

# Socialist Worker

FOR WORKERS' CONTROL AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM 192 24 OCTOBER 1970 6d

Mike Cooley

Vice-president of the Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association on the need to fight the Tories' anti-union laws—centre pages

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

PRESENTING

### Roberta Carstle



### All-purpose anti-union politician

ARE YOU sometimes confused — not to say sickened — by the make-believe squabbles of Labour and Tory politicians? Don't you feel that behind the flowery phrases and total condemnation of each other's policies lie people with one thing in common — a desire to clobber ordinary working people and make them the scapegoats for the chaos of the capitalist system?

We believe that politics is much simpler than the well-paid practitioners would like us to think. To prove the point we present the ideal 'identikit' Minister of Unemployment and Productivity, Roberta Carstle, author of 'Strife — In Place of a Fair Deal at Work' — a charter designed to shackle the trade union movement.

This document has a bizarre history that could be lifted almost from Alice in Wonderland. Before we amalgamated them, Barbara Castle presented a docu-

ment, *In Place of Strife*, that wanted legal restrictions on the rights of trade unionists, strike ballots, cooling-off periods and penal sanctions against strikers.

Robert Carr didn't think much of her ideas, even though most of them were lifted from his own humorous pamphlet *A Fair Deal at Work* that called for (you've guessed) legal restrictions on the rights of trade unionists, etc, etc.

And now that Babs and Bob have swapped places she is bitterly attacking his plans which bear a strong resemblance to the ones put forward in *In Place of Strife*. How much simpler life is if we do away with all this hypocrisy and just lump them together as the crude, anti-working class bosses' agents they really are.

Will the real Harold Heath please stand up...?

by SW Industrial Correspondent

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

The call for strike action first came from the Glasgow district committee of the AEF — the engineering union. Last Tuesday's meeting of the Clyde Confederation decided to back the AEF's call.

The 100,000 Scottish workers will demonstrate against the Tories' ball-and-chain laws. The strikers will protest also about the crippling level of unemployment in Scotland and the rising rate of factory closures and redundancies.

Leaders of the main unions affiliated to the Confederation — AEF, Transport Workers and Boilermakers — will speak to mass meetings on the need to fight the government's legislation.

This quick response by an important section of organised workers is an indication of the mounting opposition to the Tories' proposals.

#### Militant action

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

The time for tame lobbies and appeals to MPs is long past. The Tories will only be beaten if the rank and file of the trade unions are called into action.

Militants in Scotland hope that the Confederation strike will be backed by similar action on 11 November in other parts of the country. The Tyne District Committee of the Confederation is understood to be considering support for the Clyde committee.

#### Strike may spread to other areas

Moves will be made to spread the action to other areas of high unemployment.

A call should go out to win maximum support for the strike. Leaders of the unions involved should be told to call out all their members on 11 November.

Three million workers are affiliated to the Confederation. A nationwide stoppage by them, backed by other unions, could have an important impact on the rest of the labour movement.

Mass meetings, demonstrations and propaganda should be organised now to make sure that 11 November is supported to the hilt.

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

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

Editorial Comment: page 2.

## Big Tory cuts in social services

THE TORY ATTACK on working people will be stepped up next week when sweeping cuts will be announced in the social services.

As part of the drive to make workers pay for the crisis of the Tory system, the government is likely to increase Health Service prescriptions, teeth and spectacles charges.

Industrial grants are expected to be altered in line with the suggestions made by John Davies, the Minister for Industry, at the Tory Party conference. Weak firms will not be helped and grants to areas of high unemployment may also stop.

This means a further big jump in unemployment as small firms collapse or are taken over by the giant monopolies.

#### Worse to come

Workers face a grim winter, with mounting dole queues, soaring prices and fares plus an enforced reluctance to visit the doctor because of the cost involved.

And there is worse to come. The government is taking a searching look at council rents and may recommend increases

staggered over four years to bring rents up to what it considers a 'fair' level.

With some London council tenants already paying £8-10 a week the word 'fair' seems to have lost all meaning.

The Tory offensive is underlined by their industrial 'reforms'. The only effective weapon to stop inflation and cuts in living standards is militant strike action.

This is what the Tories want to stop. And this is why the fight to defeat the anti-strike laws affects all workers and must be backed by them.

## Welcome back, Bernadette

BERNADETTE DEVLIN MP — one of Britain's political prisoners — was released from jail on Wednesday.

Her 'crime' was the honourable one of helping the oppressed and exploited working people of Derry to fight back against the terror of the police and British army.

Socialist Worker says: Welcome back, Bernadette — and keep fighting for your declared ideal of a united socialist Ireland.



# Socialist Worker

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## Fine words alone won't beat the Tories

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

Neither emerged last week from the special meeting of the TUC to discuss Robert Carr's proposals. Instead of a call to all affiliated unions to mount a campaign of total opposition to the government, the TUC leaders timidly said they would boycott future discussions with Carr until he agrees to 'broaden the talks beyond matters of detail'.

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

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

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

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

Refuse to sign on with the new Registrar of Trade Unions

Refuse to sign any binding agreements

Refuse to nominate union members to the proposed industrial tribunals and courts and boycott the work of such bodies if they are set up.

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

## Show they mean business

These demands are fine as far as they go. But they don't go far enough. Verbal opposition from the left leaders needs to be underscored by the active opposition of the rank and file.

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

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

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

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

The workers are the overwhelming majority of society. It is the tiny minority who profit at our expense who are trying to take away our trade union rights. In such a situation, strike action by the majority in defence of the majority is highly responsible action.

## OUR THANKS TO YOU

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

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

In other words, if you like the improvements in the paper, don't thank us, thank yourselves. You have made it possible.

In a few weeks we will print the paper on our new web-offset printing press. This edition is set on new typesetting equipment and when we get into our stride most of the articles will appear with justified margins — that is, squared up on both sides — which we know most of our readers prefer.

So much for technicalities. Politically, the bigger paper means more ammunition for our readers, more facts and arguments to arm you in the struggle with the employers, more space to develop the case for completely changing our society on the basis of workers' power.

We must expand our readership to make the paper more effective. Again we need your support. Will you take more papers to sell and encourage others to win new subscribers? In particular, we need bulk sales through factory organisations and trade union branches.

The working-class movement faces a testing time. The voice of revolutionary socialism must be heard. By building Socialist Worker we can turn that voice from a whisper to a mighty shout that can drown the lies of the millionaire press and television.

# FRENCH CANADA'S ANGER ERUPTS

by Sean Treacy

THE DEATH of Quebec's Labour Minister and the kidnapping of a British trade official have at last blown the lid off Canada's political slum.

Not surprisingly, Quebec province and the adjacent French-speaking areas are often referred to as 'Canada's Northern Ireland'. Neither the gimmicks nor the police state repression measures of Canada's 'trendy' premier, Pierre Trudeau, can disguise this any more.

