

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Chrysler tries crude threats

by Laurie Flynn

THE CHRYSLER management gangsters are at it again. This week, with every other tactic failing to bludgeon all Chrysler workers back into the line, they predictably turned to their only remaining weapon—crude blackmail and intimidation.

Chrysler does not want to shut down its operations in Britain which are much more profitable than the accounts would suggest. What Chrysler wants to do is obtain a more servile and more productive labour force. Being honest businessmen the management will use every filthy tactic in the book to achieve this end.

In June this year they provoked the 'shoddy work' dispute. They alternated pleas of poverty with the introduction of hired thugs to smash through picket lines.

The tenacity of the flying picket forced Chrysler to make an abrupt about-face and settle. Then management seized on the electricians' dispute, played on the divisions between workers and unions and escalated to a full-scale confrontation.

Endorsed

Chrysler introduced scab labour into the car industry. And they had this move endorsed by the Transport and Engineering unions.

Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones both recorded the belief that it was in their members' interests to work with machines repaired by strikebreakers. For once they matched their beliefs with deeds and told their members to cross an official picket line.

Chrysler thought they were home and dry. They would beat the electricians and inflict a serious blow on trade union organisation throughout the combine.

Then 7000 workers at the Chrysler Linwood plant in Scotland made a magnificent stand in defence of trade union principle. Chrysler had no choice but to up the stakes again and adopt another familiar tack—threats of run down and even closure.

It is no accident that Chrysler have threatened to implement their redundancy threat on Monday. Electricians at Linwood agreed to return to work until . . . Monday. The threats are designed to prevent Linwood taking up the defence of trade union principle again.

Calculations

Chrysler's other main preoccupation is to settle all the wage claims throughout the combine at the £1 plus 4 per cent Tory incomes policy level. This is the other major reason for forcing such a massive trial of strength with the electricians

A settlement at £1 plus 4 per cent is almost certainly one of the calculations in the minds of Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon. Such a deal at Chrysler would enable the TUC to continue its Downing Street talks with Heath and Co on Phase Three of the Incomes Policy without the embarrassing situation of a struggle over Phase Two.

Truly fantastic resources have been pitted against 156 striking electricians. No serious trade unionists should encourage the sparks to back down.

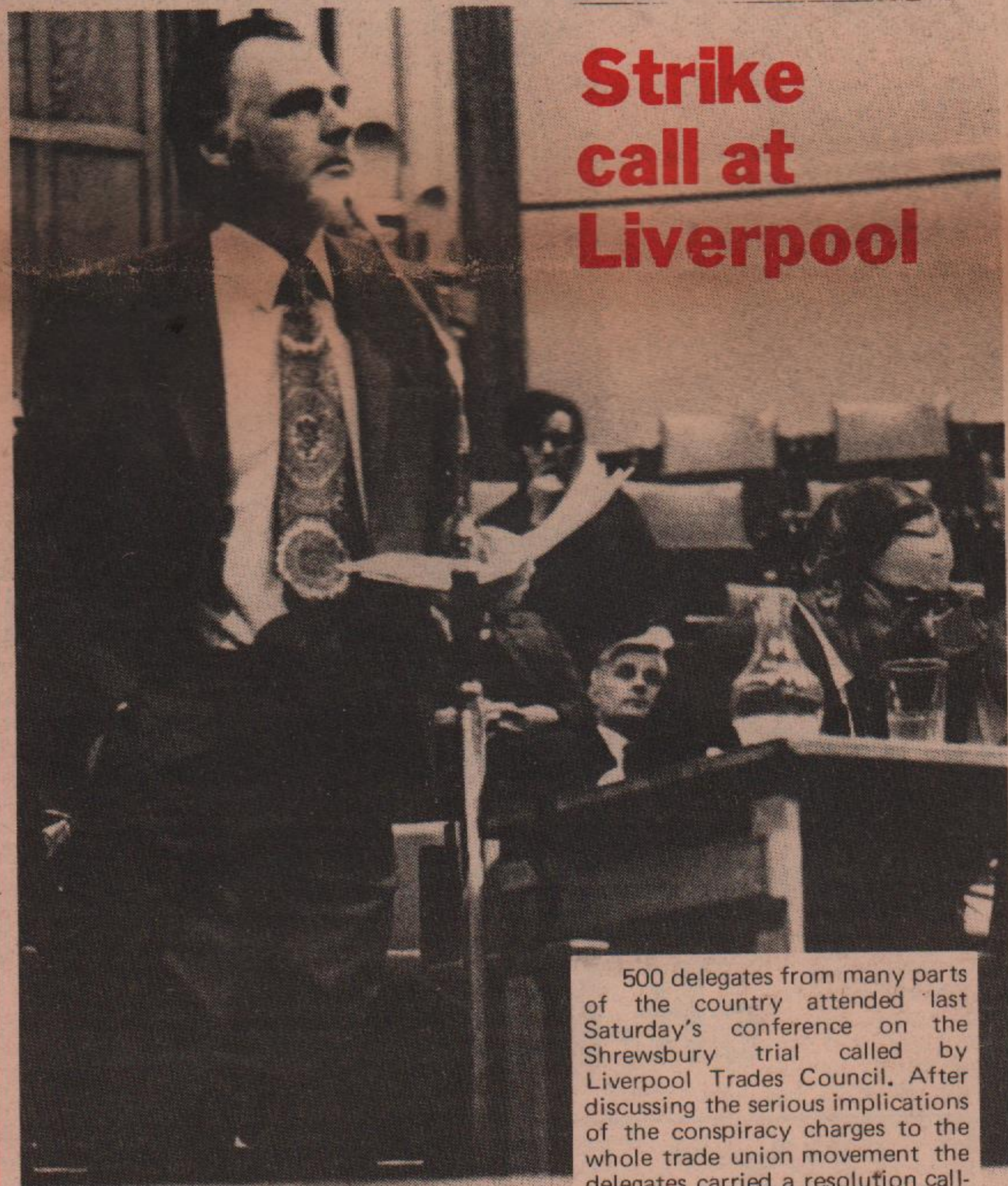
As far as the redundancies are concerned, the Linwood stewards have already given their reply. They say the management's redundancy figures make no sense. And they have stated that they will fight redundancies or closure all the way.

More Chrysler news: back page
Editorial comment: page 3

Act to back North Wales 24

WE'RE ALL ON TRIAL!

PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report)



Strike call at Liverpool

500 delegates from many parts of the country attended last Saturday's conference on the Shrewsbury trial called by Liverpool Trades Council. After discussing the serious implications of the conspiracy charges to the whole trade union movement the delegates carried a resolution calling for industrial action on 3 October—the opening day of the trial. Seen here is Bert Smith, a member of the editorial board of Building Workers Charter, speaking at the conference. Report: page 15.

by DAVID WILLIAMS

Secretary TGWU 3/83 Branch
chairman Bristol Action Committee for the North Wales 24

THE TRIAL of 24 building workers from North Wales will begin at Shrewsbury Crown Court on Wednesday. If they are found guilty on the most serious of the charges, the penalty could be in the region of 15 years in prison.

What terrible crime are these men accused of? That they had the audacity during an official national strike to take part in a picket under the instruction of a properly constituted action committee of the joint unions, the Construction Workers and the Transport and General Workers.

This committee included four full-time officials.

Something like 210 charges are being brought against the 24 men under the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. The 24 were a few among many who were taking part in normal picketing activities.

They are not militants. They are just ordinary workers from North Wales, which by the very nature of the country, is notoriously non-militant and weak in the trade union sense.

The 'flying picket' of which they were members was escorted by the police. The pickets put their case simply, picketed effectively and were successful in shutting down sites.

ARRESTED

At no time did they have any trouble with the police. On one occasion one of the action committee members was congratulated by a senior police officer on the way the whole campaign in the Shrewsbury area was being conducted.

The strike came to an end and the men returned to work, everything apparently back to normal. Then 4½ months later the 24 men were arrested without warning.

They were taken from their homes at times ranging from late evening throughout the night to early morning. At the police stations they were subjected to intensive questioning while at the same time other police officers were at their home questioning members of their families.

They were charged on the fantastic total of 201 counts including conspiracy.

IS says:

IN a new pamphlet on the Shrewsbury trial out this week, the International Socialists call for:

Strike action on 3 October.
A campaign in every trade union on the issue.

Support for the 24 if they are fined and refuse to pay them. Mass resistance to any jailings by the court.

Form a national co-ordinating committee to plan the campaign made up of rank and file workers from every part of the country. The committee should organise large monthly demonstrations outside the court.

The committee should also organise pickets of the headquarters of the building unions to force them to take action.

Local defence committees should be formed. They should organise regular collections to aid the 24, organise meetings and send speakers to every branch of the building workers' unions.
Review of pamphlet: page 14.

These charges, carefully sifted and selected by the hidden hand of employers and the Tory government, have now been hanging over them for eight months.

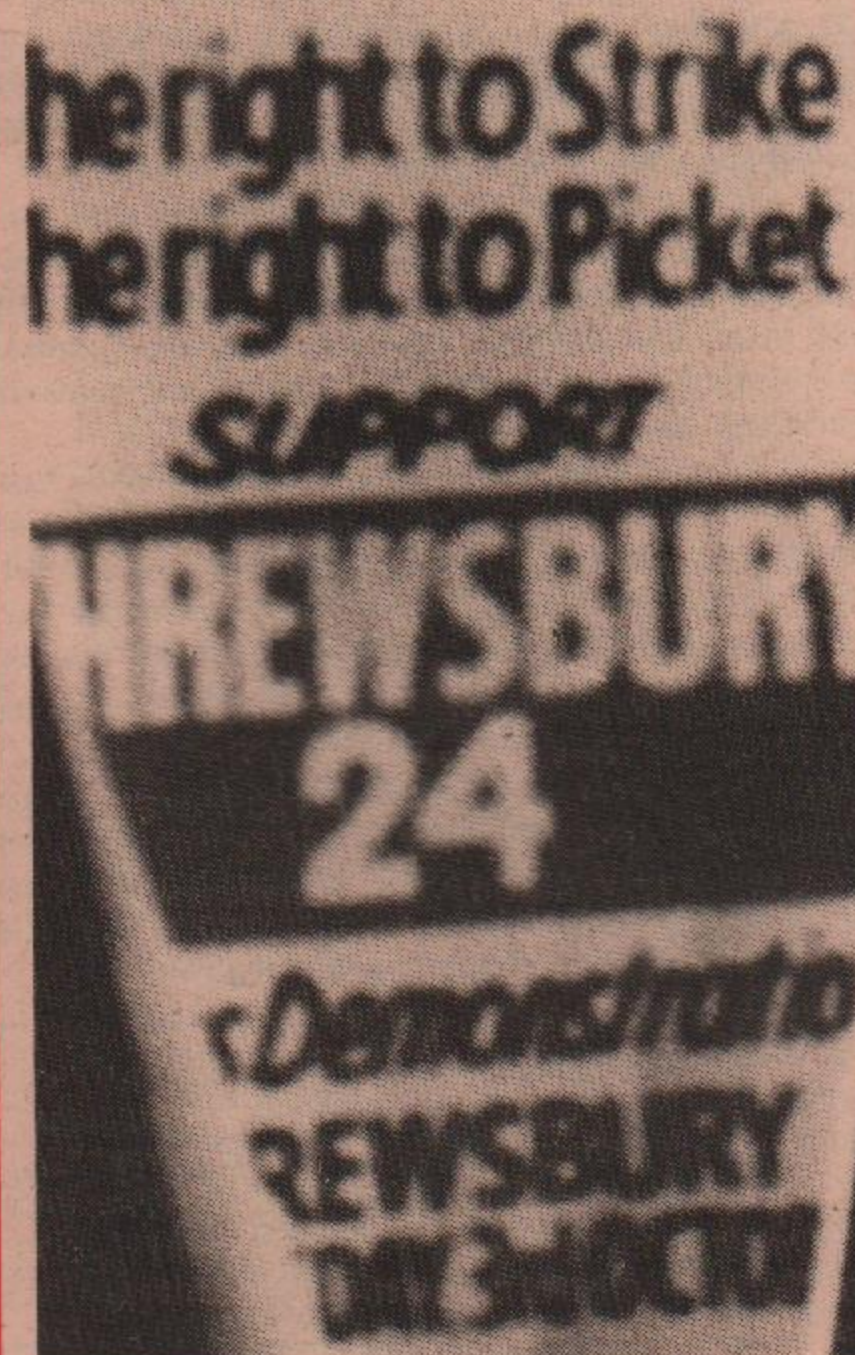
And they are trumped-up charges. At the actual time of the picketing there was no mention of any prosecutions. When the prosecutions were finally brought the 24 were charged under the specially raked up 1875 Act, a clear indication that this is no ordinary prosecution.

A few years before the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act was passed in 1875, Lord Abinger, a man famous for sentencing strikers, said: 'For men to meet together for the purposes of withholding their labour is so prevalent an evil that I cannot think of any sentence that would be too severe.' It is evident that this morality still prevails today.

It is quite incidental to the main issue that these men are building workers. The important point is that they are workers and trade unionists, picked on because they are from a weak and fragmented area.

Virtually no publicity has been given to the case by the news media. This is no accident. For these men are the scapegoats by which the authorities hope to crush the unions and subjugate the workers. The only publicity they want to give is after

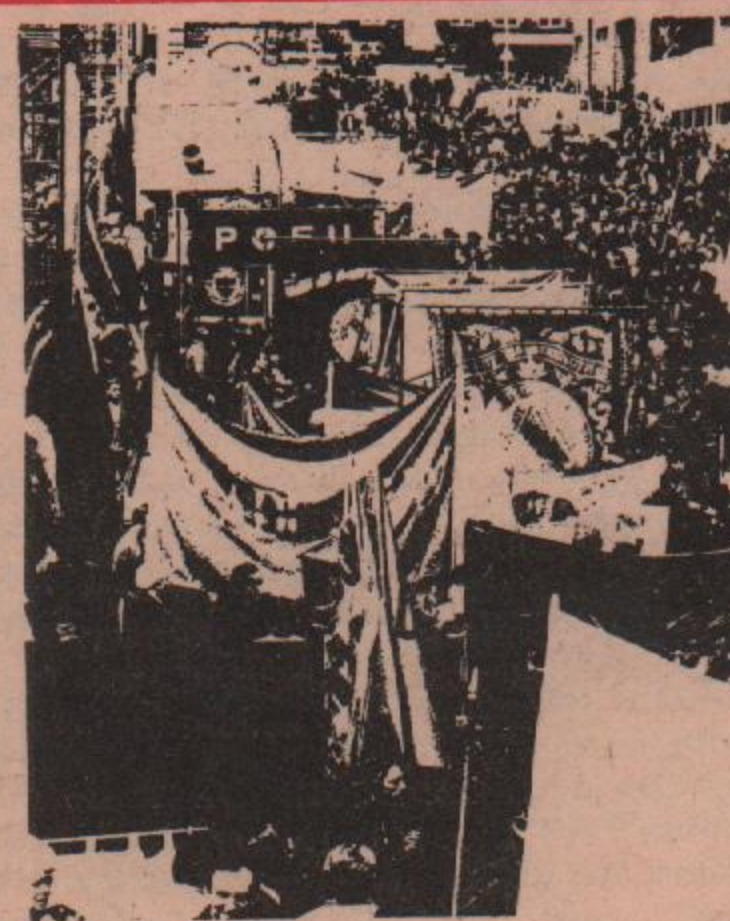
Turn to back page



Socialist Worker Industrial Conference

Belle Vue, Manchester
Sunday 11 November

Admission 10p
Details from IS Industrial Department
8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



Storms ahead for tyre giant

SW Reporter

STOKE on Trent:—The Michelin tyre company faces a stormy autumn. Pay negotiations this November are likely to be tougher than in previous years when miserably inadequate settlements led to the firm dropping several places down the local wages league.

The reasons for deteriorating conditions go further than the wage freeze. The giant multi-national Michelin, already outstripping its rivals in the tyre industry, is trying to break into the North American market with a big new plant in Canada. This means drastic rationalisation in all its plants.

Stoke, its British HQ, is its oldest plant in this country. The most modern plant, Dundee, can achieve the same production of lightweight tyres with 250 men as Stoke does with 5000. Yet the Michelin management, true to its tradition of absolute secrecy deny that anything is happening.

To fight Michelin's plans, both national and international organisation is necessary. For some years there has been a UK lay delegates conference bringing together representatives from Aberdeen, Ballymena, Belfast, Burnley, Dundee and Stoke.

Yet the company negotiates separately with each plant and there has been no co-ordinated action. This year the conference has proposed united negotiations. It has backed up its demands with a series of weekly one day strikes which began on 19 September.

United claim

In spite of last-minute management propaganda including a front-page article in the local paper, the response to the strike call was almost total. Large pickets showed that a united claim has overwhelming support.

But the weakness of the national organisation, at least as far as the Stoke plant there is no joint shop stewards committee. Local full-time union officials, using the excuse of the national 19 September stoppage, have obstructed the struggles of individual sections against the effects of rationalisation.

Recently 45 men in one of the wire processing departments, were involved in a work to rule and overtime ban. Management moved in men to do work normally done by the men who walked out. They received backing from another wire department, but the local TGWU official gave them no support. Management gave them an ultimatum of dismissal if there was no return to work. After a threatening letter was sent to each man involved in the dispute, the union official persuaded the men to return to work saying that their dispute might jeopardise the 19 September strike.

At the same time officials and representatives from the Stoke plant have this year helped establish an international body which brings together representatives from the Michelin plants in Northern Italy, from the vast French complex in Clermont Ferrand and the UK. Yet the effectiveness of this body will be tested in action and as yet it has taken none.

The brutal suppression of a strike at the Michelin plant at Lasarte in Northern Spain—where wages are half those in France—the arrest of some of the strike leaders, the occupation by armed police of the plant provoked protests and collections but no action from the various European plants.

If the unions are to face up to Michelin's plans effectively, a real fighting organisation has to be built. Joint shop stewards committees have to be formed that can unite each plant against piecemeal attacks on sections.

DISASTER SNUB

FOLLOWING publication of the report of the inquiry into the Lofthouse Colliery disaster last week, Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire area president of the National Union of Mineworkers, was

by Laurie Flynn, Socialist Worker Industrial Reporter

quick to describe it as 'a dismissal of trade-union concern over mineworkers' safety.'

In fact the report is worse even than that. It is a contemptuous

dismissal of trade-union concern over mineworkers' safety. And it is a barefaced avowal that the ruthless operations of the National Coal Board are not to be fettered by the

MEANWHILE BACK ON THE FACE...

by Billy Hyde

IN THE MIDDLE of last Thursday's afternoon shift at Windsor Colliery, Sengehendd, South Wales, a 17-year-old boy was caught by an oil drum which smashed against his legs. He could not walk and had to be carried out of the pit on a stretcher.

I went to 42 Face Supply Road to get the stretcher from the ambulance box. When I brought it back, I and my mates found that it was rotten through and through. The handle on one corner was bust and there were no straps for the bearers.

Somehow we got it half workable, and eight of us took it in turns to carry the lad, who was bleeding badly, a mile and a quarter along the mine road. The

road was so slippery that in one place the bearers fell and the lad nearly had another injury.

It is a miracle that the stretcher did not tear completely during the journey. When we got to the surface we carried the lad to the first aid room where we found the mine manager, Morris. He did not ask how the boy was. All he was bothered about was telling the eight of us that seeing it was 5.30pm we would not have to go back underground.

On the other hand, we were not to go home, as he had jobs on the surface for us. We told him that the stretcher was rotten, but he had it taken into the first aid room. Knowing Morris, he will probably try to send it back as it is. If he does, he may find a few feet through it.

awkward facts and questions which come out after each major pit disaster.

