

What we think:
The working class in action

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As the Tory threat gets worse

The TUC retreats

THE 102ND Trades Union Congress meets under the shadow of the greatest political and economic crisis that the British working class has ever faced.

BY MICHAEL BANDA

The continuing massive increase in unemployment, the sharp drop in profit rates and the investment cuts, combined with the projected Tory government attacks on wages, union rights, immigrants, the social services, education and housing, now mean that the ruling class must, if it is to survive, take the first steps to the corporate state in Britain.

UCS pay-off strike

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The sackings are the latest in UCS's plan to slash the group's labour force by over 3,000, announced earlier this year, with full union collaboration.

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This follows Thursday's decision of Hull's 'Blue' and 'White' docks stewards to back all Pilkington products from next Monday. The stewards are also sending a letter to Pilkington, deploring management action and calling for the reinstatement of the sacked glassmen. St Helen's Trades and Labour Council has also decided to give their support.

It is no accident that Dr Paul Einzig, who once praised Mussolini as a 'leader who inspires hero worship' and commended fascist outlawing of strikes, can now emerge in the columns of the Tory press this week to advocate swingeing cuts in public expenditure and unemployment benefits, and the ruthless penalizing of trade unions for opposition to rationalization, as well as increased unemployment to bring the trade unions to heel. Einzig is but one of a whole army of reactionaries in the Tory Party and outside it who are demanding, insistently, that the only way to put value back into shares and profits back into the balance sheets is to put the working class in a straitjacket.

The Tories have a clear strategy to defeat their enemy—the working class. But the TUC has none. Despite the General Council's belated and worthless decision to end support for voluntary restraint on wages (as if it ever worked)—disguised by the Stalinist 'Morning Star' as a masterpiece of strategic thinking—there is little doubt that the General Council is completely unprepared to meet the Tory offensive.

No policy

It does not require much perspicacity to know that next week's Brighton Congress, despite the demagoguery of the 'left' union leaders about an 'offensive strategy' and plaintive cries from the right for 'expansion', will not seriously outline a policy to fight the most sinister threat of all, unemployment, and its authors, the capitalist class and the Tory government.

All talk of 'high wages' becomes hypothetical in the context of growing unemployment and short-time working. The TUC cannot fight because every trade union leader in Britain is politically reconciled to the continued existence of the Tory government—from Jack Jones to Victor Feather.

That is why there is not a single motion on the agenda calling for a campaign to force the Tories to resign. The TUC, in this sense, resembles a conference of general practitioners who are opposed to cancer, but quite reconciled to cancer! Such a Congress—even if it does pass progressive resolutions—cannot implement them for the reasons outlined already.

No confidence

The TUC, in so far as it reflects the real rank-and-file feelings, does so only in a distorted and often inverted way. Many of its motions could arguably have been put forward.

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MINERS
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10.30 a.m. - 5 p.m.
Danum Hotel
High St
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Not serious

But threats of Israeli action to destroy these missiles are not taken too seriously in Washington. It seems likely that the US will further placate the Israelis by promising them 'compensation' for the movement of missiles in further arms supplies.

If this move worked out, the New York talks would restart and the Middle-East settlement so urgently needed by both US imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy alike would once again become a possibility. Meanwhile, the preparation of the Arab states to...

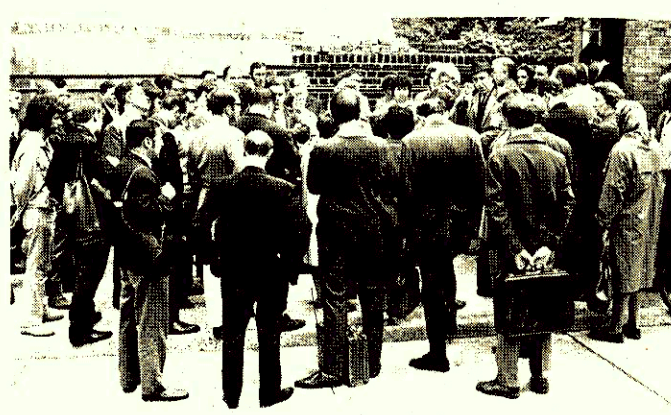
Devlin: Dockers' worst fears are confirmed

DOCK employers have released final details of the Devlin Phase Two deal which comes into operation on London docks from Monday September 21.

These confirm the worst expectations of militant dockers who opposed its acceptance. There are to be two shifts, one from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m. and the other from 2 p.m. to 9 p.m.

Voluntary shifts
There will also be voluntary Saturday and Sunday shifts. Basic pay for cargo handling will be £36 10s, with small differential payments for ship gangs, crane drivers and gangers. Men considered unfit to

Longer leave stoppage



BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

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At Islington, executive member Sid Kent (above) addressed a meeting of about 1,000 workers and a resolution was passed expressing 'dissatisfaction at the excessive delays in dealing with the just claims' and deploring 'the complete absence of realistic negotiations'.

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At a mass meeting they voted overwhelmingly in favour of a recommendation put by Reg Parsons, Transport and General Workers' Union senior shop steward, for a total stoppage in support of the Morris 1000 assembly workers who have been on strike for ten days.

Pieceworkers from the four main assembly shops, N Block assembly mounting shop and sub-assembly were at the meeting. The issue at stake in the strike is the rate of pay which is to operate when the ADO 28, a new model, goes into volume production in the South plant at the factory.

The South plant was built with government grants after the British-Leyland merger.

The nucleus of the ADO 28 labour-force will be drawn from the Morris Minor assembly lines when this model is discontinued in a few weeks' time.

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The model is to be priced on normal piecework, but in the interim, before prices are fixed, the management wants to pay these workers on the existing Minor line payments of 16s 10d an hour.

