LEN MURRAY went to speak on the 22nd.
Rallying trade unionists to defend their rights. Not a bit of it. He was, speaking at Hendon Police College.

And the police cadets: "We are not one of your big problems, and you are not one of ours.

"Mr Murray, however", reports The Financial Times, "admitted that picketing was a problem. A common problem for trade union bureaucrats and the police.

The Tory government has promised a wide range of reactionary measures, including sweeping attacks on trade union organization. The legal right to "peaceful picketing" in furtherance of "trade dispute" is to be restricted to workers picketing their own workplace in a dispute with their own employer, thus taking the law on this point back to the nineteenth century.

And the trade union leaders are still too powerless to stand up for the struggle than they were under the Labour Government.

They are not organizing for struggle. They are charting with the TUC general secretary Len Murray met with Tory ministers James Prior the next day for informal talks on changing trade union law. Murray's attitude paralleled Jim Callaghan's speech in Parliament on the 15th, which did not oppose the Tories plans on union law in principle but just criticize them as 'cosmetic' and ineffective.

**Plans**

Trade union leaders have said they oppose the Tory plans. But there is no sign of a campaign against the plans. Meanwhile, The Financial Times reports (21st): "Mr. Murray will probably meet Mrs Thatcher soon to discuss pay and industrial relations reform."

The trade union leaders were sluggish enough in fighting Heath's Industrial Relations Act, but they were a hundred times more vigorous than now. Why the contrast? Because the Tories are certainly the union leaders, and not the union leaders, are being consulted in all-important. As long as they were still given leeway, for their job as brokers between the working class and the bosses, they are quite happy to see the rank and file curbed.

They fought against the Industrial Relations Act because it reduced their leeway. But they already had ideas on picking out very different from the Tories in their Convict and with the Labour Government.

The union leaders hope to persuade the Tories to keep legal changes to a minimum, and rely on "voluntary co-operation from the union leaders. It is unlikely the Tories will agree. Probably the union leaders will be engaged in some fight against the Tories plans eventually."

A freebie eleven-hour campaign by sell-out leaders will be no use. We must call the leaders to account, demanding immediate campaign to defend both union rights and the rights of black people, tenants, the unemployed, and others threatened by the Tories.

**Curb**

Trade union leaders should be touring around the rallying workers for struggle, not consulting with the Tories on how best to curb working class militancy.

But we should not wait for the leaders. At rank and file level we should start campaigning now, with our own socialist policies:—

- Hands off the unions
- Defend the picket lines
- No immigration controls. Labour movement support for the self-defence of the blacks communities.
- National minimum wage — which should also be a minimum for pensions, benefits, and grants. Automatic cost of living protection for wages, pensions and grants and benefits.
- No sale of council houses. Freeze rents.

IAN SHAW

**CALLAGHAN RATS ON NHS WORKERS**

SPEAKING at the Labour Party National Executive Committee on Wednesday 23rd, James Callaghan declared that the Labour Party would not support any industrial action aimed at blocking Tory government policy. The Tories have a majority, said Callaghan, and should be allowed to rule.

Callaghan was reckoned to be aiming his stab in the back at Health Service workers who say they won't work on additional 'pay backs' in the NHS.

Constituency Labour Parties and trade union branches should feed Transport House with resolutions declaring that they will back the NHS workers — and all other workers — against the Tories, and demanding the NEC publicly disown Callaghan's statement.

**FUND DRIVE**

Our fund appeal for £500 is to help finance our expansion to 12 pages is still moving very slowly. £30 from Birmingham this week, but that still leaves the total at only £460.

The 12 page paper costs us proportionately more in terms of printed pages, and the increased revenue from raising the price to 15p does not cover the increased cost. Like most papers with no advertising revenue, Workers' Action is funded by contributions from our supporters.

We appeal for contributions to Fund, Workers’ Action, PO Box 138, London N1 1D9.
Zimbabwe: the money behind the Tory policies

BARCLAYS Bank are leading� the way for the South African right. The bank is opposed to all forms of African resistance. The bank is actively trying to cripple the economy of Zimbabwe. The bank is trying to prevent the legitimate government of Zimbabwe from functioning.

The bank is also providing financial support to the corrupt and oppressive government of South Africa. The bank is actively working to undermine the democratic process in Zimbabwe.

Other large British interests include Barclays, DEG, Dunlop, BL subsidiaries. These companies are directly involved in the suppression of the people of Zimbabwe.

The bank's involvement in Zimbabwe is a clear case of economic sanctions. The bank is using its financial power to undermine the democratic process.

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SOCIALIST ORGANIZER

"So", published during the run-up to the general election as the Labour Party's "Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory" is being continued as a paper aiming to organise the left for the strongest anti-Tory vote and to renovate the labour movement. All Socialist Organizer groups are being set up in every area where the paper has active supporters.

For more information, or for details of your local "Socialist Organizers" group, send this form to Socialist Organizer, 5 Stamford Hill, London N16. For a copy of the May issue of Socialist Organizer, send two 9p stamps.

NAME:  
ADDRESS:  

THE WHITE supremacist regime in South Africa is taking the offensive against SWAPO guerrillas in northern Namibia. An intensive mobilisation of military resources has been mounted against SWAPO. Already massive, mile-long convoys of troops, artillery, and commando truck columns are moving north through Windhoek in readiness for the first major military incursions ever mounted against SWAPO. This mobilisation has doubled the number of South African troops in Namibia to some 60,000.

The South Africans want to drive out all other major areas of white settlement as far south as Windhoek. The Namibian National Front and other non-SWAPO forces involved in the December election and oppose any moves which would spoil the chance of getting an internationally agreed settlement.

The result of the March raids against SWAPO was slight. The freedom fighters had increased cover in the bush after the raids. They are now better armed and more mobile.

Although the South African government may be attempting to bluff its way into a more favourable international agreement (the Western powers consider that it is only a question of time before such an agreement is made, given that SWAPO has managed to carry on fighting), the mobilisation of reserve forces is an important indication of their determined effort to gain nothing easily.

