

# Socialist Worker

For workers control and international socialism 144 30 October 1969 every Thursday 3d

## What we think

THE MINERS have returned unwillingly to work but their struggle is not over. More was at stake than just the pay and hours of the surface men, important though that issue is.

More than any other section of the British labour movement, the miners have felt the full effect of the attempt by Labour and Tory governments and the employing class to solve their problems at the expense of the workers. To appease the world bankers and increase the profitability of industry, wages have had to be held back, redundancies forced through and more work screwed from a smaller labour force.

In the mines, the men have increased productivity by 20 per cent in the last three years, while earnings have increased by only 9 per cent and retail prices have shot up by 15 per cent.

In 1966, output per man-shift was 110 cwt. In March this year the figure had risen to 132 cwt, but in the same period 166 pits have closed and 120,000 men have lost their jobs.

The miners accepted pleas for more work to save the industry, only to see more pits close and the dole queues lengthen.

Not that the industry would need saving if the huge sums in compensation to the former private owners were stopped. The latest NCB operating profit was £28.6m. After paying out £37.5m in compensation, the profit became a deficit of £8.9m.

The miners have been on the defensive for too long.

## Union executives accept penalty clauses at Vauxhall CAR MEN FIGHT THREAT TO JOB ORGANISATION



Arab homes being blown up this week on the west bank of the Jordan by the Israelis as an indiscriminate retaliation for the death of an army officer.

### Guerrillas seize south Lebanon areas

THE PUNY ruling class of the Lebanon has finally been provoked to an open confrontation with the guerrilla forces operating within its boundaries, and has come off very much the worse for the military encounter. The guerrilla forces are still, as we go to press, in control of the central area of Tripoli and of much of the desolate territory to the south of the Litani river.

The Lebanese government, based on the huge trading community round Beirut, has always been the friendliest to imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East. Since the June war, it has striven to appease Zionism by forbidding Palestinian guerrilla operations in the South. The guerrilla forces are now answering back.

The Baath governments in Syria and Iraq have eagerly jumped on the bandwagon. The Syrian government has moved troops to the Lebanese border (shades of Jack Lynch in Ireland!) and encouraged guerrillas to seize villages in South Lebanon — thus for a few more weeks masking their own 'words not action' policies towards Zionism.

The danger is that the leadership of El Fatah, the main guerrilla organisation in the Lebanon, will see the latest crisis, not as an opportunity to challenge the power structure in the Arab world, but as a chance to 'do a deal' with the government to allow them to operate free of government interference in the South. Such 'deals' do not frighten Israeli expansionism or American imperialism, either of which may be encouraged by the crisis to 'intervene' once more in Lebanese affairs.

South Lebanon has always been a tempting hunting ground for Zionism. When the frontiers of the mandate territories were agreed between Britain and France, Zionist propagandists proclaimed that Zion had been robbed of the Litani. Prime Minister Eshkol, just after the 1967 war, deplored the fact that 'a half million cubic metres of Litani river water should be lost in the sea every year instead of being used to benefit the people of the region ... we are compelled to secure the natural frontiers which separate us from our neighbours'.

### Drive against anti-Zionists

From a Special Correspondent

THE ISRAELI authorities have stepped up their policy of repression against the anti-Zionist Left and the Arab population of Israel. This follows an intensification of Israel's policy of severe repression against the population of the territories grabbed in the June 1967 war.

Nearly 200 houses have been blown up by the Israeli military authorities in the last six months. This is done without trial and at the slightest suspicion that the owner or any other person living in a house is a member of a resistance group.

Intellectuals and political leaders who criticise the Israeli occupation are deported across the River Jordan.

In Israel itself about 600 Arab citizens are imprisoned without trial under the emergency regulations decreed by the British mandate administration in 1945. The regulations give the government unlimited power to act against the person or property of any-

one it does not like, without trial and even without the need to make a formal charge. The 600 people arrested include many supporters of the Israeli Communist Party (RAKAH), the Israeli Socialist Organisation (the revolutionary socialist group known also as MATSPEN) and other people who the authorities fear are potential leaders of their community. In several cases the victims are told that they will be detained

indefinitely, until they agree to leave the country for good.

In an attempt to muzzle all opposition, the Israeli Home Office has refused MATSPEN's application for a permit to issue a periodical in Arabic. The need for such a permit and the government's right to refuse it — are based on article 94 of the 1945 emergency regulations. In addition, the authorities arrested Nabeel Sa'ad, a MATSPEN to back page

SABBY SAGALL

A MASS MEETING of 4000 Engineering Union members at the Vauxhall car plant at Ellesmere Port, Liverpool, ended in complete chaos last Thursday. Union officials were booed and jeered as they left the platform, where they had been pelted with clods of turf, soil and stones.

This explosion of feeling was the climax of the meeting at which the workers were told by their local union officials that the AEF had recommended acceptance of the management's new pay and productivity deal. This included an offer of 10d, 9d and 8d an hour increases for skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers, which would bring the weekly wage of production men up to £23 3s 3d.

The unions had been demanding an average increase of 3s an hour and had notified the company of their intention to open negotiations next year for parity with Rootes workers in the Midlands. This would mean an average increase of 5s an hour. Five weeks ago, the AEF members began a work-to-rule followed by a complete stoppage which paralysed production in all the three Vauxhall plants.

At last Thursday's meeting, it was far from clear that there had been a majority in favour of accepting the new deal. But Arthur Presscot, chairman of the AEF District Committee, ruled that there had. No vote was taken and the result was uproar.

