

Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Heath's fraud: analysis back page, page 3

Arabs 'occupy' their land

THE PRESENT WAR in the Middle East has so far been fought out entirely on Arab soil, occupied and settled by Israel, who conquered it by force after the six-day war of 1967.

Whatever the hullabaloo about Arab 'surprise attacks', this fact should be remembered. But in fact all of Israel, even behind the 1967 borders, is occupied territory.

Israel is a settler state. The native Palestinians were driven forcibly out of their country to make room for Zionist colonisers, who took the land and often the very houses of the Arabs, who were left to rot in refugee camps across the frontier.

Israel defence minister Moshe Dayan has admitted that almost every Jewish village in Israel is built on the site of a former Arab settlement.

This is the real cause of the Middle East war and the reason why socialists support the right of the Arab peoples to redress this wrong. We support the proclaimed goal of the Palestinians, to replace the racist settler state of Israel, by a democratic non-sectarian state in which Jews, Moslems and Christians would enjoy equal rights.

The racially-exclusive Zionist state is a natural enemy of the Arab peoples it has displaced. It is therefore a natural ally for American imperialism and the foreign oil companies in the area.

'Civilised'

This was frankly admitted only this July by General Itzhak Rabin, who was Chief of Staff in the 1967 war. 'The Americans have given us weapons so that we should use them when necessary' he said, and added, 'an awareness is growing and crystallising in the USA that in an extreme case it is permitted to the civilised world to take control by force of the oil sources . . . if some medieval-type oil ruler really meant to endanger the oil needs of hundreds of millions in the civilised world, then it is permitted to the West to take tough steps in order to prevent this.'

Socialists do not base their attitude to a war on who fires the first shot. General Rabin's openly racist words (the Arabs are assumed, notice, not to be 'civilised') underline the point that the very existence of a racist Zionist state in Palestine is an act of aggression against the Arabs.

That does not mean that we look to the Arab ruling classes as the alternative. Their main interest in the war is to distract the attention of their own people by creating the impression that they are fighting imperialism.

In fact Egypt hopes that if a new cease-fire left her in possession of some parts of the Sinai desert, she could then sign a peace treaty with Israel on more favourable terms than were otherwise on the cards. But this would not restore the Palestinians to their country.

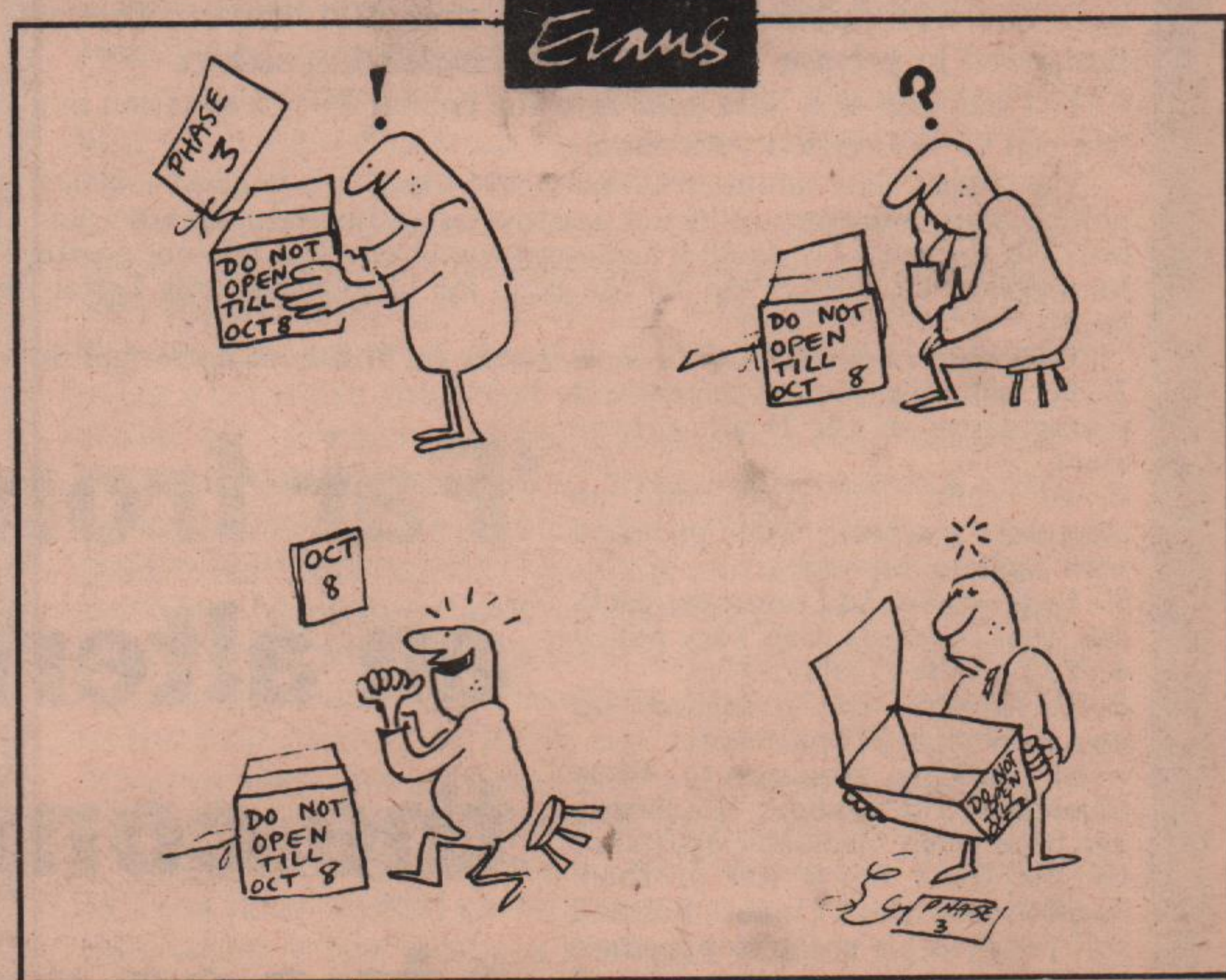
The Arab states have every right to resume the war against Israel. But the Arab ruling classes will never get rid of Zionism and imperialism. They are part of the same system. Only a socialist revolution throughout the middle east, overthrowing the Israeli and Arab governments, can begin to solve the problems of the area, including the Palestine problem.

Stephen Marks

Statement by Jewish and Arab socialists: page 3

The Kodak battle: special centre spread

KICK OUT PHASE 3!



HEATH AND HIS BUNCH of Tory gangsters have done it again. Phase Three marks no relaxation on the wages front.

The steady decline in working-class living standards will continue under the terms of the government code, while profits and prices continue to improve at our expense. That is the object of the exercise. The name

Socialist Worker Political Correspondent

of the game is capitalism.

In light of this glaring swindle, the time is long overdue to put an end to the farce of TUC/government consultations. The TUC's meagre proposals on rent standstill, food subsidies and free

wage bargaining have been completely rejected. The unacceptable face of capitalism is turned directly on the working class and it is as ugly as ever.

The TUC policy of attempting to appease the Tories has failed. Trade unionists are already paying too high a price for the privilege of allowing Jack Jones, Len Murray and company to engage in polite conversation in the ante-rooms of power.

Last year the miners delivered a body blow to the government's wages policy. The railwaymen exposed the irrelevance of the Industrial Relations Act.

And the dockers at Pentonville brought the Tories teetering to the very brink of defeat. The TUC permitted the government to regain the initiative. Instead of pressing their advantage they surrendered to the complete freeze of Phase One and the straitjacket of Phase Two.

The gasworkers and hospital workers were left to struggle alone and unaided by the big-mouthed battalions of the General Council.

The lost initiative of 1972 must be regained if workers are not to be set back for years. The trade union lefts may be banking on a Labour government to help them out in 1974. But the struggle to maintain and improve conditions is now, not in the empty promise of some golden future with a reformed Harold Wilson.

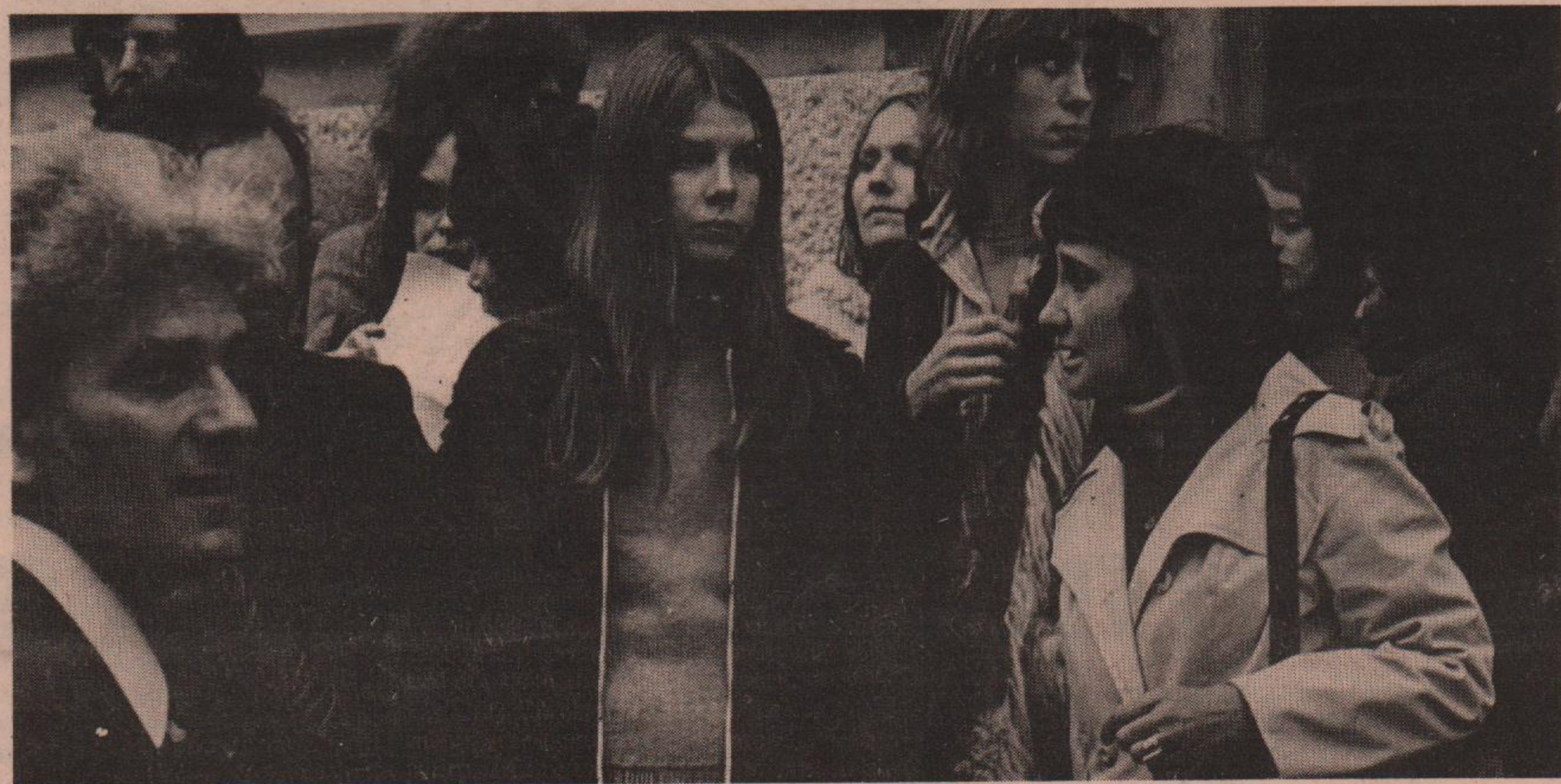
LIMBO

The finest assurance of a Labour government not returning to its antics of 1964 and 1970 is to smash the Tory mumbo-jumbo of incomes policy.

In the last 12 months of freeze and severe restraint prices have rocketed, disproving once and for all the myth of wages causing inflation. In Phase Three the already feeble arrangements for checking prices have been further relaxed and the loopholes extended. Free collective bargaining remains in limbo. Nobody can doubt from the joyful cries in the City and the Stock Exchange that this is a profoundly anti-working class policy.

This coming winter the leaders of the trade union and labour movement will be judged not by what they say but by what they do to break through and to smash Phase Three. Past experience does not give much confidence that they will measure up to this challenge.

Some six and a quarter million workers, have claims already in the pipeline to be dealt with under Phase Three. The claims



Lobby backs teacher

LONDON:-More than 100 Inner London teachers were on picket and demonstration outside County Hall on Tuesday. They were supporting Mrs Dorothy McColgan (on right in white coat) who has been removed from her teaching post. She has been the victim of the education authorities 'attentions' ever since involvement in a 1969 dispute at Highbury Quadrant School.

Picture: Peter Harrap (Report)

Socialist Worker Industrial Conference

Belle Vue, Manchester
Sunday 11 November

11am to 6pm

Admission 10p

Details from IS Industrial Department

8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



LABOUR KIDDODOLOGY

'Being at this conference is like being in a dream world for many of us. This conference has shown that the voice of socialism is in fact the voice of the whole party.'—Eric Heffer at Blackpool.

'Of course Wilson and the rest will sell out—they are not socialists. They are a lot of lousy liberals.'—A Labour MP who wishes to remain anonymous, also at Blackpool.

IT IS SIGNIFICANT that the first of these quotations was for public consumption and the second for mine alone in the coffee bar. The well-publicised joy at the dramatic 'shift to the left' is tempered in private by a more level headed cynicism.

The elements that have gone into the Labour Party's adoption of a left face can be summarised quite simply.

The Tories have adopted Labour's 1964 to 1970 policies—on incomes policy, state intervention in sick companies, industrial legislation and the rest. On the record of the last Labour government, it is just not credible to suggest that Wilson can do the same job once again, only better than Heath.

To win the next election it is necessary for Wilson to do several things:

- 1 To make the most of the current unpopularity of the Heath government.
- 2 To unite the party into an electoral machine well provided with trade union cash.
- 3 To present a mild reformist package that contrasts with Tory policy
- 4 To halt the Liberal revival.
- 5 To confirm and strengthen his own leadership of the party.

In working through to these objectives the Labour leadership has been given invaluable assistance by the trade union left of Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones. Scanlon soft-pedalled his union's opposition to incomes policy to the point of asking for his own resolution to be 'remitted'—thrown into the executive's wastepaper basket.

Timid

Jones threw the not inconsiderable weight of his block vote behind Wilson to quash the commitment to nationalise 25 companies. None of this is accidental. The trade unions want Wilson in Downing Street almost as much as he does himself.

In 1972 the upsurge of industrial militancy went far beyond the timid confines of official trade union machines. The immediate responses of the TUC, including its left contingent, was to hand over the initiative to a discredited and rocky government.

The trade union bureaucracy has no intention of allowing a repetition of 1972 during Phase Three. The only card left to them is the next Labour government, pledged to destroy the Industrial Relations Act and restore collective bargaining.

The cry must be: 'Don't rock the boat, hold fast, help is coming'. The attack on Tory policy will be muted in favour of Labour promises.

To set up such an alliance requires some verbal concessions to the Labour and trade union left. For all but the discredited right wing, the necessary vague form of words trips as lightly off the tongue as water off a duck's back.

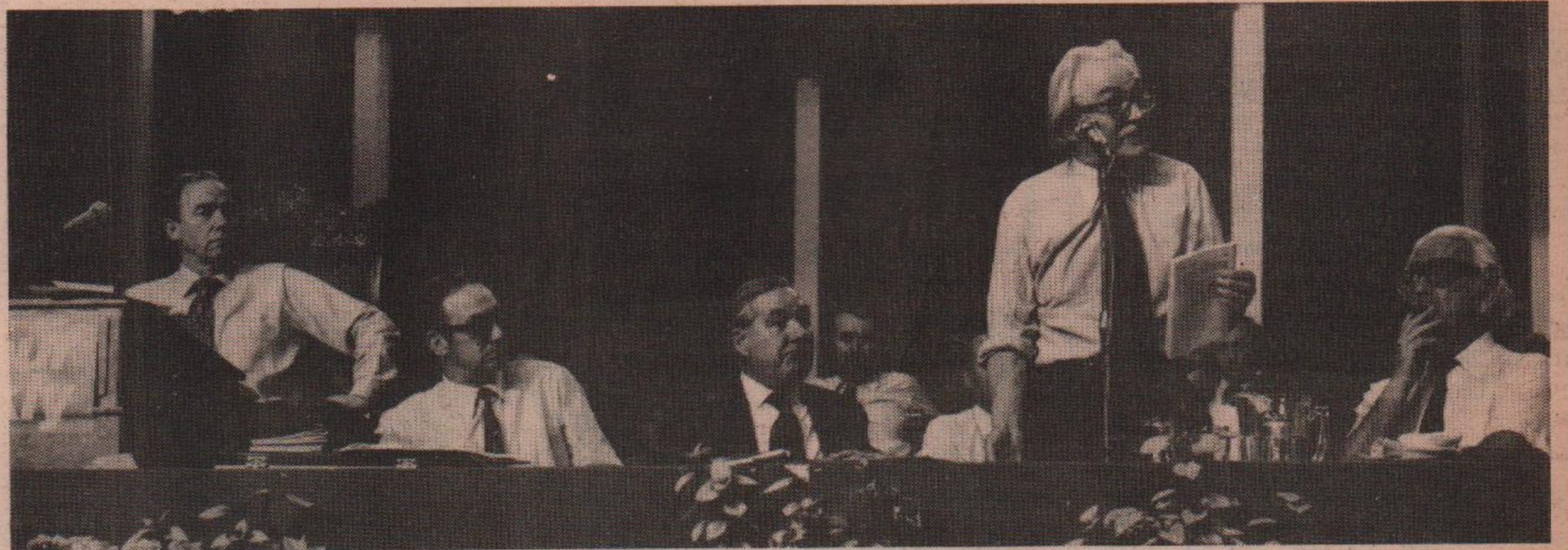
'Far from showing an alternative, the conference stresses the task facing socialists'

JIM HIGGINS REPORTS

But the emphasis is on vagueness. The debate on the 25 companies is not important because 25 has some magical significance or would usher in the socialist commonwealth but is significant because it holds a specific commitment to nationalise the largest industrial enterprises. That the platform could not stand and Jones performed manfully in their cause.

In return, the promise was for an unrolling programme, requiring at least two successive Labour administrations to carry through. Once again we heard the old phrase—first coined by Herbert Morrison—'each case for public ownership will be judged on its individual merits.'

The commanding heights turned out to be docks, shipbuilding, drugs (perhaps), building development land and several other items which are important to the system but in



The new, respectable Michael Foot speaking on the Common Market watched by (left to right) Bill Simpson, national agent Reg Underhill, Jim Callaghan and Ian Mikardo.

Pictures: Phil McCowen



The grisly embrace: Castle and Wilson sing Auld Lang Syne

no way central to its power. 'Industrial democracy' received the ritual acceptance but its actual implementation and its content were left so wide open as to be almost void.

The drive for unity also found more adherents than Wilson and Jones. Michael Foot, following in the footsteps of his idol Aneurin Bevan, has made the breakthrough to respectability. He made it clear that conference decisions could not be held to be binding on the parliamentary party.

Strategy

In a later speech on the Common Market, Foot reiterated his by now familiar line on the importance of a sovereign capitalist parliament. The hardening attitude of the conference against the EEC, by a massive five to one majority, beside

being a recognition of a useful electoral strategy, also marks the isolation of the Roy Jenkins wing of the party. Jenkins' speech, counselling moderation on public ownership, was met with little enthusiasm and his virtual demise as a contemporary political force has strengthened Wilson's hold on the leadership.

Beside the benefits of lining up the party and trade unions, holding off any specific commitment and dishing Jenkins, the radical shift in policy also has certain side benefits in putting the boot in for Jeremy Thorpe. Disgruntled Tory voters will think twice about voting for the Liberals if that makes possible the election of a Labour government, described by the Tory press as red in tooth and claw.

The Labour leadership is engaged

in a confidence trick. It is a trick, however, that will have its effect in the vitally important industrial field this winter and next spring.

The trade union lefts, abetted no doubt by the Communist Party, will be attempting to hold back workers' struggles against the government and the employers.

The answer for socialists is not a bigger vote next year for more radical policy, the revolutionary socialism so beloved of the fake left. It is by putting one's trust and effort into the building of a movement that is capable of acting now, not once every five years at a general election.

Far from showing an alternative, a soft option to building a genuine rank and file movement, the Labour Party conference stresses the great urgency of the task facing revolutionary socialists.

Union storm over police swoop

SW Reporter

COLCHESTER Trades Council is to demand apologies from the Home Secretary and a number of trade unionists are considering suing Essex Constabulary for wrongful arrest following the police swoop on a coachload of demonstrators, including many International Socialists members, returning from Shrewsbury last week.

This major police operation involved stopping the coach as it returned from the solidarity demonstration for the 24 North Wales building workers. The 27 on the coach were then taken off to the police station where they were closely questioned about their political beliefs and activities.

Police officers later claimed that they lifted the 27 as part of their inquiries into what they claimed was

a deliberately caused fire at Woolworth's Colchester store.

But the people who received the attentions of the police are convinced that the swoop was part of an attempt to find out as much as possible about left wingers and militant trade unionists in Colchester.