This year the South African regime had its largest impact of national service conscription. It mobilised a strength of 50,000. Only 10,000 are regulars; most of the conscripts are not fully trained for combat, and are only expected to do three months of duty in Namibia.

Barclays Bank are leading the way for the South African right. The bank is opposed to all forms of African resistance. The bank is actively trying to cripple the economy of Zimbabwe. The bank is trying to prevent the legitimate government of Zimbabwe from functioning.

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SEND TO: WA, PO Box 135, London N1 0DD.
The first casualty

by MIKE FOLEY

"IF YOU don't know what is happening in your own country, you must have been watching British TV. Listening to British radio, and reading British newspapers," said an anonymous source.

And, as a Newspaper...} Should not the people working hard to make sure the world runs smoothly be consulted?

In 1976 the Army had more than 14,000 personnel serving in Northern Ireland, with a back-up staff of over 100. Today, there are fewer than 1,000 British troops on the ground, but the conflict has become more complex and dependent on the armaments industry.

As former Times correspondent Robert Fish wrote:

"The Army ran its own 'black propaganda' operations, forging posters and documents in a way that sometimes left the people in the dark about politics or even the politics of politicians who did their bidding.

The Government's Northern Ireland Office was a disaster, a mess, on the initiative that the press stopped printing, the speech of a politician of sectarian alliance was... This move helped to strengthen the radicalism in Northern Ireland being purely random and unbridled.

Another example of the UK's reaction to the Troubles is the way that the Derry Girls, who lived through the religious violence of the 1970s, were depicted in the TV series Derry Girls.

By RODRI EVANS

JUNE'S elections for the EEC Parliament will be in the image of the Market itself.

Common Market politicians speak about European unity, but in practice they are fighting over the EU's international affairs as measures of their political clout.

The European Commission has very little control over the EU's foreign policy, and the Commission's influence has waned over time.

Thus everywhere the EU's election candidates are mostly useless and don't care about the EU-EP's 58 seats and easy jobs. And the EU elections are not very popular among the electorate.

'I mean, even the euro is...'}

Some Labour Party wards have fifty or more seats, and some have only one.

The LCP is running a big "buy French" campaign. It has produced a campaign video that runs for over an hour. And they have a TV commercial that runs for over an hour.

And it has plastered Paris with posters saying "No to Germania!".

But in France there is this... There is a... (incomplete sentence)

Some socialists in Europe say that the EU is a failure, that it is a...
**Coventry Council:**

**Fighting the council house sales**

COVENTRY Labour Council has banned council house sales. Over a day after taking control of the City Council from the Tories, Labour councillors called a special meeting to stop the scheme introduced by their Tory predecessors. They dismissed the threat from Tory Environment Spokesman Michael Heatley that councils would be forced by law to sell their houses.

Councillor David Cairns, Coventry’s housing spokesman, said: “We will not be forced to sell our tenants, who are going against the wishes of the people who have voted for us to keep the dignity of being a tenant.” He said that the waiting list for council houses in Coventry stood at 6900.

Two Coventry Labour councillors who have bought their own council houses – John Hughes and Pat Tynan – are on the list to sell to the council. Others are still sitting on the list.

Meanwhile, in Henley Green, Coventry, about 1000 people are to be moved out of their council houses into cars, because blue asbestos has been discovered in the heating systems – 15 years after it was installed. 

The asbestos fibres can be a cause of cancer. The tenement council was granted permission by Cov-enty Council and the Environment Agency to remove the asbestos for £120,000.

The Tory response was vehement. Some right-wing Labour councillors were not much better. One, in fact, proposed a motion to stop the trades council of Coventry Council. He said: “It is a breach of trust.” However, he had not as yet attended a trades council meeting or bothered to read the minutes. 

Councillor John Hughes, chairman of Coventry City Labour Party, has stated that the Labour Party should commit itself to a programme of organisational changes in the wake of the general election defeat. He predicted that the Labour Party would support the reform proposals of the Labour Coordinating Committee. His third part accommodation policy was started by the council when previously Labour-controlled. He felt that the council had gone from the trades council to the trades union council, changing the policy.

The third part accommodation policy was started by the council when previously Labour controlled. The council has gone from the trades council to the trades union council, changing the policy. The trades unionists are pushing for the tenants to be regarded as tenants. The council has made the policy. The council has changed the policy. The council has heard the tenants. 


evelyn reed

EVELYN REED, a well known member of the American Women’s Party, died of cancer on 22nd March, aged 70.

She was one of the foremost women’s liberation authors of her day, a key figure in Women’s Liberation. She fully appreciated her contribution to an understanding of women’s oppression. She had to look back to the time between the early 1930s and the 60s.

In 1933 the women’s movement was smash- ed by Stalinism, feminism, and the rise of fascism. From then up to the early 60s, there was practically no women’s movement.

In the 60s the women’s movement emerged. Only a small number of women were schooled in Marxism and able to develop a Marxist analysis other than in the most basic sense. This was a long process of searching and discovery of new possibilities for women’s movement to define its identity.

The major defence of women’s oppression published in Latin America, de Beauvoir’s The Second Sex, of the importance, de Beauvoir’s book was (as she later said) in part idealist, seeing the pre- historic oppression that was the oppression of women in material conditions, because of the nature of human consciousness, in the fact that women were not seen as the Other, as object rather than subject.

Reed’s work was important in the way that women’s movement was defined. Her study was that of oppression. In the USA, more than 200,000 women, substantial number of members. Her work was to keep an organisational continuity from the early 50s through the 60s.

DAVE SPENCER

Secret hospital in a secret state

Secret hospital

IN TUESDAY night’s programme The Secret Hospital, the Yorkshire TV team gained access to a hospital with 115 ex-patients, 41 staff, and many relatives of patients at Rampton Hospital at Nottingham. They collected a total of 801 allegations of ill-treatment, in which 146 of a total of 600 staff were named.

All ex-patients alleged brutality. Many described being beaten on admission, or being hit with a hockey stick with a wet towel, a practice which the Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS) denied had ever been used at Rampton. The ex-patients ex-staff described severe and frequent beatings, patients, and the practice of hanging women in small cells with no clothes, no beds, and no toilet facilities.

