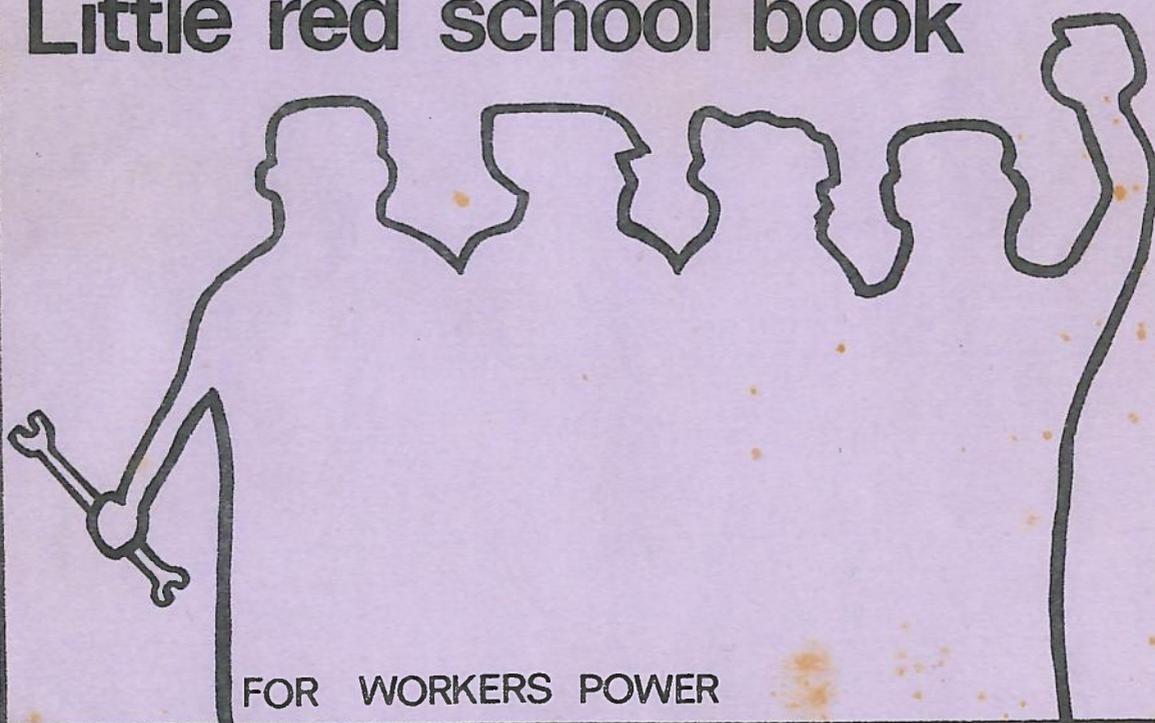


SOLIDARITY

DATA on the bill
Strikes in poland
MULLARD - exploitation
to the core
Little red school book



SCOTLAND

4P

EDITORIAL

To those of you who may be new readers to Solidarity we would like to make quite clear, first and foremost that we are a revolutionary group with revolutionary aims and that we are not in any way part of the groovy, with it scene that we have seen developing in Scotland in the past few years.

'Solidarity Scotland' is not jumping on the bandwagon of 'Press-Ups', 'The Word' and other Scottish fringe papers which have appeared in recent months. 'Solidarity Scotland' is the latest in a line of Solidarity publications in Scotland which go back to about 1964.

Our principles are simple. Basically we believe in direct democracy - 'Power to the People' to use a trendy phrase - but nevertheless a real direct power, not confined to voting once a year in local elections, and once every five years in national elections for 'representatives' who represent only their own vested interests. When we talk of workers' power and workers' control we are talking not about liberal concepts of 'participation' in management, or choosing between two courses of action, each drawn out by the management. We are talking about workers' management of society as a whole. We are talking not only about the worker as producer, but also about the worker as consumer.

Any demands which capitalist society can grant within its framework are merely reformist. When capitalist society and the demand mutually reject each other then that demand is revolutionary. We do not oppose the winning of reforms - anything which can better the conditions of the working class is to be welcomed, but we must never lose sight of our long term objective, the socialist revolution.

A summary of our ideas can be found in 'As We See It' elsewhere in the magazine.

The history of Solidarity publications in Scotland can be found in 'About Ourselves' which follows this short introduction. We see our magazine as a vehicle through which we can report on and reflect the development of theory and activity in the working class, and if possible extend the knowledge and experience gained in struggle to a wider audience. Our philosophy is based on the theory of practice and the practice of theory: - the two are inextricably linked together. The articles appearing in this first edition will, we hope, illustrate this point.

The D.A.T.A. article on the Industrial Relations Bill we have reprinted because it is a fairly good factual statement on the workers' position under the Bill once it is passed through Parliament. We have no illusions about D.A.T.A. being 'left-wing' although we will concede that it is among the most militant of unions, which is not saying much.

The article on Poland shows that the nature of the class struggle is really no different behind the 'Iron Curtain' and that capitalism of the state variety is every bit as exploitive as that of the West.

In the article on Mullard's we see modern management at work, raising the physical standards of work, but also raising the mental strain and psychological pressures involved.

In this and future editions we will try to demonstrate the need to link theory and practice in a worthwhile and meaningful way. We will do everything possible to contribute towards the development of consciousness by the working class as a whole, for we believe that it is only when we have full class consciousness that the revolution will become possible.

Solidarity 1971.

ABOUT OURSELVES

The re-appearance of a single Scottish magazine produced as a national magazine by all three Scottish groups reflects the trend of events taking place within Solidarity itself.

Since the last appearance of the old 'Solidarity Scotland' a lot of water has flowed under the bridge. Solidarity nationally has gone through a period of sudden apparent growth, followed by contraction and consolidation of its position. When we say apparent, we mean that while there has been a real growth in the number of people who would identify themselves with Solidarity's main principles and objectives, the organisation of Solidarity has in fact grown very little. A number of groups have flourished and died in the past few years but all have made some worthwhile contributions to Solidarity's ideas, albeit in a negative way.

We have been forced to face other points of view and spheres of activity in which we might not have been involved, and where in many cases opposition to particular courses of action might previously have been emotional, at least in part, we were forced to think things out and put forward our ideas in a more logical manner.

The result of this continuing debate within Solidarity has been a more coherent national presence and concept of activity.

Although, as we have already said, the re-appearance of a Scottish magazine reflects this trend, there are other, and more practical reasons for its production. Our experience of the past few years has shown us that the long-term production of a locally-based and locally orientated magazine is practically impossible, if they are to be at all relevant and meaningful. Local issues are difficult to write about regularly on a short term basis; i.e. if we were to report on a particular strike while it is happening,, only rarely can we get beyond the report stage to the analysis of the events involved - we can merely say that there is a strike and give reasons for it. To do the same report three weeks later (as can often happen in a periodical such as ours) is stale news, unless it can be analysed from a libertarian point of view and some real benefit be gained. Too often the temptation to report on unimportant strikes which have no real political significance, just for the sake of filling up space, can be almost irresistible. We therefore found ourselves quite often falling

between two stools:- that of reporting a strike as it happens, and suggesting ways and means of taking control from the bureaucrats etc., and that of attempting to analyse something which was of little importance to anyone apart from those directly involved. The medium of the Scottish magazine, however, enables us to strike a happy medium by allowing us to analyse strikes more objectively by giving us a wider area to draw from, and to get our analysis of the events to other workers in similar jobs in other areas of Scotland. National production also lightens the work load on the individual groups and enables each to use the time and production facilities thus released to produce leaflets or bulletins which can be of infinitely greater value to local strikers at the time of the strike itself. We can thus avoid the 'Socialist Worker' system of reporting which follows a pattern where you merely have to fill in the blank spaces e.g. A strike took place at on; it was over.....; sold out; the solution is to elect left-wing union leaders/M.P.s

So far we have explained why 'Solidarity Scotland' has been produced by pointing out the pitfalls of a local magazine. Why then a Scottish magazine at all? Why not a national British magazine?

There are several points against this. First of all there is material available which although not local, is more suited to a Scottish environment than to the rest of Britain. Secondly the problems of production of a national magazine, while relatively easy to overcome in a Scottish context, are much more difficult in a British one.

For example the actual place of production will move from group to group; this would be very difficult to do nationally and the problems of distribution would be infinitely greater. If then, it were decided to base the production in one place, we would have to decide whether that group was to have editorial rights (involving centralisation), no editorial rights at all (chaos), or if a national editorial committee would have to be established. The problems involved in this latter choice are very great - the distances which would have to be travelled regularly militating against such a course of action.