The final stages of Minor 1000 production have been paid on a controlled piecework system, but the workers insist that management must honour the existing factory agreement and terminate controlled piecework when Minor production ends.

As far as the assembly workers are concerned, the management is simply not on.

In recent years, all new models in the factory have been priced while the operators have been paid on 'shop average'.

The Minor 1000 payment of 16s 10d an hour is £6-£7 below the average.

CAN'T ACCEPT

Senior shop stewards told the Workers Press that they cannot accept a situation where workers are forced to time a new model on this sort of pay. It would leave workers

Productivity—'Greater strain on workers'

INCREASED productivity and efficiency is frequently achieved only by making men work harder, putting greater pressure on the individual and driving workers close to breaking-point, according to one of Britain's top medical scientists.

In a letter to 'The Times', Dr Ivor H. Mills, professor of medicine at Addenbrooke's, the Cambridge-teaching hospital, points out that:

'In the various wage freezes we have had in the past ten years it was often possible to get a pay increase if it was associated, or by change in procedure which increased production.'

'Whenever this is done without complete automation it demands more of the worker, either in more intense concentration, or by working with fewer breaks in the day. The time-and-motion man comes round and indicates how more could be achieved in the same time.'

'The conveyor-belt type of production in the factory demands that everyone works continuously. The tea-break is abolished and a tea-trolley brings tea to the worker. The result is that the intensity of work is stepped up.'

'There must obviously be a limit to how far this process can be carried. The studies carried out on soldiers during the Korean War indicated that all men have a breaking point. What the time-and-motion man cannot measure is the strain on the worker brought about by the more efficient method.'

Professor Mills goes on to cite the example of the clothing industry where division of labour and speed-up have increased efficiency, 'but only at the expense of greater strain on the worker'.

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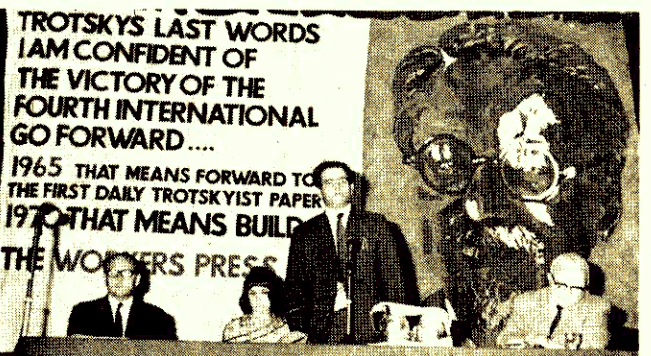


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'I am confident of the victory of the Fourth International Go forward!'

GKN MEN REJECT FORMULA
● See Late News

● PAGE FOUR COL. 4

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Meanwhile, the preparation of the Arab states to handle cargo will get £28 for a flat week.

The three-weeks' annual holiday will be paid at £33 10s.

The real sting is in the 'manning, flexibility and mobility' clauses, regarded by the dock employers as the lynch-pin of the deal. These state that in order to achieve maximum efficiency all men will:

'Accept advance orders to report for work; move from ship to quay or quay to ship at any time either singly or in gangs; move from discharging to loading and vice-versa at any time; start and continue work irrespective of the number of men available; transfer between sheds crews in the same area and other

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Talks on refinery strike

ATTEMPTS to settle the two-month strike of over 1,000 construction workers at the Burmah Oil refinery, Ellesmere Port, Cheshire, were under way in a London hotel yesterday.

The talks were called on the employers' initiative.

Convenors from the Stanlow, Carrington and Burmah Oil sites attended the talks, with national and local officials of the Constructional Engineering Union, Boiler-makers, electricians and plumbers, AEF and Heating and Domestic Engineers.

Construction workers at the site want a 15s basic rate with holiday pay linked to average earnings.

They have rejected an offer of 13s. The present basic is 11s 9d.

45 pickets from the site, including convenor Bob McKenzie, are to appeal against fines and binding over imposed at Chester magistrates' court recently after police attacked their picket line.

They plan to lobby the TUC at Brighton on Tuesday. Donations towards their fund should be sent to CEU offices, Sweeting St, Liverpool 1.