Detention

The 27 were kept in Colchester's main police station until the early hours of Thursday morning, supposedly for possible involvement in 'explosions'.

But throughout their period of detention they were asked what their politics were, what political groups they belonged to, what they knew of or felt about the Angry Brigade

and the IRA.

Other questions included who booked the coach, who organised the demonstration in Shrewsbury, where Shrewsbury defence committee meetings were held in Colchester and who attended the meetings apart from those on the coach.

At no time were the 27 told that they had been arrested. Nor were they cautioned. Throughout their period of detention they were denied their right to phone a solicitor.

Eventually at around 1.30am on Thursday Detective Chief Superintendent Wyatt came into the interview room and asked for permission to search houses. He said that he would immediately get a search warrant if they did not agree voluntarily.

Typical of the search operations was what happened to John Hockenhall, a General and Municipal Workers Union steward at Wood's in Colchester, a member of the Trades Council and the Labour Party.

Absurd

Police arrived at his house at around 2.30am. The first question Mrs Hockenhall was asked was whether she or her husband had any left wing literature in the house. Then later she was asked, purely as a sort of absurd aside, whether she 'had any bombs in the house?'

Steve Drake, a Society of Graphical and Allied Trades shop steward and member of IS, had his house visited at 2pm on the Wednesday while he was still at Shrewsbury. Mrs Drake and the Drake's two-year-old child

were taken into custody as was her friend and four-month-old baby who were visiting.

They were also kept in custody until the small hours. All were eventually released on £25 bail.

Four of those taken from the coach came from Ipswich. They are IS members Malcolm Barker, Stephen Barker, Colin Woods and Frank Howe. They were taken to Ipswich in the early hours where their homes were searched—by members of the Essex police. Ipswich is in Suffolk.

The whole incident where the police—possibly on Home Office authority—seized an opportunity to harass trade unionists and socialists has caused a storm of rage among activists in and around Colchester. Work is now in hand to organise effective opposition to this blatant example of police repression.

Middle East war: the blame lies at the Zionists' door

THE PRESENT HOSTILITIES in the Middle East are not accidental. They flow from the long-standing conflict between two sides—on the one hand, political Zionism, aiming to establish a mono-national Jewish state in Palestine (an objective realised in alliance with imperialism), and on the other hand the indigenous Palestinian Arab people.

Eviction

The present war, like the previous wars between Israel and the Arab states, is only an extension of that fundamental conflict. Whatever the circumstances surrounding the opening of hostilities, the basic responsibility for the war lies with the leaders of the Zionist state, who have pursued throughout the conflict—particularly since June 1967—a policy of territorial conquest and annexation, involving large-scale eviction and dispossession of the Palestinian Arabs.

It should be recalled that the

Statement by the Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad (ISRACA) and the Israel-Palestine Socialist Action Group.

present fighting is taking place over territories seized by Israel in 1967.

On the opposing side this war is being fought by the Egyptian and Syrian regimes in order to regain lost territories and prestige, and to salvage their tottering authority at home. In no way can they be said to represent the Palestinian Arab masses, the chief victims of Zionism.

Sadat, the torturer of striking Egyptian workers and students, and Assad, who only a few weeks ago closed down the Palestinian radio station, are in no way entitled to speak for the Palestinians. All the evidence suggests that these regimes, which already demonstrated their bankruptcy once, in 1967, are aiming only at creating the con-

ditions for the imposition of a diplomatic settlement under the auspices of imperialism—a settlement which can be achieved only at the expense of the Palestinians' interests.

Whilst by no means placing the Arab regimes and Zionist Israel on the same level, we hold that only a thorough-going social revolution, which will overthrow both Zionism and the Arab regimes, can solve the problems of the Arab East, including the Palestinian problem.

Principle

We, Jews and Arabs from Israel and Europe, declare our solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people against Israeli occupation, and with those Israeli socialists who refuse to take up arms for Zionism (now being persecuted for this courageous stand). In opposition to chauvinism, expansionism and racialism we uphold the principles of internationalism and revolutionary socialism. (7 October 1973).

TRIAL PICKETS: SET BACK OVER JURY

SW Reporter
AT THE OPENING session last week of the Shrewsbury trial of six of the North Wales building workers on conspiracy charges, defence lawyers were told they would not be able to obtain advance information on the occupations of potential jurors.

This followed a secret directive sent out by Tory Lord Chancellor Lord Hailsham during the summer.

Information on jurors' occupations is vital to the defence in trying to get the best possible jury in tough cases. Such information has traditionally been available and has now been cancelled by the Tories with the Shrewsbury trial in front of their minds.

In the course of the three trials earlier this year involving North Wales building pickets, defence lawyers made considerable use of information about occupations to get a half-decent jury. They got three acquittals on the run on the serious charges. This explains why the government legal authorities have made their move.

The government contends that both defence and prosecution are without the occupation details now. So their move is an 'impartial' one.

But anyone with a close knowledge of the legal system would have to admit that the police generally have other means of access to information on potential jurors' jobs and can devise secret means to object to jurors.

PURPOSE

By Monday this week prosecuting counsel Maurice Drake had finished his opening statement. In this he contended that a large number of building workers had taken part in the picketing and they had conducted themselves like 'an Apache horde'.

Late on Monday this week the first of the prosecution witnesses was heard. Prosecution witnesses will be on the stand for at least the next few weeks. There are 240 of them.

The six defendants are: John Carpenter, Eric Tomlinson, Dennis Warren, John Jones, Kenneth O'Shea and John Llywarch. All six are chairmen or secretaries of Transport Union or Construction Workers branches.

The prosecution is claiming that 'these men had a common purpose, an agreement between them to intimidate blacklegs and damage property'.

With the conspiracy charges, the prosecution will not have to prove that the men actually met together and organised the alleged events. They hope that if they just pile on bits and pieces of information this will be enough to have the men found guilty.



Part of the International Socialists' contingent on last week's solidarity march in Shrewsbury
Picture: John Sturrock (Report)

Siege atmosphere for Coventry bombs trial

THE TRIAL of the Coventry Seven opened in Birmingham on Monday. The seven—including a Roman Catholic Priest—are on bomb conspiracy charges.

In the days leading up to the trial, wide and hysterical publicity has been given to the elaborate security precautions the police have taken. Roads were blocked off, armed police guarded the court and inside the court police with metal detectors examined briefcases and packages.

Two hundred policemen were involved in what they claimed to be the biggest security operation for 20 years. It depends what they mean by security.

Many workers will remember the force they turned out to try to demolish the picketing at Saltley during the miners' strike. The object of the exercise for the Coventry Seven is rather different. In the wake of police raids on the flimsiest of evidence, a display of police power in all its might for the Coventry Seven at least gives the impression that they are doing something.

The saying that you are innocent until proven guilty seems to have gone by the board. All the elaborate security preparations suggested to onlookers that here were highly dan-

gerous criminals and for many the wide publicity will have influenced them.

Rather lamely the judge had to remind the jury, 'All of you have read of, heard or seen security arrangements in action for this trial on a very elaborate scale. I emphasise that on no account whatever must you allow yourself to be influenced against the accused by any of these arrangements.'

The seven are charged with conspiring to cause an explosion and to damage and destroy buildings. The priest, Father Fell, and Francis Stagg are charged with organising a unit of the IRA in Coventry in addition to the first charge.

Anthony Lynch is charged with possessing substances that could cause an explosion. The other defendants were described by the prosecution as volunteers.

They all pleaded not guilty to the charges.

In the opening days the prosecution has spent a good deal of time building up the picture of the men as the Coventry unit of the IRA, a body the prosecuting QC submitted 'raised and trained to use force.'

The trial is likely to continue for three weeks.

Socialist Worker

WHAT WE THINK

IT IS CALLED the 'anti-inflation policy' now, the term incomes policy having got a bad name. Only the label has changed. The product is very much the mixture as before. So it is worth examining again the effects on wages, prices and profits of phase one and phase two of Heath's incomes policy.

On prices the picture is clear enough. The government's cost of living index is up by 9 per cent. The reality is worse. As the Economist magazine, a staunch supporter of Tory policies, admits, 'nearly all households are now finding to their cost that official averages do not mean very much. Although the official retail price index is 8.9 per cent up on a year ago, most of them are spending quite a bit more than that without necessarily feeling any better off.' Prices have been rising, since the freeze was imposed, considerably faster than in the previous year.

As to wages, we will refer again to the strongly pro-government Economist: 'Average earnings in the year since last November have kept ahead of prices, but the gap has been small. It has been even smaller if taxes and national insurance contributions are taken into account. In the first quarter of 1973, real personal disposable incomes were virtually stationary. Since employment rose, average real income per worker must have fallen.'

The phase two increases plus a massive rise in overtime worked have pushed earnings up again to roughly where they were, in real terms, a year ago. Workers, on the average, are working longer to earn, broadly speaking, what they earned in 1972.

Meanwhile output per man has gone up by just under 9 per cent on average in the last 12 months. Add the effects of price increases and you have the explanation of the soaring profits boom. As the Economist modestly puts it: 'The net effect of phases one and two on profits was to put them up higher than they would otherwise have been.'

Compare this masterly understatement with a typical advertisement in the financial press. 'An outstanding year for Plessey, reports Sir John Clark. Operating profit up 42 per cent to record £32.4 million.' Indeed, in the case of the banks, profits have reached such staggering levels that the government is seriously embarrassed. It is talking of levying them up to £30 million as a sop to working-class opinion in phase three.

Now, in phase three, wage increases are to be limited to 7 per cent or alternatively £2.25 per head, rather less than the £1 plus 4 per cent of phase two which worked out at 8 per cent on average. The talk of 'stricter controls' on prices and profits is just dust in our eyes. The real 'concessions' are small and they are precisely the ones that the employers have been pressing for in their own interests:

Raising the top limit of increases to £350, that is to avoid costly disputes like that at Chrysler. Increased London weightings, that is a response to the desperate labour shortage caused by soaring house prices and rents in London.

The 'threshold' increase of 40p if the retail price index, which the government controls remember, reaches 7 per cent above next November's level is a device to depress real earnings. The 40p will be subject to tax, the average net increase will represent a cut in living standards.

Any incomes policy under capitalism is a scheme to maintain and, if possible, to increase, the tremendous inequality built into capitalist society. That is obvious enough to anyone who thinks about it. The really scandalous thing is that Heath was able to claim in his speech on Monday that 'there is a good deal on which we all agree.' The 'all' means the Tory government, the employers' organisation and the TUC. The fact that, unfortunately, Heath was speaking the truth about this underlines the need for a militant socialist leadership in the unions. The Socialist Worker industrial conference next month could not be more timely.

FREE CORVALAN

ON PAGE 10 of this issue we criticise Luis Corvalan, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party. It should go without saying that we wholeheartedly support the defence of Corvalan and the thousands of other socialist and communist party members now threatened by the murder gangs of the military junta. Every working-class organisation should protest as loudly and strongly as possible against the terror in Chile and, specifically, against the so-called trial of Luis Corvalan.

Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2

Namibia struggle grows with arrests

THE past six months have seen a new explosion of African resistance to South Africa's continued illegal rule of Namibia (South West Africa).

Some minor concessions followed the contract labourers' strike in December 1971, which paralysed the economy, but new restrictions have been imposed on workers' movements and employers have got together to limit wages. But the main cause of the present unrest is the South Africans' attempt to divide the country into separate 'native nations'—bantustans. Ovamboland, the northern area from which most of the contract workers come, was declared a 'self-governing' bantustan in May. Protest rallies were suppressed under the emergency regulations and 10 leaders, including strike-leader Johannes Nanguuala, were arrested.

The press which printed the one non-

government paper in the area was blown up. The police said they would not be making any arrests.

Opposition to government policy intensified. A crowd of 1500 picketed the court where their leaders were held and was broken up by the armed police.

Despite many arrests, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) held meetings throughout Ovamboland urging total boycott of the bantustan elections. When these were held in August, only one in 40 of the 42,000 registered voters voted.

When SWAPO leaders appeared in court the police again baton-charged a crowd estimated at over 3000 and many were taken to hospital. Resistance spread to the capital, Windhoek. In the segregated

by Roger Murray

African township of Katutura, where 24,000 people live, SWAPO Youth leaders told a crowd of 3000 to 'fight for your freedom. Do not wait until tomorrow. Start today.'

'The biggest political gathering that this black township has experienced,' said the local paper. Immediately afterwards, police began raiding and several of the speakers at the meeting were arrested.

Strike

When attempting one arrest the police were met by a crowd of contract workers who attacked and stoned them and tried to set police buildings on fire. Riot trucks were called in to seal off the compound and 265 arrests were made.

In the middle of August a strike on the eve of Vorster's visit to the Nationalist Party rally in Windhoek was only prevented by the massive intervention of armed police and the army. Leaflets were circulated in Katutura calling for a mass protest against racism, the pass laws and the contract labour system.

According to official estimates more than 600 Africans are now in jail in Windhoek alone and another 75 political activists in jail in Ovamboland.

But the courageous resistance is continuing. At the end of August the SWAPO Youth movement issued a statement warning 'the Boers' that the 'arresting and killing of blacks will only encourage them to intensify their struggle'. SWAPO has threatened it will organise a new strike by black workers unless police victimisation comes to a halt immediately.

CHILE: THE GENERALS TIGHTEN THE VICE

by Ian Birchall

THE Chilean junta is sparing no efforts to smash all resistance. Even the American magazine Newsweek has written with horror of the 'reign of terror' in Santiago.

Its correspondent has inspected the Santiago mortuary where, in the fortnight following the coup, nearly 3000 corpses were taken—mainly of workers from the slums. The final total of dead will probably run into tens of thousands.

The atmosphere of witchhunt and hysteria has been increased by the offer of rewards of up to £2000 for the capture of members of Allende's government still at liberty. A grotesque touch is provided by the offer to give to informers any money found in the possession of leaders whose capture they make possible.

Members of the Brazilian political police are openly active in Santiago, particularly helping to track down foreign leftists who had taken refuge in Chile under Allende.

BURDEN

Army officers with no academic qualifications have been moved into positions of responsibility in the universities. Some departments, such as sociology, have been closed down altogether.

Meanwhile Luis Corvalan, leader of the Chilean Communist Party, is on trial for his life. The regime is anxious to build up a violent anti-communist campaign. Yet as recently as last July Corvalan was bitterly attacking those who, he claimed, were driving 'a wedge between the people and the armed forces.'

Meanwhile the working class will



The burned-out ruin of the presidential palace in Santiago where Allende died

carry the main burden of the junta's economic policy.

A complete wage freeze has been announced from 1 October. At the same time the devaluation of the Chilean currency will certainly lead to rising food prices which will cut workers' living standards yet further.

Suspected militants are being sacked everywhere. At the El Teniente copper mine several hundred workers have already been dismissed.

The junta has now clearly made its mind up to rule on its own, and make no compromise with the Christian Democrats. Indeed former president Eduardo Frei, who until recently was actively engaged in sabotaging the Allende regime, has now publicly criticised the junta, comparing it to Franco's Spain.

This situation may well lead to some kind of alliance between the Communist Party and the Christian

Democrats, an alliance of 'all progressive and democratic forces' against the junta. Such an alliance was already in preparation at the Helsinki Conference of solidarity with the Chilean left, held at the end of September.

It is a perspective which holds no hope for the Chilean workers: only by their own independent organisation and struggle can they smash the junta.

army: the blacks because they see their young men becoming cannon fodder, the whites because 'they will have to worry constantly that they'll wake up one morning and discover that the army is just a branch of the Black Muslims and that it has taken over the country. Or that the poor have revolted against the rich.'

The US army has been plagued by racial problems. In the past lip service has been paid to setting right racial injustices in treatment and promotion. But if the percentage of blacks were to double, as the June figures suggest, the whole command structure would have to be changed to allow more blacks into the higher ranks. This would threaten the career prospects of those entrenched in the middle positions, so the officer corps as a whole rejects any possibility of radical change within the army.

As the situation develops, more army men are likely to call for a restoration of the draft. Middle-class Americans will be faced with a choice between an army they fear, made up of blacks and 'poor white trash', or seeing their own sons conscripted.

Shah stages a charade to cover oil deal

by Tony Power

THE people of Iran—one of the world's most vicious police states—were called upon this summer to celebrate the Shah's so-called oil nationalisation. When National Oil Day was declared for 3 August, taxi drivers, shopkeepers, civil servants and teachers were dragged into attending the main celebrations at a big stadium in Teheran. I saw taxi drivers, for instance, being rounded up into special convoys of buses.

At the end of the ceremonies in the stadium some policemen went berserk and shot dead more than 30 of the crowd. Hundreds of people were arrested, and reality showed through the propaganda for the new 'Shah and People Revolution'.

It is not surprising the British press has little room for such news from Iran.

In 1901 an Englishman obtained a 60-year concession for minerals covering three-quarters of the land area of Iran, with a meagre 16 per cent of the profits to go to the Iranian government. In 1933 a new concession, in favour of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which later became British Petroleum, was negotiated, with only a slightly increased return to Iran.

In 1951, popular feeling forced the appointment of a nationalist, Mussadiq, as prime minister. When he tried to nationalise oil, Herbert Morrison, the then Labour Foreign Secretary, sent a cruiser complete with paratroops to protect the oil installations and an international embargo of Iranian oil was organised by Britain.

Increase

Mussadiq was overthrown by a coup in 1953, and first priority was given to a new oil concession and the return of the Shah from exile. But the fact that the coup had been engineered by the American CIA meant that Anglo-Iranian Oil had to share the concession with five US oil companies, with minor shares to Royal Dutch Shell and the French Petroleum Company. This agreement was to run till 1979.

But recently international demand for oil has increased rapidly. Consumption in Western Europe alone increased by 16 times between 1950 and 1970. So the oil consortium wanted to extend its concession before the end of the 1954 agreement.

The Shah, for his part, needs a huge army with the best weapons money can buy, both to defend his rule and to maintain his own interests in the Persian Gulf area.

The upshot is the bogus nationalisation—a 20-year deal that will put a few more Iranians into the management of the consortium but basically changes nothing. The business press in Britain has called these measures 'nominal', and the consortium has every reason to be pleased at having stabilised their relations with the second biggest oil producer in the Middle East at no cost to themselves.

It is not surprising that many of the Iranian people have seen through this charade. Despite repression, workers, students and intellectuals are fighting back. One sign of this has been the unprecedented wave of strikes this year: news of these is slowly trickling out of Iran despite the press blackout on news unfavourable to the Shah.

BRIEFING

IN last month's elections in Norway, the Labour Party and the Socialist Election Association together won 78 seats in parliament, against 77 seats won by the other parties. Though the Labour Party's share of the vote fell from almost a half to little more than a third, it will now form a minority government.

The real sensation of the election was the success of the Socialist Election Association, which had one MP and now has 16. The association consists of the Socialist People's Party, which split from the Labour Party in 1961, the Communist Party, the Democratic Socialists, who split from the Labour Party last year over the Common Market, and independent socialists such as trade unionists and Christian socialists.

The Socialist Election Association joined the campaign against Norwegian membership of the Common Market, and when a majority of voters opposed the Common Market in a referendum they learned the lesson that results could be obtained by hard work and co-operation.

The policies of the association include tax-free food, reduction of the defence budget, no reduction of railway services, extension of the fishing limit to 50 miles, no Incomes Board, and nationalisation of the big banks.

The long-term goal of the association is to merge into one party. This will probably take some years.

(From a Norwegian correspondent)

ON Tuesday last week, exactly one year after the Danish referendum which gave a majority in favour of entry to the Common Market, 75,000 people demonstrated outside the Danish parliament in favour of leaving it again.

The demonstration was organised by the People's Movement Against the EEC, an alliance that includes the Communist Party, the People's Socialists, sections of the Social Democracy and of all other parties. Their propaganda against the Common Market is essentially nationalistic.

They blame entry for rising prices and loss of sovereignty, and call for an alliance with other Nordic countries instead.

Opinion polls in Denmark indicate a swing in favour of leaving the Common Market, which seems to have brought nothing but extra expense, while Norway which voted to stay out, is said to be in a better economic position than ever.

AMERICAN generals are worried about the implications of their latest recruitment figures. In the USA blacks make up 13.5 per cent of the population, but already are 18.6 per cent of the army, and in June 1973 no fewer than 34 per cent of recruits were black. One leading general is quoted as saying that the situation 'is going to be troublesome... damn troublesome. It will be the beginning of the kind of army that would not be acceptable for the American people.'

The generals say that if current trends continue, both black and white sections of the community will 'lose their trust' in the

FOOT

PRINTS

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

'Perhaps the disaster of the Second World War could have been averted, but the Tories made it certain. They not only betrayed the interests of the British people, but they probably brought the British Empire to an earlier end.'

Eric Scott, reviewing Claud Cockburn's latest book in the MORNING STAR, 4 October.

BIRD
DROPPING
FOR THE
SUNDAY
EXPRESS

Treat yourself to Wimpeys

THE publishing world is buzzing with excitement over the secret plans of Secker and Warburg, in co-operation with Farquharsons, the high-powered literary agents, to publish a book by Colonel Eugene Bird, the former American commander of Spandau Prison, about Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy during the Nazi regime in Germany. Hess has been in Spandau since his conviction for war crimes and anti-Semitic atrocities at the Nuremberg tribunal in 1945.

