

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

CHRYSLER'S

THUGS!

Socialist Worker Reporters

THE MAFIA has come to Coventry. The forces of law and order at Chrysler, desperate to maintain productivity and profits, have resorted to the tactics of Al Capone.

On Monday morning at 3am, six huge articulated lorries crashed through the picket lines at the company's Stoke factory, and hurtled through the night. They were loaded with engines for the Chrysler plant at Dunstable.

In passing, the thugs in the lorries hurled bottles, bricks and abuse at the pickets. While in the factory, one of the 10 thugs hired by the company to do their dirty work beat up Mr John Doherty with a spanner.

Only three of the lorries reached Dunstable. There the thugs lashed out once again—this time at a company representative of law and order.

Terry Walker-Spiers, who has been working as a security officer at Chrysler's No 1 Gate at Dunstable for four years, had just got to work at 7am when a huge articulated lorry drew up at the weighbridge in front of the gate.

Mr Walker-Spiers walked out to the lorry to receive the necessary documents. As he approached, the lorry started its engines and charged at the gate.

Mr Walker-Spiers could not get out of the way in time. As the lorry swerved past him the trailer lurched to one side and smashed the security officer against the wall of the gate house.

This story was told to Mrs Walker-Spiers by her husband when she visited him in hospital on Tuesday morning, and she passed it on to the Luton Evening Post. By early afternoon the company released its own statement about the event, which it described as 'pure accident'.

Mr Walker-Spiers, said the statement, had already spoken to the driver and directed him to the parking bays and was crushed accidentally as the lorry drove innocently past him.

ASSAULTED

If the lorry had not hit the gate-house as well, releasing the trailer from Mr Walker-Spiers, he would have been crushed. As it is, he is lying in Dunstable hospital with a smashed pelvis.

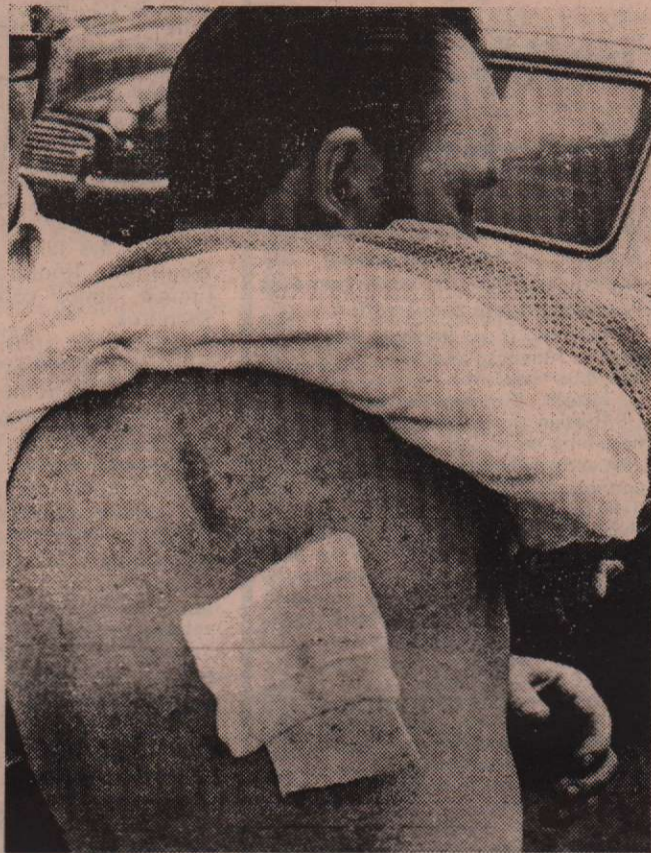
The thugs who drove the lorries broke the law again and again. They assaulted pickets, caused at least three men grievous bodily harm, drove dangerously, drove vehicles without lights and without registration plates, and caused damage to property.

And the men who hired the thugs, led by Gilbert Hunt, the sophisticated managing director of Chrysler's British enterprises, would seem at first sight to have conspired to break the law in all these different ways.

Mr Hunt's plea that he insisted on no violence when hiring the men sounds a little thin. Did he know that the lorries would drive without registration plates? Could he foresee



Stoke Worker John Doherty showing the wound he received on Monday morning when a Chrysler thug attacked him with a spanner.



But the picket goes on: Ryton workers maintain their vigil at the Stoke plant despite company intimidation

the injury and destruction that would result from hiring such dubious operators?

The Coventry police have not even asked these questions. They are, according to the Daily Telegraph on Tuesday 'investigating an alleged assault'.

They were much quicker off the mark the day after the incidents when enraged pickets stopped private cars leaving the Stoke plant. More than 100 police arrived in no time and three pickets were injured in the ensuing scuffles.

It can be confidently predicted that neither Mr Hunt nor any of the

thugs he hired on Monday will stand charges for conspiracy or for any other serious charge.

Not one of the 250 charges preferred against 32 building workers in Shrewsbury and Birmingham for demonstrating to preserve trade union organisation will be lodged against these criminal freebooters.

The law and the police will maintain order as long as the people in charge of property want order. When the same rich men need to defend their property with disorder and lawlessness, they can rely on the faithful support of the boys in blue and the lords in wigs.

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 NEXT WEEK: an analysis of the legal decision to reject the appeals of the Stoke Newington Five and Noel Jenkinson, victim of the Aldershot bomb trial.

Stop police harassment!

Demonstrate Saturday 23 June
 Brockwell Park (Herne Hill end)
 Called by Black Panthers and Brixton IS

Now fear sweeps the black community

SW Reporter
 THE WORST FEARS in Britain's black communities about the effects of last week's House of Lords decision to render all 'illegal' immigrants subject to deportations have been realised.

Encouraged by their Lordships and by the cynicism of 'liberal' Home Secretary Robert Carr, police throughout the country have started a campaign of harassment against blacks.

Pakistani and Indian workers' organisations in Bradford have reported that police are asking for passports when they stop black drivers on suspicion of petty driving offences.

The pattern has been repeated in Southall, where a spokesman for the Indian Workers Association told me: 'We have two clear cases of police harassment in the last three days.'

Demand

'Last Saturday a local businessman left a pub around nine o'clock and started to walk towards his home. He was stopped by police, who said he was drunk and demanded to see his passport.'

'The following day a young Indian lad was driving his car at slightly over the speed limit. The police stopped him and again demanded his passport. We cannot complain, unfortunately, because both these two people are too frightened to come forward and allow their names to be publicised.'

A social worker who visited Southall police station to see a prisoner last week was told by the duty police officer that there were 26 Asians in the cells who had been accused on suspicion of being illegal immigrants. The police have refused to confirm or deny this figure.

Arrested

Three weeks ago, police raided the Manchester restaurant of Mr Mohiuddin Chowdhury and arrested two of the workers there on suspicion that they were illegal immigrants.

Mr S A Rasul, secretary general of the Standing Conference of Asian Organisations, told me that Asians have been complaining to him over the past few weeks about their treatment at Social Security offices in Sheffield and elsewhere. Social Security officials, playing the part of toy policemen, have suddenly started asking questions about the immigrants' entry into this country.

As fear and doubt sweep the black communities, the jackals of the right are gathering strength.

An Anti-Immigration Standing Committee has been formed by some hardened anti-black campaigners, led by Mrs Joy Page.

More on Chrysler: back page and page 2



AMERICAN SCENE

by Steve Jefferys

AMERICAN CAPITALISM is currently facing a deep crisis: runaway inflation. In the last three months industrial goods have been going up at an annual rate of nearly 16 per cent, while food prices have risen at a staggering 43 per cent annual rate. This is the worst inflation in the United States of America since World War Two, and one of the worst ever.

This inflation follows almost two years of wage freeze and control and has resulted in a marked increase in poverty among the millions on or below the American 'subsistence' level of about 4000 dollars a year for a family of four.

During the two years since 15 August 1971, when Nixon surprised the world with his announcement of a 90-day freeze on prices and wages, profits have soared. Under the American Phase One food prices were exempted from control, but when Phase Two came in in November 1971 any pretence at seriously controlling prices ended.

Nixon's Phase Two had exceptions to the prices 'freeze' that allowed any company whose labour or raw material costs had risen to put their prices up as well. The only 'limit' to these price increases was the level of profits they had attained before Phase One began. Food and some rents were also exempted along with all prices of stocks and shares.

During Phase Two wages were to be held down to a maximum of 5.5 per cent. Because of the co-operation of several union leaders, particularly Frank Fitzsimmons, James Hoffa's successor, as president of the Teamsters Union, this limit was generally maintained. So while food prices during the 13 months of Phase Two rose by nearly 7 per cent and rents by nearly 4 per cent most workers actually took a cut in their living standards.

Under Phase Three which began in January, the lid really came off the top of rising prices. Wages were still held to the 5.5 per cent level while price restraint became voluntary. The economic boom kicked off by inflationary measures taken by Nixon early in 1971, after the economic squeeze of 1969/70, was now in full swing and business after business pushed up their prices. Unemployment, however, remained at 5 per cent throughout the 'boom'.

Overall, from January 1970 to June 1973, profits increased by a third, while wages rose by only half as much.

The present inflation, coupled with the Watergate affair has finally forced Nixon to take some form of public action. All prices will be frozen at their beginning of June level for 60 days except . . . farm prices, rents and stocks and shares. This freeze will be enforced by 2000 inspectors of the Internal Revenue Service from their 58 field offices. Alimony in this country of many divorces is also excluded, since it is not regarded as a payment for goods or services.

Wages will continue to be held at the 5.5 per cent level, but in his speech Nixon indicated that in Phase Four (the present freeze is really Phase Three-and-a-half) controls on wages will be even tougher than that.

The American crisis reveals quite clearly the bankruptcy of Heath's arguments in favour of a British incomes policy. It is conceded—even by Nixon in his speech last week—that wages have not played a crucial or significant part in the current inflationary spiral.

'The American people,' Nixon said, 'look to labour and management to continue their constructive and co-operative contributions.' The biggest wage contracts negotiated so far this year, in the railways, electrical equipment, docks, building and clothing industries, have all kept close to the wages limit.

GRASSROOTS WATERGATE

WHILE British newspapers have been focussed on the Watergate affair, the whiff of scandal and corruption is never far from your nostrils when you point in the direction of the local state administrations.

In a case that ended on 12 June, the second most powerful figure in the New Jersey state government during the 1960s, a man called John A Kervick, pleaded guilty to corruption charges.

Mr Kervick, the former state treasurer, was not the first New Jersey Democrat to plead guilty or to be convicted on these charges for offences committed between 1962 and 1969 while the Democrat Richard J Hughes was governor of the state. Two former mayors and a Democrat congressman, among others, have also been found guilty.

The motives were usually of the highest. Kervick admitted fixing a New Jersey highway contract in return for a

27,000 dollars donation to the Democratic Party. He was also charged with receiving 225,000 dollars from a New York engineering company, half in payment to himself and half to the Democratic Party. This company was awarded millions of dollars worth in motorway and bridge contracts.

The cases against the Democrats all came to light when they were defeated in the election for governor in 1969.

When the Republicans took over they continued the same methods. Last month the former Republican state treasurer Joseph M McCrane Jr was charged with trying to pressure several New Jersey banks into buying millions of dollars in securities from his brother, a New York stock broker, and with making it possible for donors to the Republican campaign fund to write off the money as business deductions on their income tax returns.

An election is coming up in New Jersey again. Which way would you vote?

Softly, softly, Brezhnev

WHILE Brezhnev visits America as Nixon's guest this week the Watergate affair won't even come up in polite private conversation.

To bring it up, Brezhnev said on 14 June to American journalists in Moscow, would be 'indecent'.

Instead, Brezhnev will be discussing US-Russian trade. And the Russians are becoming more and more expert at it. Just two days before Brezhnev's press conference, ITT—the giant International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation that owns Standard Telephone and Cables in Britain and recently has been trying to bring about the overthrow of Brezhnev's Chilean friend, President Allende—announced a five year agreement with the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR for Science and Technology.

This agreement provides for a trading of knowledge in four fields: telecommunications, electronic and electromechanical components, consumer products and the publishing of scientific and technical data.

Brezhnev's visit is clearly aimed at developing this form of intercourse. While he's in Washington he has already decided to hold two official lunches for Americans not in the Nixon administration . . . one for 40 business executives and the other for members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Bon appetit. Among those Americans 'not in the administration' that Brezhnev won't be meeting will be the members of the New York branch of the International Socialists who'll be holding a picket demanding the release of Russian political prisoners.



BILLY GRAHAM pronounced last week on the Watergate affair.

His judgment could have been coloured by his well known close personal friendship with Richard Nixon.

It was, he said 'too early' to make a moral judgment about the Watergate scandal. But it could be the sign of the beginning of 'judgment of God on America'.

Talking about Nixon, Graham said: 'He will have my prayers and if he invites me to come and preach the gospel at the White House, I'll go.'

After all, Christ did go to the temple...

TRUTH ON CHRYSLER

CHRYSLER UK's bosses hit the headlines with their Henry Ford-type threat to place no more investment in this country if the firm's Coventry workers kept up their current struggle.

But a brief look at the workings of this multi-national auto giant is enough to show that plans were already under way, long before the strike began, to integrate production on a Europe-wide basis, with most new investment going to union-free fascist Spain, and the firm's non-union French subsidiary.

Chrysler is the smallest of the 'big three' American auto giants. Where General Motors usually take 55 per cent of the US market, and Ford about 30 per cent, Chrysler's share is a mere 15-20 per cent. This 'small' share of the market is still enough to keep the shareholders away from the poor house. Post-tax profits in 1972 totalled 220.5 million dollars, an increase over 1971 of no less than 163 per cent.

But the company's position as the baby of the big three does mean that the squeeze is on to maintain its share. To buy its way into the European market, Chrysler has taken over since the early 1960s not only the former Rootes plants in this country but also the French Simca company and Spanish manufacturers Barreiros.

'All three firms,' wrote Professor Rhys in a recent work on the motor industry, 'were too small to find life easy in their home markets, so Chrysler's attempts to overcome this may result in one of the first truly European motor firms. The success of Chrysler's European venture could rest on the production of Anglo-French cars; engines and bodies could be made in one country only, with assembly occurring in both.'

When Chrysler bought out the remaining British shareholders last December, the Investors Chronicle called the move 'a preliminary tidying up exercise in preparation for a greater emphasis on European motor vehicle production and assembly. The breaking of direct links with UK investors can be considered as a threat of reduced investment in Britain by Chryslers.'

The attraction for the company in its plans for a 'European car' is clear when we look at conditions in the

Simca plant at Poissy near Paris. Most workers belong to a company union, whose membership is kept up by an armed company goon-squad. Two-thirds of the workers are Moroccan or Portuguese workers who, under immigration laws now copied here by the Tory government, have no rights to stay in the country if they lose their jobs. Trade union freedom in fascist Spain of course is no greater.

Recent fears by Chrysler stewards that the company is not interested in developing new models is a further indication of Chrysler's move to a situation where work can be shifted at will as a weapon against workers' organisation. The recent announcement that Avenger exports to the USA were to cease, in favour of exports from Chrysler's Japanese partners Mitsubishi, were foreshadowed two years ago, when Chrysler's US President told The Times that, 'The corporation had learned a hard lesson from the first months of production of the Avenger, when time and again we could not build that car because of component strikes.'

This same gentleman celebrated his appointment by sacking 6000 white-collar employees of the US company in his first month.

Since then the US company has also closed its San Francisco plant, with the loss of 2000 jobs. Against a multi-national giant such as this, the way ahead is not through hankering after the good old days before the US takeover, and pretending that 'British bosses are best': it was the old Rootes management, too small to survive in the multi-national era, who brought the firm to the brink of bankruptcy.

The answer for workers in Chrysler, and all the other multi-national auto giants, is to fight against attempts to play off workers of different countries against each other. Strong rank and file links must be built across the bosses' frontiers, and support must be given to the fight for trade union rights by the Spanish workers, and against second-class status for immigrant workers throughout the Common Market.

STEPHEN MARKS

I'm dreaming of a white Avenger

The Chrysler strike has spotlighted working conditions in car factories. The lies of the management have been too much for even the millionaire press to stomach and, for the first time in living memory, it has been critical of Chrysler and written of the monotony of work on the production line.

Former Chrysler boss George Cattell wrote to The Times: 'I know from experience that the very monotony gave rise to unreasonable and unco-operative attitudes.' Cattell has also described Measured Day Work as 'a modern form of slavery'.

But the press has stopped short of actually allowing the workers themselves to describe their working conditions. Socialist Worker redresses the balance with a special article by a Chrysler Ryton shop steward.

THE DAY SHIFT starts at Chrysler at 7.30am. At exactly 7.33 the track starts. By this time everybody is in position to start their operations.

Every operation has been simplified so much that the Americans say even monkeys could build Avengers. Some jobs are more interesting than others, but whatever job you have, the work content and effort rating are the same.

Some new starters have even said that, whatever job they do, such as door hanging or wing fitting, they have sleepless nights, dreaming about Avengers coming down the track at them, for the first few weeks.

Every one minute and 12 seconds every worker has to complete 'the operation'—whatever he is doing. As soon as he has finished on one car there is another one following immediately behind.

The only chance of a break comes if there is a re-run, which has to go all the way round the track for one operation. Every one else on the line, with the exception of the operator who has to do the re-run job, has a one minute 12 seconds break. The only other stoppages we get are when the track breaks down, when there is a safety hazard or an accident.

Most of the operations people do are so repetitive that they can move from car to car down the assembly



line without being aware of what they are doing. They are slowly turning into automatic machines.

At 9.30 the bell goes and the track stops for tea break. By this time, the worker will have completed his operation 100 times.

At 9.40 the bell goes again, the track starts rolling with everybody in position to start their operation.

During the morning everybody on the track is allowed personal relief time in addition to the tea break. The operator who makes way for the personal reliefs is called a floater.

Eventually somebody on the track wants to go to the toilet again or to the surgery in the case of an accident. The operator is supposed to inform the foreman of this, in order that the foreman can find someone to relieve him.

Nine times out of 10 it is impossible for the foreman to find such an operator. This is where the co-operation of the work force with the management comes in.

Co-operation plays a great role in

the Measured Day Work system. The company have their rules, their time and motion people, their man assignments and grievance procedures. But if it wasn't for the co-operation of the rank and file Chrysler could not function.

The operator has completed exactly the same operations right through the morning and, no matter which direction you look in, there is a clock suspended from the roof, a dull reminder that time never goes quickly at Chrysler. It is now 12.30. The bell has gone and the track has stopped for lunch.

The canteen amenities are so far away from the body shop and the paint shop that it is impossible to walk to the canteen, buy and eat your meal comfortably and walk back to your job and be ready when the bell goes to resume work. In order to have a little more time, most of the operators take sandwiches to work and eat them in the dismal surroundings of the track.

