

Socialist Worker

For workers control and international socialism 143 23 October 1969 every Thursday 3d

Deep divisions shake Communists

Fred Lindop

COMMUNIST PARTY publications have revealed deep divisions in the party as it prepares for its 31st Congress on 15 and 16 November.

Superficially the major issue dividing members (and the leadership) is Czechoslovakia and the relations of the British party to the 'international communist movement' ie with Moscow.

The party's executive has put forward a three-line resolution which reaffirms the party's opposition to the invasion last year but fails to mention the international communist conference in Moscow and the British party's refusal, with other Western European parties, to sign the conference communique which endorsed the Russian action.

The pro-Moscow opposition which has the support of R. Palme Dutt from the old leadership, several district committees (among them Surrey, Hampshire and Lancashire) and a number of prominent industrial workers, is demanding recognition that the invasion was necessary and justifiable to prevent a victory of pro-capitalist forces in Czechoslovakia and support for the Husak government.

'LIBERAL'

It demands a strengthening of the party's commitment to internationalism - by which it understands the monolithic pro-Moscow unity of the communist parties in the Stalinist period. Significantly, it makes no mention of China.

The executive hopes that the vehement attacks of the 'Stalinists' will give it the glamour of liberalism and obscure the fact that its position is not the same as last year, that its denunciations of 'the violations of socialist legality' have been significantly toned down, as several pro-Dubcek critics have implied in letters to Comment (the CP weekly review). It is clear that the dependence of the Morning Star on sales and advertising from the USSR and Eastern Europe is being used as a lever to persuade the leadership to modify its line.

There is no other possible explanation for the omission of any reference to the international conference from the congress resolutions.

DAMAGE

The executive is caught between this dependence on revenue from the East and its realisation that to go back too far on its position would almost certainly result in a more catastrophic loss of membership than that which followed the Hungarian invasion of 1956 and would do serious damage to its basic strategy of wooing the 'Left' MPs and trade union leaders.

Such a concentration of attention on Czechoslovakia and an abstract debate on internationalism suits the executive because it detracts attention from the much broader range of problems affecting the party which the division on Czechoslovakia has brought out into the open and which the executive is completely incapable of correcting. Several related complaints come up again and again in letters: the decline in the party's internal life, lack of real democracy, falling standards of education,

to back page

Civil Rights March

HYDE PARK 2pm

SUNDAY OCTOBER 26

support those who want to continue the fight for full civil rights and against British imperialism. Bring banners, placards.

DANCE

The King's Head, Upper St (nr Angel tube sta)

8pm SATURDAY OCTOBER 25

Tickets at the door.

MAGNIFICENT MINERS

Solidarity inspires all workers

CIR to probe fight for union recognition

Dermot Byrne

EAST KILBRIDE: Hundreds of strikers at the Better Sound Reproduction's factory were joined by workers from neighbouring plants and socialist students from Glasgow's universities at two mass demonstrations outside the factory gates last week.

The strikers, mainly women, have been out for 10 weeks in an attempt to force the management of the record player factory to allow them to organise and join a trade union to get better pay and conditions.

At both demonstrations the police made it clear whose side they were on when more than 100 of them kept the factory gates clear for black-leg lorries to bring in materials and coaches to bring out the scabs - now estimated by the strikers to be only 300 out of a total workforce of 1300. The police have consistently, and often with brutal force, refused to allow strikers their right to a moving picket in front of the gates.

Blacking appeal

Officials of the Engineering Union estimate that production is now only a quarter of normal working and likely to fall. The Transport Workers Union has responded to an AEF appeal to black all BSR products and, as most of their work is exported, a ban by TGWU dockers could seriously affect the firm.

Judith Hart, the local Labour MP, turned up at the second demonstration on Friday and was given some pretty rough treatment by the workers. They were particularly incensed by the fact that she had appeared only twice in 10 weeks.

They demanded to know why the government was prepared to give lavish, no-questions-asked grants to firms such as BSR, with a history of anti-unionism, to come to 'redevelopment areas' such as Central Scotland and then proceed to pay bad wages and offer atrocious conditions.

The government's 'industrial troubleshooting' Commission on Industrial Relations is to investigate the dispute. The workers should demand that the proceedings be held in public so that they can answer the management and put their own case.

Picture: back page.

* The Financial Times reports on Wednesday that George Woodcock has been 'agitating' for some time for more work for the CIR. So now we know who's behind all those strikes!

LSE

Socialist Society

Saturday 25 October 4pm

TONY CLIFF on

Permanent Revolution

THE MINERS' STRIKE is a magnificent inspiration to the whole working-class movement. Stabbed in the back by the miserable turncoats on their union executive and vilified by the rich, pompous boss of the Coal Board, Lord Robens, more than 150,000 men in 150 pits fight on to win better pay and hours for surface workers who make up only 10 per cent of the total workforce. This is the meaning of class solidarity.

On Tuesday the NUM leaders ordered the strikers back to work and told them to accept the NCB pay offer, which excludes the men's demand for an eight-hour day. The union will call a conference next Thursday and may put the whole matter to a national ballot. The tactics are clearly designed to leave the men to rot without strike pay until they are driven back to work by sheer necessity.

It is not surprising that the NUM executive should have so little feeling for the rank and file. Out of 30 members only one is a working miner - the rest are all full-time officials. The new 'left' secretary of the union, Lawrence Daley, came to power on a militant programme to stop mine closures but he has been silent and inactive since his election.

It may well be that he is a prisoner of the right wing on the executive but he should still publicly declare his own personal support for the men on strike. One result of the present struggle must be a demand for the reorganisation of the union structure, with a lay executive of working men taking the decisions, not out-of-touch time-servers.

'IT'S NOWT BUT A BLOODY INSULT'

JOE KENYON

BARNSELY:- Despite Lord Robens' speed in conceding the pay claim of £17s6d for surface workers, most of the miners have been made even more angry. 'It's nowt but a bloody bribe and insult,' is the widespread feeling.

As one branch secretary said, 'If Robens thinks he's to bloody kid us with that one - he's wrong. There will be no return to work until he has settled this question of hours for the surface men.'

Robens gave in on pay because he's afraid of a national strike. The miners, smelling this, and because of their pent-up anger and frustration of past years, are more than anxious to move in for the kill.