The decision to go ahead with the Scottish magazine to replace those of Aberdeen and Central Scotland was made at a Scottish conference in Dundee, The conference itself followed a week of speaking engagements by a member of the North London group, and following as it did, this successful joint venture, the scene was set for discussion on further joint activities. The major decision was, of course, the re-appearance of a Scottish magazine, but a number of other decisions relating to publications were taken. Among these the most important were the decision to have the Dundee group take over production of the Solidarity National Bulletin from the N.W. group. The Aberdeen group undertook the production of a leaflet to be distributed by all three groups at the March 18th demonstrations against the Industrial Relations Bill. (Not only was this leaflet successfully produced and distributed, but a second was also produced by the for Mayday.) The production of the first edition of the magazine was taken on by the Clydeside group which have editorial rights for this edition only. The next edition will be produced from Aberdeen.

We can only hope that the coming National Conference in London will be as productive as the Scottish Conference in Dundee has been.

POLAND

a warm winter.

After having struck the principal centres of private capitalism (France, Italy, Sweden and Germany) the conflict between the working class and Capital has now reached the centres of state capitalism such as Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and latterly Poland. The Polish workers, just like their comrades in Western Europe have been forced into action to defend their standard of living against the encroachments of the ruling class. Only incurable idiots, like the 'Morning Star' (which stated that the incidents were regrettable since, unlike the West, there were official channels for workers to air their grievances) can see in all this a supposed imperfection in a so-called 'Socialist system', rather than the typical form which the class struggle takes throughout the world wherever exploiters and exploited face one another. Poland is a class society just like all others in the world. "State ownership of the means of production is only a form of ownership. It is exercised by those groups to whom the state belongs. The bureaucracy has at its disposal all the nationalised means of production; it decides on the distribution and utilisation of the entire social product..... its class character does not depend on its internal organisation or its mores, only in its relationship - as a group - to the means of production and to other social classes, above all, to the working class"(Open Letter to the Party - Kuron and Modzelewski).

ORIGINS OF THE CRISIS

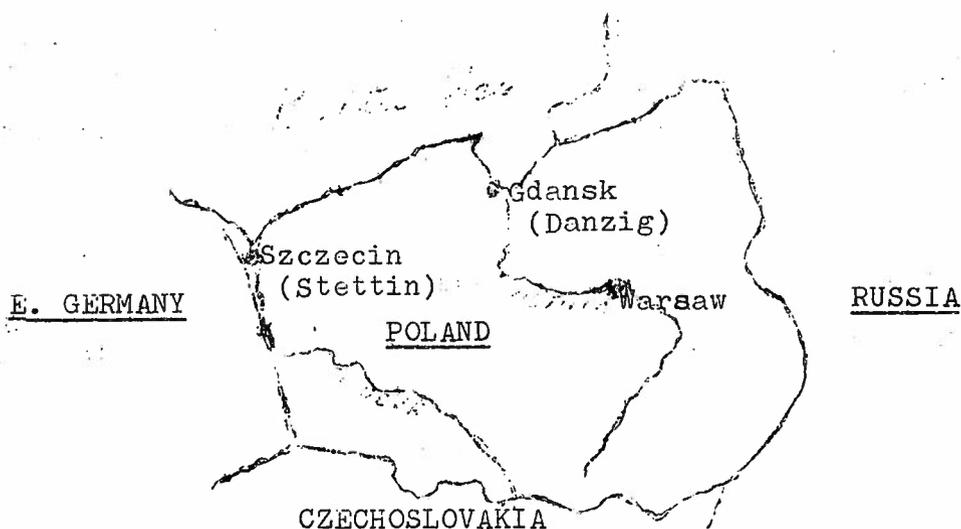
At the root of the struggle we find the mass of contradictions which characterise the bureaucratic restructuring of the economy and which express themselves notably in the low productivity of work and in the chronic scarcity of consumer goods, both of which phenomena are inextricably linked and mutually reinforcing. A particular sign of the failure of state capitalism is the insufficiency of agricultural production. Although the Polish bureaucracy avoided the disasters of Russian style collectivisation (over 75% of agricultural production being in the hands of peasant proprietors) production is insufficient in relation to demand. This is firstly because of the very low provision of agricultural machinery and fertiliser by the State monopoly at high prices (the result of insufficient agricultural production) and also because of the low prices paid to the peasants (who constitute just under half the population) by the State. The State also monopolises sale of their produce and prices are difficult to raise because this would endanger the already miserable standard of living of the Polish working class.

These, along with the drag of the bureaucratic apparatus and the incompetence of the bureaucrats, are undoubtedly the objective conditions which explain that in spite of innumerable projects and interminable discussions, 'economic reform' remains a dead issue in Poland. The object of such reform is normally to introduce into state capitalism certain elements of a market economy (as in Czechoslovakia) in the hope of stimulating a rise in production and lowering the alienation of the working class by the delights of the 'consumer society'. This alienation finds expression in such things as absenteeism, bad workmanship and large scale theft from factories in much the same way as is familiar in the West. The historical bankruptcy of the bureau-

cracy, deprived as in the West of any ideology on which to justify its rule, is nowhere more apparent than in their effort to adopt methods which are at this moment failing in the advanced capitalist countries. The fact that they cannot achieve even this shows how critical the real situation is.

In the present situation the raising of production was aimed at by giving concessions to the peasants (on whom agricultural production depends) and to the factory managers (who control industrial production). After much hesitation the leaders of the Polish bureaucracy decided to take steps to attain these ends. From the first of January 1971, a new system was to be introduced whose main characteristic was to limit bonus payments to 2% of the basic wage. The result of this would be a lowering of wages, hitting the workers for whom bonus payments (in addition to theft) had formerly represented an important part of their total wages. Accompanying this, the Government announced price changes corresponding to a massive increase in food and rent, and reductions on consumer goods such as furniture and television sets.

The combined effects of these measures would have been to reduce the standards of living of the workers and to increase those of the peasants (through increased food prices) and of managers and the bureaucracy (who could afford the consumer goods). The announcement of these decisions just before Christmas, after a period of rumour and counter-rumour, acted like a slap in the face to the working class. Already exploited at a greater rate than Western workers (approx. 60% compared with 50%), and having achieved about $\frac{1}{4}$ of their increase in real wages since 1939 during the upheavals of 1956-58, the Polish working class was once again to pay for the crisis of the system.



'REGRETTABLE EVENTS'

On Monday 14th December 1970, an angry crowd assembled in the shipyards at Gdansk, an important industrial centre on the Baltic; up for discussion were the problems posed by the reform of the wages system. Doubtless 'inspired by American Imperialism', the workers were annoyed that their wages were being lowered, while their work load was being increased. In addition, they went so far as to attack the price rises on food, which only amounted to a modest 20%. These problems being beyond the competence of the shipyard managers, the workers ended up by leaving the yards in a procession (singing the 'Internationale') to show their resentment in the streets of the town. In a bourgeois democracy such an incident would be relegated to an obscure corner in the press, but for the state capitalist bureaucracy it was the beginning of the end, an impardonable challenge to their divine right to represent the working class while at the same time exploiting it. As in Kronstadt, and in Budapest, the bureaucracy didn't hesitate; the demonstrators were savagely attacked by the forces of repression, which fired on the crowd. This was not only criminal, but more dangerously, an error.

The district around the shipyards is inhabited by a very youthful population (half of Poland's population is under 20), transported after the war from the territories of Eastern Poland ceded to the U.S.S.R., and in addition is in daily contact with sailors and fishermen bringing information about the conditions of life and work abroad. Let it be said in passing that the shipyard workers do not constitute an 'aristocracy of labour' by any means - they earn much less than the sailors and often only half the wages of the industrial workers.

The repression caused an immediate mobilisation of the working class. The shipyard workers were joined on strike by the dockers of Gdansk and neighbouring Gdynia. It also appears that students joined the movement, no doubt remembering their own repression in March 1968 when they occupied educational establishments demanding democracy. The demonstration now changed its character, with Monday's peaceful turnout becoming insurrection by Tuesday, when even women joined in attacks upon the militia, looting of state owned shops, and incendiarism at the station and headquarters of the Communist Party (P.U.W.P.), symbol of bureaucratic oppression.

The 'people's democracy' threw its last reserves into the battle; the military formations of the political police intervened against the crowd. After further battles lasting until Wednesday, it appeared that order had been restored, though not enough for telephone communication to be established with the rest of the country, or for foreign journalists to be welcomed in Gdansk. On Wednesday, the bureaucracy broke its silence to announce that "Order reigns in Gdansk".

As for rumours of strikes and demonstrations in other parts of the country, these were ascribed to hostile propaganda. The best proof of this was that on Thursday it was stated that "order now reigns at Szczecin" another big Baltic port. Rumours of unrest in central Poland also leaked out.

