ON OTHER PAGES: BLACK PANTHERS TEACHERS POWER WORKERS ITALY

# FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH

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SIXPENCE

## FREEZE ALL RENTS NOW!

**TENANTS FIGHT MONEYLENDERS** 

Once again London tenants are to face a massive rent increase of an average 7/6 a week. Ever since the Tories came to power in the GLC it has been one long story of council tenants facing rent rises. The Tories, the party of those who prey on the housing crisis, have eagerly sought to pay the ransome of the moneylenders. The interest on the loans of these parasites to the councils amounts to a colossal robbery. In the next year the GLC will be paying to the moneylenders as interest £30 million. With the land sharks they have had a bean-

Rents of G.L.C. tenants soarhouse building drops.

### INTO THE '70'S - A DECADE OF REVOLUTION

In marked contrast to the beginning of the 1960's, the coming decade of the 70's is looked towards with foreboding by all shades of capitalist opinion. At its outset the ruling classes hailed the 1960's as a "new age". The mass unemployment, misery and class battles of the 1930's were no more; "social harmony" was to be entrenched with only a few remaining social problems to be tidied up and the "affiuent society" would then be consolidated. The quasi-Marxist sects echoed this perspective and wrote off the working class and the movement for socialism in the advanced industrial countries. Almost alone, the "SOCIALIST FIGHT", the journal which preceded MILLITANT, in an editorial entitled 'THE RED SIXTIES', correctly pointed out that on the contrary "it will be a decade of storms and stress".

This perspective was borne out when within a year the Belgian general strike shook to its foundations Belgian capitalism. At the same time the awakening of the students was a harbinger of the unease in society generally, and the opposition of the working class to an outmoded and decaying capitalist system. While this very same student movement in Germany, Britain and France looked towards the so-called "third world" for salvation, a process was unfolding in the May events in France in 1968. With one mighty blow the right wing inside the Labour Movement, and their shadows the "Marxist" sects, saw their theories blown sky high. 10 million workers instinctively occupied the factories and strove to change society in a socialist direction. Only the false policies of the Communist Party leadership, who successfully channelled the movement in a new popular front direction, saved French and international capitalism from a blow which would have ended its rule. And the decade has ended against the background of the tumultuous events in Italy, where hardly one section feast at the expense of the council tenants.

But in the last year tenants have begun to hit back. 4,000 in the East End of London are still holding out and refusing to pay the last increase. Massive demonstrations, which have, of course been played down by the press, have taken place; the mass of tenants, not just those who are still on strike, have shown they are not prepared to have the screws continually put on them by the Tories. The ludicrous situation has now been reached were 3 of the rent goes in interest rates. And this for property which in many instances has been occupied for twenty years or more with the tenants having more than paid for the original cost of building.

In the face of this mounting tide of tenants' resistance all the Labour Government has done is to "limit" increases to an average 7/6 a week. This is a "limit" which many find crushing. But the government would be better to take a leaf out of the tenants book. Their resistance has involved large numbers of ordinary workers, not necessarily tenants, in a campaign against the moneylenders. Dockers, Smithfield porters, post office workers have now decided to take action as soon as any attempt is made to evict the first tenant. They say the first eviction will result in one of the Tory GLC councillors facing the same treatment along with industrial action in support of the tenants involved. But action limited to just those workers who are tenants is not enough. Nor can the Tories be fought through the courts; the law is made for the landlords and capitalists, and will be used to sanctify increases and evictions if necessary. The struggle of the tenants is the struggle of all workers to free housing from the clutches of the bloodsuckers who batten on the peoples housing in order to pile up profits. The workers condemned to the rat infested tenements of Shoreditch or the slums of Stepney and other areas have no escape except through council housing. The 1965 Rent Act has not acted in a way to prevent increases against private tenants; in many areas such as Hackney over 50% of cases going before the Rent Assessment Board have had their rents increased! Now they find soaring rents in council property too much for them. In Sutton, Surrey, for instance rents of £6.5.0. are common and now the local Tory Council is demanding a one sixth increase.