Bird is a little worried in case the American government cuts off his pension for writing the book, and the publishing heavies in London have been assuring him that they and their friends in newspapers will help to turn the colonel into a national hero.

Into the bargain, it will be well worth it. The Sunday Express has already offered £25,000 for the serial rights, which is high even by Express standards.

This touching concern for the fate of life prisoners is uncharacteristic of the Sunday Express. I gather, for instance, that no money has been offered to Noel Jenkinson, who has started a sentence of 30 years in Leicester prison after being convicted of assisting with the bomb explosion at Aldershot barracks last year.

Noel, after all, is not worth £25,000 of Beaverbrook money in that he was not responsible for the mass murder of several million Jews.

Another Polson

THE Rand Daily Mail of 6 September carried a report of a 'minor dispute' at the Western Deep Levels Mine at Carletonville, in the Transvaal, South Africa. 29 black machine operators, it reported, had refused to work underground in protest about a refused pay claim.

'Police have been asked not to interfere. "We do not expect any trouble and the mine authorities have asked us to keep clear," said Colonel G Polson, Division Officer at Potchestroom,' reported the paper.

Six days later, Colonel Polson's policemen opened fire on a crowd of demonstrating machine operators at the mine. Eleven were killed, and 30 others seriously injured.

THE town hall at Bootle, near Liverpool, has been a hive of activity recently as councillors gird themselves for the first-ever eviction of a tenant who has refused to pay rent increases under the Housing Finance Act.

In between times, the councillors are having to cope with some plain-clothes policemen from the Poulson investigation who are inquiring into a

rather large dinner which was thrown in the bad old days by the Grand Old Architect John Poulson himself, and was enjoyed by some leading council officials, not to say councillors.

Since those far-off days, things have changed little at Bootle Council. After a short spell of Tory control, Labour is back in office, and Wimpeys are back as the main contractors for building and modernising council houses and flats in the area.

During the Tory years, I gather, Holland, Hannen

and Cubitts, whose chairman at the time was the present Secretary for the Environment, Geoffrey Rippon, made a good deal of the running, but now Wimpeys are the unchallenged leaders. Two years ago they were contracted to build 234 Bootle houses, last year 164 and this year, with the general fall in council house building everywhere, 100.

There are at least two people on Bootle Council who are delighted with the work Wimpeys are doing.

Councillor A S Moore is deputy leader of the council and leader of the Labour group on the new Sefton District Council. At the ripe age of 74, Councillor Moore still manages to put in a good day's work at his employers, Wimpeys, where he runs VIP public relations.

Councillor R K Jones, who is chairman of the council's crucial estates and planning committee also works for Wimpeys. At the moment he is a sub-agent on a Wimpeys site in the area, where they are modernising council houses.



Cor, Clutterbuck!

FROM time to time in the past year I have commented on the activities of Dr (formerly Major General) Richard Clutterbuck, a lecturer at Exeter University, who is one of Britain's chief experts in counter-revolution. Clutterbuck's main job is to pose as an academic while digging up facts and figures about people who want to change society. This information he then passes to his masters who don't want to change it.

For instance, Clutterbuck has written two books, entitled *Protest and the Urban Guerrilla* and *Riot and Revolution in Singapore and Malaya*, and as I reported on 18 August, he addressed the Midlands branch of the Engineering Employers Federation last summer on the subversive activities of revolutionary organisations.

What is perhaps not so well-known about the former General is that he is engaged on a two-and-a-half-year research operation on 'violence in British politics', financed by the Social Sciences Research Council, which in turn is financed entirely by government grant.

The council has obligingly agreed to pay out £5,893 to cover the costs of this project. The money will also cover the cost of a research assistant—Miss Nicola Radcliffe, a postgraduate student at Exeter University, whose father is a high-ranking British army officer in Germany, and who has assisted the Ministry of Defence with a research into the 'recruitment of officer material.'

Despite the vagueness of its title, Clutterbuck's research project, I understand, will be concentrating on alleged 'violence' during picketing, and Miss Radcliffe has already started some apparently innocent interviews with building workers who were engaged in last year's official building strike.

The generosity of the Social Science Research Council to Dr Clutterbuck contrasts strangely with the council's meanness when dealing with ordinary academics who do not have Clutterbuck's record in counter-revolutionary activities. A spokesman for the National Union of Students told me: 'Research grants have been reduced recently. It's very rare indeed for anyone to get a grant for more than two years.'

Militants in the building trade and elsewhere should take care. If any young lady asks questions about pickets as part of her work on 'a survey', ask her where she comes from. If she mentions Exeter University or Dr Clutterbuck, tell her to go away (politely, of course).

Guess who pays for the Earl's stables...

THE Earl of Bradford is, I suspect, the richest man in Shropshire. He has three vast estates near his stately home at Shifnal, and owns great hunks of Invernesshire, Devon and Cornwall into the bargain. He has a magnificent collection of paintings—Bassanos, Holbeins, Van Dycks, Gainsboroughs—and makes a lot of money by exposing his treasures to the eyes of the 'public' on summer Sundays. More than 40,000 visitors pay to visit his home every year.

Lord Bradford, in short, is just the man to qualify for a government grant. Last Thursday, the government announced that it was paying £18,725 to help towards the repair of Lord Bradford's stables.

The noble Lord doesn't ride much these days, so he only keeps a couple of ponies and two hacks (not local journalists—horses), and he has converted most of his stable into an 'information room' for the visiting public, where he makes a few more quid each year selling useless guide books and postcards.

Apparently, however, the stables are 'of historic interest', so the taxpayer has to fork out the money to repair them.

The Earl has also received another grant—of £5,510—for repairing a 'folly', entitled the Temple of Diana, which was put up in his garden by James Paine, a famous architect, in 1750. When the folly is repaired,

half at Government expense, the Earl hopes to make still more money from the public by letting them see that too.

These hefty subsidies to the Earl of Bradford are equivalent to a £5 bonus for 4800 old age pensioners.

MY football correspondent, Ray Challinor, who is at present pretending to be a supporter of Newcastle United, notices that footballers can cost £250,000 and wonders how much the life of a football spectator is worth. He tells me that the St John's Ambulance Brigade

which assists with crowd casualties during matches at St James' Park, Newcastle, has complained that they have not been allowed an oxygen cylinder kit, which costs £23.

The brigade reckon that at least two spectators a year die because there is no oxygen kit to hand, and have put their view forcibly to the Newcastle United board. The board, headed by Lord Westwood, chairman of nine other companies, decided that the club could not afford the extra expense.

Ray points out that Newcastle paid £180,000 for their centre forward, Malcolm Macdonald. An oxygen cylinder kit can be had for the price of Super Mac's big toe.

When the lights went out in London

DURING the first week of December 1872 upper class London teetered on the brink of disaster. The gas stokers were on strike, threatening to plunge the city's streets into darkness and throw London on the mercy of the 'predatory classes'.

Safe with candle and paraffin lamp behind the wrought-iron gates of their west-end mansions the wealthy inhabitants of Knightsbridge and Kensington talked of the orgy of pillage and murder that must follow a total blackout—and of revenge.

This was no ordinary strike said *The Times*, not at all the sort of thing a sober and thrifty labour aristocrat might get up to now and then. The stokers' leaders were Irishmen! They were usually drunk, always ignorant, illiterate and dictatorial.

They were the tools of Fenian revolutionaries, and of those other nameless conspiracies whose secret presence made Victorian gentfolk turn uneasily in their beds at night.

It was too much. Embattled wealth determined to have its way. And it found a worthy champion in Mr Justice Brett.

Trade unionism in mid-Victorian England was largely a privilege of the skilled workers. During the boom years of the early 1870s, however, less skilled workers began to organise. Unions were formed among agricultural labourers, railwaymen, dockers—and the London gas stokers. From the summer of 1872 the new Gas Stokers Union won a rapid series of victories over wages and Sunday working.

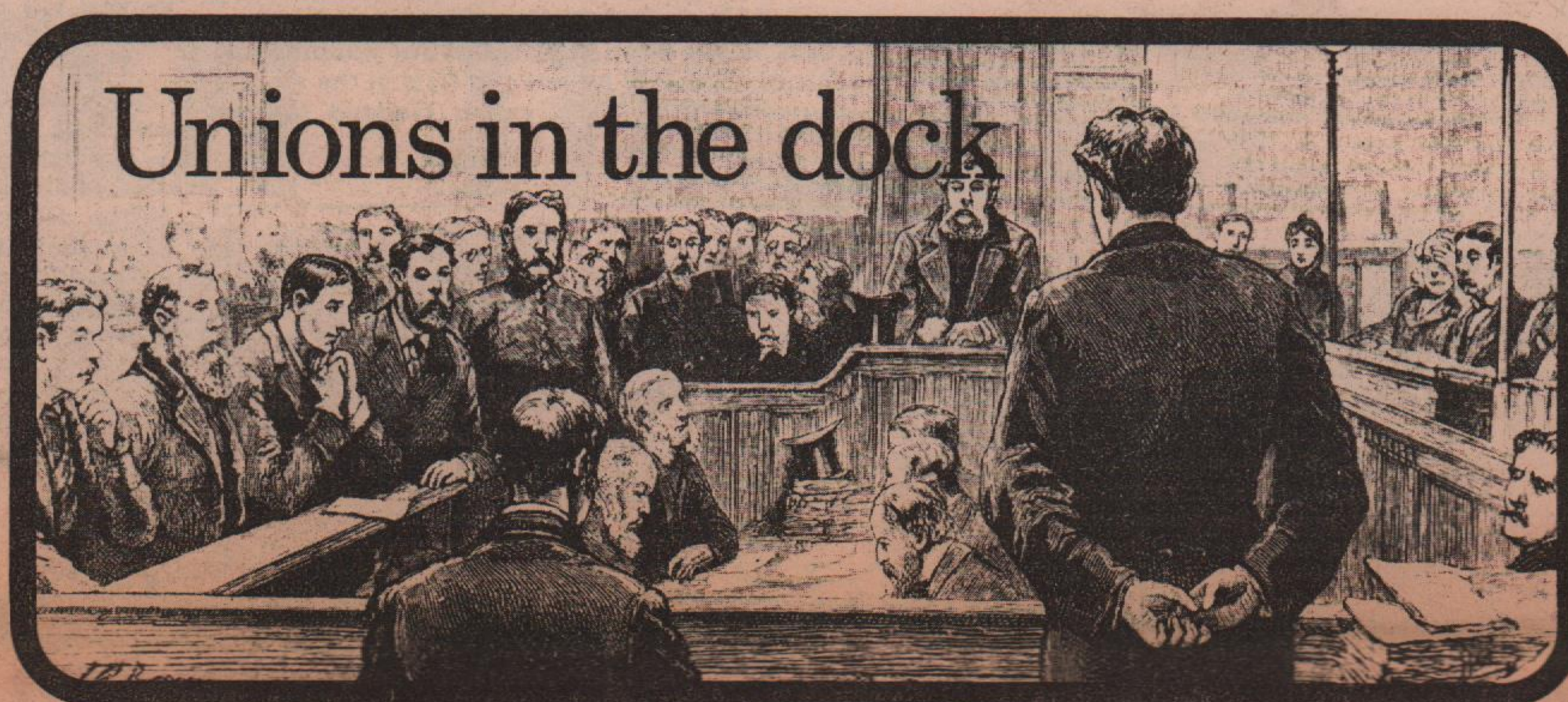
All-out

Before the union was more than a few months old the gas companies determined to smash it. On Friday, 29 November union activists were victimised both at Fulham and at Beckton and North Woolwich.

The men gathered on Clerkenwell Green that Sunday and decided on an all-out strike unless both companies reinstate the men. At Beckton the management retreated, but at Fulham they were adamant. By Tuesday evening the stokers at 16 London gas works were on strike.

Immediately the companies started to take on blacklegs. To keep the streets lit, however dimly, they needed three blacklegs to replace each striker.

The companies claimed to have more men seeking work than they could use. By the end of the week production was back to normal and the union routed. Some of the strikers were taken back but the activists



were excluded. It was 18 years before trade unionism revived again in the London gas works.

No serious effort had been made to mount pickets—partly because the men feared prosecution. Their caution was of no avail. From the start the companies used every legal device to attack the strike. 24 men were convicted of breach of contract, a criminal offence under the Master and Servant Act, and sentenced to six weeks' hard labour.

More important was the decision of the Beckton company to press charges of criminal conspiracy against five of the strike leaders. The case was heard by Mr Justice Brett, a blunt-speaking commercial lawyer and Tory

by JAMES HINTON

politician appointed by Disraeli in 1868.

On Brett's instructions, the jury found the gas stokers guilty of criminal conspiracy. But they recommended mercy. Brett had no time for such deplorable weakness. These men had caused 'great danger to the public of the metropolis,' and must suffer accordingly. The sentence was 12 months with hard labour.

The case of the Beckton gas stokers played an important part in the unions' campaign for legal status. Despite the repeal of the Combination Acts nearly 50 years before, trade unions had continued to have an extremely obscure and insecure legal standing.

Matters were brought to a head by the judicial offensive of the 1860s. Following a national campaign, the Liberal government passed new legislation in 1871. Picketing remained virtually illegal, but at least union funds were protected, and so everyone though, unions exempted from the law of conspiracy.

Brett's judgement overturned the intention of the 1871 Act. He defined as criminal conspiracy any combination intended to cause 'an annoyance and unjustifiable interference with the business . . . and have a de-

terringly effect upon master of ordinary nerve.'

It was difficult to think of a union to which this would not apply.

The official labour leaders had little time for the tumultuous poor, gas stokers included. Their paper, the *Beehive*, denounced the strike as 'a blind rush, entirely without adequate skilled leadership', and endorsed *The Times'* view that strikes were obsolete: 'The force of public opinion, combined with the natural operation of economic laws, is now sufficient to ensure to any body of men redress of any real grievance.' Amen.

Pressure

But the harshness of Brett's sentences and the threat implicit in his judgement to all trade unionists, however respectable, was too much even for the leaders of the TUC. They helped to form a Gas Stokers Committee to collect money for the dependents of the imprisoned men, and to campaign for their release.

Under pressure, the government reduced the sentences to four months. Eventually, in 1875, a new Conservative government legalised picketing, repealed the Master and Servant Act, and firmly exempted trade unionism as such from criminal conspiracy charges.

Rightly this legislation was seen as a major victory for the unions, though judges have managed to find new ways of outlawing union activities at intervals ever since.

THE WEALTHY GLOAT

How affluent London gloated over the defeat of the gas stokers: this poem appeared in *Punch* on 21 December 1872

STOKERS IN THE STREET

Beloved British Public
To you we must appeal
We hain't got no employment
Nor means for to buy a meal.
Pity the poor Gas Stokers
That struck so bold and stern
Which unsuccessful 'avin proved,
To work there's no return.
We now regret that we done so.
Your kind consideration show.

We 'oped you would support us,
When out on strike we went,
But finds we was mistaken,
Which, therefore, we repent.
To roam the streets in danger,
As bad as any blind,
With sympathy for Working Man
We felt you wouldn't mind.
If we'd foresaw that wouldn't do,
We'd never 'ave inconvenienced you.



Feudalism has been 'totally abolished.' So the French National Assembly proclaimed after its session of 4 August 1799. That night some 30 decrees abolished serfdom, feudal rents, forced labour, the private courts of the lords, the personal and tax privileges of nobles and clergy and a host of other feudal institutions.

The assembly further resolved that a medal should be struck to commemorate this great occasion, 'the restoration of French liberty'.

Not everyone was impressed. 'It is by the light from the flames of their burning chateaux,' wrote the left wing Jacobin Jean-Paul Marat, 'that they magnanimously renounce the privilege of holding in chains men who have already recovered their freedom by force.'

Marat was right. There had been peasant risings even before 14 July and after the fall of the Bastille a great torrent of peasant revolt swept France.

Peasants broke into the great country houses of the nobles and burnt the feudal title deeds that listed the payments required of them. If they were resisted they sometimes burnt the chateaux for good measure.

They refused to pay either feudal dues or the 'compensation' to the feudal lords that the assembly tried to insist on. For the peasants, feudalism had been 'totally abolished' by their own efforts, no matter what the assembly might say.

Deprived

'Men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights . . . and these rights are Liberty, Property, Security and Resistance to Oppression.' These opening words of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, issued by the National Assembly in August, were a 'violent and daring assertion of principles destructive of the constituted authorities of all Europe.' For the very essence of feudal law and feudal society was that men are *not* born equal, that they do *not* have equal rights.

Yet the declaration also had its conservative side. Article 17 spelt it out. 'The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in case of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a just indemnity paid in advance.'

This was, after all, a capitalist revolution. Those burning chateaux haunted the middle-class members of the assembly.

From now on they were conservatives, the majority (called *Feuillants*) more afraid of the masses than of the feudal reaction. This was shown very clearly in the constitution they adopted. The King was to remain and was to be effective head of the government, choosing his own ministers like an American president.

He was to have no power to make or alter laws—that was reserved for a Legislative Assembly—but he was given the power to veto acts of the assembly for four years. The assembly was to be elected by a tiny minority, some 43,000 electors, qualifying by ownership of substantial wealth.

International Socialists Industrial Pamphlet 5p

Defend the North Wales 24
PICKETS ON TRIAL



As the Shrewsbury 'conspiracy trial' of the North Wales 24 drags on, solidarity support and action throughout the trade union movement is vital.

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5p a copy plus 3p post: 12 copies or more post free from Industrial Department International Socialists, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

Equality ~but only for a few

The two-sided nature of the National Assembly, revolutionary with respect to feudalism, reactionary with respect to peasants and town workers, is seen in all its acts. On the one hand it abolished legal torture, the normal means of securing a confession of crime under the old régime (nobles, of course, were exempt) together with the barbarous methods of capital punishment, breaking on the wheel, burning and so on.

Decapitation, before 1789 an aristocratic privilege, was now open to all! On the other hand it passed a 'Law of Associations' which absolutely forbade trade union activity of any kind.

It takes two sides to compromise. King Louis refused to accept the Rights of Man or the Decrees of 4 August, 'I will never consent,' he wrote, 'to the spoilation of my clergy or my nobility.' Like Charles I before him, he was determined to restore the old order and looked to the forces of feudal reaction, at home and abroad, to come to his aid. The deadlock was broken, not by the assembly, but by the working people of Paris.

These 'sans-culottes', so-called because they wore workmen's trousers instead of the knee breeches then favoured by the respectable classes, were small masters, independent craftsmen or wage earners in small shops. They were the ones who had stormed the Bastille and they now drove the revolution forward.

In July a middle class National Guard had been established under the command of the Feuillant leader, the Marquis de Lafayette. Its members had to be wealthy enough to pay for their own uniforms, arms and equipment.

They, it was hoped, would keep the sans-culottes in order now that the army was unusable. It failed. In October 1789 'the mob', as reactionary historians call the common people, swept the National Guard along with it, marched to Versailles, disarmed the King's bodyguard and brought him back to Paris, effectively a prisoner. The assembly followed.

Louis was now compelled to swallow his 'never' and put his name to the Declaration and the decrees.

He was playing for time. The counter-revolution was getting organised. Over the border in western Germany thousands of French nobles, the emigres, were raising troops.

Louis and his supporters were not the only ones who wanted war. In June 1791 Louis escaped from Paris and fled towards the emigre camps. He was caught at Varennes and brought back under guard.

The flight to Varennes created an openly republican party in the assembly but its right wing, the Girondins, were every bit as property-conscious and afraid of the sans-culottes as the Feuillants. By the end of the year Louis had appointed Girondin ministers and they saw a war as a means of halting further revolutionary developments.

Only the left wing of the republicans, the Jacobins, opposed the war policy. 'People do not like missionaries with bayonets,' said Maximilian Robespierre, the Jacobin leader, replying to the argument that people everywhere would rise against their rulers if the French invaded their countries.

Robespierre saw clearly that the war party was a coalition of out and out counter-revolutionaries who hoped for the defeat of France together with Girondist conservatives who hoped to spill the blood of the sans-culottes on foreign battlefields. He saw too, that a united foreign intervention was by no means inevitable.

The rulers of the great semi-feudal powers, Austria, Prussia, Russia, detested the revolution but they also feared and distrusted each other. The rulers of capitalist Britain, traditional rivals of France, half feared and half welcomed the revolution which, they hoped, would weaken their enemy.

But the Girondins and the King got their way. On 20 April 1792 Louis declared war on Austria, starting a conflict that was to last for more than 20 years and involve every power in Europe.

On top of this, armed counter-revolution broke out inside France

itself, in the south and the west. The revolution was in deadly peril.

It was saved again by the people of Paris. On 10 August the sans-culottes, led by Jacobins, seized the town hall and established the Commune, a more or less democratic town government. They went on to storm the royal palace and seize the King. The National Guard was 'democratised' and the Commune became the effective ruling power.

It forced the Assembly to dissolve itself and order the election of a National Convention by universal manhood suffrage. Early in September some 1200 royalists were tried for treason and guillotined. The Prussian army was now at Verdun, barely 200 miles from Paris. Volunteers, overwhelmingly sans-culottes, were rushed to the front supported by contingents from Marseilles and Brest.