The parents of a girl diagnosed as schizophrenic who was found dead sitting in a cell were told by the day doctor she had strangled herself.

Rampton is a maximum security hospital with 800 patients, half of whom are mentally sub- normal or have no criminal history. Seven out of ten of the patients there have committed no offence. There is no clinical diagnostic length of stay.

Nursing staff belong to the Prison Officers’ Association and are bound by the Official Secrets Act. Patients often referred to them as ‘acres’.

The Elliot report on Rampton stated that the majority acted as security officers by choice.

Brutality has also been alleged, though never on a scale, in new patients admitted and the co-called subnormal patients. "We were all frightened," one of the young men who left last month said. "The whole system is a lie."

Several of the patients said the Elliot report was reassuring because it showed that there were no ‘acred’ doctors, that staff were not paid for their work, and that the system was not abusive.

Rampton is an enclosed and isolated institution. Its security is monitored by the DHSS in London, not by the Department of Health and Social Security as is usual. Many staff say the work is for life. Those who leave for 20 to 30 years. In 1972 they were in trouble over the proposed ending of their system of working alternate-day 12-hour shifts. This system, which was envisaged by the Elliot report, enabled many to leave jobs and a business or a job or a career. It means that other patients or relatives are investigated only by the Elliot report.

This documentary did little more that report the statement of ex-patients, ex-staff and relatives. Although it did give attention to crucial issues it asked no further questions, and proposed no answers.

The danger now is that since Rampton is covered by the Official Secrets Act – hardly a safe public benefit – a full-scale public inquiry can be avoided. The Social Services Secretariat, Lord Patrick Jenkin, has ordered a police investigation and the Elliot report, welcomed by representatives of the patient’s association. Such an investigation could well go into the allegations of brutality against patients. Patients, who have been subjected to very serious sentences for a very few scrapes.

As several ex-patients pointed out, the system does not change. Those responsible for Rampton persist in the system of bureaucratic attitudes, perpetuating this brutal regime and indifference. They give absolute power and influence.

LAWRENCE WELCH

MANDY WILLIAMS
THE UNIONs

Last October the civil service union, CPSA had its National Executive Committee and President Len Lever declared that irregularities in this year’s postal vote also invalidates the NEC. A new wing NEC was elected — which allowed the full time NEC officials to keep a close rein on the postal campaign. The conference last week the membership hit back. The new NEC member Stephen Collins (bravely acting in a personal capacity) reports.

Democracy campaign wins workplace voting

At best, this meant that the Militant were shifting their eyes to the often-widened and bureaucratic net of trade union branch life; at worst, that they were defending an undemocratic system because the Militant thought that it was undemocratic. The right wing saw their grip on the Conference membership they dropped their own proposal, and swung behind the motion of the Campaign for Union Democracy. They initially claimed that the Militant proposals threatened individual workplace voting then attacked Militant as going back on black voting (not only as well as from postal ballots). They may be right in the short term: some of the biggest branches, with the biggest black votes, are left wing.

But in the longer run the workplace voting system must mean more active involvement of the membership in trade union affairs, and will thus under some circumstances cut the right wing votes on important issues, such as a bureaucratic voting system which may gain more union unity.

With the right wing’s last-ditch campaign against the Militant they were not only defending black voting. They had produced a backlash against the Militant and the Campaign for Union Democracy’s efforts to get workplace voting and white union collective militarity.

WHAT CONFERENCE DECIDED

WITH union members bitter over the outgoing leader’s mismanagement of this year’s pay fight, the Conference rejected a motion of the Militant to try to get workplace voting.

Early on in the conference, an emergency motion was carried calling for a thorough censuring of the outgoing Service Pay Committee’s role in blocking action on pay, a motion passed by the Workers’ Co-operative (Look) committee in its first union in the country and by the TUC General Council.

One TUC right wing’s document A Better Way, which favours increase in pay policy, was discarded, was declared: in discussion with the CPSA policy.

A second motion seeking to remove Thomas from the NEC was passed by the TUC General Council, but it was held back by the NEC itself for lack of time. Thomas has said he will not stand for the NEC as general secretary if the motion is carried.

Another substantial amendment to remove the decisive voting influence of the full-time officials on the National Executive Committee and on the Selection Committee of NEC officials failed. It gave a majority to the Militant and the right-wing—two-thirds majority.

Another general amendment to limit the power of the NEC was defeated—though that also probably got a simple majority. The amendment would have made the President’s decision subject to a ratification by either the NEC or Conference, and would give the NEC rather than the President authority to interpret the rules.

Under the present set-up, outgoing President Len Lever will be able to call a meeting of the whole of last year’s National Executive Committee on the grounds of a voting irregularity in the vice-presidential selection applications — as a recent NEC motion had no appeal against his decision on the motion censuring that ‘sacking’ was narrow last.

That the benefits of new technology he trans- parently aimed to bring a slightly lower budget for 500,000 staff. The motion was backed by 200 fists. But two-thirds of the widespread workers in the DHSS want to dismiss this and extend it to DHSS employees.

The motion called for a new member of the Socialist Workers’ Party to be elected to the National Executive Committee at the forthcoming conference.

The election was moved by a member of the Socialist Workers’ Party, and the motion is to be carried by the DHSS and the Ministry of Defence.

The sectional claim can only lead to back pay and national pay. And they lead to a bloated staffing and productivity bargaining.

The NEC swung left

IT is often a union bureau- crat’s boast that he controls the union for 51 weeks of the year. Only at Conference is he really challenged.

For the CPSA it has certai- nly been a good year. But so sharply were the full-time officials challenged at this Conference that General Secretary Ken Thomas, rattled, replied with a stream of red-baiting invective and abuse against the Conference delegates.

When the motion to create him and the NEC for its conduct of the pay campaign was debated, he attacked its supporters, who were ‘authoritarian’ and ‘right-wing’ and he accused them of being ‘coppers’ from the TUC.

The Tories have hauled the CPSA in the past for a victory. But none of them depicted this will win the next election, more, not least, in the minds of the rank and file of the CPSA. The CPSA is a mass trade union in the first union in the country and working for national unity for its workers.