#### By DENIS COOK (A.S.L.E.F.)

revolution if you like, because it is the first militancy against the money-lenders" ("EVENING STANDARD".) The tenants have realised that if they lose this round their rents will reach the sky and beyond; "economic rents" of £10, £16 etc. will be commonplace. The latest proposed increase shows that the Tories intend to go on squeezing tenants. The fight of the East Enders must be continued and broadened. In particular it is absolutely necessary that all sections of the Labour Movement be involved. Industrial action must be proposed not only for council tenants, but all the workers who can be made aware of the importance of this fight to their position as private tenants. At the same time the idea that the struggle can be conducted in a "non-political" manner is disproved by the actions of the Tories. Behind them stand the moneylenders, land barons and building monopolies. To attack them it is necessary to link up with the Labour Movement, the Trades Council and Labour Parties in the local areas and press the Labour Groups to organise against any rent increases. At the same time the Labour Parties should inundate the Government with demands for a total rent freeze; the Tories have used the 7/6 limit to continue the squeeze on tenants. To the faint hearts in the Labour Movement, who say there is no alternative to increasing rents should be counterposed the successful struggle of the Scottish workers in defeating the private landlords through a general strike during the first world war. The position has been reached were hardly a borough or a hamlet has not been affected by increases in the past year. And there is more to come. If a lead were to be given by the organised Labour Movement, the GLC and all local Tories would be shaken to the core. The very future of council housing is at stake. This is the conclusion which the tenants and Labour Movement should draw from the present round of increases. Alongside the struggle to defend tenants against attack should go a programme to solve the housing crisis; to abolish the scandal of land speculation, with one acre being sold for £1 million, the nationalisation of building land and the taking over of the big building monopolies leading to a planned nationalised building industry, which could easily guarantee the building of million houses a year. The 1 million houses a year. The tremendous struggles of the London tenants over the past year must be built on and extended in order to defeat the Tory attacks and to free housing from the market place with all the attendant misery that this entails for millions of workers.



of the workers and peasants has not revealed in a ceaseless strike wave, including sit-ins, its preparedness to change society. ...

It is for this reason, feeling the ground shift beneath its feet, that the Financial Times somewhat glumly looked towards the 70's with the headline "FEARS MAY BE LIARS". But their very analysis of the world has revealed that the fears (for the capitalists) are very real indeed... "This mood of fatigued despair, we must remind ourselves, has afflicted civilisation before; it was widespread throughout the known world, in particular, at the time when Christ was born." (24/12/69). But it will take more than a "Messiah" to solve the problems of mankind. The latest technological developments show the limitless possibilities which exist for freeing man from poverty and want. But the capitalists admit that under the present anarchic system "poverty, ignorance and violence might be part of the natural, unalterable order of things". Man's moon landing only serves to mock the abject state of two thirds of the human race. For science and technology to mean lasting benefit, it will need to be harnessed through a new social system, world socialism.

It is the realisation of this by increasing numbers of workers and peasants that will be one of the main developments of the 1970's. But for its achievement in practice it will require the rearming of the Labour Movement on the basis of a clear Marxist programme. To<sup>4</sup> those within the Labour Movement who wish to restate the pious wishes of the early 1960's that by piecemeal reform, "social engineering" (which is more like social quackery), the concept that capitalist society will evolve into the sedate calm of old age, the tumultous events of the 60's should serve as a warning. They will be merely a ripple compared to the explosions and storms of the next decade. Capitalism has, Continued on page 2

Bill O'Dell, a rebel Labour Councillor in Tower Hamlets, where a large part of the rent strikers are concentrated, said of their struggle... "This is only the beginning; call it a workers

#### **Read the Militant**

## **Defend Black Panthers** from **Police Assassins**

The bestial murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, Black Panther leaders in Chicago, in December fol-lowed a few days later by the police attack on the Panthers' Los Angeles headquarters has revealed to the World Labour Movement the bloody depths to which reaction in the United States is prepared to stoop to check the movement of the Afro-Americ-ans. The murder of Hampton was a particularly cowardly affair. The Panther leader was shot while still in bed. The police attack in Los Angeles had the same hallmark.

Ranged against 13 Panthers and two women were "300 policemen armed with arrest warrants, search warrants, shotguns, AR-15 rifles, tear-gas grenades, satchel charges, one helicopter, a 6 ft. steel battering ram, a National Guard armoured personnel carrier and a fire department 'Jet-ax' used to cut through the roof of burning buildings." (TIME magazine 19/12/69.) No doubt the element of "risk" involved will earn the police some bravery award!

#### **BLACK AND WHITE WORKERS UNITE !**

But whereas previously the police were able to pick off individual Panthers with little outcry, this time the sheer organised visciousness of these latest attacks have forced the "moderate" black leaders to speak up. Even Whitney Young impeccable "liberal" exponent of non-violence and an opponent of the Panthers was forced to condemn the police conspiracy. Amongst the black workers, and particularly the youth, it has served only to reinforce the appeal of the Panthers. As a result the fact of a national police conspiracy to wipe out the top leadership of the Panthers has been driven home; 28 of their number have been killed in battles with the police in the last two years. Bobby Seale, Chairman of the organisation, was recently denied the elementary right to defend himself in the Chicago trial of 8 anti-war leaders, was tied and gagged like a crim-inal and received four years imprisonment for protesting against his treatment.