The similarities are striking. Unemployment in Quebec runs at 10 per cent. Many claim the official figures understate the true picture.

One in ten adults lives on government welfare handouts. Wages on average are two-thirds of Canada's national average.

The province contains some of the worst housing conditions in North America — an eye-opener for those with illusions in official Canadian propaganda.

Add to this the resentment of a people who regard themselves as a distinct nation, insulted and discriminated against by the ruling Anglo-Saxon Canadian establishment and you have some idea why anger in Quebec has reached boiling point.

## Second class

In public life French Canadians have invariably been treated as 'second-class citizens from a defeated nation'.

When French-Canadian nationalism revived more than 10 years ago, it first focussed on cultural and language grievances. Most of the militant separatists were extreme right wingers.

But in recent years the militants, supported mainly by young Quebec workers and students, have turned to social and economic questions.

The separatist movement split into left and right wings. The left is heavily influenced by a mixture of ideas from Mao, anarchism and Fidel Castro.



young Quebec workers: discontent has boiled over

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

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

The kidnappings and killings have dramatically focussed attention on the demands and justified anger of

the French-Canadian people. But individual terrorism is no solution to the problems of Quebec workers.

A section of the left, including sympathisers of the FLQ, realise that only by building a mass working class socialist movement in Quebec, allied with the revolutionary organisations of non-French Canadian workers, can the social system which oppresses and exploits all Canadian workers be overthrown.

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

## Tin miners act as Bolivia swings to left

by Ian Birchall

WHAT IS the meaning of the recent violent events in Bolivia? Is it merely another palace revolution, with one general replacing another, or does it mark a more fundamental change?

It would be a dangerous oversimplification to see it as purely one or the other.

The new President, General Torrez, has been described by the British press as 'left-wing'. The same label was applied to his predecessor Ovando, who came to power about a year ago.

Ovando nationalised the American firm Gulf Oil — with compensation. But he continued sharp repression against opponents of the regime, notably working-class militants.

Torrez, despite his promises, will not go much further. He will pay compensation to Gulf Oil. His offers of 'participation' are little different from those of a Heath or a de Gaulle.

Yet the Bolivian events are of importance, coming after the recent election victory for the left in neighbouring Chile.

Until recently every regime in Latin America (except Cuba) was firmly under the United States thumb. Now that the US has such problems in Vietnam and at home, it is unlikely to throw its weight around unless really fundamental interests are threatened. This gives a certain freedom of manoeuvre to nationalist regimes.

To gain power, Torrez had to mobilise popular forces — left-wing



TORREZ: conflict expected

students and the tin miners.

Last week tin miners, on strike since Torrez came to power, took over the headquarters of Comibol, the nationalised mining corporation.

They called for 'reorganisation' of the industry. They disbanded the mines' special police force and attacked the managers who, they claimed, were responsible for 'causing a massive drainage of resources needed for production'.

Torrez is unlikely to carry out the left's demands — for an amnesty, for political prisoners and substantial wage increases — in full. Further conflict may be expected.

Bolivia is a small, wretchedly poor country, with no sea coast. It cannot pull itself up by its own bootstraps.

But in the present situation even a short working-class upsurge could have dramatic effects in other Latin American countries — notably Argentina.

## Cost-cutting bridges behind builders' deaths

TWO Freeman-Fox designed bridges have collapsed during construction within the last six months — at Milford Haven in Wales and Yarra in Melbourne, Australia. More than 40 construction workers have been slaughtered.

Technical reports made available at the inquest into the Milford Haven deaths rocked the technical press when it became clear that deck 'loading' of the bridge was designed 2½ times too heavy and collapsed at double-safe loading.

The cause of Yarra's collapse can not yet be known but the Australians are holding a public inquiry.

No such thing happened here. The whole business was safely relegated to the coroner's court.

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

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

Many of the new techniques in bridge building, as in high-rise flats like Ronan Point, are nothing more than cost-cutting methods and are lethal.

But the bosses, as usual, are content to search for scapegoats. Dr Oleg Kerensky, senior partner in the firm that designed the Yarra and Milford bridges said last week:

'There has hardly been a bridge built where there hasn't been a disaster — generally through the negligence of the workers.'



# Miners' vital struggle

by JOHN CHARLTON

BRITISH MINERS have reached a very critical point in their history this autumn. What happens in the next few weeks will determine their future.

Either they come out of the present struggle victorious, confident and prepared for the inevitable future battles on working hours, holidays, adequate redundancy provisions and working conditions — or they resume the downward slide into poverty, disillusionment and the scrap heap.

Strong words? Yes, but justified. The shameful treatment of the past 25 years should give all miners a glimpse of what the Tory government and the National Coal Board will wish to impose in the wake of a defeat.

## Strong position

Fortunately defeat is not likely. The miners have a stronger bargaining position than at any time since the early 1950s, with the serious fuel shortage of the coming winter looming.

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

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

These pressures must be fully understood and so must the strategy and tactics of the employers.

First of all it must be clear that a substantial number of the union executive go into this struggle with the greatest reluctance.



DALY: fighting speeches

They are the men who have continually sold their members short. Men who have been active agents of the employers.

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

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

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

What then of the left leaders? Lawrence Daly, the union secretary, has made some splendid fighting speeches in the past few weeks.

He has campaigned vigorously for the strike and against any settlement that falls short of the full demand — including any settlement that has productivity strings attached.

He has taken up a position much better than any NUM leader of

### THE MINERS' CLAIM:

Surface workers: £20  
Underground workers: £22  
Power-loader men: £30

'How can Heath and Carr dare question the justice of our cause when thousands of our members are on a take home pay of £13?' — Lawrence Daly

recent years. But Lawrence Daly and the other left leaders are vulnerable.

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

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

## Small gains

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

The tendency is to try to hold on to small gains at all costs — like the present shaky unity of the national



executive. When this unity is threatened (always by the right wing) since there is no secure base to appeal to, a compromise is reached. And any compromise is on the NCB's terms.

The pressures on the rank and file are immense, too. Lord Robens already has open access to television and the millionaire press.

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

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

## Shopping list

However, when it comes to working on the union leaders, Robens' tack will be a bit different. True, he will be concentrating on getting productivity concessions in return for money.

He's already made the unofficial offer of the full claim — over two years with productivity strings. Presumably he'll have to improve on that. How about the full claim now and take productivity strings?