The operations throughout the afternoon are exactly the same as those in the morning. When the bell goes at 4.12, if the track hasn't stopped, which it rarely does, you will have completed your operation 2000 times.

The same applies to the night shift. The only difference is that they do four 10-hour shifts instead of five eight-hour shifts. The work pattern means that you do a fortnight on day shift followed by a fortnight on night shift.

The car factories are famous for fairly high wages. But to the men who work in them it is only a meagre pittance for the boredom and the frustration which the job brings.

EDDIE TOMLINSON
National Union of Sheet Metal Workers.

BIG BATTLES LOOM FOR TENANTS

TORY PLANS to force up council rents and slash tenants' living standards met with massive resistance when they were announced two years ago.

That struggle is still going on—and militant tenants have learnt many vital lessons from it.

They have learnt not to rely on the Labour Party to protect them. The Labour leaders' obsession with 'obeying the law' meant that their opposition to the Housing Finance Act was confined to parliament, where they gave up the struggle after what they called an 'heroic fight'.

Labour gave no lead to those opposing the Act. Worse, it effectively sabotaged the ability of local Labour councils to fight the legislation.

If a national lead had been given and all Labour councils had refused to implement the Act with the backing of the tenants and the trade unions, then the Tories could not have pushed through their plan to double rents.

Tenants who pinned their faith on a non-implementation policy by Labour councils were left high and dry, without a strategy. Groups like the National Association of Tenants and Residents gave the impression that the class struggle had been removed to the council chamber. As a result they effectively disarmed many tenants for the battles to come.

BIGGEST

The International Socialists argued for a policy of rent strikes backed by industrial action to defeat the rent rises. This strategy was adopted in more than 100 areas of the country and initially involved hundreds of thousands of tenants on rent strike. They were the biggest rent strikes in the history of the tenants' movement but they were not successful.

First the strikes were not widespread enough to give them sufficient impact—a situation aided by a total blackout by the national press.

Second the strikes were mainly partial ones—tenants withheld the increase but not the whole rent. All the evidence shows that rent strikes have been far more effective when the total rent is withheld.

Partial strikes have to be sustained for far longer and the authorities sit back and hope the number involved will decline or will be easily intimi-

by Hugh Kerr

dated. This was what happened to most tenants.

Third the lack of an effective national tenants organisation was crucial. Such a movement could have linked up tenants, developed a national strategy and produced a tenants' paper.

Finally the trade union movement at both local and national level—with a few exceptions—failed to translate its verbal opposition to the Act into industrial support for the tenants.

These weaknesses were decisive in the set-backs and partial defeats of the tenants' movement last year. But although the number of tenants involved in the struggle has declined there are still thousands on rent strike all over the country.

The Kirkby tenants on Merseyside have been on total rent strike since last October. Others, like thousands in Dudley, have been on partial strike since last year.

A battle between these tenants and their councils over rent arrears is already taking place. A successful fight to stop evictions could give fresh fight to the whole movement.

October is likely to see a major revival of opposition to the Tory Act. Four million tenants face a further 50p rent rise at a time when their wages have been held back and their living standards cut.

And during September and October many tenants will be notified of their 'fair rent' assessments by the Rent Scrutiny Boards. The assessments are likely to be far higher than the provisional figures set by Labour councils. All this means that tenants face increases next year and the year after that.

A fight against the increases this autumn depends on the plans and activity now of tenants, socialists and trade unionists. With this in mind, the national tenants and trade union conference called by Liverpool Trades Council and north-west tenants this weekend is vital.

It must be an action conference. Tenants have had enough of hot air. The conference must adopt a fighting policy and strategy that will give a lead to tenants up and down the country.

Such a strategy must include the following points:

1. Rent rises to be resisted in October by total rent strikes organised by the tenants' movement.

SPREAD

2. Effective industrial action to be organised locally and nationally by the trade union movement to back the tenants.

3. The conference must decide to organise on these points and spread them throughout the country by October.

4. To this end, a national co-ordinating committee must be set up with delegates from the main centres of struggle. This committee will be charged with co-ordination, exchange of information and production of material—including the possibility of a tenants' paper.

5. A recall national tenants conference should be called for the end of September.

Only by adopting such a fighting strategy will the tenants' movement be able effectively to join the general struggle of the working class against the Tory attacks.

Hugh Kerr is a member of the Harlow Tenants' movement and the national committee of the International Socialists.

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

THE AIM of the Labour Party, according to the constitution it adopted in 1918, is 'to secure for the workers, by hand and by brain, the full fruits of their industry.' In the early days this was generally taken to mean that, on paper anyway, the party stood for replacing production for profit by production for use, for socialism.

Four Labour governments later there can be very few people left who believe that. Now, with the announcement of the party's new 'profit-sharing' plan, it seems that the aim should be amended to securing for the workers less than one per cent of the fruits of their industry.

Under this plan, which is highly commended by Mr Benn and Mr Roy Jenkins alike, public companies (which means virtually all big firms) would pay each year one per cent of the value of their shares into a 'workers' fund'.

It has been calculated that every worker would get about £30 a year paid into the fund on his or her behalf. Eventually workers would be able to sell their shares and cash in but not, the scheme provides, for at least seven years after its introduction.

Of course one per cent of the share value of companies is peanuts compared to what is paid each year to shareholders and £30 a year is peanuts compared to the rate of price increases. Still, as everybody likes to get something for nothing, this plan to 'make everyone a capitalist' needs to be scrutinised. The basis of all profit-sharing schemes is summed up in that well known saying 'contented cows give better milk.'

For many years the Liberals have been arguing that if workers are 'given a stake in industry' they will work harder and better, productivity will go up faster, there will be fewer disputes and everyone will be happier—especially the real owners of industry.

Even the Labour Party used to point out that such schemes are fraudulent, that the aim is really to boost profits at the expense of wage rates and then to allay discontent by paying what amounts to a bonus once a year. There is, after all, a wealth of experience of the actual operation of profit-sharing plans. ICI, for example, has operated one since the 1950s and, unlike the Labour Party plans, actually issues bona-fide ICI shares, a saleable commodity which can be turned into cash at once—and usually is.

The directors of ICI are honest enough to proclaim that the scheme exists to promote 'loyalty' to the company. In fact its costs are reckoned as wage costs and there is no doubt that ICI workers get nothing under the scheme that would not have been obtained by direct trade union action.

One of the most eloquent advocates of the sort of thing the Labour Party is now proposing was, appropriately enough, the famous international swindler Bernard Cornfeld, boss of Investors Overseas Services. 'The dream of a more equitable distribution of wealth,' he proclaimed, 'can be realised within the structure of the free enterprise system.'

It was nonsense of course. The 'redistribution of wealth' achieved by IOS was in favour of Mr Cornfeld and his associates. If the 'workers' fund' ever gets off the ground it will try to do the same service for British big business.

SUPER POW-WOW

Brezhnev's visit to Washington marks a further stage in the drawing together of the super-powers. Far from taking pleasure in Nixon's involvement in the Watergate scandal, the Russian leaders are hoping he can brush it aside. They have had far better relations politically with the right wing Republican government than they even had with the Democrats—the SALT agreement is a case in point, Vietnam is another.

Still more important are the economic deals. Brezhnev hopes to get more US capital invested in the USSR. Currently, an investment of 11,000,000 dollars in Siberian natural gas is being negotiated along with a large number of smaller deals. The rulers of the USSR want US capital but what have they to offer in return? Raw materials of course but also, as a US State Department expert quoted in the Guardian, put it, 'dependable and inexpensive labour'. There are no strikes or go-slows allowed in Brezhnev's Russia. The profits of foreign firms operating there are punctually paid over in hard currency. Giant US firms will be joining Fiat and Krupp in cashing in on these advantages.

New Loyalist murder gang on rampage in Belfast

BELFAST:—As news of splits, coups and racketeering in the extreme right wing Ulster Defence Association continues to come to light, yet another Loyalist murder gang has emerged. The 'Ulster Freedom Fighters' claimed responsibility for the deaths of two Catholics last weekend and for a number of other sectarian attacks.

They have threatened to continue their murder campaign until all the Loyalist internees are released from prison. In the five days from 14 June to 17 June, 22 Loyalists were charged with crimes, including murders and bombings. The refusal of predominantly Loyalist juries to convict such men has led to increased speculation that the UDA may be outlawed and Loyalist extremists interned in large numbers.

The gun attacks on the army by UDA dissidents a few weeks ago followed a number of arrests of Loyalists in connection with sectarian assassinations. The police received detailed information of UDA activities, including killings, from a UDA defector.

Information of wide-scale protection money rackets in East Belfast and elsewhere has also come to light. The expensive living styles of many 'unemployed' UDA leaders has led to serious discontent among rank and file members and supporters. One report claims that UDA leaders in East Belfast live in constant fear of assassination, particularly from the Ulster Volunteer Force.

by Mike Miller

In spite of UDA leader Tommy Herron's claim that his brother-in-law Michael Wilson was shot dead by the Provisionals, most people here, including the army and the police believe it to have been the work of dissident Loyalists.

The fact that the British government has decided on a harder line against the Loyalists is to be understood in relation to their overall political strategy here. The recent council elections have shown that the carrot-and-stick treatment of the anti-Unionist population has succeeded in virtually destroying the mass movement that existed prior to direct rule.

War weariness brought on by continual military harassment, coupled with promises of power-sharing and fairer treatment for the future, have led most anti-Unionist workers to support the compromise politics of the Social Democratic and Labour Party. The middle-class SDLP has to a great extent been able to transform the anti-Unionist movement from one of mass involvement in extra-parliamentary political agitation into passive electoral material for itself.

This fact has given the British government a chance to deal more strenuously with the ultra-Loyalists, now regarded as the biggest threat to the success of the White Paper and the Northern Ireland assembly elections next week. Tory politicians, backed by the Labour Party, have made it clear that they regard

the success of the assembly as being fundamental to stabilising the domination of Northern Ireland by British big business.

Loyalists who do not like the idea of such stabilisation taking place at the expense of their privileged position, symbolised by one-party rule for 50 years, are not going to be allowed to stand in the way. Future clashes between them and the army can be expected.

In the event of more severe repression of the ultra-Loyalists, the choice for socialists is not one between backing them or the British Army. Although the UDA and its off-shoots are totally reactionary, the ruling class's attacks on them are aimed only at strengthening Britain's grip on Ireland. The British Army has no progressive role to play here and British socialists must continue to demand its immediate withdrawals.

On the other hand, the Loyalists are fighting to restore a corrupt and oppressive state. This used violence against socialists and republicans and bound Protestant workers to reactionary ideas and practices which made it impossible for them to fight on even the most basic working-class issues. So socialists cannot support the 'restorationists' either.

The only way to undermine the pro-capitalist, pro-imperialist SDLP, which has so weakened the anti-Unionist struggle, and of winning Protestant workers away from their right wing leaders, remains the struggle for socialism throughout Ireland.



MURDER TRIAL: TENSION MOUNTS

by Bob Cant

IN THE ZANZIBAR trial of 81 people accused of murdering the island's leader, Sheikh Karume, the nine who pleaded guilty have been condemned to death and are now prosecution witnesses.

Fifty-four defendants are now in court, but the government of mainland Tanzania is refusing to hand over the remaining 18. Among these is the former Tanzanian Minister of Economic Development, Abdurahman Babu.

Relations between Zanzibar and mainland Tanzania have been uneasy since the two former British colonies were united in 1964. President Nyerere, on the mainland, is a leading supporter of African unity, and has developed his theories of 'African socialism' (*ujamaa*) in an attempt to prevent the country from falling under the direct domination of foreign capital.

LIP-SERVICE

What this means in practice is that the state controls investment and negotiates loans and aid from the developed countries, rather than allowing a neo-colonialist free-for-all.

Babu was among a number of marxists from Zanzibar who left for the mainland after 1964, and he played an important role in developing policies based on Nyerere's ideas.

The Karume regime in Zanzibar paid lip-service to these ideas, but took a more nationalistic line in practice, and used terror widely to carry out its programme. The alleged forced marriages of Asian and Iranian girls on Zanzibar did a lot of harm to Nyerere's international image as a spokesman against racialism.

He clearly disapproved, but there was little he could do about it, since Zanzibar enjoys relative independence and prosperity because it is the world's leading supplier of cloves.

The squabble between the mainland government and Zanzibar over the validity of the assassination trials is a sign of continuing tension between

the two parts of the country.

The inclusion of at least three former ministers in the charges—and the fact that Babu was sacked as economic development minister shortly before the assassination—suggests some discontent in Tanzanian ruling circles about the direction the country is taking.

Another cause of probable discontent is the agreements Nyerere has concluded with the right-wing governments of Zaire and Uganda. These governments have little sympathy with Nyerere's ideas, but the agreements are necessary to Tanzania's economic position.

Rubber workers tire of the union's old pals act

by Jim Woodward,
US International Socialists

THE FIRST sign of rank and file militancy and anger over the rising cost of living in the United States is making itself felt in a strike of American rubber workers against the Goodrich tyre and rubber company.

The strike is the first real break in a pattern of contract negotiations settled peacefully and without substantially exceeding the government's wage guidelines. Contracts in most major American industries expire during 1973 and 1974.

Agreements in the oil and garment industries included wage increases of six per cent, close to the Nixon Administration's 5.5 per cent guideline. Railroad workers, who settled three months before their contract deadline, got only slightly more. Chicago truck drivers, who in the past have held out for large settlements, announced months ago that they would go along with whatever their union leaders negotiated this year. The pattern was complete with steelworkers' president I W Abel signing a no-strike agreement for next year's steel industry talks.

Rubber workers have been facing increasingly serious problems in recent years as the major companies close down old operations in the north and moved them to the south where labour is cheaper.

Job losses have been accompanied by productivity deals in a futile effort to save what remains. The leadership of the United Rubber Workers has been co-operating with the employers by organising the workers in the new Southern plants at wages far below those up north.

As the rubber contracts expired on 20 April, union president Peter Bommarito announced a settlement with the largest company, Goodyear. The settlement was in line with the inadequate agreements in other industries, providing for only a 5.3 per cent wage increase and minimal gains in retirement benefits.

At this point, however, rank and file rubber workers began to make themselves heard. The largest Good-



Twenty-five thousand people attended the weekend fete held by the French revolutionary group Lutte Ouvriere (Workers' Struggle) earlier this month near Paris. They enjoyed music, food and exhibitions about the class struggle in France. More than 50 political groups took part, including the International Socialists, who had a stall showing aspects of the struggle in Britain and the work of IS. More than 50 members of IS attended the fete.

year union branch, in Akron, Ohio, rejected the contract unanimously, although it was accepted by most of the other branches. The membership began a drive to reopen those parts of the contract dealing with pension and retirement benefits.

At the same time, wildcat strikes broke out at three Firestone plants across the country and at one Goodyear plant. Under this pressure, the union leaders stepped up their demands in the negotiations with Goodrich, particularly over job security and retirement benefits.

When Goodrich refused to meet the new demands, the workers struck.

This experience shows that rubber workers need to organise a nationwide opposition group within the union. Such an opposition will need to fight to replace the union leadership, and it will have to develop a programme and strategy for reversing the rubber companies' productivity attacks.

Attacks

But the more immediate significance of the Goodrich strike is the impact that it can have on the 1973-74 round of contract negotiations and on the government's wage control programme. The Goodrich strike has shown that rank and file workers can fight the collusion between their leadership and the bosses. The anger of the rank and file rubber workers has forced their leadership to escalate its demands.

Company bosses, union leaders, and rank and file workers in other industries are watching the Goodrich strike. In particular, negotiators in the electrical industry, which bargains next, are anxious to see what settlement is reached.

Rhodesia hangs freedom fighters

THE Smith regime is busy executing prisoners of war in Rhodesia. And nobody knows their names.

The first three self-confessed African guerrillas were executed in Salisbury last month. If the process leading to their deaths is repeated, at least four other men will be hanged soon.

Smith has executed several people since UDI and particularly since March 1968 when he defied the Queen's granting of mercy to three condemned blacks. But the latest executions are the first of acknowledged members of Zimbabwe guerrilla movements, who are engaged in a legitimate struggle for their country's freedom and who face armed Rhodesian security forces heavily bolstered by South African 'police'.

The first three men were hanged on 21 May, only five days after having lost their appeal against sentence. A government statement said their convictions arose from an attack on a farm in the Centenary district last December in which Corporal Norman Moore died when a landmine blew up his army vehicle.

The trial was held in secret and the names of the men were not released, even after they had been executed.

Withheld

On 28 May, two more unnamed men lost their appeals against death sentences imposed in Bulawayo in March. It was reported that they had entered Rhodesia from Zambia in 1970, but had deserted the guerrillas and were working as domestic servants when arrested. Their names were also withheld.

On 12 June, two more men were sentenced to death for possessing arms and planting three landmines in Rhodesia. They also got 20 years each for firing shots and detonating grenades in a store.

Their case was also held in secret and their names withheld. The judge said the two men admitted being 'dedicated terrorists' and were 'completely unrepentant'.

An appeal to the United Nations for the recognition and treatment of the guerrillas as prisoners of war has been made by Canon John Collins, president of the International Defence and Aid Fund. Canon Collins also appealed to the UN to intervene to prevent the executions.

In March 1968—following the first post-UDI executions in Rhodesia—the world-wide protests included a call from Britain to the UN to help end 'these illegal and inhuman actions'. The British government has said and, it would appear, done nothing about the latest executions.

Smith's threats to black fighters—page 7.

BRIEFING

SOUTH AFRICA:—There is an upsurge of defiance in the Transkei Bantustan. Details are hard to find, but it appears that police were raiding isolated villages when they met mass opposition.

Six hundred Africans barred their way into a remote valley 300 miles from Umtata, the capital of this model Bantustan. The police opened fire, killed six and wounded an unknown number, and arrested 32. Five days later black school students in South Transkei stoned their headmaster's house and raided the school shop. The first police on the scene were also stoned and their car overturned. Police reinforcements opened fire, this time without killing anyone. With the recent wave of strikes by African workers to the north in Natal, these revolts are likely to take on more purpose and become a greater threat to the white regime.

ITALY:—A new centre-left government is expected soon. The present centre government headed by Andreotti, which has just lost its majority in parliament, was always intended to be a 'caretaker' government. While the national labour agreements were being renegotiated, it was free to flex its muscles and harass the workers.

Now most of the agreements have been concluded, and the congress of Italy's largest political party, the Christian

Democrats, has unanimously approved a return to a coalition with the Socialist Party.

