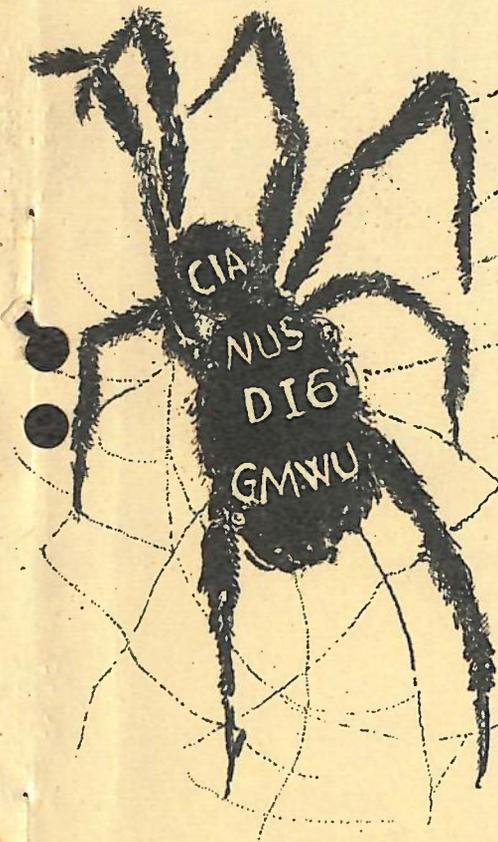


solidarity

FOR WORKERS' POWER

VOLUME 6 NUMBER 8



Foundations and Empire
Scientists' Dilemma
Check the Bill!
Their Morals and Ours

1/-

CHECK THE BILL!

'Solidarity' obviously opposes the Industrial Relations Bill. But at this stage two things are necessary. First, we must take a long cool look at the way the 'campaign' against the new legislation is going. Secondly, we must start preparing for when the campaign reaches its crucial phase - on the job.

The campaign so far has been dominated by the T.U.C. and by Labour politicians. The former have paid for expensive advertisements in the press. Some of the latter have pranced around the Mace in the House of Commons. Alas, to little avail! The mystification reached its height when Wilson and Feather were given pride of place on the platform at the January 12 Albert Hall jamboree. No wonder cynicism is rampant.

The general confusion hasn't been helped by the slogans of the traditional Left.

'T.U.C. chiefs go over to attack' trumpets the Morning Star (September 4) adding, a few days later, that 'the T.U.C. is now showing signs of doing the job it ought to be doing'. As a prescription for confusion and a recipe for defeat this could scarcely be bettered. But then the Communist Party have a reputation for this kind of nonsense.

'Force the Tories to resign' cries the S.L.L., adding that the working class 'needs a Labour Government to defend itself against this enemy' (Workers' Press, January 18). The S.L.L. is seeking to take people through the experience of yet another Labour government 'in order to hasten the final recognition by the working class of (Labour's) rotten reformist leadership'.

'Make the T.U. lefts fight' whimpers Socialist Worker ('The paper that fights anti-union laws') - unable as ever to grasp the real nature of the trade union bureaucracy or what the verbal leftism - or even the talk of one day strikes - by the Scanlons and Joneses really amount to.

'Make the Liaison Committee more militant' clamour one and all, oblivious to the fact that the Liaison Committee is dragging its feet precisely because it fears that the developing movement will get out of the hands of the officials.

Everybody is asking somebody else to do the fighting. Double-talk and double-think reign supreme. Nobody is calling things by their name.

What now needs bluntly to be said is this:

(1) That the Bill will become law 'in spite of' the hypocritical whines and Parliamentary dances of the Labour Party, in spite of the advertising campaign of the T.U.C., and in spite of the yappings of 'Lefts' of every description.

(2) That, when the Bill becomes law, very few of the T.U. lefts now spouting up and down the country will be prepared for a real fight against it. Very few will be prepared to advocate open defiance of its provisions and face the possibility of going to gaol. It isn't hard to prophesy that the T.U. bureaucrats will drop the 'struggle' (if you can call their present antics struggling) like a brick once it comes to something more than a token resistance or to emitting hot air. They will leave it to the shop floor militants to bear the full brunt of the assault now being prepared against the working class.

(3) That there is untold confusion fostered by practically everyone on the 'left' (liberals, reformists, Stalinists, Trotskyists, Maoists, and even some confused libertarians) to the effect that the Tories are sponsoring an 'anti Trade Union Bill'. We reproduce further on a leaflet several thousand copies of which we distributed during the one day strike on December 8. In our comments in this leaflet we try to explain that the Bill is anti-working class and anti-militants but not anti-trade union. It is in fact pro-trade union. Heath correctly said of the proposed Bill (April 4, 1970) that 'the trade union leaders will themselves be encouraged and strengthened in dealing with their own trouble makers'. Robert Carr several months later (September 12, 1970) put it even more bluntly: 'The real need in the current situation is to strengthen the authority of the democratically (sic!) appointed trade union leadership'.*

(4) That leaders of many unions, notably the G.M.W.U., are privately far from opposed to the new Bill. Its provisions of an agency shop which can be granted by the employer could be of great benefit to them in terms of having a nice, big, captive, dues-paying membership.**

* Of the 128 largest unions in Great Britain, 86 appoint permanent officials. ('Power in Trade Unions' by V.L. Allen, Longmans, 1954). This is the 'democratic leadership' whose crumbling authority in industry the Tories now desperately want to bolster.

** The provision of an agency shop, taken in conjunction with the anti-poaching clauses of the Bridlington Agreement, will mean that once a given union is established as the negotiating party in a given place of work it will be very difficult indeed to change the situation. This will give employers an option for a long-term choice as to which unions they would prefer to deal with. No wonder the G.M.W.U. is privately rubbing its hands!

(5) That so far the mass of the working class has not been mobilised against the Bill and is not even generally aware of its full implications. One of the reasons for this lack of response is that the Left has cried wolf so many times that there is a serious credibility gap. The most urgent task is to change this situation. This will not be done by tail-ending Wilson or Feather but by a systematic and independent campaign at rank and file level.

(6) That to get the Bill off to a 'good start' the government will probably attempt to have a showdown with a weak and vulnerable section of workers. A 'wait and see' policy which allows the government to get in the first blow (at a time and place of its own choice) is to court disaster. In our view a climate of militancy and combativeness should be encouraged so that the employers will be faced by workers who have a good bargaining position and who are well organised on the shop floor.

(7) That militants must now start considering a much wider range of techniques of struggle, especially those which take place within the factory (work-to-rules, gp-slows, and factory occupations). After all occupation is nine parts of the law. We intend to deal with this subject more fully in our next issue.

(8) That the passing of the Bill will re-emphasize the necessity for collective action, on a shop or factory basis, with mass meetings initiating struggles. This mode of operation will not only be intrinsically in agreement with our ultimate objectives but will also be simple common sense, in giving some protection to militants.

We would ask those who have grasped the implications of these ideas and are in general agreement with the eight points to write to us with a view to a meeting (probably in Manchester in the near future) to discuss them more fully.

The struggle against the new law will take many forms depending on different conditions and varying consciousness in industry. But what is certain is that for the main emphasis to be on weaseling around with legal technicalities (which is the best which can be expected from the T.U. lefts) is to accept defeat. No one wants martyrs. But it has to be faced that an effective struggle against the new Act will mean a direct conflict with the law. A resolute struggle will in the long run mean less victimisations than a situation where militants can be chopped to bits piecemeal.

In 1941 the Kent miners struck. The Minister of Mines (an ex leader of the N.U.M.) decided to teach them a lesson and prosecuted them under the wartime anti-strike legislation. Three men were sent to prison and about 1000 fined. Nevertheless the strike continued and after 11 days the government gave in and released the prisoners. Only 9 men ever paid the fine! (From Appendix 6 - Report of the Royal Commission on Trade

Unions, HMSO 1968). It would obviously be a mistake to draw too close a parallel between what happened in the war and now, but the experience of the Kent miners is well worth remembering.

In the conflicts to come it would be fatal to rely on the union leaders who have consistently opposed real rank and file job organisation, which is the true target of the new legislation. To build up illusions in these leaders because some of them are doing a bit of 'left wing' window-dressing is to contribute to what could become a serious defeat of shop floor organisations which have taken decades to build up.