Threatened and blackmailed

For too long, Robens has threatened and blackmailed the miners into a docile acceptance of worsening and insecure conditions. Threats of pit closures and loss of jobs has been the ready answer given by Robens when faced with any demand for increased wages or reduction in working hours - indeed, when the men have not been asking, Robens has issued threats, merely to wring more sweat from the miners' aching backs.

Sadly enough, the miners have failed to realise that the



ROBENS Afraid of strike

harder they work, the faster they put themselves out of a job. Particularly when the aim of increased productivity is not to benefit the men but is purely and solely for the purpose of reducing the need for manpower and intensifying the rate of exploitation in fewer pits.

The blame for this state of affairs rests as much with the leadership of the NUM as it does with Robens and the government. The men have underlined their dissatisfaction not only by striking but by calling for the sacking of Sir Sidney Ford, the NUM president and Lawrence Daley, the general secretary. Daley had shouted long and hard about the need for militancy

to back page



Striking miners lobbied NUM HQ on Tuesday are seen here talking to Yorks secretary Jock Kane (left)

Dustmen return to face battle on productivity

Bob Light

MOST OF LONDON'S dustmen were back at work this week, but at a meeting at the Millfield depot in Hackney on Tuesday, where the strike started, 125 men voted to stay out until their demand for £20 a week was met without productivity strings.

Local councils have used various incentives to get the dustmen back, with offers of unlimited overtime and bonuses of as much as three weeks' pay.

In Redbridge, where there has been a sophisticated productivity and salvage scheme in operation for some time, the strike has achieved little in financial terms. Redbridge dustmen are not affected by the basic rates fixed by the Joint Industrial Council (now £17 19s a week) and there is no room for them to manoeuvre out of the strings of the productivity scheme.

But this is an unusual arrangement. More typical is Waltham Forest, where the men were working for the flat £15 9s a week before the strike. Following the Edinburgh settlement of 50s extra and week-long talks between

the town hall and the strike committee, the dustmen now have a basic wage of £19 11s. But behind this figure lies the tacit assumption that a productivity deal will be negotiated and it seems likely that a management unit will put the stopwatch on the men.

In Waltham Forest and most of the London boroughs, the struggle will be against the conditions of the productivity deals that the councils insist upon and the unions have accepted. As Ronnie Blakeney, chairman of Waltham Forest strike committee said: 'We've got nearly everything we asked for - and now the council are sure to try and take it back from us.'

He added: 'I've got nothing against O and M (time and motion) deals as such - God knows the dust could do with some sense put into it - but we want rationalisation for our benefit, not just as some excuse to make us work twice as hard for a couple of bob a week more.'

The strike has given dustmen self-confidence and a sense of collective power and their bargaining position is immeasurably stronger

Ted Street, Hackney shop steward, said: 'It's the biggest thing that has happened in the history of council workers and I believe that now we know how strong we are it can happen again. We think the unions stink. We were sold up the river all the way.'

And Len Stubbs, Hackney strike leader commented: 'We feel that the whole structure of the Joint Industrial Council is outdated. There should be more individual bargaining with each local council.'

Equal pay possible now

THE MOST RECENT figures for profits of British firms show that industry could afford to bring in equal pay for women workers immediately.

The increase in profits that can be expected in 1969 alone almost reaches the highest estimated cost of introducing equal pay, which is £2000 millions.

The latest Economist index of profits of firms reporting for the most recent quarter of 1969 shows an increase of 15 per cent over last year. The total profit in British industry for 1968 was £5,117 millions.

In other words, a couple of years' profit-boom squeezes enough out of the workers'

toil to meet the cost of women's equal pay and all-round wage increases.

So the propaganda directed by Mrs Castle at the working class - playing off women against men workers by suggesting that it's got to be either equal pay or general wage increases - is complete balderdash.

Heartfield - he put the workers in the picture

An exhibition of the photomontages of John Heartfield. London: ICA Gallery, Nash House, The Mall, SW1. Tuesday to Saturday, 11am to 7pm. Sunday, 2pm to 7pm. Until 8 November.

JOHN HEARTFIELD'S work involved the creation of a mass, political art. For the squalid little gamekeepers of the culture reserve, this has always been the greatest of betrayals: you see, there can be no culture for the masses, for they're a lot of dirty-handed scrubbbers.

And as for political art, well art must be unsoiled, 'free', 'detached'. By dint of much research and through the little journals they patronise in order to write letters to themselves, these gents succeed in outlawing life from art.

Any trespassers will be shot, or ignored, and 20 years later given what is amusingly called a 'retrospective exhibition'. Our guardians receive no little assistance in their godly task by the system of organisation of production which effectively outlaws art from life or indeed life from art.

But Heartfield succeeded in exploring these forbidden territories and cutting through the fog into the jungle of our lives. He was a German communist, forced to leave the country in the 1930s when the Nazi machine crushed all opposition, artistic as well as political.

His medium, book covers, the front of communist journals. His technique, the brilliant assembly of photographic images. His subject, capitalism, the cause of the fetid stink of our lives.

Heartfield's task is to hold reality to our throat. His work is immediate, demanding, even compulsive. Into the real, he tosses the invisible. By dragging out the reality, he demands that we act. This is done with a glorious sense of humour.

In 1933, the world economic conference took place in London in an attempt to establish an international money agreement. Heartfield portrays Chamberlain, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Cordell, leader of the US delegation, and Ramsay MacDonald, chairman of the conference, leaning against a sound and solid Greek pillar. The top sections are at the Ronan Point stage of collapse. Behind these keepers of a more perfect order, there is a montage of the absurd shambles of society.

So we laugh. But what Heartfield is able to do is to let us know that we, his audience, are busy sustaining and holding up these very creatures who are the advocates of our misery.

Through our laughter, he enables us to view our misery from a new angle. He does not scream that we are letting him down, that we are responsible for such catastrophes. Better than this, he hints that what we are responsible for is the urgent termination of this misery, this chaos gone mad.

Heartfield started out as something of a hippy artist, a Dadaist. They set themselves the job of showing that disorder was the basic principle of capitalist society. Society was absurd.