*The sort of items he might have on his shopping list are: week-end working, continuous machine utilisation, reductions in manning, expansion of retreat mining and more flexibility in the use of outside contractors.*

*The dangers presented by this kind of deal are an intensification of work and the attendant risks to safety and health, and, in an industry where government policy determines a fall in overall demand, a further reduction in jobs available. Productivity concessions are a perfect recipe for redundancy.*

## Hard pressed

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

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

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

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

1. A repeated insistence that there can be no return to work until the demand is realised in full.
2. No productivity strings can be accepted. They are a deliberate attempt to undermine the financial advantages gained, a danger to safety and health and a positive threat to miners' jobs.
3. Regular mass meetings must be held at each pithead where the latest stage in negotiations and the government-employer strategy must be discussed.
4. All offers must be subjected to the scrutiny and decisions of mass meetings and a national delegate conference. Delegates to any national conference should be elected at pit head meetings and not by virtue of any office they might hold.
5. Appeals should be made at national and local level for assistance from other trade unions.
6. Local strike committees should be elected by the mass meetings and responsible for the local organisation of the strike, pickets and regular campaign bulletins.

It is pie in the sky to expect the right wing of the executive to adopt this kind of programme. On the other hand it is quite correct to expect those members of the executive that have campaigned so vigorously for the strike to play a prominent part in in any such action to ensure the success of the struggle.

*Whether they do or not, it is vital for the widely-scattered militants to take all possible action.*

*As a contribution to the success of the struggle, the International Socialists will produce regular campaign bulletins and distribute them widely.*

*Any militant miners who are willing to assist will be welcome. They should get in touch with IS at Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN*

The book for every militant

# The Employers Offensive

by Tony Cliff

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## Policy to fight Tory laws

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

Here is the full text of an emergency resolution that will be presented to the conference by the Industrial Committee of the International Socialists:

This conference expresses its complete opposition to trade union legislation and views the government's proposed laws as a serious threat to all trade unionists. This attack is to be seen as the Tories' reply to a rising tide of militancy among many sections of British workers that has begun to win for those involved just a little more of the fruits of their labour.

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

To frustrate this danger we call on trade unionists to adopt a united front to non-co-operation with the Tories. We

hold their legislation in contempt, for it seeks to preserve the power of a small minority — the 2 per cent of the population that owns 80 per cent of the wealth.

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

1. The TUC to abandon its futile attempts to get concessions from the government and announce its intention to resist the laws.
2. Woodcock and Paynter to resign from the Commission on Industrial Relations and that trade unionists boycott this and other such bodies.

### REFUSE

3. The executives of all unions to announce that they will refuse to register with the new Registrar or assist in the work of the proposed industrial court and that they will refuse to pay any fines imposed under this legislation or conduct or accept any government-imposed strike ballots.
4. Unions to further make it known that they will not enter into contracts that are legally binding.

5. In the event of legislation being passed, unions to instruct their members individually that they will have the full backing of their union in refusing to handle goods that are black or deliver across a picket line and in taking other sympathetic action.
6. Complete opposition to state-imposed and employer-policed 'agency shops' and to fight for 100 per cent trade union membership. Opposition to any 'scabs' charter' and defence of our right to discipline fellow workers who flout democratic decisions.

Conference considers that these laws will not be defeated by the fighting speeches of trade union leaders alone but only through the mass mobilisation of the rank and file workers.

It is our strength in our union branches, shop stewards' committees and on the factory floor that the employers' government is out to cripple. It is there that the fight back must be centred. To achieve this mobilisation, conference calls for:

1. A national day's protest strike on the day that the Bill is introduced to parliament.
2. The setting up of local Councils of Action to oppose the laws and defend those who suffer under them if they become law.





MIKE COOLEY: vice-president Draughtsmen's And Allied Technicians' Association

# UNIONS MUST FIGHT

## DATA leader Mike Cooley on Tory threats and the Rolls Royce lockout

### TALKING TO DAVE PEERS

DO YOU SEE any connection between the new tough attitude of employers such as Rolls Royce and the Tory government's proposals for introducing anti-trade union laws?

I think it is all part of a fairly long term process which actually started under the Labour government, because the Labour government did lay the pattern for the kinds of things we see today.

They created this hysterical anti-trade union approach and I believe that the Tories are simply

building on this. I think, in a broader context, that the ruling classes in all of the metropolitan countries will find it necessary to attack their own working class because the national liberation movement is limiting their ability to export the most intensive exploitation.

I believe it is coming back on the shoulders of the metropolitan working class and that it is part of a general pattern. Clearly the Tories are now elevating it to a new level with the legislation.

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



The fight against anti-trade union laws got off to a spirited

Party will resurrect all the old left wingers to give the impression that there has been a swing. I think that what the trade union movement should do is to use its enormous industrial strength.

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

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

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

In the proper attempt to divide leadership from the unions. Shop leaders defy this refusal to register are allowed to in favour of trading such laws?

### Not v

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## what we stand for

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

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

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

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the economic system they maintain.

In Europe the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

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

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

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



officials.

We are firmly opposed to secret negotiations and believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

We are for 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

We are against anti-trade union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

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

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

We believe that there should be a minimum wage of at least £25 a week.

We are opposed to unemployment, redundancy and lay offs and support the demand of five days' work or five days' pay.

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

We are opposed to racialism and police victimisation of black work-

ers. We are opposed to any immigration restrictions and fully support the right of black people to self-defence.

We are opposed to all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

We are opposed to secret diplomacy. Neither Washington nor Moscow but international socialism.

We are opposed to all forms of imperialism and unconditionally give support to and solidarity with all genuine national liberation movements.

We are for the nationalisation of the land, banks and major industries without compensation and under workers' control.

We are for the introduction of a democratic planned economy in which resources can be devoted to social need.

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time.

Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of men's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.

It is no use just talking about it. Over a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it'. If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.

### THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

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Name .....

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Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

### Real danger

I think the trade union movement should meet it by using their industrial strength.

You mean a political strike?

I include political strikes, definitely. I think that for too long the British trade union movement has allowed itself to be conned into purely parliamentary lines of action and I think that there is a real danger that the campaign will centre upon getting a Labour government back.

And I think that the Labour

## RR - BID TO

THE ROLLS ROYCE lock out ended last week. Could you outline the circumstances that led up to the lock-out of more than 1000 DATA members and what was at stake in the dispute?

Our members at Coventry submitted a claim for a very substantial increase. They did this to coincide with the annual agreement they have with the company.

They based their claim firstly on local criteria, that is comparisons with firms in the locality and with manual workers in the firm. Within the firm there are tool-makers who are earning £10 a week more than draughtsmen.

We welcome the fact that these workers get high wages but believe that design staff should have a wage that reflects their skill and ability.

### DETERMINED

In Coventry itself there are other firms such as Rootes where our members earn more than £10 a week more than the Rolls Royce men. When the company would not reply to the claim in any reasonable fashion our members applied sanctions and the company locked the entire workforce out.

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

Last year Rolls Royce were the forerunners for the annual agreement and I believe the company, with the backing of the Engineering Employers' Federation and the government, were determined to fight DATA and had actually planned this confrontation well in advance.