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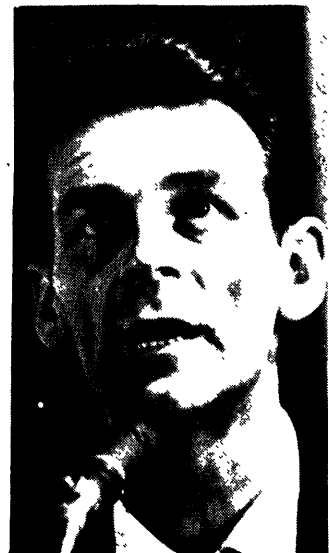
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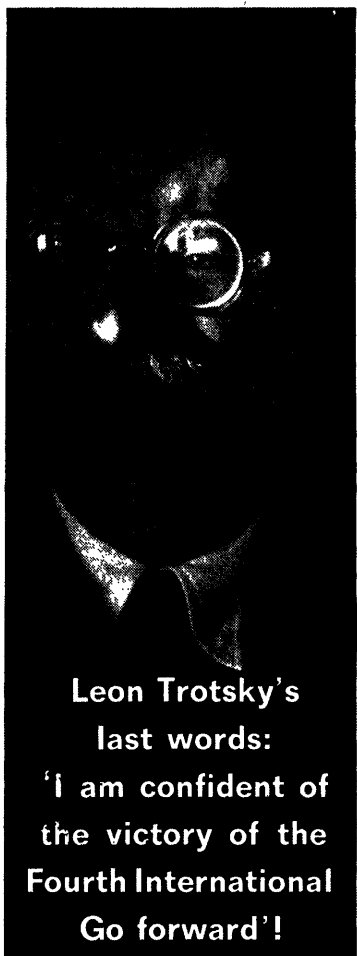
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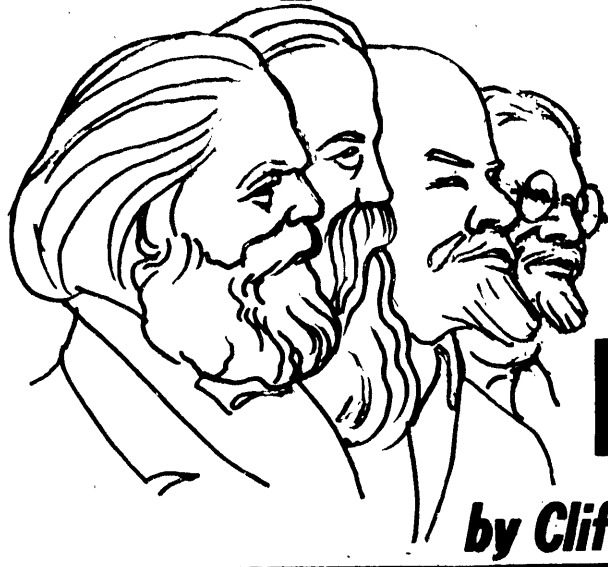
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An introduction to Marxist philosophy



by Cliff Slaughter

FINAL PART OF A
REGULAR SERIES
ON PHILOSOPHY

PART
SIXTEEN

CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE: POLITICS AND REVOLUTION

(vi) The peasants

WE HAVE already taken Marx's well-known definition of the small peasantry as 'a class and not a class' to illustrate his views on the relation between the economic and political processes in a class's formation.

Equally instructive is his explanation of how this very amorphous character of the peasantry, given their history since the decrees following the Revolution of 1789, laid the basis for the power of Louis Napoleon.

Marx's classic text 'The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte', besides constituting a model of the method of historical materialism, throws much light on the subsequently vexed and momentous problem of the relationship of the peasantry to the socialist revolution.

For example, Lenin's strategy in Russia did not include the 'peasant alliance' simply as an organizational device, but was the extension into the conditions of backward Russia of the theoretical conclusions of Marx and Engels from 1848 and in the subsequent years.

'The Bonaparte dynasty,' writes Marx, 'represents not the revolutionary, but the conservative peasant; not the peasant that strikes out beyond the condition of his social existence, the small holding, but rather the peasant who wants to consolidate it; not the country folk who want to overthrow the old order through their own energies linked up with the towns, but on the contrary those who, in stupefied bondage to this old order, want to see themselves with their small-holding saved and favoured by the ghost of the empire. It represents not the enlightenment, but the superstition of the peasant; not his judgement, but his prejudice; not his future, but his past; not his modern Cevennes [where a famous peasant uprising took place in the early 18th century] but his modern Vendée [where the peasants supported the Royalists after 1789].'²¹

Contended

In the years of the parliamentary republic of 1848 up to the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon in December 1851, 'the modern and the traditional consciousness of the French peasant contended for mastery'.

Marx's method here should be noted. He does not deduce the political character of the peasant 'once and for all' from the economic-social definition of the class, but sees upon this basis a struggle between 'the past and the future' of the peasants as a class, a struggle joined only through the drawing of the peasants into the maelstrom of political history from 1848 to 1851, which has already been explained by Marx as the outcome of economic and class developments at the national and international levels (above).

This development 'from the outside' sets the terms under which the struggle of past against future in the peasantry takes place, and on this basis

²¹(18th Brumaire', 'Selected Works' Vol II, p. 416.)

Marx discusses the disputes over local government, education, religion, morality, and so on, which raged among the peasants.

This method should be contrasted with any pseudo-Marxist 'analyses' which build up some 'model' of the class psychology of the peasant (or of the bourgeoisie, etc.) from the material conditions of his existence and then proceed to test it, confirm it, refine it, etc., through a consideration of various facts about peasant life and peasant history.

Analysis

Attempts to present 'working-class culture' by a similar method, instead of through the historical analysis of the central experiences of the proletariat's struggle to become a 'class for itself' in conflict with the bourgeoisie, prove still more ludicrous.

This struggle between the past and the future of the peasantry is not to be understood just as a matter of consciousness, or as some tragic

Napoleon consolidated in France. It is precisely the material conditions which made the feudal peasant into a small peasant and Napoleon into an emperor.

'Two generations have sufficed to produce the inevitable result: progressive deterioration of agriculture, progressive indebtedness of the agriculturist.'

'The "Napoleonic" form of property, which at the beginning of the 19th century was the condition for the liberation and enrichment of the French countryfolk, has developed in the course of this century as the law of their enslavement and pauperisation. And it is just this law which is the first of the "idees napoléoniennes" which the second Bonaparte has to uphold.'

'If he still shares with the peasants the illusion that the cause of their ruin is to be sought not in this small-holding property itself but outside it in the influence of secondary causes, then his experiments will burst like soap bubbles when they come

serve to strengthen the bourgeois state in its most repressive forms against the proletariat and the revolutionary sections of the peasantry itself. Thus:

'Besides the mortgage which capital imposes on it, the small-holding is burdened by taxes. Taxes are the source of life for the bureaucracy, the army, the priests and the court, in short, for the whole apparatus of the executive power. Strong government and heavy taxes are identical.'

'By its very nature, small-holding property forms a suitable basis for all-powerful and innumerable bureaucracy.'