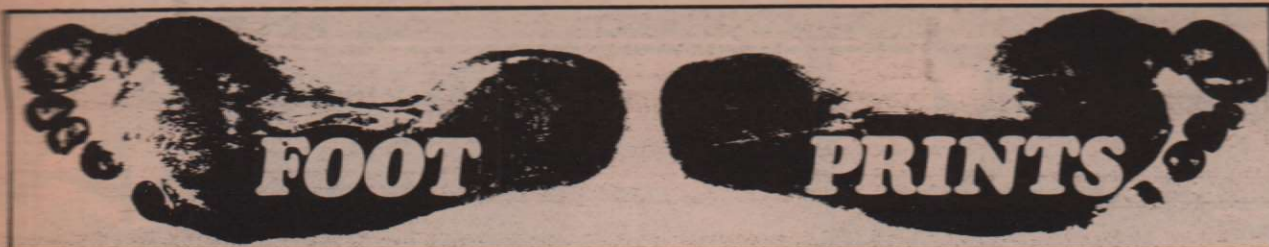
The state and private monopolies need the collaboration of the Socialists and beyond them the Communist Party, to ensure a successful incomes policy to stem rampant inflation at the expense of Italian workers.

MORE on Britain's reactionary allies. CENTO, the Central Treaty Organisation, is an alliance of Britain, the USA, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. When the facts about brutal repression and torture in its ally countries, especially Turkey and Iran, are brought to light the British government is fond of stating that these are internal affairs and that Britain cannot interfere.

But at this month's CENTO Ministerial Council meeting, our very own Sir Alec Douglas-Home was busy propping up these regimes of torture and terror. 'Counter-subversion' was explicitly discussed as an aspect of the alliance, which in military terms is directed primarily against Russia.

The statement agreed by all the ministers present, including Sir Alec, referred to 'continuing subversive threats in the region' and expressed determination 'to meet such efforts with all the means at their disposal.'

A REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST MANIFESTO by Kuron and Modzelewski. The famous open letter to the Polish Worker's Party, written in 1964. A vitriolic analysis of the Eastern European regimes and a call for social revolution. 29p postage included, from PLUTO PRESS Unit 10, Spencer Court, 7 Chalcut Road London NW1.



Hayhoe, Hayhoe, it's off for nosh we go!



BARNEY HAYHOE, MP.
Link with the CIA

AN ABSOLUTELY wonderful time was had by all on the Great Riverboat Treat thrown on 5 June by the Hounslow building firm of Lesser Brothers to mark the firm's 25th jubilee year.

No less than 130 guests, including councillors, architects, consulting engineers, surveyors, public relations men and all the people in the building industry who make a party go were taken up river by boat to luncheon at Greenwich.

Sixteen tables were provided, and the very best food and drink was consumed in the most glamorous possible surroundings. In his keynote after-lunch speech, Mr Mervyn Lesser, managing director, welcomed his guests.

He paid special tribute to Mr R J Padley, the Mayor of Hounslow, (Table 1) and made some tasteful references, amid giggles, to the planning applications which Lessers have submitted to Hounslow Borough Council.

A spokesman for the council told me: 'Oh, yes, we're always getting applications from Lessers. It would take far too long to count them up.'

Also on the top table was Mr Barney Hayhoe, the bright young Tory MP for Heston and Isleworth, former President of the CIA-financed World Assembly of Youth.

Another Tory MP (who sat way down on Table 9) was Mr Anthony Fell, MP for Yarmouth. A spokesman for the planning department of Great Yarmouth Corporation told me: 'We've definitely had planning applications from Lessers—quite a few.'

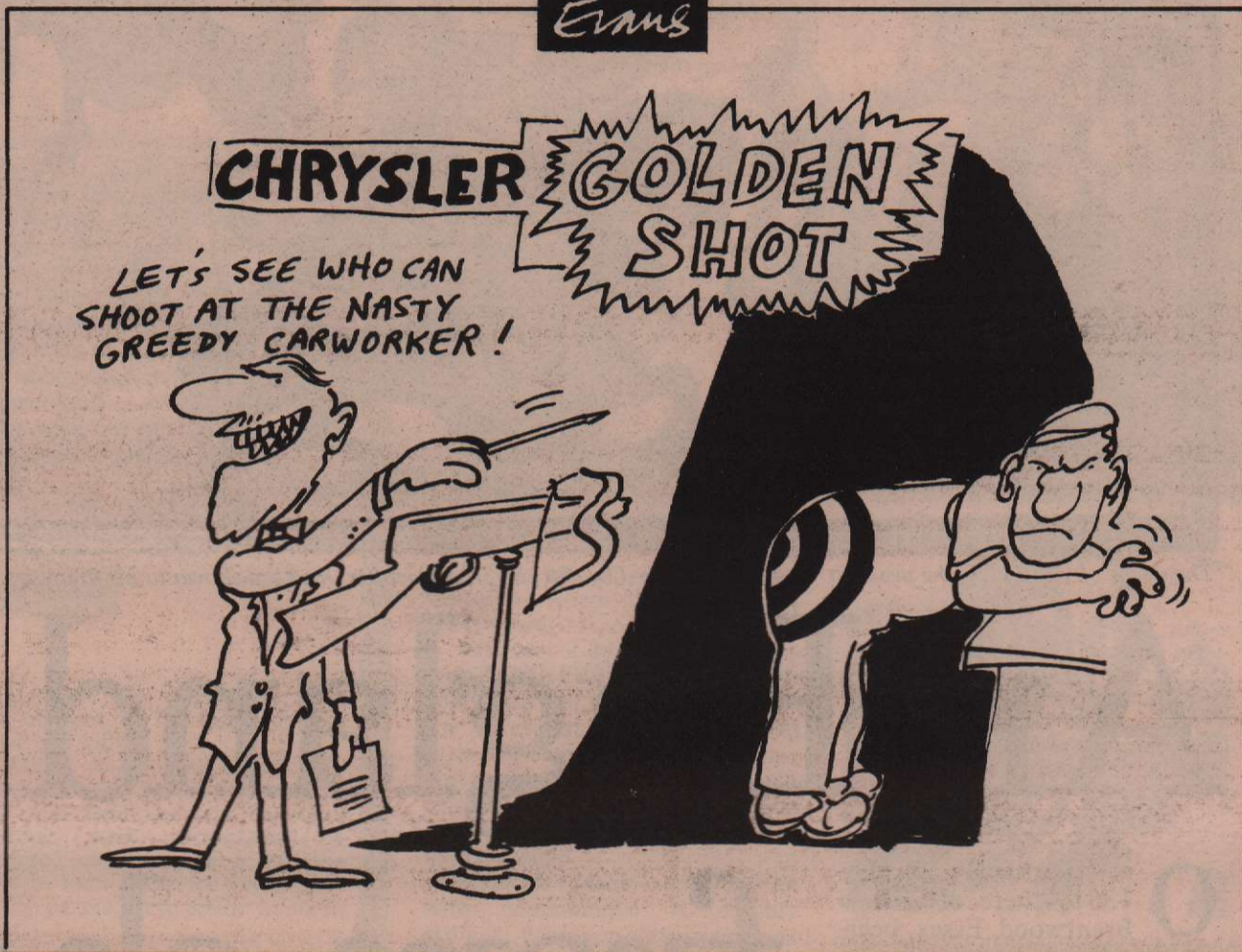
Lessers are not sectarian about politics, and the two Tory MPs were balanced by two Labour MPs. On Table 4 sat Adam Hunter, drinking blood red wine in the finest traditions of the Scottish King in Dunfermline (for which Mr Hunter sits in parliament). Mr Hunter is sponsored in parliament not by Lessers but by the National Union of Mineworkers.

A subsidiary of Lessers, Jeltex Ltd, has a factory making protective and industrial clothing—in Dunfermline.

But perhaps the most surprising guest at the party was Mr Willie Hamilton, the scourge of indulgence in and around the Royal Family. Mr Hamilton made quite a name for himself last year running down corruption in local government in the wake of the Poulson case—especially in relation to the notorious Ninewells Hospital contract in Dundee.

Mr Hamilton is the MP for West Fife.

A spokesman for Fife County Council planning department tells me that Lessers submitted a planning application for development at



ADAM HUNTER, MP.
Factory in his constituency

Halbeath, near Dunfermline, West Fife, in December last year. He could not say whether the application—for an access road, a warehouse and offices—had yet been granted.

Corps blimey

I AM SORRY to have to announce that the International Socialists have been proscribed AGAIN. A letter to all affiliated bodies of the African Diplomatic Group, believed to be an organisation of African diplomats in this country, describes IS as 'an undesirable organisation' and calls on



WILLIE HAMILTON, MP.
Scourge of corruption

'all members of African societies to withdraw forthwith from this organisation.'

The Diplomatic Group, apparently, had a number of letters protesting at this decision. The letter explains: 'We have to make clear that like all nationalists we must obey the call of the nation.'

'As Africans,' the letter goes on, 'it is essential to be alert and vigorous in combating latent and incipient perils in safeguarding our prestige and dignity before threats to them have time to fructify.'

I have the authority to declare that any IS member found wantonly

or knowingly interfering with the prestige or dignity of an African diplomat will be severely dealt with.

Heil, Wilfred

MR WILFRED BECKERMAN is an ambitious young professor who is employed by the New Statesman as their 'House Reactionary', and writes occasional articles on the dangers for the Labour Party in any turn to socialism.

His latest effort in the Statesman's 8 June issue attacks the party's new plans for industry on the remarkable grounds that they are too left wing. 'Furthermore,' wrote the Professor towards the end of his article, 'it is a mistake to confuse state intervention with socialist planning. Nazi Germany also employed state intervention.'

No one knows more about that sort of thing than Mr Wilfred Beckerman, who was not able to read his article when it came out. He was fulfilling an important engagement in Spain, whose fascist government Mr Beckerman advises on economic grounds.

NO BLACKS HERE PLEASE, WE'RE BRITISH

AT Eastbourne last week the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers had its annual conference. In his opening address Peter Pendergast, the union's general president, referred to the strike last year of 400 Asians at the Mansfield Hosiery Mill, Loughborough.

Mr Pendergast strongly denied that he or any other union official had acted in a racist manner.

In a historic statement, he said: 'We helped the Asians far more than we helped our own people.'

Mr Pendergast's speech has caused a sensation in the bars of Eastbourne. Everyone is asking: who are 'our own people' to whom the general president referred? Sources close to Mr Pendergast—who expressed extreme discomfort—have concluded that he was referring to those of his members

whose skin is of the same mottled purple colour as his own. Other qualifications for this exclusive gathering are:

ONE: A fat salary made up from union dues paid by low-paid mill-workers, black and white;

TWO: A pompous speaking style;

THREE: Deeply reactionary politics brought on by long years of vegetation in trade union offices;

FOUR: An offensive and patronising attitude to black union members who pay exactly the same dues as white ones.

Anyone who wants to become a member of 'our own people' should write at once to Mr Pendergast at his union headquarters in Leicester. Membership of the Conservative Party will not exclude you.

Second-hand Carr

AN AMERICAN friend who came to Britain recently from his holidays fell foul of the immigration authorities who thought, wrongly, that his papers were not in order.

Accordingly, he was locked up in one of Gatwick Airport's specially-provided detention rooms. To his surprise, he was guarded not as expected by a thug from the Home Office immigration department but by a thug from Securicor, the security firm.

The Home Office confirmed to me that they do employ men from Securicor at points of entry—in a custodial capacity.

After the immigration appeals system came into force in 1969, he went on, the Home Office entered into a contract with Securicor where by the firm agreed to supply substantial number of guards full-time at ports of entry, and even more 'on demand', whenever the number of people who had to be locked up gets out of control (which happens rather a lot).

The spokesman was not allowed, he said, to tell me how many guards were employed, nor how much the contract was worth to Securicor.

Nor did he mention that at the time the contract was signed one of the most influential directors of Securicor was Mr Robert Carr, now Home Secretary. Other politicians who sit on the Securicor Board are Mr Ray Gunter, former Minister of Labour, and Lord Thorneycroft, former Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer.

I SEE that Councillor Magnus Williamson, who was so cross about my remarks the other week about his difficulties with his local Labour Party, is in action once again on Edinburgh Corporation. Last week the corporation decided to entertain the delegates to the 11th Commonwealth Universities Congress in August.

The proposal met with some hostility from the Labour benches, because there will be delegates to the congress from Rhodesia and South Africa. A handful of Labour councillors moved that hospitality should not be offered to delegates from racist and illegal regimes.

The main supporter of the entertainment was Councillor Williamson, the trade unionists' friend.

HAYWARD'S HEATH

RECOGNITION OF GREECE ANGERS LABOUR! shouted the newspapers on 14 June, and much space was given to a statement from Ron Hayward, the Labour Party general secretary, criticising the government's stand over the recent decision of fascist Greece to have nothing more to do with its pathetic king.

Ron Hayward's statement called on the British Foreign Secretary 'at the forthcoming ministerial meeting in Copenhagen to raise the question of Greece's continuing membership of NATO, proposing as it now does a strategic as well as a political threat.'

I refer Mr Hayward and other idealists to the

most realistic statement I can find about the Greek situation. It was made in the House of Commons on 16 December 1969 and ran as follows:

'Actions against Greece in NATO would not necessarily help the Greek people, but would undermine the security of the south-east flank of NATO, thus putting at risk democratic ideals and parliamentary institutions on a scale far wider than Greece.'

The speaker was George Thomson, then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Labour government. The Labour government had

done everything in its power to keep on good terms with the Greek fascists.

It recognised the colonels' regime almost as soon as the latter seized power by a military coup in April 1967. And when certain NATO countries notably Norway and Denmark, gently criticised the arming of the colonels by the American government at a NATO Ministerial meeting in January 1970, the most outspoken defence for the arms deals came from Michael Stewart, Labour's Foreign Secretary.

As the old Chinese proverb has it: The monkey who learns how to do one somersault will soon do another one.

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'When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman?'

So asked the revolutionary priest John Ball, later to be hanged, drawn and quartered for his beliefs. He began his sermon to the peasants massed on Blackheath with the old proverb and, according to a contemporary observer, went on to 'maintain and prove that from the beginning all were created equal by nature and that serfdom was introduced due to the unjust oppression of wicked men contrary to the will of God . . .

'They were to kill the most important men of power in the kingdom: then they were to destroy judges and lawyers; finally they were to remove from the land whomever they knew to be injurious to a future society. Finally they would procure peace for themselves if, once those in power were removed, there was among them equal liberty, the same nobility, equal rank and similar power.'

The Peasants' Revolt of 1381, that wrote the names of Wat Tyler, John Ball and Jack Straw into history, was not a mindless upsurge but an amazingly articulate mass movement fighting for social change.

Socialist Worker's special review of a new book on the subject is by a veteran revolutionary socialist, a founder-member of the Trotskyist movement in Britain and the author himself of a book on the Peasants' Revolt as well as a major work on Chartism.



The death of Wat Tyler: the peasants' leader was trapped by the king, cut down and his head shown to his followers

An England free from chains

On Thursday, 30 May 1381, there rode into Brentwood, Essex, bearing the King's commission to collect unpaid taxes, 'Thomas Bampton, seneschal of a certain lord who was regarded in that country as a King or a great magnate for the state that he kept.'

Among those summoned as defaulters were the men of Fobbing, Corringham, and Stamford, Thames-side villages of fishermen and farmers, and they 'roundly gave him answer that they would have no traffic with him, nor give him a penny . . . Thomas commanded his serjeants-at-arms to arrest these folks and put them in prison . . . But the commons made insurrection against him and would not be arrested.'

Thomas fled towards London and the King's Council, 'but the commons afterwards went from place to place to stir up the other people to rise against the lords and the great folk of the country.'

This is the first recorded event in England's most dramatic uprising, the sudden eruption of which into the monkish and courtly chronicles in the form of separate incidents—as at Gravesend where the townsfolk tried to save a runaway serf from recapture; or as at Dartford where John the tyler caught a lewd-fingered tax-collector molesting his young daughter on pretext of discovering her age, and 'smote the collector with his lathing staff so that the brains flew out of his head'; or as at Lessness Abbey, raided by Abel Kerr and a band of armed men from Erith—has led historians to treat the rebellion as unpremeditated, as a spontaneous, unexpected protest on the part of a usually quiescent people under pressure of exceptional grievances, a view held by academic historians of

the establishment, but by few others, least of all by the descendants of the uprisen commons.

That it was no ephemeral protest but part of a centuries-long struggle for peasant enfranchisement has been argued often enough by radical historians. Now it is adequately documented by Professor Rodney Hylton in his new book.*

His treatment of the revolt itself is less adequate and less satisfactory. Before coming to that, though, it is worth looking at some features of the uprising.

It was certainly not unpremeditated, though it may have been precipitated by events. Shape and purpose, however, were imposed at once on the initial outbreaks; once decided upon, the revolt spread at astonishing speed; its aims as expressed in words and action were everywhere similar; organisation was impressive and everywhere the named leaders were accepted.

By Whit Sunday, 2 June, when the Lord Chief Justice and a party of men-at-arms rode into Brentwood to indict and arrest the commons' leaders and quell the rebellion, only to be promptly chased out again, the insurrection was bubbling across the countryside.

Messengers were riding through the Essex hundreds, calling on the commons to rise, and summoning their local captains to hasty conferences. Word had been sent to trusted Londoners; and news of the outbreak had been signalled

**Bond Men Made Free*, Temple Smith, £3.80

by Reg Groves

across the Thames to Kent by beacon fire from the high tower of Fobbing church.

On the day that the Lord Chief Justice and his men fled from Brentwood, Abel Kerr and some of his comrades crossed to Barking and joined conferences of the Essex captain. When they returned to Kent two days later some of the Essex captains—including maybe Wat Tyler—went with them.

'And so,' writes a chronicler, 'they began to gather in companies with a great show of jubilation as was their wont'—and the revolt crackled and flamed its way across Kent. Dartford was up by 5 June, then Rochester, where the powerful castle, stormed by the rebels, surrendered, then Maidstone, where Essex and Kent captains 'chose as chief Wat Tyler . . . to maintain them and act as counsellor', and where the outlawed priest John Ball, who had preached revolution for nearly thirty years, was freed from the Archbishop's prison and wrote the letters that were carried across the countryside calling the people to rise; and on to Canterbury, where crowds greeted Tyler and his men.

On 11 June the rebel host began its march on London, in strict concert with the men of Essex. 'And they carried with them all the vil-

lage folks from the right hand and the left; and they went on their way like a tempest, sweeping and casting down all the houses of lawyers and proctors of the King's or the Archbishop's courts, on whom they had no mercy.' By the evening of 12 June, the men of Kent had made camp at Blackheath, and the men of Essex at Mile End.

Next morning, it being the day of Corpus Christi, John Ball said mass before the rebel multitude, gathered on the slopes in the sunshine under four great banners of St George, and in a sermon said:

'Now to all Englishmen is the opportunity given, if they but choose to take it, of casting off the yoke they have borne so long, of winning the freedom they have always wanted. Wherefore let us take good courage and behave like the wise husbandman of scripture, who gathered the wheat into his barn but uprooted and burned the tares that half-choked the good grain. Now the tares of England are her oppressive rulers and the time of harvest has come.'