The National Union of Mineworkers put a list of 24 suggestions to the inquiry into the deaths of the seven Lofthouse miners after an inrush of water from old workings on 20 March. All of these are elementary and quite fundamental to the development of basic safety in the mines.

Every one of those suggestions has been rejected by the government apparatus man, J W Calder, chief inspector of mines and quarries, who conducted the inquiry.

Many of the suggestions have been rejected by using the familiar device that the inquiry was into Lofthouse alone and not the general situation in the mining industry which Lofthouse exemplifies.

NO CHALLENGE

All the vital evidence about the inadequacy of telephone communication underground has been set aside. The new and deliberately introduced lack of thoroughness in investigating documents before launching new coal developments has not been challenged.

And the report of the committee does not insist on new procedures for boring ahead of pit workings in potentially dangerous areas.

Picture: Christopher Davies (Report)



Adwest workers inside the occupied factory

Weak union aid behind strike defeat

SW Reporter

PORTSMOUTH:—After six weeks of struggle the strike for union recognition at the Tampax factory in Leigh Park has ended in defeat. It is a blow to the future of trade unionism in the whole area.

Much of the responsibility for this defeat must be borne by the AUEW district official and district committee for their failure to support the strike effectively.

Many of the strikers were demoralised by the fact that strike pay did not materialise for five weeks. And the union district committee failed to mobilise as much support as it could for the mass picket which took place in the fourth week.

Rejected

The committee refused to follow this up with another mass picket the following week, as requested by the strikers. It also rejected a call for a one-day solidarity strike in the district.

Finally, the district committee engineered the collapse of the strike by calling a meeting of both those still out and those who had crossed the picket lines to go back to work. It allowed voting rights to the scabs who had just been expelled from the union at the last branch meeting.

This left remaining strikers completely isolated and with no option but to return to work. They are not completely down-hearted and a hard core remain determined to keep up the struggle to build a strong union at Tampax.

Last week's report incorrectly stated that there were no arrests when police broke the mass picket to force a way through for scab lorries. In fact three pickets, Barry Gardner of the AUEW district committee, Rich Palseer, and IS member John Molyneux were arrested and charged with obstructing the police.

Jobs and machines threat stopped by sit-in strike

READING:—The Adwest Engineering factory in Woodley is under workers' occupation. The 600 workers, men and women, black and white, production grades and staff, are using the five-week-old sit-in to fight a management threat to their jobs.

Adwest makes power steering units for Jaguar, Jensen, Rover, Lancing and Bagnall and most large truck manufacturers. The sit-in is beginning to hit these firms.

Neville Amos, a member of the clerical union APEX and the official spokesman of the strike committee, described the background to the dispute:

'There are two main issues to this strike—the primary one is job security. Last December, the AUEW gave permission for 33 machines to be removed from these premises, to go to a new subsidiary in Pennywell, near Sutherland. In the event 45 machines got out, and we allowed this in good faith.

'Now the management is saying they want a further 75 machines to go out of here, so obviously the men are saying "Well what's all this about? What about our security?"

'The management have not indicated they intend to replace these machines in any way. And we find in the offices that when people leave we are not allowed to replace staff. So we're out on the basis of saying: Have we got a future here?'

The second issue, Neville Amos said, was negotiations on wage rates. Adwest claims it is planning to expand in Reading, which the workers find hard to believe because of the moving out of machines.

'But if they do intend to expand here,' Neville Amos added, 'then they'll have to bring the employees here and we'll only get them if we've got the wage rates. At the moment we understand we're some of the lowest paid in the light engineering industry.'

SW Reporter

Wages are just one of the problems facing the workers. In the past few months the firm has introduced a vicious speed-up, to make working conditions even worse than before.

The machines are mostly prehistoric—one spent World War Two buried in the Mersey Channel—and the heating system dates back to 1934.

The Adwest workers suspect that the boss, Frank Waller, wants to close the factory for 're-development' purposes. Already in Reading, Huntley and Palmer and Courage have used redundancies for this. Waller is also chairman of a recently-formed company called Adwest Properties (Reading) Ltd.

Drumming up

The union organisation in Adwest has only become effective in the last 18 months. Neville Amos said this is the first time there's been a total strike, with members of all four unions in full support. 'We're particularly pleased with the support from the women—they haven't wavered at all,' he said.

All the unions involved, AUEW, APEX, TASS, and ASTMS, have made the sit-in official, but most of the work

of drumming up support is being done by the strikers themselves. The neighbouring factory, Western Thompson, is part of the same group and the workers are out in support.

And shop stewards in Bowden Controls, another part of Waller's empire, have promised support and suggested forming a combine committee, which Neville Amos thinks is a good idea.

For years the components firms, from a union point of view, have been the soft underbelly of the vehicles industry. But now the tactics of one boss have meant that 600 components workers are showing their backbone.

As one striker, busy at work in the Despatch-Office-turned-Strike-Headquarters, put it: 'I've never felt like this before in my life. I was always dead anti-union until I got here. But the way Waller's stoked it up, well now I'm really determined.'

The sit-in urgently needs funds. Donations and collections should be sent to Harry Hammond, Strike Committee, Treasurer, Adwest Engineering, Headley Rd, Woodley, Reading, Berks.

LEAMINGTON FORD IS BRANCH public meeting
What's Happening at Dagenham
Speakers: Tony Barrow, TGWU shop steward Leamington, Tom Langan, AUEW shop steward, Dagenham, Ranelagh Tavern, Clemens Street, 8pm Sunday 30 September.

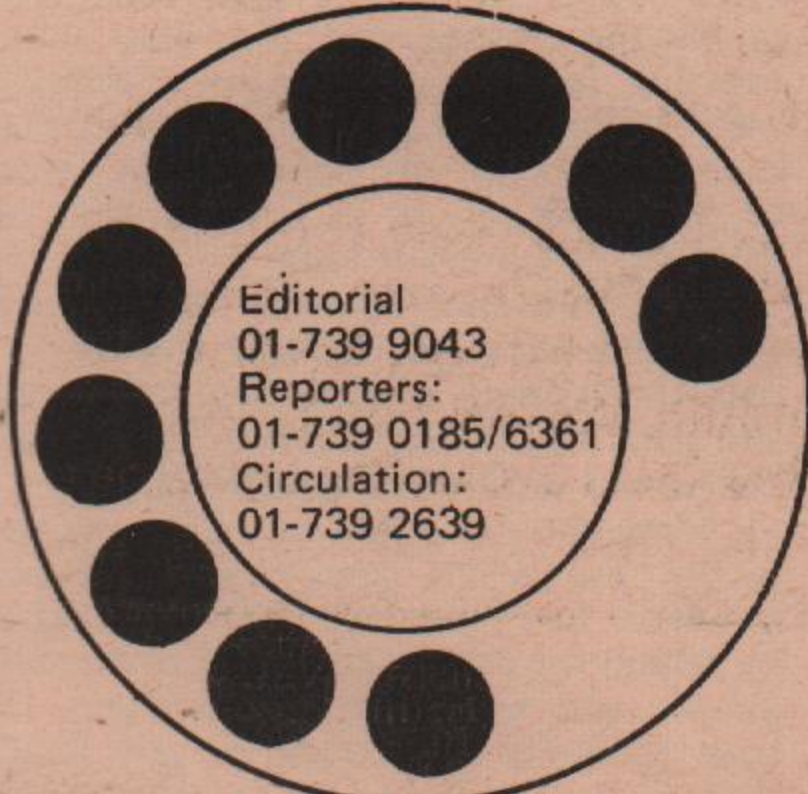
Women out

DUNDEE:—300 women at Vidor Batteries have now been on strike for four weeks in an equal pay battle. Management have refused the 77p increase the women want as the first of three equal instalments to give them parity with the lowest paid semi-skilled men by 1975.

Despite the fact that the women, AUEW members, have received no strike pay yet they are still determined to hold out for the full amount and have rejected a management offer of 37p.

CAMPAIGN FOR LABOUR PARTY DEMOCRACY Forum

in the Planet Room, the Winter Gardens, Blackpool. Speakers include: Joan Maynard, member Labour Party NEC, Ernie Roberts, Assistant General Secretary, AUEW, Richard Fletcher, London Co-op Political Committee, Chairman: Brenda Brett, Sunday 30 September. 9.45am/11.45am.



Editorial
01-739 9043
Reporters:
01-739 0185/6361
Circulation:
01-739 2639

FOR MINERS

Coal Board to axe top pit and 693 jobs

The inquiry did not even give consideration to the NUM's call for all mineworkers to be given some basic training in procedures for emergencies.

At the moment miners receive little or no safety training. Even this is impossible, it seems, since safety training too would interfere with the NCB and the government's relentless drive for higher production.

For those who are seriously concerned about safety at work there is a much more honest report on the Lofthouse disaster. In his Socialist Worker supplement in June this year, Bill Message showed how and why the disaster came about and how, with different priorities in the mines, it could have been avoided.

If more Lofhouses are to be avoided, then the National Union of Mineworkers will have to do more than denounce the predictable whitewashes from government committees of inquiry. Miners will have to end their leaders' romance with the Coal Board and start to organise for safety.

● *The report, Inrush at Lofthouse Colliery, Yorkshire, by J W Calder, Chief Inspector of Mines and Quarries, is available from branches of the Stationery Office, price £1.45.*

BRYNLLIW COLLIERY, one of the Coal Board's '150 key pits' which employs 693 miners at Grovesend, South Wales, is to close. A mass meeting of miners decided last week to make preparations for a 'massive fight' against the closure, which they see as a deliberate move to solve the Coal Board's recruitment problems in South Wales.

Most of the Brynlliw miners will be transferred to the two 'show pits' at Abernant and Cynheidre, which are heavily undermanned.

Terry Thomas, Lodge Secretary at Brinlliw, told Socialist Worker: 'Between 80 and 90 men are leaving the South Wales pits every week.'

'They have used this pit as an experiment for a new mining process, and now it is working and the pit is making a profit, they are closing us down to solve the manning problem in more profitable pits. The whole thing is absurd.'

The NCB strategy of mass closures as predicted some months ago by the miners' rank and file paper, *The Collier*, is beginning to work itself out in the coalfields. The recent closures of Gresford (North Wales), Kilmersdon (Somerset), Morrison Busty (Durham) and Coed Cae (South Wales) are only the start. In South Wales at least 10 pits will be axed in the next few years.

The board's strategy is to shift the miners like pawns according to the profitability of the different pits and their labour shortages. The scheme may not work out as planned.

Terry Thomas says: 'The men will not go to other pits. 99 per cent have faced closure before and they are not prepared to take any more.'

'When I was transferred from Garngoch No 3 in 1965 they told me that Brynlliw would never close. 150 men have come here from Durham and 50 are still working here. They are fed up with all this moving around.'

CLOSED SHOP VICTORY

TWO HUNDRED workers, most of them black, have stopped an attempt by the North London Caxton sweet factory management to use the Industrial Relations Act, in a bid to break the 'closed shop'.

Management and USDAW, the shop workers' union, had a longstanding closed-shop agreement. The only exceptions from obligation to join the union were temporary workers and students.

But the management tried to use this loophole to break the closed shop. It took on people as temporary and then encouraged them to stay on and not join the union.

The dispute came to a head over three people who had been working in the factory for more than six months. When approached to join the union they said management had told them they did not have to. The shop stewards' committee put up a notice declaring that if the problem was not solved by last Tuesday it would recommend action to its members.

The management removed the notice and put up its own, quoting the Industrial Relations Act—stating that it was illegal for workers to take industrial action to force someone to join the union.

A mass meeting voted unanimously to ask management to take the notice down by the next morning or they would occupy the canteen. The notice was still up the next day and the canteen quickly filled up. Within an hour, there was a queue of 20 lorries blocking the road outside the unmanned gates.

The management backed down. They not only agreed to take the notice down but produced a list of seven people not in the union and asked them to sign immediately.

VICIOUS PRISON TREATMENT FOR IRISH MILITANTS

by Teresa Webster and John Perry

THREE LUTON building workers—John Campbell, Jeremiah Mealy and Philip Sheridan—are being held in the top security wing of Leicester Prison. They are on remand for charges of 'conspiracy'.

But their real crime is being known sellers of Republican News, the Sinn Fein paper. The treatment handed out to the men and their families is a deliberate attempt to break the morale of Irish militants in Britain.

At 3.15pm on 9 August, the men were taken from their homes, supposedly on charges of armed robbery. Four hours later the homes of the men were raided by police with dogs 'searching for arms'.

Family letters were read, toys ripped open and even the cot of one of the men's handicapped child was searched. The wives were subject to 'clothing searches' without police women being present and sanitary towels were torn open in front of them. Finally the police removed such dangerous articles as the women's knitting and contraceptives which the police claimed were used in making explosives.

The women were not allowed to see their husbands until the day after their court appearances, when they met for 10 minutes in the cells. The men were handcuffed to warders. From extensive cuts and bruises it was obvious, the men had been badly beaten up.

As 'Category A' prisoners, their conditions have steadily worsened. They are held in solitary confinement and for some

time were allowed only half-an-hour's exercise together a day.

They were then told they would have to exercise singly in a notorious area of Leicester Prison known as the 'Wells'—a tiny submerged area, 30 yards by 5 feet into which the rubbish, excreta and urine of the prison is emptied. The governor claims this was made necessary due to a go-slow by warders, but in fact more warders are needed for supervising this procedure. Due to the risk to their health the men have refused to exercise in this area.

REFUSED

At present the men leave their cells only when they are visited. They are escorted by dogs to filthy visiting rooms for 15-minute talks through glass screens which are never cleaned. The visitors are subject to petty harassments, body searches without police women being present and the reading of family letters. Now the men have been refused permission to read the *Republican News*.

The men's wives are only able to travel from Luton twice a week, due to the distance and expense involved. Social Security originally refused to help the men's families and their financial problems are now critical.

But the morale of the men and their families remains magnificent. They urgently need money and the men must be visited as frequently as possible.

Messages of support, donations and offers of visiting should be sent to the Prisoners Aid Committee, 89 Ashton Road, Luton, Beds.

Smash bosses' blacklist construction men demand

by Greg Douglas

RANK AND FILE delegates to the AUEW Construction Section North East Divisional Conference declared full support for shop stewards, safety stewards and anyone victimised by the employers' blacklist. Delegates expressed concern over the Redpath Dorman Long grading system which was exposed on the Anchor Site, Scunthorpe.

All militants are graded as 'bad time-keepers', 'poor workers' and 'bad characters' and are prevented from getting further jobs. One of the most disturbing features of this situation is the length of time it has taken to get any official condemnation of the system, which is operated throughout the RDL combine.

The motion condemning the system has now been endorsed by the union executive and is the first stage in trying to get greater protection for the militant RDL shop stewards responsible for gaining important victories over safety and conditions in the construction industry.

Militants understand that RDL management right down to junior foremen are involved in compiling the blacklist infor-

mation which is fed to the combine's head office in Bedford. The HQ then decides if men will continue to work in the industry or not. RDL is now cornering a huge percentage of the British Steel Corporation's development and if a worker falls foul of RDL's grading system, then he is virtually blocked in the whole industry.

A condemnation of RDL's grading system by the official trade union movement would give a lead to stewards and militants up and down the country who are faced with the same threat to their livelihood and help to dispel the fears that the blacklist is an occupational hazard.

APOLOGIES to all Socialist Worker subscribers: Some people are getting their copy later than expected. We are doing our best to overcome the problems of a new addressing system and postal delays.

London IS branches should now collect their Socialist Worker bundles from the new IS Bookshop at 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 (one minute from Finsbury Park tube and BR station—phone 802 6145) on Thursdays.

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

JACK JONES is really excelling himself. Not content with promoting scabbing in the Chrysler dispute he now tells us that the company's threat to pull out of Britain 'must be taken very seriously'. In other words, do not be too nasty to the Chrysler management or they will run away and take their plants with them.

Suppose for a moment that this can be taken seriously. Why stop at Chrysler? Three out of the four big car firms (Ford, Vauxhall-GM, Chrysler) are foreign-owned, American-owned to be exact. Ford, as everybody knows, has used the same threat in the past that Chrysler is now using. Presumably trade unionists should not press Ford or Vauxhall too hard either.

The logic of Jack Jones' statement is that the industrial struggle in Britain must be damped down for fear that the multi-millionaire car barons of Detroit take offence. What sort of position is that for a supposedly 'left wing' trade union leader? In fact the threat to 'move our operations elsewhere' is one of the standard threats of the big multi-national firms and, usually, it is pure bluff.

But even supposing that in this case it is not bluff, there is an obvious answer. If Chrysler cannot or will not operate its plants in Britain then those plants should be nationalised. Even a Conservative government was forced to step in to prevent Rolls-Royce from collapsing.

Disgraceful

It doesn't seem to have occurred to Jack Jones that Chrysler can be prevented from putting its machinery into crates and shipping it to some 'free enterprise' paradise where the workers are kept in line by police and the army.

Jack Jones is a patron of the Institute of Workers' Control which enthusiastically and correctly supported the refusal of the workers of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders to allow their management to arbitrarily close down their operation. Evidently his commitment to 'workers' control' doesn't extend to Chrysler workers.

The truth is that Jones has got into his present disgraceful position because he has run away from the fight against the Tory government's so-called 'incomes policy'. No one has been more eloquent in denouncing the 'incomes policy' fraud than Jack Jones. But when a handful of electricians at Chrysler actually took action in support of a claim that was not acceptable to the Tory government, he not only failed to help them but acted to help the government. Now, to cover his tracks, he is echoing the threats of the company.

A long time ago the founder of a movement, revolutionary in its time, was asked how his followers could distinguish true preachers from false ones. He replied: 'By their deeds shall ye know them'. It is a thought that those who have put their trust in 'left wing' trade union leaders should take to heart.

TORY LIE ON CHILE

JUST ELEVEN DAYS after the right-wing military dictatorship established itself in Chile, overthrowing by force the elected government, the British government awards it diplomatic recognition. Foreign Secretary Home tells us: 'We have a regular practice... If a government is deemed to be in control of its territory, then we recognise it.'

Now this is a bare-faced lie. For 23 years the British government refused to recognise the German Democratic Republic, for more than 40 years it refused to recognise the Mongolian People's Republic. We hold no brief for either of these regimes but the facts prove the complete hypocrisy of Home and Heath. They rushed to recognise the Chilean dictatorship because, in their hearts, they approve of it.



Sweden faces waiting game

SWEDEN's new king, who is to lose his remaining powers in 1975, may have one important piece of business to settle before he retires to be just a foundation stone-layer and international playboy. For the general election two weeks ago resulted in an exact tie between the 'socialist' parties and the anti-socialist coalition.

The Social Democratic Party has been in power for an uninterrupted 41 years. For the past three years it has kept in office by the support of the Left Party (Communist), and it needs to make another deal to remain in power now. The Communists are willing to keep up their previous arrangement, which would give the two sides exactly equal votes in parliament.

Coalition with the liberals would give the Social Democrats a parliamentary majority, but the liberals, who have changed their name to the People's Party and lost heavily in the election by joining the right-wing alliance, have rejected this.

Olaf Palme, the Social Democratic leader, is trying to avoid another election and has even said there can be a lucky dip to decide deadlocked issues in parliament. The conservatives—now called the Moderates in the general trend towards phoney and confusing party names—are trying to force a new poll. Since the new parliament is not due to meet till January, Palme can play the waiting game for a few months yet.

The main underlying issue in the election was high taxation. The economy has been flagging, unemployment increasing, and the government's attempts to counter inflation have led to even higher taxes, particularly VAT. Prices are high—a pint of beer costs 60p.