But for their part the Milit- ant tried to present the rule- change bureaucratically by demanding an impartial vote on an earlier motion in order to get the vote-system motion pushed off the agenda for lack of time.

The Tory press has bailed out the CPSA on its vote system as a victory. But none of them depicted this will win the next election, more, not least, in the minds of the rank and file of the CPSA. The CPSA is a mass trade union in the first union in the country and working for national unity for its workers.

This is a step forwards in money and political aware- ness in the union, away from the controlling system that characterised the sup- porters of the black vote.

There is no notice of this censure. After the Con- ference decided that he had lost ‘the Conference getting down to work’ (though all the key policy motions debated and carried were left to the branches). Most despicably, he added space for Conference as General Secretary of the CPSA, declaring that the left-Labour Militant tendencies of the CPSA, declared that the SWP was disruptive and the left-Labour Militant tendencies "Goebbels-like with their propaganda."

Thomas clearly intends to declare war on his elected NEC, and maybe hopes that someone will find an excuse for overreaching theorm.

Concerned by rank and file criticism, Thomas returned to the CPSA branch he represents in the general demo- cratic grated by ESETU box Frank Chappell, whose campaign of the "we pay the prices; we pay the wages" Leaver, who was defeated by the CPSA branch in the Labour movement. The current campaign of Thomas’s strike works his hands and brains against the semi-fascist militancies as ... league leaders. The Militant protests. Lewis from the anger of the rank and file, the company, an employee of the CPSA, and his fund of support from the political situation on the TUC General Council.

Red-baiting general secretary Ken Thomas

TEN critical Broad Left can- didates were elected to the new National Executive Committee, together with six from the right wing ‘Moder- nist’ group and two independents.

The poll was topped by Geoff Barker, a Broad Left candidate backed by Redder Tape, a grouping led by the Socialist Workers’ Party. BJPB får 120,000 votes. The second of the Broad Left candidates backed by Redder Tape, Norman Jacobs, came fifth with just under 100,000 votes.

Four supporters of the Militant tendency were elected to the NEC, and one sup- porter of Workers’ Action, who stood on a platform arguing clearly that ‘the fight for the CPSA’s candidates’ conditions is only part of the fight for the CPSA’s members and labour power’.

Three Communist Party members were elected, despite the fact that none of the CP candidates revealed their political affiliation in their election addresses. The rest of the Broad Left members on the NEC are mostly grouped round a left-Labour Tribune anti-Militant Mike Deagan, an ex-member of the SWP, was also elected.

This swing reflects the anger at the pay cut-out and the weakness and incompete- nce of the ‘Moderates’. But it does not represent the cul- mination of a successful campaign to win the majority of the rank and file clearly to the policies and perspectives of the Broad Left.

The Broad Left risks de- generating into nothing more than an electoral machine, with no real campaigning base except where revolution- ary came from left wing initiatives. If the left-wing of the CPSA wants to defeat the SWP and the left-Labour Militant tendency, they must fight the CPSA and the SWP. The Broad Left must take a stand and fight for the CPSA and the SWP, and drive them out of the CPSA and the SWP.
The Tory government is planning to bring in new laws against picketing. The legal details have not been announced, but the intention is to allow legal picketing only in a trade dispute with your employer and at your own workplace. Employment Minister James Peter has said that new laws will be brought in by the summer.

Flying pickets to spread a strike, joining pickets at a neighbouring factory, or picketing your employer’s competitors’ factories, his suppliers or his customers, could all land you a spell in jail if the Tories get their way. The legal protection against being prosecuted for causing a ‘breach of the peace’ could be removed in all these cases. A firm can get a court injunction to stop pickets, and then, if the accused do continue, get the pickets arrested.

All the laws the Tories want to bring in depend more on creating new categories of criminal activity than anything else. Police and judges have always been able to find some law or other to use when they set their minds to making pickets and. And they have always been powerless when the picket lines are sufficiently strong and well-supported. They can jail one or two, but not thousands.

Scabs herded into work during 1973 docks dispute

The law and your pickets

But the laws make a big difference. And their primary effect is to give the biggest squeeze on pickets since the 19th century.

In the early days of trade unionism, the more fact of forming a strike, for a picket line was criminal ‘molestation’ or ‘obstruction’, and also a criminal conspiracy.

As unions established themselves on a stable and permanent basis, the number of skilled workers in the mid-19th century, the laws were replaced by the 1859 Molestation of Workmen Act. Peacefully persuading workers to return to work was now against the law, but judges would still convict pickets on the slightest excuse.

In 1860 striking London tailors were prosecuted for picketing because they took ‘action calculated to strike a determining effect on the minds of ordinary persons’, but not exposing them to have their actions watched and to encounter blacklegs.

The modern attempts to put forward by law picketing dressed up in the language used, began in 1875 with the ‘Constitution of Property Act’. The bosses decided it was too difficult to carry out trade union activities within the law as making the most minimal trade union action a challenge to law and state.

Trade union action was given legal protection against charges of criminal conspiracy. And pickets were entitled to ‘attend at or near a place to obtain or communicate information’.

But the judge seized on this formula to take away the right of picketing for ‘actual information’ given by the 1859 law. In 1896 picketing that was aimed to persuade other workers not to enter a factory was declared an indictable offence as an ‘abuse of common law’. So you could picket any amount you liked as long as you persuaded anyone to respect property law.

The 1906 Trades Disputes Act passed by a Liberal government under working-class support, prevented closed-shop agreements and judge-made anti-union law on picketing. It was declared illegal. Picketing was said to be ‘lawful’ in furtherance of a trade dispute—merely for the purpose of communication or of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working. Trade unions were protected against prosecution for causing breach of contracts of employment.

But in due course the judge-made law began to whittle down trade union rights once again. In 1960 the ‘right’ of the police to control pickets was established in a judgment where a worker was convicted for his attempt to persuade others picketing a factory gate after a police constable had declared two pickets were ‘enough’. In 1966 Lord Woolf ruled in the Tynan case that it was a ‘nuisance under common law for pickets to try to “deal off the highway” in order to talk to drivers going into a workplace.