On to London, stopping only at Southwark to burn the prisons, and the brothels, owned by William Walworth, the City's Lord Mayor. Bridgegate was opened by the Londoners, and so was Aldgate, and the men of Essex and Kent took possession of the City, amid the uproarious welcome of the London plebians.

By night, the Fleet Prison had been demolished, and the Temple, home of the hated lawyers. 'It was marvellous to see,' wrote a

LEVINÉ

The Life of a Revolutionary

'We Communists are all dead men on leave... I do not know if you will extend my leave or whether I shall have to join Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg... But I know, whatever your verdict, events cannot be stopped...'

We have all of us tried to the best of our knowledge and conscience to do our duty towards the International, the Communist World Revolution.'

These were Eugen Leviné's last words in court before his execution.

On 7 April 1919, a soviet government was formed in Munich led by poets, artists and writers. It had little working-class support and was doomed to failure. But the Communists rallied to it—to save what they could from the ruins.

Eugen Leviné led the defence of the Munich Soviet. He was born in Russia, educated in Germany and became a revolutionary very young. He took part in the 1905 events in Russia, was imprisoned, escaped to Germany, joined the German Social Democratic Party and then, during the war, the Independent Social Democrats and the Spartakusbund. Later he was one of the few Spartakists to be elected to the first Central Assembly of Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets in December 1918.

He took part in the January fighting in Berlin, and then worked for the party in the Ruhr, Brunswick and again in Berlin. Finally at the beginning of March he was sent to Munich where he met his death.

This is the book of his life and of the Munich soviet, by his wife and comrade Rosa Leviné-Meyer

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LIFE AND HARD TIMES IN THE 14th CENTURY



A glimpse of the rigid class structure of fourteenth century England and the severe restrictions on the mass of peasant people is contained in the law concerning dress and diet of 1363: 'Labourers—all labourers and lower classes of the people, not possessed of goods and chattels to the amount of forty shillings, shall wear no kind of cloth but blankets and russets and those not exceeding twelve pence the yard; but urse any other girdles than such as are made of linen. Servants—That the grooms and servants of the lords, as well as those belonging to tradesmen and artificers, shall not wear any cloth in their tunics, or their hosen, exceeding the price of two marks for the whole piece; neither shall they wear anything of gold or silver upon their garments or attached thereto; their wives and their children shall wear the same sort of cloth that is appointed for them and use no veils, purchased at a higher sum than twelve pence each veil.'

chronicler, 'how even the most aged and infirm of the lawyers scrambled off with the agility of rats or evil spirits.'

Next was John of Gaunt's magnificent Palace of the Savoy. But first the rebels emptied it of its treasures, heaped them in the roadway and set them on fire. 'We are not thieves,' they cried, 'but zealots for truth and justice!'

Inside the Tower—a royal palace as well as a fortress—with flames from burning buildings licking the night sky, the King's Council met to consider what to do. Choleric counsels from Lord Mayor Watworth were rejected—instead, craft and guile were to be used.

The rebels' demands were to be conceded and reform promised. The rebels would disperse once their demands were granted, and sufficient force could then be gathered to revoke the promises, cancel the charters, and crush the commoners back into servitude.

Next day, the King rode out to Mile End, and gave charters of emancipation to the groups from the towns and villages of Hertfordshire, Essex and Middlesex. These men, as arranged, set out to return home, though some of the Essex captains remained behind, for more had to be done.

To the dismay of the King's party the men of Kent stayed on. The rebellion was spreading across Hertfordshire, into Buckinghamshire, Suffolk, into Norfolk and on into Lincolnshire, spilling over into the midlands and the northern counties.

More desperate remedies were decided upon by the King's party, and another parley was arranged at Smithfield, outside the City walls, late in the afternoon.

Tyler was lured away from his followers. He unfolded the rebels' full programme for an England free from servitude and the great lords; an England of free peasants and craftsmen, of self-governing market towns and hundreds, with common laws made and upheld by the commoners themselves.

All this, and more, the King conceded. When Tyler, mollified and off-guard, expressed his satisfaction with concessions

granted, he was surrounded, and, out of sight of his followers, cut down and killed.

Armed soldiers seized the City gates. The crowd of commoners, told that their demands had been granted, were surrounded by mounted men at arms, shown the head of their murdered leader, and finally persuaded to return home to Kent.

After a night of disorder, street battles, and executions in London, the rulers of England were once more in command; nobles crept out of their hiding places, several armies were assembled, and over the next few weeks the bloody work of subduing the rebellion and crushing the commoners began...

Alas, in the manner of present-day so-called marxist historians, Professor Hylton reaches strangely similar conclusions about the revolt as his academic and reactionary predecessors have done.

He cannot—may not, indeed—believe that in medieval or any other time, peasants and craftsmen were capable of preparing a country-wide rebellion aimed not merely at redressing immediate grievances but also at the making of a new society.

'It cannot be said that the rebel leaders of 1381 had a sophisticated or elaborate or well worked out or (above all) a realistic vision of what could be put in the place of the social order they were attacking,' though he adds, kindly, 'Nevertheless, a not altogether incoherent picture emerges, simple though it is.'

Maybe, with due feudal deference, the shades of the commoners of Medieval England will settle for that, will be grateful for the patronage of the would-be sympathetic professor.

But it is doubtful, for from the shadows they will have observed the sort of society that the realistic politicians, professors and social scientists of the capitalist and left socialist schools have made and are making—and perhaps they will say with many of us that they would rather have the less 'sophisticated', less 'elaborate' and less 'realistic' society as visioned by Wat Tyler, John Ball, Jack Strawe and the Commoners of old England.

SMITH'S VILE

'THESE terrorists were killed by the police and soldiers recently,' reads the caption. Thousands of copies of this leaflet are being scattered from helicopters onto the Chesa Purchase Area in the north-east of Rhodesia.

The horrific crudeness of the propaganda is a measure of the Smith government's sense of insecurity in the face of a guerrilla campaign more powerful and more threatening than any which the white supremacist regime has faced since the declaration of UDI more than seven years ago.

The new arena for guerrilla struggle is along the border with Mozambique. Hitherto, most guerrilla activity has been confined to the northern area bordering Zambia.

Units of the two main nationalist movements based in Lusaka, ZANU and ZAPU, would strike across the border and try to withdraw after carrying out a single operation.

They were not well trained and, since they usually remained inside Rhodesia only for a relatively short time, they lacked real roots in the local African communities.



The crucial new factor is the involvement of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique. FRELIMO has been waging a highly successful war against the Portuguese in Mozambique for almost a decade and has created vast 'liberated territories' where it is the effective government.

Last year it informally linked up with ZANU. FRELIMO's experience and expertise, gained painfully in the course of its protracted and little-publicised struggle, has now been brought to bear on the Rhodesian situation and has begun inexorably to shift the balance of military might.

Rhodesia's north-eastern border with Mozambique is entirely artificial. People on either side speak the same language and are frequently related. Moreover the border is demarcated by no natural hazard such as the formidable Zambesi river which divides Rhodesia from Zambia.



It is from the adjacent FRELIMO-controlled areas of Mozambique that the ZANU forces have now come. They have taken jobs on white farms, merged into the background and waited.

They spent six months building up arms dumps, propagating the idea of revolution and recruiting. Now they have gone into action.

Smith is no longer dealing with isolated raiding parties but with a movement whose base is inside Rhodesia, with men who may be farm labourers by day and guerrillas by night.

It was desperation to hide the extent of the security problem which led Smith into the blunder of jailing journalist Peter Niesewand. Reports filed by Niesewand on the involvement of FRELIMO and on the fact that the Rhodesian army was considering crossing the Mozambique border to strike at them were deemed 'a threat to "national" security'.

The tactic of collective punishment of villages harbouring the ZANU fighters is further evidence that Smith now knows that he is dealing with a deep-rooted movement.

The Chesa area—which is just one of many 'purchase areas' adjoining tribal lands—has been sealed off. All schools, stores, grinding mills and beer-halls have been closed indefinitely.

But collective punishment, as

THREATS TO BLACK FIGHTERS



These revolting pictures, in which the Smith regime gloats over its murders, are being dropped by plane over the Chesa area.

other armies operating against other guerrillas could, perhaps, have told them, is more likely to produce mass resentment and new recruits to the guerrilla army than to secure the co-operation of the populace.

'Truth drugs' are being used on detained Africans, though reportedly with very limited success. At least one 10-year-old has been de-

tained. A 12-year-old 'terrorist' is at present shackled to a bed in a Salisbury hospital and guarded round the clock by armed soldiers.

All talk of a settlement between Smith and the British government is academic. The constitutional niceties will be less and less meaningful as a black war of liberation spreads across the veldt.

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Marsh plan to chop more rail lines to appease the Tories and the motorway million

THE GREAT TRAIN ROBBERS have run into more difficulty with their plan for another Beeching-style raid on the railways. The first setback came last autumn when their scheme to cut the rail network from more than 11,000 miles to a 'profitable' 4000 leaked out of the misnamed Department of the Environment.

The government was forced to disclaim responsibility for planning the robbery. Their only hope was that Mr Richard Marsh, chairman of British Rail, would be forced to do an inside job in another futile bid to make the railways pay.

Mr Marsh has disappointed them. Instead of a cut of 7000 miles he has proposed the closure of only 2000 miles over the next 10 years. He has also had the audacity to ask for more money—£1700 million over the decade.

His performance has been portrayed as a brave defence of the railways against the bandits of the DoE and the Treasury. It is nothing of the sort.

Mr Marsh is merely buying time by giving the Tories just enough of what they want to get them off his back—at the expense of ordinary people who rely on 'unprofitable' lines for their transport and their jobs.

It would be a mistake to sympathise with Mr Marsh in his 'impossible situation', trying to create the only profitable national rail system in the world within the narrowest possible definition of profit.

In his evidence to the government he pleads for this definition to be changed to take into account environmental and social cost benefits and asks that the state should shoulder some of the burden of track and signalling cost—just as it does for road transport.

Handout

It is a moving picture—Mr Marsh, champion of the railways, begging his Tory masters for a socialist approach to transport, based on needs instead of profit.

It is easy to be taken in—until you remember that Richard Marsh was a Minister of Transport in Mr Wilson's government. He had the chance to achieve the policies for which he is now pleading and he let it slip through his fingers.

If he didn't achieve it then he's not going to manage it now. When BR hits its next financial crisis he'll be ready with another list of redundant lines and jobs in exchange for the next handout.

There is too much at stake for the defence of the railway system to be left to 'champions' like Mr Marsh:

Jobs. Railway unions estimate that at least 23,000 jobs will be lost if the Marsh plan is allowed to go ahead. This is in addition to the 40,000 redundancies already in the pipeline.

Rural areas. In country districts

transport needs urgent improvement, not cutting back. Nationally, only half the households have cars and the proportion is lower in many remote areas.

The poor, the old, the children and the non-drivers are reduced to begging lifts from the car-owners: the buses that were supposed to replace rural lines after the Beeching cuts were never a serious proposition.

Further closures of branch lines and, if the Tories get all they want, main lines, will isolate not just villages and small towns but whole regions. Even Marsh's compromise formula is said to have the axe poised over the main line from Plymouth into Cornwall.

The environment. The biggest possible rail network must be pre-

served and improved if the anti-social effects of private road transport are to be controlled.

The number of heavy lorries has increased by more than six times since 1956, while railway goods stations have been cut from 6000 to 600. British Rail has had to pay out millions on strengthening its bridges to take heavier lorries.

Increasing reliance on 'cheap' road freight causes an ever-increasing demand for more motorways. Each mile of motorway covers up about 20 acres of land. Another three acres has to be dug up to provide the sand and gravel

for construction.

Cars are now spewing 7000 tons of highly toxic lead into the air each year, not to mention carbon monoxide, nitrogen oxides and other poisons. Lead in the air and in roadside and household dust is now a serious threat to health, particularly for young children.

Noise levels alongside many roads have now reached the point where people living nearby could suffer hearing damage.

Road transport now kills about 3000 pedestrians every year. Well over 100 road transport workers are killed and in the 10 years to 1970 the number of workers injured doubled to nearly 34,000 a year.

A journey by road is 300 times as dangerous as one by rail.

Resources. The world's supply of oil is rapidly running out and road transport is one of the most wasteful ways to use it. Volvo, the Swedish car maker, has already seen the red light: believing that petrol will soon be costing £1 a gallon, it is planning to get out of cars and into the public transport market.

Demands

Alternative forms of vehicle designed to beat the immediate pollution problem will do nothing to reduce the drain on resources.

Road transport costs are going to shoot up as users of petrol, fuel oil, bitumen and chemicals, each with rising demands, compete for a dwindling supply of crude oil.

Rail transport, with its more efficient use of fuel, will find itself extremely competitive by any standards—if a full network still exists when the fuel crisis arrives.

In any sane society concerned with meeting the transport needs of all, with the least damage to people, countryside and natural resources, these arguments would be overwhelming.

But the motorway madmen of the Tory Party are more concerned with the flow of money than the movement of people—a fact perfectly demonstrated by the Concorde project which, after 10 years and a billion pounds, is about as much use to ordinary people as a tin albatross.

Expenses

According to the Tory argument, the railways are unprofitable because the taxpayer has to shell out about £100 million a year to keep them going.

You would think the roads paid for themselves. In fact public expenditure on roads last year, after deducting income from vehicle duties, was £400 million.

On top of that was the cost of road accidents, official estimated to be running at more than £370 million a year, plus all the other hidden expenses. These include the cost of illness caused by noise and poison in the air and the cost of traffic police and courts.

The motorway madmen justify their follies with phoney 'cost-benefit analysis' that bumps up every possible benefit (like the time saved by businessmen on a motorway compared with an ordinary road) and plays down every possible disadvantage. On this basis each new scheme is shown to be 'profitable'—but the ordinary taxpayer still ends up subsidising it, whether or not he or she has a car.

On this kind of accounting the railways, which enable 'valuable' executives to work all the time they are travelling, would come out as highly profitable.

With the sums deliberately rigged in this way the road user pays

only a fraction of permanent way while the railway everything, down way policeman. Not surprisingly, balance, railways as unprofitable.

What the Tory 'profitable' is that ing anything on motto might be hived off it can't

Motorways on mean plenty of the boys in the circle: millions of construction firm contractors, the oil giants—not gratification of an in transport as schools and hou private above the

Priv

Halving the r would not only way money ma faster but also c pickings for the b

A streamlined service between might be profitable off to private ente are easier pickings

Thousands of railway land in provincial towns. be up for grabs speculators. It wo of operation the T —asset stripping.

Whether or no Robbers accept M offer of a tenth work, nobody els

ASLEF has a from other trans united stand aga closures. The call and every threa redundancy fouging of the whole



Picture of Richard Marsh by Ramon Cagnoni (Report)

Return of the mad axe man.

by PAT KINNERSLY

International Socialism 59



The June issue of International Socialism features an article by Brian Trench **Perspectives for the Irish left** that is essential reading for all socialists fighting British domination of the 32 counties. Other features include: **The Electricians—decline of a union:** George Russell **Crisis in Southern Africa:** Basker Vashee **Memoirs of a revolutionary:** Reg Groves **Briefing on wages and the cost of living.** Notes of the Month and Reviews.

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Phoney figures mask t

Tony Cliff: the task for militants



GRASP NETTLE OF FACTORY POWER

FOR GENERATIONS millions of workers believed that the economic, trade union struggle was separate from the political struggle.

When they wanted improvement in wages and labour conditions workers joined a trade union and used it as their weapon of defence. When they wanted to bring about more general, political change they looked towards the Labour Party.

But the harsh reality of the last few years has hammered this concept of the separation of politics from economics.

Political power invades every corner of the life of working people. When workers demand a wage rise they meet not only the resistance of the employer but also the government's.

Rent—the Housing Finance Act—is politics. Prices are politics. The Industrial Relations Act is politics.

The employing class, in exploiting and oppressing working people, uses two weapons—the economic one and the political one.

To fight back, workers need to use their industrial power, not only against the individual employers but against the employing class as a whole and its government.

Where does the power of workers lie? Is it in the ballot box, as we are told by both Tories and Labour leaders alike?

Big business does not abide by the decisions of the parliamentary ballot. Was it parliament that allowed Lonrho to transfer thousands of pounds to the Cayman Islands? Is it parliament that dictates the production plans and the pricing of the multinational companies?

CHANGE

And where the workers are concerned, the ballot box shows not their real power but their impotence.

For working people, general elections mean the opportunity to make a cross against a name of a representative of a political party. Elections are conducted in an atmosphere where the rich control the mass media and where neither of the major political parties intend to change society or even fulfil more than just a few of their pre-election pledges.

If the average person lives to the age of 70 and elections take place every five years, it means that he will make at best 10 crosses in a lifetime.

Making a cross does not take very long—say a minute for a really slow writer. That means 10 minutes of democracy in a lifetime. Clearly 10 minutes out of 70 years is not very much democracy or very much popular power.

THE DOCKERS in parliamentary terms have much less power than shopkeepers—after all, there are 20 times more shopkeepers than dockers in the country. But in industrial terms the dockers are incomparably more powerful.

It was not the 200,000 words spoken by Labour MPs in the House of Commons against the Industrial Relations Act that shook Ted Heath. It was the industrial action of dockers and other workers that freed the Pentonville five.

Workers' power lies mainly in the factories, docks and other places of work. A consistent,



IS conference: vote to build factory branches

militant socialist organisation must be built not as an assembly of local branches but of factory branches.

That is why this year's International Socialists' conference decided to build factory branches of IS.

Why didn't we do it a few years ago? The simple answer is, we were not able to.

The increase in membership and, above all, in the industrial membership makes this plan possible.

In the last five years the membership of IS has increased eight times. A few years ago manual workers in IS were counted in dozens, but today nearly a third of our members are manual workers. Half of the members are white collar workers—teachers, clerks and civil servants—and the rest are students, housewives and school children.

It is not good enough. We must raise the number of industrial workers in our organisation so that they become the majority, just as they are the majority of the British people.

STRENGTH

The growth of IS in the last three months has been particularly gratifying. In the first eight weeks following our conference we recruited 211 members and in the last four weeks we have recruited another 281. 49 per cent of the new recruits are manual workers.

For the first time, we are recruiting more TGWU and AUEW members than members of the National Union of Teachers. Since the conference, in 12 weeks, 56 members of the TGWU and 51 members of the AUEW joined us, as against 29 in the NUT.

And the improvement in our trade union strength and industrial influence has shown itself in the participation in a number of rank and file papers—The Carworker, the Post Office Worker, Rank and File Teacher, The Collier, The Steelworker, and several others.

These developments made it possible for us to grasp the nettle of building IS branches at

the place of work. Since the IS conference decided on this step, a dozen factory branches have been formed and many are in the process of formation.