Locked out DATA men from Rolls Royce seen lobbying the TUC last month with Mike Cooley (centre)

Information has now come to us that has suggested a meeting took place in April when the basis of this attack upon DATA was already prepared.

That was when we had a Labour government.

Yes. In fact the Labour government did lend Rolls Royce, through the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation, something like £20m. We are absolutely convinced that there were strings attached to this money which included rationalisation - which means redundancy - and holding down wages.

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

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

that as a victory you get some so pay offer?

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It also require overtime, and fixed holidays.

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# TO STOP LAWS



start last week when 1500 workers marched in St Helens, Lancs.

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I believe it may well be that unions will consider that they shouldn't register at all. This would be a logical thing to do.

I think it is a matter of providing the trade union bureaucracies with a set of laws so that they can in fact control their own rank and file. And I think that unions like DATA are already under attack because we've never had an unofficial strike, since the rank and file themselves run the union.

*The Tories are promising not only an attack upon organised labour but a general offensive against the working class, with cuts in social services and government expenditure. What sort of political action do you feel is appropriate to the period we are entering into?*

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The great weakness of the British trade union movement is that it has always concerned itself about economic issues. In fact it has seen political action as solely through the Labour Party.

## New party

I believe that this is quite disastrous. The Labour Party isn't capable of bringing about a revolutionary change in Britain, the kind of change that is necessary.

I think that the working class in the first instance should heighten the contradictions on the industrial front and from that begin to elevate the struggle to a political level. But it is clear that there is a need for a vanguard party of the working class in Britain.

# BREAK DATA



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The productivity deals aspect of this dispute is extremely important. With technological change, high-capital equipment is now available to white collar workers, in particular computer-aided design equipment that will produce a tape for use on the workshop floor which in many cases displaces skilled manual workers.

But this equipment becomes obsolete in a very short length of time so the employers seek to exploit it for 24 hours a day. So more and more white collar workers are being compelled to work on shifts and to have the nature and the manner in which they work scrutinised in the same way as manual workers have had on the production line in the past.

It wasn't surprising therefore that some of the strings included the unqualified introduction of this kind of equipment with shift working and it is of enormous

importance that DATA was able to resist this in the first major confrontation.

*If you win this one it will be the second time in recent years that DATA has been threatened with and survived a national lock-out. In 1967 the shipbuilding employers actually carried out the threat and now Rolls Royce try to use the same tactics. Why do you think DATA has been picked out for this sort of attack?*

I believe the reason is that DATA is one of the most energetic and forceful unions in Britain today.

## CATALYST

That drive and energy, I believe, comes from the fact that it is controlled by lay members at every level and I think the employers see that DATA could be a catalyst for the rest of the trade union movement and create industrial circumstances such that other unions will begin to pursue the same kind of policy.

It is also the only union in Britain opposed to productivity bargaining and that has stood up to anti-trade union legislation. So I think the employers see it as a danger and deliberately planned these two attacks on us.

The dispute has cost DATA about a quarter of a million pounds. We regard the industrial funds of our union as belonging to the members.

Compare this with the record of the General and Municipal Workers' Union which paid out only £708,000 in dispute benefit in 38 years from 1926 to 1964—and £470,000 of this was accounted for by the national engineering strike of 1957!

## 50 YEARS AGO THIS MONTH ONE OF AMERICAN LABOUR'S GREATEST LEADERS WAS FORCED TO SEEK EXILE IN RUSSIA

# Big Bill

by Wendy Henry



ON 30 DECEMBER 1905, former Governor Frank Steunenberg of Idaho, USA, was killed by a bomb as he opened the front gate to his home. Harry Orchard, a member of the Western Federation of Miners, was arrested and after two weeks of savage interrogation 'freely' confessed that he had been hired to 'do the job' by William D. Heywood, then President of the Miners' Federation.

This clumsy attempt to frame Heywood, along with Moyer and Pettibone, two other WFM officials, failed. But this was only the beginning of a life-long attempt by the iron fist of American capitalism to smash one of the finest champions of labour ever known—Big Bill Heywood.

Heywood was an outstanding personality and leader of the early labour movement in America. From his first days as a pioneer founder of the WFM, to his last days spent in exile in Russia, Heywood never once gave up the fight for socialism.

Heywood grew up amid the suffering and the struggle of the Western mining camps, where the cruelty of the mineowners knew no boundaries and the courage of the miners knew no limits.

At the age of nine, already handicapped by the loss of one eye, he worked down the mine and was only to escape 18 years later, when for a short time he had his own homestead in Nevada.

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

## Series of violent strikes

Soon after helping set up the WFM, Bill became the natural leader of the metal miners and led them through a series of violent strikes—at Cripple Creek, Telluride, Leadville and elsewhere.

Every strike ran its course of court injunctions, evictions, starvation, imprisonment in bull-pens, beatings and death. The mine owners, with the support of the law, and the militia, would stop at nothing in their attempt to stamp out unionism and with it 'Big Bill'.

*It was the combination of this background of industrial militancy and his realisation that unionism was not enough that spurred him, along with such socialists and militants as Daniel De Leon and Eugene Debs, to form the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905.*

At the historic First Convention of the IWW, Heywood's speech summed up all the hopes and aspirations of the new party. His belief in industrial unionism, his call for solidarity with black and women workers, his dream of a new and fair society coupled with his determination to fight for this society at all costs, proved him to be the true voice of the American working class.

## Trumped up murder charge

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

The attempt to railroad him to the gallows on the trumped-up murder charge in 1906 was thwarted by a colossal protest movement



HEYWOOD (centre) with IWW leaders at New Jersey strike, 1913

of workers all over the world that took up his name as a battle cry and for a time frustrated the attempts of American capitalism to destroy him.

In the following years he travelled the length and breadth of the world. Wherever the situation demanded leadership and organisation, Heywood went, whether to the transport workers in Dublin or the Confederation of Labour in France.

During these years he gained the respect of many leading socialists of the time, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and James Connolly. But as respect for him grew among the working class movement then fear and hatred of him grew equally among the ruling class of America.

He became the bogey-man. Theodore Roosevelt regarded him as one of the most dangerous men in the States and the employers were determined to destroy him.

This determination was inflamed by the outbreak of the First World War. With patriotism, came a wave of anti-red hysteria and an organised drive to rid the states of all rebels. Radicals, foreigners and dissenters of all kinds were persecuted, prosecuted and deported.

And no one incensed the ruling class more than the IWW and, in particular, Bill Heywood with his principled stand against the war. Finally on 15 September 1917 Heywood, along with hundreds of other IWW leaders, was charged with conspiracy and taken to court in Chicago.

*The highlight of the trial was Heywood's testimony, which took three days to deliver. Even with a possible prison sentence of 20 years hanging over his head, he never once changed his beliefs,*

never deviated from his stand.