But the massive upheavals and the sharpness of the class struggle in post-World War 1 Germany laid bare the causes of this 'absurdity' to some of the socially aware artists.

Heartfield's collaborator, George Grosz



Heartfield montage 1936: A voice from the swamp. 'Three thousand years of constant inbreeding prove the superiority of my race'

and his brother, Wieland Herzfelde explained what happened to them as follows:

... our mistake was to have concerned ourselves seriously with art at all. Dadaism was a breakthrough, with much noise and scornful laughter, out of a narrow, self-important and over-estimated milieu (ie art) which, floating in the air between classes, knew no responsibility to the life of the mass of men. We saw then the insane end-products of the prevailing social order, and burst out laughing. We did not yet see that a system underlay this insanity. . . . In the void where we found ourselves after getting beyond big words about art, some of us Dadaists disappeared. . . . But we saw the great new task: tendentious art, in the service of the revolutionary cause.

Heartfield unwaveringly took his stance with the revolutionary cause of the working-class movement. His work is a constant battle with lies and distortion. The artist is once again the man, the two joined in the struggle for socialism.

His contribution to our fight is now 'on show' in Britain. For the moment, Heartfield's work is trapped in that fracture between art and life, between life and life.

Heartfield is one of ours. For the moment, we can only reclaim him as spectators, at 5 shillings a go.

Laurie Flynn

Newcastle Hatton Gallery, 22 November to 14 December. Brighton 14 March to 5 April 1970. Oxford 11 April to 5 May. Cardiff 9 May to 31 May. Glasgow 6 June to 28 June.



The criminal waste

by **PAUL FOOT**

ANY DAY NOW we can expect a new bout of Concorde mania. The prototype of the British Concorde will be following its French counterpart on its first supersonic test flights.

Most of the people in the country will be told about this on the television, which will run special expensive programmes to cover the take-off, or in the newspapers whose aviation correspondents, wined and dined with increasing regularity by the British Aircraft Corporation public relations department, will be filling up the front pages of their newspapers with drivel about 'the big bird', the 'whispering giant', 'the British technological triumph of the 70's' and so on.

On its test flights, the Concorde will pass directly over Belfast and very close to Glasgow and Plymouth.

The inhabitants of these cities, or of the rural areas on the west coast of Britain (and the east coast of Northern Ireland) will get first-hand

experience of the 'big bird' with a series of ear-shattering bangs, followed, as likely as not, by splintering windows and collapsing chimneys.

In 1967, the government tentatively tried test bangs over London and Bristol with military aircraft. From 11 bangs there were 12,000 complaints and 788 claims for compensation, of which 515 were met.

Once the Concorde starts to fly across Britain on the route to New York, the damage, especially to working-class housing, will be enormous. It has been estimated in America that the cost in compensation from supersonic civil flights on standard routes across the States will amount to one million dollars every day.

According to the press office of British Aircraft Corporation, which says the same as the press office of the Ministry of Technology, the bangs and the damage caused daily to hundreds of thousands of people who can't afford sound-proof walls and windows is a small price to pay.

For what? For the privilege of crossing the Atlantic some two hours quicker than before.



Jenkins Taken aside

This privilege, of course, will not be available to the enormous majority of people whose houses suffer damage, still less to the workers who make Concorde.

For the foreseeable future, the fares for the new trans-Atlantic supersonic flights will be astronomical. The demand for trans-Atlantic flights, say the British Aircraft Corporation press office, is increasing annually 'especially at executive level' - and it is this demand from 'executive level' which the Concorde is expected to fill. In 1962, when the Concorde

(then without a mooted, the cost was estimated current estimate before one passenger.

According to Mr Christopher economics led Anglia University written a paper costs.

'Even on the able assumption this report, make a loss, ending off the spent. . . . The economy from with the project much as £150m not include spent. The total two countries Britain) could

REHO

This can against the fact ment in Britain over the past would have be

Completely city of Glasgow modern housing

Enough to slum school in

THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS, 1

by **GEOFF SHAW** and **PAM REFFELL** **Tenants versus landlords and po**

GEORGE ALLCORN and his wife are an ordinary working-class couple. Both are at work and are attempting to settle down and bring up a family.

But in trying to keep their home, they have had a constant struggle against local authority. They have lived under siege-like conditions for months.

In September the strain became too great and George ended up in Brixton Prison for assaulting a solicitor's clerk. Dorothy staged a protest in Hastings town centre.

The Allcorns went to Hastings in December 1969, moving in with a Don Francesco who got George a job in his glazing firm. When George's wages failed to materialise, a solicitor could only advise them to 'wait and see'. They fought, and won, the case in court.

By this time, George had got another job and Don Francesco had moved out of the flat, 'renting' it to the Allcorns. They soon discovered that they were the victims of a con trick that involved them in a feud over possession of the flat with the real landlord's family.

They had still not been given a rent book when the harassment started. The list is as long as a magistrate's face. The electricity was cut off, the gas meter was moved seven feet up the wall, George's bike was damaged and one of the landlord's family threatened to shoot their dog.

In April, under the pretext of 'inspecting the furniture', the landlord's family smashed open the door, broke off the lock, and rushed around the flat for half an hour, hurling abuse at the couple. Dorothy was seven months pregnant. The police were called and probably prevented further violence.

The Allcorns thought they were protected by the Rent Act. They checked in the

public library and found the following:

'It is a criminal offence for anyone to evict a tenant without a court order or to try to make him leave by using force, by threatening him or his family or by interfering with his home or his possessions. If this happens the local authority or the police should be told' (Rent Regulations 1965, section 32).

When the police were questioned about their failure to intervene against the landlord, they said that such disputes are 'civil matters'. When Dorothy asked for police protection following such threats as 'I'll knife you' and 'I'll kill the bastard', she had no reply.

This piece of political education was not lost on the couple. Neither was the attitude of the local town hall bureaucrats. The Allcorns showed us a letter from

the town clerk who considered that the violent occupation of the flat by the landlord and his family could not qualify as harassment.

The Allcorn's biggest disillusionment was with the workings of the Rent Act. The Rent Officer could not deal with them because they had no rent book (the landlord wouldn't give them one) and said that since some furniture had been left in the flat they would have to go to the Rent Tribunal, which deals with furnished accommodation. This would mean accepting the greater insecurity of furnished tenants.