Equally crucial was the fact that at a subsequent meeting Vehicle Builders Union members overwhelmingly rejected the new deal. About 3000 NUVB workers had been laid off because of the AEF members' stoppage. Anger against the company's paltry offer with its dangerous strings had decisively overridden resentment at being laid off.

The crucial sections in the new deal accepted by the AEF and NUVB executives refer to an intensified disciplinary system by the company and a new policing role for the unions. In the paragraph on 'timekeeping and absentee procedure', the management demand that 'uncertificated absenteeism' and 'late-clocking' be countered with an 'agreement on a system of supervisory interviews of employees following absence. A phased course of instruction and, if necessary, corrective action, is associated with time losses over given periods.'

In the section on 'grievance procedure', it is stated: 'The unions, for their part, will not support any unauthorised work stoppage and will actively discourage such action.' This clause is a blow aimed at reducing the power of the shop-floor. It is intended to undermine job organisation so as to prevent militants resisting the company's drive to squeeze an increasing rate of profit from their labour force.

Vauxhall's profits rose from £25.2m in 1967 to £31m in 1968, and, with 37,000 employees, the profit extracted from each individual employee rose from £654 in 1967 to £837 in 1968.

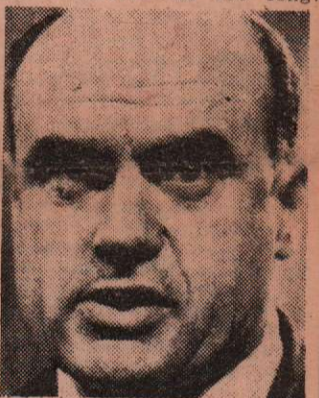
### National links needed

It does not seem that militants at Vauxhall's three main plants — Luton, Dunstable and Ellesmere Port — have so far achieved anything like an adequate degree of national co-ordination in their struggle against the company. Ford militants seem to be well ahead in the development of an unofficial combine committee able to formulate and carry out a national strategy.

In the past, the Vauxhall management have succeeded in playing off the non-production and skilled workers (who form the majority of the work force) against the production workers (who make up no more than 40 per cent of the total). Clearly, action taken by a single section of the workers while the rest are laid off is no recipe for victory. Only a militant stand by a united rank and file can prevent the union leaders from selling out.

There is an urgent need for Vauxhall militants to set up regular unofficial contacts to build a powerful combine committee. The basis for such co-ordination would seem to exist. Although production workers, the majority of whom are organised in the NUVB, will probably be hit even harder by the new deal than the skilled men in the AEF, there have been successive rejections of it on the part of AEF members.

The lessons from Vauxhall for Ford militants in the coming battle for parity is clear. Any reliance placed on union leaders, however many militant noises they make, can only divert attention from the task of building the self-confidence of the rank and file.



DALY: no support for strikers

After their magnificent strike, they must now organise themselves for a massive campaign to stop further closures.

It is clear that the initiative for such a campaign will have to come from the rank and file, not from the leaders of their union, who capitulated to the Coal Board.

Even the 'Left-wing' secretary of the NUM, Lawrence Daly, did not verbally back the strikers. Yet shortly before his election, Daly wrote in his pamphlet *The Miners and the Nation*: '... if we do not compel the government to change its policy, jobs will still be lost at a very rapid rate; and if we continue to accept the Coal Board's rejection of even the most moderate demands (for example the 40-hour week for surface workers) we become ineffective and discredited as a union and make progress, if at all, at a snail's pace.'

Yet last week Daly said nothing in favour of a strike for that 'moderate demand'. In his seat of power, he has become divorced from the rank and file and consequently open to pressure from the smooth men of the Coal Board.

The only way to make the leaders respond to the members' wishes is to have an annually elected executive of working miners.

The struggle must go on around the following demands:

1. Stop the compensation to the old owners.
2. No retreat on the surface men's demands.
3. No further pit closures without alternative work.
4. No redundancies. Five days' work or five days' pay.
5. No further wage agreements without full acceptance on all points by the miners.
6. Pit level control of all negotiations.
7. Rank and file control of all conciliation procedures.
8. Annual election of all NUM officials.
9. Decisions on all issues by democratic national conference and not by referendum.

### Couve defeat may boost Left

MICHEL ROCARD's by-election victory over former French Prime Minister Couve de Murville has created a sensation. Doubtless local peculiarities and Couve's obnoxious personality helped to sway the vote — but in a period of massive strikes and squabbles among the Gaullist majority, it has a political significance.

The United Socialist Party (PSU), which split from the

French Socialist Party during the Algerian war, is not a revolutionary party. It has many revolutionaries among its members but Rocard is not one of them.

Rocard is a clever politician, able to echo the phrases of the revolutionary students and the politics of the managerial middle class. He is quite capable of making a deal with the Socialist or Communist Party leaders

Nonetheless, in the eyes of the public, the PSU is still the party that gave support to students and workers in last year's general strike. In the election campaign, the Communist Party attacked the PSU more than Couve. Their anger has recently been aroused by the fact that the PSU paper has carried an article by a supporter of the revolutionary Lutte Ouvriere group calling for opposition

to the CP line in the unions.

Yvelines is not a working-class area but it has had traditionally a substantial CP vote, some of which has now gone to Rocard. It is only a small relaxation of the CP stranglehold on the working class, but it may open a period when revolutionary propaganda can begin to reach a wider audience.

Ian Birchall

# 1919: a plea from Lloyd George and the mighty Triple Alliance collapsed

by **RAYMOND CHALLINOR**

MANY PEOPLE dismiss the prospect of revolution. They say, 'It will never happen here'. They forget that, exactly 50 years ago, it almost **did** happen here.

