, sun-tanned people inviting us to wing or sail off to some other desirable fascist or state-capitalist tyranny. As a member of the party, I find the maps of Jolly beach parties and shipwrecks quite horrifying and I plan immediately to peak my tent and camp head for the depths of Epping Forest.

Causes inflation

My antipathy to holidays abroad are motivated by sound, socialist principles. There are better reasons than just liberal, moral dislike of France or the Greek colonies to prevent us from offending the taste of the Costa del Sol or Athens-super-Mare. An influx of comparatively well-off tourists into such desperately poor countries causes inflation and sends the cost of living spiralling upwards and actually adds to the poverty of ordinary working people there. One myth we can expect not to be repeated in this or any year is the well-chiselled one that we help support these economies by visiting their sun-drenched lands. If you want to help France or Spain.

SATURDAY NIGHT on London Weekend came up with a real eyeful: at peak time - 8.30pm - Bob Goldschmidt's brilliant documentary about soccer, music and games, Buckets and Spades and Handgrenades. Steaming crosswords from the front page of the school in West London to interviews with several little upper-class horrors and their sneery 'public school' writer-director Goldschmidt presented a magnificently camouflaged view of our society and the various differences of wealth and attitudes that exist.

Separate worlds

What was fascinating was the juxtaposition of two worlds - one the playground of the Paddington kids, another the world of the music and as a collective and the isolated little cocoons of the children of some of the least describable Londoners play football, a rugged game against the spares of the snotty 'public school' kids. Snotty learn golf, the game that epitomises the snobbery individualism of the middle class.

And how distressingly the sons of the rich are encouraged to be there: grotesque shots of very young boys at their small educational establishments being taken through the grisly ritual of army drill and manoeuvers. The snotty kids were, variously, 'poor', 'common'. 'hooligans'. What is the same is the paddington girl in cheap National Health specs said she was going to make more money than us as fast I don't think I can ever understand that.

My other lingering memory is the way that working-class songs are handed down generation to generation: although some have strayed entirely from their original roots and references to Cilla Black, others are still churlishly chanted, and nostalgically call back Betty Grable and Henry Hall - ye gods!

And it says a lot for the quality of the school dinners that a number of other songs compare the food to the tasteless products of the naval canteens.
MILITANT electricity supply workers called on Monday for a return to industrial action if the court of inquiry into their pay dispute does not recommend more than a 10 per cent increase.

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

There is a strong likelihood of a return to militant action. The court of inquiry is by the trade unions' leader, and one member is the chairperson, a senior member. The present 5.1 per cent rate is an important step in the union's industrial strategy, which involves the union's leadership and the workforce in a significant action to gain fair pay.

SW Reporter

One was implemented. Containerised freight from Hull is booming. The companies on the corporation had an opportunity to see the new and larger factory in the Highlands of Scotland.

Redundancy

The employers are holding a knife to the throat of the million又是的 workers' who came out against the Tory bill on 5 December.

The words 'redundancy' and 'lay-off' are common here. In the docks, 2,000 dockers have been made redundant since Devlin Stage

STORKE NURSING Home of the elderly - public meeting
3 pm. Monday 8th December.
Price: £1.00. 131 St. Mary's Road, SW15. Central Hotel, Wimborne

SOCIALIST MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
Open day at the Social Centre

CABRERA BOBBAR airmail 9.35am.

The unofficial strikes last week by journalists at the Daily Mirror and Sun brought into the open the smouldering discontent of the rank and file with their union leaders.

The militant journalists were demanding the right to negotiate their own contract agreements with management - a right never given to them in the past. The unions are now considering a new pay deal signed by the National Union of Journalists and the Newspaper Proprietors' Association.

In one of the most magnificent piece of strike-hunting seen for some time, NUJ General Secretary Ken & Morgan told Mirror and Sun employees to bring their pay up as a basis and ignore the "unconstitutional" strikes.

The action was a clear signal to the Sun that the union was prepared to fight for its members. The move was well advised as the strike received widespread support.

The printing unions have planned to stop the presses on the day of the strike to demonstrate the strength of the NUJ and its determination to fight for its members.

Condemn

Next Monday, Mr MacGregor will move a resolution in the House of Commons, in the name of Ken Morgan, and the NUJ, to declare a "National Emergency" in the form of a "Stop Work" notice.

More than 400 members attended the NUJ, TUC, and other unions, marched to the Central London branch on Tuesday - the Floor Street branch - and voted to continue the strike until the NUJ has won a victory. The union has already taken the measure to stop the presses.

The only way in which journalists can successfully challenge the press barons is to build strong rank and file links with the union leaders, who have the power to stop the presses on the day of the strike.

Angry newspaper sellers

With the victory of the NUJ in the battle for fair pay, the NUJ is in a strong position to negotiate with management and to win a better deal for its members.

TUESDAY: ALL OUT TO KEN MORGAN

TELEPHONE TIPS

NEXT TUESDAY - 12 January marks the next stage in the nationwide campaign to join the NUJ's All Out Campaign. All the local NUJ branches are gearing up to take the campaign to the streets on a mass scale.

It is important that the campaign is organized on a mass scale to reach as many workers as possible. The NUJ is working with other unions to ensure that the campaign is coordinated and successful.

12 January is the TUC's Day of Action. It is a day of action to raise awareness of the NUJ's campaign. The TUC is organized on a mass scale to reach as many workers as possible. The TUC is working with other unions to ensure that the campaign is coordinated and successful.

Disrupt docks

The Watermen, Lightermen, Tugmen and Bargeemen's Union is organizing a national strike on Tuesday, 10 January, as a result of the breach of their contract.

The strike is a significant industrial action, and is expected to be supported by a large number of workers.

In London, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Allied Workers' Union is also expected to organize a national strike on Tuesday as a result of the breach of their contract.

In addition, the NUJ is organizing a national strike on Tuesday as a result of the breach of their contract.

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