Yet by the late 1960s the British ruling class had decided that, with capitalism drifting into crisis and stagnation, they would have to curb the trade union strength developed during the post-war boom.

In 1971 the Industrial Relations Act was passed. Many forms of industrial action and picketing became unlawful as in the past. Yet others became unlawful because most trade unions refused to register under the Act, and their disputes were thus legally not trade disputes.

Judge-made law also went against the unions. In the person of Lord Denning (1974) the House of Lords ruled that it was unlawful for pickets to stop a lorry to talk to the driver. And the ancient catch-all conspiracy law was revived to deal with building workers’ flying pickets in the Shrewsbury case (1973-4).

Despite all the fuzzing and fuming of the Tories, pickets were always an aspect of the laws on violence and intimidation as anything else (and more so than the bosses’ chief picket-busters, police). By the use of conspiracy, any charge of intimidation or damage can be backed up with a charge of conspiracy to injure—cause damage, etc., which requires less evidence and often carries heavier penalties.

But class struggle does not always go according to the law books. And between 1970 and 1974 the scope of picketing in practice was greatly extended. Flying pickets, mass pickets, and secondary pickets were used on a large scale for the first time in decades.

The Industrial Relations Act became unworkable. And with the Trade Union Act 1974 and an amending Act in 1975 the Labour Government brought the law more into line with reality.

By NIK BARSTOW

The Industrial Relations Act restrictions were re-pealed. Unions were once again protected against prosecution for breach of contracts of employment. From 1976 they were protected in relation to the law of commercial contracts. But the courts continued to twist the law to the most anti-union interpretation possible. In 1975 a court judged against policemen who had picketed Pethibús Estates Agents in Iltington established that there was no right to pickets outside of industrial disputes.

And judges continued the practice of granting temporary injunctions against pickets when firms claimed the pickets were not acting in furtherance of a trade dispute. No matter how thin the firm’s case, pickets could be told to lay off until the courts held a full hearing. Of course firms were quite satisfied to have action stopped on the spot and didn’t much mind about the later court case.

In 1975 the Labour Government instructed judges not to grant injunctions against pickets unless they thought the firm had a good case. But the judges quickly developed new interpretations of the law on the issue of what constituted furtherance of a trade dispute.

In February 1979 lorry drivers’ shop stewards Joe Fall was forbidden to picket a firm in Peterlee which supplied United Biscuits with edible oil. James Peter was on the board of United Biscuits, who brought the case. The judge decided that the picket was ‘in furtherance of the lorry drivers’ struggle against their employers’, only ‘in consequence of it’. The judgment was so ridiculous that it was not easy to see its exact implications: the judge had to rely on the argument that the law could not mean what it said. Otherwise Parliament would be legislating its own destruction by allowing pickets here, there and everywhere.

What the Tories had done here was to hide the struggle to right away.

The Tories have also done the same thing in the police. The police have been told that the law is a balancing act, the state being referee in the struggle. The state has been the peace tv. The state has had an interest in the struggle. The state has been the police of the struggle. The state has been the police of the struggle.
From workers' plans to socialism

SOCIALIST Challenge has called a conference for trade unionists this Saturday, May 7. The theme has been announced as Workers' Control and Workers' Plans. Here workers' plans appear as one of the sort of alternative plans of production promoted by shop stewards in Lucas Aerospace in Vickers.Amricana.

Unfortunately, Socialist Challenge has carried on discussing this theme in the run-up to the conference. And so it seems probable that the conference will just be a general discussion on the perspectives of Socialist Challenge for work in the unions. It is a pity. For the recent collapse of the fight to save jobs at Pilkingtons showed workers' plans in action on 'workers' plans of production' unguent.
The Vickers Scottwood stewards fought their fight against the closure of the works, and the aim of forcing the company to accept proposals for alternative production based on a Workers' Plan being prepared by stewards and sympathetic economists. When Vickers just kept on saying no, the stewards' campaign crumpled with hardly any fight. At Vickers, as at Lucas, the stewards had not campaigned for nationalisation of the firm. Their ideas of a workers' plan have been closely associated to the Labour Party's notion of 'planning according to need', a notion which is obviously a substitute for nationalisation.

At Lucas, the stewards record that "the idea of producing an overall Corporate Plan for Lucas Aerospace arose in the first instance at a meeting in November 1974 with Tony Benn (the then Minister of Industry) in Mr. Benn's office. The suggestion was that there was the distinct possibility of other cut-backs in certain aerospace and military projects. He felt that the 'Combine Committee' would be well advised to consider alternative products". At Vickers, the stewards demanded, "Government and industry backed by strong guarantees of continued production, built around discussions of alternative products, issued the Workers' Plan for Vickers on Tyne-side".

Steel

Looking at coal, steel and other nationalised industries, the stewards had no faith in nationalisation as a policy to fight to save jobs. The 'workers' plan' strategy was developed as a substitute.

This question of the workers' control was separate from (or even counterposed to) the general question both of the system of the capitalist state and of the capitalist state, and of the capitalist state. To do it we had to be for a living the boss on more than one front. But the bosses can bring in scabs or police from wherever they like. They can shift production as they wish.

In many cases the sort of picketing the stewards want to outlaw is absolutely necessary for any effective strike. At Greenock, once George Ward had managed to restrict scabs and the police had cleared a way for scabs and materials to come in and out, mass picketing of the only way forward.

In the strikers' drive earlier this year, it was not much use picketing the ferry firms. To stop subtlety, the drivers had to picket their employers' customers.

During the Ford strike, pickets at the docks (and solidarity from dockers, which the Tories will also probably try to outlaw) were necessary to stop the strikers being broken by importing cars. The Tories want to fill the law even more in favour of the bosses. But if we make it clear their laws will count for nothing; that we realise only mass picketing could beat scabs protected by the police; that effective action against scabs is the first principle of working-class law and order; that secondary picketing is a vital right; that the Tories will be scared off, not us.

Next week: the Industrial Relations Act and how it was fought.

Shrewsbury pickets demonstrate outside the court. Centre: Ricky Timbhon and Don Watson, who were jailed for 18 months and three years.