FIRST OF ALL, a factory branch has to unite the socialists, the militants in the factory. In every place of work the real socialists are few in number. They are isolated and naturally often feel depressed and suffer from a volatility of mood.

Frequently one socialist militant does not even know the others that have the same views and attitudes. The IS branch will aim to bring them together. If a finger is weak, five fingers make a fist.

Second, the IS branch in the factory will relate the advanced socialists to the majority of the workers. If there are a thousand workers in a factory, in all probability there will be a tiny minority of scabs on the one hand and a tiny group of militant socialists on the other extreme.

In between them stands the big majority—not right wing but simply an uninformed conservative majority. The IS factory branch, with the help of leaflets, bulletins as well as with the help of the rank and file papers relevant to the industry, should try to influence the mass of workers in the factory.

Third, the IS branch in the factory has to hold regular meetings to plan the fight for resolutions and policies that are laid down by the national organisation. This could mean, for example, a pledge of solidarity strikes with any worker arrested under the Industrial Relations Act or campaigns against the Tory Housing Finance Act.

Fourth, the IS branch has to hold regular meetings to discuss how IS members should fight for shop stewardships and other important positions and delegations in and from the factory.

Fifth, the IS branch has to hold regular political meetings to discuss a basic education programme and current events, features in Socialist Worker, International Socialism Journal or any other publications of the International Socialists.

THERE ARE MANY thousands

of workers who buy Socialist Worker regularly in many large places of work. It is their duty to join us in the effort to build IS factory branches.

There are a number of obstacles in the way of achieving this:

Many workers who buy Socialist Worker from sellers standing outside the factory assume—wrongly—that IS is mainly a student organisation.

They also have the impression that to join IS you have to be ready to get up at unearthly hours to sell papers and to spend a fantastic amount of time at meetings. But for industrial members of IS the main arena of action is in the place of work and the union branch and naturally not much time can be expected from workers especially with heavy family commitments

outside their work situation.

But the greatest obstacle for many hundreds or even thousands of workers joining IS in building factory branches lies elsewhere. It is the habit of non-involvement that is one of the most pernicious poisons the capitalist system spreads.

The story goes that an old man on his deathbed was asked by his son for his last wish and he said: 'Let my pall bearers be trade unionists'. The young man replied in astonishment: 'But dad, you never belonged to the union in your life!'

FIGHT

And the father answered: 'That's it—the trade unionists carried me when I was alive, I want them to do the same when I am dead.'

We have to fight hard against apathy, non-involvement and irresponsibility. If any worker thinks that Socialist Worker is a good paper—and it is—it is his duty to actually support it.

The paper does not grow on trees. It demands the effort of hundreds and thousands of people. If you think that the paper is good, give a hand in selling it to your workmates.

If you think the International Socialists are doing useful work of socialist propaganda and organisation and you think that the idea of factory branches is a good one, build one in your place of work. The IS organisation will give you all the support we can.

With the active support of readers of Socialist Worker, there is no doubt at all that in the coming year we can build many tens of branches in places of work. Give us a hand!

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YOU CAN SAY THAT AGAIN!

CHRIS HARMAN on the importance of socialist ideas

'YOUR socialist ideals are all very fine, but it won't work. You can't change human nature.'

Most of us have met the argument a hundred times if we've met it once. And it seems very persuasive. We can all see how people behave today. Greed, selfishness, aggressiveness, indifference to the needs of others are only too evident.

It is often difficult to imagine how things could be otherwise. 'Human nature' seems to provide an easy explanation of why men and women behave as they do.

But the easy explanation is the wrong explanation. If you look at the history of mankind, you find that this 'human nature' is far from consistent.

Those who use the argument today assume that it is 'natural' for people to want to compete with each other. But there have been societies in which it was quite the other way.

When, intelligence tests were first invented 50 years ago, enterprising psychologists set about trying them out on different races. But they soon found a quite unexpected problem with some tribes of American Indians. The children who were given the questions just refused to behave as required.

Among the Sioux it was 'regarded as incorrect to answer a question in the presence of others who did not know the answer'. And Hopi Indian children simply would not consider competing with one another. They did not understand why they should not co-operate together to solve the tasks which had been set them.

Virtues

Similarly, there have been societies where war was completely foreign. The eskimos, for instance, were completely bewildered when Europeans first explained to them what war was. They could not make sense of it: they could imagine getting angry with one individual and fighting him, but to attack a whole people and to set about murdering them wholesale seemed beyond belief.

The same differences are found across the whole range of human behaviour. In some societies polygamy was the established norm, in others it is regarded with horror. In many societies the basic assumption is that people are willing to co-operate together for the common good—yet the Dobu islanders put a premium on ill-will and treachery and made them the recognised virtues of society.

Few things cause more horror in modern Britain than the deliberate murder of children. Yet for centuries, infanticide was regarded in Japan as a quite normal way of keeping down

You can change human nature

the number of mouths to be fed.

When people talk of 'human nature' they are not describing something that has existed among all men at all times, but just certain features of the society in which we live, capitalism.

Yet this society has lasted for no more than 300 years—about one thousandth of the history of mankind.

In medieval Europe the vast majority of people lived quite differently. They worked on the land just as their parents and grandparents had before. They had virtually no idea of what life was like beyond their own village and certainly did not regard themselves as 'French', 'German', 'Italian' and so on.

They owed allegiance to the local lord, who may or may not have spoken the same language as they did. They had to spend a certain number of days every year working his land, but had no notion of working by the hour for a wage. They took it for granted that if they had any time left after satisfying their immediate needs, they should rest and enjoy themselves.

Attitudes

In some parts of Europe this state of affairs continued until as late as the beginning of this century.

But the development of capitalism changed all this, in country after country. It meant not only the building of industry, but also completely transforming people's attitudes towards themselves, their lives, and their neighbours.

It was no longer regarded as natural that people should rest and enjoy themselves when they had

satisfied their immediate wants. Quite the opposite. New forms of religion developed which regarded various forms of amusement as a sin, and emphasised that a virtuous life was a life devoted to work.

Men's lives were no longer to be regulated by the natural rhythm of the seasons, but by the clock and the stop watch. They were no longer related to one another according to an established pattern of rights and duties, but solely on a money basis—wages and contracts.

In medieval Europe, lending money for interest had been anti-social, outlawed by religion as sinful. Now it was a virtuous activity and interest the payment for thrift.

Wars

The new capitalist attitudes were not 'natural'—they were man-made. They were only imposed on society after long struggles, in which the supporters of the new order had to fight physically against the defenders of the old. In Britain and France there were revolutions, and kings were beheaded. In Germany there was a bitter series of wars which destroyed about half the population but without a clear-cut victory for either side.

Once established in Europe, the new capitalist order then used the bloodiest methods to impose its will throughout the rest of the world, destroying other civilisations wholesale.

Now, at the end of the day, its partisans pretend that the attitudes which characterise it were always dominant and cannot be altered.

But they can, and will.

BOOKS

REVIEW

The football assembly line

FOOTBALL MANIA, by Gerhard Vinnai, Orbach and Chambers, £1.95.

PRESS the button marked George Best and out from the computerised dictionary of clichés that passes for a sports writer's brain will spill the words 'wayward . . . maverick . . . truant . . . enfant terrible'.

Best satisfies their thirst for sensation and trivia. And he moves the snarling leader writers to outrage and fury: 'Who does he think he is?' 'Why doesn't he grow up?'

Best, the footballer supreme, the superstar, the young man with everything, did the incomprehensible. He stuck two fingers up at it all.

It may not have been the most conscious or the most important political act of the year, but a political act it was. Best turned his back on Manchester United, on international football and on lucrative contracts for George Best annuals, George Best football boots, George Best shoes, George Best soccer strip.

It was, as one newspaper said, a one-man stock market crash. Best, in his confused, blind escape, was almost certainly not rejecting the empty, false world of big money and phoney glamour, but he was rejecting the rigid, authoritarian system which, in the relentless pursuit of 'success', deforms a footballer's humanity just as surely as the assembly lines and factory machines deform that of millions of working men and women.

The football assembly line, the game that is now anything but a game, is laid bare in Professor Vinnai's book, which highlights the position of stars like Best who, ironically, is barely mentioned in its 84 pages (which, at £1.95, unfortunately works out word for word nearly as expensive as Best's kick for kick).

Best may be largely overlooked, but the forces which made him soccer's 'rogue' figure are convincingly analysed. He was the one who could afford to step out of line and whose outstanding ability demanded he did so.

The mindless obedience to the soccer system, which takes players over and which Best rebelled against, is well summed up in a quote from Spurs' manager Bill Nicholson. 'I prefer players not to be good or clever at other things. It means they concentrate on football.'

That is reinforced by this comment from one of Nicholson's players, Jimmy Pearce: 'Professionals are not allowed to play their natural game. There's too much system involved. I'm sure Sunday morning players get more pleasure than professionals.'

Footballers, for all the outward appearance of glamour and glory, are just like us. They have little control over their working lives. More and more efficient production techniques—called 'method' by the soccer trainers—reduce them, like us, to mere extensions of the machine.

'Inside the club, the players lead regimented lives, completely at the power of a manager who can ordain their every movement . . .' This is part of the system Best fought, though in a pathetic and

privileged way. He was merely its most glamorous victim.

Vinnai, in one of the book's best chapters, quotes Hunter Davies' description of the club-player relationship in his book on Spurs. 'The clubs get away with murder, treating their players like serfs, convincing them it's how it should be. In the beginning they are chosen because they will conform and toe the line.'

'When coaches talk about wanting players of the right character they mean robots who will say "Yes sir, no sir, thank you for signing me sir, you're a lovely person." They can then go on to produce battery hen footballers, with no flavour or individual taste. Naturally they end up producing deformed human beings with stunted personalities.'

For the stars who lose their youth there awaits the scrapheap of the lower divisions and a steady drift into obscurity. For those who merely lose their touch, there is, increasingly, the psychiatric couch.

The book's biggest fault—apart from trying to squeeze too much into too little space—is that Vinnai's explanation of the causes and effects of football's mass following is all too brief.

But he puts his finger on the social role of football when he writes: 'Accumulated aggression, a result of the alienation and frustrations caused by the social conditions under advanced capitalism, must seek periodic release. If this is not to lead to the overthrow of bourgeois society, it must be guided along "safe" channels. Football provides an opportunity for emotional release of this kind.'

And he adds: 'Those who are subject to oppression and exploitation under the capitalist system are encouraged not to direct their aggression against its true causes . . . Instead, they direct a destructive rage, fed on accumulated aggression, against their own selves and against others who are also victims.'

The triumph of his team temporarily compensates the fan for the failures of everyday life. The conquering might of Liverpool substitutes for the powerlessness of those on the Kop.

Vinnai's cover notes warn that many fans will feel outraged at his criticisms of their beloved game. He may well be right. But socialists will find it a valuable insight into a too-often neglected subject—if they can afford the ludicrous price.

GEOFF ELLEN



'When coaches talk about wanting players with the right character they mean robots . . .'

OUR NORMAN

PERSONNEL MANAGERS TELLING ARNOLD SOMETHING!



WHAT A DECENT FELLOW!

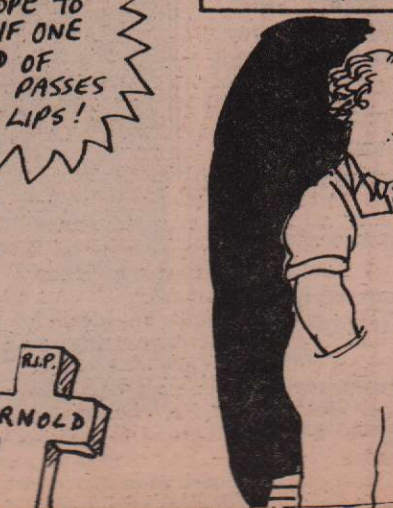


NOT A WORD LAD!

WHISPER YOU WON'T BREATHE A WORD OF THIS WILL YOU?



TEN MINUTES LATER...



Chris Searle: fighting for the whole loaf

'WHAT SO MANY teachers are afraid of is a recognition of their own exploited position, in educating working-class children merely to the level of objects to be manipulated by the interests of a profit-motivated, anti-human culture.'

Chris Searle, a London socialist teacher who wrote this in the preface of his new book, *This New Season*, an anthology of poems by his East End kids, is in business to challenge the suburban morality imbued into children by teachers drifting in from the suburbs.

It got him into trouble two years ago when he published an earlier book of children's poems without his school governors' permission—he's only recently been reinstated—but nothing has dimmed his contempt for a society which instills ideas of isolation and competition into youngsters, to serve the profit makers and deny democratic advance.

'Working in a working-class school, you want the workers to take power. The skill and power is in their hands. But as a servant of the state, you as a teacher are paid to produce a semi-literate workforce with the odd token showkids going to university. The capacity of workers' skills are untouched. Skills and leisure habits, such as car maintenance and metalwork, are developed rather than educating them to raise their confidence and take power.'

*My teacher's like a battle tank
Roaring at the enemy
The enemy is us
And the roaring is the lessons.
He keeps us in a prison camp
Torturing us each day
And he will keep on torturing us
Till our minds are worn away.*

'I want kids to organise and school unions are a marvellous step. Heads hate them. The strike at my school over the book two years ago meant it could not carry on, just like a factory. We had kids of ten writing to the Daily Mirror—just as the first job of revolutionaries in South America is to seize the radio station, they did that.'

'You have to work with other teachers in trade unions and fight for socialist change [Searle's on the editorial board of Rank and File, the militant teachers' paper]. Ten years



ago the Communist Party was leading the struggle but now they have succumbed to power. You won't get change from the top. Max Morris—the new NUT president—did so much for teachers over pay and conditions but now he's part of the establishment.

'I don't like knocking people—sectarianism on the left really pisses me off—but when somebody like Morris who fought for teachers' rights ingratiates himself with the establishment it really makes you look for an alternative.'

'It's also important that teachers involve themselves in the community. Teachers are presumed to be knowledgeable and articulate and they have the skills to help local struggles, such as tenants' work. I am accused of liberalism because of this emphasis on community politics but I agree with the Black Panthers and George Jackson when they spoke about the importance of living together as well as

raising ideological consciousness. I don't like people coming from the outside and saying how it should be done. A lot of people are insulted by it too.'

*I think I'll be an executive.
That's what I think I'll be
My Dad says I'll be on the bins
That's what he thinks of me*

'Of course the NUT is not a working-class party but we've got to convince the members that they are lying to themselves. After all some earn only £18 a week and yet they feel middle class. Teachers who see themselves as professional figures are just clowns. They don't realise their own level of exploitation, working as a functionary or foreman of the state. I think, though, that more young teachers are realising this and there is tremendous potential for socialists.'

On the middle-class culture we all receive Searle is scathing. 'The whole consciousness is of individualism, exploitation, ideas that the kid must be well-behaved, conformist and aspire to respect and owning a nice car. Teachers should demand a socialist curriculum and revise what they are teaching.'

It's an absurdity trying to relate to 30 kids but you can only do your best. You can't soft-soap a situation. Kids who are fed up and realise that they'll only be used as labour fodder just lose respect for you and don't want to be taught. Then you have to convince them of your credibility. You are much in revolt as they are. You accept a contract to exploit them but you have to convince them that you are exploiting the contract to spread socialism.

'You have to tear at the system. It's not just a question of wages or how much the boss is prepared to concede. Some think that flash suits, cars and workers going to dances in taxis has brought progress. But it is a superficial affluence. The structure hasn't changed... crumbs from the rich man's table. The working class hasn't got any more power. In fact they are succumbing more to being bought off.'

'Trade unions see themselves as part of the corporate state rather than as a fighting force for the working class. I think teachers have a tremendous platform to get socialism across. A whole generation of teachers who didn't have to go into the army are sick of being kicked around. They may not be socialist but they are broadly anti-establishment.'

On the raising of the school-leaving age Searle, who mixes pessimism in his writing with a stirring faith in the future, says: 'If we had more socialist teachers it would be bloody marvellous but all too often it means kids have to spend an extra boring year at school frustrated and angry. I am in favour of the working class taking what they can from the education system but not at the risk of their own identity.'

*All living in one community
Thinking for each other
Helping each other
No betrayals...*

Neil Hamilton

(This *New Season* is published by Calder and Boyars, paperback 85p.)

Rock Steady: black music of the streets

POP MUSIC is very big business. Pop music surrounds us. The amounts of money involved are staggering.

Around each musician, singer, songwriter, is the crowd of businessmen who plunder talent. All these can become very rich if they can sell their package. The money is there to see. Money can take a band away from its roots.

The star plays on a stage, a long way from the world of the audience. Some bands peddle this world, the superstars, those who have nothing really much to give, but glitter and tatty dreams.

Other bands sing and play music that comes from their experience of life. Playing rhythms that come from the cities that surround us. Coming from and playing for the working people, The Wailers are such a band.

The point of departure for their music is Jamaica. It is black music. It comes from concrete, the streets, houses, flats, shops, factories. To be played, sung to, listened to, danced to—after work. The music is called Rock Steady.

The Wailers new album *Catch a Fire* has a musical drive that can only make you want to dance. The lyrics of Bob Marley, lead vocals and guitar, are political and social. In the music, the social and political meet, aware of black oppression, the shared



experience of living in racist society. In the song *Slave Driver* the words 'I remember on the slave ship/How they brutalised our very soul/Now they say you are free/Only to chain you with Poverty.'

The awareness that the city and its factories are only other forms of slavery makes the music universal.

The love songs are not based in feelings of guilt, but staying together, to 'share the love that is free', of helping each other out. Doing what

comes naturally.

Words and music fuse. The rhythm is the force. The whole band moves together. Try to hear it, put it on and turn the volume up just a little, let the music flow. It won't make going to work every day any easier but it can make you feel good.

Roger Huddle

The Wailers, Catch a Fire—Island 9241 £2.19.

Dear bourgeois critic,
pass me the rope when
you've hanged yourself

I NEVER THOUGHT that I would get to use the words crap, rubbish, tripe etc when reviewing a play, simply because in the past I have told myself that if I did feel badly about a play I wouldn't bother to review it.

But *The Grand Adultery Convention* at the Almost Free Theatre advertises itself in *Socialist Worker* as a 'Political Satire on Political Satire', and, if we were to believe the reviews in the bourgeois press, a revolutionary actor after seeing the play has no alternative but to go and hang himself in the cloakroom of the National Theatre.

So it was with a feeling of anticipation and self-righteousness that I joined the audience of 25, mainly Americans, a couple of Festival of Light jokers, and a group of someone's relatives from Scotland.

The play is about an idealistic group of Socialist Actors putting on a workers' matinee. Only one worker turns up and he doesn't like what they are doing. He, would you believe, is only interested in sex and football.

So they do his play instead, which is rejected for being too heroic.