The defeat of the Prussians at Valmy on 20 September saved Paris but the situation was still desperate. Spain, Holland, and Britain soon declared war.

The National Convention, which had a Girondist majority, was forced to recognise the Commune and put effective power in the hands of a wholly Jacobin Committee of Public Safety. King Louis was executed and the French Republic proclaimed.

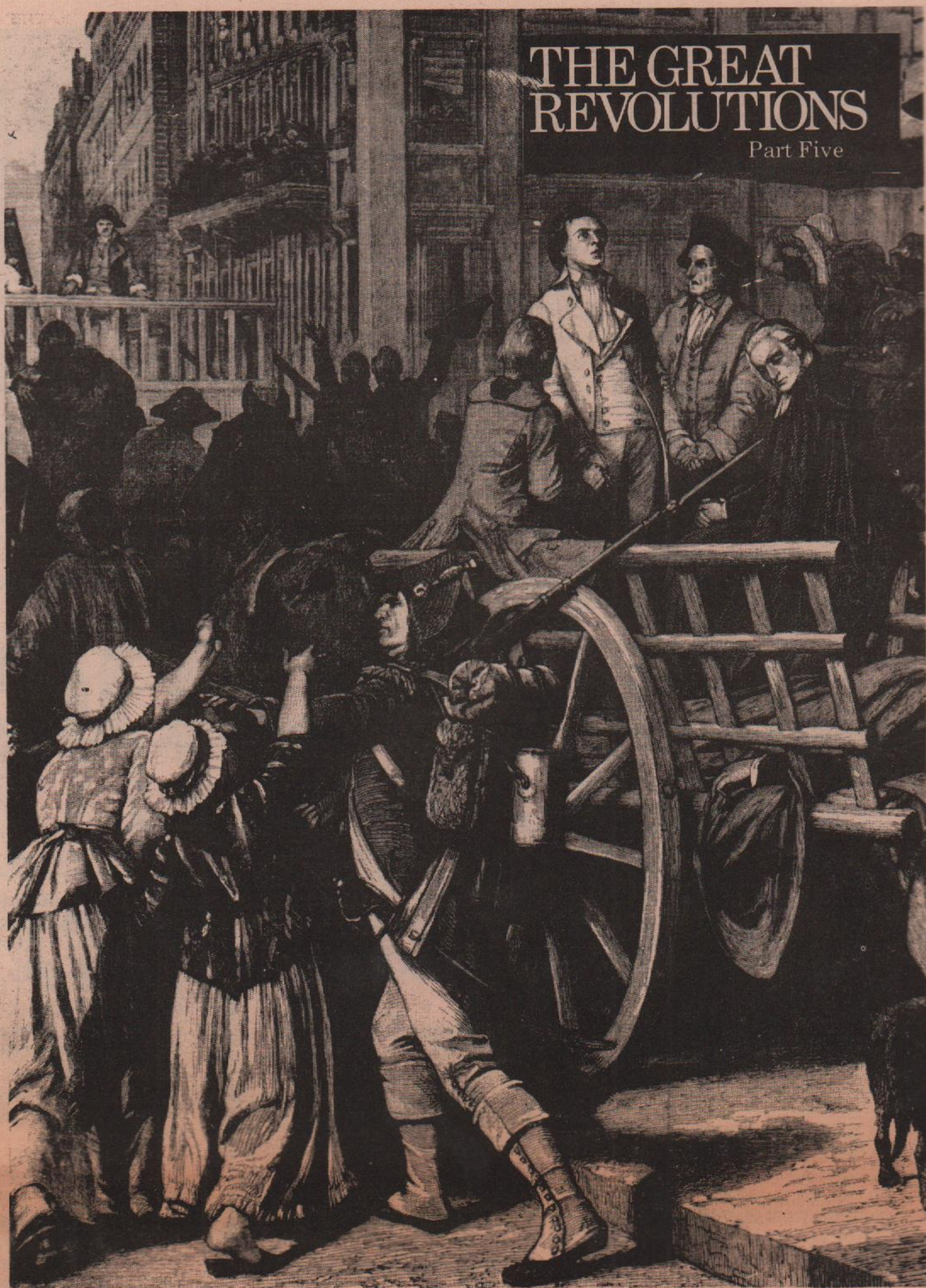
The internal counter-revolution gained control of a considerable part of France and the hastily assembled revolutionary armies on the frontiers suffered a series of defeats.

This was the background to the reign of terror by which Robespierre, Carnot and the other members of the Committee of Public Safety saved the revolution. It was a savage enough regime. The guillotine was in constant requisition.

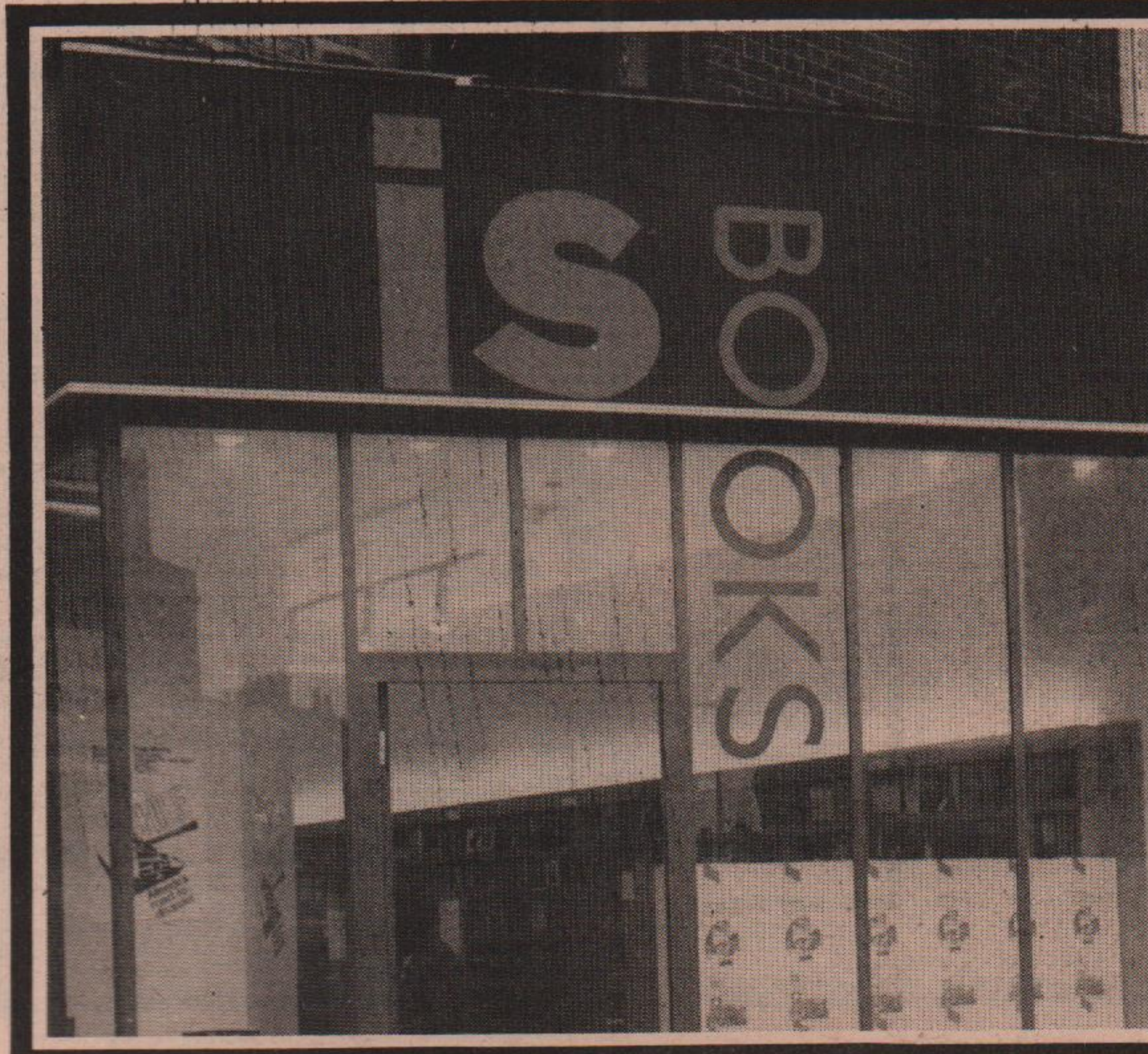
But it was the essential instrument to defeat an immensely powerful armed counter-revolution. By 1794 the back of internal resistance had been broken.

The Jacobin dictatorship was overthrown as soon as the immediate threat had passed (July 1794, 9 Thermidor on the new revolutionary calendar). The sans-culottes, its essential support, were in the armies or exhausted. A conservative Directory took over, to be overthrown in 1799 by General Bonaparte.

But the essential gains of the revolution remained. The German poet Goethe, who had been with the Prussian army at Valmy, had said after the battle: 'From this place and from this day forth commences a new era in the history of the world.' That will stand as the best epitaph of the revolution itself.



The 'terror': counter-revolutionaries go to the guillotine. Top left: the Committee for Public Safety in session



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The next part of this series will appear in two weeks' time

Kodak: it's

the

crunch

AT HEMEL HEMPSTEAD in Hertfordshire, Kodak, the multinational anti-union giant, is engaged in one of the most ferocious industrial struggles of its 93 years' existence.

Kodak has locked out 150 trade unionists in its Maylands colour film processing division. The workers say they will not return until Kodak recognises their trade union.

One and a half million rolls of film are lying undeveloped in Kodak's warehouses—and the rolls are coming in at the rate of 100,000 a day.

The trade union movement had better wake up to the importance of this struggle. For Kodak is by far the biggest British firm which still refuses to recognise independent trade unions.

It has built up the second highest rate of profit in Europe partly because it has a near monopoly on film manufacture and processing chiefly by the grossest exploitation of its workers.

Last year Kodak UK made £13 million profit—about £22 per week for every one of its 12,000 workers. World wide Kodak makes a million pounds profit every day.

Pay-out

Until recently, the workers at Kodak's plants at Harrow, Hemel Hempstead, Kirkby and Stevenage were forced to channel their grievances through 'workers' representative committees' paid for and supervised by the employees.

Infuriated by the WRC's impotence, the more independent-minded workers joined proper trade unions—the film technicians' union (ACTT), and, in smaller numbers, the engineers' union (AUEW), the electricians' union (BEPTU) and the print-workers' union (SOGAT).

These unions were not recognised by Kodak, and their more militant members were spied upon and victimised. When John Haines, WRC chairman, left Kodak UK and went to America he applied for a job at Kodak's

Story:
Paul Foot
Pictures:
Chris Davies
(Report)

head office in Rochester near New York.

The manager who interviewed him had a complete dossier of all his activities in Britain. It included an account of where he spent his holidays, his political activities outside work, his attitude to supervision and his time-keeping record.

When Dave Evans, a film processor, stood for WRC chairman after circulating a leaflet against management orders, he was demoted to labourer and set

to work scrubbing the floors on half wages.

In spite of this harassment, however, the unions have kept a substantial membership in Kodak. For most of the last 20 years the ACTT have held about 1000 Kodak members.

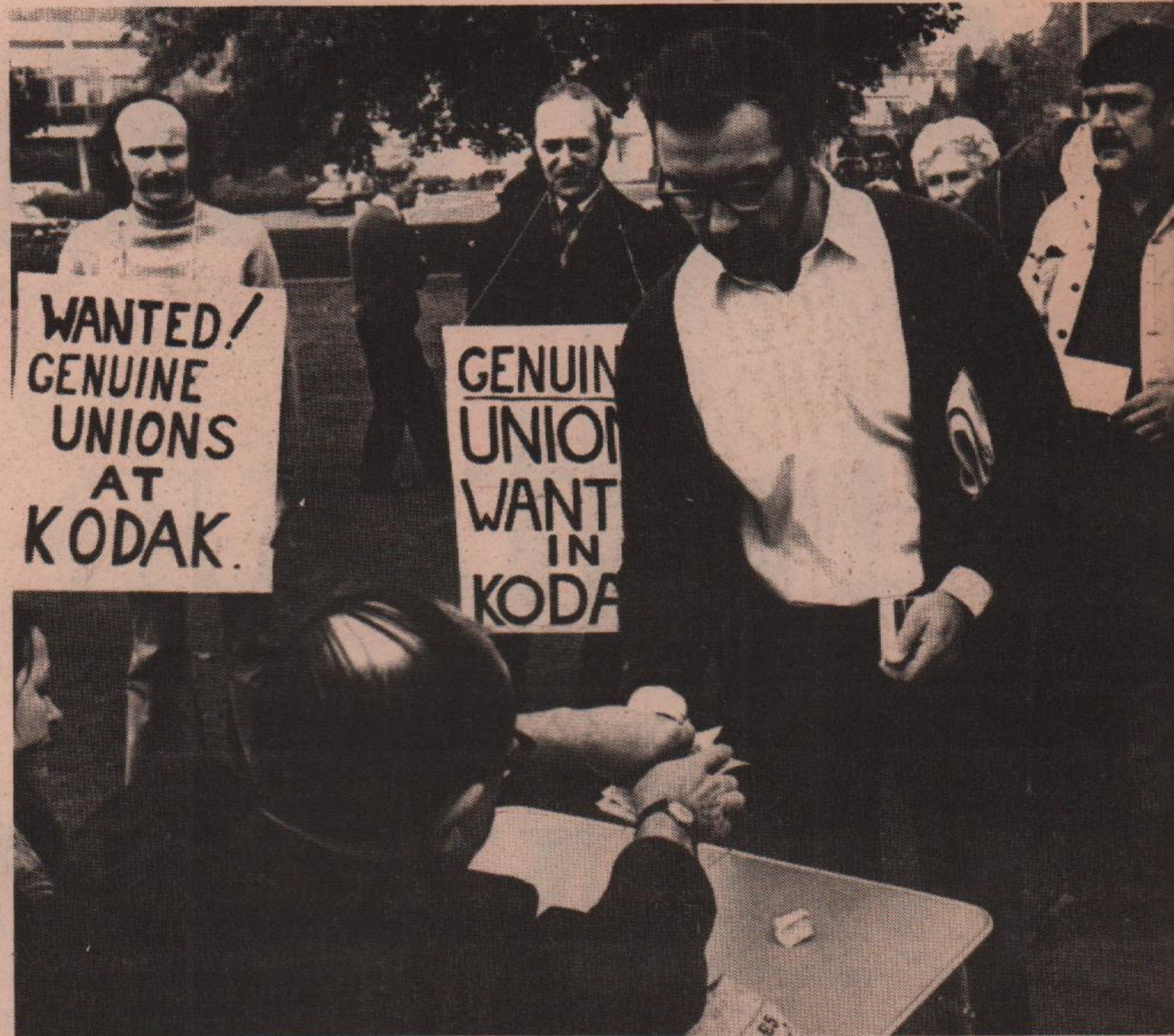
When the Industrial Relations Act was passed last year, Kodak complied at once with its regulation that each worker had a statutory right to join a trade union.

They formed the union of Kodak Workers, transferred the staff which had serviced the WRC's to the UKW offices (which Kodak paid for) and hired a former personnel officer called Todd Sullivan as the new 'union's' general secretary.

In a ballot slightly more than half of all Kodak workers agreed to join the company union. All other workers were given an ultimatum by the company: Join the UKW, or have no representation at all.

This was even worse for Kodak trade unionists than the old WRC's.

The inevitable explosion came with the introduction by Kodak at Hemel of a new film process for pocket cameras—known as the 110. 'Job evaluation' on the



The public pay out: ACTT workers locked out by the anti-union giant get their dispute mor

new process, which completes 1325 films in the time it previously took to process 80, coolly recommended no extra payment at all for the workers.

ACTT members responded by 'blacking' the new process and working to rule.

The management stopped overtime for all ACTT members in the Kodachrome processing division. They switched shifts so that extra overtime suddenly became available to the six UKW scabs in the division who were working to rule.

The trade unionists promptly banned the supply of chemicals while the scabs were working their overtime. Production slowed to a standstill.

Two weeks ago, Kodak closed down the processing plant. It announced that all UKW workers would continue to receive full pay. The 150 ACTT key processors, on the other hand, would receive nothing at all.

Joined

Last Friday, in a dramatic counter-offensive, the ACTT paid out full pay to all their locked out members on the lawns in front of Kodak's 19-storey headquarters in Hemel. After the pay-out, union officials again met the management.

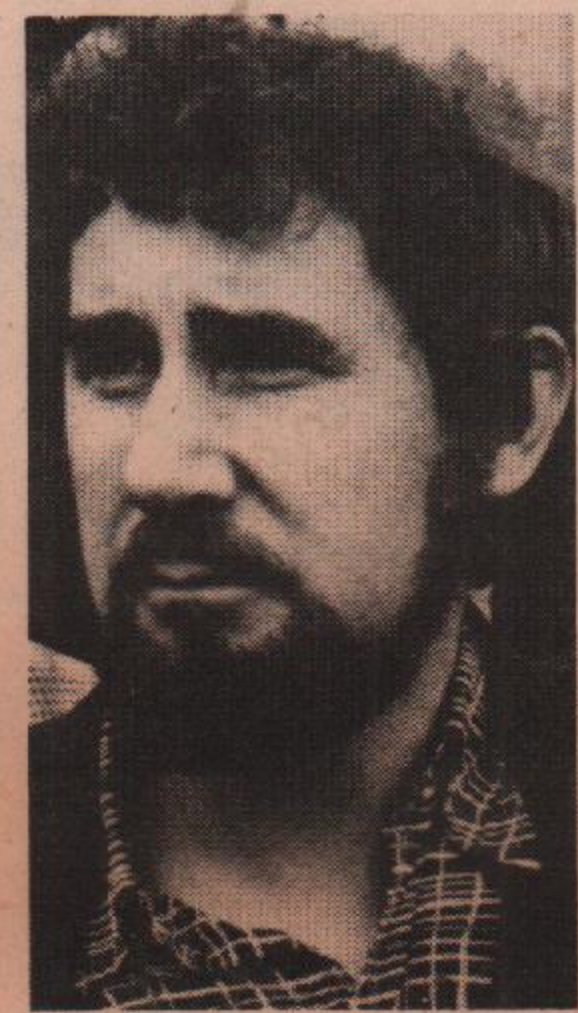
'They appealed to our loyalty to the Crown,' laughed Ken Roberts, ACTT official. 'They said that they were getting letters from people who wanted to take photos of Princess Anne's wedding.'

'The letters asked for a guarantee that the photos would be developed. We told them that our members would process pictures even of Princess Anne if Kodak would recognise the union.'

All the workers I spoke to at the pay-out last Friday insisted that the only real issue now was union recognition.

Gerry Bowden, who has worked in Kodak laboratories for 15 years told me: 'We're fighting for a basic democratic right—to belong to the trade union of our choice.'

'If we're defeated, it will mean the end of trade unionism not only in Kodak but in hundreds of others of smaller, anti-union firms in Hemel—Dexion,



Addressograph, Atlas Copic. They're all non-union, and they're all waiting to see how we do here.'

Barry Dunn, another laboratory worker for Kodak for 15 years, put it another way: 'We're in the front line for everyone now. We need the support of all trade unionists.'

The press and television, national and local, have scrupulously ignored the Kodak strike. The TUC has scuttled to the Department of Employment for 'talks', which include the UKW, the scab union. Only SOGAT of the unions with members at Kodak has taken a principled stand and refused to sit down with the UKW.

Yet the fact remains that the dispute at Kodak is one of the most important recognition

struggles since the... The locked-out have won a pro-organised Kodak and Stuttgart at Hemel Hempstead processed. But resources which to the full in the their workers.

Disc

Already £40 spent in newspaper advising customers to Hemel vital that trade the country rally the ACTT at Kodak trade unionists Kodak film for urged to write pointing out the ing costs are pa



Trotsky on Terrorism: a magnificent essay that counterposes the politics of mass action to the blind alley of bombings and assassinations. That is just one of the many fine articles in the new, revamped monthly journal of the International Socialists. Don't miss it.