Racialism

High taxation in Sweden pays for the welfare state, but also for increased spending on the police since Palme responded to right-wing competition with a 'law and order' campaign of his own.

The opposition has also used racialism against immigrant workers, but here again the Social Democrats have simply outbid the right. Three years ago they introduced severe anti-immigration laws, and the flow of immigrant workers—mainly from Yugoslavia—has virtually stopped.

The 41 years of Social Democratic government and the welfare state in Sweden have left big business untouched. The public sector is tiny, and one of the government's most controversial recent proposals has been a plan for the state pension fund to buy shares in industry. The small clique of families who own most of Swedish industry have done very well, while the working-class share of the national income has remained almost constant.

The working class have, of course, their world-famous welfare state, but this is exaggerated abroad. Provision for unemployment—with public works and re-training schemes—is good, which is why it has come under attack, but it is only this year that the health service has been extended to include dentists. Swedes still have to pay a fee for every visit to the doctor.

Trade unions were shackled by the 1928 Collective Agreements Act, and disputes are settled in court with the union officials disciplining their members.

But while the Social Democrats may be able to fool the middle class into believing they have socialism and a classless society, Swedish workers are now putting less faith in the system. Since the miners' strike of late 1969 there has been a wave of unofficial strikes in defiance of union discipline, and the Communist Party, though it presents no real challenge to the Social Democrats, has increased its vote.

To this reality, the tied election is largely irrelevant. It shows how thin the Social Democrats' claims to offer a different sort of society from the right wing parties have worn.

Left, right, about turn! Chinese Communist balancing act goes on

by Jim Higgins

THE Communist Party of China held its shortest congress to date—from 24 to 28 August—in secret. The 24 million party members were blissfully unaware of its deliberations until the final communiques were issued.

The congress was merely a formal

recognition of the changes there have been in the past four years. As the 1969 gathering marked the end of the struggles against the 'right-wing' faction of Liu Shao-chi, so 1973 celebrated the victory over the 'left-wing' faction of Lin

Piao. The carefully selected and balanced composition of the new Central Committee is clear evidence of an attempt to ensure a period of calm after the recent storms.

The accusations of 'right' and 'left' deviations are difficult to fit into meaningful political categories. For at the same time as Lin Piao is accused of 'leftism' and 'Trotskyism', he is also condemned as plotting to restore capitalism.

The twists and turns of internal policy suggest a complicated succession of balancing acts rather than the exercise of socialist politics.

In the 'Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' of 1966 the mass movement of Red Guards had to be counterbalanced by the army. Now the party apparatus has to be brought back into play to overcome the excessive power of the army, as personified by Minister of Defence Lin Piao.

In each succeeding struggle the Maoist faction has found it necessary to make violent reversals of policy. Liu Shao-chi, the 'number one capitalist roader', was denounced during the Cultural Revolution for his emphasis on industrial development and for the use of incentive schemes. The little red book replaced cash as the incentive and reward for increased effort.

At that time no one was closer to Mao than Lin Piao. At the 1969 Congress he was not only designated Mao's successor but had his name written into the constitution as 'Chairman Mao's closest companion in arms... unwavering supporter and successor.'

Within a few months this paragon of all the revolutionary virtues was transformed into a 'Trotskyite, Russian spy'. The Chinese leadership was reinstating incentive schemes, restoring a number of government and party officials purged in the Cultural Revolution to their posts—including Teng Hsiao-ping, the 'number two capitalist roader'—and seeking technical assistance for Chinese industry from a number of Western countries.

Deals

None of these changes occurred in a vacuum. In foreign policy, Nixon's visit was merely the most dramatic of a series of diplomatic moves designed to develop a strategy against the threat of possible Russian invasion.

This threat overshadows practically all the Chinese leadership's thinking. It has led to approval of NATO as bulwark against the westward march of 'Russian imperialism'. It lies behind the Chinese deals with Nixon and their help in ending the hot phase of the Vietnam War.

In their search for foreign acceptance, the Chinese leaders have not stopped short of diplomatic recognition of the reactionary regimes of Spain and Greece. They have even gone so far as to suggest an amnesty for Chiang Kai-shek and his followers on Taiwan, with the possibility of government office for Chiang or his son in return for reunification.

This is the background to the four-day secret congress. Lin Piao has been read out of the Communist Party and the history books, branded as a would-be assassin of Mao and a Russian hireling. The mass movement of Red Guards that he, with Mao, led and inspired, has been quietly dropped in favour of the more orthodox Communist Youth League. The 'rightist' policy of Liu Shao-chi, denounced during the Cultural Revolution, has been re-adopted and reinforced.

The gaps in the party apparatus following the purges of right and left are being filled, and a new uneasy coalition has been cobbled together. The 'great helmsman' is of course still at the top, with the seemingly indestructible Chou En-lai number two in the pecking order.

One thing is clear: the Chinese leaders, like the Russians before them, are indulging in great power diplomacy with a cynicism and lack of principle that stands in direct contradiction to socialist internationalism. The 1973 party congress offers no support for the real struggles for liberation and socialism that must be fought out, in China as in Britain, by the working class.



Some of the thousands of people who demonstrated in Munich last week against the military coup in Chile

CHILE'S ARMY JUNTA DIGS IN

INFORMATION from Chile is still scrappy, but it seems the first stage of resistance against the military take-over is over.

The working class which Allende's regime has kept demobilised and disarmed was just not strong enough to confront the powerful Chilean army.

Regis Debray, recently in Chile and a close friend of Allende, estimates that about 20,000 workers were armed or had access to arms. The extent and heroism of the resistance is a tribute to the organisations that the workers themselves had built in the last years of Allende's rule, as they came to realise the limits of the Popular Unity government.

Through 'cordons' formed in the suburbs of Santiago and other cities and the People's Supply Committees, the workers took matters into their own hands as the ruling class began consciously to sabotage the economic life of the country. The cordons and committees set out to organise the distribution of goods to counter the 'bosses' strikes', and it was they that

by Ian Birchall

began to prepare for armed struggle.

With Allende unwilling to challenge the army the preparations were necessarily inadequate.

It was this growth of workers' self-organisation, rather than any threat posed by Allende's respect for the constitution, that led the Chilean ruling class to resort to violence. It is not surprising that the most vicious repression is now being directed at the militants of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) who criticised Allende from the left.

Fascist

But repression is the easiest job for the military junta. They are trained killers. The longer-term problem is what political solution they will adopt. One would be to hand over power to the openly fascist groups of the extreme right—or they could come to terms with the Christian Democrats, Chile's biggest political party.

The second solution would seem

to make more sense in the long term for capitalism in Chile, but there may be difficulties as some Christian Democrats are expressing reservations about the repression, while keeping their heads down.

In the short term the junta may be able to offer some economic 'stability'. The alleged 'economic chaos' was produced not by Allende's mismanagement, but by international pressure and by deliberate hoarding and sabotage by the Chilean middle class.

But in the longer term they have no solution to the problems of inflation and underdevelopment. The struggles will be renewed, and Chilean workers will keep the memory of the economic and organisational gains made before the coup.

The struggle against the military dictatorship will be a class struggle. Any attempt to regroup the forces of the Popular Unity into some broad-based coalition of 'all progressive forces' can lead only to confusion and further defeat. Only the working class can solve Chile's problems.

BRIEFING

IN SRI LANKA (Ceylon), the pro-Moscow Communist Party has left the United Front government of Mrs Bandaranaike and has expelled two ministers who argued for continued co-operation with the government.

During the three years the party has been part of Bandaranaike's self-styled 'socialist' government, Sri Lanka depended more than ever on loans and aid from Western countries, and received military and financial aid from both Russia and China. Within a few months of coming to power, the government launched an attack on the radical JVP youth movement, and this was soon transformed into mass murder. At least 25,000 young rebels were killed and 16,000 are still in prison.

The government's price control has meant rocketing inflation, unemployment figures have reached a record level, and all forms of industrial action, including strikes, have been illegal since the Emer-

gency Powers Act of March 1971.

IN THE United States, Land of the Free and Home of the brave, the police and government agencies have almost unlimited freedom to spy on private citizens, and the brave are those who have the courage to pursue their political aims in the face of intimidation.

At the last presidential election, the Peace and Freedom Party managed to get on to the ballot in several states. It was a coalition of middle-class liberals, radicals and genuine left-wingers who managed to collect the 500 signatures necessary to get their candidate, Dr Benjamin Spock, put up for the presidency. Idaho was one of these states.

In June 1972 the FBI collected the list of those who had signed to get the PEP on to the ballot from the chief election officer, and the department of the

Secretary of State for Idaho has admitted that the file was handed over as a matter of course.

One of the PEP candidates for local office at the same election in Idaho has said that the incident 'smacks of the Gestapo and the Thought Police of 1984. People signed the petition because they believed that other people should have the right to start their own political party outside the Republicans and Democrats. Many who signed it did not agree with our ideas. Signing it should not be grounds for subjecting them to FBI surveillance or putting them on the FBI record.'

This is not an isolated incident. The Secretary of State of Washington state has admitted that he also regularly turns over to the FBI lists of persons attending minority party conferences.

A LEGAL argument conducted by a scholar on behalf of a priest was one of

the tactics used to delay Spain's most important political trials for many years.

The priest was Father Francisco Garcia Salve, one of the 10 people arrested in June 1972 in the monastery of the Oblate Fathers of Puzuelo, and charged a year later with setting up the Co-ordinating Committee of the illegal Workers' Commissions. The trial was scheduled for this September, but will probably be held in October, due among other things to the argument over whether Father Garcia Salve's prosecution should have been authorised by the signature of an archbishop.

This trial, known by the number 1001, is an attack on the only real workers' organisations in Spain, and the prosecution is demanding a total 162 years in jail sentences. Workers in Spain must organise secretly to defend their basic rights, and all trade unionists in this country should give them support.

FOOT

PRINTS



SPECIAL ASSAULT GROUP

SEVEN people were arrested by the newly-formed police 'Special Patrol Group' during the march against the freeze last May Day. Five of them were dockers. Three of the dockers were charged with obstruction. By coincidence, the other two, who had been prominent in the agitation to release the Pentonville Five the previous summer, were also charged with assaulting the police.

The picture on the left, taken from this month's issue of the Dockworker paper, shows one of the men, Charlie Alexander, in the act of brutally assaulting several members of the Special Patrol Group who are responding with the patient restraint for which they are famous.

Charlie came up at Wells Street magistrates court last month and was convicted of assault, fined £50 and given a three-month prison sentence suspended for two years.

The other defendant, George Scott, came up in court earlier this month after the case had been postponed several times at the request of the police. There was some embarrassment on the prosecution benches as the police gave evidence.

Royal Family's favourite

PERHAPS the happiest family in Britain after the Chilean coup were the Royals. Ex-president Frei, the Chilean Christian Democrat leader who helped to organise the coup with his fascist friends in the forces, was one of the Royal Family's favourites.

Frei had a full state visit to Britain in 1966, and paid back the hospitality with interest when the Queen and Duke went to Chile on a state visit in 1968.

Frei was introduced to their majesties by the elegant Christian Democrat ambassador to London, Victor Santa Cruz. Santa Cruz was described by the Daily Express the other day as a 'superb party giver'. His lovely daughter Lucia was a close companion of Prince Charles, and was often mentioned as a possible mate for the prince (and so a possible future queen).

The Royal Family were most distressed when the friendship broke down, and Lucia went back to Chile to marry a rich businessman. She is now back in London as the embassy's new press attache, and her father is expected soon to take over as ambassador.

Off school

ONE of the social problems in Belfast not fully dealt with in the press is the rising rate of truancy among school-boys of all religions. Belfast Education Committee has started a campaign this school year to 'crack down' on parents as soon as a regular truancy is reported.

Two weeks ago the authority wrote angrily to Mr and Mrs John Murphy of Balkan Street in the Lower Falls district demanding an 'immediate explanation' for their 15-year-old son's absence from school.

Mr and Mrs Murphy have replied briefly: 'It would be difficult for our son Alex to get to school. He has been detained for the past seven weeks in Long Kesh internment camp.'

Law and Order department

ON 22 AUGUST Mrs Jean Ashley, of Flat 2, Sunnylands, Chard, Somerset, was jailed for six months after she had admitted stealing three pints of milk. Sir Lionel Bett, chairman of Chard magistrates, told her: 'You have been given every possible chance.'

Mrs Ashley has six children, all under 10. Her husband was unemployed when she stole the milk. She had several previous convictions all of stealing very small sums of money, mainly from gas meters.

Mrs Ashley admitted almost at once that she had stolen the milk. 'I needed it for the kiddies,' she said, 'and I will pay for it.'



Clive Jenkins: £20,000

THE WAR OF JENKINS' GRANT (CONTINUED)

MY CONDOLENCES to Clive Jenkins, general secretary of ASTMS, the supervisory union, who is coming up against bureaucratic difficulties experienced by the hard-working property speculator.

As I reported earlier this year, Clive, who has a very nice house on the Regents Canal in fashionable London NW1, has been buying up

likely-looking property near Harlow, Essex. He picked up the Churchgate Street Junior School at an auction for a mere £20,000, and promptly announced plans to split the school into two self-contained houses.

Like any good property man, Clive knew there was no need to pay for all the conversion costs himself, and applied at once to Harlow Council for an 'improvement grant' of £20,000.

Now the council's public health committee has turned down the application, showing a disgraceful contempt for the right of a left-wing trade union leader to fund his property speculation through the ratepayers.

is a very serious matter.'

But then the judge 'took into account' the fact that Mr Lawrence is a soldier in the Greenjackets regiment and was on duty in Northern Ireland. Major John Crisp of the Greenjackets told the court: 'He has done very well in Belfast.'

Judge Lee concluded: 'If I send you to prison, it will ruin your career in the army, and I think the public will best be served by you remaining there.'

So Lawrence was fined £50 and allowed to go back to Northern Ireland, where he can frighten old ladies in the middle of the night as part of his legal duties.

Tears

A woman constable claimed that George had seized her by the throat and knocked her to the floor of a police van, in which there were 10 people sitting. She had, she told the court in moving tones, lain there on the floor semi-conscious all the way to the police station.

While the magistrate was wiping his tears away, another constable went into the box to tell the court that his woman colleague had got up almost immediately after being assaulted. Similar contradictions followed until the case was surreptitiously dismissed.

I am sorry to report that the SPG is known in certain sections of the London docks as the Scabs Protection Group.

TALKING of dockworkers, a certain amount of resentment has been caused among trade unionist dockworkers about the revelation that the BBC series *The Brothers* will soon be featuring the vans of Hammond Brothers, a stevedoring firm in Dover. The haulage firm in the serial is also known as the Hammonds.

When the management at Dover Stevedoring, a Hammond subsidiary, tried to sack half its 40 workers recently, they all came out on strike and have been out for three weeks.

The pickets at Midland Cold Storage last year during the dockers' tussle with the Industrial Relations Act remember that Hammonds was the only company which consistently broke the picket lines. Many dockworkers find it difficult to understand why a firm with such a shocking record of anti-union activities should get free advertising.

SPOT THE DIFFERENCE

'We are a democratic socialist party and proud of it. We put the principles of democracy and socialism above considerations of class and market economics'—1972 Labour Party Conference document: Labour's Programme for Britain.

'We are a democratic socialist party and proud of it. We put the principles of democracy and socialism above considerations of privilege and market economics'—1973 Labour Party Conference document: Labour's Programme for Britain.

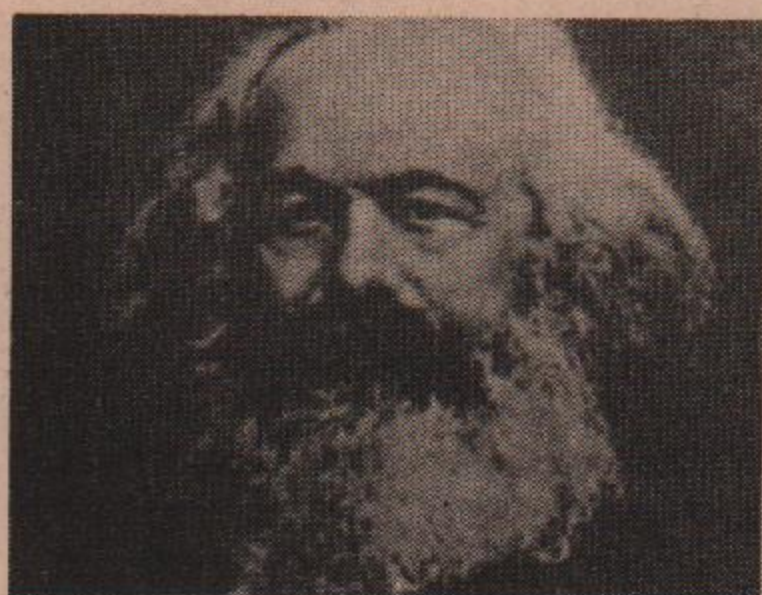
WHY CHILEAN LEFT DUG ITS OWN GRAVE...

'THOSE who half make revolutions only dig their own graves.' It was said long ago, actually during the great French Revolution by the Jacobin leader Saint-Just, but could there be a better comment on the events in Chile?

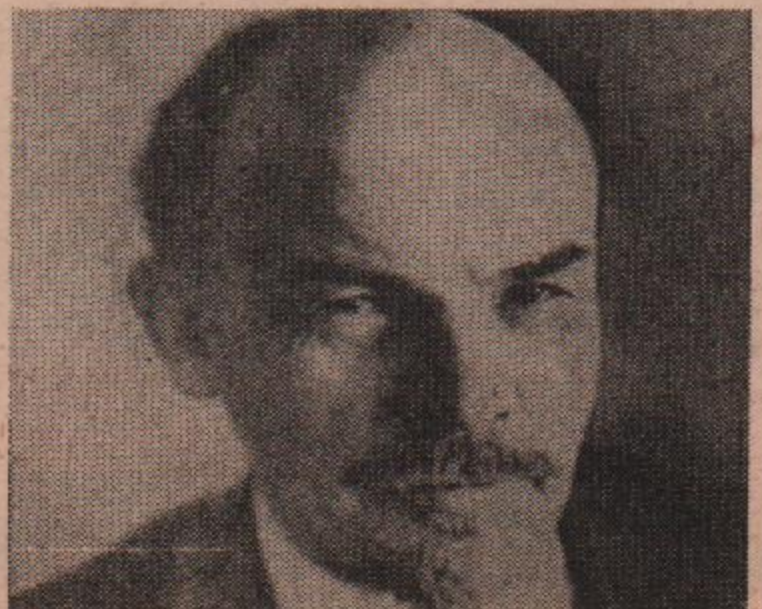
The Morning Star tells us that: 'Communists everywhere, including those of Italy, France and Britain, are certainly discussing the lessons of the coup in Chile.' Unfortunately, if the article telling us this is any guide, the discussion so far has not yet got to grips with the basic truth stated by Saint-Just.

The Star puts forward several arguments in defence of the policies of the Chilean Communist Party and the Popular Unity government of which it was a major part. But the really astonishing thing about the article, which appeared on Monday 17 September, is that it manages to avoid altogether the central question: how could the military coup have been avoided?

What happened in Chile was that a left-wing government, using legal, constitutional means, tried to push through changes that were basically unacceptable to the ruling class—and the heads of the armed forces and the police, using illegal, unconstitutional means, overthrew the government and established a right-wing military dictatorship.



Marx and Lenin: state must be smashed



Now this is not some new, unprecedented development. To go no further afield than Europe and no further back in time than 1967, the Greek colonels carried out their coup and set up their dictatorship—using incidentally the NATO 'anti-subversive' plan, codename Prometheus. The British army has a plan of the same sort, so does the army of every NATO country.