There is only one solution to this challenge: mass resistance controlled and dominated by the workers themselves. It will be a hard task but one infinitely more fruitful in a revolutionary sense than relying in however critical a fashion on those who already have amply shown whose side they are on.

REVIEW

STRIKE AT PILKINGTON'S by Tony Lane and Kenneth Roberts, Fontana, 1971. 10/-

This paperback was published as Solidarity went to press, making it impossible to give it the full review it deserves. It documents in depth and sympathetically what was probably the most significant dispute of 1970 and helps fill a bad gap in the armoury of industrial militants: lack of data about the experiences of other workers, an ignorance which often leads to errors being repeated again and again.

This book is marred, perhaps necessarily, by a thin veneer of 'academic objectivity'. This expresses itself as a reluctance properly to acknowledge left-wing sources, combined with a yen to be fair to 'everyone' and an ambiguous attitude towards drawing any concrete conclusions. Nevertheless there is no doubt that the sympathies of the authors (both lecturers in social science at Liverpool University) lie firmly with the men. They had a very close relationship to the Strike Committee, many of whose meetings they attended. The book contains a mass of hitherto unavailable information and documentation based on considerable inside knowledge.

The authors deal with the chronology of the struggle; the role of the Press, the Company and the G.M.W.U. (and the collaboration between them), and with the history of the Rank and File Strike Committee and its successor, the breakaway Glass and General Workers Union. All in all this book should be read, passed around at work, and kept for future reference by all who take industrial struggle seriously.

M. F.

Life under a legally binding contract

1 END OF PREVIOUS CONTRACT:



T.U. Leaders immediately demand wage rise



2 LEADERS NEGOTIATE RISE; -with productivity strings!



3 WHOLE PACKET RECEIVES SEAL OF LEGALITY



4 SHOP FLOOR THREATENS STRIKE...



THIS IS 'UNLAWFUL' AND IS PENALISED - There is no limit to **SIZE OF FINE!**

5 RISING EXPLOITATION



6 LESSONS: ONLY OFFICIAL T.U. BARGAINING - SHOP FLOOR AND STEWARDS' ACTION OUTLAWED:

surely leading to further

LOW WAGES AND SPEED-UPS

PICTURE OF A 'UNFAIR' 'UNOFFICIAL' STRIKE

1 UNOFFICIAL ACTION - OR EVEN THREAT OF UNOFFICIAL ACTION

MILITANT SHOP STEWARD SACKED

HE APPEALS TO THE INDUSTRIAL TRIBUNAL

2



3: Worker in the dock:

Sympathy



4 STRIKES, BLACKING OF GOODS, ETC. ...THREATS OF MORE SACKINGS,

Trade Unionists Lawyer Chairman Employers

Minister nominates all members

6 MORE INVESTIGATIONS,

7 FINDINGS,

RESULTS



5: COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS CALLED IN AGAIN THE MINISTER CHOOSES MEMBERS AND FRAME OF REFERENCE

INDUSTRIAL TRIBUNAL FINES STEWARD FOR INSTIGATING 'UNFAIR' ACTION AND THEN:



C.I.R. HOLDS SECRET BALLOT / CALLS FOR RETURN TO WORK ... FINES AND PUNISHMENT

UNOFFICIAL ACTION FAILS

STEWARD OUT OF JOB

UNOFFICIAL STRIKERS AND SYMPATHY STRIKERS FINED THEN:

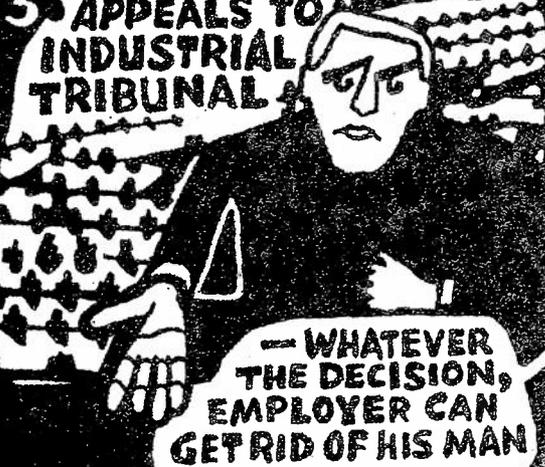
RETURN TO WORK SCABS PROTECTED

VICTIMISATION MADE EASY

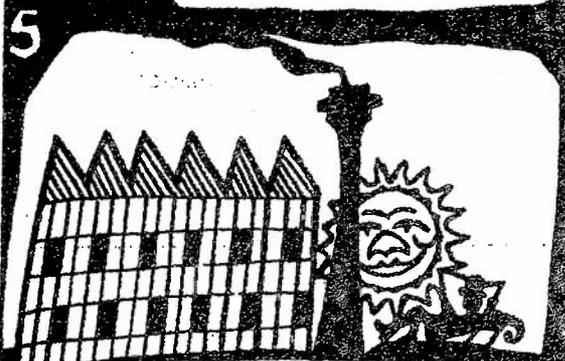
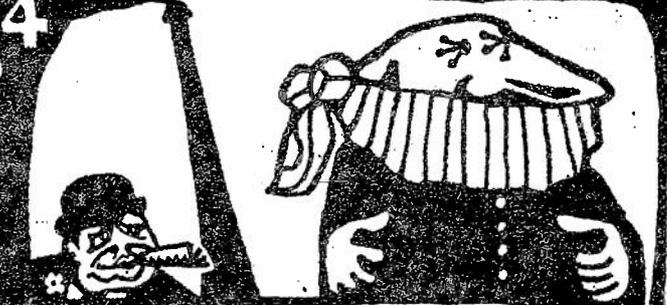
1 WITH LESS THAN TWO YEARS' SERVICE: NO PROTECTION BEFORE THE LAW FROM UNFAIR DISMISSAL



3 APPEALS TO INDUSTRIAL TRIBUNAL



2 BUT ... EVEN AFTER MORE THAN 2 YEARS ...



WHICH ALL MEANS A TROUBLE-FREE FACTORY FOR THE BOSSES ...

BUT THE BEGINNING OF TROUBLES FOR THE SACKED WORKERS.

The Industrial Relations Bill is the answer of the employers and their State to the increasing militancy of large sections of workers. This militancy shows itself in two ways: as demands for 'outrageous' wage increases and as attempts to control various aspects of the work process. It threatens the bosses' profits and their 'right' to rule.

Many people speak of the new law as 'anti-trade unions'. It is certainly anti-working class. Its aim is to intimidate militants, to smash shop floor organisation, and to destroy the power of the rank and file in industry. But the new law is not anti-trade unions. In fact it seeks to prop up the declining authority of the official trade union machines.

Over 95% of strikes are today 'unofficial'. This means that workers have to fight both the employers and 'their own' leaders. In order to 'discipline' the workers and help integrate them into the whole system of exploitation, capitalist society needs tame, reliable, well-paid, full-time union officials who can't be recalled by their own members. As for the workers, what they need in order to protect their interests are organisations which they themselves control and dominate. A real fight against the new law and for the defence and extension of job organisation can therefore only come from below.

Those in power believe that people are so conditioned to accept authority (by parents, schools and politicians) that the mere passing of a law will frighten everyone into submission. They could be in for a shock. More and more people are realising that a law made by men (the ruling class) can be challenged and made meaningless by other men (the working class). The new law won't be defeated by T.U. officials. Or by Labour members of Parliament. Or by petitions or resolutions. Or even by a one-day strike. It will only be defeated by 'law-breaking' on a massive scale. It is sheer delusion to think anything else.

Law or no law the struggle will continue. The real fight will take place on the shop floor. Faced with sackings, speed-ups, arbitrarily imposed decisions on manning, etc., whole groups of workers will have to take collective decisions to act. This is as it should be. It will make it more difficult to victimise 'ringleaders'. And it will democratise the decision-making process by vesting it in the hands of those who will have to bear its consequences. For us this is directly related to what socialism is all about.

These drawings first appeared in a broadsheet published by the rank and file paper BIG FLAME (78 Clarendon Rd, Wallasey, Cheshire) with whose consent we are reprinting them. A revised version (poster size, 3d per copy) will shortly be available from BIG FLAME. Further copies of this hand-out (2/6 per dozen post free) can be obtained from SOLIDARITY.