Hall Imperial Typewriters workers put their faith in Benn's formula for nationalisation by calling for: "No Concord, No Visitors' Plan!"

Jonathan Silberman wrote (15th February): "The drive from rank and file workers are pointing the way to an alternative to Callaghan's schemes. Cutting unemployment is suggested [by] the fight for the 35 hour week, and by workers' plans at Lucas and Vickers for the production of socially useful products." Similarly, the call by building workers for a programme of direct public action could both cut unemployment and be socially useful.

"Such actions and proposals are based on, of not a Concordat, but a workers' plan to beat the crisis." By sloppy journalism and the unprofitable press, the Concromat is being used as a weapon to force workers plans in the sense of Lucas and Vickers. When workers' plans are based on the principle of control and the right to control are muddled together with class-collaboration notions of finding a "socialist" liveable alternative production plan) and workers' plans in the sense of an overall workers' control over the whole of the enterprise, this is the same name to two different things.

The Lucas stewards propose a shift from military equipment to production of automatic robots, new power packs, and a new control system for the production control. The shift is both worthwhile for its own sake and a means to save jobs.

They are aware that the usual collective bargaining struggle does not have sufficient scope to win these demands. So the Lucas Labour Government to help.

As Lucas stewards Mike

Cowley reports, the Labour Government gave "every sympathy to the workers' case. So the stewards are with a dilemma - the executive赭s the nationalised Scottwood stewards into just giving up, and has pushed the Lucas stewards into filling out the Alternative Plan proposals to the bosses for the profitable production and better marking.

Silberman just skates over this dilemma.

To give real bite to the radical working-class aspirations expressed in these plans, they must be linked to the question of power specifically; to demands to abolish business secrecy, to nationalise without compensation the share work under workers' control with no loss of pay.

Pot

Equally, if nationalisation is to be more than a surface capitalist reform, it must be linked to workers' control demands. Direct action - factory occupations, combine wide strikes - is necessary to win those demands just as the demands are necessary to make direct action effective.

With Labour in opposition, the whole 'workers' plan' notion will be thrown into the melting pot along with the rest of the politics of the Labour movement. Its socialist core must be saved from cynicism, as must the socialist core of the trade union movement. The way to do that is to make both nationalisation and workers' control of production an integral part of the Left's alternative programme which takes on the whole system. As we start to point out in our starting point and sketches and seminars, it is the bitter struggles leading towards the nationalisation and the control of the whole working-class system for socialisation.
INTRODUCTION

In Western Europe the last few years have seen a backlash against the policies and programs of the European Union, as well as a rise in nationalist sentiment. This has led to a shift towards nationalist policies, such as border control and restrictions on immigration. These policies are often criticized for being xenophobic and anti-immigrant, but they are also seen as necessary to protect national interests.

The European Union has been criticized for being too centralized and lacking democratic accountability. This has led to a growing demand for greater autonomy and self-governance in the member states. This is particularly true in the context of the ongoing financial crisis, which has highlighted the need for more effective and efficient economic policies.

The European Union has also been criticized for its role in promoting globalization and free trade, which some argue has led to a loss of jobs and economic opportunities in certain sectors. This has led to a growing demand for more protectionist policies, such as tariffs and quotas, to protect domestic industries.

The European Union has also been criticized for its role in promoting human rights and democracy in other parts of the world. Some argue that the Union's policies in this area are too soft and do not go far enough to protect human rights and democratic freedoms.

The European Union has also been criticized for its role in promoting multiculturalism and diversity, which some argue has led to a loss of cultural identity and values.

The European Union has also been criticized for its role in promoting gender equality, which some argue has led to a loss of traditional values and practices.

The European Union has also been criticized for its role in promoting environmental sustainability, which some argue is too costly and will lead to a loss of economic growth.

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Kautsky argues that the mass strike corresponds to a strategy of overthrow and that it would lead to unceasing struggle and to the inevitable socialist revolution that will guarantee success. Kautsky does not rule out its use against a government in power for economic reasons, but he believes that it is necessary to judge the situation with the utmost care in order to make the right decision.

The strategy of ascription, as Kautsky argues, corresponds to a situation in which the revolutionary class is in the minority and an approximation to democracy exists which enables it to collect its forces and to weaken the enemy gradually. The tactics of the SPD referred to in this context are almost exclusively parliamentarian.

Kautsky’s duality between strategy of overthrow and strategy of ascription corresponds very closely to the situation of war of manoeuvre and war of position in the distorted version of Gramsci which has become the stock in trade of Eurocommunism and particularly the Italian CP. (See Perry Anderson’s article, “The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci”, in New Left Review 100 for a precise detection of their divergences and similarities, and for differing statements of Gramsci’s position.)

Between the two extremes, Eurocommunists who attempt to appropriate his political heritage to reformism, there stretches the same gulf that yawned between the Communist Third International which was set up after the bitter lessons of the collapse of Kautsky’s bourgeois and the Social Democratic International itself. Gramsci’s communications of war of position and war of manoeuvre in the context of his adherence to the various conceptions of the “enemies” of the revolution, led to the formation of the Malcolm X faction which holds to its opposite, are guilty of an act of treason against the very principles of the Left with which more justice claim Kautsky as a political forerunner.

As well as paralleling Eurocommunism, Kautsky’s views also bear a considerable resemblance to the ideas of the “militant” fraction of the CP. The rightist faction is leading the only workable alternative to the PCI we see today, and it is attempting to turn the mass strike into a major weapon of its revolutionary activity.

As well as paralleling Eurocommunism, Kautsky’s conception and the CP’s views also bear a considerable resemblance to the ideas of the “militant” faction of the PCI. The rightist faction is leading the only workable alternative to the PCI we see today, and it is attempting to turn the mass strike into a major weapon of its revolutionary activity.

Karl Kautsky: WHAT NOW?

In our present-day political arena, one thing is certain: the struggle for power is not over.

There are many reasons why this discussion is not fruitful at present, and the economically possible is not the same as the politically possible.

It is necessary to consider the question of the mass strike again and to analyse the specific conditions under which it can be applied.