In the next few days, order continued returning to the Baltic, while work (which had supposedly never ceased) was once again resumed throughout the country. There was no question of negotiation with the strikers or rioters. Gathering all its eloquence, the bureaucracy tried to insist that only in calm and discipline could the problems which concerned the workers be discussed. But the workers remained deaf to these voices and, defeated in the street, they carried on the struggle with occupations of the shipyards, and go-slows in other plants; thus new measures were called for. On the 20th December, the first secretary of the Party, Gomulka, and 1/3 of the politbureau were dismissed. It could not of course be admitted that it was the workers' actions which had brought about these changes in the leadership. Medical certificates announced that the beloved leader had eye trouble (which had no doubt prevented him seeing the real situation). In any case the new leadership, under Gierak, announced that it was going to examine the possibility of 'helping those families with the lowest incomes', which meant in plain Polish that wages were going to be raised, at least for the most deserving workers (measured, doubtless by the extent of strikes and amount of Molotov cocktails used).

All these manoeuvres seem to have had little influence on the combativity of the workers, with renewed strikes breaking out in Gdansk and Szczecin on the 17th January. In the latter city a new element was added to the struggle by the workers in the Palmo automobile factory who put forward demands for the equalisation of wages. Workers also organised rotating strikes, between the shipyards, factories and transport, each lasting a couple of hours. At mass meetings in these towns, the workers demanded the right for their strike committees to negotiate with the government, and refused to do this through the discredited trades unions. So worried was the bureaucracy by this development, that it announced that the unions would be democratised, and Sowinski, head of the Polish trades unions was dismissed. The last news to come out of Poland before calm finally returned, was of a sit-down strike at Lodz by 10,000 workers which crippled Polish textile production. These workers were mainly women, earning up to 30% less than male workers, and for a week they struggled for reduction of the differentials.

PROVISIONAL CONCLUSIONS

The first result of the riots had been the abandoning of the attempt to raise the level of exploitation. In the months ahead the bureaucracy will have to give back to the workers, in the form of raised wages, what it took away in the form of raised prices. The future situation will be determined by the combativity of the working class. The miraculous reform which was to pull state capitalism out of stagnation ended in a compromise. The only future perspectives for the rule of the bureaucracy are based on continued stagnation or in the attempt to seek the influx of foreign capital to create consumer industry. Both of these are fraught with dangers.

But there are other implications; this revolt demands to be compared with that of the Poznan workers in 1956 in Poland. In both cases the response of the bureaucracy was similar; the Poznan revolt, which started in the Zepo locomotive factory over increased norms and prices was joined by other workers and then brutally crushed by the Polish army in much the same way as that in Gdansk. In both cases the revolts were said to be the work

of hooligan elements, or of agents of Imperialism. Once the Poznan revolt failed, the then first secretary admitted the workers had real grievances and said it showed "a serious disturbance in relations between the Party and various sections of the working class". Similarly in 1970 it was admitted that the workers (once crushed) had real grievances, that plans had been drawn up without the economists taking account of all aspects of the situation and that future decisions on the economy would be taken "in consultation with the working class and all the workers" (Gierek). The identical reaction by the bureaucracy to the revolts of Poznan in 1956 and Gdansk in 1970 gives the lie to any illusions about the 'humanisation' of Stalinism.

There are also other implications. We can dismiss the comments of the bourgeois commentators that this revolt was unimportant because it had no programme and no leaders. For socialists it is the activity of the masses in struggle which is important, and in forcing the Polish bureaucracy to retreat, the workers have shown their power in mass action under state capitalism to defend their own material interests. This is as true of the period after 1956, as it will be now in Poland.

In one respect the latest struggle is much more significant than that which occurred in 1956, or in Czechoslovakia in 1968, since the workers were not fighting for some leader supposedly more socialist or democratic than the rest of the bureaucracy. In a sense Gomulka was brought to power by the workers in 1956, but this is in no sense true of the latest changes in the ruling strata. Gierek was brought in by the bureaucracy itself. The workers were not interested in the power struggle of the various cliques in the bureaucracy.

In another respect, however, the revolt was less developed than that in 1956, either in Poland or in Hungary. In the latter case "From the first day of the Revolution a truly proletarian movement had expressed itself in the formation of Councils all over Hungary. These Councils immediately sought to federate. By the end of a week they had virtually established a republic of Councils.... they embodied, in embryo, the new society they were seeking to achieve"(Hungary '56. Andy Anderson). In Poland too, in 1956, the council movement, although less developed, covered half the industrial enterprises, and served as organs of the workers' interests until 1958. Gomulka, whom they had brought to power said "The Councils are not the organs of political power of the working class. We, the Party, have rejected as unrealistic that idea". No such similar form of organisation emerged in the latest struggle although strikes were widespread and occupations less so. But these forms of struggle are more difficult to defeat than armed insurrection, as can be seen from the continuing low production in Czechoslovakia.

Another factor which is different in the present situation, is that there has existed since 1966 at least a clearly definable group of revolutionary socialists in Poland who criticise it as a class society, and who are suffering grave penalties for their opposition to the regime. The earlier groups, such as *Po Postu* in 1956 remained clouded with liberal attitudes, and did not come out clearly for revolution as opposed to adjustment of state capitalism. The fact that there now exist groups in Poland advocating the arming of the people, and power to be in the hands of elected and revocable delegates to workers' councils clearly shows how far things have developed. It is an

important part of the activity of Western revolutionary groups not only to document the real nature of the struggles under state capitalism, but also to try to help the development of revolutionary ideas by making available documents to Eastern European revolutionaries (as we have with our translation of Cardan's 'Meaning of Socialism' into Polish, and its distribution in that country).

READ THE FOLLOWING TWO BOOKS FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE IN EASTERN EUROPE.

"AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PARTY"
by Kuron & Modzelewski; a revolutionary
socialist manifesto.
From I.S. bookshop
36 Cotton Gdns. London E.2.
25p.

HUNGARY '56 by Andy Anderson
The road to state capitalism -
the Hungarian revolution - the
programme of the Councils.
From; H. Russell,
53 Westmoreland Rd.,
Bromley, Kent. 25p.

Much of the factual information for this article was taken from the January and February issues of 'Lutte de Classe (c/o Jean Collin, rue Saint Antoine 75 Paris 4eme) and on the brochure issued by 'Root and Branch' (P.O. Box 496, Cambridge, Mass 02139, U.S.A.) in February. The conclusions, however, are our own.

SOLIDARITY PUBLICATIONS

THE MEANING OF SOCIALISM by Paul Cardan. What is a socialist programme? The real contradiction in capitalist production. Socialist values. A re-statement of socialist objectives. The case for workers' management of production. 5p.

SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM. A re-definition of socialist objectives in the light of the events of the last 50 years. 5p.

THE CRISIS OF MODERN SOCIETY by Paul Cardan. The interlocking crises in work, politics, values, education, the family, and relations between the sexes. 5p.

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND WORKERS CONTROL 1917-1921 (The State and Counter-Revolution) by Maurice Brinton. 'Workers' control' or workers' self-management? The story of the early oppositions. An analysis of the formative years of the Russian bureaucracy. 25p.

MODERN CAPITALISM AND REVOLUTION by Paul Cardan. A fundamental critique of the traditional left. The problems of our society (bureaucratisation, political apathy, alienation in production, consumption and leisure). What are revolutionary politics today? 25p.

Postage extra:- from H. Russell, 53A Westmoreland Rd., Bromley, Kent.

MULLARD'S; exploitation to the core.

Mullards, the international electronic component manufacturing company, opened an advance factory in Aberdeen in November 1970. Their present factory on the Tullos industrial estate is large enough for a work force of some 150, but they intend to build a new factory at Kittybrewster in Aberdeen which will accommodate a work force of over 750. This will make Mullards one of the five or six largest employers in the town. Mullards are not only bringing jobs to the town, however, but also a totally new sophistication of management techniques which should be carefully studied.

Mullards are one of the few employers in Aberdeen who are prepared to pay wages even nearly equivalent to those paid in other areas. The starting wage for women at Mullard's - all production workers are women- is £12.25, the same as the firm pays at their Southampton factory. This wage is probably two pounds above the average pay for women in Aberdeen; in fact, Ladybird, a nearby factory were forced to raise their pay by two pounds after Mullard's had opened, in order to withstand the competition. In addition to the higher wages, Mullard's offer three weeks holidays in the first year, rising to four in the second. The physical conditions of the factory are also of a higher standard than those usually encountered in Aberdeen, it is warm, clean and airy. Mullard's thus provides very strong competition for the more traditional employers in Aberdeen - but for very sound economic reasons, not out of the goodness of their hearts.