Eventually they do one about his real life in which they finally manage to irritate him by showing a revolutionary homosexual Christ figure screwing his mistress better than he can.

Finally for good measure the point is thrown in that the worker can't become a professional actor because if he did he wouldn't be genuine any more.

The man who wrote the play has obviously had the benefit of reading the Sunday Times Colour Supplement guide to marxism. The dialogue is full of words like 'working class', 'truth', 'reality', 'alienation', 'prole's socialism'—you know, satirical words like that.

Oh, I mustn't forget to add that the homosexual is a fascist, and that the idealist's daddy owns a factory and on top of all that the Worker doesn't consider himself a worker because he works as a chargehand in a packaging department. Wow, I can tell you that it had the audience rolling in the isles.

Roland Muldoon

WHAT WE STAND FOR

The International Socialists is a democratic organisation whose membership is open to all who accept its main principles and who are willing to pay contributions and to work in one of its organisations.

We believe in independent working-class action for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a classless society with production for use and not for profit.

We work in the mass organisations of the working class and are firmly committed to a policy of internationalism.

Capitalism is international. The giant firms have investments throughout the world and owe no allegiances except to themselves and the economic system they maintain.

In Europe, the Common Market has been formed for the sole purpose of increasing the trade and profits of these multi-national firms.

The international power of capitalism can only be overcome by international action by the working class.

A single socialist state cannot indefinitely survive unless workers of other countries actively come to its aid by extending the socialist revolution.

In addition to building a revolutionary socialist organisation in this country we also believe in the necessity of forming a world revolutionary socialist international independent of either Washington or Moscow. To this end we have close relationships with a number of other socialist organisations throughout the world.

We believe in the necessity to unite socialist theory with the day-to-day struggles of working people and therefore support all genuine demands that tend to improve the position and self-confidence of the working class.

We fight:

For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials.

Against secret negotiations. We believe that all settlements should be agreed or rejected by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism and the defence of shop stewards.

Against anti-trade union laws and any curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

Against productivity deals and job evaluation and for militant trade union unity and joint shop stewards committees both in the plant and on a combine basis.

For a minimum wage of at least £25 a week.

Against unemployment, redundancy and lay offs. We support the demand: Five days' work or five days' pay.

For all workers in struggle. We seek to build militant groups within industry.

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

For the right of coloured people and all oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Against secret diplomacy.

Against all forms of imperialism. We unconditionally give support to and solidarity with all genuine national liberation movements.

For the nationalisation of the land, banks and major industries without compensation and under workers' control.

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

The struggle for socialism is the central struggle of our time. Workers' power and a world based on human solidarity, on the increasing of man's power over nature, with the abolition of the power of man over man, is certainly worth fighting for.

It is no use just talking about it. More than a century ago Karl Marx wrote: 'The philosophers have merely interpreted the world. The point is to change it.' If you want to help us change the world and build socialism, join us.

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

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Dundee
Edinburgh
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Cowdenbeath
Glanrothes/Kirkcaldy
Glasgow N
Glasgow S
Greenock
Stirling

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Bishop Auckland
Durham
Hartlepool
Newcastle upon Tyne
South Shields
Spennymoor
Sunderland
Teesside E
Teesside W

NORTH

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Doncaster
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Halifax
Huddersfield
Hull
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Knottingley
Scarborough
Selby
Sheffield
York

EAST

Basilston
Beccles
Cambridge
Chelmsford
Colchester
Harlow
Ipswich
Leiston
Lowestoft
Norwich
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Barrow
Blackburn
Bolton
Burnley
Crewe
Kirkby
Lancaster
Manchester
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Wolverhampton

SOUTH

Brighton
Canterbury
Crawley
Eastbourne
Guildford
Portsmouth
Southampton

WALES and SOUTH WEST

Bath
Bristol
Cardiff
Exeter
Gloucester
Llanelli
Mid-Devon
Neath
Plymouth
Swansea
Swansea Valley

Ealing East London Enfield

Fulham and
Hammersmith
Hackney and
Islington
Harlesden
Harrow
Hemel Hempstead
High Wycombe
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Kingston
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Reading
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Tottenham
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Wandsworth
Watford
Woolwich

THE UNIONS

Rank and file victory in white collar union

THE executive of NALGO, the national and local government white-collar union, has suffered a defeat which will reverberate through future pay and policy battles within the union.

A motion was passed at the union's annual conference in Scarborough last week making it easier for branches to summon special conferences. In the past few years the NALGO leaders have frustrated, on purely technical grounds, several attempts to call special conferences.

Two other motions affecting union democracy were defeated. The executive hoodwinked the delegates into thinking they might be in favour of the election of all negotiating committees by the whole membership at some unspecified date in the future, and a branch motion to make policy statements for executive elections official was lost by 855 to 736.

The failure of the TUC and the union bureaucracy to mount a fight against phase two of the freeze reflected in the debate on incomes policy. An executive motion condemning the freeze but arguing for continuing talks with the Tories was carried, but only after speakers from the floor had attacked it.

Cyril Gibson (Bristol), rejected co-operation not only with 'the unacceptable face of capitalism', but

in white collar union

by GEOFF WOOLFE

with the system itself which put one person in 10 below the poverty line and made 16 new property millionaires in the past 18 months. Richard Maybin (Havering) said the TUC talks with the government were a farce. Other speakers urged the union to stop 'pussyfooting around with meaningless negotiating.'

On the Wednesday the conference debated the executive documents setting out legal alternatives to the Industrial Relations Act. While the proposer argued that the Act was already 'consigned to the rubbish dump', the document aimed at compromise and improving the Act by amending it.

A strong, well-received speech by Paul Bream (Hounslow) exposed the executive's proposals, drawing attention to the weakness of conciliation procedures and stressing the dangers if the union offers to submit to any new industrial relations laws. He said the trade union movement would not gain freedom by arguing with unreasonable people, and the proposed laws would still shackle the unions. The only way to win was to use the strength of the members.

Despite further opposition from delegates the report was adopted.

A pious resolution calling for a radical change in housing policy was carried, but many speakers pointed to its inadequacy, stressing the connection between the economic crisis and the problems of bad housing and high rents. One delegate said many social workers and others were no longer prepared to be lackeys of successive governments that failed to solve the housing problem.

The delegates unanimously threw out a resolution seeking to disaffiliate the union from the TUC. A motion calling for a campaign of non-co-operation with private medicine and for a boycott by building workers of new private hospitals was carried.

Compensation

It is clear that the conference, as in previous years, suffered from the lack of encouragement from the top to build real trade unionism at rank and file level. Some delegates believed militancy irrelevant for white-collar workers, preferring gentlemanly confrontation. Others were taken in by ideas of law and order, and will only oppose anti-union policies by 'legal and constitutional' methods.

But all the signs are that NALGO is changing. More delegates than ever before showed that they were convinced that the way forward is to act as other trade unionists have done—to actively oppose government policy, to fight for more involvement by the membership and to convince workers of the need to get rid of the Tories and the system they represent.

The need now is to build the union at the grass roots, to make the role of stewards more active and to build a rank and file movement capable of organising the coming struggles.

The Nalگو Action group has played a full part in these developments. Its daily meetings at Scarborough were attended by three times as many as at the previous conference and more than 1000 copies of the group's newspaper and pamphlet were sold.



Spotlight on Industry by Keith Mason of the 'Sun'

The title on Keith Mason's column in the engineering union journal

SCANLON LETS IN RACISM

by Alan Watts (AUEW)

THE editorship of the AUEW journal has been taken over by president Hugh Scanlon, while general secretary Jim Conway is in hospital.

Immediately Scanlon has made extensive changes. In place of the usual picture on the front cover of a medieval building or Brother Conway's full-plate photograph of himself after he was re-elected, Scanlon put a picture of the Glasgow march against the 'Fair Rent' Act. AUEW members could have been forgiven for thinking we were in for a period of social awareness in the journal union members pay more than £100,000 a year to produce.

Unfortunately this was not to be. In his monthly 'Spotlight on Industry' column, Keith Mason of the Sun was given by the editor a full page in which to tell AUEW members, both black and white, that now immigrants are no longer necessary to the British economy they should, like wandering grape-pickers, go away and use their skills in their country of origin. He is talking about black and Asian immigrants, of course, not white ones.

Mason is effectively giving arguments and justifications to those with racist ideas. When the ruling class in this country are really in trouble they will need hacks like him to help them build the philosophy on which they can divide the British working class and crush them.

By juxtaposition of arguments he manages to sound like a liberal: 'So people from the former colonies were encouraged to come here. Some employers, notably London Transport, actually sent out recruiting teams to fetch them.'

'Note that this policy was not only helping to provide cheap labour here, it was also a form of exploitation of the former colonies. For to attract away from a relatively backward country its more skilled, enterprising and able-bodied people is a form of exploitation of those countries.'

But in the next paragraph he takes the wraps off and tells us what he is really getting at: 'The right place for most of the immigrants from former colonial countries now in Britain is back in their own homelands helping to develop these backward countries—not filling the more menial jobs here.'

What he does not explain is that when London Transport and others were trying to recruit black workers as cheap labour to come here they made it quite clear that they had a perfect right to come with their families and make their lives here.

Neither does he explain that if black workers went 'home', they would return to a relatively worse situation than they left. The ex-colonial countries that export agricultural products and raw materials are getting smaller returns on the world market, so need to export more to get the financial products they need from the Western capitalist countries. This means they are less able to industrialise—and there is more unemployment.

Keith Mason is not interested in arguing these points. Or any of the other racist and anti-working class ideas he raises but does not follow through. He is only interested in feeding the prejudices of backward white workers in the AUEW.

What is worse is that the editor lets him write rubbish like this without countering the argument. We do have a fine letter from J K Jackson of Hull 3 branch arguing against a previous racist article, but with such a serious attack on black workers the least Scanlon should have done was to put Jackson's letter on the opposite page, or more appropriately, answered it himself—and dared to suggest that Keith Mason's services would no longer be required.

Socialist Worker

THE LUMP MUST GO



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Fine Tube defeat

PAUL FOOT's report on the Fine Tubes betrayal (16 June) has put the labour movement on the spot—and rightly so. We in the trade union movement who profess to being militant should read that article and absorb its contents.

The point that came across to me loud and clear is that the union leaders are in a state of terror at the thought of doing battle with the Americans, having proved incapable of sorting out a small fry front man like Barclay.

Management provocation, the basic ingredient at Fine Tubes, is also the nub of the argument at Chrysler. If militants at both places accept this then the natural question to be raised is: Would management dare to provoke workers who have strong trade union leaders. I think not.

The trade union movement needs leaders who are not impressed by brash American management bravado.

The dispute at Fine Tubes has proved beyond doubt that the union leaders are not prepared to stand on the side of workers fighting for union recognition. It must be said that the labour movement leaders must be the police force of industry on behalf of the capitalist.

What we need is a new system—revolution not reform.—G E ROBERTS (NUPE steward) Leeds 8.

Extension

IT WAS a relief to read Judith Condon's article: 'Sex—Just One More Thing for Sale' (9 June). The article pointed out historically that the Lambton affair was not merely a modern phenomenon but that the exploitation of women through prostitution has been embedded in the subordination of women through the centuries.

But she didn't show clearly enough the contradiction in capitalist society regarding this issue. 'It is capitalism that has perfected the prostitution of us all', is, of course, correct but this is too simple.

The most important thing is that prostitution is the logical extension of the institution of the 'family' as it is practised under capitalism. Where, in theory, women are meant to be loyal pros to their men, in practice, they are to be available for the commodity market and the convenience of men outside the family unit. Thus, as Judith Condon indicated, they are made culpable by the law and liable to imprisonment, if working women.

Your type of moral indignation (2 June) on the Lambton affair, is not adequate. The simple equation made in the article, hypocrisy = vested

Once again—the IWC conference

IN CUTTING my letter complaining about Duncan Hallas' very poor review of Ernie Roberts' excellent book, your editorial scissormen have let the disgraceful Hallas off the hook.

My letter concluded with a challenge, which I now repeat, that Hallas or such other more competent member of your team as he or you wish to nominate, meet me in debate on the real question at issue, which, as I said in my last letter, is the question of whether Ernie Roberts is right when he says socialists should spend at least some of their time fighting for their ideas in the Labour Party.

As I pointed out, such a debate could be helpful, indeed educational, even if comrade Duncan insisted on reiterating his dreadful fibs. It would be even more educational if he would debate the issue straight.

I can understand your editorial embarrassment about such a crass contributor, but I really don't think you can purge it by suppressing my challenge. Be brave, and face up to it! KEN COATES, Nottingham.

We're all busily eating spinach. Meanwhile, if Ken Coates doesn't like having his letters cut he could always try writing shorter letters.—EDITOR.

CONTRARY to what Ken Coates (16 June) says, my review of Ernie Roberts' book on workers control contains no 'misrepresentation or lie' at all. What is getting under Ken Coates' skin was my 'tactless' but entirely truthful statement that the

puts us on the spot LETTERS



Let's hear from you. Socialist Worker wants to hear from readers—your likes and dislikes with the paper, your disagreements with IS policy, plus thoughts and comments on the multitude of problems affecting working people. Letters must arrive first post Monday. Handwritten letters must be legible and with names in capitals to avoid confusion.

interest, entirely neglected the class nature of prostitution and the contradictions the whole affair represents within capitalist society.

It is not merely the Mary Whitehouses of this world and other individuals who are the spearheads of this contradiction but the whole of class society.—JULIET ASH, Leeds.

Rotten

I DISAGREE with Derek Cattell (9 June) that the Lambton affair has no political significance. It is more than a case of hypocrisy.

It shows up the rotten moral code of our rotten social system by which sexual intercourse is regarded as a commodity to be brought and sold and in which those who are able and willing to pay 50 quid a time are regarded as tragic heroes if found out.

I would like more attention paid to the point raised by Janet Rudge

platform at the IWC conference in question tried to ban resolutions.

A careful reader of his letter will see that buried in a lot of irrelevant words is the admission that the IWC Council decided 'it would recommend that the conference should not discuss resolutions'. The man admits it himself!

It is worth remembering that what was at issue here was support for the 8 December 1970 strike against the Industrial Relations Bill. I was pretty uncomplimentary about self-styled advocates of workers' control who sought to prevent a call for support for the strike. Nothing Ken Coates says has changed my mind.

It is true, and I did not suggest otherwise, that as a result of massive protests from delegates on the floor of the conference the platform was forced to give way and allow a composite resolution on the Bill. It may well be true that Ken Coates had a hand in drafting the composite in favour of which I and my co-delegates withdrew our own motion at the Conference Arrangements Committee meeting.

None of which alters the unpleasant fact that had delegates followed the advice of the IWC leadership the conference would have ignored the issue facing the movement at that time.

I was not 'fibbing' as he impudently says in his second letter. I readily accept his challenge to a debate.—DUNCAN HALLAS, London E2.

about snooping on working-class women claiming social security.

The accepted moral code is that a woman should either remain celibate or get some man to pay her for going to bed with her. Thus, the idea is, she should require less pay for work or from the state.

The status of women, economic and social, should receive more, not less, attention from Socialist Worker. Their exploitation is an essential part of the present system which we are trying to revolutionise.

If some women manage to turn the tables and exploit the exploiters, that is only to be expected in the capitalist system.—KATHLEEN JONES, Shrewsbury.

Who decides?

CELIA DEACON damned Socialist Worker (2 June) for reviewing Themroc—and more importantly asked, 'when are we going to get reviews that are mainly about films that most people are going to see and an end to the "intellectual" and elitist rubbish that keeps appearing?'

DO people get a chance to see what they want to see? This week on 'general release' in the London area are Bluebeard, Across 110th Street, Bequest to the Nation and Dirty Harry. These releases were decided by men on the Wardour Street/New York/Hollywood axis who run the 'cinema industry'—which means £62 million a year earned from 180 million customers (in Britain). Should Socialist Worker decide what to review on the basis of these men's decisions?

To me the paper should take a critical lead—should not be tied to 'this week's new films', should review the films that *should* be seen—circuit or not, should go beyond reviews to discuss the role of films, and film-makers.

Certainly we should understand the impact of the cinema industry in our present society, but we should also be aware of, and study, the far greater role of films in socialist societies—and we must start now, even if much of the country is presently denied access to these films (though are they really? Any IS branch, for example, could hire a projector and hire any film it wanted).

To deal with Themroc itself: Rank and ABC first refused the film. Then Classic accepted it, and after proving itself in 'the West End' it now will 'be seen' in many cinemas round the country. But the other 70 films we distribute won't 'be seen' in this manner—they are too 'political', for 'minority interest groups' etc.

Celia Deacon's letter was a reaction only to the surface of Themroc, as if the outline of events contained in the review was enough to go on. It's a subversive film, going through laughter to question the repression of our daily lives and language. This makes it worthy of both scrutiny and criticism.

The letter asks, what's so marvellous that the director is working class? Well to quote him, 'because most artists who talk about workers tend to talk for them, and to be so demagogic about it that the workers end up being the real vehicles of bourgeois reality.' As a beginning—only—I would hope workers could see Themroc, not have others decide for them what they can and cannot see.—NICK HART-WILLIAMS, The Other Cinema, London WC2.

Reeding between the lines of those printing losses

SIX HUNDRED JOBS at Southwark Offset, part of the Reid/IPC publishing and printing combine, are threatened. IPC are negotiating the sale of the company and one of the potential purchasers is Sir Joseph Causton Ltd.

Although described by IPC as 'long established colour printers', Causton is in fact now owned by Highcastle Securities, who describe themselves as 'an investment bank', have no apparent experience of the printing industry, and have shown themselves only too willing to exploit the property potential of Sir Joseph Causton.

The assurances given by IPC are cleverly worded to avoid any firm guarantees on future jobs and there is no mechanism anyway for enforcing any guarantees that may be made.

Southwark Offset has allegedly been losing money for several years and 1973 losses are expected to exceed £750,000. But a great deal of Southwark's work is for IPC, part of the company that owns Southwark.

It is a mere technicality whether or not Southwark Offset loses money. Any losses at Southwark that are attributable to charging low prices merely boost profits in the publishing division that is its customer.

In 1972, Reed's publishing and printing profits in the UK were £10 million, against £5.3 million in 1971. Total group profits in 1972 were £25 million.

It is in fact in Reed's interest to make money on publishing rather than printing because the stock market rates publishing profits higher than printing profits: in other words, if Reed is seen as a publishing group with printing losses rather than the other way round, the share price is likely to be higher, making the shareholders, who include the directors, richer.

Bludgeon

The workers of Southwark must not be bludgeoned into accepting redundancies because of the sharp accounting practices of the Reed management.

The story behind the Sir Joseph Causton change of ownership started in November last year, when it was announced that a company called Tremletts had bought 39 per cent of the shares in Causton for 45p a share. The announcement was accompanied by a statement that Tremletts would sell Causton's properties for £2.8 million but within a week they had sold their shares for a quick £135,000 profit to Highcastle Securities at 50p a share.