FOUNDATIONS and EMPIRE

This article provides a glimpse into the nexus of relationships, overt or hidden, whereby those who benefit from the present organisation of society seek to prevent it from being challenged. It shows how trade union bureaucrats, reactionary university vice-chancellors, Big Business, professional student-union apparatchiks, Labour politicians, and D.I. 5/6 all piss in the same pot, cooperating far more often and far more systematically than is generally recognised.

The article has been compiled from published material, original research and certain covert sources. It describes just the tip of the iceberg, but I believe throws light on some murky aspects of the society around us. I would welcome further bits of the jig-saw puzzle from interested readers.

THE G.M.W.U. ABROAD

Most people think of trade unions as purely domestic institutions, at most prone to passing periodic pious resolutions on matters of foreign policy. This is to see them in less than their full stature. The whole problem of the collaboration of the TUC and of individual unions in the foreign policy of the West is worthy of examination.

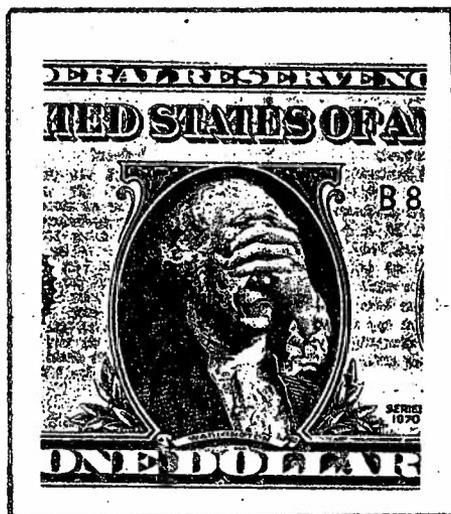
The GMWU, for instance, is affiliated to the Public Services International (PSI). Between 1958 and 1964 the London HQ alone of the PSI received \$ 60,000 a year from the CIA. This was channelled via the International Affairs Department of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (FSCME), which in turn received it from the Gotham Foundation, a CIA front. All this was admitted by the then President of the FSCME, Arnold Zander, (see Washington Post, Feb 23, 1967). Even the Secretary of the PSI, Paul Tofahrn, had to admit (Sunday Times "Insight", April 16, 1967) that "we did not ask where the money came from because I think we all knew."

The 'concern' for foreign affairs can be more direct. In 1959 Jack Cooper, General Secretary of the GMWU, member of the TUC General Council, active Fabian, and four other members of the PSI, including Zander and another agent of the CIA, James Farmer, went on a 15 nation "organization and recruiting" tour of Africa. This trip was financed by the CIA. It was part

of a drive to build up western-oriented unions in that continent*.

Following this trail-blazing mission, both the CIA and the GMWU concentrated on Kenya. The CIA financed the Kenya Federation of Labour led by the late Tom Mboya at a rate which, in 1962-3, reached £1,000 a month. Substantial other sums were received on top of this. Mboya was closely linked with the Commonwealth Bureau of the Fabian Society (Ramparts, ibid.) about which I will have more to say further on. The contribution of the GMWU to this particular exercise was to station its "overseas officer" in Kenya during the early 60's. He was one James Johnson, now Labour M P for Hull West. Johnson's main job was 'advising' the Kenya Federation of Labour on the organization of municipal and government workers. He was, and still is, a leading member of the Fabian Commonwealth Bureau. His previous industrial experience had been as a schoolmaster! More recently Johnson has been an adviser to the Liberian Government on student affairs.

The Kenya operation was only one example of the global cooperation between the CIA, and the PSI. Another well-documented example was the British Guiana business. In 1963 and 1964, CIA agents using the PSI as a cover spent about £150,000 in corrupting local politicians and stirring up racial conflict between the Negro and Indian Communities in a successful attempt to overthrow the Jagan regime. (British Intelligence was also involved.) Certain additional finance for this endeavour was received from the London office of the PSI. As a result of this peculiar variety of trade union solidarity, about 170 people were killed and hundreds more seriously injured. (See Sunday Times, "Insight", April 16 and 23, 1967.)



The late and unlamented Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers' admitted (Times, May 8, 1967) receiving CIA funds which were passed on to European Trade Unions to intensify their 'organizational and educational programmes'. Walter's brother Victor, International Affairs Director of the UAW, informed the New York Post (Feb 16, 1967) "All I'll say now is that there is a lot bigger story in the CIA's financial and other connections with the AFL-CIO than with the students. I did my best to lift the lid on it. And some day it will all come out."

One objective of this article is to support Victor Reuther, and to help bring out the truth about the large-scale, long-term and systematic

* See Voice of the Unions, May 1967, obtainable from 73 Ridgway Place, S W 19, and The CIA as an Equal Opportunity Employer, reprinted from Ramparts by the Africa Research Group, P O Box 213, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA.

collaboration by certain trade unions and labour bureaucrats in Britain with the CIA and its British confreres. It seems improbable that the GMWU was an innocent party, blissfully unaware of what they were doing. They were either fools or knaves - probably both.

THE GMWU AT HOME

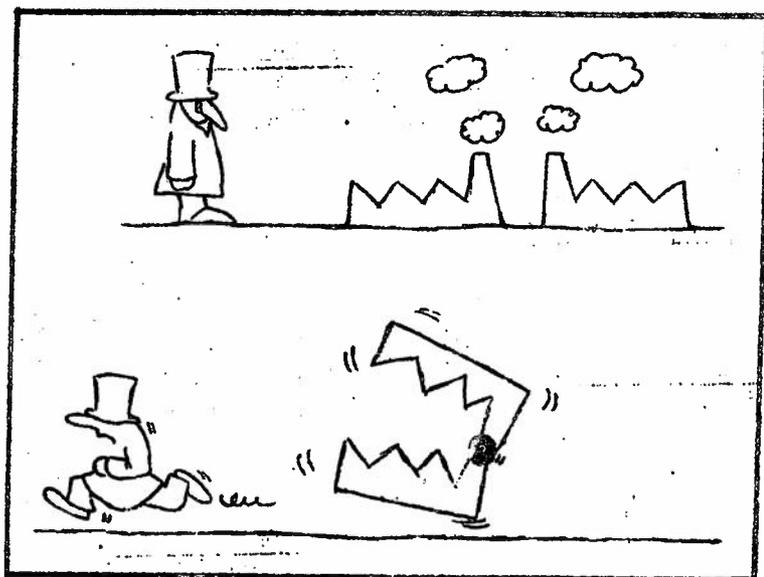
The network of GMWU connections within the United Kingdom has some strange points of support. In 1951 Common Cause, a rabidly anti-communist and anti-militant organization, was founded, backed largely with American money. (The exact source of the bread is a bit obscure - some British industrialists almost certainly contributed their whack). In 1959 following an internal faction fight followed by a split (the Right has them as well!) there was a substantial leakage of information about the internal affairs of Common Cause. It was named as the source of funds for Industrial Research and Information Services (IRIS, see below).

Amongst its many other activities Common Cause is prepared "to pay the wages and expenses of trade unionists who need time off to carry on the anti-communist struggle". (Article by Eric Jacobs, Sunday Times, August 4, 1968.) It would be interesting to hear exactly which officials have been in receipt of such cash: we are sure there would be some surprises. Common Cause was a source of funds during the famous ETU legal case.

The late Jim Matthews, notorious National Industrial Officer of the GMWU*, was able, on retirement in 1963, to slither straight into a directorship of Common Cause and of its fund-raising subsidiary Flute Ltd. The connections between Jim Matthews (and many other leading trade union officials) and Common Cause were, and are, intimate and long-standing, if informal. On retirement Jim also became a £1,000 a year 'part-time' director of the Inland Waterways Board and an 'industrial consultant'. Most of the other functionaries of Common Cause are retired service officers. Strange company for a trade union official . . . or is it?

IRIS is based on a group of reactionary retired trade union officials. It produces a monthly bulletin mainly directed towards mobilizing right-wing forces in those unions which have elections. Another of its pastimes is witch-hunting militants. Following disclosures about Common Cause in 1959, this source of finance - at least overtly - dried up. But not to worry - IRIS subsequently received a direct subsidy from the U S Embassy in the form of a bulk order for several thousand copies of its bulletin. (See Voice of the Unions, May 1967.)