'We realise that the workers have no country,' he said 'and that the flags and symbols which once meant something to us have been seized by our employers. Today they mean nothing but oppression and tyranny.'

He was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment with a fine of 30,000 dollars. With this hanging over his head, Heywood was forced to leave his native country and seek refuge in the young Soviet Republic in Russia in October 1920.

## The answer to his dreams

Here he found an answer to his dream. He wrote to friends in America: 'Here is what we have been dreaming about, here is the IWW all feathered out.'

He continued his revolutionary activities until he died in 1928 when Stalin was consolidating his regime that crushed Soviet democracy.

Although outlawed from his own country, away from the movement he knew best, separated from his friends, Big Bill never once regretted his life.

Today he is forgotten by those who persecuted him but he remains an inspiration to those all over the world who have taken up his cause.

The autobiography of  
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# TOP TORIES GET

I CAN RELIABLY reveal that the most commonly used word at the Tory Party Conference at Blackpool was 'socialism'.

'The last six bleak years of socialism', 'the red years of Harold Wilson', 'the socialist priorities of the late 1960s'—these were the unfamiliar phrases spoken in the plummy voices of businessmen who have never been richer.

There were endless definitions of this socialism. Perhaps the most learned came from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Anthony Barber. 'Public expenditure' he said 'is the essence of socialism'.

And, then, drawing on his rich reserve of intellect and oratory: 'The real road to socialism is to tax people to the hilt so that they cannot stand on their own feet'.

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

It carried with it a class ideology vitally different from the class politics in which the Labour government had in fact engaged.

Although the Labour government had strengthened capital against labour, had widened the gap between rich and poor, had streamlined and rationalised British industry at the expense of its workers, its method and style had irritated the Tories into the belief that Labour must have been socialist.

*As the debates proceeded at Blackpool it became clear that what the Tory rank and file want, and what the Tory leadership wish to deliver, is a capitalism based not, as Labour's was, on the overall interests of the British ruling class, but on narrow, sectarian interests.*

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

Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Minister of Education, in the trim tones of Tory suburbia, outlined the traditional Conservative suspicion of education for the masses.

Her remedies were based on 'giving priority to primary education' at the expense of higher education. 'Charity for the little ones' was coupled with the rising hatred so many Tories feel for the modern universities which a former Conservative Minister, Sir Edward Boyle, set in train.

Everything she said at Blackpool seemed to reverse the mid-sixties, Boyle-inspired Tory education policy which was designed properly to train the middle ranks of technological capitalism.

## Cries of shame

In this, she was followed even more enthusiastically by the delegates. When one of these pointed out that more was spent on education than defence, there were cries of 'Shame', and when another, a vice-chairman of a county education committee, declared that the 11-plus was 'merely a shibboleth', he was greeted with boos.

Similarly, for all his moderate appearance, described in such drivelling detail by an adoring press, Mr Robert Carr got his standing ovation not because he 'stepped into the shoes of Lord Monkton' (as The Guardian put it) but because he had departed from the road taken by Walter Monkton himself, first Tory post-war Minister of Labour.

While Monkton had scrupulously refrained from suggesting laws to curtail trade unionist activities, and had seduced the union leaders into the corridors of power, Carr is initiating an anti-union law undreamt of since 1906.

*From the vitriol of the attacks on even such mild union leaders as Victor Feather, most of the Tory delegates have not even considered the importance of wooing the union leadership into the business of holding down working-class living standards.*

*Instead they charged their Minister almost without qualification to*

## PAUL FOOT: Roving Report



Heath:



between the devil



and the deep-blue Thatcher

*savage all the trade unions, including the leaders.*

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

John Davies, former CBI chief and

now Minister of Trade and Industry, talked openly of the abolition of the Industrial Reorganisation Corporation and the little NEDDIES, the decentralisation of research bodies and (even) the slashing of investment and other grants to industrialists.

At the same time, he spoke of 'disengagement' from state service operations to private enterprise, giving in at each sentence to demands from the floor to hive off the loot from nationalised industries to private concerns.

Gas, electricity, telephones, civil airlines, railway workshops — all these and many others were mentioned as areas where some of the delegates and the Minister's former friends could make more money.

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

## Floundering Home

The pattern was followed in the debates on foreign affairs and defence. Public expenditure was the essence of socialism, but, on the other hand 'you can't get defence on the cheap'.

The East of Suez banker, Lord Carrington, who is Minister of Defence, seemed more than amenable to building three new aircraft carriers, a fleet of new combat aircraft and the disbanded infantry regiments.

'Pledges' would be maintained East of Suez. And Sir Alec Douglas Home, floundering around in the minute details of military tactics, left the delegates in no doubt that Macmillan's 'wind of change' in Africa had blown away and that racial solidarity between the British and South African governments would be reaffirmed.

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

## Prove their mettle

Either the Tories will realise that their promises are ridiculous (as they have already done with their main pledge — to keep prices down) and re-align their policies with those of the Wilson Labour government.

In this instance they will become increasingly prey to the Powellites, whose voices were far from dim even at this 'victory conference'. Heath and his colleagues will have to prove their mettle with still more savage cuts in the traditional areas of social services and education.

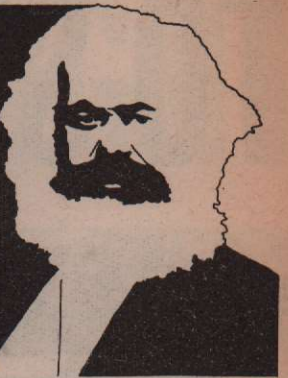
Or, blind to reality, they will continue with their Blackpool line, undeterred by the damage it will do even to the stability of their own British capitalism.

Either way, the people who will suffer first and longest will be the workers, especially the weak workers, the poor, the unorganised and the black.

# READY TO LOOT STATE FIRMS

## THE MEANING OF MARXISM

A weekly column by Duncan Hallas



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

These stories are probably fairy tales, like a lot of other things taught in schools. But whether they are true or not makes not a pennyworth of difference to any of the problems we have to live with.

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

Interesting problems for students but do the answers really make any difference to us? What is done is done and can't be altered.

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

More important still, if working people are conscious of what is happening, and that means knowing something of what has happened, they can decisively affect the outcome.

The employing class and its politicians and intellectuals have some sort of picture of the world, of how it changes, of what is possible for them, of history in short. They make their decisions, in part at least, in the light of that knowledge. We need our own picture, our own knowledge, our own theory.

## Social change

Marxism is, among other things, a theory of history for working people. But why a theory of history. Can't the facts speak for themselves?