Kautsky argues that the struggle for power is not over.

The most characteristic feature of Kautsky, however, is his appeal for a radical break with the revolutionary principles with opportunistic practice.

Reading the Kautsky-Lenin debate on the question of whether the economic and political factors are the same in every country, it is clear that the new situation has led to a great many differences.

Kautsky is a Marxist and an evolutionist, and in the very nature of his ideas he is an adherent of the idea that the mere continuation of SPD rallies and street demonstrations is not enough to ensure victory. He is not a revolutionary, but a conservative, who believes that the masses can be led to accept the new order by means of peaceful means.

Implicit in Kautsky’s military analogy, and in the very nature of his ideas, is the fact that he believes that the masses must be led to accept the new order by means of peaceful means.

The question of the mass strike is not a matter of strategy, but of tactics.

Therefore, I shall not discuss this side of the question. It is not the place of this article to discuss the question of the mass strike is not a matter of strategy, but of tactics.

If we are to be successful in the battle, we must be able to provide the new order with any price, even if it means fighting the enemy.

The point is that the mass strike is the only means of success.

But first of all a few opening remarks. Above all we must be clear about what we mean by strike. Consider the following.

The mass strike is not just a step, one-off protest, it is certainly not the be-all and end-all of the campaign which is in progress.

When considering our tactics, we must be able to differentiate between the mass strike as a means of protest, of the mass strike as a means of compulsion, for each presupposes different conditions and different tactics.

The difference between the two is just as great as that between a socialist movement and a revolutionary one.

The political mass strike as a means of exercising compulsion is undertaken in order to compel the holders of political power to do something, or to refrain from doing something. It fails, it leads to a victory over the opposition, but it does not carry out all possible forces until such time as it achieves its goal or the masses collapse in a state of exhaustion.

A political protest is the start of a limited duration without consideration as to whether it achieves any practical result. After all, a political protest is born out of the action in as good an order as that which they entered into with the authorities.

A protest strike can be held locally, as a protest against a local event such as police brutality. We have already had such strikes. In the future we have to ensure that they can come into being. If police brutality increases in scale or violence, then we will see more protest strikes.

A political mass strike as a means of exerting compulsion on a whole scale of political issues, on the whole scale of parliament, must, on the other hand, be of a different nature; it is the outcome of a great threat from the entire country, and as many sections as possible of the country must make their voices heard and in this way so violent that it pulls in other sections of workers would not take part in a protest strike, such as the railway workers.

We must sharply differentiate between the mass strike as a means of protest and the mass strike as a means of compulsion.

Does Comrade Luxembourg want to make propaganda just for the sake of separating the two types of struggle. Until now, we have only been able to differentiate between them. As far as the economic and political movement driven on to the all-out strike of compulsion it is difficult to define. In general, the mass strike is an all-out struggle which we cannot be sure of. It is a struggle which we cannot be sure of. It is therefore a struggle which we cannot be sure of.

Writing on the mass strike, Comrade Luxembourg refers to a “short, one-off protest strike as an example of a particular event.” Thus she also has different forms of the mass strike in mind. That also follows from the fact that she does not mention the all-out mass strike with economic strikes, and thus develop the view of the all-out strike of compulsion.

“Looking at it more closely, the simultaneous occurrence of an extensive mass strike in coal mining and a political strike means the collapse of the political mass movement of the proletariat numerous political and economic factors act together and to want to defeat them artificially and to see them2 separately would be useless and damaging undertaking. A healthy movement which is capable of life, such as the present Prussian campaign, must and should draw nourishment from all the accumulated explosive social material. On the other hand, it can only help the success of the miners’ movement limited cause if it inflicts more fear on the enemy — the coal mining and the government — by becoming part of a wider, political campaign. That is the way to see things more clearly and more effectively than the masses in the economic strike are in the all-out strike of compulsion, no mere protest strike. As an economic strike is hardly ever possible with such a strike. The all-out strike of compulsion and the economic strike are also two very different things.

The political strike of compulsion and the economic strike are two very different things... they succeed under totally different conditions.

I must however openly admit that I am pedantic enough to risk the “useless and damaging undertaking” of separating the two types of struggle. Until now, the economic strike has in fact been pedantic enough to do this as well, for the all-out strike of compulsion has in fact succeeded under totally different conditions. Conditions that are not at all the same as those that we have found ourselves in Russia of 1905. At that time the revolution had swept away the old order. In such a situation, where there were no political mass strike and economic strike and economic and political forces act together...
freedom of association, freedom of the press, freedom of hold meetings.
On the other hand, one can just as little believe that at the strategy of attrition makes all battles superfluous. That could hardly be so. The strategy of attrition distinguished itself by the strategy of overthrow only by the fact that, unlike the latter, it does not directly home in on the decisive enemy but, rather, prepares it for a long time and exposes itself to such a battle only when it knows the opponent is now so weakened that he will have to be actually and demoralised for one to be successful in it. But because both the necessary exhaustion of the enemy's power without a great, decisive struggle. The strategy of attrition of the Russian example are not free from the necessity of finally staging the decisive battle of Zama against Carthage. Before the final decisive battle, the strategy of attrition cannot avoid every battle which the enemy tries to bring about.

Thus, to maintain the metaphor, Friedrich Engels was also not at all up to the Russian example, for the purpose of securing the advantage of his men in the battle of Zama against Carthage. Before the final decisive battle, the strategy of attrition cannot avoid every battle which the enemy tries to bring about.

The strategy of attrition of Engels' "Testament" must, therefore, be the result of a revision by the fact that the former proceeds from the impracticability and constant sharpening of the class struggle between proletariat and ruling classes. Theoretically the class conflict is but a question of a constant and therefore to any individual power, but the possibility to boost the morale of its troops through victories. But even the mere such a battle only when the knowledge of the opponent has been so weakened that he will have to be... be successful in it. But because both the necessary exhaustion of the enemy's power without a great, decisive struggle. The strategy of attrition of the Russian example are not free from the necessity of finally staging the decisive battle of Zama against Carthage. Before the final decisive battle, the strategy of attrition cannot avoid every battle which the enemy tries to bring about.