In 1919, British capitalism could not afford to be complacent or confident. The First World War had ended. The prime minister, Lloyd George, realised that they faced a new menace at home. 'All the cabinet agreed,' said Sir Henry Wilson, who attended its meetings. 'Our real danger now is not the Boches but Bolshevism.'

The cabinet received weekly reports on the activities of Left-wing organisations. Likewise it was kept informed of disaffection in the army.

The threat of revolution was very real. In the aftermath of the Russian Revolution, the whole of Europe teetered on the brink.

In January 1919, the Spartacus revolution occurred in Germany. Two months later, Bela Kun overthrew the Hungarian aristocrats and installed a workers' and peasants' republic.

There were also uprisings in Bavaria and Austria. The Red Army were battering at the gates of Warsaw.

In Britain mass discontent had reached unparalleled dimensions. Everyone seemed to be demanding shorter hours and better pay.

Strikes were everywhere. In January 1919, 70,000 strikers paralysed the Clydeside, fought pitched battles with the police and the authorities brought in the military.

But the government's problem was that its means of repression were unreliable. Discontent was also sweeping the armed forces.

In January 10,000 soldiers mutinied at Folkestone and



**J. H. THOMAS**: right-wing leader of the NUR

2000 at Dover. The rebellion spread until a further 60,000 men were involved.

Red flags fluttered not only over barracks but on ships' mastheads as well. As HMS Kilbride raised the red flag at Milford Haven, its crew declared, 'Half the navy are on strike and the other half soon will be.'

Even some of the police in Liverpool, Birmingham and London downed truncheons.

Confronted with this tremendous threat to itself and the system, the government acted with caution and cunning. Realising that a head-on confrontation would be disastrous, Lloyd George sought to keep the workers talking to prevent them from acting.

In order to dissuade workers from taking action that would endanger capitalism, the government was prepared to

make verbal concessions, promises of improvements in the future, since it could easily go back on these when the position altered.

The Sankey Commission's report into the coal industry recommended public ownership. The National Industrial Conference admitted many grievances were genuine. All their findings were accepted in principle by the government: to accept in principle meant doing nothing in practice.

Meanwhile, as the constant chatter helped to defuse the situation, the government secretly encouraged the employers to strengthen their organisation for the coming showdown with the workers.

The Confederation of British Industry formed a National Organisation of Employers' Organisations, specifically to deal with labour problems.

## The government hung on

Like Mr Micawber, the government just hung on, waiting for something to turn up. It realised that in the absence of any clear, thought-out strategy on the workers' part, or any sense of ultimate direction, the protest movement was certain to end in dissolution and apathy. When the tide of rebellion receded, the relationship of forces would change to the government's advantage.

In achieving a restoration of capitalist stability, the government had the invaluable help of the trade union leaders. These gentlemen were always telling their members to renounce revolutionary activity and abide by the constitution (which meant inactivity).

They were constantly advising workers to go through the official channels (which led nowhere). And they stop-

ped workers from using the situation to gain the maximum. As one leader - TW Naylor of the London Compositors - rightly remarked, but for the moderating influence of the official trade union machinery, 'the revolution would undoubtedly have broken out.'

But it was not simply the right wing leaders who played this perfidious role, as the Triple Alliance amply demonstrates. In his book, *In Place of Fear*, Aneurin Bevan gave a fascinating account of what happened.

I remember vividly Robert Smillie describing to me an interview the leaders of the Triple Alliance had with David Lloyd George in 1919. The strategy of the leaders was clear. The miners under Robert Smillie, the transport workers under Robert Williams, and the National Union of Railwaymen under James Henry Thomas, formed the most formidable combination of industrial workers in the history of Great Britain.

They had agreed on the demands that were to be made on the employers, knowing well that the government would be bound to be involved at an early stage. And so it happened.

Lloyd George sent for the labour leaders, and they went, so Roberts told me, 'truculently determined they would not be talked over by the seductive and eloquent Welshman'. At this Bob's eyes twinkled in his grave, strong face.

## 'We are at your mercy'

'He was quite frank with us from the outset,' Bob went on. 'He said to us: "Gentlemen, you have fashioned, in the Triple Alliance of the unions represented by you, a most powerful instrument. I feel bound to tell you that in our opinion we are at your mercy. The army is disaffected and cannot be relied upon. Trouble has occurred already in a number of camps."

'We have just emerged from a great war and the people are eager for the reward of their sacrifices, and we are in no position to satisfy them. In these circumstances, if you carry out your threat and strike, then you will defeat us.'

'But if you do so,' went on Mr Lloyd George, 'have you weighed the consequences? The strike will be in defiance of the government of the country and by its very success will precipitate a constitutional crisis of the first importance. For, if a force arises in the state which is stronger than the state itself, then it must be ready to take on the functions of the state.'

'Gentlemen,' asked the Prime Minister quietly, 'have you considered, and if you have, are you ready?'

'From that moment on,' said Robert Smillie, 'we were beaten and we knew we were.'

## Feared the rank and file

Paradoxically, the leadership of the Triple Alliance was defeated because it feared the power of its own supporters. Confronted by the capitalist state, it had either to take the road that led directly to revolution or that which led to capitulation. There was no third way.

The consequence of its surrender and similar examples of perfidy was to prepare the ground for the capitalist offensive. By 1920, the government felt sufficiently confident to introduce the Emergency Powers Act, anti-strike legislation that gave it the right to declare a state of



**SMILLIE**, militant miners' leader, seen at a protest meeting against war pro-

emergency, with imprisonment of three months and fines of £100 for those breaking the regulations.