*Actually facts never speak for themselves. As a well-known modern historian put it 'the facts speak only when the historian calls on them: It is he who decides which facts to give the floor and in what order. . . The historian is necessarily selective. The belief in a hard core of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian is a preposterous fallacy. . .'*

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

Marx was interested, first and foremost, in social change. His 'materialist conception of history' is essentially a guide to the present in the light of the past. Its basic ideas are simple though their application and development is often complex.

'The history of all hitherto existing society,' he wrote, 'is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, baron and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in one word, oppressor and oppressed, standing constantly in opposition to each other, carried on an uninterrupted warfare, now open, now concealed; a warfare which always ended either in a revolutionary transformation of the whole of society or in the common ruin of the contending classes. . .'

## Good and bad

'Modern capitalist society, springing from the wreck of feudal society, has not abolished class antagonisms. It has only substituted new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of warfare, for the old.'

Classes rather than 'great men' are the important thing. Of course classes are made up of individual people and some individuals are much more important than others. But 'bad King John' or 'good' George Washington are, from a marxist point of view, more important for the class interests they represented than for their personal virtues or vices.

That immediately brings up another point. If the struggle between

## Why we need a theory

classes is the real motor of history then 'good' and 'bad' are relative terms.

What is good for one class may be bad for another. The great French revolution at the end of the 18th century was a good thing from the point of view of the middle classes who were the people who got most out of it. It was a very bad thing for the aristocracy who lost their privileges, lands and, in some cases, their heads.

There can, in fact, be no impartial history. Everyone is part of some society and of some class in that society.

The historian who claims to be impartial is a fraud. Either he is deceiving himself or his readers.

Does this mean that any view of the world is as good as any other? The point is that ideas about society are always connected, sometimes directly but more usually indirectly, with some class interest or other.

But why should we believe that our interests, say, are ethically better than those of the capitalist class? Part of the answer, in Marx's words, is that 'the working class movement is the conscious movement of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority.'

## Built barriers

*There is a still more basic reason. The kind of society that exists in a particular place at a particular time depends on the way that men are able to earn their living.*

Stone axes and wooden spears go with a tribal society based on hunting and without class divisions. Every subsequent technical advance — the wooden plough, water-driven machinery, the steam engine — has had social consequences.

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

All forms of society before capitalism had this in common. The technical level, or, to put it another way, the productivity of labour, was too low to allow everyone a decent standard of life.

The existence of oppressed and exploiting classes was unavoidable. Capitalism has changed all that.

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

In fighting to overthrow capitalism we know that we are not fighting merely for our own interests or even for the interests of the great majority. We are fighting for the only way forward for the whole human race.

Don't miss

## HOW TO FIGHT THE TORIES

by PAUL FOOT

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SUN MON TUE WED THU FRI SAT

# Seven times Seven

## The last word on madness of war

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

The book's staggering popularity seems to stem from the way in which Heller succeeds in merging his own highly personalised war experiences with the universal idiocy of official army life. What hundreds of thousands of men knew, sensed and felt has now been put on to paper with amazingly telling effect.

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

Those who succeed the best in this tragically zany world are those who realise this essential fact for survival and who are able to conform to each new madness demanded by the system.

Such a man is Milo Minderbender, the mess sergeant. Hailing from authentically humble origins, Milo quickly realises how to exploit the system and he becomes the biggest war profiteer ever known.

His business covers the world and he even hires the German air force to bomb the barracks of his own fellow soldiers when he needs to destroy a huge crop of surplus cotton stored in the barracks.

### Hungry belly

But, as in capitalism, only the few can escape in this manner and the rest of this hapless outfit are swallowed up into the hungry belly of the massive, unthinking war machine. Each is relentlessly and inevitably destroyed as the system goes marching gaily along.

The only way in which Yossarian, the book's 'hero' can escape is by finally jumping into a rubber dinghy and paddling off into the distance, which is no escape at all.

To attempt to transcribe this vast, rambling, highly personal novel onto the screen is a gigantic task, fraught with risks. Yet director Mike Nichols has succeeded in making a film that remains remarkably close to this great book, both in detail and in general spirit.

Catch 22 (Paramount, X) manages superbly to capture the claustrophobic chaos of war which Heller writes about so well. Alan Arkin as Yossarian portrays just the right bafflement and incomprehension of the whole business to be effective and plausible.

Indeed, he often carries the film along solely on his own acting ability and personal magnetism.

Inevitably there will be some people who will be disappointed by the film. Such an amazingly private novel as Catch 22 must automatically call forth the reader's own ideas of each character and none of us likes having our preconceptions shattered. However, against the overall excellence of the camera work and the total panorama of men forced unwillingly to be at war, such problems fade into the background.

There are some stunningly effective shots in the film, notably one nightmarish sequence in which Yossarian stumbles through the streets of Rome - a Rome peopled solely by madmen, perverts and masochists.

So total is the grip that the screen establishes that I left the cinema in doubt as to which is the made world - the world of Catch 22 or the 'real' world of Britain 1970. That is Heller's final triumph.

Catch 22 is a fine and deeply disturbing film. It throws up many unanswered questions about private and public madness as witnessed in that greatest madness of them all - war. Go and see it.

Martin Tomkinson



## COTTONS COLUMN

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

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

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

The magazine Property and Finance complained recently about 'totally unproven assumptions reflecting pan-Africanist claims that for centuries Rhodesia was the centre of a sophisticated Negroid civilisation. The political implications are clear. If the claims were justified there should be no legitimate opposition to a black takeover of the country.'

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

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

TWELVE representatives of the 250 workers sacked from Pilkington's glass factories in St Helens visited the



SMITH: dreadful theories

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

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

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

### Taking the rise

Travellers in the London Borough of Islington may have been wondering about the gales of mirth coming from the direction of local council estates. Cause of the merriment is a leaflet sent to local tenants by the council headed 'BUYING A council flat'.

The humorous intent of the publication soon becomes clear when the leasehold price of a three-bedroomed maisonette is revealed as £6,950 - £7,250. The writer tries to temper the tenants' mirth with the promise of a tempting discount of up to 20 per cent - but the maximum is only available to tenants of 20 years' standing, that is, those who have already paid for their present flat in rent alone. And the full dis-

count is only available on some flats 'where it will not reduce the selling price below the cost of the flat'.

Then comes the hilarious finale: payments on a £7000 mortgage loan will be £54 a month for 30 years or £61 a month for 20 years - and this cannot be more than a quarter of the buyer's income (which includes only 50 per cent of regular overtime and 'a proportion of the wife's income').

When they tot it up, the tenants of Islington realise the full hilarity of the offer: £14,700 for a cardboard maisonette over 20 years, £19,500 over 30.

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

But when they turned up for the meeting the local comrades were told by the harassed publican that the booking had been cancelled.

The reason? The brewers are Whitbreads, who have just given several thousand pounds to the Tory Party.

He who pays the piper calls closing time...