What can be done about it? The Star gives us phrases about 'isolating the reactionaries', 'imposing the will of the working people on the reactionary monopolists', 'popular vigilance and mass action' and so on. But how exactly does all this prevent generals and police chiefs doing what they did in Chile?

Marx had an answer. In his view 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery'—in other words it cannot transform society by 'constitutional' means, for the very good reason that the 'constitutional' bosses of the armed forces will not permit it if they retain control of the troops.

And Lenin, quoting Marx on the need 'to smash the bureaucratic-military state machine' described this as 'the principal lesson of marxism on the tasks of the working class in relation to the state during a revolution.'

The Communist Party leaders believe that the views of Marx and Lenin on the matter are out of date. So did their Chilean comrades. They attempted to transform Chile without destroying the power of the generals, indeed with the generals in their government. They tried to 'half make' a revolution and they did indeed dig their own graves.

The Star makes the point that the Allende government did not have a majority in the Chilean parliament, it got 'only' 44 per cent of the votes in the March elections this year. 'The objective was therefore to win more and more people to support the government.'

But suppose Allende had got 51 per cent of the votes in March. Does anyone believe that would have deterred the leaders of the coup? Remember, the first act of the 'constitutionalists' was to suspend the constitution, including the parliament, including even the right-wing opposition party MPs! The writer of the Star article really does seem to be suffering from what Lenin called 'parliamentary cretinism'.

The Star, continuing its obsession with votes, invites us to consider the position of the conservative and liberal voters in Chile and 'the extent to which they were

antagonised by the adventurist actions and policies of the ultra-left'. So the (unfortunately) weak forces of the revolutionary left are to blame!

Let us be quite clear. The 'provocation' came from Allende and it consisted of policies that benefitted the Chilean workers at the expense, to some degree, of the rich and the middle classes. That is why there was a military coup.

The Popular Unity government was willing to bait the capitalist tiger, to wound it, but not to kill. There could be no more dangerous 'adventurist action' than this.

'Those who criticise it [the Allende government] have the obligation to say what their alternatives would have been. If they argue that during the past three years the Chilean revolutionary movement should have embarked on the path of armed struggle, they then have to show how this would have done anything other than play into the hands of reaction and resulted in the still earlier imposition of a right-wing dictatorship in Chile,' writes the Star.

Well, we actually got the right-wing dictatorship as a result of 'Popular Unity' policies. Is the Star saying it was inevitable whatever the left did?

But the alternatives are falsely put. It is not a question of 'armed struggle versus parliamentarianism' in the Che Guevara sense of a small number of armed men waging guerrilla war against the regular forces. Such tactics can only destroy a regime that is already at death's door.

It can happen, as we saw in Cuba, but it is not a road to power for the working class. It is a way in which one minority group can very occasionally replace another as rulers. The working class can free itself only by its own actions.

How? Certainly the 'bureaucratic-military state machine' must be broken and, as a wealth of experience shows, it can be broken by a mass revolutionary movement.

Not because such a movement has any prospect of military superiority. As Engels wrote: 'A real victory of an insurrection over the military in street fighting, a victory as between two armies, is one of the rarest exceptions. And the insurgents [of 1848] counted on it just as rarely. For them it was solely a question of making the troops yield to moral influences.'

In other words the movement has to carry the ordinary soldiers with it, to disintegrate the power of the generals to use them as passive robots willing to kill to order.

Engels wrote from direct personal experience. He himself fought in the German revolution of 1848. But even without the benefit of personal experience the lesson is crystal clear. If the French army had obeyed orders in 1789, the Bastille would never have been taken. If the Russian army had obeyed the orders of Kerensky in 1917 the Winter Palace would never have fallen.

Of course a truly mass movement with the moral power to sway the human instruments of class rule cannot be created to order. It can develop only out of a great social crisis in which a revolutionary leadership with the will to win commands mass support.

But it can be worked for. The groundwork can be laid in day to day struggle.

The real criticism of Allende and the Chilean Communist Party is not that they failed. It is that they ran away from the necessity to build a revolutionary movement and led their supporters up the blind alley of a 'constitutional' road to socialism.

Revolt

Who hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness . . . That whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it . . . That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent states, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.'

The men who put their names to this, the American Declaration of Independence on the fourth of July 1776, were the leaders of the first successful colonial revolution.

From the point of view of the British ruling class and—what is much the same thing—in the eyes of the law, they were traitors, 'We must all hang together,' said one of them, 'or we will all hang separately' and that was literally true.

Treason, of course, is a political crime but a rather special one because, as the old saying has it, 'Treason never prospers; for if it doth it is no longer treason.' The traitors of 1776 were successful. They became the founding fathers of the United States of America.

They were, for the most part, rich men. Like the leaders of the English revolution in the previous century, they became revolutionaries to protect and increase their wealth. They believed, with good reason, that it was threatened by continued British rule.

An American historian wrote of the delegates to the first Continental Congress: 'They were the American aristocracy; the merchants, the lawyers and the great planters of the South.'

Advocates

This was clear enough to the British rulers of colonial America. 'The plan of the people of property,' wrote the British General Gage, 'has been to raise the lower classes . . . without the influence and instigation of these [the wealthy] the inferior people would have been very quiet.'

And an English Tory drew the attention to a very peculiar fact about the American advocates of the 'Rights of Man'. 'Why is it,' he asked, 'that the loudest yelps for liberty come from the drivers of slaves?'

It was partly true. George Washington was a slave-owner. So was Patrick Henry, the radical who proclaimed 'Give me Liberty or give me Death.'

The developing capitalist class in America, for that was what the revolutionary leaders represented was not oppressed by a semi-feudal monarchy. That had been destroyed in Britain by the seventeenth century revolutions.

THE GREAT REVOLUTIONS

by Duncan Hallas

Part Three

It was oppressed by the 'colonial system' operated in the interests of British capitalists. The colonies were run as sources of raw materials for British industry and markets for surplus British manufacturers.

The colonists were forbidden to manufacture ironware of any kind. That was reserved for British ironmasters. The Americans could make iron, but only for export to Britain.

They were forbidden to manufacture woollen goods and even hats and caps. No competition with the most important English textile industry was allowed. The Americans must buy British.

The British Board of Trade spelt out its policy in a statement some 20 years before the revolution. 'Encouraging manufactures which in any way interfere with the manufactures of this Kingdom, has always been thought improper, and has ever been discouraged.'

The Boston tea party: Britain's tax on tea was answered by dumping a British cargo



NEXT WEEK:
Louis' big

FRED HALL

KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

Social Security for Strikers



a Socialist Worker pamphlet 2p

5p (inc post), 10 or more post free, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

by 'colonials' that launched the USA

Equally important was the British control of trade. The most important colonial exports, tobacco, cotton, rice, indigo, iron, timber and, after 1776, even fish and flour, could be legally sent only to Britain.

British merchants naturally took advantage of their monopoly position. And imports from countries other than Britain were either forbidden or subject to such heavy taxes that they could not compete with British goods. The Americans had to pay the extra prices.

In these circumstances smuggling became a major American industry. For example, sugar and molasses (for making rum) could be bought in the French West Indian islands for up to 40 per cent below the British prices.

Respectable

Fortunes were made by smuggling in illegal French molasses and sugar in exchange for the equally illegal export of American goods. Some idea of the scale of this criminal activity can be seen from the estimate that in 1763 some 15,000 hogsheads of molasses were imported into Massachusetts and only 500 of them paid the tax.

The men who operated this huge defiance of the law were not petty criminals. They were highly respectable citizens, great merchants and ship owners, like John Hancock of Boston, who signed the Declaration of Independence in extra large letters so that, as he said, the King of England would read his name without using spectacles.

The revolutionary crisis was sparked off, as commonly happens, by the government. In 1763, at the end of the seven years' war with France, the British government permanently took over French Canada, thus freeing the colonies of the threat of the French and their Indian allies and so making British rule less acceptable.

It then went on to tighten its control over American trade. It reinforced its naval patrols against smugglers.

More troops were sent to America to enforce 'law and order' of the



LEXINGTON
19 April 1775:
the American
revolution began
when 'rebels'
opened fire and
scattered the
redcoats

men of the revolutionary army, for the greater part, were plain people, the small farmers, the frontiersmen; in short the poorer classes.'

They fought because they believed they were fighting for a new world. And basically, in spite of slavery in the south, in spite of the fact that the revolution was 'a rich man's war but a poor man's fight' they were right.

Advance

It was a rich man's war but it was not only a rich man's war. The men who came to rule the new American republic were not 'plain people', they were the American capitalist class. But the republic was undoubtedly an advance, politically and economically, even for the majority of poor Americans.

The American revolution was a capitalist revolution—a bourgeois revolution in marxist language—but it was a capitalist revolution at a time when capitalism was still a progressive system, the best system then possible.

It was a great step forward in America. And not only in America.

The ideals of the Declaration of Independence, of the Rights of Man, soon came back to a Europe that was still, Britain and a few small countries apart, semi-feudal and they came back with the prestige of a successful revolution behind them.

They helped to ignite the great French revolution.

British capitalist variety and new laws were introduced to tax the American colonists so that they might pay for the privilege of being oppressed.

'No taxation without representation' became the popular slogan. But in fact the more radical colonial leaders did not want representation in the British parliament. There they would be a permanent minority. They wanted independence.

One thing that helped them win the support of large numbers of poorer Americans was the 'Proclamation' by which the British government forbade the colonists to move across the Allegheny mountains into what is now the Middle West. Poor men were prevented from getting land of their own.

The radicals developed political organisations, the Sons of Liberty and the Committees of Correspondence. They organised demonstrations and riots, like the famous Boston Tea Party, to destroy British goods.

They clashed with British troops. And gradually they gained the support of a large active minority of the colonists.

It was on 19 April 1775, at the little town of Lexington near Boston, that in the words of the American poet, Emerson, 'the embattled

farmers stood and fired the shots heard round the world.'

The British regulars were beaten at Lexington. Not many of them it is true, for the famous battle was a very small scale affair. But the moral effect was tremendous. From then on all

compromise was impossible.

The men who fought at Lexington were not merchant princes or great planters. They were poor men. And throughout the long hard struggle until the decisive defeat of the British at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781 'the

of tea into the harbour



France and King mistake...

International Socialists pamphlet 10p

PAUL FOOT

**WORKERS
AGAINST
RACISM**

Today socialists need to be ever more prepared to combat the increasing racism that is riding in on the Tories' tide of laws against immigrants. This new pamphlet examines and demolishes all the racist arguments and is essential reading for every socialist militant.

10p plus 3p postage from IS Books,
8 Cottons Gardens, London E2
8DN.

Please send _____ copies of Workers Against Racism

I enclose £____ at 10p a copy plus 3p postage.
12 copies or more post free.

Name _____

Address _____

Organisation _____

Programme of empty promises

THE LABOUR PARTY conference meets in Blackpool next week with its 'left wing' proclaiming that the new party programme is the most socialist ever. They have short memories—an important requirement for 'socialists' in the Labour Party.

Throughout its grisly history, the Labour Party in opposition has frequently produced documents that have failed remorselessly to be implemented when Labour was in office. Capitalism, for the Labour Party, is to be attacked only on

paper. In an attempt to remove any last, lingering illusions that working people might have in the Labour Party's socialist pretensions, we present a short history of its 'left' postures and right-wing practice over the years.

RED RAMSAY'S 'INSANE MIRACLE'

BEFORE 1918 the Labour Party had no declared objectives at all beyond a commitment 'to organise and maintain in parliament and the country a political Labour Party.' The driving force behind the decision to produce a constitution and a programme was the Russian revolution of 1917.

Among the rank and file the revolution had been met with enthusiasm. At a convention in Leeds, more than 1100 delegates from all sections of the working-class movement had greeted the revolution with acclaim and called for the creation of workers' councils in a socialist Britain.

But in the Labour Party leadership, the Russian experience was seen as a direct and real threat to British capitalism's war aims and to the party's own control over the working-class movement.



Unemployment: scourge of the 20s

capitalism. The nation's resources were to be marshalled 'so that each need will be met in proportion to its real national importance.'

The programme was one of parliamentary reform rather than socialist change, concerned with national priorities rather than working-class interest. Nevertheless it did represent an advance, if only under rising working-class pressure.

In the 1918 and 1922 elections Labour was not put to the test of its electoral programme. In late 1923 the Tories went to the country on the issue of protection against free trade.

Major industries — textiles, engineering, shipbuilding—were going through a major slump. The Baldwin-Poincaré talk had broken down and the French had occupied the Ruhr following German inability to meet the massive war reparations bill.

Labour entered the election with a programme against the Ruhr occupation, a revision of the reparations payments, for vastly expanded public works and a capital levy on the rich.

When the results were declared Labour had 191 seats, the Liberals 158, the Tories 258. The Liberals said they would not lift a finger to keep the Tories in office. Ramsay MacDonald could form the first Labour administration.

As a minority government, there was no question of Labour implementing the electoral programme, let alone the 1918 programme. The capital levy was abandoned, the public works programme not expanded, virtually nothing done for the unemployed.

In its attitude to trade unionists the first Labour government set a pattern that has been repeated in each subsequent Labour administration. In January 1924 they fought the railwaymen and the Southampton shipyard workers. In February they assisted the employers against the dockers.

In March and April they considered the use of troops to break the London transport strike. In May and June, MacDonald and his minions defeated the miners.

After this dispute J H Clynes, the Lord Privy Seal, boasted they had 'played the part of a national government and not a class government . . . I am certain that any government could not have done more than we have done to safeguard the public interest.'

IGNORED

Unemployment was virtually unaltered during the life of the government and remained well over 11 per cent. All the promises of the election manifesto about a capital levy on fortunes over £5000, taxation of land values, reform of income tax, increase in death duties were ignored.

In July 1924 the Communist Party paper Worker's Weekly published an article by J R Campbell calling on the armed forces not to let themselves be used in industrial disputes. The Labour Attorney General, with some Tory prodding, mounted a prosecution against Campbell under the Incitement to Mutiny Act of 1795.

The prosecution was of dubious legal validity and unlikely to succeed for Campbell was a wounded and decorated war hero. The government hurriedly withdrew the prosecution and MacDonald and his cabinet resigned.

The first inglorious Labour government came to an end with little or no reforms and capitalism as firmly in control as ever. What Ramsay MacDonald had described nine months before as 'an insane miracle' had developed quite logically into a commonplace sellout.

Bending to the bankers

AT THE 1928 party conference a new programme 'Labour and the Nation' was presented. More explicit than the 1918 document, it called specifically for the nationalisation of key sectors of industry.

In the 1928 election Labour fought on this programme, together with the repeal of the Tories' vicious Trades Disputes Act. Most importantly, on unemployment Labour gave 'an unqualified pledge' to deal immediately and practically with this question.

Labour came out of the election the largest party with 287 seats. (The Tories had 260, the Liberals 59). Labour was still in an overall minority.

As the government took office, unemployment stood at 1,164,000. By July 1930 the figures had topped the two million mark. By June 1931 the figure had reached 2,700,000.

Slump

Vast schemes of public works were planned and discussions held on increased benefits. Nothing came of any of them. The government minority position and the world economic slump were given as the reason for no action on unemployment or any other part of the programme.

As unemployment increased so the opposition and the foreign bankers called for orthodox finance, balanced budgets, lower taxes on industry and business with, of course, a cut in unemployment benefit.

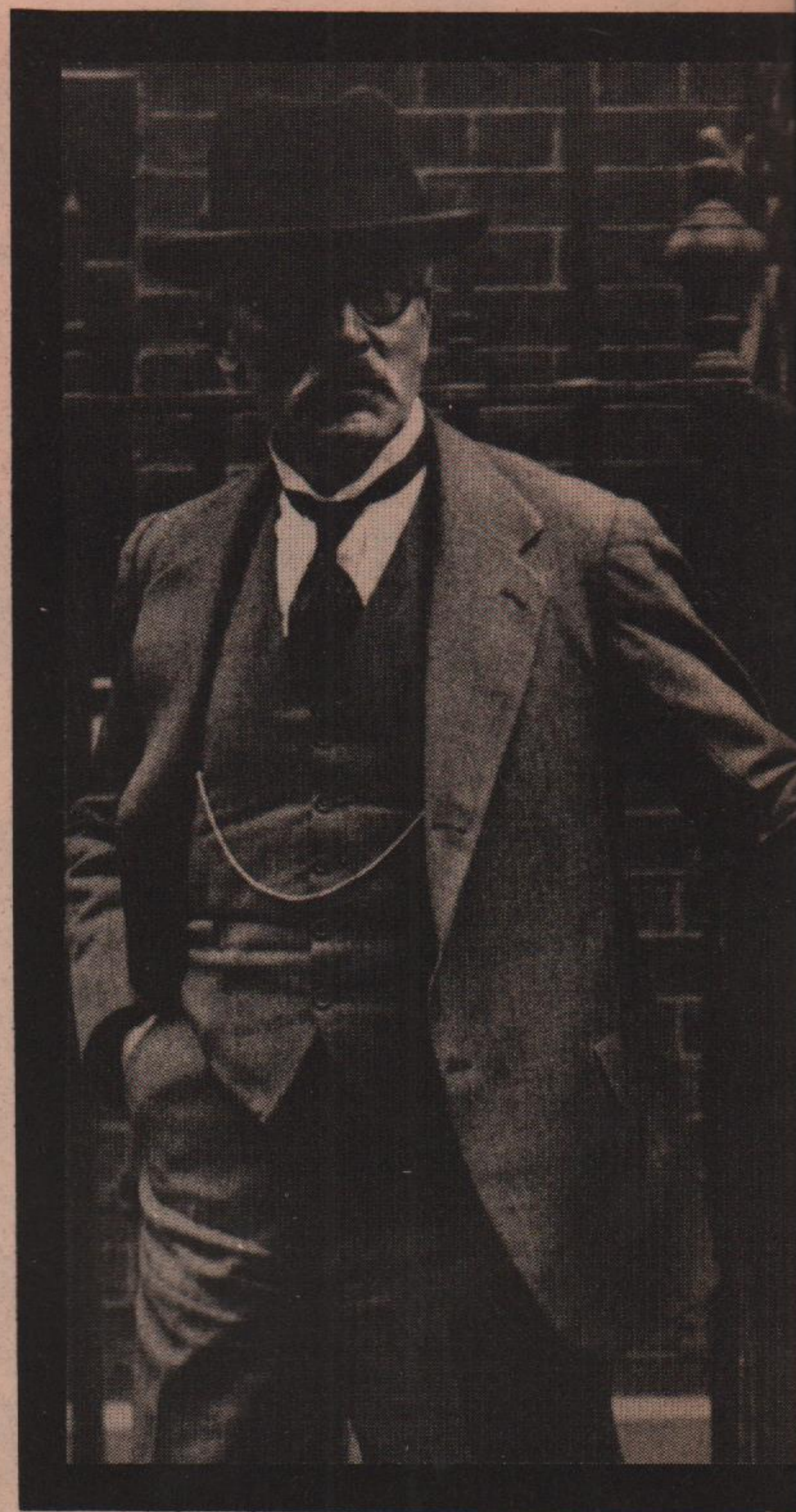
Labour's Chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip Snowden, the most orthodox of orthodox capitalist chancellors, was prepared to oblige. A 10 per cent cut in unemployment benefit was agreed by a majority of the Labour Cabinet.

Support

MacDonald held consultations with the Tory and Liberal leaders and King George the Fifth. The King persuaded him, by laying on the flattery with a trowel, to head an all party National government.