Just how sound these economic reasons must be (that is to say, how much profit they can make) is clearly shown by the lengths to which the management are prepared to go to make their new factory attractive to work in. Mullard's commissioned a survey to be carried out in Aberdeen among women of the working age in which they were interested in order to find out exactly what these women expected from their work. The survey was carried out by the Department of Economics of Aberdeen University - showing once again the very strong links between big business and the universities.

The sample interviewed were asked questions ranging from what length of travelling time they considered reasonable to reach work, to how important they felt that a social life based on the place of work was. The women were asked;- if they were satisfied with their present job and if not why not; what they considered a fair weekly wage; what hours they preferred to work; what factory amenities they expected; whether they expected to be kept informed of company policy; and the relative importance of wages, conditions,

promotion chances, job satisfaction. In fact, the survey will provide Mullard's with all the information they need to make work with them as attractive as possible. Why?

Recruitment

The work done by Mullard's in Aberdeen requires a high level of manual dexterity and an extremely calm and patient temperament. All applicants for work have to undergo dexterity, memory, I.Q., and other psychological testing. Failure rates are obviously not published but rumour has it that two thirds of all applicants fail. Despite this testing, a large number of people find the job too taxing on their nerves and leave within several weeks. In fact, it is not uncommon for girls to leave after the first day. Rumour again has it that the Mullard's management expect that half the women who start work with them will leave without finishing the six month training period. This means that to establish a work force of 750, Mullard's must employ somewhere over 1200 women in total, and if two thirds fail the tests, they must attract over 3,000 women to apply to them for work.

The Job

What then is the work done at Mullard's that requires such rigorous screening? The Mullard's factory in Aberdeen produce memory circuits for computers. The work is minute and quite a lot of it is done under a microscope, but this is not always possible by nature of the work and great eye strain and accompanying blinding headaches go with the job. The girls work mainly with two components; cores which are rings of very fragile graphite and are no bigger than the full stops on this page; and wire which is literally as fine as hair. Through each ring, the girl must pass four wires in a defined sequence. The cores are attached to a plate in a 'quadrant' less than two inches square. On each quadrant there are 4,096 cores with four wires through each; i.e. a total of 16,384 hairs to be passed through 4,096 full stops in a square less than two inches. If the wire breaks, and it does, it must be spliced and soldered to precise specifications. If a core breaks, and they do, it must be carefully removed and replaced. When the quadrant is completed, it undergoes very strict quality testing both visual and electronic. All repairs necessary must be carried out by the girl who made the quadrant and she often has to repair quadrants which have been assembled with faulty cores through no fault of her own. The nervous tension of the work is easily imaginable and this is obviously increased when work is returned for repairs from the various tests time after time. No quadrant yet produced at the Tullos factory in its four months of working has successfully completed its final testing.

The Mullard's management are therefore faced with the very great problem of reducing the nervous tension which is inevitable caused by the work while at the same time increasing production. High wages and the promise of comparatively good working conditions may attract girls to work for Mullard's but the nature of the work makes it difficult for the management to keep them. Normal factory restrictions are not in force at

Mullard's: smoking is not discouraged at the production tables; the girls are not discouraged from talking to each other and are in fact trained to work while speaking. The girls can leave the tables at any time (though not for long periods) for a scream or a good weep in the toilets when the strain is becoming unbearable. Nothing is discouraged which will release or relieve tension without interfering with production.

Management Control

The object of the factory is, of course, to produce in order to make a profit for the firm. In order to do this, the management must have a well disciplined work force but must maintain this discipline in a way which does nothing to increase the tension caused by the work. Although the higher levels of management are male and imported into Aberdeen, the actual factory floor discipline is maintained by local girls. This is done in an extremely subtle and sophisticated way by the use of 'group leaders'.

The girls start work at the factory in groups of twelve, and not just random groupings, but ones with common interests or are judged 'compatible' in the initial personality tests. However many girls leave as a result of the previously mentioned high turnover, no new girl is introduced to the group and no girl is move to another group. This results in strong friendships developing within the group and a high level of identification with the group developing among the girls. To each group, from the beginning, is assigned a group leader, a local girl specially trained for the job. The leader of the group never changes and if she is off work for any reason, it is one of the male managers who takes over the group and not a leader from another group. Both the girls in the group, and the leader of the group, are encouraged to think of the leader as part of the group although she does no productive work.

As a result, the same sort of friendship and identification develops between the girls and the leader as develops among the girls in the group. When the management are dissatisfied with the work standards or behaviour of any member of the group, it is the leader who is called to the manager's office and it is the leader who is reprimanded. The leader can then return to the line and tell the girl concerned that she has just had a row from the boss because of something the girl has done. This is said in a non spiteful way and the girl feels bad not only because someone else is receiving blame that she should be receiving, but that the other person, whom she likes, is behaving so well about it. This not only has the effect of maintaining discipline, but increases the girl's sympathy for the group leader who has been nice about it and ensures even tighter discipline in the future. The girl will feel that the group leader is an ally in her contact with the management, while in fact the group leader is effectively maintaining discipline for the management.

A further benefit to the higher management resulting from this system is that the only time they need to speak to the girls on the floor is when giving them encouragement (which they do frequently). The management can thus develop an easy, friendly relationship with the girls which benefits production through relieving tension without losing any control. Tension

is further reduced by the fact that the girl who is being disciplined never comes in contact with the person who is nominally doing the disciplining, while being disciplined. The message is merely passed on in an almost casual manner from a friend but losing none of its effect. The group leaders are not scheming people who distort their true role in the management structure to the girls: they are never allowed to realise their true role themselves. The management use the group leaders to maintain discipline without ever letting them realise their true role in the structure. However, although perhaps not completely conscious, they are nevertheless tools of the exploiting management and should not be thought of as merely other exploited workers.

Bonus

Another symptom of the sophistication of the techniques used by the Mullard's management is the system of work incentive. Each job done by the girls is given an 'M' rating. This rating, based on work studies done at Mullard's main factory in this line at Mitcham, is used initially as a yardstick to measure the girls' progress through the six months training period. Despite the difficulty in attracting the right kind of girls for the job and the expense of training them, the management have lightly mentioned that anyone who does not achieve an M - rating of 59 by the end of their training will be forced to leave. Considering it takes most girls three months to reach 30, and the complexity of the work, this is not an easy standard to reach.

Once training is finished, the girls are paid a basic wage of £13.50. On top of this they will be paid a bonus directly related to the amount they produce, varying from £1.85 for a weekly rating of 60 to £7 for a weekly rating of 90, rising in units of 5 M-values. This bonus will not, however, vary from week to week, as the girls will be contracted to work at a specific rate and will only be paid at that rate until they can show the management that they can work consistently at a higher rate. This system, more commonly known as measured day work (although here worked on a weekly basis) has many advantages for the management not given by the more common bonus schemes.

Most importantly, it allows the management to predict with reasonable accuracy the weekly output - a distinct advantage in modern production planning. Secondly, it has built-in quality control on the bonus earnings as the management will not contract a girl to work on a rate unless she is both consistently fast and consistently good. Anything which benefits the management has disadvantages for the girls. If contracted to work on a low rate, they cannot work extra hard for a few weeks to get a few quid for a new coat unless they are prepared to continue working at that rate; if they are on a high rate, they have to work to maintain that rate even although they are feeling unwell or just not like working hard unless they are prepared to accept a long-term drop in earnings. A further advantage to the management and disadvantage to the girls is that if they are contracted to work at 60 but are inconsistently reaching 80, the management do not have to pay them at the higher rate while getting more

production. If, however, the girl is contracted to work at 80 and is inconsistently working at 60, the management will be quick to cut her rate. Measured day work, or measured week work, is the system of productivity-related bonus which gives the maximum earnings control to the management and allows minimum earnings control to the girls.

Conclusion

In general, it can be seen that Mullard's management techniques are of a sophistication almost unknown in Aberdeen previously and uncommon in Scotland. The girls at Mullard's will never have to fight for clean toilets or basic working conditions as others have had to and have to now. They will never be brought sharply into conflict with an unreasonable management - their bosses are far too intelligent for that. But the atmosphere of congeniality and informal friendliness encouraged by the management should not be misunderstood; Mullard's isn't being run for the good of its employees, no matter how much the management try to encourage this notion. It is being run for the profit of its shareholders. When compared with a dirty, cold, dark fish-house with little sanitation, it may appear that Mullard's are not exploiting their workers. But they are: the friendliness and good conditions do not hide Mullard's profit motive, their exploitation is worse than that of the fish-house for being disguised and apparently less vicious. Such exploitation should be understood and fought with tactics as subtle and forceful as the exploitation.