CRITICS in the right-wing press have been frothing with rage at BBC-2's Man Alive series on the 'State of America'. The complaint is a simple one: programmes that deal with the shooting of students and civil rights leaders and the murder of a union official are not typical of the 'real' America.

Poor things, they are never happy when I Love Lucy is taken off for a few weeks.

I suppose it would be possible to counter-attack by saying that the second programme (Wednesday, 14 October) on corruption in the American Mineworkers' Union was suspect for being shown at a time when union-bashing is the favourite sport of every ignorant little telly pundit.

### Responsible

But the intentions of the producers seemed fair. Most of the programme was taken up by interviews with angry, articulate rank and file miners who left us in no doubt that they believe their own leaders were directly responsible for the terrible slaying of Joe Yablonski and his family earlier this year.

Yablonski was a rather late convert to union democracy, having sat on the union executive for 20 years and more. Nevertheless, when he moved into opposition, he campaigned non-stop against the thuggery, nepotism and crooked deals with the employers that are the hallmarks of this monstrous perversion of a 'trade union'.

In spite of threats and intimidation, Yablonski stood for the presidency and received a substantial minority vote. A few weeks later he and his family were gunned down in their beds.

The programme spoke to many miners, most of them armed, most of them despairing of removing the union leaders without help from the capitalist state.

### Helpless

Their main complaint was that collusion between the union leaders and the hard-faced coal bosses had left the miners helpless in the daily battle against accidents and 'black lung' disease. The union's highly-paid officials have led no campaign against disease and sick miners have to travel thousands of miles to an independent clinic for treatment.

The most tragic result of the union-boss conspiracy against the miners was seen in the aftermath of the West Virginia disaster that killed several men.

The mine boss blamed the dead men for not having adequate insurance to look after their families. And the union had removed the widows' welfare cards so that they have no rights to pensions or any help from union funds.

Genuine humour is hard to find. Monty Python (BBC-1, Tuesday) is seen only in selected areas and Spike Milligan's new Sunday BBC-2 series is very patchy. Someone should tell him that his preoccupation with Pakistanis never was funny and is becoming quite sickening.

David East

## NOTICES

TONY CLIFF (IS) debates ERNEST MANDEL (United Secretariat, Fourth International): Russia, Stalinism and the Fourth International. Friday 30 October, 7.15pm, Friends Meeting House, Euston Rd, NW1. Admission 2s 6d.

DEFEND BLACK PANTHERS! Meeting to discuss persecution of Black Panthers and campaign to stop it. Friday 23 October, 7.30pm, Earl Russell pub, 2 Pancras Rd, NW1 (near Kings Cross).

TERENCE MacSWINEY Commemoration Social in aid of Frank Keane Defence Fund. Saturday 24 October, Kings Head, Fulham Broadway (next door to Fulham B'way tube) 8-12. Admission 5s. Music singing, dancing.

TEACH-IN on apartheid arms sales. Alan Brooks, Anti-Apartheid, Battersea Library, Lavender Hill, 8pm, Friday 23 October. Action Committee against Racism. Admission free.

EAST LONDON IS: anti-trade union laws and how to fight them. Duncan Hallas (editor Rank and File Teacher) on Thursday 29 October, 8pm. Railway Tavern, Angel Lane, Stratford E.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE SWANSEA: Roger Protz (editor Socialist Worker) on The Millionaire Press. 1.30pm, Friday 30 October.

SWANSEA IS public meeting: Roger Protz on the Tory offensive and how to fight it. 7pm, Friday 30 October, Elysium Buildings.



# Socialist Worker

## Glassworkers appeal for cash

THE PILKINGTON rank and file strike committee in St Helens has made an urgent appeal for money to Socialist Worker readers and the International Socialists.

The workers on the committee have been sacked. They are fighting to reinstate all the 250 men who were fired when they staged a token strike to demand trade union negotiating rights in Pilkington's glass factories.

The committee has also fought to win back the jobs of workers at Pilkington's

Pontypool (Wales) factory who were sacked for supporting the St Helens militants.

The spirit is still high on the strike committee. Only last week, 1500 marchers joined them in a demonstration past the St Helens glassworks in support of trade union rights for Pilkington workers.

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

All the sacked men are finding it hard to get jobs. Many of them have suffered personal problems, with families breaking

up and wives leaving home.

The committee also faces a heavy bill for legal costs incurred during the seven-week strike last Easter.

Pilkingtons is a test case for the trade union movement. As the Tory-employer offensive increases, workers' rights must be defended to the hilt.

Raise the case in your trade union branches, political organisations and places of work. Rush donations to: Rank and File Committee, 10 Greenfield Road, St Helens, Lancs.

# TROOPS MAY STRIKE-BREAK: UNIONS MUST AID COUNCIL WORKERS

by John Deason

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

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

## Hospital staff join council pay struggle

by Jack Sutton

HOSPITAL STAFF have joined the council workers in a fight for a minimum basic wage of £16 10s. The current wage claim on behalf of 250,000 hospital ancillary staff — men and women — is the biggest ever and is similar to the council workers' claim.

The main demand is for a 55s increase without strings for all grades.

Ancillary staff — porters, orderlies, domestics, kitchen staff and so on — form more than 40 per cent of the full-time and nearly half the part-time staff of Britain's hospitals.

A Grade B kitchen porter outside London earns £14 4s before off-takes for a 40 hour week, and a domestic £10 13s. To take home the princely sum of £20 a Grade C porter has to work a nine hour shift for seven days a week.

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

Traditionally, the manual workers' claim has always been submitted first and any rises achieved are almost automatically applied to hospital workers. Because of the present deadlock between the unions and the local government employers it is unlikely that a satisfactory settlement will be reached for hospital staff until the unions have made an agreement with the local authorities.

For these reasons the unions have decided that they will call for a meeting of the Ancillary Staffs Council to be held later this month — 'immediately it would be useful to do so'.

It is essential that the trade union leaders are not allowed to compromise on the council workers' 55s. The unions involved in the council workers' strike must extend the stoppage to the rest of the country so that other local authorities can be brought into line with those who have already decided to pay the strikers' demands.

At the same time, the greatest pressure must also be brought to bear on the Health Service employers through strikes, go-slows, overtime bans and working to rule.

In spite of all the talk by the trade union leaders (and the TUC) of their determination to fight the government and employers on this issue, a successful outcome of the struggle will depend largely on rank and file action.

The press is full of hysterical rumours about 'threats to health' because of the strike. But we rarely hear about the everyday threats to health caused by undermanning at hospitals, ambulances, refuse tips and sewage works.

The shortage of labour is the result of appallingly low wages. The council workers are only asking for a flat basic rate of £16 10s.

It is the government, determined to defeat a section of the trade union movement, that is responsible for the piles of rubbish — not poorly-paid workers asking for a mere 55 bob.