'It creates a uniform level of relationships and persons over the whole surface of the land. Hence it also permits of uniform action from a supreme centre on all points of this uniform mass. It annihilates the aristocratic intermediate grades between the mass of the people and the state power.'

'On all sides, therefore, it calls forth the direct interference of this state power and the intervention of its immediate organs.'²²

relations of production in society as a whole which imperiously demand the demise of the peasant small-holding—all this has built up 'behind the back' of the peasant a situation in which his traditional ideology is brought into complete contradiction with his material conditions of life, where every action into which he is forced will either confirm his oppression in still more bestial forms or, by a leap in consciousness through alliance with the proletariat, set going the process that will abolish his own and all private property.

Estimate

Marx was wrong in his estimate of the stage of maturity for socialist revolution reached by French society in 1848.

And yet, from his historical-materialist analysis of these events he cast a searchlight on to the developing class relations of the capitalist system as a whole, and not only in France. It was 20 years before the ghost of Bonaparte was laid; but then, in 1871, in

'But the parody of imperialism was necessary to free the mass of the French nation from the weight of tradition and to work out in pure form the opposition between the state power and society.'²³

And it was in the Paris Commune of 1871, 20 years later, that the proletariat made its first revolutionary bid against this 'pure form' of the bourgeois state. Paris was then isolated, particularly from the peasants in the countryside, but this time, in contrast with 1848, the proletariat discovered in practice that the old state machine must be 'smashed', and new independent organs of a new type of state be set up by the working class.

The question of revolutionary leadership based on Marxist theory and its need to project a strategy towards the peasantry among all its other tasks, was also posed by the Paris Commune, but because the 'parody' of 1851 had been lived through and exhausted, by 1871 qualitatively new experiences could be made. Marx wrote to Kugelmann:

Obviously this has been a matter of political importance to the working-class movement ever since.

We confine ourselves here simply to indicating, with selected quotations from a great many which could be used, that Marx, Engels and their followers were keenly aware of the 'middle classes' problem, and that Marx's reference to it as 'irrelevant to present purposes' in 'Capital' was not an isolated afterthought.

Marx always discusses the problem, however, strictly in relation to the framework of the principal class conflict in the given society, that derived from the relations of production the key sectors of the mode of production. Referring to Ricardo, for example, he says:

'What Ricardo forgets to mention is the continual increase in numbers of the middle classes . . . situated midway between the workers on one side and the capitalists and landowners on the other. These middle classes rest with

'Although this situation continually brings an unwelcome number of new soldiers into the field, and into competition with the existing individual capitalists, it also consolidates the rule of capital itself, enlarges its basis, and enables it to recruit ever new forces for itself out of the lower layers of society. . . .

'The more a ruling class is able to assimilate the most prominent men of the dominated classes the more stable and dangerous is its rule.'

It is clear that the use of phrases like 'insurmountable class barriers' as indications of Marx's view of class by bourgeois sociologists like Lipset and Schumpeter amounts to gross misrepresentation. The question is not one of the fate of individuals but of the numbers of such individuals but of the changes in class relations.

Later Marxists have taken account of the rise of the 'new' middle classes in exactly this way.

These social groups were the subject of much discussion in the Marxist movement before the turn of the century. Lenin's review (1899) of Kautsky's reply to the 'revisionism' of Bernstein indicates the terms of the discussion. Lenin wrote:

'The chapter on the "new middle estate" is likewise extremely interesting and, for us Russians, particularly instructive. If Bernstein had merely wanted to say that in place of the declining petty producers a new middle estate, the intelligentsia, is appearing, he would be perfectly correct, says Kautsky, pointing out that he himself noted the importance of this phenomenon several years before.

'In all spheres of people's labour, capitalism increases the number of office and professional workers with particular rapidity, and makes a growing demand for intellectuals.

'The latter occupy a special position among the other classes, attaching themselves partly to the bourgeoisie by their connections, their outlooks, etc., and partly to the wage-workers as increasingly deprives the intellectual of his independent position, converts him into a hired worker and threatens to lower his living standard. The transitory, unstable, contradictory position of that stratum of society now under discussion is reflected in the particularly widespread diffusion in its midst of hybrid, eclectic views, a farrago of contrasting principles and ideas, an urge to rise verbally to the higher spheres and to conceal the conflicts between the historical groups of the population with phrases—all of which Marx lashed with his sarcasm half a century ago.'²⁴

Relationship

Three years later, Lenin drew attention to the relationship between this new middle estate and the old type of petty bourgeoisie, this time along the lines of Marx's note about the latter's 'pressure' on the proletariat:

'In all the countries of Europe, Russia included, the petty bourgeoisie is steadily being "pushed to the wall" and falling into decline, a process which does not always express itself in the outright and direct elimination of the petty bourgeoisie, but in most cases leads to a reduction of its role in economic life, to deterioration of its living conditions, and greater insecurity.

'Everything militates against it: technical progress in big industrial and agricultural enterprises, the development of the big shops, the growth of manufacturers' associations, cartels and trusts, and even the growth of consumers' societies and municipal enterprises. And,

²⁴(Kautsky, 'Bernstein und das Sozialdemokratische Programm: eine Antikritik'.)

²³(Marx, 'Theories of Surplus Value'. Cited in Bottomore and Rubel, op. cit., p. 190.)

²²(Ibid., p. 422.)

the action of thousands of workers in the Paris Commune who had certainly never read Marx, the final words of his '18th Brumaire' were dramatically and literally fulfilled:

'But if the imperial mantle finally falls on the shoulders of Louis Bonaparte, the iron statue of Napoleon will crash from the top of the Vendôme column.'