They applied to the Tribunal, which did not give them the usual six months' security of tenure because, it was decided, that due to the extent of the friction between landlord and tenant, three months would be a suitable

period to find

Since then to a further six w but they face this expires. words, 'We recd Rent Act et believing it wo ease from th oppression of th

'But we h come to reali 'everything remains the four years of t ement this l realise that of time, limit a l power. But a satisfaction of you have fough ditch, the Act value.

'But lots of suffering unde ities and we would take a lo together.'

TUC's sweeping powers: thre

ALAN WOODWARD's article (9 October) on the Johnson Matthey dispute described the role of the TUC disputes committee that ordered the AEF members back to work and told them to join BISAFTA.

Unfortunately the TUC disputes committee's powers don't stop there. Following what many militants regard as 'the victory' at Croydon on 5 June, the TUC also has:

1. The power to insist on changes in union rules to ensure tighter discipline over members.
2. The authority to enforce unions to implement their rules or face expulsion from the TUC.

Affiliated unions have already been circularised informing them of the changes necessary in their rules.

I don't know what the situation is in the AEF, but

members of my own union (Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association) who do not obey the decision of the TUC disputes committee are liable for expulsion. The rule authorising this was passed at a conference several years ago, but now, with the TUC disputes committee's new powers and the TUC's authority to insist on the implementation of rules, this rule has become a real threat to union members. So whether unions like it or not, they'll have to expel members or be expelled themselves from the TUC.

DATA's executive committee has decided not to nominate members for service on the disputes committees that are being established up and down the country and the union was one of the few that opposed the TUC general

council's appeal the powers des

But if this s happen to DAT, has rightly gain ion for democrac policies over years, then situation likely unions?

This is not but unless the powers are r the danger they and, if need be militant worke likely, their s representatives, c selves in serio

As Alan Wo his article, the powers, the

Socialist Worker

6 Cottons Gardens London E2

Tel: 01-739 1878 (editorial) 1870 (business)

CAPITALISM has nothing to offer mankind but exploitation, crises and war. The ruling classes of the world - a tiny minority - subordinate the needs of the vast majority to the blind accumulation of capital in the interests of competitive survival.

Imperialism condemns two-thirds of mankind to famine and calls forth movements of national liberation which shake the system and expose its essential barbarism. The constant and mounting preparations for war and the development of weapons of mass destruction place the survival of humanity itself in the balance.

The increasing intensity of international competition between ever-larger units drives the ruling classes to new attacks on workers' living standards and conditions of work, to anti-strike union and anti-strike laws. All of these show capitalism in deepening crises from which it can only hope to escape at the cost of the working class and by the destruction of all its independent organisations.

The only alternative is workers' power - the democratic collective control of the working class over industry and society through a

WHERE WE STAND

state of workers' councils and workers' control of production.

Only thus can the transition be ensured to a communist society in which the unprecedented productive forces thrown up by capitalism can be used to assure an economy of abundance. Only the working class, itself the product of capitalism, has the ability to transform society in this way, and has shown its ability to do so in a series of revolutionary struggles unprecedented in the history of all previous exploited classes.

The working class gains the experience necessary to revolutionise society by constant struggle against the

ruling class through the mass organisations thrown up in the course of that struggle.

To overcome the unevenness with which this experience is gained, to draw and preserve the lessons of past struggles and transmit them for the future, to fight against the pressure of bourgeois ideas in the working class, and to bond the fragmentary struggles against capitalism into a conscious and coherent offensive, a revolutionary Marxist party of socialist militants is required, embracing the vanguard of the working class.

The struggle to build such a party is only part of the wider struggle to create a World Revolutionary Socialist International, independent of all oppressors and exploiters of the working class, whether bureaucratic or bourgeois.

International Socialists therefore fight for:

Opposition to all ruling-class policies and organisations.

Workers' control over production and a workers' state.

Opposition to imperialism and support for all movements of national liberation.

Uncompromising opposition to all forms of racialism and to all migration controls.

Jobs security — now is the time to demand cast-iron guarantees

by JIM HIGGINS

Post Office Engineering Union

THERE IS a tendency in the socialist movement to look for simple solutions to complex problems.

At its crudest, the argument runs: if Lenin could make the Russian Revolution on the slogan 'Peace, Bread and Land' why cannot we galvanise the workers against rationalisation, speed-up, productivity bargaining and redundancy with an even shorter slogan than Lenin's — 'NO!'

The answer to this is, of course, that Lenin spent nearly 30 years of detailed critique and analysis, together with the hard, sloggish work of education and agitation before the moment was ripe for the profoundly revolutionary connotations of his simple slogan.

The short generalising revolutionary slogan is inappropriate today when the working class is not united in experience and consciousness. The problem is not the production of the correct slogans: 'No productivity bargaining', 'No redundancy' are always correct, under capitalism.

The task is more complicated than this. We have to produce an analysis of the overall reason for our current problems and to tailor the answer to a programme of activity and propaganda that is capable of wide variation in practice.

SPECTRUM

On redundancy such a programme has got to cover a spectrum that ranges from the dying and contracting industries (rails and mines) through the small manufacturers that are unable to compete in a world of industrial giants, taking in the medium-sized firms that may survive (if they are not taken over) if they can service large-scale industry at competitive prices, to the real giants, combining and rationalising for the rigours of the international market.

In the past, the small scale enterprise was protected to a degree by the trade unions. National negotiations in the engineering industry were based upon the need to ensure that national minimum wage rates were not pushed so high as to force the small producer out of business.

The problem since the war for this type of business was to offset the effects of wages drift, certainly not the 'paper tigers' of the AEU and the TGWU. This allied to the fact that small firms were often badly organised, if they were organised at all, gave them the possibility to survive beyond the time when, by the hard facts of economic logic, they should have died. Economic logic and a Labour government are now shuffling them off with the minimum delay.

PINCH

The middling-sized concern has been in a more favourable situation than its smaller brethren. Built up and built in the industrial practice over years, it was able to support militant shop organisation, compete for labour and pass on increased costs.

With the advent of a Labour government and the accelerated tendency to industrial rationalisation, they began to feel the pinch. The danger of a takeover, always a possibility, became greater, credit was difficult and internal rationalisation and mechanisation is very expensive. In smaller numbers, but in strict time with the demise of the small concern, medium-sized firms are going out of business or being sucked into the giant combines.