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DATA on the Industrial Relations Bill—a Commentary

Code of Industrial Relations Practice (2)

The Bill affirms that the Secretary of State shall prepare a Code of Practice within a year after the passing of the Act, which will embody and elaborate the principles of the Bill set out under Clause 1. This can be revised from time to time, but again by the Secretary of State.

In drawing up this code the Secretary of State will be advised by the CIR, and the final draft has to be approved by Parliament, as do revisions of this code. Breaking the code does not in itself make anyone guilty, but the code will be borne in mind by the industrial courts.

Despite its obvious importance—the Tories have called it "a cornerstone" of their policy—it need not be produced until 1972.

Right not to belong (or to belong) to a union (5-19)

A worker can belong or not belong to any registered union and can seek appointment or election to office in the union without being obstructed by an employer. However, if a worker refuses to join in an agency shop agreement and thus refuses to pay contributions to the recognised union the employer can "dismiss, penalise or otherwise discriminate" against him.

The only "appropriate time" a worker can take part in the activities of a union is defined as—

- (a) outside his working hours or
- (b) within his working hours with the consent of his employer. (5 (5)).

Under 6 the concept of "an irregular industrial action short of a strike" is introduced, by which the Act means "any concerted course of conduct which in contemplation or furtherance of an industrial dispute" (a) is carried on by a group of workers with the intention of preventing, reducing or otherwise interfering with the production of goods or the provision of services, and (b) in the case of some or all of them is carried on in breach of their contracts of employment.

Thus any working without enthusiasm, going slow, days of thought, etc., are also illegal and subject to all the penalties listed later.

Clause 7 specifically precludes the closed shop; and any action to enforce the closed shop.

Thus DATA's policy of 100% membership in contract offices and elsewhere would immediately become illegal and "self-employment" would increase. A policy legal since 1924 would now become illegal. At least three million workers are at present covered by such agreements.

Agency shop agreement (11-16)

This new type of agreement is one where a union(s) has an agreement with an employer that as part of the conditions of employment in that firm a worker must either join the union(s) or "pay appropriate contribution" to the union or even to a charity.

In either of the latter two cases these non-members will of course be in no way bound by union rules or union policies and thus the chances of concerted united action are significantly lessened.

In any dispute over who should be party to an agency shop the CIR and the NIRC have the power to decide, with a final ballot of the workers concerned. While the CIR are investigating the union can make no move at all to recruit or take any action to press the claims of their members on the employer, nor after the ballot has decided the issue (based on CIR questions) can unions or workers' organisations act to change that decision for two years—whether the result recognised certain unions or went against any agreement at all.

Unfair dismissal (20-31)

The dismissal of an employee shall be taken as fair if the reasons

A BILL TO

AMEND the law relating to employers and workers and to organisations of employers and organisations of workers; to provide for the establishment of a National Industrial Relations Court and for extending the jurisdiction of industrial tribunals; to provide for the appointment of a Chief Registrar of Trade Unions and Employers' Associations, and of assistant registrars, and for establishing a Commission on Industrial Relations as a statutory body; and for purposes connected with those matters.

*Presented by Mr. Secretary Carr,
supported by*

*The Prime Minister,
Mr. Secretary Maudling,
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,
Mr. William Whitelaw,
Secretary Sir Keith Joseph
Mr. Secretary Davies,
Mr. Secretary Campbell,
Mr. Solicitor General
and Mr. Dudley Smith*

*Ordered, by The House of Commons,
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are primarily one of the following:—

1. Related to the employee's capability or qualifications;
2. Related to his "conduct" (!)—no definition given.
3. He is redundant (redundancy will not be a sufficient reason if "it is shown" that other similar employees in the same undertaking have not been dismissed and either those declared redundant have been so declared because they have exercised their rights under Section 5 (1), i.e., activities as a trade unionist, or he has been dismissed in contravention to normal arrangements or the agreed procedure).

The same conditions apply after a lock-out when, as long as the employer either dismisses the employee(s) for the above three reasons or offers him say "a different position which would be reasonably suitable" then that dismissal is also fair (23).

It is also fair (24) to dismiss an employee(s) for taking part in a strike, etc., if all the other employee(s) who took part in the strike were dismissed. So it seems that it will be fair if the employer sacks everyone who was on strike, unless it be judged that they were operating their rights under Clause 5 (1) (c), which does not seem to cover strike action. Indeed, taking part in trade union activity after a strike, etc., has started seems to allow the worker to be fairly dismissed (24 (3) (b)).

It is unfair industrial practice to strike, etc., in order to get the employer to sack another employee (25).

Such protection as is given in the preceding sections is excluded from a whole series of categories, including all part-timers, i.e., employed for less than twenty-one hours a week, those who have not been employed for two years those over retiring age (unless, of course, again it is "shown" that these employees were dismissed for exercising their rights under Section 5 (1)).

If a fixed term contract, however, is not renewed this is not "unfair dismissal," even apparently if this non-renewal results from exercising their rights under Section 5 (1).

All these exceptions will provide a bonanza for employers and their lawyers. Even if they fail to "prove" any dismissal as fair the employer will still only have to pay an absolute maximum of two years' pay with a limit of £40 a week. This £4,000 is the top limit; cheap at twice the price for any shop-steward committed to defending his members.

In fact rather than being a new right for workers the concept of "unfair dismissal" seems much nearer an impressive list of justifications for sacking "troublesome" individuals.

Legally binding agreements (32-40)

All agreements signed after the passing of the Act will, unless expressly stated otherwise, be regarded as legally enforceable. This applies not only to agreements on the terms and conditions of employment but also to procedure agreements, and will apply to all written agreements.

It will be unfair industrial practice to break such a collective agreement, and also to not take all such "reasonably practical" steps to prevent other people, including those "purporting to act on behalf" of the union, from breaking such agreement. (34).

This is clearly meant to set unions against other workers' organisations.

Three more unfair industrial practices (85-87)

1. It is unfair industrial practice to induce another person to break a contract, unless the "inducing" is done by a registered union or employers' association or has authority from it.

2. It is an unfair industrial practice to aid or further an industrial dispute which aims at anything the Act defines as an unfair industrial practice.

3. It is an unfair industrial practice to further an industrial dispute by inducing another person to break a contract (not a contract of employment) to which that other person is a party, if that other person is "an extraneous party" in the dispute (i.e., sympathy strikes of any kind are illegal). An employer will stay defined as an "extraneous" party even if:-

- (a) he is an "associated employer," (The definition of associated employer seems to mean that any effective support within one part of a company for workers in dispute in a subsidiary would be illegal).
- (b) he is a member of an organisation of employers in which another member is in dispute.
- (c) he has contributed to a fund for the general relief of the members of the organisation that runs that fund, for example the EEF.

If the Secretary of State or any other party considers that in any unit the problem is an absence of a procedure agreement, or the existence of a procedure agreement which doesn't prevent industrial action occurring "contrary to the terms or intention of that agreement" then the Industrial Court can be asked to decide whether there seem to be these defects. If it decides that there are, then the CIR will investigate and, taking evidence from those it wishes, go on to transmit its proposals back to the Industrial Court to create or revise a procedure agreement which would help to solve the problems.

The CIR's report will be published and if then within six months any one party applies to the Industrial Court then that court can determine that these provisions within the report "shall have effect as a legally enforceable contract as if a contract consisting of those provisions had been made between those parties." (35-40). This order by the court can only be withdrawn mandatorily if all of the parties ask it to be revoked, though the court can revoke it if it wishes if only one party so applies. So the Bill not only assumes contracts legally binding but also allows for such legal force to be used without some "contracts" even having been agreed.

Bargaining units (41-52)

Either one or more unions or an employer or the Secretary of State can apply to the NIRC for a particular organisation(s) of workers to be recognised either as the sole bargaining agent or a joint negotiating panel. The Industrial Court can then, if it seems best to it, refer the question to the CIR, who will then make a report and recommendations based on its investigations, its view of the "general wishes of the employees" and whether it will "promote a satisfactory and lasting settlement." The approved workers' organisation will have to have the support of a substantial proportion of the employees and "have the resources and be organised to effectively represent the employees." The CIR's recommendations may be subject to "such conditions as the Commission thinks fit," that it may be included in a joint negotiating panel, be forced to have "sufficient trained officials" and agree not to claim the position of sole bargaining agent.

A ballot of the employees will then be taken, either under the supervision of the CIR or some other body (46).