* For more information about this creature see our pamphlet GMWU - Scab Union and the review in Solidarity, VI, 6, p. 9.



Jim Matthews' brother Harry* was also (surprise! surprise!) a National Industrial Officer of the GMWU. (Harry is also a 'part-time' director of the state-owned Cable and Wireless, Ltd.) Sitting beside him on IRIS's Board of Directors are none other than Ray Gunter (ex-Minister of Labour, ex-Chairman of the Labour Party, and President of the TSSA), and Lord Douglass of Cleveland, ex-General Secretary of BISATKA.

OUR CHAPS TOO?

People have become so paranoid about the CIA that few stop to consider what its British equivalent is up to. On a necessarily smaller scale, it carries out the same sort of operations as its big brother, although it does not always have the same policies.

Three organizations have been named as conduits for British Intelligence money. They are the Fund for International Student Co-operation, and the Atlas and Ariel Foundations. There are certainly many others. (See Essex Left, May 1967; New York Herald Tribune, August 15, 1967; and the articles by David Widgery and David Triesman in Student Power, a Penguin Special, 1967.)

All three of these outfits have provided mechanisms for passing funds into the National Union of Students, to back its campaign to retain affiliation with the Western-oriented International Student Conference (ISC). After 1964, both Atlas and Ariel helped finance the ISC itself, whose image

* One of Harry's main claims to fame was his speech at the Scarborough Conference of the GMWU in June 1962. On this occasion he defended the Ford Motor Company's claim that it was too poverty-stricken to afford a wage increase. This was part of the preparation for the unions' leading role in smashing job organization at Dagenham later in 1962. (See What Happened at Fords, by Ken Weller and Ernie Stanton, Solidarity pamphlet No. 26.) This in turn led to Fords paying the lowest rate in the car industry. This was Harry's objective - halting the pauperization of the Ford Motor Company - achieved.

was becoming tarnished as the result of disclosures that 91% of ISC funds came from the US mainly from the San Jacinto Fund and the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs. Both these organisations are now known to have been CIA conduits. (See the official NUS white-washing report Britain's Students in Today's World, November 1965. Geoff Martin, then NUS Vice-President for International Affairs, was mainly responsible for this report.)

THE FUND FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENT COOPERATION (FISC) was never registered as an educational, or any other, sort of charity. Its heyday was in the mid-sixties, and it now seems to be defunct. It operated from a private house at 14 Denbigh Street, London S W 1. It seemed to be much the smallest and most transient of the three set-ups we here refer to. Its trustees were Sir Berkeley Gage, a former Ambassador to Siam and Peru, Gerald Wood, described as a Merchant Banker, and John B. Butterworth*, Vice-Chancellor of Warwick University.

In 1965 and 1966, FISC organized a series of weekend 'seminars' for key figures in the constituent unions of NUS. These little gatherings took place at the lush Thames Hotel, at Maidenhead. At each of these get-togethers, techniques of combatting communist infiltration in the university were discussed. Speakers were specially flown in from the US and other countries. All this was a carefully programmed part of the right-wing counter-attack on the Left, who were getting a bit uppitty.

By a peculiar coincidence FISC always knew which student in a particular student union to invite. If the President was a fool, or a dummy, or 'unsuitable' in some other way, the key Vice-president would be invited. This implies, at the very least, access to some sort of information-gathering network. FISC was particularly active amongst Commonwealth students. It even offered to finance, 'on behalf of' the NUS, a Commonwealth Students' Conference. The FISC also had strong links with the Atlas Foundation. (See Essex Left, May 1967, and Private Eye, March 1967.)



THE ATLAS FOUNDATION was formed in 1962 and ceased operations in August 1969. Its declared objects were "to encourage general and mutual exchange of information throughout the world and in particular to promote the exchange and education of students of all kinds and nationalities and thereby to foster and assist international goodwill and understanding". (From its articles of association, in the Company Records Office.)

* J.B. has other claims to fame, but an interest in student cooperation is not prominent amongst them. See Warwick University Ltd., edited by E P Thompson, Penguin Special, 1970.

Apart from passing finance into the NUS and ISC, to back up their Cold War orientation, the Atlas Foundation was active amongst student organizations in ex-colonies in promoting western-aligned groupings. This turned out to be a very expensive and unfruitful activity, much better left to the Americans. This possibly explains why the Foundation went out of business. The Foundation also provided grants to bring politically useful people to Britain, for purposes of 'study'.

The Directors fronting the Atlas Foundation were our old Friend Jack Cooper of the GMWU, H.D.H. Wills of the Tobacco Company*, E.W. Wilkinson of Glyn Mills Bank, Baron Shepherd, Earl Longford, D.J. Grennan (now a trustee of the Ariel Foundation) and Lady Gaitskell. R.D.A. Savell, Lucy Hirst, K.J. Lynnette, Geoffrey Reed, J.H. Gerson, Sheila Collett, were also at one time or another Directors. Information about them would be welcome.

THE ARIEL FOUNDATION of 352 Abbey House, 2/8 Victoria Street, S W 1, was founded in 1960. It is still active. Amongst other activities it finances potentially useful contacts, many of them aspiring politicians and trade union leaders from under-developed countries. The Ariel Foundation sponsors conferences and seminars, including (from 1965 on) regular Anglo-American parliamentary meetings on southern Africa. In organising these meetings it collaborated with the Carnegie Corporation and the CIA-financed African American Institute**.

A rather mysterious meeting was held under its auspices from 26 to 29 June, 1970, at the Dorchester Hotel, London, to discuss the Rogers proposals for the Middle East. Amongst those present were Nicholas Katzenbach, former Attorney General and Secretary of State of the US, Clovis Mahsood, an editor of Al Ahram, and a bevy of other notables from Britain, the US and the Arab world. Although attempts were made to keep the proceedings of this 'seminar' secret, it is clear that it played a significant, if little known, part in 'putting the proposals over' amongst 'opinion formers' in the Arab world.

* Both these gents are also Governors of another interesting organization, The Ditchley Foundation. Other Governors of Ditchley's are Cooper's predecessor in the GMWU (Lord Williamson), the late Les Cannon of the ETU, Major General Sir Kenneth Strong, a former director of Intelligence, and a covey of leaders of American and British big business and a sprinkling of politicians and academics. Cooper is also a director of the Foundation on Automation and Employment, which is financed by U.S. Industries Inc., an American machine-tool manufacturer. Other directors of the F-on-A-and-E are Lord Douglass (of IRIS), the late Les Cannon, Sid Ford of the Mineworkers and assorted big business men and reactionary academics, such as Professor Ben Roberts of the LSE. Both of these set-ups are backed with considerable funds and are worth investigation.

** See "The Extended Family" in African Studies in America. Africa Research Group, P.O.Box 213, Cambridge, Mass. 02138, USA, available from Agitprop, 160 North Gower Street, N W 1.

Many of the contacts of the Ariel Foundation are made through the British Council. The "independent" character of the Ariel Foundation greatly facilitates its work in dealings with ex-Colonial regimes, as in Malaysia. While 'contacts' are in Britain, personal dossiers on them are compiled and assessed for future use. In the unstable political climates in many ex-colonies it is essential to have a number of irons in the fire. Many of the contacts made are seen as potential future leaderships.

The Ariel Foundation 'assisted the United National Independence Party in its preparation for assuming responsibility in independent Zambia'. This programme was jointly sponsored by the African-American Institute - a CIA front. A similar role was played in relation to preparing KANU for power, in Kenya, in 1963. In the early 60's Ariel collaborated closely with the British National Committee of the World Assembly of Youth, another CIA dummy. It has collaborated with several other CIA fronts over the years*.

The Ariel Foundation has been a major source of finance for International Voluntary Service (IVS) and had a representative on its Selection Board for Volunteers. This seems a useful post to occupy. The Ariel Foundation apparently shows considerable interest in the Southern African activities of IVS.

There are strong links between the Ariel Foundation and the Commonwealth Bureau of the Fabian Society. The Foundation's past executive secretary, John Syson, his successor Anthony Hughes** and the Assistant Executive Secretary, Christine Harte, are all active members of the Fabian Society. (The General Secretary of IVS, Roy Manley, is also a member of the Bureau.)