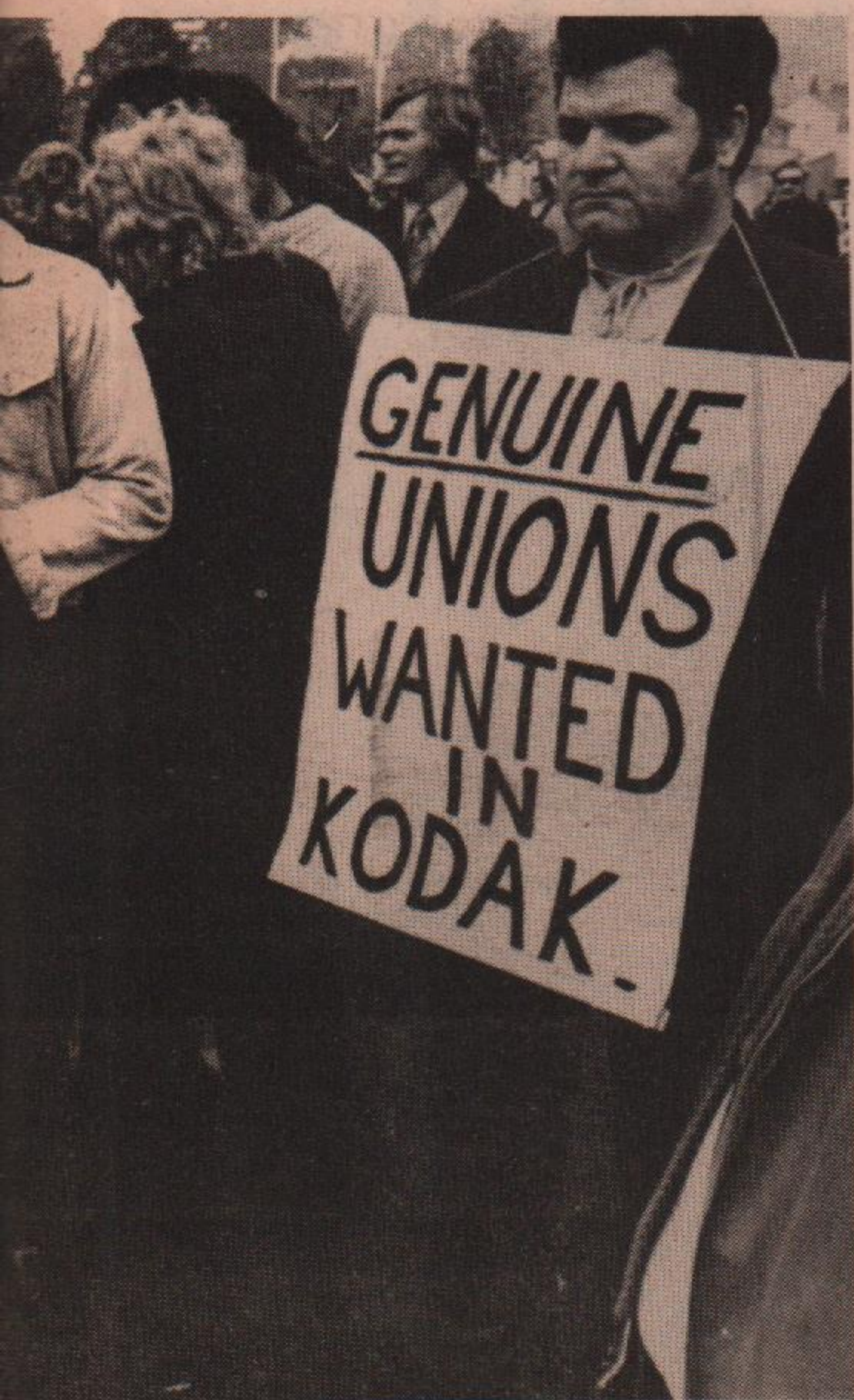
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International Socialism

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



Fight over sca



... on Friday in front of the firm's head office



Battling against the multinational (left to right): Gerry Bowden—'We're fighting for basic democratic rights', Barry Dunn—'We're in the front line', Dave Evans—demoted to floor scrubber, Ken Roberts—ACTT official in charge of negotiations and Peter Ingram—ACTT convenor at Hemel

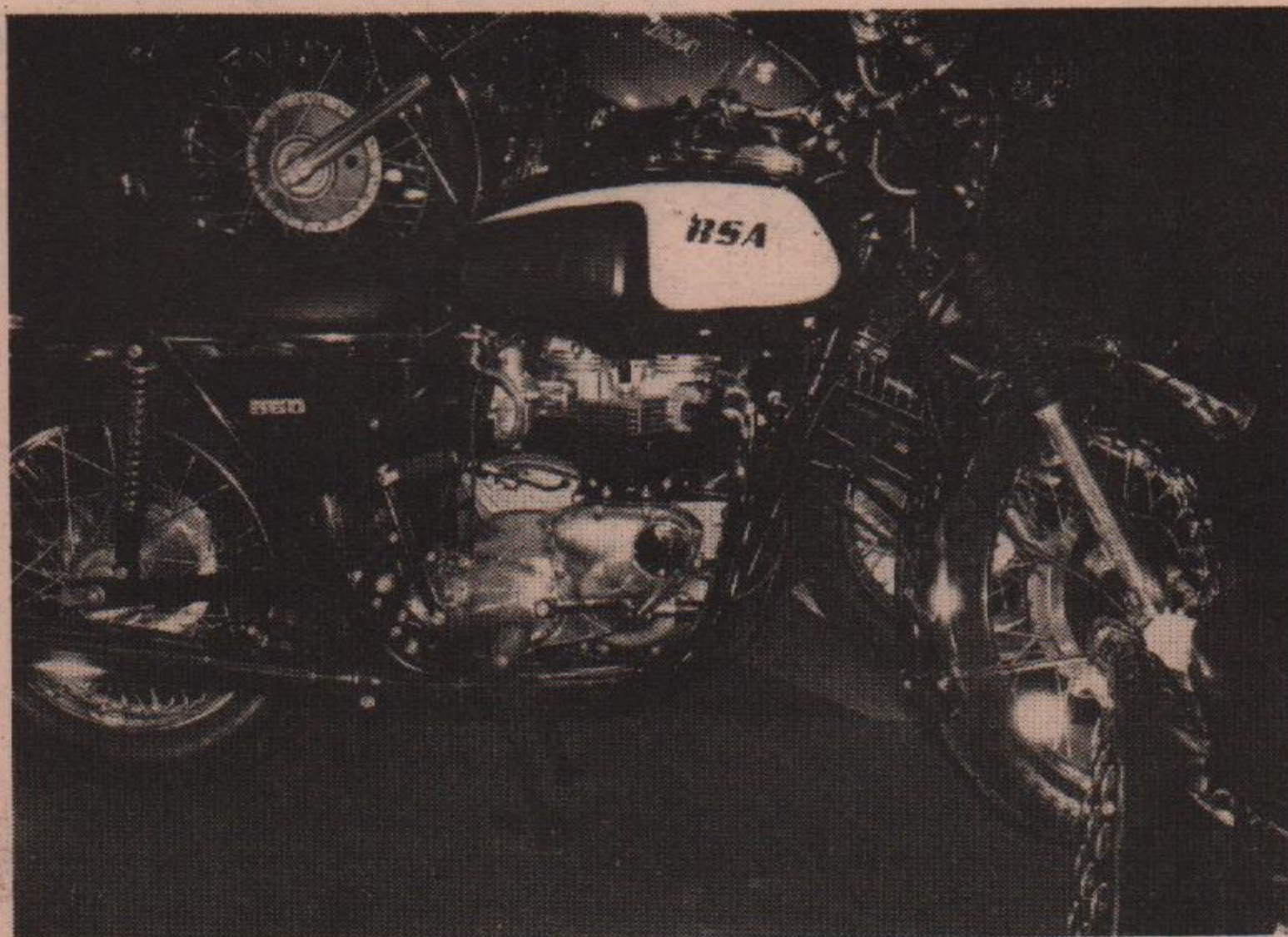


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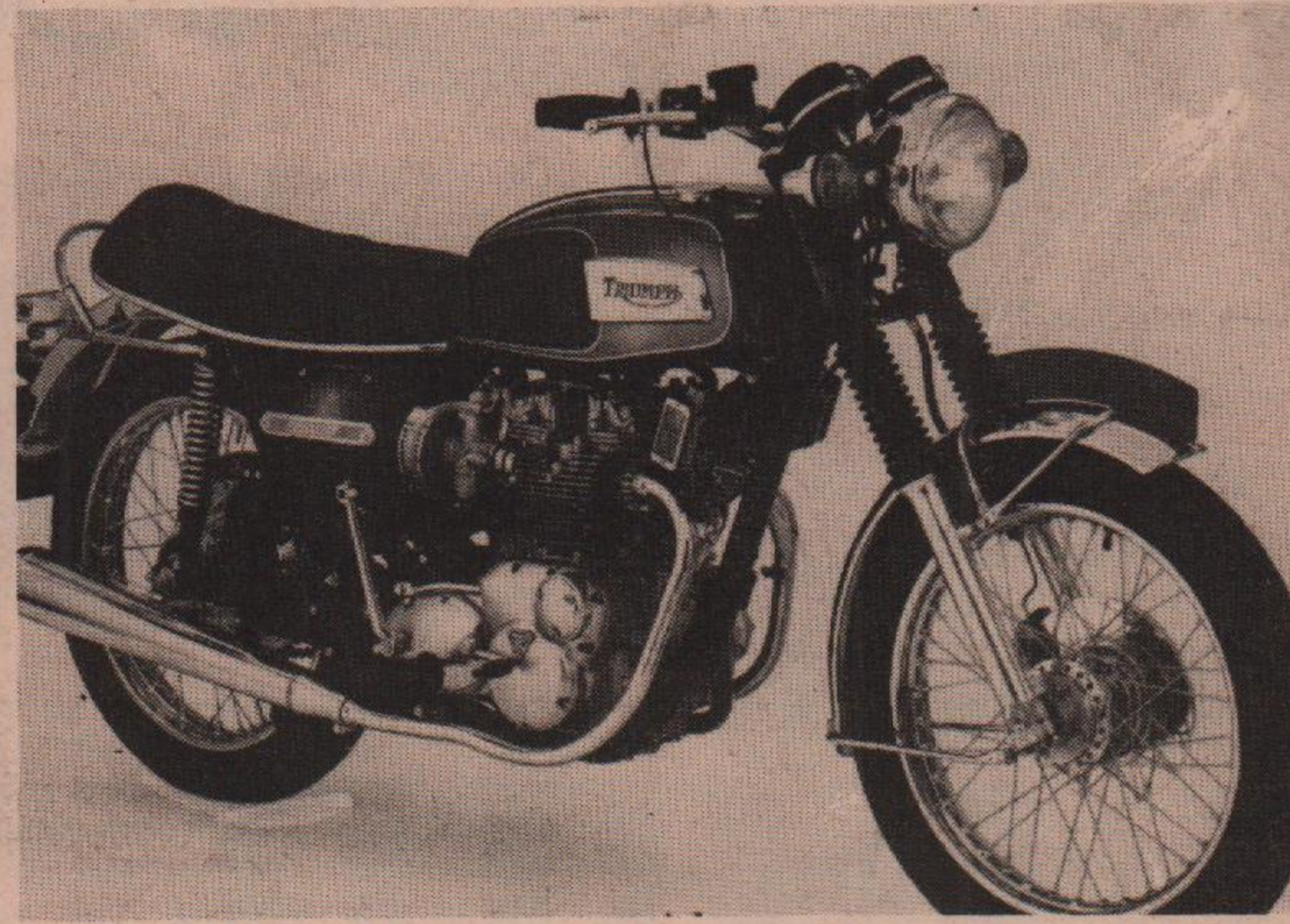
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union



Symptom of failure. This Triumph-designed machine wears BSA badges for the Middle East market, following the scrapping of BSA models during the final crisis



Triumph's 750cc Trident three-cylinder, spearhead of the American sales drive. But Japanese models beat it on price and sophistication

WHY THE BRITISH MOTOR BIKES WENT PHUT...

by
ALAN J STEVENS

FOR 50 years Britain's motor cycle industry led the world. Until the mid 1950s, British bikes grabbed most of the sales and most sporting honours.

Yet in a dozen years 10 manufacturers have been whittled down to two, with six basic models—and thousands of motorcycle workers have lost their jobs as the bosses fought to salvage money and profits from the wreckage.

And now BSA Triumph workers at Meriden, near Coventry, have occupied the plant in a last-ditch attempt to stop 1750 sackings.

Before the war, sophisticated design kept British racing models in front of supercharged rivals subsidised by the fascist governments of Germany and Italy. This technology gave Britain complete dominance after the destruction of the German and Italian industries in the war.

Takeovers produced two giant monopolies, BSA Triumph and Associated Motor Cycles.



Yet symptoms of the collapse to come were there right at the beginning of the post-war boom. For the BSA Bantam, mainstay of the light-weight and ride-to-work market after 1948, was no product of British ingenuity. It was nothing more than a copy of the pre-war German DKW, built with the aid of drawings and tools filched from Germany under the war-booty programme.

The inability of British industry to develop a sound design for the bread-and-butter ride-to-work market was a major weakness. For at the end of the 1950s two events combined to hit at the industry's foundations—a transport-starved world's willingness to take anything Birmingham or Woolwich saw fit to make.

First there was a fashion-inspired boom in sales of the Vespa and Lambretta scooters from Italy. Then the first Hondas appeared.

British attempts to catch on to the scooter craze failed, either through slavish devotion to conservative principles that suited motorcycles but not scooters, or over-sophisticated, costly designs that could never be produced economically in Britain's ageing motorcycle plants.

Meanwhile workers had abandoned motorcycle racing, leaving the field clear for Honda to sweep to first one, then several world championship titles. This publicity success underlined what the riding public was finding out for itself—the new imports from

Japan were more reliable, cleaner and more luxurious, and above all, faster, than British models.

Honda's 125 cc model would top 70 mph, while its BSA competitor could pull out no more than 55 mph.

The results of the newcomers' heavy investment in new ideas and methods—not to mention new plant—were clear. In a short time, it was automatically assumed that any British machine under 250 cc would be no match in performance or quality for the Japanese.

But while AMC, saddled with a sprawling range of ill-conceived models slid slowly to bankruptcy, BSA Triumph actually managed to increase profits. Before tax they went up from £1 million in 1963 to a regular £3 million a year between 1965 and 1968.



The cost of success was high. Concentration on the big sports models left the ride-to-work and learner markets wide open. As youngsters graduated from their Japanese lightweights, they wanted bigger bikes from the same source—a demand the Japanese were quick to meet.

In 1969 Norton Villiers, the company salvaged from the AMC collapse, closed its factory in South East London—throwing hundreds of men on to a local labour market already crowded by the victims of the GEC-English Electric merger—and moved to the overspill town of Andover to build its new 750 cc Commando roadster, star and only model in the range.

At the same time BSA Triumph hit trouble. First it was announced that one worker in three at the BSA works at Small Heath, Birmingham, were to be sacked. Then, two months after chairman Eric Turner had denied

came news that the Small Heath plant was to be shut completely—with 3000 sackings—and that profits had slumped to £570,000 before tax.

From then on it was downhill all the way.

1970-71 saw a staggering loss of £8 million. The company carried on only by selling off £5 million worth of assets, and raising a £10 million bank loan.



Yet by the beginning of 1972, management had squandered the whole of this in a disastrous misreading of the vital American market. Forecasting a recession there, they cut back production—and when Americans 'hollered for anything on two wheels' they turned from the unsophisticated, unobtainable and relatively more

expensive British models to new Japanese products.

In May this year, when rumours of a Norton Villiers-BSA link-up started to harden, Norton transferred all production from Andover to its older Wolverhampton factory—and another 100 workers joined the long procession to the labour exchange.

When official news of the merger came, it was linked with news of further BSA losses—which were expected—and of a surprise half-year loss of £275,000 by Norton.

Now the first fruit of the government's £5 million contribution to the new Norton Villiers Triumph combine is a plan to sack another 1750 workers at Britain's second most modern motorcycle factory at Meriden.

The most modern? The Andover works—shut just four months ago.

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.

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Read us again!

A key debate on the lessons of the fall of Allende's government

AS AN EX-MEMBER of IS who joined the Communist Party, may I make a few personal comments on your editorial of 22 September 1973?

You say that the events in Chile have confirmed Marx's view that the capitalist state machine must be smashed. I agree. You then go on to say 'Communist Party members and other supporters of 'The British Road to Socialism' should "re-consider their rejection of the well-known views of Marx and Lenin on the need to destroy the capitalist state machine."

These words suggest either that Socialist Worker is trying to mislead its readers about what the Communist Party actually says, or else that you have not read any of our publications. The British Road to Socialism, for example, says: 'Power must be taken by the working class, supported by a broad popular alliance. The working class must

by BOB ROWTHORN
Communist Party of Great Britain

establish a new socialist state to defend the new social system, and to set about the building of socialism' (p47, my italics).

Similar statements can be found in Betty Matthews Britain and the Socialist Revolution and Jack Woddis Time to Change Course. Betty Matthews, for example, says: 'To leave the state intact, as previous Labour governments have done, is to leave the capitalist system intact' (p20).

Our party is clearly committed to measures which will effectively smash the old state. To quote Betty Matthews again: 'Among the first acts of the socialist government would be to ensure that there is a defence and a police force that works for the socialist programme. This means that

in composition, in staffing, and in training, the forces must reflect the anti-monopoly alliance. (p20).

The question is, of course, how to smash the state? Socialist Worker seems to believe that the answer is to 'arm the workers' who will then presumably launch an attack on the old state. But surely this is to beg the question? If military power at this time remains firmly in the hands of the ruling class, in the sense that the armed forces are still loyal to them, how will it be possible to arm and train the working class on a scale sufficient to smash the old state?

In Chile, for example, any attempt by the Allende regime to arm the workers would have immediately precipitated a military coup—hence his constant denials, which were essentially tactical, that the government intended to do any such thing. For Socialist Worker to attack Allende for failing to replace the generals or to arm the working class is naive, because the armed services were in the last analysis determined to prevent him and he knew it.

This brings us to the loyalty of the armed services and under what circumstances are they willing to act against the regime. The British Communist Party believes that in this country it is possible to mobilise a large proportion of the population for socialism and an even larger proportion for the defence of democracy—far more than in Chile with its radically different social structure.

Faced with such a massive popular mobilisation, there is a real possibility that the armed forces would be unwilling to stage a coup or would split, with some of them siding with the regime. Naturally, this cannot be taken for granted and concrete steps must be taken, both before and after a socialist government takes office, to weaken the strength of reactionary forces within the military.

The Italian Communist Party, for example, is conducting a campaign for the granting of full democratic rights to members of the armed services and the British party supports their right to join trade unions and take part in political activity. If these reforms were achieved the whole dynamic of class struggle in Britain would be altered and the dangers of a military coup lessened, for they would enable the class struggle to be carried beyond the industrial arena and into the armed services themselves.

May I conclude by saying that Socialist Worker does not face up to the question of the army or what is involved in the slogan 'arm the workers'. Indeed, this weakness is but one expression of a more general malaise of IS, namely a failure to tackle in any concrete or serious fashion the fundamental problems of revolutionary strategy. At a general level, this is reflected in an economic emphasis on immediate struggles combined with a quite abstract use of empty revolutionary rhetoric.

In the particular case of Chile, it was reflected in a consistently hostile and negative attitude towards the Allende government, with absolutely no serious attempt to analyse in a concrete fashion the problems of transition to socialism in that country. The failure of IS to develop any coherent strategy for the conquest of power in capitalist democracies (eg the specific problems posed by the nature of parliament and the role of left governments) leaves it clinging to a position of leftist phraseology and militant economism.

CHILE

Changes at the top is not enough...

HERE are the words of Senator Luis Corvalan, general secretary of the Communist Party in Chile: 'Some reactionaries have begun to seek new ways to drive a wedge between the people and the armed forces, maintaining little less than we are intending to replace the professional army.'

'No sirs! We continue to support the absolutely professional character of the armed institutions. Their enemies are not in the ranks of the people but in the reactionary camp.'

This appears, without comment or criticism of any kind, on page 226 of the September 1973 issue of Marxism Today, theoretical journal of the British Communist Party. So please do not let us hear that the Chilean Communist Party accepted 'Marx's view that the capitalist state machine must be smashed.' Its most authoritative spokesman has told us the opposite.

For of course the armed forces are, as Lenin put it, 'the chief instruments of state power. How can it be otherwise?' How indeed?

Today, the 'absolutely professional' armed forces are hunting down the working-class militants, destroying basic trade union and democratic rights, burning books and promoting a regime of terror against the left. So much for the enemies of the military gangsters being 'not in the ranks of the people but in the reactionary camp.'

Has the British Communist Party a different policy? Well, we have yet to see it criticise the literally suicidal course of its Chilean brother party. Quite the reverse. The Morning Star has defended the line of the Chilean Communist Party.

Bob Rowthorn gives us an ambiguous quotation from The British Road to Socialism plus a couple of statements from Betty Matthews. What the British Road actually says on the central question of state power is that 'a socialist Labour and Communist majority' government must ensure 'consolidation of political power by ensuring that those in commanding positions in the armed forces and police, the civil services and diplomatic service are loyal to the socialist government' (page 51).



Above: smouldering ruins of the presidential palace after the army takeover. Right: a body in the street as the junta wipes out opposition.

In other words, change the top people and leave the machine intact. This is the exact opposite of the position of Marx, Engels and Lenin which Rowthorn says he accepts, the exact opposite of what the British Communist Party itself used to say in the days when it was a revolutionary party.

Is the Communist Party serious even about changing the top personnel? Bob Rowthorn tells us that we are naive if we criticise Allende for not sacking the generals 'because the armed forces were in the last analysis determined to prevent him and he knew it!'

Would it be any different in Britain? The fact is that the whole notion of a revolutionary change through 'constitutional' means is a contradiction in terms.