The ostensible excuse given by the police is the Panthers alleged "armed conspiracy". In fact their bearing of arms has been entirely for self defence and this right is supposed to be guaranteed under the American Constitution. Even the TIMES was forced to concede: "most of the violence that has resulted from the raids appears to have been at least initiated by the police" (10/12/69.) But the real reason why these attacks have been mounted was given last summer by the chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, when he characterised the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security" of the Amer-ican ruling class. In the eyes of Hoover and his armed detachments this arises from the Panthers' rejection of racism and their perspective that the black Americans will have to link up on a class basis with the white revolutionary forces to solve their problems.

#### **By PETER TAAFFE**

sition of Stokely Carmichael. In their organisation is the first stirrings of the black Americans towards a class understanding of American society... "I think a lot of whites are made racist against their essential humanity and without their conscious knowledge" (Eldridge Cleaver, one of the exiled Panthers leaders). At the same time this understanding that the black workers will link up with the white worker under the impact of the mighty events being prepared by the crisis in American society, goes hand in hand with a crude acceptance of some of the ideas of Stalinism. The Panthers magazine recently praised Stalin and in dealing with some of the opponents standing on the Left they have resorted to strong arm tactics. Part of the explanation for this was the refusal of some of the "Marxist" organisat-

ions in America to pose a clear class solution to the problems of the Negro revolt in the past five years. In fact some of them are still standing to the right of the Panthers and criticising them for adopting a class approach! The genuine Marxist forces in defending the Panthers from the attacks of the police and armed reaction will at the same time seek to link up the movement amongst the black workers with the discontent which is brewing in the ranks of the white workers at the rise in the cost of living and the Vietnam war. This is reflected in the formation of ALLIANCE FOR LABOUR, comprising  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million Trade Unionists. In the process of trying to forge this alliance of white and black workers through the demand for a party of the workers, a Labour Party, the lessons of defeats of the past brought about by the false policies of the Stalinists will be explained and hammered home. Only in this way, by the adoption of a clear Marxist programme, will it be possible for the Panthers to play a leading role in mobilising all workers to defeat the rotten system of capitalism which breeds racism, soul-destroying unemployment, lynch law and police assasination for the victims who fight back.

#### Fascist outrages in Italy

general strike comes news of the latest bomb outrages, which killed fourteen people in Milan.

The police have been quick to pin the blame on to a handful of young anarchists. But significantly perhaps, the alleged "ringleader" of the "sabotage gang" has most conveniently obliged the overworked legal apparatus by quietly falling to his death from a fourth-floor window of the police station.

If the police think that by neatly disposing of the principal defendant, they can at one stroke discredit socialism, cow the workers into submission, and cover up a despicable crime as cunning as Hitler's Reichstag Fire frame-up, they have miscalculated, as have the neo-fascists who perpetrated it. In Italy today the workers are not beaten and exhausted by fifteen years of retreat and betrayal, as were the German workers in 1933, but rising to their feet in an unprecedented display of mass solidarity.

There have been at least six nationwide general strikes and dozens of area general strikes in the last year, in which up to twenty million work-ers have fought for higher wages, higher pensions, better housing and ervices, an end to wages dis-

By ROGER SILVERMAN (Barons Court C.L.P.) Hard on the heels of last month's living, against the high rate of factory accidents, against police brutality, and in solidarity with all the peoples in the world suffering under military dictatorships. This autumn there were 3 to 5 million workers on strike nearly every week. In addition to the industrial workers every section of which participated in the flood of protest-all professional and intermediate strata were affected, from the teachers and the clerks to traffic police, judges, country doctors, waiters, civil service executives, reporters and prison governors, to name but a few. The peasant population were also caught up in the movement, and towns throughout the poverty-stricken South down to Sicily, bled white by unem-ployment and terrorised for decades by the Mafia, have been in a state of near insurrection in recent months. Revolution means the conscious in-

tervention of the exploited masses to shape their own destinies. "The Tim-(26/11/69) pointed to "an extraes" ordinary awareness among the work-ers... that they have a political function in society and not just a passive one". It quotes a Catholic trade-unionist in Turin as saving: "The unionist in Turin as saying: worker no longer talks of football in order to escape, but of his problems as a worker and a citizen". It is this

ing in all the working population, that has paralyzed the capitalist go-vernment and left the state impotent.

The splits in all the parliamentary parties-from the so-called Communist Party, which has just expelled the left opposition "Manifesto" group, to the Socialists, to the ruling Christian Democrats, who have broken into no less than ten distinct factions on how to patch up a viable government-are one symptom of the capitalists' di-lemma. Another is this latest crude effort of the neo-fascists to panic the capitalists into backing a military putsch in the Greek tradition.

Out of a whole box of hopeless quack medicines, this would be the most lethal to the ruling class. If even in Greece the serious capitalist politicians were appalled at the colonels' blimpish adventurism in risking armed insurrection almost at any moment, then in Italy given the present confidence of the masses any hint of a return to the ugly methods of Mussolini would be a thousand times more suicidal. That is why the government itself has acted to clip the wings of the would-be adventurers in the armed forces.