In both of these cases the most effective struggle against redundancy is when the firm is doing well, the order books are full and the workers' organisation has a real bargaining position. Unfortunately it is at these times that workers seem to display the least interest in the problems of redundancy.

For the shop steward, in many cases (and in this lies much of the weakness of the

Redundancy: the threat to your job

FINAL PART



shop stewards' movement) it is the relation of forces today that counts, not the possibility of a set-back in the future. The real time to bargain is not when closure is a week away but when the workers' strength is at its greatest. No set of demands should be made that does not include an addition for redundancy:

Written guarantees of continued employment for as long as can be obtained.

The establishment of guaranteed wages for lay-offs.

The establishment of funds to pay benefits in excess of the Redundancy Payments Act.

It must be made as expensive for the boss to go out of business as to remain in operation.

The struggle for job security, as we have seen, is limited by the workers' possibilities for organisation and the limits that they themselves accept as reasonable. In the largest enterprises the possibilities for organisation are much greater.

These firms dispose of massive sums of money. The security of their investment and the success of their plans depends upon their ability to control the labour force and fit it neatly into the development of the machines and the market.

Within fairly well-defined limits, they are not so concerned at the level of wages so long as they can predict the costs over time and ensure continuity of production free from labour disputes. Almost without exception, they could pay considerably more without any danger of bankruptcy.

In pursuing their objectives they have developed the productivity bargain, measured day work and the long-term wages contract. As a necessary follow-up to this policy they have encouraged the

adoption of a form of negotiating machinery that builds in the trade union official as a more pliable substitute for militant shop floor representation.

That these well-laid plans will inevitably come to grief on the harsh reality of class struggle is true, but they are factors that must inform the day to day battles.

One thing however is abundantly clear: despite its enormous power, its central role in the economy and single-minded government, financial and moral support, big business is not completely integrated.

ANARCHY

In industry as a whole the nature of the capitalist ethic finds free expression in an anarchy that denies the best-laid schemes of the planners. It is for this reason that employers are not prepared to offer genuine security

To break down shop-floor organisation, to open the door to a productivity bargain, to introduce measured day work, they may be prepared to offer unusually large sums in the expectation of collecting in full in the future. Real redundancy agreements, however, are few and far between.

As a result of takeovers, mergers and plain rationalisation in the face of competition, many workers are faced with forced redundancy. As with every other group of workers, but with greater credibility and chances of success, the workers in large-scale industry have to develop a consistent and coherent programme of demands.

High in the list of priorities must come the question of job security. It is never too late to organise, but today is a particularly appropriate moment.

Now is the time to demand

guaranteed annual wages.

Now is the time to make overtime working conditional on a guarantee of no redundancy or short time for a period of months.

Now is the time to demand a workers' golden handshake that has more gold and less copper than the government minimum.

Wherever possible the redundancy guarantee should be fought for before the merger or takeover has become an accomplished fact, before the employer has even decided on the way he will rationalise his plant. It is almost always too late when the list of names for the sack is posted.

A series of demands such as I have outlined, integrated into a militant programme of advance over the whole area of wages and conditions, can mobilise large numbers of workers in activity and struggle. To the degree that such a programme reflects the basic requirements of workers and transcends their sectional ability to fight for improved wages into a generalised struggle across the board, so it will indicate the necessity for joint and combine committees of shop stewards.

In the discussion on the formulation of a programme it will be possible to overcome craft and sectional parochialism. With the concentration of capitalism, the tasks for the workers' organisation becomes more difficult, but a recognition of the difficulties is a big step towards their solution.

For workers, the central fact of their lives is the need to have a job. In asserting the workers' absolute right to employment and security above the bosses' profits and shareholders' dividends, we are challenging the very basis of capitalism and exposing its inefficiency and inhumanity.

Join the International Socialists

ABERDEEN Pete Drummond 19 High Street Aberdeen
ACTON Roger Cox Flat 1 37 Queens Drive N4
ANGEL Barry Huggill 154 Downham Road N1
ASHFORD Phil Evans 'Eastside' Ham Street Nr Ashford Kent
BARNESLEY Joe Kenyon 120 Standhill Crescent
BECKENHAM Mervyn Smith 9 Alton Gardens Copers Cope Rd 01 658 6552
BIRMINGHAM Godfrey Webster 128 Yardley Wood Rd B'ham 13
BRADFORD Neil Patterson 25 Fehhill Grove off Park Rd
BRIGHTON Andrew Moir 14 Upper Wellington Road
BRISTOL B R Horlock 26 Elm Dale Road Bristol 8
CAMBRIDGE Tony Needham 12a Metcalfe Road
CAMDEN EAST Lee Kane 26 St Paul's Crescent NW1
CAMDEN WEST Robert MacGibbon 22 Estell Rd NW3
CARDIFF Nigel Walby 35 de Burgh Street
CHELTSEY Kevin O'Connell The Flat St Thomas' School Eastworth Rd Chertsey Surrey
CLYDEBANK Eric Duncan 1221 Dumbarton Rd Glasgow W4
COLCHESTER Ian Noble 12 Coach Rd Arlesford Wivenhoe 27
COVENTRY Dave Edwards 33 Palmerston Rd Earlsdon
CRAWLEY Babs Ward 59 Banks Rd Poundhill Crawley Sussex
CROYDON Jenny Woodhams 26 Braemar Avenue South Croydon
DEPTFORD John Ure 172a Deptford High Rd SE8
DONCASTER George Yarrow 39 Jossey Lane Scawthorpe
DURHAM Pam Law 16 Hartfield View
EAST LONDON Bob Light 2 Oster Tee Southcoote Rd E17
EDINBURGH Brian Lavery 41 East London Street