By March 1921, unemployment had risen to 1,664,000. Industrial discipline was tightened, wage cuts followed.

Throughout the whole of the inter-war years, a period of regression and demoralisation for Left-wing organisations the working class paid a heavy price because the opportunity of 1919 was not taken.

For socialists today, history is important only if we learn the lesson from the past rather than repeat its errors. The British economy has grown far more complex, far more interdependent than it was back in 1919.

Therefore, any serious struggle over wages soon develops into a struggle with the capitalist state. One has only got to think of the seamen's strike. At the height of the dispute a mere 31,000 men

were involved - in other words, less than attend many football matches - yet, by their action, they imperilled the running of the entire economy.

## A reputation for militancy

The question is whether, faced with a similar situation at the present, contemporary trade union leaders would behave in the same way as their forebears of 1919. Undoubtedly, J H Thomas, of the NUR, was extremely right-wing, the Les Cannon of his day.

But the other two leaders of the Triple Alliance - Bob Smillie and Robert Williams - had a reputation for militancy. A few months before the 1919 sell-out, Bob Smillie created a sensation by his conduct before the Sankey Commission on the mines.

He angrily coal owners for the large part. He went on to forthright internationalisation with workers'.

Robert equally outraged his ambition 'the red flag' Buckingham joined the C when it was 1920 - that is was a genuine organisation.

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It was at the greatest 1919 emerge serious than

# CP: down the slipp

by **HARRY JONES**

THE INDUSTRIAL record of the Communist Party over many years has been very disappointing. It is difficult to believe that the party grew out of the militant shop stewards' movement of the first world war and that it organised more than a million trade unionists in the Minority Movement of the 1920s.

The CP went onto the slippery slope in 1951 when it adopted as its programme The British Road to Socialism, which says that socialism can be won through parliament. The party turned its back on its industrial branches in favour of building parties in local electoral constituencies.

The industrial members of the party felt more and more neglected and industrial party leaders such as Will Paynter and Dick Etheridge were free to act as they wished.

With last week's mass strike of miners, it is particularly timely to refer to the role of Will Paynter. He was a member of the CP for 39 years and for more than 20 years a member of its national executive.

For nine years (1959-68) he was general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers. On the day he retired, CP secretary John Gollan spoke of Paynter's 'brilliant service to the miners and the Communist Party' (*Morning Star*, 5 December 1968).

But during those nine years there was not one official strike against pit closures. In that period the number of pits declined from 793 to 376 (46 a year) and the number of miners declined from 692,700 to 391,900 - 33,400 a year. To crown his 'brilliant

service' to the miners and the CP, in February this year Paynter joined the government's Commission on Industrial Relations, which seeks to crack down on militant rank and file action in industry. He sits alongside Leslie Blakeman, the former personnel director of Ford, who dreamed up the famous penalty clauses to outlaw unofficial strikes. And for this service Paynter earns not the £15 of the surface worker but a nice £6500 a year.

## SILENT

One of the most sinister attacks on the workers is the class collaboration system that comes under the title of productivity deals: workers must work harder, with job evaluation, time and motion study and measured day work, in exchange for a paltry pay increase. But the Morning Star and the CP are absolutely silent on the issue of productivity agreements.

The reason is obvious. For union officials, a productivity deal is a soft option - to get extra wages without strings demands a struggle, but to get more cash with strings is easy. It is instructive that the pioneering productivity agreement at Esso's Fawley plant owes quite a lot to leading union officials who were members of the CP. The historian of the agreement (another buddy of Paynter's on the CIR) writes:

'The ETU's attitude was particularly interesting. Not only did this union have a communist leadership nationally at the time but the delegate and the senior steward were also avowed and long-standing members of the Communist Party. Anyone naive enough to conclude that the union must therefore be hostile to such union-management co-operation as the Blue Book

implied would

'Throughout the ETU, who was a very constant and in this supported by steward, with close personal Fawley Producers by Alla 1964, page 11

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# Socialist Worker

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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-trade 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 constant struggle against the

# WHERE \* 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 a 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.**

# ME, TARZAN

by  
**Laurie Flynn**  
drawing by  
**Phil Evans**

YES, WE HAVE survived. Indeed you might say that we have persisted.

The human race really is an awkward subject for the so-called scientist. However they too survive and we let them persist.

Desmond Morris is but the latest in a long series of gentlemen who have insisted on pronouncing on the human condition. In modern times this does not take the form of a quiet contribution.

There are better kettles on the boil nowadays. Like a quick serial in the Sunday Mirror.

The interesting thing is that this defines Morris' approach to his subject. The scientists are very careful to foster their image of independence, or in the man's own terms, 'the brutally objective eye of the animal ecologist'.

## Grateful

Even the language is a sham. How brutally ordinary and dull this scientist and his kind are, we shall see. How far the strictly human quality of reason has fallen in such experts' hands, we can not fail to notice.

Armed with some little knowledge of the greater spotted stickleback, they thrust themselves forward as sole owners and contractors in the sphere of the human condition.

Morris starts out his encyclopedia by telling us how grateful we should be that we can pace about our living rooms, whereas animals have only their cages. The fact that two million houses in this country have no lavatory, and 3½ million no bath doesn't occur to our Desmond in his hurry to say a round of scientific hail-mary's to the English living room.

The comparisons in this product of the very latest

## SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST: DR MORRIS UPDATES DARWIN

In addition we terminated individual lives by widespread abortion, murder, the execution of criminals, assassination, suicide, duelling and the deliberate pursuit of dangerous and potentially lethal sports and pastimes.