The four trustees of the Ariel Foundation are an interesting collection. The Chairman is Charles Longbottom, a big noise in the City with interests in shipping, shipbuilding and Insurance. He was a Conservative M.P. from 1959 until 1966. Other trustees are Dennis J Grennan, (ex-Secretary and Director of the Atlas Foundation, who was involved on the spot in the Zambian operation), and Bernard J Hayhoe, who in the late 50's and early 60's was Chairman of the British National Committee of the World Assembly of Youth, a CIA front. Bernard was deeply involved in the campaign to discredit the KGB's parallel youth operations: the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the World Youth Festivals (see for example his letter in the Times, April 28, 1959).

* Although the CIA and British Intelligence have frequently collaborated, there have also been several occasions when their policies have diverged. See British Cabinet Annex marked for 'U K eyes only' dated December 21, 1959, (reprinted in The CIA as an Equal Opportunity Employer) for differences on Kenya during that period.

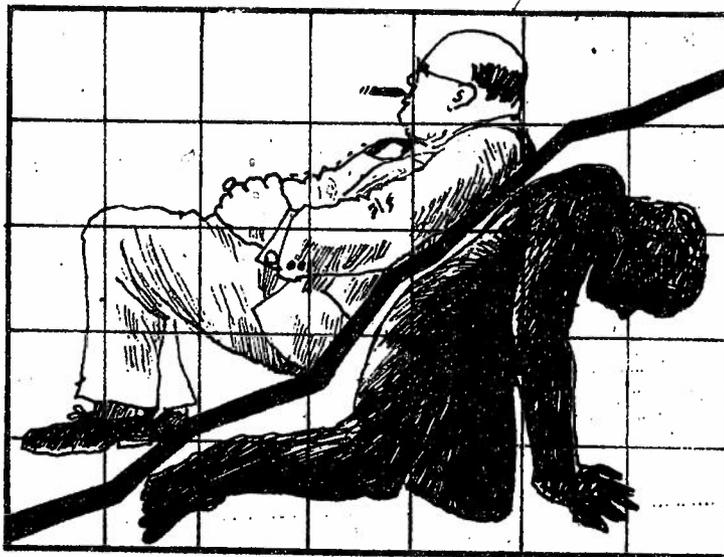
** 'Coincidentally', Tony was also in Kenya in the early sixties when he 'advised' both KANU and the new Kenyatta regime.

The last trustee is Geoffrey Martin, late cold-war warrior-in-chief of the NUS! David Triesman says this about him*: "Geoff Martin, who headed the NUS International Affairs section for some time was deeply involved in ISC. He travelled up and down the country for two years allaying the fears amongst constituent unions about ISC financing. He told them he knew the facts. If he had then, he knew about the ISC link with CIA, and if he knew nothing about the CIA connection then he clearly did not have even an approximation of the facts, and he wittingly or unwittingly misinformed two NUS conferences and innumerable constituent unions". In my view this is a very restrained summing-up of the role of Mr Martin (who, incidentally, is also a Fabian.

TOM MBOYA and the ARIEL FOUNDATION

Mboya's career epitomized the system of western intervention and manipulation in ex-colonial territories. In return for the subsidies received, 'uncle' Tom Mboya provided a respectable front for a number of CIA operations, and in return was built up as a leader of the 'New Africa'. He was prominent in both the ICFTU and the PSI, and helped set up both the Tanganyika and Uganda National Trade Union Federations in 1955 and 1956. He was also involved in the World Assembly of Youth and (surprise, surprise) even in the International Student Conference.

With this backing he was a dead cert for the new Government of 'independent' Kenya where he became Minister of Labour. In 1962, once in office, he introduced the infamous "Industrial Relations Charter". In January 1963 this was praised to the skies in the Fabian Society's Commonwealth Bureau magazine Venture as "splendidly outlining principles which should and possibly could be applied in Britain". . . Mboya's bill set up a permanent Industrial Court, and made unions responsible for supervising the conduct of



* See Student Power, Penguin, 1969. In particular p. 147 of the article entitled "The CIA and Student Politics".

'their' members at work and for discouraging". . . such practices as (a) negligence of duty (b) careless operation (c) damage to property (d) interference with or disturbance to normal work (e) insubordination (f) abusive or intemperate language." (Quoted in African Trade Unions by Ioan Davies, Penguin, 1966, p. 169.)

It almost seems as if the CIA and its allies are aware of the stabilizing role of trade unions and are prepared to promote their establishment on the western pattern in developing countries. Western trade unions have collaborated up to the hilt via the ICFU. The Communist world has been doing the same through the WFTU. Meanwhile back on the shop floor, struggles are subordinated to the interests of this or that power elite, meaningful international solidarity - or even exchange of useful information - goes by the board.

With this background, Mboya's assassination in 1969 fits into perspective. But even what was left of his threadbare credibility had to be put to use. After his death a Tom Mboya Memorial Fund was set up, under the auspices of the Ariel Foundation (it shares the same offices) with two Ariel Trustees on its committee (see correspondence columns of the Times, December 19, 1970) to carry on the good work. It aims at establishing a 'Training Institute for Labour and Industrial Studies' in Nairobi - to train the next generation of little Mboyas. The process comes full circle.

CONCLUSIONS

The role of 'Intelligence' is no longer simply one of collecting information. Increasingly, it is becoming one of positively moulding political situations, both at home and abroad. This work is aimed at increasing the general stability of the system. It is carried out in close collaboration, both formal or informal, with many other institutions and organisations which have a stake in the system. In this 'delicate' area it is in fact often difficult to say where state manipulation ends and private enterprise begins. What is important is what they are up to. The aim of this article is to begin examining some important, but little known, points of the power structure.

'Our chaps' too have their 'conduits' and 'front organizations'. These are not as well known as those of the CIA. Nor are they necessarily identified or connected with organisations of the political 'Right'. Many liberal set-ups seem to be involved. (Since right-wing dummies are of little use in penetrating the political scene in Africa or Asia, 'respectable' liberal or even radical fronts are at a premium.) This is interesting because it sheds light on an aspect of the society in which we live which needs emphasizing, namely the fundamental conjunction of interests between the Establishment and many organizations which started off to change society, but which have become integrated into it. Indeed such organizations have become essential mechanisms in the defence of class society. This article deals with only one aspect of this process.

In 1884 the Fabian Society was founded with the express purpose of permeating the State apparatus with socialists. Somewhere in this process the osmotic gradient seems to have become reversed. The Fabian Society (or at least its Commonwealth Bureau) now seems itself to have been taken over. But while stressing these various points, it is important not to fall into the trap of seeing our society as one great conscious conspiracy (while at the same time recognising that conspiracies do exist).

This article is a journey into uncharted waters. We wish to continue the exploration. Further bits of information on the theme, however trivial they may appear, would be welcome.

V.A.TOPE.

LETTER

Dear Solidarity,

Here's some feedback, as requested in your last issue, in which V.S. reported the Manchester Socialist Societies meeting of November 1970. Course criticism was among the topics discussed.

At the moment I'm preparing for the press a Handbook for Course-criticism, to be published by Penguin Education in September 1971. It'll cost 50p for 120,000 words.

There'll be four sections:

- (1) For background: sociology of education and the student movement.
- (2) Critiques of disciplines and courses: at present, we'll be able to cover anthropology, architecture, chemistry, economics, English lit., history, law, maths, medicine, philosophy, psychology, social work, sociology and teacher training.
- (3) A lengthy bibliography - a revised and expanded version of John Jervis' Reading for Revolutionaries which many of your readers will have used.
- (4) A section, depending on how many words are left, of documents.

We're trying to produce the book in some sort of cooperative way. I'd be pleased to hear from anyone interested in contributing and to receive any relevant documents which could go into the final section - especially leaflets, etc., produced in the course of course-criticism.

Trevor Pateman,
Arts Building, The University,
Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QN

ABOUT OURSELVES

Our last issue (1300 copies produced) has sold rather slowly and we still have a couple of hundred copies in hand. As anticipated the article on 'Black separatism and White sycophancy' provoked the expected denunciation of being 'racist'. (We feel we are acquiring considerable expertise in the field of prognosticating the political reflexes of the traditional left.) The article also produced some encouraging support.