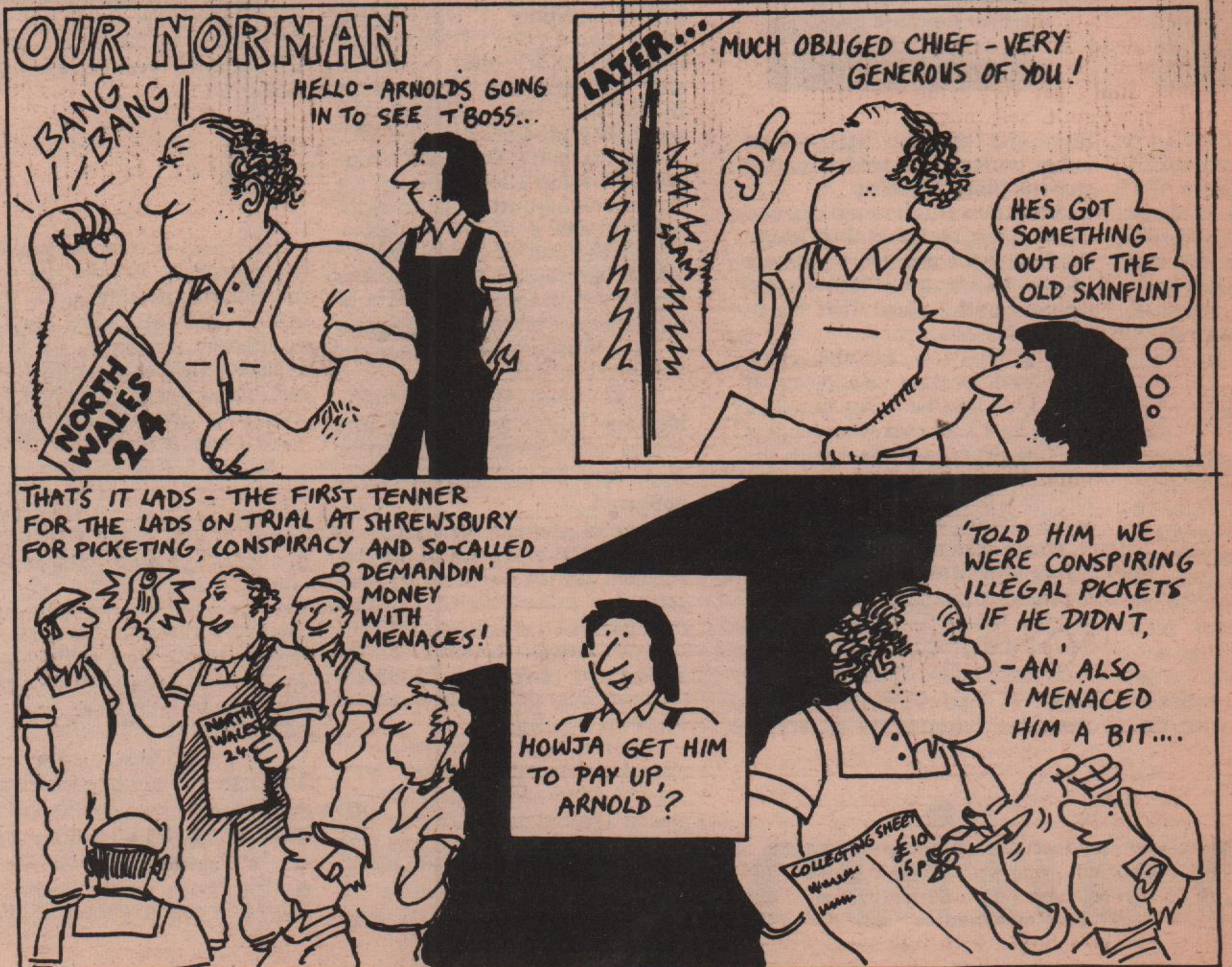
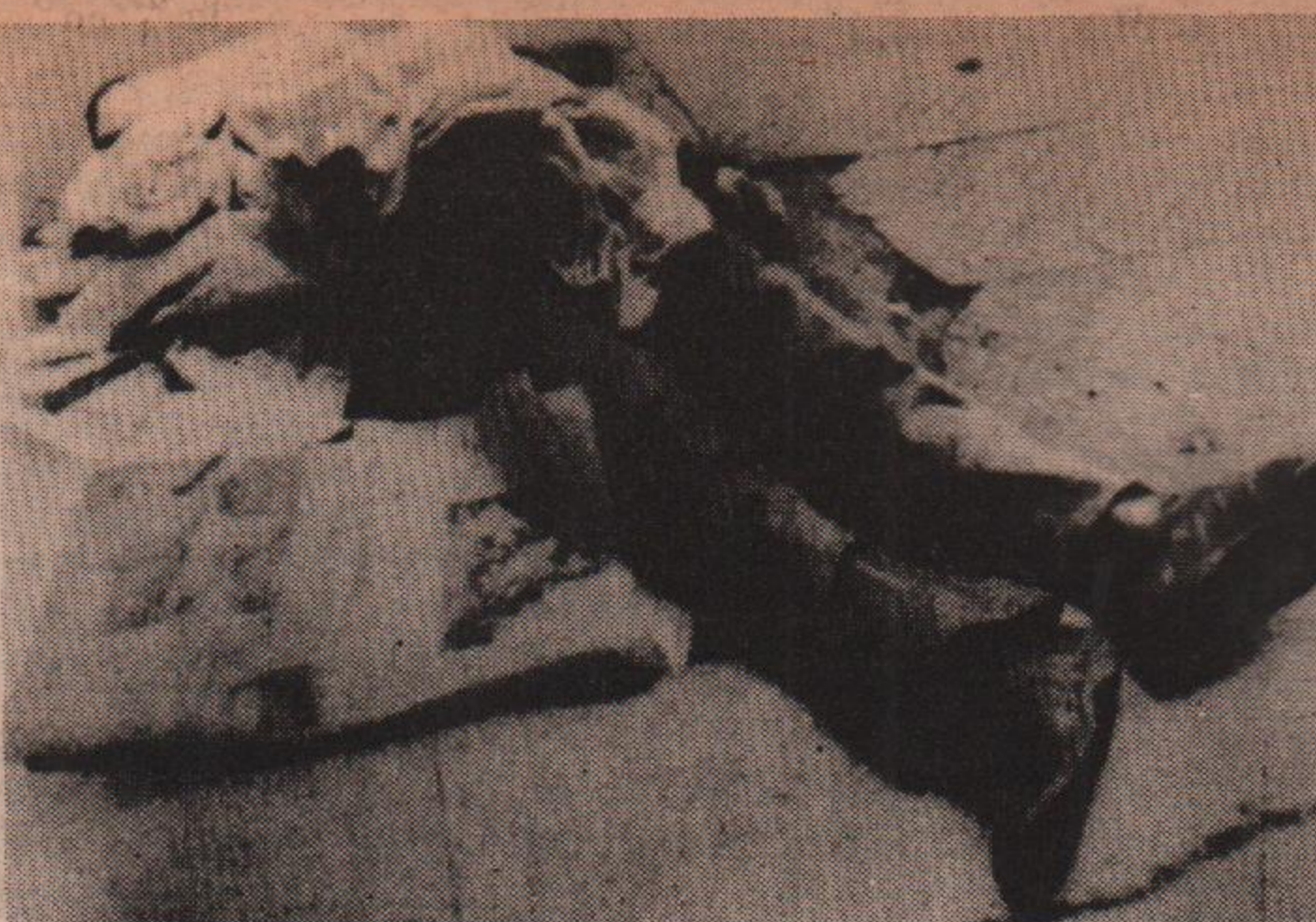
'If you have no case, abuse the plaintiff's attorney.' Bob Rowthorn deftly slides away from the impossible task of justifying the Chilean Communist Party from a marxist point of view into an attack on the International Socialists for an alleged 'lack of coherent strategy'.

What is at issue is the strategy of the Communist Party, the strategy of the parliamentary road to socialism. That strategy is essentially identical with that of the Chilean Communist Party.

In the unlikely event of the Communist Party becoming a major parliamentary force in Britain and a coalition partner of the Labour Party, we can confidently anticipate its general secretary, John Gollan, assuring us of the 'absolutely professional character of the armed institutions' of Britain. And if the working class was foolish enough to believe him it would be putting its head on the chopping block.

Duncan Hallas
IS National Committee

Further discussion on this important subject is welcomed.



The forging of an angry man

'At a time when the old age pensioners are wondering whether to have one Oxo cube or two for their evening meal—let the wealthy laugh at this disdainfully if they like—they are talking of Maplin Airport.

'And if you please these boys know so little of where they're going that they cancel it within 72 hours and say we'll have the Channel Tunnel instead.

'I think this country is riddled with corruption. The workers are beginning to realise it, because 'democracy' made one mistake. It educated us. One great mistake the working-class movement made was to call itself Labour instead of socialist.'

Not the sort of words you would normally expect from a best-selling novelist. But that is what Alexander Cordell does for a living. The latest paperback edition of his novel *The Fire People* sold 250,000 copies within a few weeks.

Martyr

That's not bad for an avowedly socialist novel woven around the character of Richard Lewis (alias Dic Penderyn) first martyr of the modern Welsh working class, done to death by government and employers for his part in the Bread or Blood riots in Merthyr in 1831.

Alexander Cordell's new novel, *If You Believe the Soldiers*, has just been published in hardback. Selling well, it is being read by the same people who have read and grown from his earlier novels.

These are about how the Welsh working-class movement forged itself, in the struggle with the barbaric ironmasters, through Chartism and trade unionism, in the beginnings of the long fight for working-

WIGAN PIER IS STILL THERE

ERIC BLAIR went to Eton. After that he joined the Indian civil service as a policeman in Burma.

Increasingly disgusted by his experiences in the East he came back to England and scratched an unsuccessful life as a writer. His early books didn't get very good reviews, and he didn't sell many. It was the 1930s.

In 1937 he got a commission from Victor Gollancz to write a book on the conditions of the working class in the depressed areas. Gollancz was the man behind the Left Book Club which sold thousands of socialist books to members round the country.

Blair's pen-name was George Orwell, and the book he wrote about his experiences *The Road to Wigan Pier*, apart from being a best-seller, was one of the finest works of socialist commentary written in English.

If you haven't read it, and you want to get some idea of what it was about, turn on the TV next Tuesday at 9 pm.

SONGS

Thames TV is networking a 'musical documentary' of the book, produced and directed by Frank Cvitanovitch. It's very good.

The film is based on Cvitanovitch's filming in the area, newsreel film of the time, and still photography by Bill Brandt who was working in Wigan at the same time, but independently of Orwell. The commentary comes from Orwell's book, with folk songs of the period sung by Bob



Laurie Flynn

interviews

the novelist

ALEXANDER CORDELL

class self-emancipation.

For his latest novel Cordell has chosen new ground—the Britain of this century. The Britain of miners' strikes, mass pickets, corrupt politicians known to be corrupt—the Britain of mass struggles between those who own the means of production and those who produce the wealth.

His three best books are *Rape of the Fair Country*, *The Hosts of Rebecca* and *Song of the Earth*, which should be read and passed from

hand to hand throughout the working-class movement.

'I went to Abergavenny in 1950 for a job. I was in the civil service and I had just been a young staff officer. In the army, I mixed in the officers' mess, as you would imagine, and I literally didn't know what the term Tory meant,' Alexander Cordell told me.

'When I was young my father used to rush outside at election time and congratulate the driver of the van with the

blue colours. So I suppose I was born very much into a right-wing household. I was educated in this fashion. I'd never voted and I didn't know anything about politics.

'When people talked in the officers' mess and the workers were slandered, people boasted of what they did in the General Strike and I was always very uneasy. I realised that I had no politics at all.

Cruelty

'Except that I thought it was a terrible thing to see a baby shot in the stomach—which is the sort of thing I saw in the war. I always had a great compassion for human beings.

'I was educated in China and there I learned something of an earthy humanity. But I didn't have any sort of politics except horror at the cruelty of exploitation which I could see all around me.

'Out of the army I went back on to £3 7s 6d a week in the civil service where I was a sort of junior quantity surveyor. That was what took me and my first wife to Abergavenny. At that time I was writing to make up money because money was short once you were out of the awful heigh-ho of the officers' mess.

'One day, after hearing some talk in a pub, I went on my little motorcycle up on the top of this mountain, the Bloreng

mountain which McAlpine's open cast were hollowing out at the time.

'I got to the top of the mountain late at night and I looked out over it. And I saw what was a stricken landscape. A landscape that had been violated.

'A man came along the road and he said: "What are you doing up here at this time of night, son?"

'I replied that there must be a story about the place. "If you come to the Rolling Mill tomorrow night," he told me, "I will tell you what happened in this town, this iron town of Garndyrus. A story has happened here—a story that has never been told."

'So the next night I went down to the Rolling Mill in Blaenafon and went in and waited for him. I waited two hours and he didn't come.

'Eventually I spoke to the landlord and he identified him as Parry the Postman. Then he told me that Parry had died the previous night, shortly after I had met him in fact.

Robbed

'But one thing went to another. And the miners were in this little mountain pub and it was then I began to learn what happened in that particular vicinity. This was the time I began to learn about politics.

'I learned then the history of Chartism, the six points of the Charter of Decency which went hand in hand with what I was being told about the exploitation of child labour, the exploitation of every kind of labour, undernourished and brutally robbed throughout the Industrial Revolution.

'Now, the more I researched about the Industrial Revolution, the more I read of Marx and Engels, the more angry I became. I was quite grown-up, you see. And I think I was infuriated because I didn't know anything about this. And why the hell hadn't somebody told me about this? Why was it that it was never in the things we learned at school?

Left

'As I read I became absolutely outraged. They talk about John Osborne being an angry young man, I was an absolutely furious grown-up man. I was indignant that such things should have happened. I was even more indignant that such I had gone to France to fight for this kind of thing.

'I began to learn of the left. I began to learn about the people of the past on whose misery and transportation, floggings, and hangings places like Port Talbot, the Spencer Steelworks, the Steel Company of Wales were built.

'That is why I am of the left and why I have written my books. I am a Labour Left. But I believe in cloth cap socialism not the top hat variety.

'You'll think me egotistical for talking like this. But this is rather like cutting the stitches of a partly healed wound for there is every bit as much to be angry about today.'



The singing miners of *The Road to Wigan Pier*—they're Welsh.

Davenport.

The last part of the film is made up of cuts from the speeches of Labour and Tory politicians, trotting out the same old lies, from the 1930s to the 1970s, and a bemused Davenport wandering around a computer pumping out the timeless statistics of death and disease under the system.

'What shocked me was how little Wigan has changed since Orwell wrote about it' said Cvitanovitch. And it isn't just Wigan. See the film, if for no other reason but to hear the Internationale sung for once well—by a Welsh Choir of course.

Nigel Fountain

A ghost for the generals

THE FIRST public demonstration in Chile against the Junta was at the funeral of a poet. The Santiago workers who risked their lives to mourn the death of Pablo Neruda were honouring the death of a writer who was a voice of defiance against imperialism throughout the Americas.

The clinic claimed he died of heart failure, some might say it was a broken heart. Neruda's major poetry aimed to unravel the ways of imperialism from 'Residencia en la Tierra', a long study of the Spanish Civil War to 'Canto General' which surveys the history of Latin America's 'development'.

Although a shameless defender of Stalin, he was a savage opponent of the generals and businessmen who controlled Latin America.

This passage, from 'They receive instructions against

Chile', is in the 'Canto General' and describes an earlier coup. It is still relevant.

The suffering of the people does not matter: copper executives needs this sacrifice: facts are facts: the generals retire from the army and serve as vice-presidents of the Chuquicamata Copper Firm, and in the nitrate works the 'chilean' general decides with his trailing sword how much the natives may mention when they apply for a raise in wages. In this way they decide from above, from the roll of dollars, in this way the dwarf traitor receives his instructions, and the generals act as the police force, and the trunk of the tree of the country rots.

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 racism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

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

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

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

EAST
Basildon
Cambridge
Chelmsford
Colchester
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Harrow
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Burnley
Crewe
Kirkby
Lancaster
Manchester
Merseyside
Middleton
Oldham
Preston
Rochdale
Salford
St Helens
Stoke-on-Trent
Stockport
Stretford
Wigan
Wrexham

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

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Camden
Chertsey
Colindale
Croydon
Ealing
Enfield
Fleet Street
Fulham and Hammersmith
Hackney
Harrow
Hemel Hempstead
High Wycombe
Hillingdon
Holt
Hounslow
Ilford
Islington
Kilburn
Kingston
Lambeth
Lewisham
Mid-Herts
North Herts
Newham
Paddington
Reading
South
South West
Tottenham
Waltham
Walthamstow
Wendlebury
Wimbledon
Wynbury

MIDLANDS
Birmingham NE
Birmingham S
Coventry
Derby
Dudley
Leamington and Warwick
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Loughborough
Luton
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Stevenage
Watlington

THE UNIONS



A recent protest march through the streets of Shrewsbury—the sort of support the builders' union is refusing to give the 24 accused pickets.

Smith turns on the doubletalk

by Jim Higgins

GEORGE FENWICK SMITH is general secretary of UCATT, the Union of Construction Allied Trades and Technicians. He is also a member of the General Council of the TUC and for his services to somebody her majesty was gracious enough to confer on him the rank of Commander of the British Empire.

If his recent letter to UCATT members on the North Wales 24 case is any indication, he is making a serious bid for promotion in the ranks of this royal order.

The letter, which plumbs new depths in low grade doubletalk, purports to justify the UCATT executive decision to withdraw legal help from its members now on trial at Shrewsbury for picketing.

The union executive has been

under heavy pressure from the branches and the governing council of the union to reverse this stand. But it has re-affirmed the no-support decision and the letter undertakes that the UCATT leaders are going to do absolutely nothing to defend the men.

Refused

Smith has also been hostile to the North Wales 24 in other ways. Solicitors for the defendants wrote to him and asked if he would give evidence at the trial. He could give vital evidence on how the strike was organised officially and how the action committees were set up to carry out official union policy.

Smith has refused to co-operate in any way. But his letter to the

UCATT branches improves even on that performance.

It starts out with brief and ritual references to the 'hysterical reaction of employers, press, radio and television' against the builders' pickets, and the unusual 'legal zeal of the Home Office' in pursuing the militants.

After this rhetoric, which is in fact copied from the governing council's appeal for legal aid, he gets down to the real business—giving the UCATT defendants the business.

'The Union cannot be seen to offer indirect encouragement to acts alleged as criminal by making legal aid available . . . ' he writes. The union, he says, would of course give assistance if the charges arose solely out of the pickets following the instructions of the action committee.

But according to Smith the charges relate to '... conspiracy to intimidate, fighting and making an affray, intimidation, damage to property, threats to damage property, threatening language and assault, none of which related to the decisions of the action committees . . .'

There are one or two points that someone closer to Smith than Socialist Worker should point out to him. Firstly, the truth of the charges is supposed to be for the courts, not the UCATT executive, to decide.

By the same logic if a substantial body of building workers said that George Fenwick Smith was not fit to be general secretary of UCATT, he would resign at once.

Leaving aside the quaint notion that police charges bear any relation to the facts, the second point is that it would be a strange action committee that set out instructions including 'making an affray, threatening language, intimidation and so on.' By this token every action committee will have to have its own legal adviser. They had better make sure it is not George Smith.

Defence

In another part of his letter Smith claims that the union rules do not 'allow legal aid for defence against criminal charges alleging misconduct in industrial disputes. *Neither do the rules of any union.*'

This last sentence is of particular interest because the Transport Workers Union, whatever its rules, is in fact giving legal help to its members on trial at Shrewsbury.

In a concluding paragraph Smith sheds the odd crocodile tear at the hardship experienced by the defendants, whose earnings lost due to being on trial will not be provided by state legal aid, nor, it appears, by UCATT.

Fortunately others have less snivelling respect for police charges. At the Liverpool Conference on the Shrewsbury 24 case organised by the local trades council about £1000 was collected from rank and file workers. More is needed to alleviate hardship for those so grievously let down by the UCATT executive council.

Please send donations to North Wales 24 Defence Committee, 1 Fford Pentre, Ocean View Carmel, Holywell, Flintshire.

Civil servants step up the action

by a civil servant

MEMBERS of the civil service unions working in the Post Office renewed their industrial action against the Tory government's incomes policy last week. They staged a one-day stoppage as their leaders went to see Tory ministers in a bid to get them a bit more than £1 plus 4 per cent.

As a direct result of the Tory wage freeze and subsequent incomes policy all civil servants have lost about £200 since the beginning of the year.

Traditionally civil servants' pay is compared every two years by the Pay and Research Unit with pay in the private sector. It is then supposed to be brought into line.

But this time round the Tory freeze intervened. The unit's full report has not been made available to union members. But it was rumoured in the union leadership that a 20 per cent wage rise was on the cards. After phased industrial action in protest, the union leaders settled for the Tory norm of £1 plus 4 per cent, and waited for the Pay Board's report on 'anomalies'.

The industrial action in the spring was never at any time meant by the union leadership to bring a confrontation with the government. It was designed to influence the Tories' 'sense of fair play'.

The strategy of a one-day strike and week-long selective strikes did not channel the members' militancy and the leaders consistently refused to fight for an all-out national strike.

Members of the Civil and Public Services Association were actually told by their own national executive that they did not have the industrial strength to defeat a determined government. What nonsense!

The CPSA is in the enviable position of being able to shut down the government's administrative machine completely. Without this the government would be unable to function. But like all trade union bureaucrats who do not want an industrial struggle to slip from their control, the CPSA executive told the members they could not win. So all industrial action was called off.