All these measures have served to eliminate large numbers of human beings from our overcrowded populations either by the prevention of

fertilisation, or by extermination. Assembled together in this way they make a formidable list. Yet in the last analysis they have proved, even in combination with mass warfare and rebellion, to be hopelessly ineffectual. The human species has survived them all and has persisted in over-breeding at an ever increasing rate.

From THE HUMAN ZOO by Desmond Morris (Cape 35s)



## Every slope...

asked peers and at work they did profits they drew. call, in bold, language, for the of the mines control. Williams was taken: he decision was to see flying over Palace.' He Communist Party armed in August to say, when it y revolutionary rs like Smillie ckle under the s the question: spect of Hugh k Jones today? at it is wrong substitute for the cialist cons- e rank and file. this level that deficiency of d. Far more the inadequac-

## Teachers: in 1919 he gave in to Lloyd George

ies of any Left union leaders was the failure of the revolutionary Left as a whole to measure up to the requirements of the situation. At that time, the socialist movement was fragmented. There were many small groups - sectarian, intolerant, ineffective. As a result, they were unable to seize the opportunities of 1919. There was no consistent revolutionary propaganda work done among the troops. No serious attempt was made to unite the struggles of the striking soldiers and workers. Nor was there a serious effort to make the numerous localised struggles into a unified, national one that would constitute a challenge to the capitalist system. The lesson for us today is simple but crucial. There can be no revolution without a revolutionary party. And that was the main ingredient which was lacking in 1919.

research are always of this level. Cages and rooms, the baboon's glossy fur coat and guess what... glossy fur coats human variety.

The logic is really spell-binding. Animals are like humans. Humans are like animals. Therefore, humans are animals.

Morris chats us through each central problem of our time. We have seen above what he makes of war. Apparently this is a form of population control. And terrible to behold it doesn't work. But quick as a flash and 118 pages earlier in the book, Morris finds a situation where it does:

... nothing helps a leader like a good war. It gives him his only chance of being a tyrant and being loved for it at the same time. He can introduce the most ruthless forms of control and send thousands of his followers to their deaths and still be hailed as a great protector.

What is important here, apart from the repulsive resignation to mass slaughter, is the whole tone of fashionable cynicism. You see, you have to tell just enough of the truth in order to get the lies across.

And this is the essence of this method and this style. Dress it all up as science and those who are systematically deprived of knowledge,

and who are yet human enough to have a genuine respect for knowledge, might swallow it.

It's all commonsense and, after all, the man is a doctor. There are rules: a quack can not be a doctor, but a doctor can be a quack.

Morris is most revealing in his brief remarks on the class system, which not surprisingly he thinks has disappeared. Under all the guff, he is utterly conventional.

Class has been replaced by a system based on merit. Class was wasteful you see, but the merit system means vast numbers of 'failures'. These people 'can no longer put the blame on the external forces of the wicked class system. They must place it firmly on their own personal shortcomings.'

## Creeping

Will striking miners and the insane please note. As Morris so rightly adds: 'To understand this, it will help at this point to take a side-long glance at the world of insects.' Yes, Desmond, the world is truly full of creeping things.

The implications of this stuff is that we have to resign ourselves to what exists. This is why the capitalist press takes Morris up and

pays so handsomely.

It is interesting that at the same time as the Sunday Mirror was showcasing the dreaded Desmond, one of the so-called quality papers was putting forward another version of the same theme. And better in many ways, for its author Arthur Koestler is an ex-communist. This man had proved that the shambles of the modern world was due to a mistake in our biological evolution.

## Disguised

But man is not an animal. Man creates his own world and he can change it. Men, rather the working class, produce life.

At any one time this maybe disguised, particularly to those who are busy doing the producing. But this is not, and never has been a permanent situation. The working class has a rich and unceasing history of struggle to change the world. This goes on and is being developed today.

The working-class movement has need of theory and knowledge of its own history like no other class. This we must both revere and develop.

But we must have no reverence for a false science. In sum, with a few cuts, Morris' book would make a good silent film.

## LENIN

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## Every slope...

be mistaken. the negotiat- full-time offic- chairman of the mmittee, adopted ictive attitude was strongly his senior whom he had contact.' The activity Agree- Flanders, Faber industry, Dick been a con- in Birmingham in 1966, when 10,000 Austin ant, Etheridge a 'cup of tea' lson and then he was 'satis-

They added:

'As an agitational organisation, the British Communist Party seems in any case of dubious industrial effectiveness. Some evidence of this is perhaps contained both in the failure of its efforts to support a continuing national organisation of motor industry shop stewards - an organisation for which strong industrial raison d'être in fact existed... The party's representation amongst full-time union officers has sometimes produced an ambiguous attitude on the part of its members (at official and lay levels of trade unionism) towards unofficial strikes or movements.' (p. 290).

## PRAISE

Harry Watson is the president of the Lightermen's Union and a quarter of the union executive are CP members. And yet Lord Devlin in his report on the docks praised the union: 'It's record of unofficial activity is considerably better than that of the TGWU.' (Devlin Report, 1965, page 46).

Two years after the report was published, Watson proved how right Devlin was. The Lightermen did not join the mass strike against the implementation of Devlin's recommendations.

Perhaps one of the worst failures of the CP in recent years was its dithering during the seamen's strike of May and June, 1966. With CP members influential among lightermen and dockers, the seamen should not have been left to fight the battle alone. But:

'The members of the Lightermen's Union, under Mr Watson, were never ordered out in support. And Mr Jack Dash has told the dockers early on in the strike: "There is no question of our striking".'