Following the ballot the NIRC shall make an order defining the bargaining unit and specifying the employer and trade union or joint negotiating panel. This order can only be rescinded two years or more after it was originally made, and if two-fifths of the employees have signified their dissatisfaction in writing. Otherwise the NIRC can ask the CIR to go ahead to organise another ballot to test the feeling in the unit. If the majority of those voting vote against the union(s) recognised then the NIRC will order the employer to cease to recognise the union(s) as the appropriate agent.

It is, of course, an unfair industrial practice for the union to take or threaten to take any industrial action, either during the decision making time or after that decision has been made in order to alter the order of the court.

So the union can do nothing to demonstrate its effectiveness to prospective members.

Disclosure of information (52-56)

The employer is supposed to disclose to accredited trade union representatives any information without which the official would be "impeded in carrying on the collective bargaining." What this actually means will not be defined until the code of industrial relations practice is brought out. In any case, under Clause 52 (4) the employer will not have to give any information which "would involve an amount of work or expenditure out of reasonable proportion to the value of information in the conduct of collective bargaining." This should allow a wide field of manoeuvre for the employers. The employers of a large plant (over 500) should also provide "periodical statements" (undefined) to keep the persons employed informed.

The Secretary of State may also make regulations requiring employers to provide him with any procedure agreement they have signed. If this is not done then the offender will be subject to a fine up to £100, and if the agreement is falsified the fine will be up to £400.

Registration (59-84)

The Chief Registrar who will be appointed by "Her Majesty," will be any person, as long as he is a barrister, an advocate or a solicitor of not less than ten years' standing. He can appoint Assistant Registrars with the same background of not less than seven years' standing. The Chief Registrar will have to make an Annual Report to Parliament (59).

The principles for registration include:-

1. That any "reasonably well qualified" worker can join the union.
2. That he can join it with reasonable notice and conditions.
3. That no member shall "by way of any arbitrary or unreasonable discrimination" be excluded from taking part in elections for and standing for positions in the union. (It will be interesting to see whether the Industrial Court or Registrar will consider political bans and proscriptions as "arbitrary" and "unreasonable").
4. That the voting in any ballot of the members "be kept secret." (61 (5)).
5. That no member shall be discriminated against for refusing to take part in an "unfair industrial practice." (This means the union in order to become and remain registered will have to agree not to engage in any of the fourteen "unfair industrial practices").
6. That no member be expelled from the union for non-payment of dues without considerable notice.
7. That any member can sue the union. (61).

These "guiding principles" can be enforced against unregistered organisations as well!

The union, in order to be registered, has to be "an independent organisation of workers" and have power to alter its own rules and control its own property (63). In order to register the union has to send in a copy of rules, the names and addresses of branches, an annual account for equipment and also to fulfil "any other requirements imposed by the Registrar as a condition of registration." (63 (4)).

Employers' association are treated, under the Bill, in the same way. However, as all of these rules are constructed to weaken unions not employers these "conditions" will be gladly agreed to by employers' associations. Moreover, the appropriate equivalent is not an employers' association, but an employer. The nearest equivalent of an employers' association is an association of unions like the TUC or the CSEU. The idea running through the Bill that the individual worker is on a par with the individual employer is nonsense in everyday matters of wealth, power, and whether you have to work for a living.

If the Registrar considers the rules of an organisation to be defective and that organisation does not change them in a satisfactory way the Registrar can apply to the Industrial Court to cancel the registration of the organisation (71 and 72).

After the passing of the Act a provisional register will be set up, on which the Registrar will enter every organisation which is at the moment registered as a trade union under the Acts of 1871 and 1964. (Presumably whether they like it or not).

The Registrar can hear complaints about the functioning of a

registered organisation, either from any member, or from any unsuccessful applicant, or from any involuntary ex-member, and these complaints can be followed by an investigation of the organisation. The evidence prompting such an investigation is privileged and cannot be passed on to the Industrial Court or an industrial tribunal except with consent of the person who communicated the evidence in the first place (i.e., any scab, blackleg or anti-union individual can make a serious allegation against a union without the allegation being publicly known or discussed, or even the source of the allegation being known (78 (6))).

The Chief Registrar can investigate any organisation on the grounds of insolvency and, following inspection, can petition to the High Court for it to be wound up as insolvent.

If any registered organisation fails to provide information laid down under these sections it will be liable to a fine not exceeding £100, and if it falsifies such information which it presents to the Registrar the fine can go up to £400.

The Registrar (the CIR and the industrial tribunal) can demand witnesses to attend, examine them on oath and insist on the production of any documents. If any of these orders are refused the offender can be fined £100, i.e., he becomes a criminal. (See Schedule II, part IV). All evidence can, if the witness wishes, be kept secret, i.e., unions etc., can be condemned on the basis of anonymous slander.

National Industrial Relations Court (88-102)

This will be set up and will consist of a number of Judges nominated by the Lord Chancellor from the High Court and the Court of Appeal, one Judge from the Court of Session, and other members "appearing to the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State to have special knowledge or experience of industrial relations."

The power and detailed organisation of the NIRC is given in Schedule 2 of the Bill, paras. 3 to 28. In there it states that the Court may either be made up, with the consent of the parties to the proceedings, of just one Judge and one appointed member, or in default of such consent, hearings will be before a Judge and not less than two and not more than four appointed members. (There seems to be no mention in the Bill itself of the idea of having one lawyer, one employer and one trade unionist, as has been widely suggested). The question of fines arising from contempt of court, and the results of the non-payment is covered in Schedule II, para. 26.

The decision of industrial courts on a question of fact shall be final, but on points of law, can be heard at the Court of Appeal. If the Lord Chancellor and the Secretary of State consider any member of the court "unfit to continue in office or incapable of performing his duties" that member can be immediately dismissed (Schedule 2, para. 6).

The court, on hearing a complaint, can issue an Order determining the rights of the matter, award compensation "to be paid by the respondent to the complainant" and order the respondent to refrain from continuing to take the action complained about (90). However, if the complaint was made "against an official of a trade union or an employers' association in respect of action taken by him in his capacity as such an official" then "the industrial court shall not make an award or Order against him" but this will not "affect the granting of any remedy against the trade union or employers' association, whether in the same proceedings or in any other proceedings."

Thus an unfair industrial action taken by an individual, either not an authorised official of a union, or when such an official is acting outside his authorised capacity, will be subject to action in the courts and individual unlimited damages. However, as will be seen from Clauses 102 *et seq.* on compensation, such damages will be limited if taken against an authorised official of a union acting in an authorised way, and would only be taken against the funds of that union not against the funds or property of the individual. The Industrial Court can deal with all industrial practices, apart from those covered by Sections 5 and 20, i.e., those concerning the right of a worker to belong to a union, and the clause on unfair dismissal. These will be heard by Industrial Tribunals.

Industrial Tribunals (88-102)

Industrial tribunals set up under the 1964 Industrial Training Act will continue in existence but strengthened and with wider jurisdiction. They will have the power to hear cases of unfair industrial practice under Sections 5 and 20. In both of these matters they will be able to call for persons to give evidence and all documents to be inspected under pain of a fine of up to £100, and at the end of the case will be

able to award compensation, recoverable by execution under Orders of the County Court. (89 and 94-98). The tribunal can also hear cases on the "unfair industrial practice" of placing any limitation on qualified persons joining a workers' organisation.

The case can either be brought by the aggrieved party or the Registrar can take this complaint over and present it himself. (77). Thus it will be possible for individuals to snipe at the unions, protected by the body of the Registrar. Again, the tribunal will be able to award compensation to the original applicant. In cases of unfair dismissal the tribunal can recommend re-engagement where the tribunal "considers that it would be practical and in accordance with equity," but under Clause 102 (4) it is made clear that the employer does not have to obey this recommendation, and only stands to have the compensation that he will have to pay the individual raised but still within the very small limit. (See also above under "Unfair Dismissal").

The Lord Chancellor (in England and Wales) and the Secretary of State (in Scotland) can make an order by a statutory instrument to give jurisdiction to the industrial tribunals in cases of a breach of any contract of employment (Clause 99), and in this case the tribunal can award damages and costs.

It is broadly laid down under the Act and under special statutory instruments that the Industrial Court will be able to deal with appeals on almost any matter, both those relating to previous Acts, such as the Contracts of Employment Act, 1963, to appeals from industrial tribunals and even to complaints about breaches of the rules relating to political funds under the Trade Union Act of 1913. (100).

Compensation (102-104)

The principles of compensation and certain details about the limits in some cases are laid down in Clauses 102 to 104. The general principle is that the Court or tribunal can award compensation based on the loss sustained by the aggrieved party, insofar as that was attributable to action taken "by the party in default," i.e., the "guilty" party. The loss sustained includes any expenses incurred by the aggrieved party and the loss of any benefit he would have had but for those actions.