Highcastle, who described themselves as 'investment bankers' and had only been in business since May 1972, were backed by two City financial institutions. They said: 'Highcastle intends to continue and improve the printing activities of Causton's in order to achieve



greater profitability. Additionally it is Highcastle's intention to redevelop Causton's freehold property.'

By now it will be clear from Causton's recent past and from Highcastle's lack of any printing experience, that Causton is not simply a 'long established colour printer'.

The fate of Causton over the last year and the people who have been involved show that this is just another City device for making money, where the interests of the workers and the traditional business of the company are entirely secondary to the directors' and shareholders' enrichment.

This should be an additional source of concern to the workers at Southwark.

At a meeting on 10 May, when the workers were told of the planned sale of Southwark, an IPC director, Les Carpenter, said: 'There are no, repeat no, property implications for Southwark in the Causton offer. On the contrary IPC has told Causton that it is prepared to allow the new company to occupy the present Southwark Offset building for the duration of the current lease—which, incidentally has another 80 years to run.'

This skillfully-worded statement merely says that IPC is prepared to let Causton occupy the factory for the next 80 years. It does not say on what terms and, much more importantly, it in no way prevents Causton from closing the factory.

T H Rogmorton

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WOMEN FIGHT BACK



Equal pay pickets put on pressure

ECCLES, Lancashire:-Pickets are piling on the pressure at Salford Electrical Instruments. Men and women clerical workers have been on strike for two weeks demanding the difference between men's and women's rates be reduced by one third as a step towards equal pay in 1975.

They expected management to knuckle under after their fellow strikers at GEC, Rugby, won their claim, but at a meeting the bosses merely offered to negotiate on a grading system if the strikers went back to work.

The pickets' answer was 'No chance'. A picket supported by Gardners strikers who are in occupation down the road, locked the gates last week. Iain MacLean, an APEX official, said: 'There was pandemonium with traffic jams stretching right down the road because no one could get in.'

The gates were not opened until 10.30 when, since AUEW members in the factory refused to burn them open, management got a scab foreman to do it.

Mrs Olive Pope, a chargehand, said: 'The wages we are working for are nothing once you get home, with prices going up all the time. A married woman does not go out to work for a novelty—she needs the money. Anyway I feel a great deal of satisfaction in being able to stand here and cock my nose at them. For 13 years I've worked hard and they don't give me medals here.'

But a mass meeting of the manual workers ignored a call for strike support from the AUEW district secretary, Bernard Panter. They had received a letter from the management telling them that if they passed the picket line they would not be made redundant. One of the women shop workers who joined the pickets said: 'They say they cannot afford to give these girls equal pay, yet they can afford to keep us in there with no work to do.'

Fine Tubes 'will be dropped' said union

LETTERS written two and a half years ago by Tom Barclay, anti-trade union managing director of Fine Tubes, Plymouth, shed some interesting light on his relationship with certain trade union leaders.

The letters, copies of which have come into the hands of Socialist Worker, were written in January 1971, seven months after the Fine Tubes strike started. The strike ended last week after three years.

Pleasant

Barclay wrote to Paul Kelly, managing director of Superior Tubes, Pennsylvania, USA, Fine Tubes' parent company, on 6 January 1971:

'Dear Paul, 'I had a pleasant meeting on Monday evening with Vic Feather. He's the elder statesman of the British trade union movement.'

The letter described the meeting at some length. Feather, Barclay wrote, confirmed that 'the source of the disruption was Exeter University', that 'he did not feel able to ask Fine Tubes to do anything',

BY PAUL FOOT

and that 'in our position he would have done exactly what we have done.'

The passage concluded: 'It remains to be seen what the outcome of this will be, but we are certainly not in difficulties at TUC level. You will be glad to know that Rolls-Royce, Derby, are again accepting deliveries of our products, and the accumulated backlog is at present in transit to them. This leaves UKAEA the only significant remaining blackspot, and we hope to see them in the next ten days.'

On the same day, Barclay wrote to Adrian Kettera of the Engineering Employers Federation:

'Dear Kettera, 'You will be amused to know that Feather was acutely embarrassed to find that I was not an American and apologised for going through the Embassy!'

A fortnight later (20 January) Barclay wrote to A S Kerr, chief conciliation officer at the Department of Employment and Productivity:

'I had a long and pleasant meeting with Vic Feather some ten days ago.

'I confirmed to him that Fine Tubes is in no way anti-union. He says that anti-company activity must be stopped. We parted amicably.

'There has so far been no overt change. However, at Central Conference at York, the Federation were told conversationally by representatives of the Transport and General Workers Union that the "strike was to be dropped" ...'

Scabs

Several other letters have also come to our notice, all with the same theme: hostility to the strikers, but gushing praise for the official union leaders.

The picture of the Feather meeting is no doubt embellished for Barclay's purposes, but even the scabs working at Fine Tubes have been known to be annoyed when, for the hundredth time, in order to prove his 'belief' in trade unionism, Barclay would rush around the shop floor with his copy of the History of the TUC, given to him, so he said, by Victor Feather at that historic meeting in January 1971.

TENANTS BARRICADE BUSY ROAD AFTER GIRL IS KILLED

SOUTH LONDON:-180 people formed a human barricade across a busy road after a seven-year-old girl was killed and her sister injured in a road accident.

The demonstrators, mainly women, stopped both morning and evening rush-hour traffic from using the road, through the Brandon housing estate, as a short cut. When one car tried to turn off down a side road on the estate the women banged their placards on its roof until the driver stopped.

The tenants have also organised a petition to Southwark Council demanding railings along both sides of the road, a subway or a footbridge, at the very least a pedestrian crossing, and that two derelict plots of land on the estate be opened up for playgrounds.

The council has given a verbal promise that these demands will be met. Larry Heather, one of the organisers told Socialist Worker they are giving the council until Wednesday to put the promise in writing, then they will continue with plans to block the road until they do so.

Mrs Dorothy Lock, who has five children, and Mrs Rita Flynn, who has four, organised the petition. Mrs Lock said it is 2½ years since tenants asked the council to provide safe means of crossing the road. During this time nine children have received hospital treatment after being run over and dozens more have been involved in minor accidents.

SHORTAGE

Children from the estate going to any one of the seven schools in the area have to cross the road at least twice a day. The reason the council gave for not doing anything is that the road isn't busy enough—though even the police admit it is dangerous.

The borough boundary cuts through the estate, and one side of the road is in Southwark, the other in Lambeth. Neither borough will accept responsibility.

The situation is made worse by the lack of a pavement along part of the road, and no pedestrian light at the traffic lights at the end of the road.

There is also a shortage of play areas. The children may either go to Kennington Park, which means at least one busy road to cross, or playing on the grass in front of the flats, which slopes unprotected to the road.

On the estate there are two large plots of land which have been disused for three years. They are surrounded by a high corrugated iron fence. Simply by opening the fence these could be turned into play areas.

The tenants of Brandon estate have had to block the road twice just to get a verbal agreement from the council. They are prepared to block it again until their demands that the estate be made safer are met.

Building workers beat bosses' blacklist

NORTH LONDON:-A blow for the building bosses' blacklist against militants has been struck by workers on the McInerney site at Finsbury Park.

Site convenor John Fontaine, labourers' steward Keith Dobie and other workers who had come with them from the Worlds End site in Chelsea—scene of a lengthy battle for union organisation earlier this year—had been sacked by the contractor. After a week-long strike, McInerney—contracted to build 1000 new homes for the Greater London Council on the 25-acre site—caved in and agreed to reinstate the victimised men next week.

Last Monday steward Keith Dobie occupied a crane on the site and returned to earth only when the contractor lifted the sackings.

'Back to work' move is rejected

by Jim Gillard and Steve Waldis

(TASS, Reyrolle, Hepburn) NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE:-A mass meeting at the Reyrolle plant at Hepburn voted last week to continue their struggle for improved wages.

Attempts by local trade union officials to get the men back to work before talks were held with management were scornfully rejected by the shop stewards.

The large switchgear plant has now been completely shut for more than two weeks. Pieceworkers struck first after rejecting a derisory offer and 1800 other men were laid off.

The laid-off men have been refused social security benefits because it is claimed they might gain from the pieceworkers' claim. Management is claiming it cannot afford to pay the increase, but profits are on the upswing—an £8 million deficit has been turned into a £¼ million profit and the company now intends to raise still more cash by selling some of its valuable property.

At the same time it is planning a massive internal reorganisation which will cost millions of pounds and mean fewer jobs, more machines.

The workers are ignoring management threats and are convinced they can win. But they need the support of other workers.

Donations and messages of support please to Reyrolle Shop Stewards Fund, c/o D G Clelland, 8 Paterdale Terrace, Gateshead, County Durham.

'Keep out' Scanlon tells Socialist Worker

SOCIALIST WORKER regrets that it is unable to publish a report of this week's conference of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers. Hugh Scanlon, president and acting general secretary of the AUEW, told us that he could not give the paper reporter's credentials on the grounds that we were not members of a body known as the Labour and Industrial Correspondents Group.

This is an unofficial body grouping together some correspondents from the national and provincial press. Its main function is to attend 'off the record' briefings with government ministers, an area of little concern to Socialist Worker.

In a letter to Mr Scanlon, Mr Kenneth Morgan, general secretary of the National Union of Journalists, expressed his concern

at the refusal to give credentials to Socialist Worker and added: 'While I think all members of the [Labour and Industrial Correspondents] Group are members of the NUJ and we have a long and friendly association with it, as a union we are strongly opposed to a limitation of press coverage of any trade union conference—or other industrial event—to journalists in membership of the Group; or indeed to any other particular group of journalists.'

'This is consistent with the NUJ's pursuit of press freedom and its objection to discrimination against any full-time journalist who is a member of his trade union by those responsible for arranging press facilities at conference.'

Mr Morgan sought an assurance that the restriction on Socialist Worker would be lifted but at the time of going to press he had received no reply to his letter.

WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive by first post Monday morning. Adverts will not be accepted over the phone. Charges are 5p per line, semi-display 10p per line. CASH WITH COPY. No insertions without payment. Invoices cannot be sent.

IS MEETINGS

IS INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' meeting: What's happening on the Docks. Speaker Bob Light (TGWU). Saturday 23 June, 12.30pm, White Lion, Horse Fair, Birmingham.

CHELMSFORD IS public meeting: The Fight to build the Revolutionary Party. Speaker Jim Higgins (IS national secretary). Tuesday 26 June, 8pm, Civic Centre, Chelmsford.

ESSEX AGGREGATE of IS members: Sunday 24 June, 11am-6pm, Oddfellows Hall, Legg Street, Chelmsford. Details from branch secretaries.

SOUTH WEST Regional Conference: Saturday 23 June, 11am-onwards, Plymouth Polytechnic (opposite the main library). 11am: John Palmer on IS and the Struggle for Socialism. 2pm: Granville Williams on The Struggle In Industry with reference to work in the South West.

BIRMINGHAM DISTRICT IS SOCIAL
Friday 22 June, 8-11pm
Jake Thackray
Sandra Kerr and John Faulkner
The Mermaid, Stratford Road,
Birmingham 12
Admission 50p (or 40p in advance from South Birmingham IS treasurer: phone 021-444 5692)

MERSEYSIDE DISTRICT IS SOCIAL
Friday 22 June, 9pm
Extension until 1am
Strand Hotel, Brunswick Street, L'pool
Ale, food, disco, admission 50p
ALL WELCOME

BLACKBURN IS public meeting: How the workers can win. Speaker Jim Kincaid. Monday 25 June, 8pm, Duke of York, Darwen Street Bridge.

BLACKBURN AND ACCRINGTON IS public meeting: How to fight the Tories. Speaker Colin Barker. Thursday 28 June, 8pm, Blockade Hotel, Edgar St, Accrington.

FALKIRK IS public meeting: Fight the Tory Freeze. Trade union speakers. Tue 26 June, 7.30pm, Small Hall, Temperance Cafe, Falkirk.

CAMBOURNE IS public meeting: What it means to be a member of the International Socialists. Speaker Tony Cliff. Friday 22 June, 7.30pm, Cambourne Community Centre.

LEEDS IS public meeting
WHY THE SYSTEM STINKS
Speaker Paul Foot
Thursday 28 June, 8pm
Guildford Hotel, The Headrow, Leeds

LONDON IS IRISH FORUM
The meeting to be held on
Friday 22 June, 7.30pm
has been moved from The Roebuck to
The Metropolitan, 95 Farringdon Rd,
London EC1 (near Farringdon tube)
JAMES CONNOLLY
HIS RELEVANCE TODAY
Speaker Jimmy Grealy

STRETFORD IS public meeting
THE NEED FOR A RANK AND FILE
MOVEMENT IN INDUSTRY
Speakers: Wally Preston
and Andreas Nagliati
Friday 29 June, 8pm
Dog and Partridge, Chester Road

IS IRISH CONFERENCE
Saturday 7 July, 10.30am-5.30pm
Details from Irish sub-committee,
6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

PADDINGTON IS public meeting
WHY CAPITALISM STINKS
Speaker Roger Protz
Thursday 28 June, 8pm
Porchester Hall (small hall)
Porchester Road, London W2
(off Westbourne Grove)

WOLVERHAMPTON IS public meeting
HARRY WICKS
founder member of the British
Communist Party, active in the General
Strike, now a member of the
International Socialists, speaks on
THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM
Tuesday 3 July, 8pm
The Posada, Lichfield Street

DUDLEY IS public meeting
THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM
PAST AND PRESENT
Speaker Harry Wicks
(activist in socialist movement since
1920, member of IS)
Thursday 5 July, 8pm
The Green Man, Castle Hill

IS PROTEST MEETING
Tuesday 3 July, 8pm
FIGHT THE RACIST WITCH-HUNT
AGAINST IMMIGRANTS
Speaker: George Peake
(IS organiser and victim of apartheid)
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,
London WC1 (nearest tube Holborn)

OTHER MEETINGS

DEFEND THE WANDSWORTH THREE: Social, Saturday 23 June, 8pm-midnight. Bar and disco. New Merlins Cave, Margery Street (off Grays Inn Road). Tickets 50p. In aid of Wandsworth Three Defence Fund.

DEFEND THE WANDSWORTH THREE: Saturday 23 June, picket from 9am followed by demonstration from 12 noon-2pm at NUT headquarters, Hamilton House, Mabledon Place (off Euston Road), London NW1. Prominent trade union speakers. Organised by Wandsworth Three Defence Committee.

READING ANTI-INTERNMENT LEAGUE
Saturday 23 June
DEMONSTRATION AGAINST
TROOPS FOR IRELAND
The Royal Berkshire and Wiltshire
Regiment, before leaving for Ireland,
is holding a band concert and
'Beating the Retreat' in Reading.
Counter-demonstration assemblies
Forbury Gardens, 11.30am

NORTH WEST REGION TRADES COUNCIL AND TENANTS' ORGANISATIONS
believe the time has come for a
complete re-appraisal of the campaign
against the Housing Finance Act,
and are holding a
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
of Trades Council and Tenants'
organisation representatives
Sunday 24 June, 2pm-6pm
Liverpool Students Union Theatre
2 Bedford Street North
Credentials from:
Liverpool Trades Council
33 Hatton Garden, Liverpool L3 2AA

NOTICES

LUTON IS BRANCH: Comrades moving to Luton and surrounding area, contact Harry Atkinson, 54 Chester Avenue, Luton, for details of branch work etc.

EARLY COPIES of International Socialist Journal (numbers 1-26) needed to complete microfilm record. Copies will be returned in good order. Please send to IS Journal business manager, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

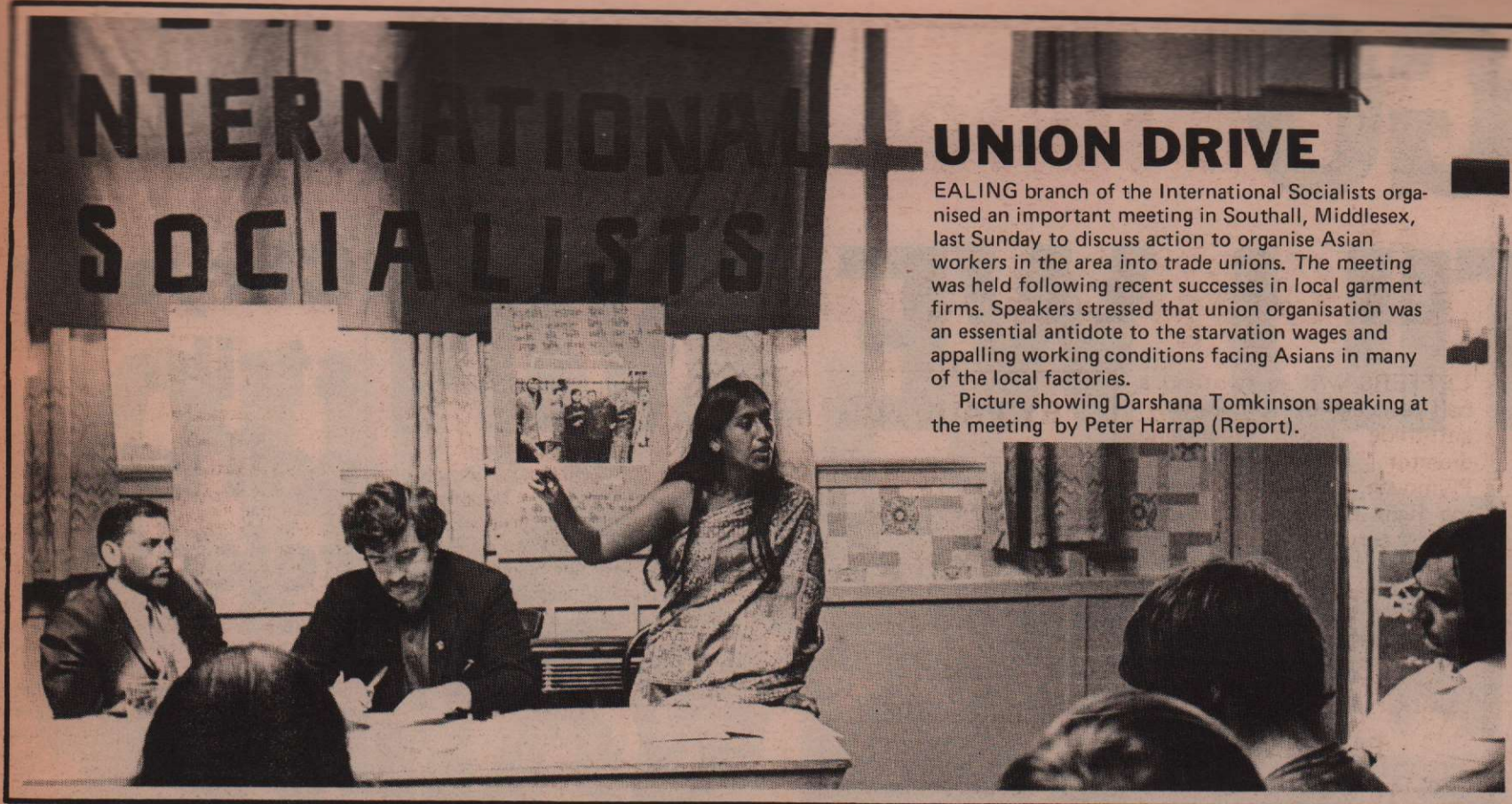
GIRL COMRADE seeks own room in mixed flat, preferably South West London. Phone Marion, 622 2652.