If Ramsay MacDonald is the symbol of the nauseating record of the 1924 and 1929 Labour governments, that is not the whole story. Right to the end he enjoyed the support of the overwhelming majority of the parliamentary Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy.

His brand of windy rhetoric was the public face of a confused, indecisive coalition of those who saw no further than the capitalist system.



The men who organised the retreat from any co

Labo

They faced the future— and ran away

THE POST-WAR Labour government with 393 MPs had an overall majority of 146. There could no longer be any excuses to the effect that a hostile majority could crush any Labour initiatives.

The clear indication of the election was that after six years of war preceded by 20 years of unemployment and misery, the workers were ready for a dramatic change. No Labour administration could have received a more favourable situation to prove the correctness of socialism 'through parliamentary methods.'

The proposals in the party programme 'Let Us Face the Future' were designed to avoid facing up to that challenge. The nationalisation proposals were limited to industries such as the railways and mines that were unprofitable for private owners to maintain.

The generous compensation proposals to the former owners were sufficient to impose an enormous drain on the industries and put their financial viability in question. The ex-owners were able to take their compensation and invest it in the vastly more profitable sectors of private industry.

In his speech to the 1945 conference Herbert Morrison argued that full-scale nationalisation was out. Each case 'must be argued on

its merits industry. The argument was the roots of capitalism but to control those industries to contribute to capitalist economy.

When the proposals were before the House of Commons, composed of ex-senior officers and none of whom were night change democracy and workers' control.

Margi

An indication of attitude can be seen in Cripps' speech in 1945 when he roundly stated that it was not yet a very good time for workers in Britain to take over large enterprises. He would be imposed on worker-controlled Britain, even if 'whole desirable.'

By 1948 the nationalisations had been through with little support from the Tories. Only a few nationalisations—parties—was there any genuine reform.

International Socialists pamphlet 10p

ROGER ROSEWELL

THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS POWER

This important new pamphlet is an outline of the policies of the International Socialists, the development and nature of modern capitalism—and the urgent need for a workers' party to overthrow it. Its 40 pages are essential reading for Socialist Worker readers and all IS branches.

IS Books
8 Cottons Gdns,
London E2 8DN

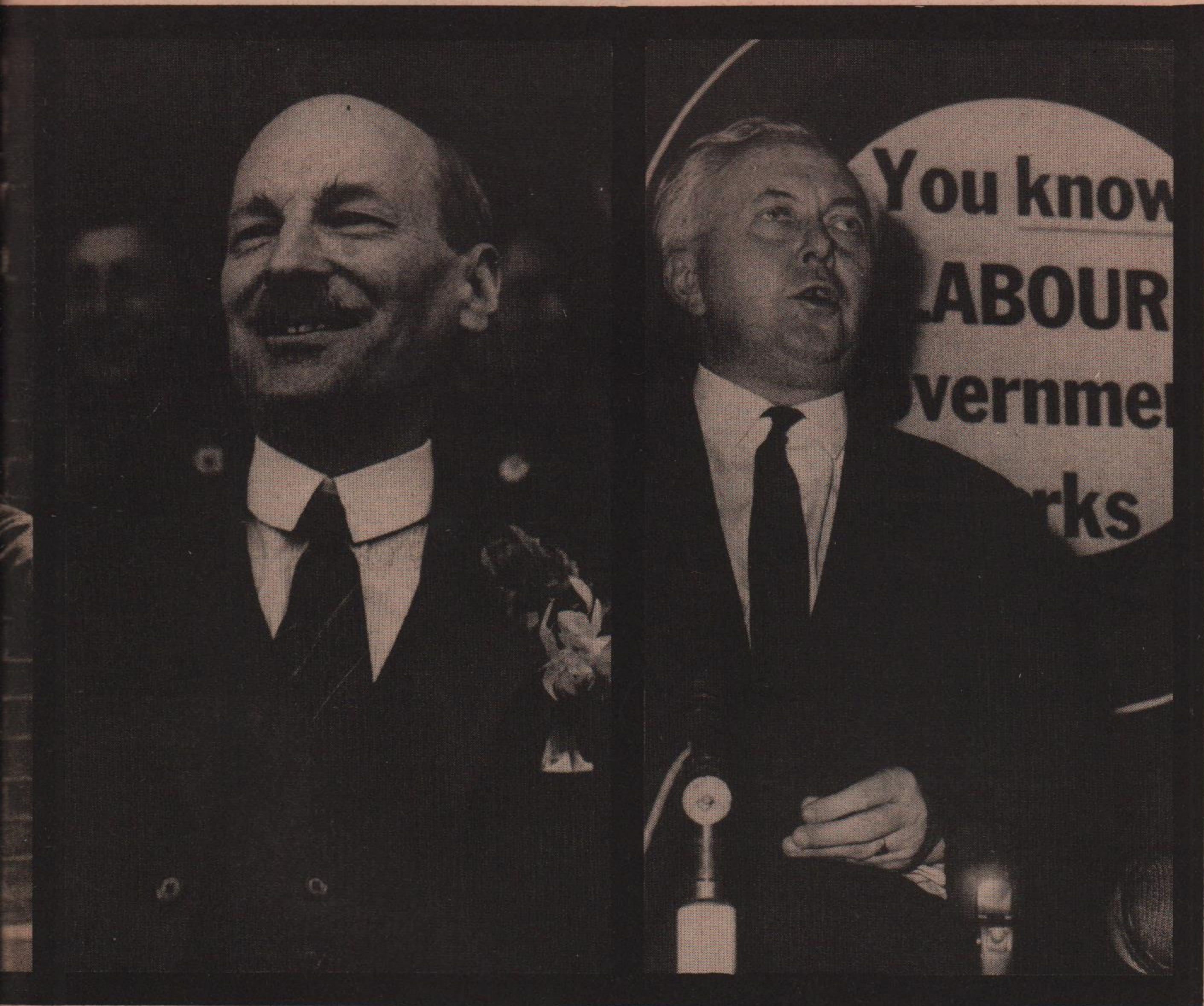
Please send _____ copies of The Struggle for Workers Power.

I enclose £____ at 10p a copy plus 3p postage.
12 copies or more post free.

Name _____

Address _____

Organisation _____



Confrontation with capitalism: Ramsay MacDonald (1924 and 1929), Clement Attlee (1945 and 1950) and Harold Wilson

Harold's 'New Britain': just as nasty as the old...

IN 1964 after '13 wasted years' of Toryism, Labour prepared to waste a further six. The conference document of 1961 had spoken vaguely of nationalising 'the commanding heights' of the economy.

In an interview in 1963, Harold Wilson interpreted it this way: 'Our plans to extend the public sector—to occupy the commanding heights—consists mainly in the creation of new industries... We will not be dogmatic about the ownership of new industries. Some will be privately owned, some will be publicly owned.'

Wilson was the darling of the 'left' for a time. His earlier defence of Clause 4 of the party constitution—which also spoke of taking control of the 'commanding heights'—against Gaitskell was considered to be a guarantee of his socialist intentions. In fact if Wilson embodied any strongly held principles at all (apart from a deep yearning for office) it was to iron out the inefficiencies of capitalism, to set Britain off into the new technological age.

The 1964 election was fought on the basis of who could manage the system better, Wilson with his computers or Sir Alec Douglas Home with his matchsticks.

Social benefits were to be improved by a massive expansion in the economy, not by a redistribution. George Brown had a plan that would take men and women of all classes into a glossy, electronically-assisted, chromium-plated future.

Increased

In the event the government was in Harold's immortal phrase: 'knocked off course' by the balance of payments deficit, by the 'gnomes of Zurich' and shortage of industrial investment. It was the mixture as before, with certain added monstrosities.

Wage control was imposed, first a 5 per cent limit, then a freeze. Parliamentary salaries were increased immediately but pensions had to wait six months.

Unemployment took its biggest rise for any time since the war. Strikes were fought, and in the seamen's dispute, Wilson took the initiative in witchhunting the seamen's leaders.

Both private and council rents



Barbara Castle: 'left' attack on unions

were drastically increased. Economic policy was cast firmly within the treasury mould in a way that must have made Philip Snowden rotate happily in his grave.

Finally, through the agency of another 'left winger', Barbara Castle, the government attempted to introduce legal restraints on the unions with 'In Place of Strife'. If the aim was industrial expansion and rejuvenating British capitalism someone had got to pay for it. The chosen victim, as it always is under capitalism, was the organised working class.

The Labour Cabinet was pulled up short but not before they had prepared the ground for the Tories' Industrial Relations Act and, incidentally, for the return of Heath and his gang to office.

Essential

Social equality is enshrined there, economic planning, price control, housing, the Health Service, education and local government. The added items of the environment, the Common Market (against this time) and sex discrimination give it that up-to-date gloss that is so essential to modern packaging.

The mandatory section on 'The public sector' is as thin as Oliver Twist's gruel. The 'prime candidates' for nationalisation are apparently docks, shipbuilding, financial institutions and drugs.

A closer examination of the fine print indicates that the financial institutions have little to fear other than a 'high level enquiry'. Drugs will continue under the feeble threat of Labour insistence on 'some element of public ownership in the future.'

Shipbuilding and the docks have been notoriously less profitable than most other large scale enterprise and, in the case of shipbuilding are half-nationalised already.

Debated

Even the tame proposals of Labour's current programme are in some jeopardy from Wilson's claim to have the power of veto over any proposals too radical for his electoral image.

At Blackpool next week these issues will be debated as they have been debated so often in the past. The 65 resolutions on public ownership, of varying degrees of militancy, will receive the attentions of the press and delegates and result as usual in no practical outcome in any government policy, if and when Labour is once again elected to shore up the sagging framework of British capitalism.

our pains



Dockers going to court when prosecuted by the Labour government

Special report by JIM HIGGINS

International Socialism
 Monthly Journal of the International Socialists, Mid-September 1973, No 62, Price 15p

Another big breakthrough for IS—a re-styled monthly journal that is invaluable for all readers of Socialist Worker. In the new issue, articles include: Chile, the Communist Party, the TUC and a magnificent essay by Trotsky on terrorism. 20p inc. post £2.10 for a year from IS Journal Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2.

by industry.' not to strike at capitalist economic control and shore up what were unable effectively to generally. nationalisation before the House control was vested boards largely owners, retired businessmen, reported an over-to industrial ne principles of

of Labour's in Sir Stafford October 1946 declared: 'There large number of capable of taking es... I think it sible to have industry in were on the few marginal d been carried opposition from n iron and steel ofitable indus-real dispute. Health Service n but even that

was seriously weakened by the maintenance of a privileged, private sector for those who could pay.

With these few items of legislation enacted and the central organs of capital unaffected, if not strengthened, the government ran out of steam. On foreign policy there was unanimity with the Tories. On industrial policy there was no change. As true representatives of the 'nation', Labour used troops to break strikes, imposed a complete wage freeze and at one stage attempted to mount a prosecution against dockers' strike leaders under legislation enacted by the Labour-Tory wartime coalition.

The high hopes of 1945 evaporated in 1950 when Labour was returned to office at the general election with a majority of only six. In those five years more had been lost than soft, well-paid jobs for 140 Labour MPs. In 1951 Labour went to the country again and lost by a margin of 21 seats.

Clinging

For the next 13 years they languished under the baneful leadership of Hugh Gaitskell, denied the fruits of office but still tenaciously clinging to the values and the interests of the system that had rejected them.



YOU CAN SAY THAT AGAIN!

CHRIS HARMAN on the importance of socialist ideas

ONE view held by socialists often bewilders many people. This is the contention that the state machine in capitalist society serves the interests of the ruling class and cannot be used for a move to socialism.

'But,' some people insist, 'you will always need the police. However much you dislike them, they do a necessary job. Without them there would be complete chaos.'

This attitude is widespread among working-class people who are not yet socialists. It comes to the fore every time a policeman is killed on duty. Although many more firemen die in the course of their jobs than policemen, there is never the same public outcry.

At first view, it does seem that the police safeguard everyone in society equally. They seem to protect the old age pensioner's gas meter as well as the vaults of the giant banks. They keep down drunken and dangerous driving. They catch child murderers. They even sometimes bring prosecutions against corrupt politicians.

But if you look more closely at how the police behave, you will notice a certain bias.

A gas meter robbery will hurt an old age pensioner much more than a £100,000 raid will hurt the profits of the banks. But the police will spend a thousand times more effort on investigating the bank raid.

The main job of the police, in fact, is not protecting all *people* equally, but protecting all *property* equally. The old age pensioner who owns £1 million will get the same care and attention as the millionaire. The property speculator whose gas meter is rifled will get as little attention as the pensioner. Just as everyone who has the money can stay at the Hilton, everyone who has the money can rely on the law to safeguard it.

In Britain today one per cent of the population own 60 per cent of all wealth and 80 per cent of industry. The main job of the police, then, is protecting that wealth against anyone else.

CRIME

But what about the other activities of the police? Surely, you may argue, we can't do without them when it comes to, say, preventing murder.

Certainly, in society as it exists today, it is very difficult to think of things going well for long without the police. When there was a police strike in Montreal last year, the crime rate shot up enormously. And in New York, fear of 'mugging' is a problem for the poor as much as for the rich.

But crimes of the sort that worry most people, crimes against the person, are not an invariable feature of human life. But their number varies enormously from society to society. Today, there is one murder an hour in New York, but only about one a fortnight in London.

Murder, rape, arson, 'mugging' are



POLICE ON WHOSE SIDE?

all the result of social conditions—and the social conditions which breed them today are those of capitalism.

That might sound a bit far-fetched. But just consider what has produced the high crime rate in New York.

Firstly the existence of terrible poverty and unemployment, particularly among black people, in the midst of the richest society in human history.

Secondly, the traditions of a ruling class that has never had scruples about using the crudest forms of violence to build up its own riches—from exterminating the American Indians 100 years ago to killing a million Vietnamese today. In popular literature and in films it has glorified this violence: so it is hardly surprising that many of the have-nots in the US have copied some of those methods themselves in attempts to catch up a little with the already wealthy.

The only difference between the methods of the Mafia and those of General Motors and ITT is that the scale of the Mafia's operations are minute compared with those of the giant firms.

OPIUM

Finally, most of the petty crime and 'mugging' in the US is the result of desperate efforts by drug addicts to get the money to buy a 'fix'. Drug addiction itself is a result of the development of capitalist society. In the last century the wealth of many of the best British families was based on opium dealing by companies they owned in India, and the British government went to war with China to compel it to buy the drug.

More recently, a sizeable proportion of the world's opium trade has been run by the CIA and by puppets of the US government such as the right-wing ruler of Laos, Phoumi Nosavan. After all, heroin is the ideal capitalist product—a commodity with a truly captive market.

Most crime, like poverty and war, is a result of the capitalist organisation of society. It will not be eradicated until that society is transformed.

Meanwhile all the police do is devote a little of their time stopping this by-product of an irrational society getting out of hand, while the rest of their energies are used to protect the property relations that are the core of that society.

BOOKS

REVIEW

Time out of war

PEBBLES FROM MY SKULL, by Stuart Hood, Quartet, 35p.

PEBBLES from my skull—the title refers to the way memories are ground smooth in the mind, like stones in a rock pool—are one man's recollections of a strange period in his life, in circumstances which now seem, to him and the reader, to be those of a distant past.

Stuart Hood tells of a year spent in the Italian hills in 1943-44, a year in which, as a British officer escaped from a prison camp, he lived with the peasants and fought with the Resistance.

As Mussolini fell and the Allies bombed their way erratically through Italy, Hood—a Scot, then 27 and speaking good university-acquired Italian—enters a peasant world thrust back into centuries-old isolation by the stringency of war. His story is partly of his reluctance to leave it. The narrow, nature dominated existence is given an extra savagery by the dangers of war and resistance, but it has certain deep qualities which stir the feelings of childhood at the same time as they simplify the harshness of the world.

Hood's absorbing book is fundamentally about the problems of individual survival. Its message is that these are not limited to the extreme circumstances he describes.

It is not politically naive in the most obvious sense—Hood would be the last to underestimate the importance of social advance and political struggle. The leftist ex-BBC man of today went through the political school of the universities in the Popular Front period.

But the book is not directly political. In a new introduction, an element of romanticism which is the product of the politics of that time. Hood, mindful of Vietnam, now puts down any tendency to make war seem an ennobling experience. And he now sees that the Italian social revolution 'was thwarted by the armed presence of the Allies and the opportunism of the Italian Left led by Togliatti',—the Communist Party leader.

But he book is not directly political. Its most fundamental statement is a harsh portrait of the individual's dilemma. Hood seems to suggest that no person can really hope for much from his fellow men. Although there is a lot of truth in this in capitalist society generally as much as in conditions of war, it is certainly too narrow a view.

Perhaps this pessimism about human relationships is also rooted at a time when world war and the manipulations of Stalin were confused with socialism. Let us hope that we can prove it untrue in our time.

MARTIN SHAW

HOW TO COOK THE BOOKS



THE MULTINATIONALS, by Christopher Tugendhat, Penguin 50p.

IT IS not often Socialist Worker can recommend a book written by a Tory MP and former leader-writer of the Financial Times, but here is an exception.

Tugendhat reveals that nearly a third of Britain's exports are accounted for by the internal transactions of multinational companies such as Ford. The key factor in the transfer price—for this enables the companies to switch profits made in one country to another, where, for example, taxes are lower or workers less likely to demand a slice of the cake.

These prices are manipulated for a variety of reasons. It's particularly useful to move profits away from subsidiaries that have profit-sharing schemes or where workers' representatives have the right to examine the books. So much for the demands for these forms of 'workers' participation' from those who believe the ugly monster Capitalism can be reformed.

Companies also 'cook the books' to avoid taxes and threats of government pressure to cut prices, and to kill off competitors.

Tugendhat reveals that during the 1964-5 devaluation scare, and again in 1967, many multinationals encouraged their European subsidiaries to hold up payments to British subsidiaries by as much as six months—so making Britain's currency problems worse and so cutting workers' living standards. Switching surplus funds from one currency to another and selling short those currencies that look unsure is 'good business sense', we are told.

Tugendhat is concerned at the size and influence of the multinationals and the enormous sums they have with which to speculate. It seems governments must compete for the favours of the multinationals because they sorely need the investment in new production—despite the disadvantages it brings with it.

He quotes a director saying: 'It's the government's job to make rules and ours to find loopholes.'

The book is a mine of information about how the system we are fighting operates. Some of the insight it provides should be especially useful, particularly to shop stewards countering claims that 'the kitty is empty'. What's more, it is pleasantly free from economists' jargon.

TERRY WARD

How to answer the racists

WORKERS AGAINST RACISM, by Paul Foot, International Socialists Pamphlet, 10p

RACIALISM defies the facts. There are no black people in the Tory government, no

black Tory MPs, few black factory owners, no black army colonels or police superintendents. Nevertheless, millions of workers are convinced that in some way or other black people are to blame for housing shortages, unemployment, inflation.

Paul Foot has written an invaluable pamphlet to counter such arguments and to explain why they are so powerful. In explaining the roots of racialism, he points the way forward for ending it.

Racialism is a cancer in the working-class movement. By using black people as scapegoats for people's anger it diverts it from the real target.

The meat of the pamphlet is its explanation of why immigration occurred at all, why IS opposes immigration controls and why racialism has such powerful roots. It includes a wealth of ammunition to answer socialist arguments about housing or the social services.

The chapter on imperialism shows how racialism, which was used to justify the slave trade and the pillage of dozens of countries, is still taught today in schools, where we are told how white men 'civilised the world'.

Racialism cannot be smashed by passing laws against it or by 'reason' alone. Racialism cannot be defeated by waiting for the next Labour government or passing resolutions at conferences but doing nothing about them.