It remains to explain the political consciousness and role of the peasantry in terms of our earlier presentation of the role of ideology.

When Marx talks about 'false consciousness' he is not dismissing the ideological aspects of history as ephemeral. This 'false consciousness' must be understood as a necessary link in the causal chain, but the very conditions which make possible the recognition of its falseness as well as its necessity demand at the same time a struggle against its persistence.

Marx concludes, on the illusions of the peasants:

'One sees; all ideas napoléoniennes are the ideas of the undeveloped small-holding in the freshness of its youth; for the small-holding that has outlived its day they are an absurdity. They are only the hallucinations of its death struggle, words that are reduced to phrases, spirits reduced to ghosts.'

²²(Ibid., pp. 417-418.)

²¹(Ibid.)

²³(Ibid., pp. 419-420.)



In May 16, 1871 the first words of '18th Brumaire' were dramatically and literally fulfilled when after 3½ hours work, Paris workers toppled the statue of Napoleon from Vendôme column.

fate. Its material basis is made clear in the brilliant closing passages of 'The 18th Brumaire', particularly in the following paragraphs:

'After the first revolution (1789) had transformed the peasants from semi-villains into freeholders, Napoleon confirmed and regulated the conditions on which they could exploit undisturbed the soil of France which had just come into their possession and slake their youthful passion for property. But what is now causing the ruin of the French peasant is his dwarf holding itself, the division of the land, the form of property which

into contact with the relations of production.'²²

Marx goes on to show how the small-holding, the extension of private property of the bourgeoisie type into the countryside, which had been the main guarantee of the bourgeois order against feudal restoration, had within two generations turned into the new enslavement of the small peasant:

'The bourgeois order, which at the beginning of the century set the state to stand guard over the newly-arisen small-holding and manured it with laurels, has become a vampire that sucks out its blood and marrow and throws them into the alchemistic cauldrons of capital. The Code Napoleon is now nothing but a codex of restraints, forced sales and compulsory auctions.'²³

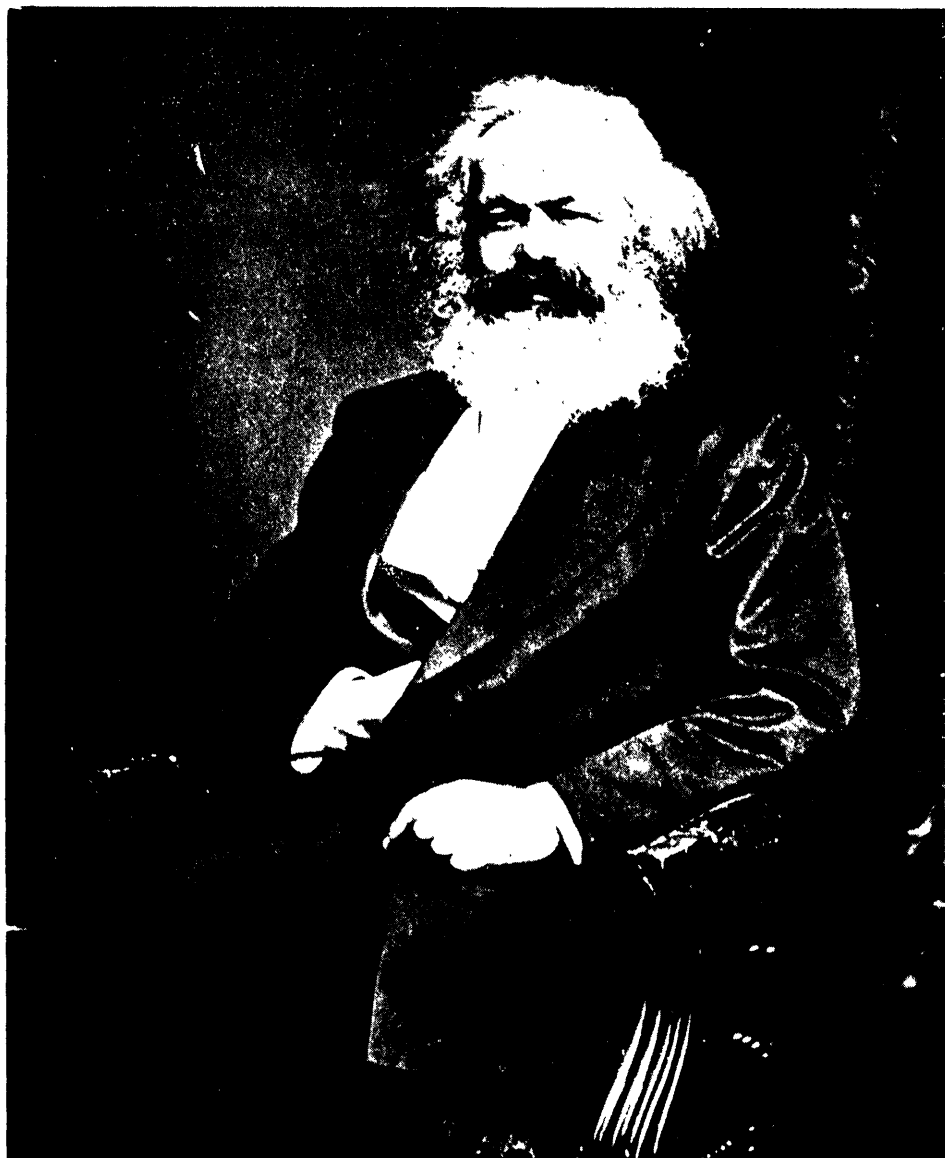
The future interests of the peasantry are therefore only to be found in the overthrow of the bourgeois order, and in alliance with that social force which can overthrow it, the proletariat.