Three excellent readers meetings were held during December at the L.S.E. Each was attended by some 40 to 50 people. As a result, a series of further meetings have been arranged for January, February and March 1971, dealing with 'Modern Capitalism and Revolution', with 'The Industrial Struggle Today', with 'The Irrational in Politics', and with 'Bolshevism and the Alternative'. We are beginning to break out of a prolonged ideological isolation. More and more people are seeing the relevance of what we have been trying to say and of what a reviewer of our pamphlet 'The Irrational in Politics' (in Anarchy, February 1971) called our 'insistence on having a consistent and rigorous theoretical basis for political activity'.

The campaign on the issue of 'Social Responsibility among Scientists' is continuing to develop. We have had a number of invitations to speak on this theme. The articles on this subject which appeared in our last 2 issues and in the present one will shortly be republished as a pamphlet (1/-). Orders welcome from now.

We have also been engaged in what is, for us, a massive re-stocking. As a result a number of previous publications like Kollontai's 'The Workers Opposition' and Serge's 'Kronstadt '21' are now again available (see overleaf for an up-to-date price list). We have also produced an Index of all that we have published in the last 10 years. Other groups have also been active in this field. We would like to thank the comrades in York for their help in reduplicating Cardan's 'The Crisis of Modern Society'. Solidarity Pamphlet No.29, 'Greek Tragedy' has been reprinted by the Clydeside Solidarity Group and is obtainable from them (c/o Dan Kane, 43 Valeview Terrace, Dumbarton, Scotland).

In our next issue we hope to announce our plans for the purchase of plate making equipment. We still need loans and - better still - donations for this purpose. We also need to find a friendly and reliable printer, preferably in the London area, with an offset machine capable of coping with double-quarto plates, and whose prices we could afford. We are thinking, initially, of runs of up to 3000 of several of our basic texts (Hungary '56, The Rape of Vietnam, Modern Capitalism and Revolution, etc.). Any suggestions or quotations?

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. 1/- (5 NP)

SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM. A redefinition of socialist objectives in the light of the events of the last 50 years. 1/- (5 NP)

THE WORKERS OPPOSITION by Alexandra Kollontai. A fully annotated account of the anti-bureaucratic struggle of 1919-1920 within the Russian Bolshevik Party. 80 pages. 4/- (20 NP)

KRONSTADT 1921 by Victor Serge. An erstwhile supporter of the Bolsheviks re-examines the facts and draws disturbing conclusions. 6d. (2½ NP)

G.M.W.U.: SCAB UNION by Mark Fore. A close look at one of Britain's biggest unions. Are the unions still working class organisations? 1/-

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Scientist's dilemma: Responsibility to whom?

SOME BASIC ISSUES

'The prospect is that perhaps by the end of this decade science will have learned how to transplant genes into a fertilised egg and create a number of genetically identical human beings, exactly as you would breed prize cattle ... To give only one example: the Government would be able to solve the problem of draft resistance in this country by breeding genetic copies of the ideal U.S. Marine. This is not nearly as absurd a prospect as most people think'.

The man who spoke these words* was one of Dr Jonathan Beckwith's team at Harvard University who achieved a major breakthrough in molecular biology in 1969, namely the isolation of a gene. To breed prize Humans or not? For what purpose? What is a 'prize Human'? Who is to decide? Governments? Scientists? Politicians? Can we ignore these questions? Can we expect that somehow they'll fade away, or take care of themselves? Is all this mere phantasy of a youthful, overexcited mind? Far from it.

Shortly after the news broke that the Harvard group had isolated the gene 'Shapiro (one of the team) received a telephone call which awakened his worst suspicions and influenced his decision to break with scientific work. It was from one of the large private medical foundations asking him to collaborate in a "Manhattan project", a secret and well financed crash programme of research similar to the development of the atomic bomb during the war, which would make genetic engineering on human beings a reality within a few years. "That telephone call shocked me" said Shapiro. "It shows that an elite group of rich men and complaisant scientists are ready to rush ahead with a branch of biology which presents society with the gravest moral and political problems, and to do it in secret, concealing from the public the very facts it is essential that they know".'

To conceal information from the public? Or to inform the people? To rush ahead with experimentation and large scale implementation before the issue has been publicly discussed? To accept work under conditions of secrecy? Or to refuse to work under such conditions? Here are some basic issues of social responsibility confronting scientists today.

* See 'Evening Standard', February 11, 1970.

THE BSSRS NOVEMBER CONFERENCE

A conference on 'The Social Impact of Modern Biology' was recently organised by the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS) in London. It was an attempt to air and discuss these issues in public. In calling and arranging this conference (which took place on November 26-28, 1970) BSSRS provided a forum for open discussion of problems and opinions which many scientists consider taboo. The arrangement of passing microphones in the audience so as to enable anyone to put questions to the speakers, or to express his own views, is strongly to be recommended.

On average about 1000 people attended the various meetings. Among the scientists one could count at least 4 Nobel Prize winners. Their statements, like those of everyone in the audience, reflected the fact that science, as a form of human endeavour, was in its worst crisis ever. Everyone agreed that it was no longer possible to ignore the social responsibility of the scientist.

But here the differences appeared. Some argued that a scientist's responsibility is to 'his nation'. Others claimed that a scientist has no more responsibility than, say, a bank manager. Some reduced social responsibility to political responsibility. They would be willing to do in the East what they were unwilling to do in the West. Some, like J. Monod, argued that science must generate from within itself its own 'scientific' moral code. Others argued that the prevailing ideology conditions the scientific categories themselves. Some wanted scientists to become autonomous decision-makers on all matters related to science. Another group openly advocated misleading the politicians in order to obtain funds. There were as many differing, and mutually antagonistic, opinions as there were speakers from the platform - and from the floor.

There was not one speaker from the platform - including the Nobel Prize winners - who was not challenged from the floor. A few years ago no layman would have dared publicly to question the moral assumptions of scientists speaking on their own subject, and no Nobel Prize winner would have reacted hysterically when his motives were challenged. He could have afforded to disregard such challenges.

Nowadays such challenges and responses are no longer unique. Scientists today, especially younger ones, question the motives, assumptions, values and priorities of their elders. There is a generation gap within the scientific community just like everywhere else. There are of course many complaisant careerists among the younger generation too. But they can no longer refer to their motives (money, fame, easy job, sheer curiosity, 'search of Truth for Truth's sake', etc.) as 'obvious', 'natural', and 'normal'. All this is questioned and challenged - in public - by fellow scientists. All this exploded in the conference.

Today, the scientific community is gradually splitting up into two camps. Each has its own moral code. These two codes, which reflect a differentiation occurring in modern society at large, are not merely different. They are mutually exclusive, and cannot coexist. One side considers a scientist's first responsibility to be to 'his country', 'his firm', 'his personal well-being'. Or to 'Science itself'. The other camp considers itself responsible to the entire population of this planet, including the future generations. (This 'entire community of the planet' becomes very real when issues like radioactivity, manipulation of genetics, pollution, etc., are considered.) The first camp considers its adversaries as 'radicals', 'extremists', 'a risk to national security', whereas the latter consider the Establishment scientists as 'careerists', 'socially irresponsible scientists', and 'a threat to mankind'.

THESE CAMPS ARE AT WAR

According to Sir Ernst Chain (New Scientist, October 22, 1970):
'The first responsibility of the scientist is to the nation of which he is a member ... this applies to the defensive methods as well as to the aggressive methods'. 'The scientist working in a laboratory concerned with war technology who gives away secrets is a traitor'. 'Secrecy is also essential in industrial organisations as these are the producers of wealth for the nation'. 'Should the university scientist be involved, in times of peace, in secret work directed towards the development of war technology? ... Should the university scientist cooperate with industry in research projects which, for the time being, must be kept secret? ... No. ... because in university surroundings there is not sufficient security to keep important discoveries secret'. No mincing of words here, but Ernie merely articulates what many scientists accept implicitly.

Jonathan Beckwith, speaking at the BSSRS conference, saw it otherwise: 'I do not believe that the directions and applications of this work (i.e. genetic engineering) should be decided by a group of 'prominent scientists' any more than it should be decided by a group of politicians. These are political questions that require a much wider participation in decision-making, a participation that our present system does not allow'. 'If the speed with which science is progressing must be slowed down in order to spread the benefits of science among all people, so be it'. 'The substitution of a scientific elite to make decisions instead of a political elite holds no greater guarantee for the wellbeing of mankind. A necessary step is for scientists to bring science to the people'. 'The view of science as a purely progressive force, the lure of prizes and many other factors, justify the most corrupting levels of competition ... the organisation of labs for the greatest efficiency leads to a degrading master-slave relation between supervisor, student, and technician. What benefit is a cure for cancer to man if in the process he is losing his humanity?'.