GOLLAN (left) praised PAYNTER for his services to the miners and the party. A few weeks later Paynter joined the CIR



'On the day before the seamen's strike started, Mr Jack Dash, chairman of the unofficial port workers' liaison committee in the London docks, called a meeting at which various militant seamen spoke. Explaining the purpose of the meeting to the press, Mr Dash said: 'We will certainly give the seamen all the support they want, but there is no question of our striking. The meeting has been called so that one or two points can be clarified. It is a courtesy meeting' (Daily Telegraph, 16 May 1966).

'Soon after the strike began Dash explained his position in front of the television cameras to a mass meeting of dockers. There was no point in a strike, he said. All the dockers had to do was to refuse to move ships brought in by the seamen. Gradually the docks would clog up and the Dock Labour Board would be forced to pay off the workers on fall-back pay. Instead of striking, the dockers would end up not working and being paid by the employers for it!

'A subtle strategy, no doubt, but one which was doomed to fail. Throughout the dispute the docks did not clog up enough to make a single docker redundant. The dock-

ers in London at any rate worked throughout the six weeks that their seamen colleagues were in struggle. Paul Foot, The Seamen's Strike, in The Incompatibles, Penguin, 1967.

And Foot also records that when leading seamen militants met the CP's industrial organiser, Bert Ramelson, at the height of the strike, they were astonished to hear him urge an immediate return to work.

## SUCCUMB

With increasing integration of state and big business, trade unionists have either to be political revolutionaries or succumb to incorporation of the unions into the system. With the CP's theory of peaceful coexistence with capitalism and the parliamentary road to socialism, with its increasing support for top-paid union officials, it is becoming less and less relevant to the rank and file struggle in industry.

The party is tired and old. The Paynters, Etheridges and Watsons are free from any revolutionary discipline. And more and more of the excellent militants in and around the party feel neglected and let down.

## Join the International Socialists

- ABERDEEN Pete Drummond 19 High Street Aberdeen
- ACTON Roger Cox Flat 1 37 Queens Drive N4
- ANGEL Barry Hugill 154 Downham Road N1
- ASHFORD Phil Evans 'Eastside' Ham Street Nr Ashford Kent
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- BECKENHAM Mervyn Smith 9 Alton Gardens Copers Cope Rd 01 653 6552
- BIRMINGHAM Godfrey Webster 123 Yardley Wood Rd B'ham 13
- BRADFORD Neil Patterson 25 Fernhill Grove off Park Rd
- BRIGHTON Andrew Moir 14 Upper Wellington Road
- BRISTOL B R Horlock 26 Elmdale 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
- CHERTSEY 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 58 Palmerston Rd Earlston
- CRAWLEY Babs Ward 59 Banks Rd Poundhill Crawley Sussex
- CROYDON Jenny Woodhams 26 Braemar Avenue South Croydon
- DEPTFORD John Ure 172a Deptford High Rd SES
- DONCASTER George Yarrow 39 Jossey Lane Scawthorpe
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- EAST LONDON Bob Light 2 Oster Tce Southcote Rd E17
- EDINBURGH Brian Lavery 41 East London Street

- ENFIELD Ian Birchall 109 Croylard Rd N9
- FULHAM Brian Rose 49 Schubert Road SW15
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- South-S. Morris 4 Elphinstone St Glasgow SW1
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- 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
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- KINGSTON John Owen 4 Sandown Court Esher
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- 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 82 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 Winton Rd Duston
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- 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 Mdx
- SELBY John Charlton 12 Thatch Close Selby Yorks
- SHEFFIELD Rick Osborn 159a Rustlings Rd Sheffield S11 7AD
- SOUTHAMPTON John Fisher 144 Thornhill Park Road
- SOUTHEND 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 83 Pasture Lane Lazenby Teesside
- TOTTENHAM Laurie Flynn 374 High Road N17
- WANDSWORTH Mark Hutton 87 Broderick Road Wandsworth Common SW17
- WATFORD Paul Russell 61 Carpenders Avenue Carpenders Park
- WIGAN Ray Challinor 34 Whiteside Ave Hindley
- YORK Bob Looker 22 Hobgate
- VICTORIA John 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

# MINERS GO BACK - BUT UNITED BY NEW ANGER AND MILITANCY

JOE KENYON

THE YORKSHIRE COAL STRIKE has been called off. In Barnsley on Saturday, the Yorkshire area council of the miners' union recommended that the strikers return to work on the understanding that Vic Feather, general secretary of the TUC, would set up an enquiry into the dispute over working hours of the pit top men.

Many delegates again raised the call for the resignation of the national union officials, including President Sid Ford and secretary Lawrence Daly.

The men felt that they had been betrayed by the officials' failure to make the strike official and national. In future, said many delegates, the officials would have to be more answerable to the rank and file and local branches.

The strike was only a showing of teeth. If the hours question isn't settled speedily, next time the men will bite and bite hard.

The immediate problem of the Coal Board is how soon they can settle the issue without it becoming apparent that the concession was the result of strike action. The old myth that strikes must not be seen to pay must be preserved.

## DOUBLE DEALING

To get out of this dilemma the NCB is happy to pass the problem to Vic Feather. The honest Yorkshire lads, inexperienced in this kind of two-faced double-dealing, accepted the idea for a meeting with Feather and appealed to him to find a formula for settlement.

But there was still a great deal of anger and resentment at the Barnsley meeting. Many delegates, although they voted for a return to work, emphasised that through the strike they had discovered a new, growing and united militancy. Many valuable contacts and friendships had been made throughout the coalfield areas of Wales, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire and Lancashire.