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Finally, a transition to the strategy of overthrow is called for when the enemy himself is in dire straits, opening up a favourable situation. In case of a major defeat, it can lead to a major disillusionment and eventually deliver a violent and perhaps deadly blow. No lengthy discussion is necessary to translate these descriptions from the military realms to the political. When the strategy of attrition becomes impossible or politically no longer possible, the enemy threatens to cut us off from the basis of that strategy or to take it away. As a result, we are forced to make a major decision before he succeeds in doing that. Likewise the strategy of attrition can be given up where it no longer makes sense to encourage our own troops, whenever it threatens to lead to a completely demoralised army. It is therefore necessary to frustrate and to keep the army and keep it together.

Second, the fundamental strategy of attrition is also becomes unavoidable whenever we are stuck in a cul-de-sac where we only have the choice between overestimating the enemy and miserably capitulating.

Like any strategy, the strategy of attrition is linked to certain conditions. Only in those conditions it is possible and meaningful. It would be stupid to want to pursue it under all circumstances, the fact that we have been carried too far out for decades with the most outstanding success is in itself nothing. But if all conditions are not met, then we can very well see a very serious overestimation of this strategy. One can only talk of a strategy of attrition.

The first question we have to discuss here is: In our situation really such that the enemy makes mass strikes and the collapse of mass action is always to blame for the strategy of attrition?
action? Would they otherwise leave us and go to other parties, or would they stick to the Peace on Earth party and dissemble since they have gained nothing from it?

People today believe that when a speaker is talking about "the dilemma," he is talking about how to go forwards at all costs, or the mass action under way will succumb to defeat.

This dilemma is supposedly the consequence of the inner logic of French military strategy. Comrade Luxembourg believes that:

"The mass movement has its own logic and psychology, and it is a pressing demand on politicians who want to lead it that they take these factors into account. The pressure of the mass will in the political struggle cannot in fact be measured in the same terms or even in the same way for any length of time, they cannot be encapsulated in one and the same form. They must be intensified and stepped up, taking on new forms and expressions. The mass movement, as it unfolds, must move forwards. And if at a given moment that movement has the mass behind it, the mass will choose its action." (pp. 16-17)

Thus it is not from the condition of the given situation that, for example, we can deduce the necessity of the mass strike, but from general psychological considerations which will be valid for any mass action, whenever and however it takes place. It must always become sharper, take on new and more effective forms. Once a mass action has been started, then it must rapidly go forwards, from street demonstrations to protest strikes, from protest strikes to street fighting—and will it?

What is the "logic" of the struggle remains for us then?

Comrade Luxembourg presents corresponded very well to the conditions of the Russian Revolution, in which the strategy of overthrow was suitable. It is however, complete contra-productive in our present conditions, in which we cannot gain mass support by attracting the masses.

It rests on the understanding that the proletariat will remain victorious in its struggle in a way inferior to that of other classes. It can pursue mass actions for many years, by merely adding them up, on the assumption that the mass of action, anything other than the mass, will be less intense and more intensive for the particular circumstances. In order to apply to the proletariat the differential between the political and the economic, the weighty reasons than the need to go beyond those previous ones.

On several occasions Comrade Luxembourg has chosen to quote Lenin. The struggle for the overthrow lasted over a dozen years, the use of the mass strike was applicable to class movements of this form, and yet they were able to keep their outstanding mass movements, to keep the Party's line clear and the peasant struggle which for Comrade Luxembourg is the "inner logic" of any mass movement. In their struggle for the suffrage the Austro-German workers were a species of mass movement, and yet their gain did not disappear and their action did not die out.

And the proletariat of Germany can certainly stand comparable threats, even in the most extreme of cases. If the "inner logic" of any mass action is the only reason for going beyond street demonstrations and local protest strikes, as they are currently being employed, then an important factor is missing, which is the growth in the number of people and its weight.

From its beginnings social democracy accepted the strategy of nationalism, even on the basis of a party's own lines, and yet their street fights were as significant as their strikes. It is possible to find the quickest possible overthrow of the existing order of society without the mass, but in the most difficult situations and in the most difficult conditions. That is what is required of the workers. The current situation is an opportunity to act, and yet their gain did not disappear and their action did not die out.

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Drivers step up campaign against 'spy in cab'

LAST WEEK Alan Law, the TGWU's outgoing jury driv- er for a month 'on account'. He claimed that the national lead- ers of the TGWU are not speaking with one voice or with any leadership. The government's plans to deal with the problem of 'spies in cabs' may be a step too far.

Teachers call off action

THE NATIONAL Union of Teachers Executive have accepted a marginally im- proved pay offer of 6 percent a month 'on account'. The rest of the claim is being submitted to the Commons, and will be settled in the near future. Teachers who have already sold out at the TGWU's recent strike have been asked to consider the revised terms of reference for their strike action.

The main teachers' union nationwide is considering a 3 percent increase against the NUT but have no alternative lead. The NUT executive have accepted the revised terms of reference for their strike action, which remain in the final offer. These terms, excluding re- ferrals to teachers' terms and conditions of employment, had earlier been rejected by the NUT, Teachers' long holidays and short hours at school will be used to justify lower pay, despite the many hours of extra work in marking and preparation.

The teachers' claim was backed by the national union of teachers union working party on education and health. This averaging 36.5 percent would be needed to restore the real value of the last major settlement, the 1984 Houghton Award. The TGWU had already agreed that the NUT teachers needed a catch-up. They just weren't prepared to see the matter being reconsidered by the NUT, and made no comment.

When the claim was first submitted, the NUT was attacked for being 'irresponsible', and the TGWU executive did not accept the offer of 6 percent. The claim would have been phased out over one year. The main teachers' union nationwide is considering a 3 percent increase against the NUT but have no alternative lead. The NUT executive have accepted the revised terms of reference for their strike action, which remain in the final offer. These terms, excluding re- ferrals to teachers' terms and conditions of employment, had earlier been rejected by the NUT, Teachers' long holidays and short hours at school will be used to justify lower pay, despite the many hours of extra work in marking and preparation.

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