There are three connected ways in which racialism can and must be beaten.

First, if racists appear on the streets to harass black people they must be physically removed. There is no free speech for fascists.

Second, there must be a mass of socialist propaganda and argument carried on from within the factories and estates to counter the myths and arguments popularised by Powell and his like.

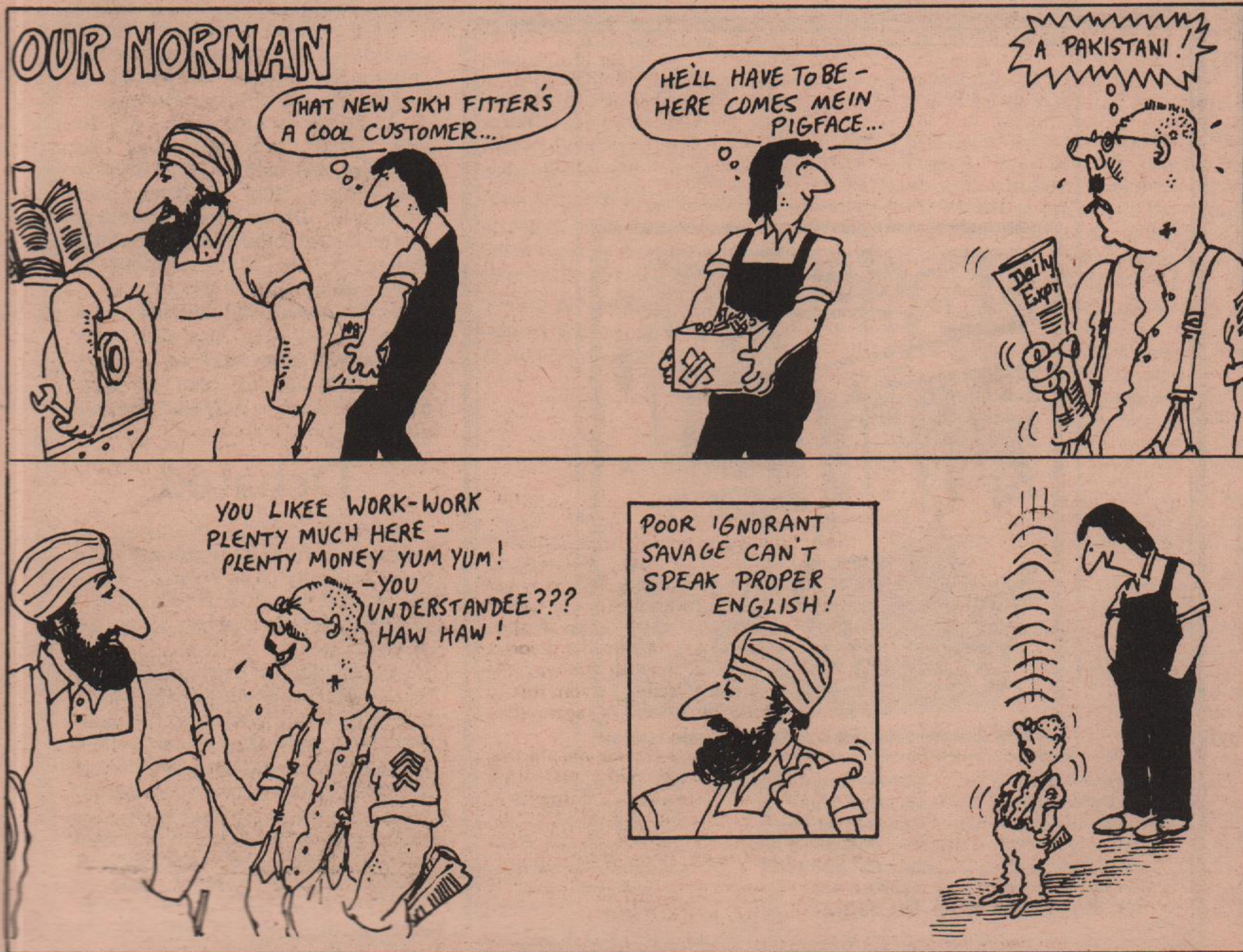
Thirdly, there must be built an organisation to do this and above all weld workers together in struggles against the real enemy—the employers and their parliamentary loudspeakers.

The small but growing number of IS factory branches are the beginning of this organisation. Paul Foot's excellent pamphlet will help these branches grow. It will be a valuable weapon in struggle. Indeed it is the only pamphlet of its type around.

Readers of Socialist Worker and branches of the International Socialists must use this pamphlet to the full. Bulk orders should be made. This is not a pamphlet simply for the bookshelves of the converted. It can be used to effect in trade union branches, trades councils, shop stewards committees, tenants associations and other working-class bodies.

ROGER KLINE

* **BURY MY HEART AT WOUNDED KNEE**, Dee Brown's account of the destruction of the American Indians which was reviewed here earlier this year, has now been published in paperback by Pan Books, price 60p.



REVIEW

FILMS

A FILM GUIDE FOR SOCIALISTS

REVIEW regularly receives letters from socialists on the subject of films. Sometimes it is to complain that those reviewed on this page cannot be seen all over the country. Sometimes to disagree with the reviewers' opinions. Everybody has their own ideas about what a good 'socialist' film is.

Sometimes the letters ask: How can we set up a film show? What kind of films are available? How much they cost?

Generally speaking, film is not used anywhere near enough by socialists. A good film can often say more than 20 good

speakers—and can also be cheaper if you do your sums right.

So what kind of films? There are several groups of film-makers in this country who are concerned with making films available about the working-class struggle. They are listed below.

The big companies also have 16mm libraries which hire out films. This means feature films which have had circuit release. These films can be worth showing for several reasons—because they are relevant to the struggle, well made, and can be used to increase consciousness and make money for an International Socialist branch, trade union branch or tenants' group.

So what you need is a hall, a projector, and a film. Possibly

the most difficult part of the operation is getting the projector. You can hire 16mm equipment in London relatively easily, but not cheaply—its around £4 for a day—but outside London you would need to investigate.

What follows is a list of some of the distribution services and some of the films. Each of the distributors publishes catalogues which give the films they have plus details of how to book. Make sure when you book that you receive a confirmation, and make sure that you have the right projector for the film. 16mm is standard for small halls and societies. 35mm means that you must have hired the local Odeon, which is unlikely.

Cinema takes to the streets

HERE is a list of the main left and alternative film distribution and production groups.

BERWICK STREET FILM COLLECTIVE, 7-9 Earlam Street, London WC2 (01-240 2350), does not, it should be noted operate from Berwick Street. It is a group of film makers, at present working on films about the struggle in Ireland and the growth of the nightcleaners' struggle.

The second of these is not just about the one campaign, but by filming the growth of the movement over the past three years, the group hopes to give a picture of a union struggle, showing some of the pitfalls, how the 'official' union operates, and how the women involved organised, argued, and won in the strike last year.

They are also producing a film on Greece today, based on material shot in Greece in the past few years.

Within the London area they are willing to help socialist groups with technical advice and the hire of projecting equipment.

LIBERATION FILMS, 6 Bramshill Gardens, London NW5 (01-263 0613). As its catalogue points out: 'Liberation Films exists as a service, producing and distributing films to teachers, lecturers, community workers and political organisers.'

They do hire films out to groups but are happier to present the film themselves as part of the meeting. Said a spokesman: 'We prefer to help in the organisation of a show, and if possible to use it in conjunction with local material. Ideally we would like to help the people in the area produce their own film, but that isn't usually possible for technical and financial reasons. What can be done is to use a tape recorder and a slide projector. Most groups can get hold of a 35mm stills camera.'

Involved

'It's not just a question of the film containing the message. The message is in the meeting, what people say or think about their situation, the content of the film.'

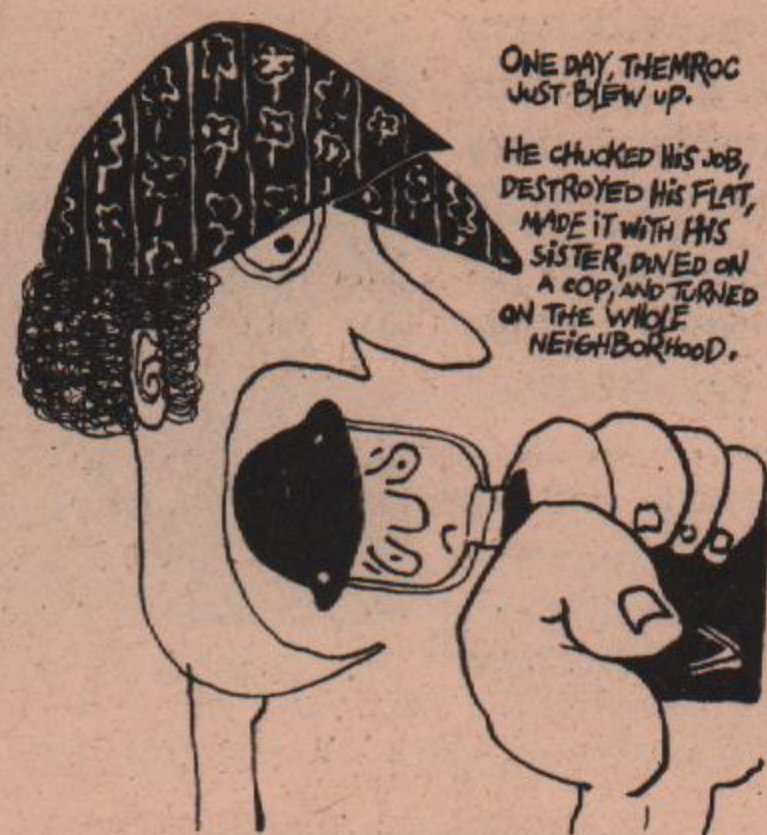
'We have a problem in that there is a fantastic amount of material floating around saying how awful things are. People get fed up, they want material which they can act on, get involved.'

Apart from their own work, Liberation Films have a lot of short films from the American Newsreel group on the development of struggles against the Vietnam war, on black struggles, women's struggles, the decay of American cities, though the Newsreel group seems to have little on the contemporary situation of the American working class.

They do have *The Salt of the Earth*,



Peter (War Game) Watkin's local constabulary from *Punishment Park* (*The Other Cinema*)



ONE DAY, THEMROC JUST BLEW UP. HE CHECKED HIS JOB, DESTROYED HIS FILM, MADE IT WITH HIS SISTER, DINED ON A KOP, AND TEARAW ON THE WICKLE NEIGHBOORHOOD.

The Other Cinema's Themroc

made in 1951 about the strike which led to the founding of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. It is regarded as a classic, and costs £8.25 to hire.

To Die In Madrid, made in 1962 by Frederick Rossif, has been justly criticised for its politics but remains one of the few good films on the Spanish Civil War. It relies mainly on newsreel material, much of which hadn't been used before. It costs £10.50.

Liberation's interest in the use of film extends to the running of weekend training courses to equip people to handle it themselves. The next one will probably be held early in the new year, and details can be obtained from them.

CINEMA ACTION, 35a Winchester Road, London NW3 (01-586 2762), also prefer to use film as part of a meeting with them in attendance. In fact they don't hire material out without coming with the film. 'The show is not an end in itself,' they pointed out. 'We show our material at union branches, polytechnics and so on.'

They have films on the Industrial Relations Act, the Upper Clyde dispute, the dockers, and the struggle in Ireland, plus many others.

THE OTHER CINEMA, 12-13 Little Newport Street, London WC2 (01-734 8509). This group recently merged with

another, Politkino. They do not produce their own material, but exist 'as a non-profit distributing organisation' to promote and distribute the work of independent film makers.'

The group has a lot of material from the Third World, particularly Latin America, including several films from Chile made before and during the period of Allende's rule.

From France, they have *Themroc*, which created a brief but furious controversy when reviewed in *Socialist Worker*. No rental fee has been fixed. Also *Weekend at Sochaux* which 'is about life in the French factory town of Sochaux, where everything is Peugeot-owned and controlled—including the lives of the workers.'

The Other Cinema points out that the film was made by workers within the film group SLON, 'as the film is meant for a working-class audience our first priority is to prepare a good English version which we hope to have ready in this autumn.'

Consider

Alexander Medvekin was a Russian director who organised a 'cine-train' in the early 1930s which crossed the Soviet Union. *The Other Cinema* has his comedy *Happiness* (£12) and *The Train Goes On* (£6), made in 1971 by the excellent French director Chris Marker, which features a long interview with Medvekin. Together they can be hired for £15.

Any group considering a meeting on the National Health Service might hire *Asylum*, which is a colour documentary on R D Laing and the application of his methods.

THE CONCORDE FILM COUNCIL, Nacton, Ipswich, has probably the biggest stock of 16mm films in the country, including many of Granada TV's *World in Action* series and the BBC-TV play *Cathy Come Home*.

Finally there's the **BRITISH FILM INSTITUTE** (address: The Booking Manager, BFI Distribution Library, 42/43 Lower Marsh, London SE1), which is concerned with film education, the national film archive, the local national film theatres and with 16mm distribution.

Some fugitives from Hollywood

CONTEMPORARY FILMS, 55 Greek Street, London W1. Phone 01-734 4901. Contemporary have a wide range of films, particularly foreign ones, including five works by the great Russian director Eisenstein, *Strike*, *Battleship Potemkin*, *October* (all for hire at £7.50), *Alexander Nevski* and *Ivan the Terrible*, part one (£10.50) and *Ivan the Terrible*, part two (£12.50). The first three are silent with dubbed music soundtracks.

Potemkin is about a revolt on a Tsarist warship before the revolution. *October* deals with the Bolshevik uprising and is considered one of the greatest films ever made. *Nevski*, made in 1938, shows clearly the mark of Stalin in its glorification of the Russian nation and its anti-German message. Interestingly, it was banned between the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact and the Nazi invasion of the USSR. It did good business after that though.

Ivan the Terrible should have been in three parts but thanks to Stalin the last part was never completed. *Uncle Joe* began to see that Eisenstein's picture of *Ivan* was becoming more and more the picture of a contemporary despot—Stalin.

RANK FILM LIBRARY, PO Box 70, Great West Road, Brentford, Middlesex. Phone 01-560 0762/3.

A wide range of useful films. Morgan, directed by Karel Reisz and starring David Warner, was written by David Mercer. It deals with the efforts of the hero to remain alive while society is busy trying to kill him off (£9).

They have two Westerns by Sam Peckinpah, the finest director in this field, and both are excellent commentaries on American life. *The Ballad of Cable Hogue* (£12.50) and *The Wild Bunch* (£20). Plus the much-maligned *Straw Dogs* (£12.50), several 1950s-early 1960s British films dealing with aspects of working-class life—*Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (£8), *The Entertainer* (£8), *This Sporting Life* (£8.50), *Taste of Honey* (£7.50), plus the late 1960s Antonioni film, *Blow Up* (£13) with Vanessa Redgrave, and *Performance* (£15) with Mick Jagger.

The Ballad of Joe Hill, dealing with the life and death of the American militant and directed by Bo Widerberg, is £15. An excellent and largely ignored film about life in the British Army—and in class society as a whole—is *The Bofors Gun* (£7.50), made in the late 1960s.

ANGLO EMI, 142 Wardour St, London W1. Phone 01-437 0444.

Two films worth considering are *Family Life* and *Z. Family Life*, directed by Kenneth Lonner, came out last year and provoked a long correspondence in *Socialist Worker*. It was written by socialist playwright David Mercer and uses the theories of R D Laing. It deals with the way the family can drive a 'sane' person into a situation where he or she is regarded as insane. Hire fee is £20.

Z, directed by Costa-Gavras and starring Yves Montand, deals with the 1964 assassination of left-winger Lambrakis in Greece. It is an excellent political thriller, and is telling on the power of the state, whether it be Greece, Chile or Britain...

FILM DISTRIBUTORS ASSOCIATED (16mm) Ltd, (United Artists and Twentieth Century Fox), 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1. Phone 01-636 1655.

A film which had great difficulty getting a circuit release, but was a smash when it eventually did, is the Loach-Garnett *Kes* (£12). It is about a boy and a kestrel in Barnsley and deals accurately and movingly with the way the pressures of school, family and culture grind the imagination and rebellion out of human beings.

In black and white is the 1947 John Huston film starring Humphrey Bogart, *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (£14). Written by mysterious socialist writer B L Traven, it is really a film about money, how crazy it is, and what it does to people.

It Happened Here is the only amateur film to have got a circuit release. Made over a period of nine years it is about what would have happened if the Nazis had taken over Britain. It is in black and white and features some genuine English fascists giving their view of the world. A useful antidote to the National Front (£9.55).

Also available from this distributor are *A Hard Day's Night* (£9), *Help!* and *Let It Be* (£10), Tony Richardson's film *Ned Kelly*, with Mick Jagger (£11), and the visually beautiful *Viva Maria* (£10.50) with Bardot and Moreau, whose political message may be suspect but is worth seeing.

Also *Queimada*, made by the director of *The Battle of Algiers*, which succeeds with the help of Marlon Brando in being an excellent film on Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution.



The Bardot/Jeanne Moreau version of the revolution in *Viva Maria* (FDA £10.50)



Robert Ryan in *The Wild Bunch* (Rank £20)

THIS survey really only scratches the surface. Most of the groups mentioned will send catalogues on request. The Liberation Films catalogue has a useful guide on how to prepare a film show.

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 13 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Cumbernauld
Dundee
Edinburgh
Fife
Glasgow N
Glasgow S
Greenock
Paisley
Stirling

NORTH EAST
Bishop Auckland
Durham
Hartlepool
Newcastle upon Tyne
South Shields
Sunderland
Teeside

NORTH
Barnsley
Bradford
Dewsbury
Doncaster
Grimby
Hull
Huddersfield
Leeds
Pontefract
Knottingley
Scarborough
Sheffield
York

EAST
Basildon
Cambridge
Chelmsford
Colchester
Fakenham
Harlow
Ipswich
Leiston
Lowestoft
Norwich
Peterborough

NORTH WEST
Barrow
Blackburn
Bolton
Burnley
Crewe
Kirkby
Lancaster
Manchester
Merseyside
Middleton
Oldham
Preston
Rochdale
Salford
St Helens
Stoke-on-Trent
Stockport
Wigan
Wrexham

GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES
Barnet
Bexley
Camden
Chertsey
Colindale
Croydon
Ealing
Enfield
Fleet Street
Fulham and Hammersmith
Hackney
Harrow
Hemel Hempstead
High Wycombe
Hillingdon
Holborn
Hounslow
Ilford
Islington
Kilburn
Kingston
Lambeth
Lewisham
Mid-Herts
North Herts
Newham
Paddington
Reading
Slough
Tottenham
Tower Hamlets
Walthamstow
Wandsworth
Watford
Wood Green
Woolwich

MIDLANDS
Birmingham NE
Birmingham S
Coventry
Derby
Dudley
Leamington and Warwick
Leicester
Loughborough
Luton
Mid-Derbyshire
Milton Keynes
Northampton
Nottingham
Oxford
Rugby
Warley
Wolverhampton
Worcester

WALES and SOUTH WEST
Aberystwyth
Bath
Bristol
Cambourne
Cardiff
Exeter
Gloucester
Llanelli
Mid-Devon
Neath
Plymouth
Swansea
Swansea Valley

THE UNIONS

Safety at work: Transport Union boasts—about its poor record

MOST trade union journals go in for a fair bit of boasting on the subject of their union's achievements, but the most boastful of all trade union journals must unquestionably be the Transport and General Workers' Union Record.

In recent issues a whole new area for self-congratulation has been opened up—industrial health and safety.