Sooner or later, the capitalist parties will be forced to incorporate the Communist Party into the Government, and rely on its authority to break the movement of the workers. Instead of linking the demands of the workers, peasants, students and middle



In the past period they have specifically rejected the separatist delusions of the Black Muslims and the middle class "go it alone" Black Power po-

crimination, against the rising cost of explosion of political awareness, draw-

#### Continued from page 1

in the main, been forced to sheath its claws in the past twenty years. But all the serious commentators still speak of the shaky basis of the economic upswing, of the possibilities of collapse of the system on the world scale. This does not mean, of course, immediate economic slump; but the tendency of capitalism, at a certain stage, is towards overproduction and slump. When this happens the claws and fangs of the capitalist tiger will be bared again. They will be used on the Labour Movement once again unless a way out in the direction of socialism is given.

The instinctive movement of revolt of the working class will inevitably burst out as in France and Italy. Upheavals along the lines of Hungary 1956 will occur on a much more explosive scale in the Stalinist world, as the workers and peasants seek to return to the ideas of the October Revolution, of workers' democracy, socialism and internationalism. Revolt by the colonial and semicolonial masses will continue unabated. It is not a question of "will this occur" but when it will take place. But final victory depends on a revitalised Labour Movement. Here in Britain the process has begun to take shape. The defeat of the anti-TU legislation, and the swing to the Left mark a new stage in developments in the Labour Movement. In the battles which lie ahead the right-wing infiltrators will be driven from the ranks of the Labour Movement. The ideas of Marsism, which are continually relegated to the dustbin of history by the capitalist commentators, but are continually resurrected by events themselves, will become the weapon of millions in the stormy seventies which lie ahead. class into a general programme of socialist revolution, mobilising the masses to bypass the decrepit anachronistic state machine, the leaders of the C.P. have been sitting coyly on the parliamentary sidelines waiting to receive an invitation into a new coalition. When a coalition with the C.P. is created in Italy, its sole purpose will be to confuse and eventually demoralise the workers. In the long run a "Popular Front" would be used to clear the road to counter-revolution and a bloody settling of accounts. Twenty years of the Fascist boot was the tragic outcome of the treachery of the Socialist Party in 1919-1921, when the workers like today were striking by the million. If the C.P. leaders are really afraid of provoking the reaction, then they must act decisively to channel the power of the workers and peasants into the overthrow of a diseased and stinking social system which can promise its toilers only trickery and brutality.

## Militant

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Editor:

## Socialist Charter — a reply

The world monetary crises, devaluation, the wage-freeze, the infamous White Paper to curb the unions: all this at a time of unparalleled militancy on the part of every section of the workers here and throughout the world:—this was the situation which lay behind the formation of the Socialist Charter.

From the start we welcomed this step-in a front page article-as a first groping towards a socialist alternative to 2 million slums, millions of young workers and women workers on under £10 a week,  $\frac{1}{2}$  million un-employed and 6-7 million below "National Assistance" minimum level. And we welcome discussion on ways in which a programme can be worked out, which will take up each and every one of the seperate struggles, fight consistently for their success and show how they are linked to the great traditions of socialism, show just how and why "power" can and "must be transferred from the hands of the few to those of the many", which Hugh Anderson (MILITANT Dec. '69) claims is an aim of the Socialist Charter.

But we cannot agree with Hugh Anderson that the "Socialist Charter" has demonstrated, up to the present, that it "has the broad backing and correct analysis" to take advantage of its enormous potential.

He puts the problem as follows: "How can this country pursue a socialist policy within the context of an international monetary system based on capitalism and capitalist values?" which he reinterprets as "pursuing an expansionist economic policy... when we are largely in the control of a capitalist class who believe in deflation and cuts in public expenditure". That is indeed the whole question. But what is the solution?

#### **ARE REFORMS ENOUGH ?**

The very first point of the Socialist Charter is concerned with ECONOM-IC INDEPENDENCE. But in an age of international industries not even the biggest and wealthiest nations can be independent, and Socialism demands as a first essential the most modern industry and "economies of scale" in order that the millions can be saved from a life of drudgery. In any case, Economic Independence for whom? For the British bosses? But any measures which make their profits easier to obtain make wage-rises more dif-ficult to obtain. Which should come first? Are British workers to expect further price and rent rises, further wage-freezes and "white papers" so that British bosses may be more "independent"? Moreover, how would we achieve this? Would a limit on the export of capital do this? But the export of capital is one of the foremost sources of profits to "this country" (i.e. British bosses), and they would not feel that this measure was adding to their independence. On the contrary, they would declare war on such a step. When de Gaulle tried to impose similar measures on the French capitalists towards the end of last year, they replied by a "revolt of the bourgeois", an undignified scramble across the border to transfer their francs into Deutsch Marks resulting in a World Monetary Crisis. They seem to imagine that once "Britain is on its feet", then the fight for equality can begin. But capitalism depends on inequality. The present unstable trade-surplus has been bought at the expense of a squeezed