BRIGHTON IS comrade and two kids wish to exchange flat with similar elsewhere 1-2 weeks in August. Write details to J Clements, 9 Bedford Square, Brighton, Sussex, BN1 2PN.

IS MEMBER wants room in flat or bedsit in London from first week in July. Around £5 per week. Write Box number NMC, Editorial, Socialist Worker, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2 8DN.

COMRADE WANTED to share flat in Islington, £7.50 per week. Write C Holt, 8 Almeida Street, London N1.

WANTED
by 7 July
Room in flat or house
Tottenham, Stamford Hill, Islington
Hackney areas of London
for active Case-Con member
Phone Doug, 888 3488



UNION DRIVE

HEALING branch of the International Socialists organised an important meeting in Southall, Middlesex, last Sunday to discuss action to organise Asian workers in the area into trade unions. The meeting was held following recent successes in local garment firms. Speakers stressed that union organisation was an essential antidote to the starvation wages and appalling working conditions facing Asians in many of the local factories.

Picture showing Darshana Tomkinson speaking at the meeting by Peter Harrap (Report).

Sit-in strikers win 'a sort of victory'

MANCHESTER:—Most strikes end with compromises, but sometimes the compromise is shabbier than it need be. The agreement that ended the 13-week strike and occupation by engineering workers at Gardners (Eccles) last Friday falls into the shabbier category.

The strike started back in March when the employers locked out workers who had exercised their right under the Manchester piecework agreement to return to day work. This action was because of dissatisfaction with appallingly low bonus earnings in the factory.

For two months the management refused to negotiate. But when it became clear that the occupation could not be defeated they offered £6 on the bonus.

Under the influence of local engineering union officials, who are mainly Communist Party members, the stewards voted 2-1 to accept this first offer, but refused to recommend a return to work because the offer was being referred to the Pay Board. Needless to say, the board banned the immediate payment of the money and refused to say whether it would allow payment in October.

So it was back to the negotiating table. The officials started to search for a return-to-work formula which did not break the freeze and yet would be acceptable to a mass meeting.

The final formula was that the £6 would be paid in October instead of immediately. This caused unrest among those active in the occupation. £6 paid now would only just bring Gardners' workers up to the average district wage—in October it will ensure that they remain behind.

Negotiate

The £6 offer was the same the bosses had made when they first agreed to negotiate. The strikers felt that if the officials had taken a stand more could have been won.

The deals showed other signs of unnecessary compromise too. The agreement allows the two days missed holiday money to be paid and the employers have agreed to pay seven weeks' stamps, only half of those missed during the strike. The strikers have also agreed there will be no victimisation of the scabs who worked through this bitter 13-week dispute.

The agreement, which was kept secret from the workers for several days, leaves other points at issue to be negotiated after the return to work, when the union's bargaining position is bound to be weaker.

The conclusion of the Gardners' strike then is a sort of victory. The strikers won their right to return to day work and squeezed out of the firm their biggest rise ever. But the agreement could have been better.

One factory cannot beat the Pay Board alone and the promise of payment in October may be the best that can be achieved, but it was a mistake to take off all the pressure. International Socialists and other militants in the factory felt that the return should be to permanent day work, so that pressure would be kept on Gardners to keep their promise.

No one knows what phase three of the freeze will bring and the Pay Board may try to block the £6 even in October. The Gardner bosses would have an incentive to prove that their factory is a special case if that were the only way to get piecework operating again.

TRIAL IS POLITICAL PICKET TELLS COURT

SHREWSBURY:—Arthur Murray, one of the 24 men on trial over picketing during last year's building workers' strike, told Shrewsbury magistrates last week: 'I see this case as an attempt to bankrupt ordinary working people and smash the building workers' union.'

'We are not the Poulsons, the Lambtons and the Jellicoes of this world and we refuse to conform to this dirty political trial. We call on the trade union movement and the working people of this country to come to our defence.'

Other defendants denounced the trial in similar words. 'We are charged with conspiracy,' said Dennis Warren, 'but we are the victims of a greater conspiracy by the employers and the Tory government, the police and the courts to stop working people fighting for social and economic justice.'

Terry Renshawe condemned the trial as 'an attempt by the government itself to smash the trade union movement where the Industrial Relations Act has failed.'

The men, who were charged with more than 280 separate offences after pressure from the building employers' federation on the government

and the police, now face a long trial in the autumn. The trial, which could last three to four months, is to be in Shrewsbury, although most of them live more than 40 miles away in North Wales and Merseyside. Even if they are eventually cleared, their lives will have been completely disrupted.

If they are convicted, the right to picket will have been seriously undermined for all workers.

More than 250 workers from building sites and union branches throughout Britain demonstrated outside the court last Friday. Preparations have to begin now to ensure that there is an even greater show of support for the men when their main trial begins in the autumn.

WOMEN GO BACK AT GEC PLANT

RUGBY:—200 workers at the GEC Turbine Generators plant returned to work on Monday after a two-week strike.

Most of the strikers were women who kept a 24-hour picket round the factory to force the management to begin moves towards equal pay. The strikers, all members of the clerical union, APEX, walked out when the company refused their claim to bring women's rates up to 90 per cent of the men's rate by 1 August.

They began the strike with a token picket on one gate. Their placards said: 'We are the modern day slaves', 'Pay now, work later', and 'We're Weinstock's coolies'.

Management's answer to this was to call in the police. They forced the pickets off the factories' private road and escorted schoolgirls into the factory to break the strike.

So the strikers put a 24-hour picket on all gates of the factory. They had great success in turning away lorries carrying sand to blading department and oil for the foundry.

The other white collar unions, AUEW-TASS and ASTMS, backed work usually done by the APEX members, but the shop floor unions were less helpful. The convenor is reported as saying they were wrong to strike over equal pay because it put his own members' jobs in danger and because sooner or later GEC are legally bound to give equal pay.

The strikers have now gone back, with the men getting £2 and the women £1.70. Some are angry that the strike ended without any definite commitment from the firm on the equal pay issue. Only talks are promised.

Strike hits MPs

LONDON:—Members of parliament have had a hard time this week without their copies of Hansard, the daily report of parliament, usually served up with breakfast the following morning, because of a work-to-rule by 12 linotype operators at St Stephens Parliamentary Press. The action is in support of a claim for a piece rate increase.

Five builders accused of plot against the lump

BIRMINGHAM:—Five building workers will appear in court next Monday accused of conspiracy to trespass and unlawful assembly. The charges are in connection with the occupation of the SOS lump labour office in February.

The five are Phil Beyer, Gerry Kelly, Fred Ainslie, Pete Davidson and Graham Stevenson.

The case is serious. Birmingham has been one of the main centres of the campaign to kill the lump, which has now grown to fantastic proportions in the building industry. Something like 400,000 men are employed on the lump.

For trade unionists the struggle against this system of employment has become a fight for the future of union organisation in the industry. The SOS bureau and similar 'labour only' agencies are feeding the employers with lump labour to undermine trade unionism and set the scene for a cut-back in real wages.

The five building workers occupied

the offices with the intention of exposing this situation and looking at the files of SOS to get proof that major firms are breaking the working rule agreement which they have signed.

When the five were taken to the police station on 7 February they were told that charges might be brought against them but that no action would be taken immediately. On 2 May, nearly three months later, all five were issued with summonses to appear in court.

Defence

The summonses were signed on 19 April but the authorities waited until 2 May to serve them, probably to avoid support for the five being gathered on the massive Birmingham May Day demonstration.

A defence committee has been set up by UCATT, the building workers' union, and a special meeting has been called where it is hoped shop stewards and other represen-

tatives of the trade union movement will agree to mobilise their members in defence of the five.

Support has also come from Birmingham and Coventry Trades Councils, the Midlands Labour Party and groups of rank and file trade unionists.

When the five appear in court on Monday, along with three television cameramen who were covering the SOS protest and have also been summonsed, it is vital that trade unionists mount a massive demonstration outside the court.

Demonstrate, Monday 25 June, 9.30am, outside Victoria Law Courts, Corporation Street, Birmingham.

Inquiries and donations to UCATT Defence Committee, UCATT offices, Gough Street, Birmingham 1.

TECHNICIANS REFUSE TO SPY ON STUDENTS

NOTTINGHAM:—Students at the university involved in their union's grants campaign received much-needed support from members of ASTMS, the technicians' union, last week.

Militants at the university have been isolated among right-wing students and under attack from the university was planning to spy on face disciplinary proceedings arising out of the recent occupation of the administrative buildings.

Another occupation is planned if proceedings are not dropped. The University was planning to spy on future sit-ins and demonstrations and it seemed ASTMS technician members were to be asked to take photographs with polaroid cameras.

Bill Brett, the union's divisional officer, circulated all ASTMS members on the campus instructing them to refuse such work, and to tell their ASTMS representative immediately if asked to do it.



I would like to join the International Socialists

Name _____

Address _____

Send to: IS, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

WE GO

ON TILL WE WIN

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Chrysler strike call is rejected

COVENTRY:—The joint shop stewards' committee at Chrysler's Stoke engine plant recommended at a mass meeting on Tuesday that there should be no strike action, even though a millwright in the factory had been seriously injured when scab lorries broke into the plant.

'No trade unionist could tolerate such a brutal attack on one of our members,' said the chairman of the committee—who then went on to say that they had changed their minds about calling a strike after promises from the management.

'We now have certain assurances from the company that no material will cross the picket line for the rest of the week,' said Ray Wild, engineering union convenor.

But militants inside Stoke, as well as pickets from Ryton, argue that the company has been able to subject workers to such violent attacks because of the failure of Stoke workers to take action in support of their fellow workers on strike at Ryton for more than two weeks.

While the company has been committing these outrages, the Ryton stewards' committee has done nothing. Its attitude has been to wait for management to lay off the workforce—but this plays straight into management hands. The company can intimidate the Stoke workers at will, and then choose the moment to close the plant when the workers are weakest.

The company's assurances about not moving materials do not extend beyond the weekend, and anyway who can trust assurances from a management which has hired thugs against its workers?

The attitude of the Stoke stewards' committee is in sharp contrast to the tactics used by militants at the Ryton plant—tactics which have left the initiative with the workers and dumbfounded the management. Instead of sitting back and waiting for management to tire, the rank and file at Ryton took up the flying picket tactic pioneered in the miners', builders' and dockers' struggles last year.

Some of the Ryton stewards might have hesitated, but others and rank-and-file militants compelled them to use the flying picket.

Despite the use of management spies to photograph pickets, the use of physical violence by management thugs, and threats by the Chrysler overlords to end investment in Britain, the Ryton strikers have not been cowed into submission—a lesson that needs to be learnt by other Chrysler workers.

Men storm missile plant

BOLTON:—400 pickets stormed the Hawker Siddeley plant and started a sit-in on Monday, turning away management and staff. They have been on strike for three weeks over a manning dispute.

The 1400 strikers are now maintaining the occupation for 24 hours a day. The factory, which does top secret work on guided missile components, has in the past been noted for lack of militancy. This is the first major dispute since the factory opened in 1937.

The strike is official and includes engineering, transport, electricians and builders' union members.

Donations and messages of support to T Collins, 53 Alexandra Road, Ashton in Makerfield, Wigan, Lancs.



Ted Scott, AUEW district officer: 'Fight the Tories'

PICTURES: Christopher Davies (Report)

12,000 MEN LAID OFF

OXFORD:—With big events elsewhere in the motor industry the dispute at British Leyland's Cowley plant has received little attention, but the strike by 80 assembly plant attenders over upgrading has laid off 12,000 other workers and stopped all production of Marinas and Maxis and 1300 GT models.

Last Friday union negotiators Moss Evans and Reg Birch went to the plant to 'persuade' the men to go back to work by explaining how good the offer was the men had overwhelmingly rejected a few days earlier. But as the 80 plant attenders had agreed not to meet before the following Wednesday they boycotted this meeting.

The company issued a statement that 'it was nothing short of tragic that the men did not meet their national officials'

Another dispute is brewing at Cowley, where the press shop has given notice of strike action from Monday. The shop is still on piecework and the men are looking for an increase on their earnings. Those piecework sections still in the plant have rejected the firm's miserable fringe benefits.

The offer is part of the firm's offer on piecework rates, with a view of bringing in measured day work. Only the press shop workers are prepared to fight on this issue. Cowley faces a long hot summer.



'It's no go mate.' George Gilmour, AUEW steward, stops a car outside Perkins' massive Eastfield plant, Peterborough.

These niggling incidents happened almost every shift, and resentment boiled into fury. The management's threat to close the plant was greeted by an enormous demonstration of resistance in a mass meeting on the company's sports field.

Amid roars of approval, the men voted, with only a handful against, to reject the company's offer and to picket all the plants during the lock-out. 'If one is out, all are out' was the cry. Later attempts by the management to entice sections of the workers back into the plant have been met with determined picketing.

Only two scabs have turned up for work—at the Queen Street plant. Last Monday they were pursued through the town by angry pickets, and have since not dared to show their faces again.

The Perkins management remains stubborn. Last Saturday they met officials from the men's union—the AUEW—under the chairmanship of the Department of Employment's conciliation officer.

The result of the meeting was given to 80 Perkins stewards at the AUEW headquarters in Peterborough on Monday, which, with the permission of the meeting, I attended.

Ted Scott, the area's AUEW district officer, summed up the company's attitude: 'They were not prepared to concede parity; they were only prepared to talk about it.'

WEAKNESS

Ted Scott told the meeting the company's attitude was unacceptable. 'We wanted an acceptance of the immorality of paying our lads in Peterborough £20 less a week for the same work as is done in other parts of the combine—and we didn't get it.'

'The executive of our union recognises "that either you struggle against the government which wants to solve all economic problems at the expense of the working class, or you accept it."

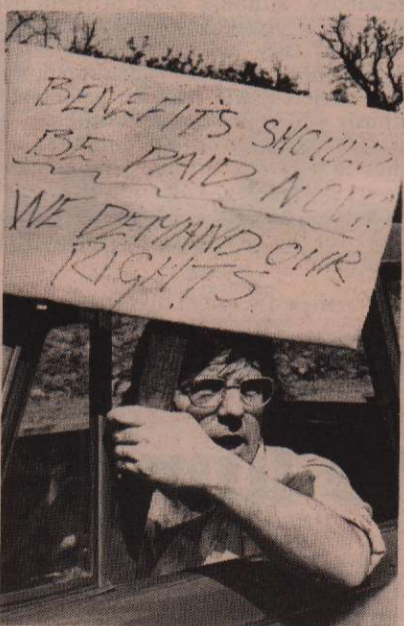
Several stewards then told Brother Scott that he was not negotiating from weakness. 'Every one of us is right behind you all the way,' said Brian Hickey.

Meanwhile, the stewards are fighting not only against Perkins and their scabs, but also against the Department of Employment.

On the day after the lock-out, the local national insurance officer ruled that the men were 'in dispute' and were therefore not entitled to unemployment benefit. This nonsense was promptly overturned by a local appeals tribunal which found last

PETERBOROUGH public meeting

HOW TO FIGHT THE TORIES
Speakers: Tony Cliff (International Socialists) and Ron Squires (TGWU, Massey Ferguson, Coventry)
St Barnabas Hall, Taverners Road
Tuesday 26 June, 8pm
All strikers and their families especially welcome.



The dole, NOW! says test shop steward Brian Hickey

'There were lay-offs almost every day and night. But the lads responded and we came out solid every time.'

One night two workers were monitored in the test shop. After four hours the foreman came into the shop and took one

look at the notebook in which records of tests were kept.

Three engine tests which had been carried out had not yet been recorded in the book. Without bothering to check, however, the foremen took the men off the clock for 'not doing enough', and the entire test shop walked out in protest.

by Paul Foot

'WE'VE got £20 a week less for being good boys.'

In that one simple sentence, Carl Gerhards, shop steward at the massive Eastfields plant of Perkins Engines, Peterborough, summed up the issue which has led to one of the biggest lock-outs in Britain since the war.

The management, which takes its orders from the giant Canadian Massey Ferguson combine, last week carried out its threat to close down all four plants in Peterborough, and throw 4700 workers out of work.

The lock-out followed a ten-week 'work to rule' and ban on overtime in an attempt by the unions to wring from management a promise to pay equal wages to those paid to Massey Ferguson workers in Coventry and in Kilmarnock, Scotland.

The workers at Peterborough, who have been on strike only once in the past 15 years and who are normally regarded as 'a pushover' by the Perkins management, have responded like seasoned campaigners to prolonged intimidation.

The dispute dates back to 31 March, when the annual wage agreement expired. The company offered wage increases averaging 6.9 per cent, the full amount possible under the government's £1 plus four per cent 'freeze' rule.

The union and the stewards made it clear they would accept the offer, provided only that the management declared its commitment in future to parity with other Massey Ferguson factories.

The stewards pointed out that the Peterborough plants are the biggest money-spinners for Massey Ferguson in Britain—and the workers are the lowest paid. Under the measured day work system, agreed in the 'bad old days' of 1952, the top skilled man at Peterborough makes £33 for a 40-hour week. The management's offer would take that to just over £35.

BALLOT

At the combine's Banner Lane plant at Coventry, workers—all on piece rates—collect £52 for 40 hours. Across all grades of workers, the weekly wage differential between Coventry and Peterborough plants is never less than £16 and in many cases is as high as £22.

From the outset, the management refused even to consider a commitment to parity. On 4 April, after a weekend ballot among the workers which gave overwhelming support, the stewards called for a work-to-rule and ban on overtime.

The management responded at once with a prolonged campaign of harassment whose object was to split the workers, shift by shift, section by section.

Brian Hickey, shop steward in the test shop which was most savagely hit, told me:

'Hardly a shift went by without some attempt to put the pressure on. Foremen would declare that they were monitoring men for their work, and would then take them off the clock. I think they thought we would crack early.'

'But we've a different type of worker in the shop nowadays. The days when they would have collapsed at the first sign of management pressure are gone. Each time they tried it, we walked out until the end of the shift, and then reported for work when the next shift started. These were our tactics throughout the plant.'

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