These contacts were going to be maintained and strengthened. Union power must once again become workers' power and a step towards this end must be a restoration of power to the branches.

For too long now branch officials have been powerless cogs within the union machine. They must become its driving force and the NUM must no longer be the mouthpiece of Robens, the Coal Board and the government.

It is high time, too, that proper comparisons were made of the pit top workers' conditions and hours of work. In other industries with a shift system, the men work a



FEATHER: TUC enquiry

straight eight hour day, which includes a 30 minute meal time and a tea break. And if they get their hands dirty, they get 'washing time' in the companies' time.

It is very different for the pit top man. He works 8 hours 35 minutes with only a 20 minute break for meals and no tea breaks.

The 20 minute meal time is known as 'snap-time' of bread and water because in most cases there is neither the time nor the facilities for anything else.

The men are usually covered in coal dust, and in many cases they sit down wherever they can. Some of the men mindful of the need for hygiene, hold their sandwiches between thumb and index finger.

That part of the bread becomes black at the touch. They nibble round it then throw the remainder away. This outrageous and degrading condition is called meal-time and is added to the shift time.

## IN OWN TIME

But that isn't all. When the men have finished their shift work, they have to spend another half hour scrubbing themselves clean in their own time. Taking into consideration that they have to clock-on in the baths 1/2 hr. before they start work and clock-off 1/2 hr. after they have finished work, their shift is a 9 1/2 hr. shift and not an 8 1/2 hr. shift as claimed by the Coal Board.

It has been said, that the Board (and this may give them further excuse for treachery) cannot persuade the government's Prices and Incomes Board to acquiesce in any breach of the 40 hours barrier for manual workers. It would set a precedent leading to similar claims on behalf of other manual workers.

SO WHAT! should be the answer of the workers. We pay good money to maintain trade unionism, we pay good salaries to men to fight our case. It is time they started fighting for us.

## LETTER: GEC SIT-IN

IT IS A PITY that Sabby Sagall has come to the conclusion that a working occupation of the Liverpool factories of GEC was not a 'viable means of struggle' (16 October).

Of course it is true that 'production could not have been maintained for more than a few days, and it would have been impossible to market any of the goods or to transfer components to other factories.'

It is not, however, true that if the occupation had come off 'the only difference would have been that the workers would have received instructions from shop stewards instead of foremen.' The difference would have been plainly seen, if the occupation had indeed taken place.

The problem with such a demonstration is: can it be started? It is clear, and was always clear to all the shop stewards at GEC, that it is impossible to expropriate capitalism a factory at a time. But this is a totally misleading charge to lay against the Liverpool workers.

The truth is that all the Liverpool stewards understood very well that they were engaged in a demonstration. Such a demonstration would certainly not have reinforced the dependence of the majority of the workpeople on the bosses.

The very opposite is true: even in its failure, the 19 September occupation stimulated the imaginations of workers all over the country and constituted a serious blow against the idea that the boss is invincible and irreplaceable.

Many of Sabby Sagall's points about the way in which the Action Committee promoted its case among the mass of workers would appear to have some justification. But this is nothing to do with the major question of whether factory occupations are a rational response by workers in the struggle against redundancy.

We think they are. We also think that even to survive a few days in the teeth of all opposition would be to light a 'big flame' which would be seen all over the world.

The discussion of the Liverpool experiment is only just beginning. We hope that before it is finished the GEC workers may still show the labour movement how valid was their original response. - Ken Coates, Tony Topham, Institute for Workers' Control, Nottingham.

In Sabby Sagall's article the figure for redundancies at the Liverpool English Electric factory was given as 800 out of 3000 workers. This should have been 300 out of 3000.

## Socialist Worker

MINERS SPECIAL  
2d

### VICTORY TO THE MINERS

#### THE STRIKERS MUST DEMAND-

1. An enquiry into the working hours of the pit top men.
2. The national union officials to resign.
3. The national union officials to be replaced by a national council of workers.
4. The national union officials to be replaced by a national council of workers.
5. The national union officials to be replaced by a national council of workers.

#### What they said

...the miners' union recommended that the strikers return to work on the understanding that Vic Feather, general secretary of the TUC, would set up an enquiry into the dispute over working hours of the pit top men.

Freeze and the sack - miners bear the brunt of government policy

#### South Wales

...the miners' union recommended that the strikers return to work on the understanding that Vic Feather, general secretary of the TUC, would set up an enquiry into the dispute over working hours of the pit top men.

#### Don Milligan

...the miners' union recommended that the strikers return to work on the understanding that Vic Feather, general secretary of the TUC, would set up an enquiry into the dispute over working hours of the pit top men.

Last week Socialist Worker produced a two-page special miners' issue that was sold in all the major mining areas.

## Rayon workers strike to win closed shop

Don Milligan

LANCASTER: Production workers at Lansil's rayon plant are on strike for 100 per cent union membership. The firm is a subsidiary of Monsanto, a massive chemical company based in the USA with other factories in Wales and Ulster and warehouses in Manchester and Warrington.

The strike spread rapidly through all departments and 1200 workers are now out. A strike committee had been elected.

The strike is also against Pickets out at knitwear works

TEN WORKERS sacked from the Nova-Knit factory in Shoreditch, East London, are picketing the firm in a bid to bring out the rest of the workforce. The men are members of the Transport Workers Union.

Along with the sackings, the management is attempting to bring in new working conditions that involve using two operators instead of four for 12 machines, but for the same basic wage of £18. The factory works a seven-day week with 12-hour shifts and workers have off only one Sunday in three.