#### By JULIAN SILVERMAN

consumption level and a higher general level of unemployment than at any time since 1940. The Socialist Charter demand for a redistribution of wealth is, of course, vital and urgent. But they must see the idea through to its conclusion. Where is the wealth to come from? From the 5% who get back 93% of the profits from industri-al shares? But, so long as capitalism lasts, every penny of this is needed before they can be induced to carry on operating their system. Not only that, but they take £1000,000,000 a year out of the tax-payers in investment grants etc.  $\frac{2}{3}$ rds of research is paid for by the tax-payer. They would resist a wealth tax solidly and effectively, as when their representatives, the Tories, introduced 131 ammendments into the corporation tax bill, which was never intended to be anything but a mild sniff at the problem in any case. The simple answer is to redistribute all the wealth. The 250 monopolies should be nationalised and run by the working population for the needs of everybody. The whole experience of the Labour Government should have taught them that attempts at piecemeal reforms are simply a spanner in the capitalist works. The monopolies simply shrug them off and demand of the Labour leaders even more grovelling postures. Harold Wilson challenged Gaitskell for the leadership of the party with the policy of gradual reforms, Barbara Castle shared the same philosophy. What became of that "philosophy of gradualism" at the time of the wage-freeze and the White Paper?

The Charter calls for "Support for all those revolutionary forces throughout the world, which are struggling against privilege and Imperialism". Exactly! Support for the French workers, the Czech workers, the Italian workers,—and dare we say it?—the British workers. They are certainly struggling against privilege and Imperialism. The Socialist Charter with a clear programme of action and consistent perspective could play a vital role in giving their militancy a clear direction and carrying the ideas of Socialism to every workbench.

#### **ACTION NOT WORDS!**

Take the GEEC closures for one example. Hugh Anderson sees the role of the Socialist Charter as "obvious: to fight for the success of left wing ideas and people". But precisely what ideas? Is it enough to have sincere leftwingers elected, and then to put no further demands upon them? Of course, the elections of Scanlon and Jones must be supported. They mark a great step forward. But Hugh Scanlon is a signatory to the Charter. Did the Charter group put any precise and uncompromising demands upon him-to call for national action in all the GEEC factories and other linked industries to prevent the closures-to call for their nationalisation as they obviously could serve the population no longer, while they were in the hands of the tiny clique of millionaires around Weinstock? Was the authoritative voice of the leftwing M.P.'s and T.U. leaders used to rally wholesale support for the 14000 workers thrown on to the dole-queues? Hugh Anderson believes that "neoimperialism is sufficiently entrenched in both West and East that moves towards human socialism in any country are to be prevented". First, we would ask: what is "neo-imperialism"? In "the West", the only thing

## Tribune-Militant

Both John Jennings and Stan Newens MP, in speaking for TRIB-UNE at the MILITANT/TRIB-UNE debate attended by over a hundred people, emphasised that in their view Tribune was a coalition of many views. They stressed this as a fundamental difference between themselves and Militant which has a coherent and worked out position defended by its supporters.

Debate

Stan Newens said that the Labour Government posed certain problems for socialists. He believed that it was not enough merely to stay in the Labour Party to pressurise it to take socialist measures because they could not carry out these measures. At the same time he stressed the stupidity of leaving the Labour Party at the present time. He described the only course of action as he saw it was to create a new left. He called for a coalition of left forces, which would raise "socialist concepts" such as workers control, international solidarity and so on. In closing his main contribution he once again called for a "left coalition" working in an umbrella type group and said that there was no direct clash between Tribune and Militant.

It was with the contributions of Peter Taaffe and Ted Grant from Militant that the fundamental points of disagreement were made clear. Peter Taaffe spoke of the shift to the left which marked a new development in the Labour movement. The situation where generally left wing resolutions were always defeated at Labour Party and TUC conferences was now reversed. The TUC had been recalled for the first time since 1920, the May Day demonstrations and the opposition to anti-trade union legislation within the Cabinet itself were a mark of this change.