In the March issue there is a short report under the headline '£6,000,000' which records in glowing terms that the TGWU recovered record damages in 1972 for its members injured at work. This, it notes with pride, is more than any other union and indicates 'a protection at work service second to none in the movement'.

It is not surprising the TGWU recovers more damages than any other union since it has the biggest membership. For the same reason it also has more members injured, maimed and killed than any other union, though the union's journal is careful not to boast about that.

Even more misleading and dangerous is the idea that winning damages is a 'protection at work service'. It is nothing of the sort. It is part of the largely unsuccessful exercise of picking up the pieces afterwards.

The Record has also been devoting a fair amount of space to self-congratulation on the union's work on asbestos. Many TGWU members work in close contact with this deadly material, which causes an incurable form of cancer.

In the March issue two pages were

devoted to glowing reports of the TGWU's work in this field. In the May issue there was an item about the union's success in winning compensation for asbestosis for 13 members in Darlington. And in the June issue, the Record proudly reported that their Plymouth officer, Ron Webber, had dealt with 80 asbestosis claims in five years.

Presumably even greater achievements could be obtained if only more members would get the disease.

The union's record on safety and health at work is in fact as bad if not worse than most other unions. Safety is given space on the agendas of trade group, region and two-yearly delegate conferences. Speaker after speaker reports on atrocity stories. And little or nothing is done.

Disclosed

In many cases trade union officers actually help to perpetuate dangerous working practices. The story of the TGWU's manoeuvres to get London dockers to continue working asbestos, disclosed in the current issue of the dockers' rank and file paper Dockworker, makes this only too clear.

Dockers launched a campaign to black asbestos in London early in 1964 after men in the Surrey Docks visited a sick workmate and discovered he had asbestosis.

In the West India Dock the campaign was led by Harry Walker, a TGWU member and a member of the West India Dock Liaison Committee during the 1967 nine-week strike.

Harry went to his union branch and put

forward a demand that unless asbestos was properly bagged, loaded on pallets and wrapped in polythene it would not be worked. The employers' reply was to offer 10p an hour on top of the rate, overalls and a bucket of water for washing in. The Port Medical Officer also issued a circular stating that asbestos was not harmful to health.

At this point the full-time trade union officials put their spoke in. Peter Shea, London docks officer, Tom Cronin, then East India Dock TGWU official, now TGWU national docks officer and Alec Harris, a West India Dock official, specially attended a meeting of Harry's branch. All three assured the branch that asbestos was not harmful to health. Shea made an amazing statement to the effect that he wouldn't let dockers work asbestos if it was dangerous.

The trade union officers were accompanied by a doctor who said nothing during the meeting. At the end Harry Walker asked him whether he would handle asbestos. The doctor replied: 'Handle it? I would not go near it.'

Since then asbestos has been blacked in the West India Dock. The rest of London soon followed.

The employers have simply transferred asbestos to other ports. Much of it now goes through Bristol, where the TGWU has again taken no initiative.

Still, when members discover that they have the disease they can always ring up the Record, whose editors will be only too pleased to include them in further glowing reports of the union's coffin club-style activities.

Sabotage danger for miners' claim

LEADERS of the National Union of Mineworkers met the Coal Board two weeks ago to present formally the claim decided upon unanimously at the union conference in July. It calls for £35 a week for surface workers—an increase of £9.71, £40 for underground workers—an increase of £12.71, and £45 for faceworkers—an increase of £8.21.

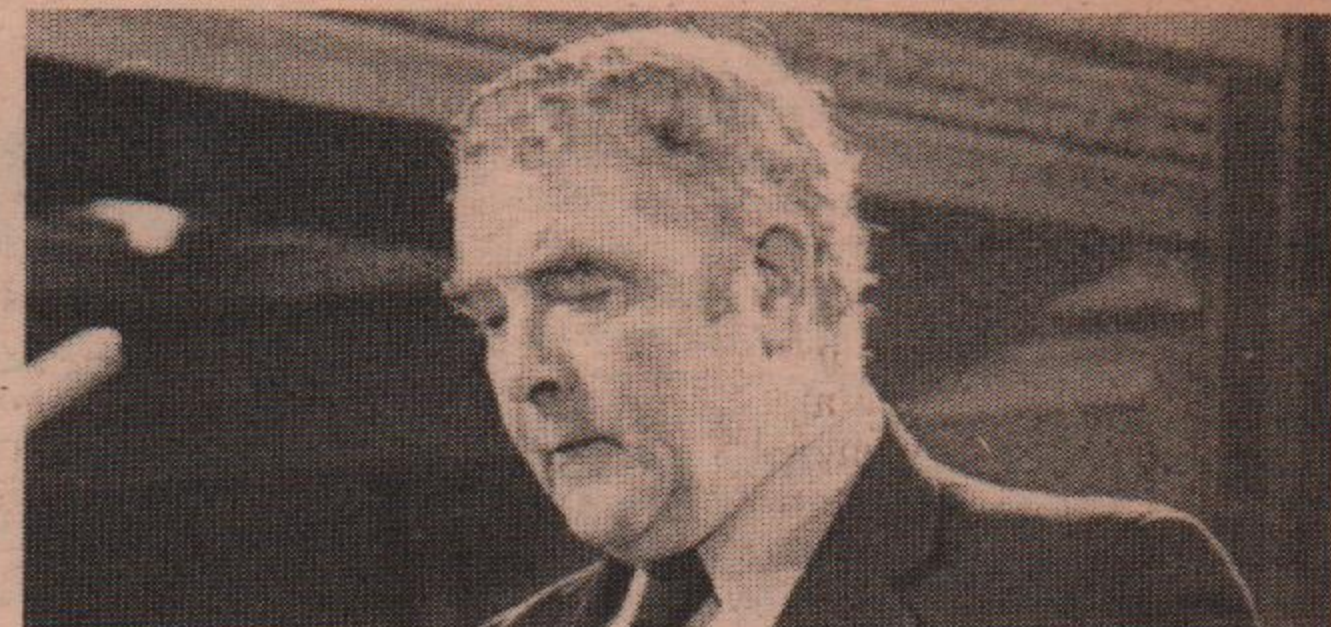
The claim, which is the biggest challenge to the Tories' wage policy so far, also includes demands for increased holiday pay and special payments for anti-social shifts. The wages resolution passed at the Inverness conference in July stressed the need to return to the old time-table of a November-to-November agreement, instead of the February date fixed by the Wilberforce settlement that ended the 1972 strike.

The NUM negotiating team, led by president Joe Gormley, will be meeting the NCB to hear its reply in early October. The board is already hiding behind the Tories' wage freeze laws, saying they think the claim is reasonable but they are tied by the law.

They are not saying whether they would grant the increases if the law was not in the way.

Joe Gormley was outspoken at the TUC about the need to fight the freeze and press ahead with the claim, but few militants are fooled by his talk. They know that the executive effectively sabotaged the last claim by delaying it until the last minute and then allowing Gormley to scare the members into voting against strike action by saying it was almost impossible for one union to take on the Tory government alone—ignoring the fact that this is exactly what the miners did in 1972.

Gormley and the right wing have stated their intention to negotiate a productivity deal as soon as this is allowed under the freeze. The left on the executive, led by Communist Party member Michael McGahey and general secretary Lawrence Daly, by saying nothing against the produc-



JOE GORMLEY: Promises, promises . . .

by Bill Message

tivity deal, are allowing the right wing plenty of room for manoeuvre.

Joe Gormley and NCB chairman Derek Ezra are hoping that Phase 3 of the freeze will allow productivity deals. Gormley's tactics could well be hoping this will give him the chance to scare his members with the choice of either a long fight alone against the Tories or a productivity deal next year with the 'promise' of 'substantial' increases.

Pledged

But the feeling among miners is different. The Scottish Area delegate conference held a fortnight ago pledged itself to any action necessary to win the claim. The North-Western Area, not usually noted for militancy, has supported this.

At the NUM Yorkshire delegate council on Monday last week 18 of the 83 delegates supported a call for immediate strike action from 1 November if the claim is not met. Yorkshire Area president Arthur Scargill proposed the area should tell the executive that there should be an overtime ban from 1 November, and that Yorkshire was ready to move

with or without an official national call.

Militants must now make careful preparations for the fight ahead.

The first obstacle to be overcome is an attempt by the right wing to sabotage the claim. There must be a full-scale campaign for the claim, warning of the dangers of a productivity deal, with meetings called in every pit and on every shift to publicise the claim and discuss tactics.

One danger is that Gormley may call for a ballot on strike action at the beginning of November, with the alternative of a productivity deal by the middle of next year. The signs are that the Communist Party members on the executive would go along with this move, ignoring the fact that the members have to be carefully prepared for strike action.

If, as happened in March, the executive makes no firm recommendation, the prospect of a strike beginning six weeks before Christmas would undoubtedly frighten off all but the militants.

To ensure the success of the claim there should be a special national conference in October, immediately after the Coal Board has rejected the claim, to impose an overtime ban and work to rule, with a commitment to strike action from the beginning of January.

Chile: Labour's faulty memory

ONE of the minor obscenities produced by the coup in Chile has been the flood of crocodile tears from various leading figures in the Labour Party. Thus Judith Hart (Guardian 19 September) tells us that this is 'the most vicious fascism we have seen for generations.'

Now generations may be short in Miss Hart's family, but it is just eight years next month since the army in Indonesia murdered a number of people which is still not definitely known, but which was at least 100,000 and may have been half a million.

To my recollection there was little or no flood of indignation from the Labour Party. And when somewhat later the Labour Party announced military cuts 'East of Suez', Labour left-wingers fell over themselves with enthusiasm. Nobody was so tactless as to point out that this policy was made possible only by the virtual destruction of the Indonesian Communist Party, thus removing an alleged threat to Malaysia.

Or again, in April 1967 a military coup in Greece led to a massive wave of arrests and the destruction of basic trade union rights. The British government (Labour) was perhaps more enthusiastic in its support of the new regime than any other government in Europe.

In short, the Labour leaders' reaction is one of the luxuries of opposition. Their hypocrisy is only matched by that of Jeremy Thorpe whose objection to diplomatic recognition was that it was too soon to know whether the junta was in full control (in other words, they haven't killed enough people yet).

One way of showing our solidarity with the Chilean workers is to make it quite clear that we have no connection with this bunch of charlatans who are taking up the issue for their own squalid ends.—CURTIS McNALLY, London N19.

WITH reference to the military overthrow of Allende's government in Chile, the following motion was passed by the Lambeth branch of NALGO, the government officers' union, on 14 September.

'This branch noting the violent overthrow of the democratically elected government of Salvador Allende in Chile, with considerable loss of life: 1. calls upon the national executive of NALGO to campaign in the TUC for appropriate sanctions against the military regime, 2. calls upon HM Government to withhold recognition from the military regime, 3. calls upon the military regime to resign and release its political prisoners, 4. expresses its solidarity with the forces of the legitimate government of Chile.'

Obviously, there is little hope that a mere resolution can have any effect on the military regime. But if a strong enough movement of protest, coupled with, for instance, blacking of Chilean goods by workers, can develop throughout the world, this could be a factor in splitting the Chilean ruling class and encouraging the opposition of the workers.

Pensioners: the taxman cometh

WE ARE constantly being informed through the Tory propaganda machine that the Heath administration is doing everything possible to help the old-age pensioners and the lower paid.

Not only is this a misrepresentation of the truth but it is in fact a most blatant lie. Consider the following facts.

There are something like seven million old-age pensioners in this country today. A very large proportion of them are, like myself, compelled to take a part time job in order to raise themselves above the starvation level.

Having been taxed all their full-time working lives they are even now at the mercy of the tax gatherers according to what they earn. About three weeks ago I received from the tax officer a statement showing I owed them the sum of £48, due to the under-deduction of tax on previous earnings. Therefore my code

LETTERS



Socialist Worker wants to hear from you. What you like about the paper—and what you don't like. Your thoughts and comments on problems facing working people. Your experiences at work.

But please be brief. We receive so many letters now that we cannot publish them all. We could publish many more if writers restricted themselves to 250 words at the most.

Letters must arrive first post Monday. Handwritten letters must be legible and with names in capitals please to avoid confusion.

At least the publicity surrounding such protests may serve to bring home the lesson that where attempts are made to 'democratically' reform capitalism in the interests of the workers, then the capitalists will not hesitate to break their own laws and brutally crush such attempts. L HEARN, Assistant Secretary, Lambeth NALGO, (personal capacity).

Women driving

MRS Paula Maynard writes (SW, 1 September) that most women bus conductors do not want to become drivers.

This is no reason why women who do not want to drive a bus should be debarred on account of their sex. There would probably be less danger of assault in the driver's seat, anyway, besides more pay.

Obviously in the transport industry both men and women desperately need shorter hours. But it is a mistake for women to make this demand in order to spend more

number would be changed in order to recover the above sum. The wages I receive for my 20 hours a week job amount to £9.50 per week, which previous to this new code number were non-taxable.

Now however, as the enclosed pay-slip will show I am being taxed at the rate of £1.65 out of £9.50. Thus leaving me £7.85. Nor shall I get the full benefit of the £1 increase in pension in October, as that will also be taxed!

It is worthy of note that many thousands of OAPs who live in council flats will have their rents increased in October by 50p per week. The remaining 50p will not cover the increased cost of living, therefore they will be worse off than before!

The whole system of capitalism is a mass of lies, shams and hypocrisy. More power to the International Socialists and Socialist Worker ERNEST OFFEN, Fulham.

time drudging for their families.

Women should demand adequate social services to help them out with their children and their household chores. In the meantime husbands should take a share in the work at home.—KATHLEEN JONES (Mrs), Shrewsbury.

Race Act

I AM pleased to be able to tell you that the editorial board of GEC Rank and File fully supports the letter which appeared in Socialist Worker on 14 July concerning immigration.

Present at the meeting which unanimously supported that statement were Jack Collingwood (AUEW convenor, Cannon Industries, Bilston), Ron Murphy and Alan Williams (ASTMS, Trafford Park, Manchester), Geoff Hayward (ASTMS, Stafford), Ray Milnes (TASS representative, GEC Elliott Automation), Jimmy Dempsey (ACTS, GEC Telecommunications, Coventry), Dave Lervin (ASTMS, GEC Turbines, Rugby), Elsie Moles (AUEW deputy convenor, GEC Telecommunications, Coventry) and Margaret Betteridge (AUEW shop steward, GEC Measurement, Stafford).

We intend to include a summary of the Socialist Worker letter in the GEC Rank and File October issue.—JOHN BROADBENT (secretary editorial board), Peterborough.

Sex and the left

IN Socialist Worker on 8 September Kevin Schirn and Jim Clark criticised Jock Young's review of my pamphlet (Politics of Homosexuality, 20p, Pluto Press) by saying that to raise the fight against sexism as a specific issue, 'indicates an inward-looking and moralising idea of the party in supposing that it is to free its members from sexist prejudices which are common in the movement and the working class at large.'

The revolutionary party must not tackle the sexism of its members because sexism is common in the working class! Therefore, socialists should make concessions to backward ideas among the people by shunning the struggle for gay liberation and the wider struggle against sexism mounted by the women's movement!

Since when is a revolutionary party supposed to simply reflect the cultural values of the working class? International Socialism certainly doesn't on the question of immigration or Ireland. Week in and week out Socialist Worker prints in 'Where We Stand'. 'For the right of coloured people and all oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.' This is not just rhetoric. IS is committed to it.

For heterosexual men the politics of sexuality might appear to be 'simply an academic fancy'. But to those of us who are oppressed because of our sex or our sexuality the struggle against sexual oppression is of immediate and daily concern.

It is the hallmark of the reactionary to dismiss the oppression suffered by others as an 'irrelevance'.—DON MILLIGAN, Bradford.

This correspondence is now closed.

TAKEN FOR A RIDE FROM HEATHROW

ACME Industrial Cleaners, the contract cleaning firm that pays Asian workers well under 50p an hour to keep Heathrow Airport clean, is but a small part of a rapidly growing international cleaning firm that has been a source of substantial profits to many in the City over the last few years. It is one of the vicious ironies of capitalism that workers' pension contributions and savings are invested in the company.

Three weeks ago Socialist Worker exposed the scandal of the cleaning contract at Heathrow Airport. The almost wholly Asian workforce receives take home pay of £16 for a 40 hour week, and has no control over their hours of work as a result of an agreement the General and Municipal Workers Union has signed with the employers, Acme Industrial Cleaners.

Acme are a part of the Affiliated Cleaning Companies Group. Since 1968 this group has been a part of the Pritchard Services Group. Pritchard's pre-tax profit in 1972 amounted to £1,205,000 and this year over £200,000 is expected to be made abroad in countries such as South Africa, Portugal, France and Canada.

Acme Industrial Cleaners was formed in 1948 by Maurice Bateman. At this stage he put up £2100 to start the company and neither he nor anyone else has risked any money since then. This has not impeded profit growth.

The first profits that were published were for 1961 and amounted to £24,600. By 1963 they had climbed to £68,877.

Firmly

It was around this time that the company changed hands. Unfortunately there is no record of how much Bateman received for it, but given the company's profitability, the figure will have been well in excess of £200,000. The new owners felt it necessary to hide their identity under a nominee name but by 1968 Acme was firmly in the hands of Pritchard, then only making £494,000 pre-tax profits.

At that time the average annual wage in Pritchards for the 16,800 workers was £351. By 1972 this had risen by 40 per cent—somewhat less than the average rise in wages during that time. Profits per worker, however, had risen by some 116 per cent in the same period.

The directors however were clearly not satisfied, as they have started buying companies abroad. Two companies bought in France and Canada during 1972 are expected to add more than £100,000 to overseas profits in 1973. Having screwed as much as possible out of the lowly paid UK workers, the directors are using the accumulated profits of that exploitation to move to cheap wage areas such as Portugal and South Africa—contributing



around £100,000 in 1972.

All this has been good for some, not least the Pritchard directors who own over two million shares in the company, worth some £400,000 at currently depressed share price levels.

There are other shareholders. As well as various religious bodies and numerous Oxford and Cambridge colleges, the Norwich Union Assurance Company has 103,446 shares and the United Builders Merchants Pension fund has 70,000 shares.

These shares have been bought with the money collected from among others, workers throughout the country. In many cases workers have no say in what happens to the money they save. Yet they are continually being told that they have—through pension schemes—a direct interest in capitalism.

Under new government legislation, many companies will have to introduce pension schemes for the first time. The money collected will be invested in companies such as Pritchards, and property developers like Harry Hyams and Charlwood Estates—featured in this column a fortnight ago.

It is important that the hypocrisy of claims about the workers' direct stake in capitalism are exposed for what they are, attempts to discourage demands for a better wage and solidarity for the low-paid in firms such as Pritchards. The only people these firms have made rich are a few capitalists, through exploitation on an international scale.

T H Rogmorton

This book documents in detail the torture of political prisoners in Turkey, and the staggering brutality of the methods used. It documents the political trials with which the regime hoped to destroy the left.

Faced with a virtual blockade on real news from Turkey, Jane Cousins went there to interview politicians, trade unionists, academics, lawyers and many ex-prisoners. She was given access to papers and documents which are here published for the first time.

£1.50 paperback
Illustrated
15p post + packing
Pluto Press Limited
unit 10 Spencer Court
7 Chalcot Road
London NW1 8LH
telephone 01-722 0141

Strike call as trial starts

LIVERPOOL:-The conference of rank and file trade unionists called by the trades council last Saturday to plan action in support of the 24 North Wales building workers on trial at Shrewsbury for picketing was an important step forward in the defence campaign.