ENFIELD Ian Birchall 109 Croyland Rd N9
FULHAM Brian Rose 49 Schubert Road SW15
GLASGOW North-Ian Mooney 4 Dalcross Passage W1
South-S. Morris 4 Elphinstone St Glasgow SW1
GLOUCESTER Tom Butler 36 Brook Street
GRAYS & TILBURY Alf Waters c/o 1 Russell Rd Tilbury Essex
HAMPSTEAD Chris Barker 36 Gilden Road NW5
HARLOW Hugh Kerr 70 Joiners Rd Harlow Essex
HARROW Kevin Simms 56 Salisbury Road
HAVERING Terry Ward 91 Heath Park Rd Gidea Pk
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD John Barrett 20 Belswaines Lane
HORNSEY Valerie Clark 18 Dickinson Rd NS
ILFORD Lionel Sims 16 Madras Rd Ilford 01 478 7311
IPSWICH Brian Mulvey 104 Westbourne Road
KILBURN Valerie Lloyd 37 King Henry's Rd NW3
KINGSTON John Owen 4 Sandown Court Esher
LANCASTER Don Milligan 56 Norfolk Street
LAMBETH Andy Smith Flat 6 126 Streatham Hill SW2
LEICESTER Lynette Allham Stanford Hall Stoughton Drive South Oadby Leics.
LEEDS Vince Hall Flat 3 25 Bagby Rd Leeds 2
Woodhouse-Viv Hopkins 25 Midland Rd Leeds 6
LOWESTOFT Trevor Moss 32 Blackheath Rd
MANCHESTER J Sutton 11a Rowan Ave Walley Range M16
Joni Jones 15 Parsonage Road Manchester 20
MERSEYSIDE Janice Humphrey 96 Princes Rd Liverpool 8

MERTON Pam Kelsey 47 Richmond Avenue SW20
NEWCASTLE Barney Hardy 26 Lesbury Rd Newcastle 6
NORTHAMPTON Mick Bunting 25 Witton Rd
NORWICH Gerald Crompton 220 College Rd NOR 54F
OXFORD Steve Bolchover 181 Ifley Rd
PORTSMOUTH Alan Sandham 48 Marmion Rd Southsea Hants
POTTERIES Dick Pratt 27a North St Newcastle Staffs
RICHMOND Edward Brown 4 Cheyne Ave Twickenham Mddx
SELBY John Charlton 12 Thatch Close Selby Yorks
SHEFFIELD Rick Osborn 159a Rustlings Rd Sheffield S11 7 AD
SOUTHAMPTON John Fisher 144 Thornhill Park Road
SOUTHWEND Chris Peace 13 Stirling Ave Leigh-on-Sea Essex
STOCKPORT Geoff Hodgson 73a Forest Range M/C 19
STOKE NEWINGTON Mike McGrath 28 Manor Road N16
SWANSEA Dick Jones 37 Bryn Road
TEESSIDE Phil Semp 72 Mersey Rd Redcar. Rob Clay 33 Pasture Lane Lazenby Teesside
TOTTENHAM Laurie Flynn 374 High Road N17
WANDSWORTH Mark Hutton 87 Broderick Road Wandsworth Common SW17
WATFORD Paul Russell 61 Capenders Avenue Carpenders Park
WIGAN Ray Challinor 34 Whiteside Ave Hindley
YORK Bob Looker 22 Hobgate
VICTORIA Tony Dunne 14 Carlisle Mansions Carlisle Place SW1

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

Name _____

Address _____

Send to 6 Cottons Gardens London E2

of Concorde

'e') was first... of research... at £150m. The... is £700m —... e flies with... a paper by... Edwards, an... urer at East... ty, who has... on Concorde... very favour-... set out in... oncorde will... en after writ-... 80m already... oss to the UK... going ahead... could be as... That does... 80m already... loss to the... (France and... £650m.'

The best possible school building; Enough wholly to refurbish the Health Service with an array of new hospitals with the most modern equipment. That is a rough guide to the extent of the 'loss' which the 'big bird' will incur, not of course to the shareholders of the British Aircraft Corporation, who are guaranteed against loss by Mr Anthony Wedgwood Benn's Mintech, financed by the taxpayer. In the spring of 1965, in the first enthusiastic flush of Labour government, Mr Roy Jenkins, then Minister of Aviation, suggested the cancellation of the Concorde. The poor, misguided fellow had to be taken on one side by his civil servants and by the press office of the British Aircraft Corporation and taught a few things about modern capitalism. Industry, they explained, required access to advanced technological research. Such research was only available through a project, preferably an aircraft project, paid for by the government which would be certain to be 'matched' by Britain's competitors. Military aircraft would be best for this purpose, but unfortunately the Americans and the Russians were so far ahead in the development of military aircraft that any British effort would be futile before it started (which is why Jenkins did cancel the TSR.2). The Americans, on the other hand, had not yet embarked on supersonic civil airliners. If Britain and France started one, however, America and Russia would soon follow suit — thus ensuring that at least three main competitors were engaged in the same supersonic rat-race. As soon as he saw the force of this argument, Jenkins agreed at once. Needless to say, he never questioned the absurdity of an economic system which gets its technological know-how, not in the process of fulfilling the needs of the people but through creating monstrous aeroplanes which cause untold and unresearched damage to human beings and whose only recognisable advantage is that stockbrokers and executives from British boardrooms will be able to get to Madison Avenue in time for lunch.

969 lice

'solution'. They have won... eks security... ction when... n their own... ved the 1964... uasiastically... ld bring rel-... landlord's... tenant. We certainly... e the saying... anges and... ame'. After... ying to impli-... sation we... can, for a... ndlord's total... de from the... knowing that... to the last... s of no real... people are... these atroc-... n't think it... to band them



Dorothy Allcom demonstrating in Hastings last month outside a police recruiting exhibition

at to militant trade unionists

policy, etc, have to be seen as integral parts of the government — employers' overall strategy to discipline and control militant workers. To regard the TUC's role as something separate and removed from the rest of that strategy, as sections of the Left do, is to prepare the way for further attacks on working conditions. — PETER BAIN Glasgow Sl.

But it is not a question of the 'education' of working-class children being completely neglected, as was suggested. After all, modern capitalism requires lots of jobs which can only be got by passing exams. But since the ability to pass exams can be cultivated in working-class children too, why not do so? The only safeguard necessary is at the same time to instil into these children bourgeois values, which is precisely what the education system tries to do. Oh, and the other safeguards, in the case of intelligent people who don't have bourgeois values, is to make sure they don't get jobs with any power or influence. And it's easy to see how successful this policy is. — NIK TERDRE, London SE15.