In so far as the peasantry remains the slave of its past, of its illusions of the permanent and prosperous small-holding, protected by the Emperor, its class nature will

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KARL MARX

while the petty bourgeoisie is being "thrust to the wall" in the sphere of agriculture and industry, a "new middle social-estate", as the Germans say, is emerging and developing, a new stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, who are also finding life in capitalist society harder and harder and for the most part regard this society from the viewpoint of the small producer.

France) is not a working-class party either with regard to its policies or its social composition. It is the party of the new middle estate (the functionaries, civil servants, etc.) and, in part, of the petty bourgeoisie and the labour aristocracy.²⁰

Important

In his 'History of the Russian Revolution', Trotsky, far from dismissing this "new middle estate" as irrelevant, gives it a very important political role in the revolution:

'Lenin described Sukhanov as one of the best representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, and that is the most flattering thing that can be said of him.

Only in this connection it must not be forgotten that the

question is here of a new capitalist type of petty bourgeoisie, of industrial, commercial and bank clerks, the functionaries of capital on one side, and the workers' bureaucracy on the other—that is of that new middle caste, in whose name the well known German social democrat Eduard Bernstein undertook at the end of the last century a revision of the revolutionary conceptions of Marx.

According to Trotsky, this 'new middle caste', by reason particularly of its incorporation of a section of the bureaucracy grown up within the working class, has a unique political role:

'In order to answer the question how a revolution of workers and peasants came to surrender the power to the bourgeoisie (in Russia after February 1917), it is necessary

'It is quite natural that this must inevitably lead to widespread dissemination and constant revival of petty-bourgeois ideas and doctrines in the most varied forms.²¹

Trotsky wrote in a similar vein about the political relations between these two social strata:

'The Socialist Party (of

²⁰(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

²¹(Whither France', p. 142.)

²²(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

²³(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

²⁴(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

²⁵(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

²⁶(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

²⁷(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

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²⁹(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

³⁰(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

³¹(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

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³⁴(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

³⁵(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

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³⁷(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

³⁸(Ibid, Vol. VI, p. 434.)

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THE TUC RETREATS

● FROM PAGE ONE
ward ten years ago and, probably, would have had more relevance then.

The TUC leadership's record, or rather, lack of it, despite the apologies of the Stalinists, will do nothing to inspire confidence in the millions of workers it represents, nor will it do anything to scare its class enemies.

In 1969, when hundreds of thousands of workers struck against Barbara Castle's 'White Paper', the TUC General Council refused to support the strikers and publicly snubbed the strikers.

If the fight against Wilson was temporarily won, it was in spite of the General Council, not because of it.

Even the real fruits of victory were snatched out of the hands of the ranks by the TUC's binding agreement to police the unions on behalf of the Labour government.

This decision had the most far-reaching consequences for all sections of workers fighting for better wages because it meant that the powers of the bureaucracy in many of the larger unions would be upheld against any militant opposition from the ranks.

The heroic struggle of the St Helens Pilkington workers certainly illuminated the nature of the TUC's role in a situation of mounting industrial struggle.

The sole purpose of Feather's intervention — as glassworkers' secretary John Potter's open letter (WP, Thursday) reveals — was to secure a return to work and to maintain the apparatus of the General and Municipal Workers' Union bureaucracy intact.

When 600 militants were ruthlessly sacked, despite Feather's solemn assurances, neither the General Council nor its secretary were able to help in reinstating these workers.

If the General Council cannot fight for the rights of 600 glass workers, how the hell can it fight for the right to employment of 600,000 unemployed?

Advisers
We address this question particularly to the centrist humbugs who run 'Tribune' since they have now emerged as the unofficial advisers and public relations men to the trade union bureaucracy.

The example of the 600 St Helens workers is not only a grim reminder to the working class, it is also a devastating reply to the 'Tribune'-ites who uncritically praise the General Council's decisions and worship the incarnation of bureaucracy with the reformist advice that the strategy of the unions 'must be devised at the highest level in the General Council of the TUC'.

In this they have the backing of the 'left' MPs, like Norman Atkinson, and the Stalinists.

But they do not have the backing of history, which clearly shows that precisely because the General Council was the mouthpiece of a reformist bureaucracy it betrayed the working class in 1926 — and that it will do so again.

Worst fears confirmed
● FROM PAGE ONE
shed/areas; and accept any job available if capable of doing the work.

Objections
The deal gives the employer the right to direct men as necessary, and lays down that any employee who objects must raise his objection first through his supervisor and then through the shop steward.

This will not be as easy as it sounds. The employers have rejected the unions' demand for 120 full-time shop stewards, on the docks.

Instead, the unions have now agreed that this quota of full-time stewards will be maintained over the first two months of the deal. After that the number will be halved, unless the Modernization Committee unanimously decides otherwise.

The deal gives employers a cock-a-hoop about their success in getting the deal through, and their chairman Walter Lewis has paid tribute

Pilkington sackings

A WARNING TO ALL TRADE UNIONISTS

THE EMPLOYERS and the Tory government have scored two important victories in the past period. One was the collapse of the dock strike and the other was the lifting of the blacking of Pilkington products on Merseyside docks.

In both cases, they took the measure of the trade union leaders and operated tactics based on an understanding of the men they had to deal with.

Faced with the threat of the use of troops on the docks and afraid of the struggle that would develop, the union leaders retreated. A few days after the dock strike was settled, Pilkington's sacked 600. The employers were learning that 'get-tough' tactics paid dividends with trade union leaders.

The port employers' tactics over the Pilkington blacking followed the very same pattern as those in the dock strike.