Peter Taaffe went on to point out that it was the position outlined in articles by the late Henry Collins that showed the real difference between Militant and Tribune. Whereas Collins saw the advance to socialism as a gradual encroach-

that is "neo" about imperialism is that it has become utterly decrepit and discredited, and has had to adapt accordingly. As for "the East", it is time that the "Socialist Charter" de-cided whether they regard the economic basis of these states as superior or only "equal" to capitalist anarchy. We say quite firmly that nationalis-ation and planned production have proved their overwhelming superiority. It is not "neo-imperialism" that holds these societies back from socialism (naturally, "human"!), but the panic of a dying and parasitic elite. We do not believe alism" will be prevented for ever. That is why instead of simply rejecting the Common Market on the basis of "let's go it alone", we have always put forward the demand for a Socialist Britain reaching out towards a SOCIAL-IST UNITED STATES OF EUR-OPE. We believe that the "Socialist Charter" is simply one very small stage in an enormous wave of radicalism, which is beginning to sweep the world. It could play a vital role if it learnt to campaign consistently and clearly for £20-0-0 A WEEK MINI-MUM WAGE NOW FOR ALL WORKERS REGARDLESS OF AGE, SEX, OR COLOUR. This would cut across all the manouvres to split up the interests of the different sections. NO CLOSURES; NO REDUND-ANCIES WITHOUT ALTERNATI-VE WORK AT EQUAL RATES OF

PAY. If the capitalist system cannot use the talents and energies of the population and cannot continue to ment on capitalism, Militant had explained any Labour Government would come up against the power of the state if it attacked the lucrative fields of industry and not just the ruined sections. The idea of "creeping socialism" went against all the experience of the movement.

Ted Grant emphasised that a socialist tendency must always attempt to raise the level of consciousness of the mass. That was the importance of this debate. Militant had predicted in advance that with the programme they had the Labour leaders would be unable to make any decisive changes. In the pamphlet on "Labour's Economic Strategy" we read that 20 companies have together a bigger budget than the whole of Britain. The boardrooms of these companies have more power than Wilson. Even Attlee, in the thirties, had been more left than Tribune now when he called for an Enabling Act to take over the commanding heights. The working class has vast power, the problem is how to use

#### A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME

Reforms are not sufficient. A clear programme of ideas around which the mass of the workers can be mobilised is the only guarantee against betrayal. Ted Grant explained that this was particularly important for the Tribune tendency in view of the tremendous authority they had in the labour movement. This was an authority which would grow as the movement itself grew and developed. The only thing which would prevent the present left leaders from going the same way as the present Labour Government would be a clear and decisive Socialist programme such as that campaigned for by MILITANT.

There will be an enormous upswing of the working class because of the process of the last 25 years. The problem will be to give the movement a lead. That was the real value of debates such as this.

provide them with goods and services then a socialist system can!

NATIONALISATION OF THE MONOPOLIES—200-odd of them hold the economy in their grip and swamp any attempts to grant real reforms.

STATE MONOPOLY OF FORE-IGN TRADE to control the whole import/export policy.

Active support to all workers and peasants struggling throughout the world for their emancipation. By appealing to the workers of the capitalist world to take similar measures to end their own exploitation, and in the Stalinist states to sweep aside the bureaucracy and restore a regime of workers' democracy, a revolutionary chapter could be opened up which would dwarf the stirring events of the epoch following the Russian revolution in 1917. Giant strides forward could thus be taken towards a SOCIALIST WORLD FEDERAT-ION.

Please send me MILITANT for the period indicated below:---

3 months 2/6, 6 months 5/-, 12 months 10/-

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### **Power workers demand democratic control**

Following on the wave of strikes by sections of low paid workers in 1969, the supply industry workers in their fight for better wages and conditions are in the forefront of the struggle as we enter the 70s. "The electricity supply industry is,

"The electricity supply industry is, of course, one of the most sensitive barometers of the economic health of any advanced and sophisticated economic system." M.A.N.W.E.B. "Contacs" (9/69). This of course can be quite true, so let us take a look at the barometer. In order to continue making a profit C.E.C.B. is having to rationalise the industry to make it more efficient. The N.J.I.C. have introduced into the agreements, flexibility and mobility of labour clauses electricians are expected to do joinery, plastering, and plumbing and anything within their competence (rule 202 "i"). Bonus schemes are being introduced to increase output and to bring about a rundown of labour so creating redundancies and less

the barometer. In order to continue available jobs for already growing making a profit C.E.C.B. is having to numbers of unemployed.

The annual report of M.A.N.E.E.B. Area 1968-9 had this to say "While the net number of our electricity customers has increased by over 15,000 the number of employees fell 403 (5.1%) overall." If this is the figure for only one area, and before all bonus schemes get under way, then it is a clear indication of what is to follow.

The electricity supply worker-usu-

#### ally slow to take up the struggle for better conditions—disillusioned by the let-downs of trade union bureaucrats on the N.J.I.C. are quickly realising that the only way to win better conditions and have their just demands met, is by militant action from the shop floor. Rallied by the Trade Union activists in the industry, the supply workers held meetings up and down the country, electing shop stewards and area committees to launch a campaign not only for better conditions, but for a bigger say in the drawing up of agreements. After a national conference of shop

**By A POWER WORKER** 

After a national conference of shop stewards on Saturday November 29th, a resolution calling for a national strike of electrical supply workers on the 5th. January 1970 for a period of seven days, and a list of demands, was put to mass meetings all over the country. On the 15th. December 1969 strike notices were served on all board chairmen to be affected by the strike.