It was called in the face of total silence from the trade union leaders on this key issue. Speaker after speaker stressed the implications of the trial as a serious threat to the whole working-class movement.

Delegates were also firm in their resolve to organise industrial action and a mass demonstration outside the court on Wednesday, the first day of the trial, against the whole trumped-up prosecution.

The Tory government is changing tack in the wake of last year's defeats by the miners and dockers. The Shrewsbury pickets have been selected as the butt of a new attack on all workers and no effort should be spared in defending them. In such a situation the silence of the trade union leaders is plainly inexcusable.

Eddie Loyden, opening the conference for the trades council, said: 'The Tories have moved away from tackling the best organised sections into an industry where organisation is weak. This trial is blatant naked aggression.'

Barry Scragg, of the North Wales 24 Defence Committee, said the trial was an attack on the whole movement. 'The Tories want to use the prosecution of the 24 to set up case law against all trade unionists,' he said.

'We desperately need money. We estimate that it will cost us £30,000 just to pay the wages of the 24 for the duration of the trial. The men have to travel on average 100 miles a day to and from court.'

'If they are imprisoned then we need the same response as for the Pentonville 5.'

Stan Connell, AUEW Manchester district president, told the conference: 'The Shrewsbury 24 are charged with a conspiracy to stop people working. What a



Gerry Kelly, one of the five Birmingham building workers facing trial, speaking at the conference.

joke. How many Tory combines have so resorted to stop people working by redundancies and closures?'

Gerry Kelly, UCATT, Birmingham, pointed out that there are two conspiracy trials involving building workers. 'Five of us in Birmingham are on trial for occupying the SOS offices, a firm responsible for flooding building sites with lump and scab labour. And there are other cases.'

'We must keep defence committees going throughout the trials. We must press other unions to defend the pickets. And if there are prison sentences we need a general strike.'

Pat Walls, of Bradford Trades Council, said: 'Our first elementary duty is to defend our pickets and thereby defend our freedoms. Strike action is the only way to ensure the defence of these people.'

'If the UCATT executive shelters behind the law we must ask why. If they were subject to recall they might act differently. We need to develop the biggest possible rank and file movement to defend these lads.'

Keith Dobie, UCATT, London, moving the adoption of a more detailed programme of action including the setting up of a national co-ordinating committee and monthly demonstrations outside the court throughout the trial, said: 'We have to put this fight in the context of what's going on up and down the country. We've seen the UCATT leaders engage in every possible manoeuvre to avoid supporting the Shrewsbury 24.'

'We have to build an organisation that can free the Shrewsbury 24 and defend the working class. Let's make sure that we do it off our own backs, not relying on the unreliable, union leaders.'

Donations and collections please to North Wales 24 Defence Committee, 1 Ford Pentre, Ocean View Carmel, Holywell, Flintshire. Information and speakers from W Regan, 18 Prince's Drive, Colwyn Bay, North Wales. Phone Colwyn Bay 2885.



Sacked Footprints steward Pete Wilson being arrested

8 arrested to break mass picket

SHEFFIELD:- Sacked shop steward Peter Wilson and AUEW district secretary George Caborn were among eight arrested on a 500-strong picket outside Footprint Tools last Friday.

Several of those arrested have been charged with assault—trouble was obviously coming from the size of the police turn-out. Pickets believe that a Home Office decision must have inspired the arrests.

The mid-afternoon stoppage was the second organised in support of the 100 AUEW members now 15 weeks on strike demanding the re-instatement of Peter Wilson.

The district committee has failed to use mass picketing and one-day stoppages to close Footprints. Such tactics could have quickly ended the dispute.

Wilson's re-instatement would boost the confidence of all AUEW members for the coming national pay claim.

DUNLOP TYRE BOSSES GO FLAT

by Roger Rosewell

AFTER a three week strike, 2000 Dunlop engineering workers have won their battle against the company and the Pay Board. This is an important victory.

The struggle began after the firm had negotiated a new national agreement and then refused to honour it. The workers demanded that their all-round general pay rise of £1.95 from April should be paid, but Dunlops refused, and hid behind a Pay Board ruling that the increase should only be paid on the anniversary of the last rise at each individual factory.

This would have meant that every factory would have been paid at a different time and as such was completely rejected by the powerful engineering Combine.

During the strike 14 factories were out and more than 2000 engineering workers were involved. 8000 process workers were laid off and all cross ply production stopped and a large part of radial tyre manufacture halted.

The credit for the victory must be placed with the Dunlop Combine. This is a rank and file body which called the strike, organised it, toured the country and finally insisted that the company guarantee to pay the rise as agreed.

Combine

No such credit can be claimed by the trade union officials. If anything they actually joined forces with the firm and at one time helped challenge the very existence of the Combine.

This was especially true during TUC week when three national officials, Hersey (AUEW), Shearsley (EEPTU) and Biggin (GMWU) secretly met with the firm and agreed that there should be a return to work. This was done without any consultation with the Combine, the members, or even some of the other national trade union officers involved.

Fortunately the members refused to obey it. The first that most of them heard about it was when they received a letter from the Dunlops management tell-

ing them that: 'We understand that your national officers have now issued a statement recommending a return to work... and we would like to endorse that recommendation.'

When this failed Dunlops were desperate to act. They called a sudden meeting in London and paid the expenses of all those convenors who attended. Finally, after four hours of talks, they agreed to honour the settlement and pay the rise from 1 April as soon as they were allowed.

Before this, the convenors had attacked the role of the three national officials, they would have liked to say more, but one of the chief culprits, Arthur Hersey of the AUEW, failed to turn up.

News of the victory was jubilantly received at a meeting of Liverpool Dunlop engineers and as the national secretary of the Combine told me later: 'This is a great triumph for the Combine. Despite attempts to destroy us we are now stronger than ever before. This is a great moment for us.'

Paltry offer rejected by steelmen

HOWDEN UPON TYNE:- The 240 workers at W Press voted last week to continue their six-week strike, ignoring management threats of redundancies and rejecting a paltry pay offer.

The strike started after the firm, steel contractors making drilling platforms, tried a pay dodge. By renaming the plant from 'engineering works' to 'yard' they could lay men off during bad weather, paying them only a low basic wage.

Last week management offered a slight increase in the basic wage during lay-offs. The strikers rejected this as an insult. They are demanding a return to the original pay structure and the return to the works of a BP contract, the steel for which was moved out in a midnight operation by a fleet of 50 lorries.

CLASSIFIED

Copy for the Classified section 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.

MEETINGS

ISC public meeting on Laos. Speaker Andrew Turton (AREAS). Monday 1 October, 7.30pm, London School of Economics, Houghton Street (Room 5075, St Clements building).

WORKERS' FIGHT public meeting

MARXISM OR TERRORISM? Speaker Sean Matgamna. Sunday 30 September, 8pm, Golden Lion Hotel, Kings Cross Road, London N1.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee Jumble Sale and Bazaar: Saturday 29 September, 2pm, St Matthias Church Hall, Wordsworth Road, Stoke Newington, London N16.

FRELIMO DAY 1973. Meeting, Friday 28 September. Speaker from FRELIMO: Joaquim Chissano. Film on liberation struggle in Mozambique. 7.30pm, Unity House, Euston Road, London N1. Sponsors: African Liberation Committee and Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine. Info: 01-734 9541.

SALFORD PRECINCT DEMONSTRATION: Against rising prices, rising rents, frozen wages. Salford Precinct, Saturday 22 September, 2.30pm, starting in car park near the Co-Op.

HISTORY WORKSHOP IN LONDON

Saturday 20 October-Sunday 21 October at the Old Theatre, London School of Economics.

FAMILY WORK AND HOME

Catherine Hall 'History of the housewife'; Anna Davin 'Shop girls and clerks in 19th century London'; Aubrey Crowe 'Black Country Chainmakers'; Gillian Sutherland 'Rise of the Schoolmistress'; Delia Davin 'Women and Home in the Chinese Revolution'; Tim Mason 'The Cult of Motherhood in Nazi Germany'; Videotapes of 'Fall in and Follow me' and discussion on the Children's Strikes of 1911. Open session on 'Marxism, Feminism and Social History'. Tickets £1 from Sarah and Sid Wills, 49 Elder Avenue, Crouch End, London N8 (old age pensioners and unsupported mothers 25p). Socialist Worker readers welcome.

MALE STUDENT, moving South, urgently requires accommodation in London. Please contact Box LS, Socialist Worker editorial, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS.

COUPLE WANTED for double room in East London. Available immediately. Phone 01-989 5601.

LEAFLETS, PAMPHLETS, COVERS etc: Quality electrostencils, by return. Only 30p! (plus 5p postage and packing): 56 Park Road, Lenton, Nottingham.

RENT STRIKE DEFENCE GROUP: After nine rents demo arrests we want to contact other tenants, so please write in. We have information on the law and housing struggle to share—c/o Flat 3, 59 Forest Road, Nottingham.

AMBIANCE Lunch-Hour Theatre Club at the Almost Free Theatre, requires previously unsubmitted one-act plays for possible production in a session of new British writing. All scripts submitted with a stamped addressed envelope will be read and returned. Scripts to Peter James, Almost Free Theatre, 14 Talacre Road, London NW5.

GAYPRINTS—Gay liberation pamphlets, FAGGOTS and the REVOLUTION, documents from FHAR price 16p; The Joke's Over, report on the Social Needs of Homosexuals 20p (all prices include p&p), from Box GP, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1.

LEFT BOOKSTORES: Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA—the book Cosgrave banned from Dublin—is being wholesaled through Red Books, 100 pages, 50p retail. Inquiries to Dept FS, 24 Boundary Road, London NW8. Phone 01-624 4504.

BACK IN PRINT: Lenin's What is to be done? 20p (including p and p) from Red Books, 24 Boundary Road, London NW8.

BANNED IN IRELAND... available from Red Books: Freedom Struggle by the Provisional IRA, 100 pages, Retail 50p. Special offer, mail order: 50p post free. From Red Books, 24 Boundary Road, London NW8. Trade: write for terms or phone 01-624 4504.

JAMES CONNOLLY—unpublished letter. The Socialist Party aims at building a world community without frontiers based on common ownership—with production solely for use—not profit. It opposes all other political parties, all leadership, all racialism, all war. The October Socialist Standard features James Connolly. Free copy from Dept SW, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4.

THE POLITICS OF HOMOSEXUALITY

20p from Pluto Press. A marxist analysis of how and why sexual oppression operates under capitalism—by Don Milligan



I would like to join the International Socialists

Name

Address

Trade Union

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

BIG CAR FIRMS OUT FOR SHOWDOWN WITH SHOP FLOOR

FORD:

Sacked man is victim of big production drive

THE national newspapers have been running hysterical headlines this week attacking Ford workers at Dagenham for striking in support of the sacked Winston Williams and occupying the plant in protest against lay-offs without pay.

Management claim Winston tried to attack his foreman, Fred Fuller, with an iron bar. He was sacked on 14 September.

The facts are quite different. Winston Williams has worked at Ford for eleven years, and even the company admit he has an 'exemplary record'. The frame shop where he works has recently been subject to fantastic demands for increased productivity.

In the forefront of those demands has been foreman Fred Fuller.

Two weeks ago Ford management raised the work quotas in the frame shop by a fantastic 75 per cent. Winston Williams and his gang got production up from 450 to 620 frame pieces on the shift before the incident.

On the next shift foreman Fuller really went after Winston Williams, constantly harassing him to meet the company's target of 714 pieces per shift. At the end of eight hours of this, Winston broke down, told the foreman to leave him alone, collapsed and had to be carried out into the medical department.

BLATANT

Ford, to further their insatiable desires and endless schemes for more production, then concocted a story alleging violence on Winston's part and gave him the sack. By this time the two men had actually resumed working side by side.

This blatant assertion of management 'rights' caused an immediate strike by 180 workers on the same shift as Winston. This affected other workers. Ford then decided to lay off some of the other workers in the complex without pay. Ford refuses to pay lay-off money to workers affected by 'internal disputes'.

This time the men concerned decided they wanted work or full pay and the body and assembly plant workers decided to occupy. Such was the rage and frustration when their demands were refused: that windows were smashed, cars damaged and offices besieged.

This is not the first time this has happened recently. Earlier this month workers in the body plant stormed the personnel manager's offices over the same issue and locked him in. But on that occasion Ford decided to hush the whole matter up.

With last week's incident they

opted for publicity. But the Transport Union has moved in behind Winston Williams and produced a mountain of evidence to show that he is being victimised. All 8000 workers in the Dagenham Body Plant are now out on strike to win his re-instatement.

But the issue of winning lay-off on so-called 'internal' disputes has been left aside by convenors and stewards who have shilly-shalied on both fronts. To win the reinstatement of Winston Williams and a watertight lay-off agreement would be a victory indeed.

CHRYSLER:

THE real intentions of the management of Chrysler began to come out in the open on Monday.

They not only want constant production unhindered by such matters as trade union principle and organisation. They want constant production unhindered by any other human or social considerations whatsoever.

At the company's Linwood plant stewards were approached on Monday and offered terms for the immediate payment of a wage increase of £1 plus 4 per cent. The company said that they would put this money in the pay packets this Friday if the stewards would agree to wholesale changes in quality control.

Chrysler want to change the present system, by which cars in the compound can still be brought back into the plant for repair when faults are found. Instead

Wage offer — in return for 'no repairs' deal

the company wants agreement from the trade unions that once the cars make the compound, then Chrysler is free to sell them.

Management also wants to vary the agreement in the paint shop 'hospital', where faulty paint jobs are put right. The company wants each car to make one trip and one trip only up the paint shop line. Any defects will simply be ignored.

These suggestions came wrapped in renewed pleas about the company's cash crisis and the need to have uninterrupted production.

Shop stewards at Linwood voted last month to recommend that Transport and Engineering Union members should

settle their present wage claim at £1 plus 4 per cent. But no mass meeting has yet been held. The stewards are likely to meet this week.

In the Linwood plant the militants feel that the Scottish electricians' decision to return to work for one week is a serious setback. They point out that the electricians have returned on the lame excuse that since the Coventry plants are on holiday this week, no scab labour is working.

This move means it will be difficult to renew action against scab labour. And with this suspended the field is open for the trade union leaders to cobble together some unprincipled settlement.

The electricians took their decision after two meetings. The first, addressed by John Carty, chairman of the Linwood shop stewards committee, who appealed for a return 'to protect trade union organisation at Linwood', was stormy. The vote was only 67 to 60 to return. But the second meeting recorded a unanimous vote to return.

THREAT

Just before the electricians voted to return, a mass meeting of Engineering and Transport Union members voted by 4000 to 3000 to continue their fine stand in defence of trade union principles. Once again they decisively rejected instructions from the union executives.

The shop stewards committee had earlier voted 200 to 20 to recommend that the stoppage go on while scabs were being used.

Linwood stewards have also resolved to fight any redundancies and closures at the plant. They cannot make any sense out of Chrysler's threat of redundancies. They point out that expansion at Linwood was announced in December last year and that the track speed has been increased considerably recently to produce more cars.

In Coventry both the Ryton and Stoke plants are shut down for a week's holiday. The electricians are being increasingly isolated, though Lucas Birmingham drivers who supply important car parts are continuing to black Chrysler.

At the Coventry Trades Council meeting last week a resolution from an Electricians Union branch condemning the actions of the Engineering and Transport Union leaders in the dispute was passed by an overwhelming majority. Striking electricians picketed the meeting.

Main opponent of the resolution was Eddie McClusky, secretary of the stewards committee at Stoke and a member of the Communist Party. Other Communist Party members opposed his stand. No reply has been received from the Communist Party to the International Socialists district committee's appeal for joint action in the dispute.

AUEW strike call

ROTHERHAM:—The local branch of the Engineering Workers' Union construction section voted last Friday in favour of strike action on Wednesday in support of the North Wales 24, whose trial begins at Shrewsbury that day. The branch called on the union's national executive to hold an emergency session with a view to calling a national one-day stoppage that day.

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS



PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report)

Delegates at the Tenants Action Conference last weekend.

Tenants' delegates call for strikes

MANCHESTER:—More than 200 delegates and visitors, representing 45 tenants' associations, including most of the areas on rent strike at present, 14 trade union branches, seven trades councils, three shop stewards committees and several other organisations, attended the National Tenants Action Conference last Sunday.

It opened with a hard-hitting speech by Wally Preston, secretary of Stretford Tenants Association and a national committee member of the International Socialists, who said tenants must link rent strikes with the action taken by rank-and-file trade unionists to smash the freeze. The reason for the Tories' success

so far was the cowardly attitude of the Labour and trade union leaders. The only notable exception to this were the Clay Cross councillors, but 'they are as rare as raisins in a works canteen pudding.'

Wally received a big ovation when he concluded by calling for the tenants' movement to join the struggle for a socialist society.

Tony Boyle, of Tower Hill tenants, Kirkby, spoke of their year-long total rent and rate strike. He argued that this was the best way to keep up tenants' solidarity. Workers in Kirkby had promised industrial action if employers tried to deduct rents from their wages.

Gerry Walsh, secretary of Oldham and District Tenants Association, said the numbers on rent strike in his area had fallen from 7000 to 400. One lesson was not to believe a word you hear from Labour councillors. In Oldham they had said they would not victimise tenants, so they sent all their names to court at the same time!

The conference went on to discuss, amend and pass a militant declaration which called for rent strikes backed by industrial action to defeat the rises. The conference also decided to set up a 12-member National Tenants Action Committee to co-ordinate the fight against the rent rises.

WE'RE ALL ON TRIAL

From page one

the trial when the men have been successfully victimised.

The men are themselves the innocent victims of a conspiracy by the governing bodies of this country, the capitalists and industrialists who pull the strings on their puppets.

These people, the ruling class, are fully aware of the power that we the workers hold. They are desperately afraid of that power. For this reason they will do their utmost to crush this vast potential before it can be used against them.

They tried with the Industrial Relations Act. They failed because they could not keep the Pentonville Five in prison. Having failed with that ploy they now seek to achieve their objective by using criminal law and crown courts.

If they are successful and these men are convicted of conspiracy then this will effectively deprive us of our hard-won right to picket. If we cannot picket then that undermines the freedom to withdraw labour and win a strike.

If we cannot strike effectively then we cannot negotiate. At the end of the line we will have no weapons left to us.

The unions would be totally emasculated. Workers would be totally at the mercy of the employers. No trade union branch in the country would ever again be able to hold a branch meeting without the threat of conspiracy charges hanging over them. No group of workers could ever get together freely to formulate common policy.

What then can we do to protect ourselves? In the first instance we must do everything in our power to protect the scapegoats physically, morally and financially. We must show the establishment that we have not the slightest intention of meekly succumbing to their conspiracy to do us down.

Whether the establishment like it or not, we the workers have the ultimate power as long as we use it in a concerted and unified manner. In order to survive we must act in unison. If we cannot get strong

leadership from the top we must provide strong leadership from the bottom.

If our union national executives are reluctant to act decisively on an issue as fundamental as Shrewsbury, then they are of no use to us. The rank and file in all trade unions must, through their branches, instruct national executives to take up the establishment challenge, to issue strong direction to their members to strike against any sentences which could result.

But since from previous experience we can expect the executives to do little or nothing until it is too late, we in the factories and the branches must take the appropriate action. In order to ensure our continued existence and to maintain some control of our own destinies we must organise in the branches.

We must take the decision for the executives. We must decide now, on our own initiative, to strike on the first day of the trial, Wednesday 3 October.

Subscribe Now!

I enclose £_____ for one year/six months

Socialist Worker

(£4 for a year, £2 for six months, bulk orders available on request—post free.)

Name _____

Address _____

Socialist Worker Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2