After the stewards' decision to black the glass, the employers provoked a battle. At the Birkenhead dockers' meeting, a steward reported that the docks district secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union had reached an agreement with the employers that no more glass would be brought to the dock. But the glass was brought in.

Challenge
They had no intention of allowing the cargo to be put on one side, but challenged the blacking by clearing out men who refused to work on it. They won that challenge with the help of trade union officials and opportunist shop stewards who wouldn't carry forward a fight for principle.

Between the decision to black and the decision to lift the black nothing had changed. The principle at issue remained exactly the same. 480 militant men remained victimized.

The trade union leaders rallied against the action. Stewards posed with a real fight — with the CP stewards who were in the vanguard of the fight — on an excuse to withdraw.

With unexampled credulity they accepted the statement of a Pilkington director, whom their trade union official contacted, that all Pilkington men were being reinstated. This could easily have been checked up. They excused themselves with reports that dockers were complaining about the action.

Certainly a fight on principle comes up against insularity and backwardness. That is what a fight for principle is all about.

However as the action — endorsed in some sections of the dock by a unanimous decision at meetings — showed clearly that overwhelming support could have been won by a fight and in a very short period a tremendous victory won.

Covered retreat
"What about the men at work in St Helens Pilkington factories?", said some stewards to cover their retreat. This, from stewards whose wages and conditions owe much to the militancy of past generations of dockers and the traditional solidarity of dockers with other sections of workers!

On whose solidarity can the Pilkington men depend? Without any militant tradition the glassworkers at St Helens came into struggle; they were abandoned by their own union, deceived by the church and betrayed by the TUC, right after the hardships of seven-weeks' strike.

The employers ruthlessly sacked with the consent of the union leaders. Having defeated the movement for the £10 wage increase, the Pilkington employers now hope to capitalize on the sackings by using them to pressure the glassworkers. These sackings are the concern of all workers in Britain.

The sacked men are not workers with a Pilkington brand on them. They are part of the whole working class which is under attack by the government and the employers.

The seven-weeks' strike was part of a movement which has swept formerly conservative and quiescent sections of the working class into action.

The thousands of workers involved in that struggle were in an action the like of which had not been seen before in this company-dominated town of St Helens.

Relationship
They broke through the trade union bureaucracy and into struggle in the same way as hundreds of thousands of other workers who have found their trade union leadership a barrier between them and the employers.

An unprecedented witch-hunt was unleashed on the workers on strike.



By Bill Hunter
a leading North-West engineering steward

SPAIN Lock-out after pit accident protest

BY A WORKERS PRESS CORRESPONDENT

THREE THOUSAND miners are locked out in the Asturian coalfield (northern Spain).

The employers' action followed a walk-out on Tuesday by 1,000 miners after three of their comrades had been killed by a pit accident the previous day.

The disaster occurred in a privately-owned mine in Cangas de Narcea, but many of those who stopped work are employed by the state-owned HUNOSA company.

The HUNOSA management issued a statement after the walk out:

NO LINK
'We are really very sorry about the accident [the Franco regime, which owns HUNOSA, killed three striking building workers in Granada only last month] but we do not see any link between that private company [where the accident occurred] and HUNOSA, a state company.'

'We cannot accept as reasonable the failure to come to work for events outside our company and the area we are exploiting.'

HUNOSA then demonstrated their 'sorrow' by declaring a lock-out until September 19.

After discussion with the state-controlled 'syndicates', which falsely claim to represent Spain's workers, a 'compromise' was arrived at. The lock-out would still operate, but only until the 14th.

SUSPENDED
'All workers who collectively and without justification did not turn up for work on September 1 are suspended without pay until the 13th inclusive of this month.'

'Those workers who did come to work on that day may take their holidays and apply for unemployment pay from the local Ministry of Labour. The unions [sic] want to emphasize the need to restrain absenteeism caused by accidents in local pits.'

HUNOSA and their 'union' stooges are not alone in this concern.

As reported in previous numbers of Workers Press the fight for productivity is now being waged against the Asturian miners by technicians and experts from both Poland and the Soviet Union.

The Spanish working class will draw its own conclusions from this alliance.

Productivity
● FROM PAGE ONE

'A man driven near his limit thinks that more money will solve his problems, but it rarely does.'

The junior hospital doctors, he points out recently received large pay rises, 'but this has done nothing to lessen the strain of the excessive hours that many of them work'.

Though he concludes that the unions should spend money on studying the best means to maintain a man at maximum efficiency over a long period of time, Professor Mills' letter is a timely reminder of what productivity really means.

Workers Press stands for complete opposition to all such deals and insists that the fight for higher wages can and must be won without speed-up 'strings'.

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Disgruntled glassworkers ransack the St Helens General and Municipal Workers' Union headquarters during their seven-week strike earlier this year.

In other struggles in the past years, such as the dock strike of 1967 and the Leyland strike of last year, the workers returned with a new relationship of forces. Their enhanced confidence and unity was the basis for further economic victories after the strike.

This did not happen at St Helens. The workers returned while a base for the management — the union leadership — remained in their ranks.

Here the management had their vital point of support — re-establishing the old relationship in the factories and for taking the lead in the general attack of big business and the Tory government against rank-and-file militancy.

To form a new union in the struggle against bureaucratic trade unionism was a mistake, but it was a mistake made in the struggle against bureaucracy.

Empty words are quickly stripped away. As a spokesman from their rank-and-file committee said at a Liverpool Trades Council meeting: 'We've had oceans of sympathy. If it was water it would have washed Pilkington's away by now. But we are not going to be reinstated by sympathy.'

Acid test
The fight for blacking has become an acid test for trade unionists.