Can someone with views like Beckwith's work with someone who upholds Chain's views? There are those who believe that such a collaboration is possible, if only because they themselves cannot resolve the conflict of loyalties. BSSRS itself is full of such people. They seek to avoid conflict by speaking in generalisations about social responsibility 'in science', evading the issue of the personal responsibility of the scientist. 'Science' is not responsible for anything. The scientist is.

Those who prefer to sit on the fence love to refer to the classic example of the construction of the first Atom Bomb. 'Of course it was a tragic decision to make such a weapon. But what if the Nazis had made it first?'. 'Moreover it wasn't the scientists who decided to drop bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Some of them were against it. It was Truman's decision. It was the politicians, not the scientists, who decided'. We were offered this apologia for the umpteenth time, by Nobel Prize winner J. Monod at the BSSRS November conference. He in fact used this example in an attempt to show that the 'Durham Resolution' was 'too simple to deal with the complexities of real life'.

Some of us, however, challenged Monod from the floor: 'Germany surrendered on May 8, 1945. At that time scientists in the USA did not yet have the Bomb. The decision on how to use it was not with the politicians for the simple reason that there was no bomb to decide about. It was up to the hundreds of scientists working in Los Alamos to decide whether to go on constructing the yet unfinished Bomb. Those who worked on, whether after conscious deliberation or just without considering the implications, cannot excuse themselves by referring to arguments of the 'Nazis might get it' or 'the politicians decide' type. Was not this an example of socially irresponsible behaviour?'. Jacques Monod squirmed, but finally he had to admit that these scientists had indeed behaved in a socially irresponsible manner.

The 'Durham Resolution' states simply that 'As a socially responsible scientist I hereby undertake not to conceal from the public any information about the general nature of my research and about the dangerous uses to which it might be put'. There is nothing revolutionary, radical or extremist in its wording, yet it forces all those scientists who accept secrecy clauses as part of their conditions of work (and they constitute the absolute majority of those working for governments or industrial firms) into an 'untenable situation', as the BSSRS Newsheet put it (January-February 1971). Both the BSSRS Newsheet (loc. cit.) and The Guardian (Sept. 10, 1970) have conjured up spurious arguments to alleviate the scientist's dilemma. How can scientists know that their work might be put to dangerous uses? They 'cannot conceal from the public something they simply don't know'. But what when they do know - as at Los Alamos for example? No wonder the Guardian moans that 'many scientists will not enjoy doing' what the Durham Resolution advocates. Secrets - from whom? Dangerous - for whom? Loyalty and responsibility - to whom?

Frank N. Stein

* For full text of 'Durham Resolution' see Solidarity vol.VI, no.6.

THEIR MORALS AND OURS

The Dutschke affair established some pretty sinister 'firsts'. It was the first time an appellant in a quasi-judicial tribunal was denied full access to the evidence against him, the first time a 'verdict' of 'not-really-guilty-now-but-could-be-guilty-tomorrow' has ever been seriously put forward as a basis for administrative action and the first time 'security' has so blatantly been identified with fear of internal revolution rather than with fears about foreign spies. The Dutschke decision also inaugurates a new penal sanction: 'anticipatory deportation'.

These developments illustrate the tenuous foundations of bourgeois democracy and the extent to which our rulers are prepared to transgress their own legality and to besmirch their own 'image' when they feel themselves in the least threatened.

It is not our purpose here to deal with the general aspects of the Dutschke case - although this clearly needs to be done. Our purpose is more limited. We wish to discuss Solidarity's marginal involvement in this affair. We do so both because Solidarity was referred to in the Tribunal's Report and because this involvement has given rise to some grotesque gymnastics on the part of the Workers Press ('Daily Organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Labour League').

We are keen to set the record straight not out of concern for the Special Branch or for the S.L.L. - for each of whom one falsification more or less can't make much difference.* We are setting the record straight as an act of elementary political sanitation. The methods used by the S.L.L. in this matter derive straight from the sewers of Stalinism, and if allowed to continue will pollute the whole movement.

The facts are as follows:

1. In open court, on December 18, Dutschke informed the Attorney General that, at his own request, he had received professional medical advice and help from a neurologist (Dr Pallis) who also happens to be a contributor to Solidarity. Rudi had been seen by Dr Pallis once at his (Rudi's) home - after he had suddenly been taken ill - and on a few occasions as a hospital out-patient. They had on the first occasion talked politics. There is nothing sinister in this. Firstly it was their inalienable right. Secondly it is no state secret that the full assessment of a brain-damaged person involves the assessment of his capacity to cope with ideas and concepts, both familiar and new, and that a better idea of the

* The credibility of the S.L.L. was long ago destroyed by the S.L.L. itself - for whom any serious political opponent must be an agent of the police, the K.G.B.,or both.

cerebral function of a political person can be obtained through a discussion of politics than through a discussion on ceramics or on the life cycle of human tapeworms.

2. Further evidence of an alleged 'association' between Rudi Dutschke and Solidarity may have been presented to the Tribunal's secret session. If so, such evidence was concocted. We can say this with absolute confidence for the very good reason that, apart from the facts referred to below under paragraph 5, there was no such association.

3. In summing up the evidence the Tribunal stated that Rudi's associations had 'far exceeded normal social activities'. Rudi was alleged to have engaged in 'political activity' which by a clumsy sleight of hand the Tribunal then quite absurdly equated, by implication, with 'organising' and 'planning'. The Tribunal incorrectly stated (para 37) that Rudi 'took part in several discussions about a publication called Solidarity'.

4. In a praiseworthy attempt at exposing how the Tribunal was able to put a 'sinister' connotation on utterly trivial events (which could very well have been exploded by Rudi himself, had they been brought up in open session), Erich Fried, a close friend of Rudi's and a well-known figure in the German radical movement, explained some facts to a Guardian reporter. This was done with Rudi's full knowledge and consent. As a result, a short piece appeared in the Guardian on January 11, 1971.

5. This Guardian article referred to the only other possible association - a very indirect one - between Dutschke and Solidarity. This association may or may not have been mentioned to the Tribunal.

Rudi's proposed thesis dealt with German history and in particular with the period following the First World War. Bernard Reichenbach, now 82, is a survivor of the radical movement of that period. (He was in fact a founding member of the K.A.P.D., its delegate to Moscow in 1921 and the person responsible for smuggling Kollontai's article on the Workers Opposition out of Russia.) Reichenbach also happens to be a subscriber to Solidarity, although he does not endorse our views.

Rudi interviewed Reichenbach at some length. The interview, of intrinsic interest to many revolutionaries, was subsequently published in an abridged form in Solidarity vol.V, no.2. This was done with the consent of both Rudi Dutschke and Bernard Reichenbach. Rudi's name was omitted. This was not done for security reasons (neither Rudi nor Solidarity felt that the interview constituted impermissible political activity), but because in Rudi's own words (see Erich Fried's letter published in Workers Press on January 20, 1971) 'these were Mr Reichenbach's reminiscences and my name on them would have smacked of personality-cult or sales promotion'.

So much for the facts. Now for the spin-off.



In a disgraceful, fingering article entitled 'Dr Pallis and the Dutschke Affair' reminiscent of the Daily Mail's attacks on this comrade in July 1961, the Workers Press (January 12, 1971) claimed that it was 'a combination of right-wing reaction and "left-wing" political irresponsibility that helped the Tories to deport Rudi Dutschke'. It claimed that Rudi's defence 'was weakened by the politics of the so-called friends of Rudi such as the anarchist Solidarity group'. The article, which displayed the S.L.L.'s customary allergy to facts, even implied that Solidarity had leaked information about Rudi to the authorities. Referring to the Reichenbach interview the paper venomously asked 'If Dutschke was "anonymous" how did the Tribunal know it was him?'