In Clause 103 it is laid down that trade unions (by which the Act always means registered unions) will have limits placed on the compensation they can pay—a union less than 5,000, £5,000; 5,000-25,000, £25,000; 25,000-100,000, £50,000; 100,000 and over, £100,000. If such damages are not paid then under Schedule II, clauses 24-26, the offender can be further fined and ultimately imprisoned for "contempt of court."

Compare the limit on an employer for unfair dismissal—104 weeks' pay at a maximum of £40 a week, i.e., £4,160; less, of course, than that if the earnings are less than £40.

£100,000 limits on unions, £4,160 on employers!

Commission on Industrial Relations (105-109)

This is established as a statutory body with not less than six and not more than fifteen members appointed by the Secretary of State. Under Clause 106 it has powers to consider "any question relating to industrial relations generally or to industrial relations in any particular industry, or in any particular undertaking or part of an undertaking," i.e., there seem to be no limits on the investigations it can make once it has been asked to do so by the Secretary of State.

The Minister or Ministers can at any time vary the question by a further reference, or even withdraw the reference of the question, so the CIR becomes completely the creature of the Minister.

Again, the report made by the Commission under Clause 108 is only published if the Ministers think it "expedient to do so" and will certainly not be published if it is regarded as "against the interests of national security."

Industrial Arbitration Board (110-113)

This is a new name for the industrial court set up by the Industrial Courts Act, 1919. The Board can now deal with situations where employers are bargaining with unions other than those forming the approved bargaining unit, are not seriously conducting collective bargaining with the approved unit or unions, and are not disclosing information under Clause 52.

Although the Board can make an award against an employer in certain cases, it does not seem to have any powers to make certain this award is carried out. All the effect that these awards seem to have is that from then on they shall be taken to be written into the contract of employment of the employee or employees concerned, and thus thereafter presumably subject to actions in the Industrial Court for breach of contract.

Restrictions on Legal Proceedings (114-123)

Clause 114 makes it illegal for any court to compel people either to work or not to work, i.e., continues present law. Thus only those who propose industrial action, not all those who support it, will be sued.

Clause 118 lays down that merely to engage in an industrial dispute or induce others to do so in order to break a contract does not in itself make one actionable. (It is presumably only actionable if you specifically commit an unfair industrial practice as defined in the Act itself. One of these (Clause 85) says that no unregistered organisation can induce a breach of contract in the circumstances of an industrial dispute, i.e., this Clause only serves to obscure the punishments awaiting any "unofficial" organisation of individuals in dispute).

All this means is that those who induce a strike cannot be sued in the ordinary courts, only in the NIRC and the industrial tribunals, to be set up under this Bill.

Clause 120 excludes people engaged in the supply of gas, water and electricity from their previous penalties for breaking their contracts of service, and Clause 121 allows peaceful picketing, as long as it is not at a person's residence.

Clause 122 again lays down that actions by unions and organisations of workers, etc., are not by themselves actionable just because they are in restraint of trade.

The above clauses are presumably the flimsy defence for the Tory claim that they are retaining many of the previous "privileges" of unions (and employers' organisations). But with the removal of all protection from unregistered organisations and the fourteen unfair industrial practices for the rest, this claim seems pretty meaningless.

Cooling-off Periods and Secret Ballots (124-131)

Clauses 124-126 lay down that the Secretary of State can apply to the industrial court to issue Orders preventing named persons and organisations in certain situations from calling, organising, procuring or financing a strike, or threatening to do so (this includes irregular industrial actions and lock-outs). The Order can also specify that any instructions issued must be withdrawn.

The situation under which he can do this is where in his judgment such industrial action would be gravely injurious to the national economy, to imperil national security, or to create serious risk of public disorder, or to endanger the lives of a substantial number of persons, etc. The Order can last for up to sixty days.

Clauses 127-131 allow the Secretary of State to apply to the industrial court for an Order requiring a ballot to be taken, in certain stated situations. These situations are ones in which either the above conditions, as under Clause 124 (2) exist, or where such action is likely to be injurious to the livelihood of a substantial number of workers. This has to be linked to a situation where there are "reasons to doubt" "whether the workers who are taking part or are expected to take part in the strike," etc., are "taking part in it in accordance with their wishes." The ballot can be conducted by the union under the supervision of the CIR, as long, of course, as the union is registered, and recognised as the proper bargaining body in that situation, otherwise the CIR will conduct the ballot itself. In either case the ballot must be reported to the industrial court and the industrial court will publish the results. The results have no legal standing, but serve to delay and obstruct all union actions, and give time to the employer to prepare for a long siege.

Conciliation Officers (132)

The Secretary of State will appoint conciliation officers who, when asked to do so by the employees and the employer and when he thinks he has a reasonable chance of success, will try and settle a complaint before it gets to an industrial tribunal, etc. This would include trying to secure the re-employment of someone who has been dismissed, or informally settling a sum for compensation.

Strike Notice (133)

This clause appears to lay down that unless an employee intending

to strike gives at least the same notice for the strike as he has to do to terminate his contract of employment then he could be taken to have terminated his contract of employment, or repudiated that contract, by going on strike. So those on a month's notice will have to have a month's "cooling-off" period of their own or else be taken to have resigned.

Compensation (138-139)

Registered unions' "property" will not be liable for an award of compensation unless it is that "property" which is actually money available for use "for financing strikes (lock-outs) or other industrial action."

Clause 139 applies to unregistered organisations "any civil proceedings may be brought by or against any such organisation" and "recovery of the compensation, damages, costs or expenses shall, subject to the following sub-section, be enforceable against any (property) belonging to or held in trust for the organisation." The limitation in the next sub-section mentioned is that it will not be enforceable against property "precluded from being used for financing strikes, lock-outs or other industrial action." In any case it is up to the employer who is suing for damages whether he sues the unregistered organisation or the individuals in it. If the latter all of their property will be liable.

Note—Previous Trade Union Legislation (pp. 135-139)

The previous legislation defining the position of trade unions within the law in Great Britain is destroyed. Twelve Acts affecting trade unions are amended, and the four major Acts defining the position of trade unions are completely repealed. They are the Trade Union Act of 1871, the Trade Union Amendment Act of 1876, the Trade Disputes Act of 1906 and the Trades Disputes Act of 1963. This is a completely new development. Previously legislation developed the law defined previously and even very often over-ruled some of the most reactionary judgments on behalf of the Courts. Up until now each Act, except that of 1927, could in some way be seen as progress for trade unionists, compared with the previous one, in however limited a way. The Engineering Employers' Federation have described the proposed legislation as "revolutionary." We can see what they mean.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Registered Unions

Unions that are registered are, of course, subject to be sued in the NIRC for fourteen of the unfair industrial practices defined in the Bill. However, registration protects those union officials who have acted in their official capacity according to union rule. In this case where an unfair industrial practice is alleged the union will be sued and the compensation limited as under Clause 103.

2. Other Workers' Organisations

Any other organisations can be sued, again in the NIRC, for any damages incurred by an employee as a result of them leading or inciting workers to break their contract with that employer, i.e., it is an unfair industrial practice to do so in any circumstances. Thus any shop-stewards' organisation or political party or group who supports any strike will be liable for any damages that the employer can prove in the NIRC or an Industrial Tribunal.

What is more the damages decided against such an organisation are unlimited, and in addition the employer is free to sue the individuals in the unregistered organisation. In this case unlimited damages can be levied on the individual's property.

State registered unions are perhaps the key to the Bill from which all the other rights to belong to a union (and not to), rights of recognition, unfair industrial practices and legally binding agreements follow. The cooling off period and the compulsory strike ballots are long-stops to a tight centralised system which is designed to set an iron wall between those who register (and are allowed to do so) and those who don't.

Those who register have some severely limited powers: those who do not are in law powerless. So if a significant proportion of unions refused to register, the law would be made unworkable. To attack individuals and organisations in the country representing hundreds of thousands, or even millions, would bring industry to a standstill and would guarantee the collapse of any confidence in the Tory industrial policy.

The Little Red Schoolbook - REVIEW

This little educational bombshell is a virtually exhaustive guide to survival for secondary school students, both in and out of school but with a bias to the situation in the school. Its sensational treatment in the mass media, and the seizure of stocks from the publishers, stage 1, stem largely from the comprehensive section on drugs and - especially - sex, which comprise about a quarter of the 200 or so pages, though for educational traditionalists, or those who bother to read it, the remaining three quarters is equally full of heresies. Basically reformist in appearance, its suggestions and demands are revolutionary in that most of them are unlikely to be met in the present educational set-up.