- The demands are:---
- (1) An increase of £3 per week on all scheduled salaries.
- (2) The shift increment to be raised by a further £200 minimum in line with workers in private industry.
- (3) The consolidation of incidental overtime and premium time payments into basic salary.
- (4) Improved holidays for all manual workers in line with NIJC grades.
- (5) That machinery be set up by the four unions with representatives elected from stations and depots to discuss any major claims or changes in work patterns submitted to the board.
- And finally a report back before ratification of any agreement. (6) The rejection of all incentive bo-
- (6) The rejection of all incentive bonus schemes and clause 202 of the national agreement.—These constitute a danger to the safe working of this vital industry as well as creating bitterness and frustration among all workers in electricity supply.
- (7)) There shall be no victimisation of workers, either by the union or by the board.
  - Further that a ban on overtime be put into operation on 29th December 1969.

If these demands are met, it could mean a greater unification of the workers in the industry, who, becoming more and more conscious of their role in organised Union activities would give their support to their elected shop-steward committees fighting a campaign for the democratisation of the industry.

We, the workers, should demand workers' control within the supply industry. This needs to be combined with the ending of the dead hand of officialdom within the E.E.P.T.U. by the:

- (1) Election of all officials, with the right of immediate recall.
- (2) No official be paid more than a skilled worker.
- (3) Union policy to be decided at
- Conference.

#### **Teachers find real allies** By BOB REEVES (N.U.T.) In the last few weeks over 150,000 teachers have been involved in strikes some time, i.e. that there is an enorm-

teachers have been involved in strikes and demonstrations, in the biggest ever display of militancy by British teachers. The executive of the NUT has been forced to bow to this mood and to organise its biggest ever action -the two week strikes in selected schools, involving 4,500 teachers. Yet the offer made on the very day these teachers returned to work, underlines the ineffective nature of this action so far. The offer, with its sop to the younger and worst paid teachers, is a deliberate attempt to divide and rule; giving £100 extra at the bottom of the scale and £60 at the top, it is an attempt to make one section pay for another's increase. (We, in the pages of Militant, have always argued for getting rid of differentials, but on the basis of a real increase in the standards for all the teachers. As it is, even the £100 to the young teachers is £35 short of the minimal claim for all teachers which is calculated to restore the living standards of 1967!)

In the pages of MILITANT and MILITANT TEACHER, we have continuously argued for a NATION-AL STRIKE as the only way (in the long run) of achieving our ends. Recent events illustrate not only the urgency of such a policy, but also its feasibility. When the call was given by local and national leaders, teachers responded magnificently; over 150,000 out in the last weeks; over 5000 schools volunteered to go out for 2 weeks; schools where teachers are giving one days' pay to the union funds, and countless other examples.

#### FOR A NATIONAL STRIKE

Certainly, if during the first weeks after the original offer was made, the NUT leaders had grasped the situation, seen the possibilities and offered a really clear lead by sending out a rallying call for national action, they would have got an overwhelming response. One indication of this is the large numbers who joined the union at this time-because the union appeared to be doing something in their interests. (At the same time the bickering between the NAS and the NUT stopped; its basis was eroded. At local level cooperation and unity in action was the obvious step, this should be extended to a national level and the unions should start negotiations for fusion immediately.) There is now the danger that because the actions so far have not produced a significantly better offer, many teachers, especially those formerly reticent about striking, will be asking where we are getting, what exactly will be achieved by a second round of two week strikes in selected schools? A mood of disillusion could set in, and the ground could be prepared for the enforcement of yet an-other miserable "increase". On the other hand a victory this time will prepare the ground for a real campaign next year when a salary increase is to be negotiated. The policy of a National Strike, with the necessary sacrifices involved, is a policy of the utmost seriousness. Teachers, more than many other workers, are in a weak position. Nobody's profits are directly threatened. Powerful support is needed, and teachers have began to discover, what we

have been saying in MILITANT for some time, i.e. that there is an enormous reservoir of support for them amongst workers generally. The most powerful ally the teachers could ask for is **potentially** already there—the organised labour movement.

In many cases teachers have been overwhelmed by the amount of sympathy and support forthcoming. In South London, collecting signatures for a petition in East Lane Market they found housewives (many who had been affected by the one day strike) more than eager to assist in any way they could; Southwark dustmen, recently back at work **after their strike** indicated encouragement, one telling pickets that they should "stop pulling their punches" and "get them all out".