Now we are hearing the end of Phase Two, with its astronomical increase in the cost of living. The CPSA general secretary

Bill Kendall is again mouthing fine words of opposition to the Tory incomes policy, but proposing no action.

He attacks the TUC talks with the Tories. But then he calls on his members to let him carry on meeting ministers to negotiate some fair deal. He has also said no deal will be acceptable unless backdated until 1 April. Whatever happened to backdating to 1 January?

He says any deal must include pay restructuring. But he does nothing to prepare the members for the all-out industrial action which must inevitably be mounted if CPSA members are to win.

The CPSA leaders attack the Pay Board's recent report on 'anomalies' as devious. But they also want to exploit the slight preferential treatment for civil servants contained in it. This is even though what little extra CPSA members would get will be at the expense of other trade unionists.

Zig-zags

Kendall claims that because of CPSA members' determined industrial action in the spring, the government has selected us as a special case. This is not so. What the government wants to do is pull the civil servants away from mainstream trade union opposition to Phase Three and preserve the precious state machine.

Against the zig-zags of the union leadership which causes so much confusion among the members, Redder Tape, the grouping of rank and file militants in the civil service calls for a campaign for all-out national strike from 1 January. We can and must fight for payment of the full Pay Research Unit findings which the union leaders are still keeping under wraps.

Strike action should be called in concert with other unions fighting the Phase Three limitations. There should be no truck with the 'special case' fraud to divide us from the broader trade union movement. Since there is no sign of any real lead coming from any of the trade union leaders, Redder Tape also supports all endeavours to build a genuine national rank and file movement across all industries.

Chile: Santiago under fascism

CHILE has had a bloodshed that nobody imagined was possible. After 12 days of fighting the violence is not at the end, it has just diminished a little. Chile has now, for the first time in more than 50 years a military junta which has made a public display of arrogance, rudeness, brutality and meanness. They are like the caricature of fascism.

Twelve days of outrages to individual liberty and dignity. More than 10,000 terrified prisoners, martial courts working as in a state of war, executions of prisoners, casualties in thousands (mostly dead). The most modest figures are 5000 dead and there are also figures of 50,000 and more.

Both figures are terrible vis-a-vis the small Chilean population. The bulk of the repression has been against the workers fighting from the factories, the people of the working class settlements, the youth. Most of the fighting has been in the main cities.

Twelve days of violation of homes, abusing the people and stealing their goods. Public burning of books. Hypocrisy and lies. Nationalism and xenophobia. Public hair cutting in order to humiliate the young and prohibition for women to wear trousers. The tragic and the ludicrous.

Marxism (not the marxist parties) has been outlawed, the universities have been attacked, some actually bombed and the rest 'reorganised'. Teachers guilty of leftism, liberalism, marxism, etc have been sacked. Public servants of all qualification and levels of the government have been expelled when a marxist (or similar) infection is suspected. Curfew every night, and the sound of machine-gun fire all around the city every night. The weak resistance of some few, small, ill-equipped groups is the justification for the most brutal repression.

This is not the time to make the inventory of abuses. Our only source of information is a mass-media limited to three or four radio stations, TV and newspapers under rigid military censorship. It is very likely that you abroad have a better comprehensive picture of what is going on in Chile. The whole affair produces an overwhelming nausea. At this time it seems that the important exercise is to ask ourselves: how was all this possible?

Obviously we will have a number of answers during the next years provided by the specialists. I have not now the qualifications nor the method to begin the analysis of the 'Chilean case'. Moreover this is a letter not a paper. Yet something is possible to do.

With the purpose of helping other people to understand what happened in Chile I propose here a list of facts which might be the basis for future analysis. This list is not complete and very likely the selection express both my limitations and bias.

The Popular Unity (UP) coalition

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.

More oppose Race Act

NORWICH Trades Council condemns the recent House of Lords decision to apply retrospectively the 1971 Immigration Act, and condemns the growing police harassment of coloured people. We pledge our support to our fellow workers, regardless of race or colour.

of working class orientated parties and some representatives of the middle class, marxist orientated, won the 1970 presidential election with little more than 36 per cent of the vote. The victory was made possible by the unavoidable division of the counterpart; the conservative National Party and the reformist Christian

Democratic Party. That division was the result of the Christian-Democratic attack on private property, mainly agrarian reform. On the other hand that victory was also a victory of the Communist strategy among the left.

UP won the election but Allende did not have a big enough majority to be president. He had to ask the nomination of the Congress where UP was a minority. In order to get the nomination UP had to make explicit its respect of the existing legal framework. This was made by the signing of a Constitutional Guarantee Act. More important than the act was the fact that UP recognised legal and institutional boundaries for his political action.—From a correspondent in Santiago, Chile, 24 September (name withheld).

JANE SCOTT PAUL (Letters 6 October accuses my feature on Chile of ignorance. With some justice, as it was written just five days after the Coup when there was virtually no information from any source. I probably did underestimate the extent of the resistance to the Coup, and I have tried to make up for that in later reports.

What I utterly reject is the suggestion that I was 'crowing' over the defeat. The overthrow of Allende is a setback for the South American working class that is as catastrophic as Hitler's rise to power was for workers in Europe. But the job of revolutionary socialists is not just to express sorrow and indignation—it is to understand.

Jane Scott Paul disputes the view I presented of the state of feeling of the Chilean working class. Is she suggesting that the Chilean workers were strong and confident, well-organised and under clear political leadership, and that it was sheer military force that defeated them? If so, revolutionary seizure of power is never possible.

If the Chilean working class had had a clear revolutionary lead; if they had been prepared, politically and militarily, for a confrontation with the Army, instead of being told by Allende and the Communist Party that the Army were their friends, if the workers' committees that grew up spontaneously last summer had been encouraged, instead of obstructed and discouraged, then things would have been different.

Instead of a heroic but fragmentary resistance, there would have been an united response; and it would almost certainly have been possible to win a very large section of the Army rank-and-file over. Without an alternative pole of attraction, soldiers were not prepared to take the risk of mutiny.

Finally Jane Scott Paul is on shaky ground when she proves support for Allende by voting figures. The level of commitment required to put a cross on a piece of paper is very different from that needed to die in battle. After all, twelve million people in Britain vote for Harold Wilson; it would be hard to find twelve willing to die for him gun in hand. It was precisely Allende's weakness that he sought to keep support for him at a level of passive electoral commitment, and failed to mobilise and arm the workers.—IAN BIRCHALL, London N9.

DIGGING THE DIRT ON THE EMPLOYERS

IT IS MUCH easier to discover the profitability of a particular company than many people imagine. Although capitalists are far from forthcoming about themselves, they do not have a monopoly of information. So how do you get hold of the information yourself?

First, three technical terms. Limited liability companies—the advantage of limited liability to capitalists, limited risk with the prospect of unlimited profits—has often been illustrated in this column in the past. But one of the obligations of limited liability is the annual publication of a report and accounts, containing a profit statement and a good deal of other information. Nearly every employer with more than a handful of workers is a limited company and it is a requirement of the law that when limited companies use their name, they must always add limited after it.

There are two types of limited companies—private and public. Basically, public companies have a large number of shareholders and their shares can generally be bought and sold on the stock market.

Private companies have only a few shareholders and, although having to produce accounts for the Department of Trade and Industry, which can be inspected by the public, their accounts are not so full of information and readily available as those of public companies.

The first job in the search for information about your employer, is to establish exactly who the ultimate owner of the company is. The invaluable book to use is Who Owns Whom. The book is not cheap—around £16, but if your public library doesn't already stock it, ask them to stock it. The book is published by O W Roskill and Co, 14 Great College Street, London SW1.

COMPLETE

The book lists over 100,000 UK companies and who owns them. It also provides lists of all the companies in the major groups and the address of the head office.

When the company is a public company a copy of its report and accounts can be obtained, from this head office, most companies are only too happy to send a copy to anyone who wants one. Whether the company is private or public can be determined from the Stock Exchange Official Year Book.

This has a complete list of public companies. Ask your library to stock it.

Another source of information is the Extel Statistical Service. This covers all public companies. There is a statistical card for each company, summarising the essential figures contained in the report and accounts for the last ten years. It is possible from these cards to establish, among other things, the profit per worker, average wage per worker, value of the directors' shareholdings, directors' wages, extent of overseas interests, etc.



Although the service is expensive, it is stocked by over forty university, college and public libraries throughout the country. It is much harder to get hold of the information about private companies, and the subsidiaries of public companies, as the accounts are kept at Companies House, City Road, London.

As this place is open only six hours a day, five days a week, it is almost impossible for workers to go there, even if they live in London. One of the most useful things that students in London can do is to go to Companies House for workers who want the information.

All these are ways of getting hold of some information about companies. But it is information that the companies themselves produce. In many cases they would prefer not to show the average profit per employee, and there are many ways in which profits can be hidden. But this is an important start in the propaganda battle.

When reviewing the film State of Siege in Socialist Worker two months ago, Paul Foot wrote 'Information about capitalism is not published in the newspapers owned by capitalists, but it is available to their opponents if only they will find it out. One of the major tasks of the genuine revolutionary is to use his or her position in society to discover what the brutes are up to, and how they plan to put it into effect.' At a time when company profits are booming, not even the capitalists can completely hide the fact. The opportunity to use this information must not be lost.

T H Rogmorton

The National Front in London

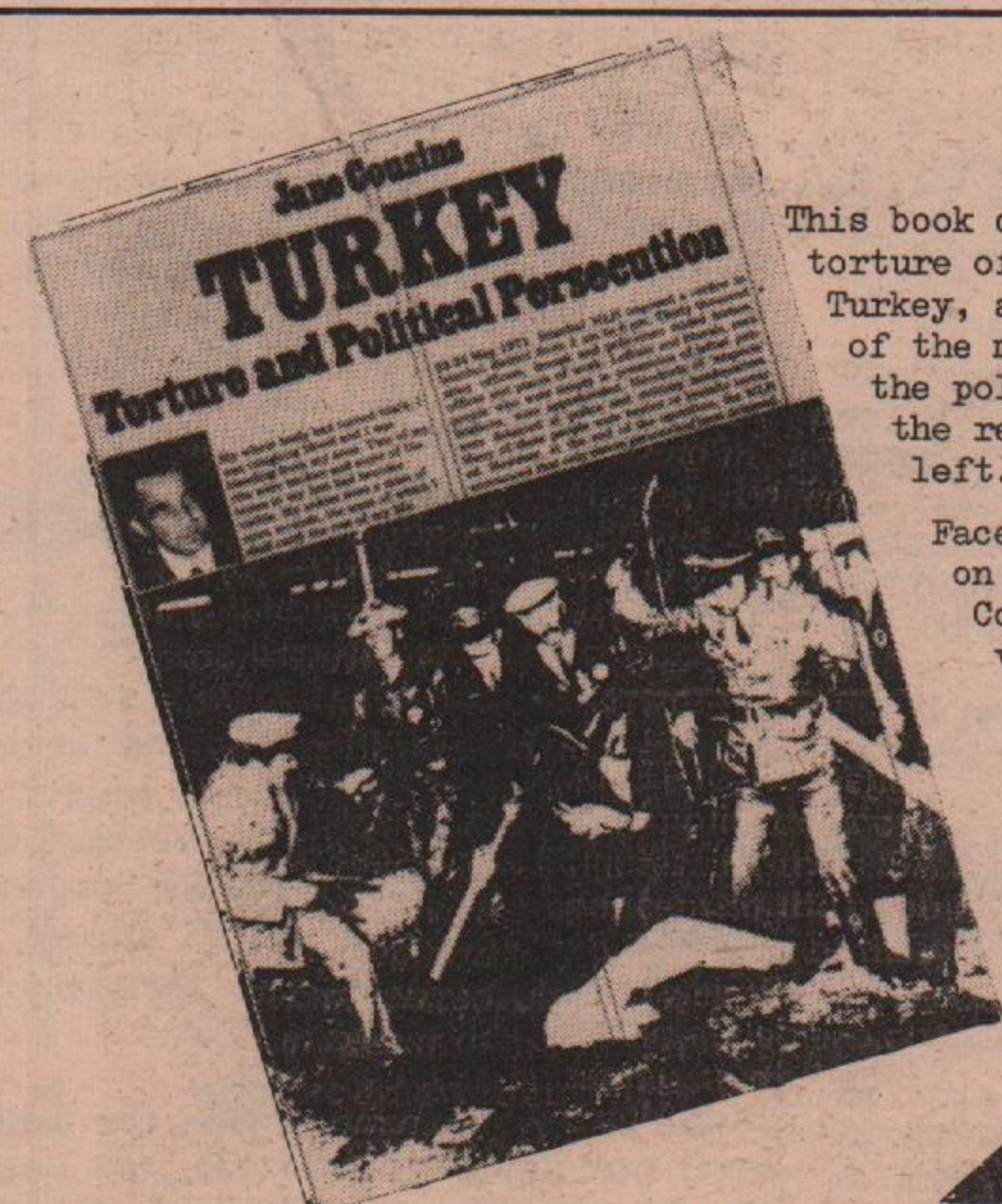
IT IS A bitter thing, in this day and age, to have to warn the Labour movement about danger from the fascist forces on the extreme right of British politics. The following facts, however, demonstrate that this problem needs serious and urgent attention—and that the working-class movement must take steps to deal with it promptly.

The largest extremist organisation of the far right, the National Front, which already has over 10,000 members, is holding its annual conference and rally on Saturday, 13 October in London's Conway Hall, near Holborn. This is intended to be a prestigious occasion for the Front, to set the seal on two major developments concerning this fascist organisation.

Firstly, its recent electoral advances (5000 votes in the West Bromwich by-election and high votes in several local elections) obtained largely by anti-immigrant propaganda—the Front admits to being 'racialist'—will be emphasised to argue that the NF is now an acceptable 'national' party.

Secondly, the Front's agitation aimed specifically at winning support from members of trade unions will be stepped up. Recently, letters from the NF have appeared in some union journals and the Front's own journal 'Spearhead' (March 1973) boasts that they 'have made barely any impact at all among the upper classes' but 'great gains' are possible among the 'working classes'. The articles in this paper increasingly and openly discuss how the NF can influence trade unionists in particular.

Recognising this danger, the Transport and General Workers' Union Executive recently endorsed a motion calling for a campaign to expose the fascist NF. Now, it is time for the rest of the movement to face this problem. I therefore urge your readers to give maximum support to the demonstration against the NF on the day of their conference, which will assemble at 12 noon on 13 October at Lincoln's Inn Fields, London WC2—to help show that the Labour movement is opposed outright to fascists and their propaganda.—BRIAN NICHOLSON, London N16.



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.

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST NEWS

WHAT'S ON

Struggle that lies ahead

THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' POWER, by Roger Rosewell, International Socialists pamphlet, 10p. THIS is a good pamphlet. It puts forward in the most concise, clear way, the principles and programme of the International Socialists.

The pamphlet describes the nature of capitalism—where economic, political and ideological power lie under the present system. It shows the role of imperialism and war as by-products of the same system. It analyses the institutions in the labour movement that are shackles on workers' emancipation—the Labour Party, the trade union bureaucracy and the Communist Party.

The central core of the socialist revolution—the armed insurrection, the smashing of the militarist state machine, the establishment of workers' councils—is brought into clear relief.

The workers' state is not based on parliament. In every revolution workers create their own forms of government. These are workers' councils.

The workers' councils are elected on an industrial basis with delegates paid the average wage of the people they represent and subject to instant recall. This workers' state does not allow capitalist parties or capitalist newspapers. It does not allow former capitalists and their supporters to vote and constantly defends its gains from any attempts to restore the old system of exploitation. The workers' state relies for its defence on the armed power of the working class and, if necessary, its own army.

In a workers' state, all workers would be trained to defend their own regime and would serve in a part-time workers' militia. The militia defends the political interests of the working class. It therefore defends the right of strikers, the right to work and the nationalisation of the productive forces. Its officers are elected and subject to political control.

Dominate

'All epaulettes and privileges of rank are abolished. The police and judges are sacked, political prisoners released and all political files made public. A workers' state does this because it cannot be protected or have its laws enforced by the same people who were previously active in maintaining capitalist order and who probably will still hope for its return.'

'All judges must be workers and subject to regular election. The workers' state does not allow rich solicitors and barristers to dominate the legal system and convert it into such a mass of complexities that working people are incapable of understanding their rights.'

'The workers' state guarantees the political and democratic rights of all working people, the independence of the trade unions as a safeguard against bureaucracy and opposes all racialism, discrimination of women and persecution of genuine minorities. It will end the monarchy and all aristocratic titles and privileges.'

'It will oppose imperialism, give British capitalism's foreign possessions to the workers of those lands and give all possible support to national liberation movements and struggles against imperialism. It will cancel all foreign debts and immediately nationalise, without compensation, foreign as well as domestic companies in Britain.'

'Knowing that it cannot properly develop in a totally hostile world, the workers' state will also attempt to spread its revolution beyond its own frontiers. To this end it supports all strikes, demonstrations, workers and socialists in other countries and effectively aids all revolutionary movements.'

The writing is very hard-hitting. Every section, every paragraph, is like a burst of machine-gun fire.

That Marxism is a weapon of struggle is obvious in every sentence of the work. Its sharp style fits its fighting content perfectly.

Every reader of Socialist Worker should read and study this pamphlet. The Struggle for Workers' Power should play an important role in the work of all IS branches, especially factory branches, as well as in the individual self-education of members.

TONY CLIFF

Tell them to buy their own ...



Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Price 5p weekly

Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 8DS

The first of a series of posters designed by Phil Evans is being sent out with Socialist Worker this week. They will vary in size, the smaller ones being particularly suitable for work places. Extra copies can be ordered from the Circulation Department, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS.

The lead against the Tories

GREG DOUGLAS, a militant in the Construction Section of the Engineers' Union, writes:

'It is essential that all IS members and sympathisers who are employed in industry attend the conference on Sunday 11 November in Manchester, not only those who are in the forefront with wage claims, such as miners and engineers, but everyone who, no matter how indirectly, will be affected by eventual action to win those claims.'

'The past 12 months must be a lesson to all the militants who wanted their leaders to break off talks with the Tories and to unite on the one common issue, defeat of the £1 plus 4 per cent, that they have no control over their faceless leaders, and the TUC bureaucrats. The conference can therefore if it gets the necessary support give a lead and plan the strategy for a long overdue victory against the Tories' incomes policy.'

'With our increasing membership in engineering and other industries it is vitally important that we are prepared to defend the wage claim in full and not allow another sell-out like in February 1972, where the militant factories were allowed to become isolated, with the workers demoralised with their defeat inevitable.'

'If we are to win, we can only do it by meeting and discussing how best to link the factories and sites who are prepared to fight. United action would not only blow a hole through the Engineering Employers' Federation's strike fund, but leave a hole big enough for all other workers to gain increases necessary to keep up with the cost of living.'

COACHES TO CONFERENCE

THE PRICE of tickets on the special train from London to Belle Vue, Manchester, for the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference on Sunday 11 November is £2 return. The train will leave London at 7.15am that day. For details, contact London Region IS, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

Coaches will be going to the conference from the following areas. Contact the addresses given for details:
BRADFORD: 12 Heath Road, Bradford 3.
EAST ANGLIA: 15 Bury Street, Norwich.
PONTEFRAC: 39 Windermere Drive, Knottingley, Yorkshire.
DONCASTER: 7 Rosehill, Cantley, Doncaster.
TEESSIDE: 28 Glenfield Drive, Tollesby, Middlesbrough. Phone: 87616.
GRIMSBY: 29 Durban Road, Grimsby. Phone 0472-56269.
BARNSELY, GOLDTHORPE and neighbouring villages: 18 Station Road, Barnsley.
YORK: 25 Swinerton Avenue, Leeman

IS and the Anti-Internment League

A STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

FOR some time past it has been clear to the International Socialists both nationally and at local level, that the Anti-Internment League no longer constitutes a viable organisation able both to mobilise workers in solidarity with those fighting British imperialism and against repression in Ireland and to inform the trade union and labour movement of the real face of British policy in Ireland.

We therefore believe that the time has come for us to sever our links with the AIL, not because we are any less wholehearted in our support for its aims and objects, but because we believe that at the present time the AIL organisation, moribund and isolated as it is, represents a

real hindrance to the pursuit of these ends.

IS believes that it is more effective in developing solidarity with the Irish people in struggle by at present carrying out independent work particularly in the trade union and labour movement, where, unlike other organisations associated with the AIL, we have real and developing influence. This of course in no way prevents our wholehearted co-operation with other socialist and republican organisations where we believe this to be useful and where it will magnify our joint efforts.

We believe that at certain times in the past the AIL has been a useful organisation. It is not, however, our policy to expend energy breathing life into a dead organisation to the detriment of our own political action.

NEWS IN BRIEF

SOUTH WALES:—A well-attended regional IS meeting last Saturday heard Jim Nichol, national treasurer, speak about the coming struggle against Phase Three and the crucial part which IS has to play in it. The meeting agreed to reorganise IS in the area and elected a district committee of six workers, including two miners.

BRADFORD:—The local IS branch ran a 'Party day' last Saturday for the expanding membership of the branch—membership has trebled in four months. The day started with the mass sale of Socialist Worker and Chingari, the Punjabi paper, from 10am to 2pm. More than 100 copies of Socialist Worker were sold.