For the libertarian, there is not much that is new or that one would disagree with in the ideas expressed. This is because it is aimed at young people who will not have come across them before, or who are just beginning to formulate criticisms of the situation in which they find themselves, and therefore many of the points it contains have been condensed and of necessity simplified. Broadly divided into four parts under the headings Learning, Teachers, Pupils and The System, the book is then sub-divided into sections such as Lessons, How to Make a Complaint, Punishment, Sex, Drugs, Exams and so on. The first two divisions are, briefly, a simplified run-down on the mechanics of education, what is supposed to be happening in schools, what actually happens and what ought to happen. The pressures brought to bear on pupils and teachers are stated, and the socialising process - which is what the whole 'education' system is really about - is explained, if perhaps a little glibly. This is expanded in the section on The System.

Viewing the book from the point of view of a teacher with libertarian pretensions (few can have more in the average state school), it is generally an accurate analysis of how British schools operate. Also, in spite of the fuss raised by some English teachers about its publication, it is in fact extremely fair to teachers other than the die-hard reactionaries (of whom there are, of course, a great many) and sympathetically states their position at many points. This is summed up in one of the concluding paragraphs: "Teachers and pupils ought to work together for a change. There doesn't have to be conflict between them. In fact teachers have as little real power as pupils." One would add here, however, that from a personal experience this requires immense patience and understanding on both sides which the classroom situation generally impedes; the LRSB should help here, but one doubts whether it will be read by those most in need! The seizure of stocks will undoubtedly handicap the wide distribution needed and obviously intended by the publishers, though re-printing of all or part of the contents by interested parties could remedy this.

The sections on sex and drugs have probably caused more furore outside the teaching profession than the rest of the book, the reason for this being well expressed in the opening paragraph dealing with masturbation: "The usual word for a boy's sexual organ is cock or prick. The usual word for a girl's sexual organ is pussy or cunt. Many grown-ups don't like these

words because they say they're "rude". They prefer words like penis and vagina" The more generally subversive nature of the book would make it an adequate candidate for censure by the Whitehouse/Keep-Britain-White-and-Clean brigade, but to tell schoolchildren that sexual intercourse and masturbation are natural and pleasurable acts was going too far! Contraception is dealt with in a straightforward way - significantly, many schools ban mention of it from "health education" classes - with addresses given where contraceptives and general sexual advice can be obtained. One feels, however, that the recommendation for contraceptive vending machines in schools may be a trifle premature (some places won't even allow the soft-drink ones), and one would like to hear of the first school to install one.

Generally, these two sections are about the most honest and sensible discussions of sex and drugs available to schoolchildren. Pornography, child-molesters and homosexuality - not usually covered adequately, if at all, in conventional sex instruction books for schools - are frankly and sanely dealt with, as are soft and hard drugs from coffee to morphine.

Regarding 'pupil power' activities of the Schools Action Union type, the LRSB gives comprehensive instructions on how to organise anything from a letter of complaint to the headmaster to a full-scale strike. Some have criticised the writers for trying to organise their readers down to the last detail, but since school students are generally in a more vulnerable position than most groups, and usually lack confidence and general know-how, this attention to all possibilities which may occur in the course of a protest is necessary and would probably be welcomed by most budding revolutionaries. One suspects that this part of the book would appeal mainly to senior pupils, since it is between the third and sixth years that political awareness generally begins to show itself. Some sections, however, have been used as material for class discussion with first and second year children with quite an encouraging response, so even among the junior classes there is hope.

All in all, the LRSB is well worth 30p of the money of anyone concerned or interested in education, and one wishes it success and widespread dissemination, especially in view of the current harassment by the 'cultural' division of the thought police. The least it can do is to open up discussion among pupils, staff and trainee teachers, which in the general sterility of the educational scene cannot be a bad thing.

It can be obtained from: Agitprop, 160 North Gower St., London NW 1.
Dillon's Book Shop, 1 Malet St., " WC 1.

F.B.

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SOLIDARITY AUTONOMOUS GROUPS

ABERDEEN c/o Ian Mitchell, 3 Sinclair Rd., Aberdeen.
CLYDESIDE c/o Dan Kane, 43 Valeview Terrace, Dumbarton.
DUNDEE c/o Ron Downing, 17 Blackness Avenue, Dundee.
NORTH WEST c/o Rick Sumner, 23 Sewerby St., Manchester 16.
NORTH LONDON c/o Heather Russell, 53A Westmoreland Rd., Bromley, Kent.

AS WE SEE IT

1. Throughout the world, the vast majority of people have no control whatsoever over the decisions that most deeply and directly affect their lives. They sell their labour power, while others who own or control the means of production accumulate wealth, make the laws and use the whole machinery of the State to perpetuate and reinforce their privileged positions.

2. During the past century, the living standards of working people have improved. But neither these improved living standards nor the nationalisation of the means of production, nor the coming to power of parties claiming to represent the working class have basically altered the status of the worker as worker. Nor have they given the bulk of mankind much freedom outside of production. East and West, capitalism remains an inhuman type of society where the vast majority are bossed at work, and manipulated in consumption and leisure. Propaganda and policeman, prisons and schools, traditional values and traditional morality all serve to reinforce the power of the few and to convince or coerce the many into acceptance of a brutal, degrading and irrational system. The 'Communist' world is not communist and the 'Free' world is not free.

3. The trade unions and the traditional parties of the left started in business to change all this. But they have come to terms with the existing patterns of exploitation. In fact, they are now essential if exploiting society is to continue working smoothly. The unions act as middleman in the labour market. The political parties use the struggles and aspirations of the working class for their own ends. The degeneration of working class organizations, itself the result of the failure of the revolutionary movement, has been a major factor in creating working class apathy, which in turn has led to the further degeneration of both parties and unions.

4. The trade unions and political parties cannot be reformed, 'captured', or converted into instruments of working class emancipation. We don't call however for the proclamation of new unions, which in the condition of today would suffer a similar fate to the old ones. Nor do we call for militants to tear up their union cards. Our aims are simply that the workers themselves should decide on the objectives of their struggles and that the control and organization of these struggles should remain firmly in their own hands. The forms which this self activity of the working class may take will vary considerably from country to country and from industry to industry. Its basic content will not.

5. Socialism is not just the common ownership and control of the means of production and distribution. It means equality, real freedom, reciprocal recognition and a radical transformation in all human relations. It is 'man's positive self-consciousness'. It is man's understanding of his environment and of himself, his domination over his work and over such social institutions as he may need to create. These are not secondary aspects, which will automatically follow the expropriation of the old ruling class. On the contrary they are essential parts of the whole process of social transformation, for without them no genuine social transformation will have taken place.

6. A socialist society can therefore only be built from below. Decisions concerning production and work will be taken by workers' councils composed of elected and revocable delegates. Decisions in other areas will be taken on the basis of the widest possible discussion and consultation among the people as a whole. This democratisation of society down to its very roots is what we mean by 'workers power'.

7. Meaningful action, for revolutionaries, is whatever increases the confidence, the autonomy, the initiative, the participation, the solidarity, the equalitarian tendencies and the self-activity of the masses and whatever assists in their demystification. Sterile and harmful action is whatever reinforces the passivity of the masses, their apathy, their cynicism, their differentiation through hierarchy, their alienation, their reliance on others to do things for them and the degree to which they can therefore be manipulated by others - even by those allegedly acting on their behalf.

8. No ruling class in history has ever relinquished its power without a struggle and our present rulers are unlikely to be an exception. Power will only be taken from them through the conscious, autonomous action of the vast majority of the people themselves. The building of socialism will require mass understanding and mass participation. By their rigid hierarchical structure, by their ideas and by their activities, both social-democratic and bolshevik types of organisations discourage this kind of understanding and prevent this kind of participation. The idea that socialism can somehow be achieved by an elite party (however 'revolutionary') acting on behalf of the working class is both absurd and reactionary.

9. We do not accept the view that by itself the working class can only achieve a trade union consciousness. On the contrary we believe that its conditions of life and its experiences in production constantly drive the working class to adopt priorities and values and to find methods of organisation which responses are implicitly socialist. On the other hand, the working class is fragmented, dispossessed of the means of communication, and its various sections are at different levels of awareness and consciousness. The task of the revolutionary organisation is to help give proletarian consciousness an explicitly socialist content, to give practical assistance to workers in struggle and to help those in different areas to exchange experiences and link up with one another.

10. We do not see ourselves as yet another leadership, but merely as an instrument of working class action. The function of Solidarity is to help all those who are in conflict with the present authoritarian social structure, both in industry and in society at large, to generalise their experience, to make a total critique of their condition and of its causes, and to develop the mass revolutionary consciousness necessary if society is to be totally transformed.