Education and bourgeois values

CONGRATULATIONS on your report on the second Black Paper on education which captured the spirit of it better than any other report I've seen (2 October).

CALLAGHAN MAY RETREAT ON B-SPECIALS TO SAVE ULSTER PM

PAUL FOOT

JAMES CALLAGHAN and the Labour government, under pressure from Unionist extremism, are preparing for a monstrous sell-out of the civil rights movement in Northern Ireland.

Terrified by the prospect that the Chichester Clark Unionist government will be defeated at the Unionist Council meeting this Friday, Callaghan is preparing to resist the recommendations of the recent Hunt Report, reinstate the notorious B-Special reserve police and hand back control over the Specials to the Northern Ireland authorities.

The meeting of the Council, which consists of delegates from local Unionist Associations and at least 100 delegates from the Grand Orange Lodge, has been called in spite of desperate pleas for its postponement by Major Chichester Clark and his supporters.

It represents an explosion of resentment and bitterness throughout the Unionist Party at the proposals of the Hunt Committee, accepted by the Stormont government, for the disbandment of the B-Specials.

Last straw

To the rank and file Unionists, the proposals and their acceptance came as a last straw. Their opposition built up around the figure of William Craig the former Home Affairs minister who has spoken every night in the last 10 at packed Unionist meetings, warning (in words reminiscent of Enoch Powell) of 'rivers of blood' and 'untold violence' if the B-Special reforms were tolerated or if Callaghan suspended Stormont and institutes 'direct rule' of Ulster.

The strength of the Unionist opposition extended far beyond the rioters in the Shankill Road or the screaming militants at Craig's meetings. Resolutions poured into headquarters from Unionist Associations condemning the Hunt Report, the Prime Minister and the Westminster and Stormont governments.

Major Chichester Clark had one last hope and he worked on it with a feverish hysteria. He knew that if he was to survive, he had to persuade the British government to allow him to dilute the Hunt proposals and give new strength to the new reserve force and convince his rank and file that the Specials will be changing name and uniform but not purpose and strength.

Cannot survive

The Stormont government have told the British government that they cannot be expected to survive unless 'substantial concessions' to the B-Specials are granted from Westminster — putting the new force under Northern Ireland control, allowing them their own training and their own weapons and doubling their strength.

The civil rights movement have already got the message and answered it in no uncertain terms. Disbandment of the B-Specials, the bully boys of Burntollet and the fire-raisers

Big crowds acclaim Craig

of the Shankill, is a central demand in the civil rights programme.

The government have already been told that any dilution of the Hunt proposals any sign that the B-Specials will be maintained in their existing form will unleash a holocaust which no one will be able to contain.

The myth, so carefully fostered by the British government and the British press, which has remained solidly silent on the events in Northern Ireland over the past week, that the bulk of Ulster Protestants are 'decent liberals in favour of reform' has now been cruelly shattered.

There is now no recourse for liberalism in appeals to the Unionist Party, still less to the electorate. In panic at the prospect of Paisleyite successes, the Stormont government has indefinitely suspended all municipal and parliamentary by-elections.

Paisley confident

It is Paisley now who is calling for elections, confident as never before that he can command enough votes to smash the reforms once and for all.

If the situation is hopeless for liberals, it is not hopeless for socialists. The extremism and the reaction of so many Protestant workers is the fault of British and Stormont governments who for 50 years have preached the illusion that Protestants are a caste apart, a superior, privileged elite who must defend their heritage against the threat of Rome with B-Specials, Special Powers Acts and gerrymandered elections.

Stripped of their Orange panoply, these workers will be left with nothing but the same slums, the same unemployment, the same miserable wage rates, the same bullying and regimentation at work which bedevil Catholic workers in the North and South, and British workers across the sea.

It is the job of socialists to fashion out of their resentment against this betrayal a spirit of revolt directed against real enemies, based on real grievances and real hope.



Pickets in the rain at BSR, East Kilbride

Ford stewards vote for £10 more or action

Jim Lamborn

FORD SHOP STEWARDS voted at their national conference in Coventry on Sunday to fight for a £10 a week increase for hourly paid workers as the next step in their battle for parity with Midlands wage rates.

Seamus O'Sullivan, the Thames Foundry convenor, who has been elected as a lay delegate to the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee, declared that some national trade union delegates only paid lip service to the demand for parity and had other feelings in the conference room.

'Thames Foundry want parity, deserve parity and will fight in the next struggle with the same solidarity they showed in the last one,' he said.

Convenors were present from Rootes (Ryton), Rootes (Stoke), Vauxhalls and British Leyland and from the facts given to the conference it was clear that Ford workers were at the bottom of the wages league. Ford toolmakers, for example, earn £25 10s for a 40-hour week, compared with £34 at Rootes, £33 16s.6d at Morris and £31 at Standard.

Moss Evans, chairman of the union side of the NJNC, told delegates that a small working party had been set up to 'decide what parity meant'. He cited Ford's high productivity: in 1966, with 64,000 workers, the company sold 630,000 vehicles and in 1968 with 61,000 workers, 712,000 cars were sold.

In reply to questions, Mr Evans said the unions had different ideas on how to achieve parity but when the management replied to their demands they would decide on a firm date. He added that abolition of the penalty clauses introduced after the February strike had been put forward by the unions in July and that on 10 November they would discuss equal pay for women with the company.

He was asked if the unions would give official support for industrial activity taken to win parity, but he said he had no authority to promise

this. He did not want to 'jump the hurdle' on getting a £10 a week increase past the Prices and Incomes Board and he added that 'it was anyone's guess' what the unions would do if the PIB held up a settlement for more than four months.

The successful resolution was moved by Les Moore of Halewood Body Plant. It said: 'Conference pledges itself to achieve a £10 a week all-round increase for every worker.' If negotiations on the increase fail, the resolution called for 'necessary action' to win the demand, followed by a recall conference on 18 January.

In the discussion on the resolution, Alan Stanes of Dagenham Body Group called for nationalisation of the combine without compensation and with workers' control of the factories.

Rank men want more

Richard Kirkwood

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY AEF members at Rank's precision instrument factory, Highbury, North London, have been on strike since 16 October for more pay.