With the dispute now in its fourth week, strikers are becoming rapidly disillusioned with the official handling of the strike. Rank and file strikers feel isolated and confused.

## Against picketing

One Greenford (Middlesex) striker told me: 'We hear more about the strike from the daily rags than we do from our own union officials'.

In many boroughs, Public Employees and General and Municipal officials have argued against effective mass picketing of depots, even though the police are harassing those on picket duty.

A 'rolling strike' of key sectors should make sense tactically. But the lack of rank and file involvement in organising the strike is causing many small groups of strikers to feel isolated.

Many strikers think the only way forward is an all-out strike. But the most effective tactic is to bring out the key sections that will hurt the councils most.

Regular mass meetings should be organised in each borough by democratically elected strike committees, involving delegates from all three unions — TGWU, NUPE and GMWU. These meetings should be attended by all council workers, whether they are on strike or not.

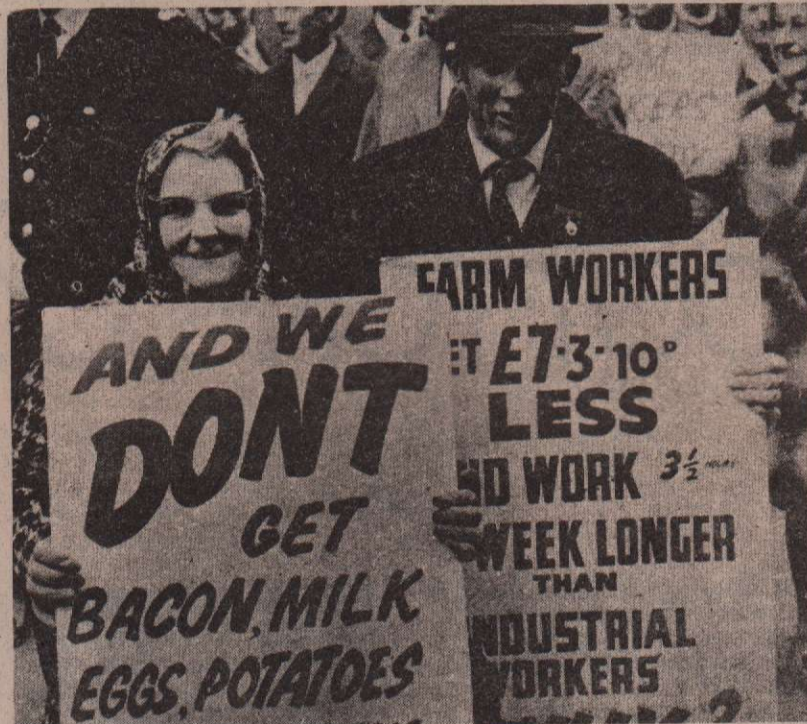
Barking, Harlow, Sheffield and Norwich councils, with a few more likely to follow them, have already agreed to pay the 55s. Now is the time for more pressure to be put on the local borough councils.

## Solidarity needed

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

If strike-breaking troops are used, solidarity action must be launched by all sectors of the trade union movement.

This strike is a test case for the whole movement. The council workers must not be left on the Tory union-bashers' sacrificial altar.



Farmworkers demonstrated at the Ministry of Agriculture on Tuesday to support their union's wage demand. The employers offered a new minimum wage of £14 16s and rejected the union claim of £18.

## Union bid to gag printworkers

by a printworker

THE FIRST BLOWS against any attempt to dissolve the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades have been struck by rank and file printworkers in London.

Several chapels (office branches) representing both clerical and machine members of Division 1 (formerly NATSOPA) have passed resolutions calling for the continuation of SOGAT and opposing any attempt to dissolve it by the Division 1 executive.

SOGAT was the amalgamation of NATSOPA and the Paperworkers' Union — now called Division A. Last week Division 1 secretary Richard Briginshaw announced that SOGAT no longer existed.

Full-time officials aware of the discontent are attempting to stop discussion among rank and file members.

A delegate meeting last week of the London Clerical Branch, representing 12,000 members, nearly a quarter of the total membership of Division 1, was not allowed to discuss the current situation, although they were constitutionally allowed to do so by union rules.

Militants have been warned that any public opposition to the executive will result in disciplinary action. Despite these crude attempts to gag the rank and file, a movement is growing among members of both divisions that considers it imperative

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in the face of the proposed anti-trade union legislation, to maintain the maximum unity of trade unionists at every level starting on the shop floor.

The pathetic wrangles of the leaders of both divisions can only delight the employers, who have been looking for an opportunity to weaken the trade union movement in the printing industry.

Militants must demand that SOGAT continues. If the leaders are sincere in their opposition to the proposed anti-trade union laws, they should resolve their differences and create a democratic union.

If they are not prepared to do so, we will.

## Yorks busmen to step up strike action

SW Reporter

LEEDS:- Corporation transport busmen staged a three hour strike last Sunday to attend a mass meeting in the Town Hall. They unanimously voted to extend their weekly strikes to Fridays and Saturdays with the added threat of a prolonged stoppage.

In line with busmen throughout Yorkshire, the Leeds crews have been striking on Fridays for the last five weeks for £20 basic wage for a 40 hour week.

Sunday's meeting discussed the withdrawal of the Transport Workers' Union from national negotiations. Agreement must now be reached on a local level and the Tory council seems determined to hold out.

The strikes have had a number of disturbing features. No meetings have been called until this late stage and no strike committee has been elected.

Last week the executive of Leeds University Students Union (controlled by Tory sympathisers) decided to strike by running coaches for new students. Only a determined effort by members of the university Socialist Society, on a joint picket with strikers, prevented most of the buses getting through.

## Censure motion

A University Union meeting later passed a Socialist Society resolution censuring the executive, supporting the strike fund, and opposing scabbing in this or any other strike.

Crews of the West Yorkshire Road Car Company, who joined the struggle at an early stage, have accepted a management request to call off their one-day strikes for negotiations.

They face the prospect of a productivity agreement. This could mean more One Man Operated buses and sackings.

If the struggle is to be won, busmen must consider tactics that will hit management in their pockets and not allow them to organise strike breaking transport.

Busmen must demand:

1. Extended and lightning strikes.
2. A democratically elected strike committee.
3. Full implementation of all the demands.
4. No sackings or closures.
5. No productivity strings.

## Alcoa strikers claim a victory

SWANSEA:- Maintenance men on strike for 11 weeks at the Alcoa metal plant went back to work on Tuesday claiming a substantial victory. The management of the American-owned firm gave the men an increase of £4 6s a week instead of the strikers' own demand for £3.

The workers' 'efficiency' will be investigated but the management findings will not be binding. The maintenance men said there was no question of a productivity deal being involved.

The works convenor said: 'It's a victory'.

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