The strikers are fighting for reinstatement, full union recognition and abolition of the new working conditions.

## NOTICES

KINGSTON IS: Nigel Harris' on the colonial revolution, 8 pm Sunday 2 Nov., Three Compasses, Eden St, Kingston on Thames.

FULHAM IS: John Palmer on Ireland, 8 pm, Sunday 9 Nov., Wetherby Arms, 500 Kings Rd, SW10. Busses: 11, 22.

GERMS EYE VIEW No 2 now out. Socialist magazine for hospital workers. 8d post paid from Jack Sutton 11a Rowan Ave, Whalley Range, Manchester 16.

Prepayment essential for notices. Is a line (average 5 words a line). Deadline Tuesday.

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## Strike hits GEC factory switch plan

SW Reporter

WORKERS at the Elliot Process Automation plant in West London are on strike in protest against the GEC-English Electric combine's attempts at reorganisation.

In June 1968 the management announced that the plant was to be closed at a future date, workers were to be made redundant and production moved to Greenwich, south of the Thames.

A special bonus was offered to those workers who would stay on until closure. Many accepted, anticipating considerable redundancy payments. Staff workers moved to Greenwich and many moved home to that area.

But now the management has decided that it will move production to another local factory in the combine, not to Greenwich. Production workers have been offered their jobs back and staff workers will have to come back from Greenwich.

The firm has only offered a miserable 7 - 10 per cent increase as an alternative to the special bonus and redundancy money. Fifty production workers rejected this offer as they have already lost out on two national agreements totalling 7 per cent, in the last 17 months. They want a 25 per cent increase to compensate for the mismanagement of the whole affair.

After a works conference last week, at which the divisional manager refused to budge, the shop floor workers came out on strike.

The issue is further evidence that workers in the GEC-EE combine are just pawns in chairman Arnold Weinstock's hands. Only by forming combine committees can they fight this threat.

## Rank strikers reject offer

WORKERS at Rank's Highbury, North London works voted on Tuesday to continue their strike for a shilling an hour increase for all grades. They rejected management offers designed to split piece workers from time workers.

The men are worried by the threat of further 'reorganisation' on top of redundancies that have already taken place. They are also aware that they are up against a huge monopoly which even the pro-merger Labour government will not allow to take over any more firms.

'Whatever we get this time,' said one striker, 'we can't beat something this big on our own. Only united working-class political action to get rid of these profit-hungry giants will solve the long-term problems.'

## B-Specials: concessions to Ulster right wing

Sean Treacy

THE SUPPORT for Ulster Prime Minister Chichester-Clark from the Unionist Council last week marks another step in the policy of Westminster and Stormont to split the civil rights movement.

But the Unionist Party bosses would not have won their vote of confidence unless they had been able to promise the right wing that they had forced concessions from the Labour government on the future of the B-Specials. It now appears that control of the Specials will be shared between Westminster and representatives of the Orange regime.

While the Unionists are selling their 'package of reforms' in order to buy off the right wing and Green Tory leaders of the civil rights movement, London is starting the next stage of its strategy for stabilising the rule of British capital in Ireland. This involves a move to some federal relationship between Dublin and Belfast and between the whole of Ireland and Britain.

## Lynch praises

In a weekend speech, the 26-county premier Jack Lynch, showed how far his GreenTory Fianna Fail Party would abandon its anti-imperialist past to welcome this development. The 'republican' Prime Minister paid compliments to Callaghan and Chichester Clark and spoke favourably of a future arrangement whereby north and south would be linked federally and economic links with Britain would be strengthened.

The fact is that with the challenge of international capitalist concentrations growing stronger daily, the Irish capitalist class have long since given up any idea of 'sinn fein' - ourselves alone. Having abandoned the ideals of 1916, Fianna Fail is leading the Irish nation back to mother England as the only logical path for a capitalist Ireland.

As James Connolly predicted, it is only the socialist and working-class forces who will mount the struggle against imperialism and Unionism.

The only people prepared to hold out for 100 per cent civil rights and the destruction of Stormont are the revolutionary socialists and the socialists in the republican movement.

Recent events underline the importance of the development of People's Democracy as a national revolutionary socialist organisation with its own 32 county paper. In Britain, the job of the Left is to organise solidarity with PD and its allies.

## Hackney dustmen stay out

DUSTMEN at the Millfield depot in Hackney, East London, are still on strike. Donations are now urgently needed for their strike fund. Send to: P. Bilson, 19b Alcester Crescent, Clapton, London E5.

## Israelis repress Arabs and anti-Zionist Left

from page one

result many Arabs tended to abstain in the elections. MATSPEN's position has helped to offset this dangerous tendency and to explain the meaning of critical support.

Four MATSPEN militants (three Jews and one Arab) were arrested in Nazareth last week, when they were distributing election leaflets. Bail was refused and they were remanded in custody. The police say they are being investigated on suspicion of incitement to rebellion, because the leaflet contained a photograph of Gen. Dayan in a military cemetery and photographs of Arab victims of Israeli raids on civilian population. One of the arrested militants, Johanan Yuval, suffers from a serious kidney disorder, but the police refused

to give him a parcel of medicine which his friends brought to the prison. The Israeli Socialist Organisation has appealed to all groups and individuals on the Left throughout the world to step up their protest against Zionism in general and against the atrocities committed in the occupied territories and the severe repressions in Israel itself.

PALESTINE SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN national conference, Saturday 1st November, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square WC1 10 am. SOLIDARITY MARCH with the Fedayeen, Sunday 2 November, 2.30 pm, Speakers' Corner, Marble Arch to Israeli Embassy.

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