What exactly does the S.L.L. consider irresponsible? Looking after an injured comrade, whose radical views did not exactly endear him to the Medical Establishment? Talking politics with him to assess his damaged speech function? Telling him of the existence of a Mr Reichenbach, whose reminiscences might help him with his thesis? Or publishing a portion of that interview with Rudi's and Reichenbach's consent?

Workers Press asks how the Tribunal knew it was Rudi who had interviewed Reichenbach? They themselves provide a possible answer. 'Rudi was bound to be watched by the Special Branch'. We would suggest to our Clapham sleuths that the Special Branch only had to tap a call from Rudi to Reichenbach (or vice versa) to be fully in the picture. No special efforts were made to hush up what was considered, by those most directly concerned, to be perfectly legitimate.

Implicit in the very raising by the S.L.L. of the issue of the Reichenbach interview is a most revealing attitude to political responsibility. Because a Tory government, scraping the barrel for 'evidence', might construe a discussion on the Germany of 1921 as a threat to the Britain of 1970, the S.L.L. feels that everyone should accept this frame of reference and abstain from any human or intellectual contact with a foreign comrade. How could Rudi have worked on a thesis under these conditions? Or even lived? According to this logic, revolutionaries should not only be bound by the dictates of present bourgeois 'justice', but by every possible distortion of its norms - including sheer inventions - which the ruling class might resort to in the future.

The argument is anyway hypocritical to the core, for the S.L.L. apparently saw nothing 'irresponsible' (if they were informed of the matter) in Mr Healy's own visit to Rudi Dutschke. Did the S.L.L. think their National Secretary would be invisible to the Special Branch watching Dutschke?

Using the same stupid yardstick as Workers Press, wasn't that visit the height of irresponsibility? For all we know it might even have been referred to in the Tribunal's secret session.

Particularly nauseating is the self-righteous assertion in the Workers Press (January 20, 1971) that they do not consider the episode trivial because they 'do not share (Mr Fried's) faith in bourgeois justice.' Erich Fried nowhere intimated any such illusions. The S.L.L. however have the worst record in the movement for precisely such a faith. They have repeatedly issued injunctions and resorted to bourgeois law in their attempts to silence critics and opponents. (They used such methods against some of us for instance when they thought we would publicly raise awkward questions, such as their use of non-union labour to help with the collating of commercial (not political) printed material during the print strike of 1958). Many other examples could be given, with full chapter and verse.

We have been challenged by Workers Press to answer their questions? We challenge them to publish this reply. Now we in turn would like to put some queries. What do the members of the S.L.L. and the readers of Workers Press think of Mr Healy's unsigned articles? Do they recognise that the smear is an established part of their political armoury. Do they recognise the political parentage of such a technique? And if the articles published do not represent the views of the S.L.L. membership (and we have good reason to believe that they don't), what are the members now going to do about the internal regime in their organisation? When will they understand that the S.L.L. leadership needs to keep up this atmosphere of political paranoia to maintain its grip. How much easier to imply that Solidarity are 'provocateurs' or 'police stooges' (as the Stalinists once used to call the Trotskyists, remember!) than to argue about 'Modern Capitalism and Revolution', 'The Bolsheviks and Workers Control' or 'The Irrational in Politics', none of which have even been mentioned. But then the S.L.L. doesn't deal in political ideas.

The Stalinists will systematically attack their opponents on a personal basis (usually manufactured) in order to attempt to discredit them. The S.L.L. does likewise. It is high time this monstrosity was objectively looked at. There are more than enough ex-members to do the job. Until now most have felt sickened by the prospect of having to wallow in the muck that surrounds the S.L.L. This should no longer be a deterrent. Hygiène oblige!

K.W. and N.R.

THE POSTAL WORKERS' STRIKE

This article was written by a worker recently dismissed from the Post Office as a result of an injury on the job. He had worked in the Post Office for a considerable time and his comments throw an interesting light on some recent developments

When the talks with the Post Office Board on the wage claim became deadlocked, Tom Jackson, U.P.W. General Secretary, announced that he would call for strike action at the earliest possible date. My first reaction was one of surprise. After all, to put it mildly, Tom has never been regarded as a 'militant' in the trade union movement. And the U.P.W. is hardly a union with a long record of struggle. In fact it is in the forefront of those unions which collaborate with the employers at the expense of their own membership.

Sure enough, after a very short time, the Executive of the U.P.W. called for a strike, to start on January 20. At the same time they announced that there would be no strike pay. After about 50 years - and without a national strike - the Union did not have sufficient funds!

When negotiations with employers break down, even 'left-wing' General Secretaries usually refrain from making their views public before meeting their Executives. Why was Tom Jackson in such a hurry to call for strike action? To find out what was happening, two days before the strike was due to begin, I contacted some of my old friends at Mount Pleasant sorting office in Central London which employs 6000 postmen. They all said there had been no branch discussion about the strike and they were waiting for information from the Union leadership.

My contacts felt that the full 15% wage demand could be won if they went about it by means other than full strike action. I was told that if they adopted a ban on overtime and a work-to-rule (in addition to other guerilla tactics) the result would have been far more costly to the Post Office and the men would still get paid, and would consequently be able to sustain a much longer struggle.

Why didn't the Executive consult the workers before launching a struggle which demands such privations? The government has said often enough that it is willing to take on the unions, particularly those in the public sector. I may be wrong about the feelings of the Post Office workers - for example I don't know what the position is in the areas outside Central London where the rates of pay are substantially lower. But if this strike is continued for any length of time without strike pay, things could become very serious.

We saw what the mass media are capable of in the recent power workers' dispute. If the Post Office workers are beaten, this would discredit strike action as a form of struggle. Is this the intention of the government? Is Tom Jackson in fact being pushed into action from below, that is by the lower paid workers in the Post Office. Time will show. My feeling is that there is something very fishy going on.

If this proves to be the case, I can tell the government, the employers and their trade union 'stooges' that the workers have a genius for finding forms of struggle which will amply repay them. I was repeatedly told that the postmen are beginning to discuss effective methods of struggle and that there is a growing feeling that the strike might be inappropriate on many occasions. Action on the job can be very effective in modern large-scale industrial undertakings. This is easy to understand. Furthermore they felt that the new Industrial Relations Bill can be defeated by just such means. It would be very difficult to isolate or victimise militants in this kind of struggle (which is after all what the Bill is designed to do).

When the strike had got under way Mr Carr, for the government, decided to talk to delegations from the U.P.W. and the P.O. Board. After these talks, Tom Jackson said he was not fighting the government. He thought Mr Carr had been very fair and was only trying to understand where each side stood. If Mr Jackson is saying that the government is not on one side or the other, why the Industrial Relations Bill? Tom Jackson and the rest of the trade union leaders basically agree with the government and the employers that rank-and-file unofficial action must be fought, although they might argue about whether the Industrial Relations Bill is the best way to achieve this.

The situation raises a major task for rank and file workers. If living standards are to be defended or improved, they will have to fight the union leaders as well as the employers. This means new as well as old forms of struggle and organisation. Shop floor organisation is the answer. The trade unions cannot be reformed from within. What is to be done must be worked out on the shop floor.

Tom Jackson has not much room for manoeuvre. Someone, T.U.C., Post Office or government, or a combination of all three, will have to get him off the hook. Some form of negotiated settlement is probable. All Jackson and the trade unions now have to offer the employers is the ability to control the wages fight. The employers will negotiate for the lowest possible wage increases in return for some hope that the trade unions will make the workers more docile than they have been lately. The workers are becoming aware of this and are taking matters into their own hands.

A major feature of the Post Office strike is the outstanding solidarity of the workers. There has been a fractional increase in the number of scabs, but the Press is doing all it can to present a picture of growing

numbers returning to work, designed to undermine the solidarity of the workers. Wishful thinking? Not entirely. The Post Office and the government expected postal workers would, because of their traditions and history, weaken after a few days. This has not happened. The question of hardship, particularly of the younger people, has been taken into account by local strike committees. With feet firmly on the ground the workers have refused to make the 'no strike pay' issue one which would divide them in battle. They say: 'this can be dealt with later'.

As the fight hots up, via the Industrial Relations Bill, increased unemployment, an offensive on immigrant labour, etc., there will need to be a rank and file answer to the general offensive of capital. The need for a radical change in society will be made more obvious to growing numbers of people.

Employers and trade union leaders, beware! You can't muck all the people about all the time!

J. J.

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