It is the first strike in the memory of most of the men at the former Hilger and Watts research and production works, taken over by Rank last year. Two sections of Hilger and Watts have already been closed down since the takeover and only a few of the 650 men made redundant have been given jobs in other parts of the combine.

Working conditions have steadily worsened since the takeover. The £13m pension scheme for Hilger and Watts was replaced by one so bad that it does not qualify to contract out of the government scheme.

The strike is over a £2 interim increase to keep pace with the rising cost of living and to make up for changes in working practices. The company has refused to budge after six months of talks.

Stewards are holding out for an all-round increase for all grades and skills. The

Double-deal on double shift work starts strike

Hugh Kerr

HARLOW, Essex: 45 members of the Engineering Union have been on strike for a month at Arlington Plastics over management double-dealing on hours and wages negotiations.

The firm makes plastic and PVC goods and is part of Allied Iron Foundries group which was recently taken over by a big engineering consortium. It makes huge profits and is paying a dividend of 25 per cent.

Earlier this year the company put forward proposals for a double-day shift system to replace the day-shift system. The company also wanted continuous work, elimination of tea breaks and management right to decide hours of work.

New workers

Talks dragged on for three months. In September the company refused to improve on an offer of 33s a week extra for the inconvenience and changes that the double-shift system would impose on workers.

On 22 September the company took on five new workers for jobs advertised at the proposed rates in the still unsigned agreement. The managing director told the workers he intended to put the agreement into operation whether the union liked it or not.

The AEF members downed tools and Ron Halverson, the union district secretary made the strike official. A picket was formed and lorry drivers were persuaded to stop delivering supplies.

Good relations

The company dismissed the men two weeks ago. The reasons included such charges as damage to company property and obstruction. The charges are quite untrue and even the police admit they have good relations with the pickets.

The company is employing scab labour at £5 a day. The AEF executive has also made the strike official and other unions are being asked to make blacking fully effective.

Donations and messages of support to: The Convenor, B. Archibald, 124 Jerounds, Harlow, Essex.

CP

from page one

membership and local organisation.

Second, the substitution of reformist, parliamentary politics for the class struggle (and lack of seriousness and success in the electoral work); the concentration of all efforts on winning the confidence of the Labour 'Left', and — this especially — the neglect of the industrial organisation and influence.

'A steady overemphasis on unity with the 'Labour Left' (an indefinite and ill-defined body anyway) as though an end in itself rather than in pursuit of a political end and in a period of contracted party educational activity — can be dangerous in providing the conditions for all kinds of opportunist expressions and mistakes — international and national'. (H. Holford, Bristol CP Comment 18 Oct.)

Unless the role of the mass struggle is constantly reiterated there is a danger of our parliamentary road losing its class character. There is a risk of Communists sinking near the reformist position of left social democrats. That is the test for our 31st Congress'. (John Tarver Oxford CP, Comment 11 Oct.)

ROOTS

The fundamental reason for the malaise affecting the party is not, however, the executive's abandonment of stalinist orthodoxy (what the Surrey opposition and their allies call its 'international opportunism'). The roots of the present policy, which, as several critics (not all of them pro-Moscow) correctly hint, amounts to liquidation of the CP, lie in the period when the communist movement was a monolithic world unit, dominated from Moscow.

The reformism of the British Road to Socialism, the party's manifesto, was temporarily obscured by the pressures of the cold war and hence the difficulty of talking to the left reformists. The decline of the cold war and the disintegration of the single communist movement dominated by Moscow has resulted in the party's reformism becoming more open.

TWISTS

Like other western communist parties, the party accommodates more and more to the reformist tradition of its own country. Although there are many contradictions and twists and turns in this development, the party leadership will continue to pursue policies that amount to the effective liquidation of the party as an independent force and will accommodate itself more and more to its reformist trade union and parliamentary allies.

But it is quite clear also that a return to stalinist orthodoxy is no answer at all. Only a break with the whole class collaborationist tradition of the British Road to Socialism — which Stalin laid down and Palme Dutt dimmed to elaborate — offers any solution.

* Socialist Worker will publish a number of articles on the Communist Party in the next few weeks.

CIVIL RIGHTS NOT TO STAND IN BY-ELECTION

THE IRISH Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign has decided not to field a candidate in the North Islington by-election. But it will intervene in the campaign to raise all the issues that the Labour government is trying to sweep under the carpet.

The main reason for the decision is the change in the situation which resulted from Westminster's acceptance of much of the old civil rights campaign means that at present large numbers of Irish workers have illusions in the Labour Party. The vote for the ICRC candidate would not have accurately reflected the level of concern about civil rights in the Six Counties. Secondly, the relatively short notice of the election date presented insuperable difficulties in the raising of the necessary finance to mount an effective campaign.

Announcing his withdrawal, Brian McCabe, 26-year old socialist building worker, said 'ICRC has no illusions in the Labour government which has white-washed the Unionist regime and is trying to split the civil rights movement by granting the middle class a few basic reforms. There is nothing in Chichester Clark's package of reforms for the working class, except a promise to share the misery more fairly. We say that full civil rights means full employment, decent housing and decent wages. British imperialism should repay what it has robbed from the Irish people and make it clear that they will withdraw British troops.'

MINERS from page one

in the pamphlet which he used to win his votes.

He promised dynamic leadership and action but both have been missing. The miners waited, expecting a call to action, but none came, so now they are calling: Ford and Daley — out.

One thing is certain — the era of placid acceptability of the bosses' dictates, whether by the Coal Board or the union hierarchy, is at an end. Robens' bluff has been called.

The men know that it is not strikes or the threat of strikes that closes pits. It is the deliberate policy of the government, a government that has shown more than once that it can be tough when dealing with the workers but weak and gutless when it comes to dealing with the private profit-

seeking oil and gas moguls.

By any standards and particularly by the criterion of the Prices and Incomes Board and by the very nature of the work, the miners have earned massive benefits which the government and the NCB have persistently refused to recognise.

They should have: Reductions in the working week, more short-stop holidays, security of adequate pensions when sickness, injury or weariness compels early retirement.

AND — a living wage for surface workers who may not be exposed to the dangers of face work but who are, in the main, older men who have been sweated dry and injured and who still work in dirt, dust and noise.