Success for Pilkington's will mark a turning point in the war against the working class. Workers must guard against the attitude typified by one dock steward who declared: 'No! It couldn't happen to us. Such complacency is the

Decisive
Trade unionists must accept the challenge of Pilkington's. If Pilkington's get away, with sackings and selective re-employment, then the employers' whole offensive receives a great impetus.

If the men are reinstated then that will be a decisive blow to the employers' offensive and an inspiration to the whole working class.

Resolutions asking the TUC and union executives to take action are all very well. But they will amount to nothing more than impotent gestures if they are not accompanied by concrete action to black Pilkington's glass.

Difficulties there may well be in certain places where the glass is used. But we cannot evade a fight for this reason or we shall stand condemned in allowing the employers to win a major victory.

On the docks and in the factories, trade unionists of principle who recognize the employers' offensive and want to fight it will campaign with all their might for the blacking of Pilkington's products.

Australian Letter
Sydney, Aug. 27 — Australia's first-ever stoppage against a national Budget brought an estimated 750,000 workers out on strike this week.

Most of these answered the call by the Australian Council of Trade Unions (equivalent of the TUC), and stopped for three hours, but others refused to return to work after the scores of rallies held throughout the country.

Although union leaders expressed disappointment at the attendance at many of the open-air meetings, the workers showed the government that they are prepared to take political strike action.

In New South Wales the strike brought transport, mining, shipping, building and the manufacturing industry to a standstill.

Action was centred around the recent Budget increase of 50 cents (4s 8d) a week for pensioners, an insult to the old people of the country which will not even alleviate the increase in indirect taxation also imposed by the Budget.

At a meeting in the centre of Sydney, strikers passed a resolution calling for the re-organization of social services, an immediate \$5 (2s 6d) pension increase and an immediate \$3-a-week (£1 8s) increase in child endowment.

The opposition Labour Party leader Mr Gough Whitlam, speaking in the House of Representatives (Commons), said: 'Our purpose is to destroy this Budget and destroy the government which has sponsored it.'

He drew attention to the lack of provision in the Budget for the nation's rapidly deteriorating schools and hospitals, and the inadequate social services.

But the fact that Mr Whitlam has attacked the Budget and the government on behalf of the reformist Labour Party should not fool the workers.

It is important to replace the present government by a Labour one, but merely doing so will not solve the problems of this country unless socialist measures are adopted.

There is little doubt that the present organized workers' action, even under reformist leadership, will involve the middle class into lashing out to defend themselves.

Already increasingly hysterical statements are being made by ministers and 'captains of industry'.

Minister for Labour and National Service, Mr Bill

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
30
AUSTRALIA

Australian Tories defend Gregory ban
BY A FOREIGN REPORTER
visa to enter the country and address anti-war rallies in the last two weeks of September.

The Tory ban is a blatant act of political discrimination against Gregory, and it is also an attack on the anti-war movement in Australia.

Organizers of Australia's second anti-Vietnam war 'Moratorium' said that Gregory, an active campaigner for Negro rights in the United States, had been denied a two-week tourist

Gorton told the Australian parliament: 'I do not see why we should allow other aliens to come here for the purpose of interfering in political matters in Australia.'

Gorton objects to Gregory's so-called 'interference' in Australian poli-

tics, yet his government has several thousand troops currently fighting with the US armed forces against Vietnam.

The Australian labour movement, whose dockers struck on May 1 against Nixon's war, must take up Gregory's case and demand that he be allowed entry to carry on his political work unhindered.

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Meir

● FROM PAGE ONE

tame the Palestine liberation movement continues.

In Amman, Hussein is working to isolate the guerrillas, avoiding an immediate fight to a finish.

Demand
After the Jordan government's 'rejection' of the Iraqi threat to intervene in defence of the guerrillas against the Jordanian army, Hussein has demanded the withdrawal of the 18,000 Iraqi troops now in Jordan.

The situation in Amman is to be discussed today at the meeting of the Arab League, representing the Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

It was convened by Nasser at the request of Al Fatah.

This will be the first meeting since the ceasefire began attended by both Arab states which accept the 'Rogers plan' and those who have so far opposed it.

Further signs of moves by the Arab leaders to drop the guerrilla movement came yesterday, when the Lebanese government asked guerrillas to pull back from the Israeli-Lebanon border.

Interior Minister Kamal Kumbalji said that this would avoid giving Israel an excuse for reprisal raids on S Lebanon.

CRANE BAN IN HULL

HULL docks' stewards yesterday threatened to operate an overtime ban if the port employers take action against crane drivers refusing to work without supervision.

The supervisors struck on Thursday because they will be paid less than the crane men under Devlin Phase Two.

Yesterday, the port superintendent stated that the crane drivers' would lose a whole day's pay unless the men returned to work by 1 p.m.

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LATE NEWS

GKN MEN REJECT FORMULA
A mass meeting of GKN Sankey workers yesterday overwhelmingly rejected the return to work formula worked out in the 13-hour negotiations between trade union officials, employers and strike committee representatives last Wednesday.

The formula, which gave increases on a six-point scale tied to an incentive scheme, met angry opposition from the Wellington, Shropshire, strikers, many of whom would only receive £2.

It was clear from the beginning of the meeting that there would be no acceptance of the offer. The officials' speeches were punctuated by shouts of 'Vote now, and £8 10s now'.

All three officials — from the G&MWU, AEF, and the T&GWU — insisted that this was the best offer they could

get and that they could do no better.

Such appeals cut no ice, as the vote showed.

A speaker from the floor addressed the meeting and called for nothing less than 4s 3d an hour and no incentives. This was met with overwhelming support from the crowd.

There was then a call for another meeting next Friday although the officials had previously announced a further meeting at 11.30 on Tuesday.

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