At a public meeting on the issue, a speaker from the floor expressed the support of his tenants' association for the strike. (At the same meeting, a trades council speaker pointed to the basic similarity between the teachers and other workers, both forced to strike action to further their living standards.)

Teachers are beginning to see who their **real allies** are. It is the workers' children who are hit by overcrowded classes, lack of equipment, antiquated buildings, teacher shortage, etc., it is they who can see the real damage done by the savage education cuts.

Millions of workers sympathise with the teachers, as fellow workers, fighting for a rise; teachers must take the same attitude to other workers and reject the "elitism" implicit in much of the NUT's propaganda. We should be quite clear that teachers are NOT a special case against incomes restraint; such an approach in the long run would alienate the massive public support we have at present.

support we have at present. But the public also sees the issue as one of the future of education. How much greater and more sustained would be the support if the NUT were to come out clearly and openly with an intention to join with other trade unions and the labour movement in the fight against slum schools, overcrowded classes, and for a REAL improvement in the educational system.

Already, the T&GWU and SOGAT have expressed support at national at local level many teacher level; union branches are affiliated to the trades council and work actively in cooperation. During the two week strike, Wandsworth Trades Council organised a public meeting in support of the teachers. In order to develop and mobilise the undoubted support which the labour movement offers, we should press for an immediate affiliation to the TUC, and at local level for affiliation to Trades Councils. By their actions teachers have shown their essential solidarity with, and won the respect of, other workers. It is in this direction we must turn in preparing for an all out fight for the £135 interim payment. Then, next year we can begin the campaign for a real improvement in pay (something of the order of £1250 to £2250 basic) as part of a campaign to improve conditions in schools, demanding such things as a maximum of 30 in any class, laid down hours of work for teachers and a crash school building programme.

#### S Film Review: T.) for Adalen 31

#### **By Jenny Simmons**

This film comes as a refreshing contrast to the content of most Swedish films shown in Britain. It deals with history. Adalen in 1931. Five workers killed, five wounded during a peaceful demonstration of dockers on strike. Their grievance, a threatened cut in their wages, and the use of scab labour brought in by the bosses to break the strike. The event exposes the naked realities of the class struggle, yet the film is at the same time a celebration of life. With great delicacy and simplicity the director builds up a picture of the everyday lives of the dockers. Lives to be explored to the full, particularly by the youth just entering adulthood, surrounded as they are by an abundantly rich countryside.

Tension is brilliantly built up between the harsh economic and social realities limiting the workers lives, and their will to enjoy life to the full. A violent explosion was the result of the workers attempt to resolutely fight for a better life. There is an amazing improvised dialogue between the father of the principal family, who takes pity on a wounded blackleg, and one of the more militant and revolutionary strikers, who believes scabs must be ruthlessly driven out. Stumbling for words the father tries to assert his belief in a peaceful and limited Trade Union struggle. Surely if they show their complete solidarity as workers, the leaders will be able to negotiate better for a peaceful outcome? Tragically the father does not live to witness the outcome, but, at the end we see his son and the same strike leader ringing the hooters announcing a general strike in Adalen. Both youths are shattered but by no means broken. They have learnt the bitter lessons of the class struggle. They must go forward and organise, but first they must educate themselves and attain the theoretical knowledge to back their actions. The son goes home, and galvanising his widowed mother, tears up his fathers bloody shirt to clean the windows, starting again, to live and to fight.

The film is set in a modern idiom, the youths are the youths of today as much as of yesterday. The director correctly points out that although the Social Democrats have been in power almost without a break since 1933, 'real equality' has not yet been achieved. This is clear to see if we probe beneath the mask of Sweden's swinging image as an idyllic land with no class conflicts. The economy in fact is still dominated by 15 families. The State sector is even smaller than in Britain or Italy, only 5% of all industries being nationalised. Apart from social security commitments and some channelling of credits to finance residential construction, the business community has been left en-tirely on its own. The Social Democratic Party control only 20% of the circulation of the daily newspapers. Almost half the weeklies come from one family-owned publishing house and this same family owns the country's two largest daily newspapers. Despite the strength of the Unions there is a growing gap between the richer and poorer parts of the country. In the recent period there has been

(4) An end to bans and proscriptions against all workers' organisations. With demands along these lines, we will ensure a really dynamic union —able to fight for a democratic supply industry, to the benefit of the workers in the industry and the general public, and not for the benefit of big business.

considerable industrial disquiet. In Adalen the workers are once again on the move against their bosses. The lessons of today are built on the experiences of the past. 5,000 miners in the north in December came out on strike, against the whole undemocratic structure of the collective bargaining system. It is no wonder that "The Times' reviewing the film said, "this is a film to enjoy and not to think about"! On the contrary, for workers there are many lessons to be learnt from this film. Shown to working class audiences, it would have an electrifying effect.