In the afternoon Ian Birchall spoke to a well-attended meeting on The Lessons of the Chilean Tragedy and John Taylor, from Bradford, spoke about the fight against Phase Three.

NORTHUMBERLAND:—In a mass sale in New Hartley where no copies of Socialist Worker have ever been sold before, 150 copies of the last issue, with its report of the eviction of miners in the village, were sold last week. Firm orders for future copies were received from many of the miners' families who bought the paper.

YORK:—York Builders branch of IS, set up four weeks ago, is already feeling the lash of lump employers. Three IS building workers and a sympathiser have been sacked by MPI, a vicious anti-union firm modernising houses for the local council. York Transport and General Workers Union 9/85 have passed a resolution calling for the blacking of MPI until unions are recognised and the sacked men reinstated.

SPEAKERS' NOTES on the Middle East are being sent to all IS branch secretaries this week—every branch should hold a meeting on the situation in the Middle East as soon as possible. As with the events in Chile, it will not always be possible to get national speakers to these meetings, so local speakers should make use of the notes and articles in Socialist Worker.

MEETINGS

CHELMSFORD IS public meeting
WHY THE TRADE UNION LEADERS WILL NOT FIGHT? How the rank and file must act to smash Phase Three. Speaker Tony Cliff (IS executive committee member). Tuesday 16 October, 8pm, Chelmsford Civic Centre.

FOURTH IS HISTORY GROUP School: Trade unionism and socialism in the 1880s. Speakers: Vic Bailey on An introduction to the struggles, Dave Wilson and Ken Montague on William Morris and the Socialist League, and Richard Hyman on Tom Mann, Saturday 27 October, 2pm-6.30pm, Room F107, Lanchester Polytechnic, Coventry (opposite Coventry Cathedral). Open to all IS members and sympathisers. Morning session, 11am-1pm, for IS historians to discuss History Group business. Further information from Alistair Hatchett, secretary IS History Group, 69 Arden Street, Earlsdon, Coventry. Tel: Coventry 76458.

EDINBURGH IS public meeting
WORKERS AGAINST RACISM. Speaker George Peake (victim of apartheid). Wednesday 17 October, 7.30pm, Trade Union Centre, 12/14 Picardy Place, Edinburgh.

NORTH WEST LONDON DISTRICT IS public meeting
THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' POWER. Speaker: Paul Foot. Tuesday 30 October, 8pm, Willesden Junction Hotel, Station Road, London NW10.

NORTH WEST LONDON DISTRICT IS Party Day
 Saturday 20 October, 3pm, District Rally at Willesden High School, Doyle Gardens London NW10. Tony Cliff on The Tasks of IS in the coming period, 7.30pm: Social at The Crown, Cricklewood Broadway, London NW2. Price 30p. Bar extension till 12. All welcome.

NEWHAM IS public meeting
WHY THE SYSTEM STINKS. Speaker Paul Foot. Thursday 18 October, 8pm, East Ham Town Hall.

LEIGH IS public meeting: The Struggle for Workers' Power. Speaker Tony Cliff. Wednesday 24 October, 8pm, The Globe, Bradshaw Gate, Leigh. All welcome.

NORTH LONDON DISTRICT IS Social: Saturday 20 October, 8pm-1am, Tottenham Trades Hall, Bruce Grove, London N17. Dancing—drink—disco.

WANDSWORTH IS public meeting: Workers Against Racism. Speaker Hermin Whitfield. Wednesday 17 October, 8pm, Foresters Arms pub, Tooting Broadway.

TYNESIDE DISTRICT IS public meeting: The Politics of Corruption. Speaker Paul Foot. Tuesday 26 October, 7.30-9pm, Nixon Hall, New YMCA building, Newcastle.

LEEDS IS public meeting: Wages—Why the Union Leaders won't fight. Speakers from Chrysler Coventry and Doncaster Monkbridge. Thursday 18 October, 8pm, The Trades Club.

LEEDS IS: Tickets for the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference on 11 November obtainable from 3 Granby Grove, Leeds 6. Price 40p, including transport.

FIFE IS public meeting: Workers against Racism. Speaker George Peake (IS organiser and fighter against South African apartheid). Friday 14 October, 3pm, Carnegie Baths, Dunfermline.

CARDIFF IS public meeting: The Fight against the Immigration Act. Speaker George Peake. Monday 22 October, 8pm, Blue Anchor pub, St Mary Street, Cardiff.

CHINGARI editorial board meeting: Sun 14 October, 12 noon, 1 The Hayes, Willenhall, Staffs.

GLASGOW DISTRICT IS public meetings
PHASE THREE ... THE TORY FRAUD. Speaker John Palmer, Monday 22 October, 7.30pm, CLYDEBANK Town Hall; Tues 23 October, 7.30pm, PAISLEY Town Hall; Wednesday 24 October, 7.30pm, The Murray Hall, EAST KILBRIDE; Thursday 25 October, 7.30pm, McLellan Galleries, GLASGOW.

NORWICH IS public meeting
BUILDING WORKERS—THE WAY FORWARD. Speaker John Fontaine (UCATT). Chairman Graham Moore (TGWU convenor). Wednesday 24 October, 8pm, Keir Hardie Hall, St Gregory's Alley, Norwich.

NOTICES

COME IN HILDA MUGGINS—ideal for meetings, socials, conferences, etc. Revolutionary theatre. Write: CAST, 11c Cabell Street, London NW1. Phone 01-402 6087.

IS BOOKS has a photocopier on hire for a trial four weeks. We have access to a complete file of the printed IS journal and an almost complete file of the weekly Socialist Worker. Also various pamphlets published by the group over the years. Anyone wanting photocopies of these or anything else please come and see us or write to 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. Rate: 5p per page plus postage (in advance please). But hurry!

SW (LITHO) PRINTERS requires a copy typist urgently. Apply Jim Nichol, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2. Phone 01-739 1870.

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Strikers solid behind steward

EDINBURGH:-Building workers on the hugh John Laing site for Heriot Watt University at Ricorton are now in the third week of their strike against the victimisation of one of their stewards.

Two weeks ago Frank Drain, labourers' steward for the builders' union UCATT, was sacked after he declined to clean out the canteen. Laing's had only just sacked the man employed on this job and Frank insisted they should employ someone to replace him.

Laing's took the chance to victimise Frank Drain in a first step to weaken trade union organisation on the job, and give him the sack for defiance of a management order.

Laings, having provoked the incident and faced with a solid strike for reinstatement, then conjured up an emergency meeting of the conciliation panel. This censured Frank for his supposed lack of discipline, criticised the men for taking unofficial action and recommended reinstatement with the company but 'preferably on another site'.

The men refused to go along with any move that would mean Frank Drain being moved on to some backwater site and are continuing their strike for reinstatement.

Organisation in the Edinburgh construction industry has only recently become really strong, and militants are taking the Ricorton victimisation as a test case for all the major sites.

The strikers desperately need financial support. Donations should be sent to Rab Stoddart, AUEW Construction Section Steward and strike committee treasurer, at 19 Moredun Vale Loan, Edinburgh.

Turners ban overtime in bonus dispute

GLENROTHES:-Workers in the engineering factory of Anderson-Mayor have begun a fight against the Tory Incomes Policy. They voted on Monday to ban overtime and black sub-contract work coming back into the factory.

The dispute centres on a claim for parity with another factory in the group. Workers in the firm's Motherwell factory have received an increase in bonus earnings of one per cent per week during the freeze.

This has meant that turners there have had an increase in bonus of 16 per cent compared with 10 per cent for Glenrothes turners. Maximum bonus in Motherwell is also far higher than in Glenrothes.

The firm says the Pay Board rules will not permit any improvement in the scheme. The workers are not prepared to accept these rules. They reply that the management is hiding behind the board and that other firms in the area have increased wage rates in spite of the freeze. Jobs sub-contracted out are worked by turners receiving a higher rate than those in the factory.

More meetings are planned and the workers expect stronger action will be necessary.



Journalists' strike in ninth week

NORTH LONDON:-The small but vital strike at Visual Aid Services, Hampstead, goes into its ninth week with no sign of a settlement. Derek Clark, the firm's anti union boss, has tried to con the National Union of Journalists into a deal which would not include the reinstatement of the strikers' father of the chapel (shop steward), Geoff Bell.

The group's most profitable work—on the Football Association's monthly, FA News—has been blacked by the print unions at WW Printers, Banbury. The National Union of Journalists has made strong approaches to the Football Association, but last week the retiring secretary of the FA, Dennis Follows, and his successor, Les Crocker, had a secret lunch with Clark in a fashionable Hampstead restaurant.

Last Thursday the NUJ Magazine and Book branch staged a picket of 40 members outside Clark's offices, pictured left.

The pickets have been maintained throughout working hours for nine weeks, thanks in the main to the militancy and endurance of Geoff Bell. The NUJ Administrative committee have decided to continue strike pay at least until their next meeting on 26 October.

PICTURE: Christopher Davies (Report)

TRIUMPH WILL NOT CLOSE, SAY 3000

by Alan J Stevens

COVENTRY:-Three thousand workers and their families marched through the city on Monday in a demonstration against the BSA Triumph plans to shut down the Meriden motorcycle plant and chuck the workers on the scrapheap.

Among those on the demonstration were the striking Chrysler electricians and a coachload of workers from the Norton Villiers motorcycle plant in Wolverhampton.

They are in the same combine as the workers in the threatened Meriden plant. They also launched a sit-in this week after management started provoking disputes at Wolverhampton.

Workers at Meriden took over the factory last week after Norton Villiers Triumph boss Dennis Poore threatened to sack everyone unless they lifted their blockade of pickets. The pickets were organised to prevent his moving out completed bikes,

machines and jigs.

Poore is desperate for the bikes. This was the cause of his rage against the Meriden workers. Dealers in Britain are already crying out for machines to sell and Norton Villiers Triumph are anxious to build up stocks to meet the spring sales boom in the vital American market.

But although there are nearly 2000 machines stockpiled at the factory, the employers will need thousands more for the start of next year's sales season—hence the original management plan for a phased closure ending early next year.

INTERVENED

They would then have the whole summer to transfer production to the old BSA factory in Birmingham, where wages are much lower.

Also last week, Leslie Huckfield, Labour MP for nearby Nuneaton,

and Bill Lapworth, district organiser of the Transport Workers' Union, intervened with a scheme to form a workers' co-operative to buy and operate the plant.

Though this plan has been greeted enthusiastically by many Triumph workers, most of whom have no previous experience of a redundancy struggle, it could prove disastrous in undermining their fight against the latest management moves.

Efforts to get the co-operative plan off the ground could lead to control of the factory and of stockpiled machines being surrendered—which is the exact aim of Poore's new threats. And the plan itself has little chance of succeeding.

Even if Huckfield and Lapworth manage to raise sufficient capital from the Co-op Bank, trade unions, and the normal money market—the source of funds they are suggesting—there is no chance of the NVT

management agreeing to let them buy the works.

The reason is that Poore wants to close Meriden not because its products don't sell—the reverse is true—but because he wants to make them on the cheap, in his low-wage factories at Birmingham and Wolverhampton.

If the co-operative were set up, it would be hamstrung by the need to finance development of the new models that are needed, and by competition with other NVT plants.

TAKEOVER

But there is no doubt that many workers will say the plan should be given a chance to prove itself.

What must be stressed at the moment is that the co-operative can only work if it takes over a going concern, that any attempt by NVT to sabotage this by taking away drawings, tools or finished bikes must be fought by a complete takeover of the factory without waiting for a deal with Poore, and that if Poore is not willing to make a go of Meriden, then the £5 million government grant he was given at the time of the takeover should be given to finance the co-operative.

In the long run the best way to stop the closure is to stop Poore's plans to use next year's sales to tide over the transfer of production to Birmingham—and that means taking over the factory and stopping production of the bikes on which that plan depends.

CLASSIFIED

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RANK AND FILE EDUCATION CONFERENCE: Saturday 13 October, 10am: Women in education, 2pm: Exams and selection, Sunday 14 October, 10.30am: Racism in schools. Leicester University Students Union.

BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND public meeting
Speakers: Frank McManus, Eamonn McCann and others. Wednesday 24 October, 7.45pm, Fulham Town Hall. Sponsored by the IS Irish Sub-committee.

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. Write for specimen socialist literature to 'One World' (SW), The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4.

NALGO ACTION GROUP Conference: Weekend 20/21 October, Fairholt House, 102-105 Whitechapel High Street, London E1 (City of London Students Union, top floor). Essential for all NALGO members. Discussion on the fight against Phase Three: the need for a rank and file organisation in NALGO. Reports on activity within the union. Admission by union card. Details from NAG convenor, 102 Richmond Road, London E2, or Conference organiser, Flat 2, 34 Dermody Road, London SE13.

Issue no 4 of **HOSPITAL WORKER** now out. Articles on the pay claim, bonus schemes, nurses and electricians. Copies 4p (plus 3p postage) from 86 Mountgrove Road, London N5. Ten or more post free.

OTHER CINEMA/LATIN AMERICAN FRONT: Two films from Latin America—When the People Awake (Chile 1972-3) and The Tupamaros (1972). NOT TO BE MISSED! Sunday 14 October, 8.30pm, and Sunday 21 October, 3.30pm. Collegiate Theatre, Gordon Street, London. Followed by discussion. Other Cinema/Latin American Front.

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

MASS PICKET against National Front Conference Assemble Lincoln's Inn Fields, 12 noon on Saturday 13 October, to march to Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

NEW 'RANK AND FILE' TEACHERS PAMPHLET EDUCATION AND SOCIETY, by Charlie Rosenberg, 10p (plus 5p post and packing) from 86 Mountgrove Road, London N5.

COMMUNIST FEDERATION OF BRITAIN (MARXIST-LENINIST)
Monthly paper STRUGGLE, October issue now out. Theoretical journal MARXIST-LENINIST QUARTERLY, issue number 5. Struggle 5p (£1 per year post paid). MLQ 25p (£1 per year post paid). Subscriptions plus booklist from New Era Books, 47 Glisson Road, Cambridge CB1 2HH.

Walk-out grounds flights after talks break down

by Ian Morris (AUEW shop steward, BEA)

WEST LONDON:-Last weekend's stoppage by engineering workers at Heathrow Airport was the first reaction to the breakdown of talks between management and trade unions over shift pay.

The dispute is over what 'matrix' to use. This word describes a pseudo-scientific arbitrary system of deciding the value of shift pay based upon onerous hours worked.

After the breakdown of talks the union side is submitting a new shift pay claim based upon a percentage of a tradesman's rate. This is in line with a leaflet issued last March by members of the International Socialists working at the airport which analysed the shortcomings of the matrix system.

The shop stewards were to recommend shift stoppages starting from this Sunday, but workers were so incensed by the breakdown of talks after so long that they began action last Saturday, grounding most BEA flights.

For years planes have been kept running on shift payments which are sheer exploitation. Some are as little as a quarter of that being paid in the engineering industry. Shift pay has always been put at the back of the queue in wage negotiations. This time shiftworkers are determined a settlement will be won before talks start on the new wage agreement in January.

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SPARKS

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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

— WE STAY OUT

COVENTRY:—The 156 striking electricians at Chrysler decided at a mass meeting on Tuesday to continue their strike.

Massive pressure from press, television, management and all the top union leaders involved in the dispute was applied to get them to return while an inquiry looks into the struggle.

But the electricians' strike committee held absolutely firm and the men resolved they would stay out. A spokesman for the electricians told Socialist Worker they were absolutely determined to continue their struggle and had nothing to fear from any inquiry. This is because Chrysler made and went back on an

agreement to pay the electricians a freeze-breaking £250-a-year increase.

Electricians at Chrysler's plant at Linwood, Scotland, are also pushing for management to withdraw blackleg labour from the Coventry plants. They were persuaded to keep working pending the inquiry only after heavy pressure from the top leaders of the electricians' union. The Linwood men have also indicated that they will renew their strike action after the latest agreement to stay at work for another two weeks unless scab labour is withdrawn and an acceptable settlement found.

Chrysler has now backed down after threatening to sack one third of its workers and even close down its British manufacturing operations. This is because the

Chrysler blackmail has—with the help of the Transport and Engineering Union leaders—succeeded in keeping Linwood at work.

The Coventry electricians have once again shown their tremendous resolve by voting to stay out on strike and keeping pressure on the supposedly independent inquiry. They are sticking firm for payment of the agreed £250 rise.

One thing that has in fact increased the electricians' determination is their anger at the actions of the Engineering and Transport Union leaders in the dispute. If the AUEW and TGWU leaders had upheld fundamental trade union principles instead of betrayed them, they could have ensured the dispute was won by now.

Big vote for day of trial strike

SHEFFIELD:—Eight trade unionists arrested on a mass picket outside the Footprints Tools Works three weeks ago were to appear in court on Friday on charges ranging from obstruction to assault. A meeting last week which included more than 200 shop stewards decided to 'recommend' a 24-hour stoppage and a demonstration on the day of the trial.

Les Dixon, a member of the Engineering Union executive, urged everyone to behave in an orderly fashion to prove that all trade unionists are law-abiding citizens. Sceptics might wish that Les and other union officials had the same control over the police as they have over their own rank and file: perhaps the eight, who include George Caborn, AUEW district secretary, would not have been arrested.

There is now growing impatience among some workers at the way the Footprints dispute has been allowed to drag on. The 100 AUEW members at Footprints are in their 16th week of strike over the dismissal of their leading steward and the district committee is still refusing to mobilise the strength of the AUEW.

Strengthen

Meanwhile Footprint management has sent letters to delivery firms telling them it is quite in order for their drivers to cross official picket lines as the other unions do not support the AUEW. The letter concludes: 'If any driver has any doubt about the propriety of crossing the pickets he should phone the local office of the General and Municipal Workers Union which is Sheffield 78017 where he will be advised appropriately.'

Clearly if AUEW organisation in Sheffield is not to become the laughing stock of management and the GMWU, every effort must be made to strengthen the picket line at Footprints and close the firm down. If a small firm is allowed such an easy victory against trade union principles now, who knows what the larger firms will try in the coming dispute over the national engineering pay claim.

KICK OUT PHASE 3!

from page one

range from the modest £5 per week for 36,000 bakery workers, through the £10 demanded by three million engineering manual workers to £15 to £20 for provincial journalists.

The smallest claim for the smallest group is far in excess of the pay code norm. The few miserable permitted exceptions to the code can in no way meet the shortfall between the claims and government limitations.

The lessons are crystal clear:

● Demand that the trade union leaders withdraw from their farcical talks with the government.

● Insist that these leaders live up to the promises of the current round of wage increases and fight for the claim in full.

● Prepare for a united fight with all workers engaged in claims against the freeze. While maintaining pressure on the leadership, prepare the rank and file for their own struggle. The lessons of the dockers in 1972 should be remembered by all workers in 1973.

The crucial time for the working class is now. The Tories and their pay fraud policy can be beaten.

And the defeat of Phase Three will be the prelude to the total defeat of the Heath government and all its policies.

Heath's Fraud Three

WAGES

THE overall limit for wage increases is to be 7 per cent with a cash ceiling of £350. The 7 per cent can be exchanged for an all-round flat increase of £2.25. The flat rate increase is claimed to be of considerable help to the lower-paid.

Let's examine this a little more closely. First the overall 7 per cent limit is no advance on the extreme restrictions of Phase Two. The losses in the Phase One freeze and the further cut in living standards in Phase Two will be deepened further in Phase Three. That is the general and quite clear intention of the government's policy.

More specifically, it does nothing for lower-paid workers.

Assume that the workers in a particular factory decide to negotiate on the flat rate principle and get the £2.25—though the employers will attempt to impose even lower limits. Everybody, low paid or not, will lose 30p in the pound for increased income tax (total 68p). Everyone will pay an additional 5p in the pound for increased National Insurance contributions.

If any of the workers are among the five million council tenants or one million private tenants qualifying for rent rebate they will lose another 40p. The low-paid will also lose school meal concessions for each child.

Finally those receiving Family Income Supplement will lose £1.12. The minimum deduction from the increase for everybody will be 79p, for most workers it will be £1.19, and the low-paid will suffer a net loss of about 75p each week.

The £350 limit is window dressing. This maximum cash increase has to be within the 7 per cent limit. To get it you need to be getting £100 a week already—hardly the situation of the overwhelming majority of workers in Britain.

THRESHOLD AGREEMENTS

IF the Retail Price Index reaches 7 per cent during Phase Three, wages may



HEATH: The City knows he's a friend

be increased by up to 40p. For every one per cent increase in the index above 7 per cent, a further sum up to 40p may be obtained.

As with the rest of the wage package these are maximum increases and have to be won from the employers. The same considerations apply as to any other allowable increases under the pay code—they will be taxed and will mean loss of benefits for the low-paid.

These increases will not be added to the hourly rate for overtime purposes—another blow at the low-paid hospital workers, postmen, railwaymen and all who work large amounts of overtime.

The Retail Price Index is out of date and leaves out of account several things, such as rising mortgage rates.

PRODUCTIVITY

ANOTHER one per cent can be won by those making a contribution to 'utilisation of manpower and the reduction in prices.'

This means that if you are prepared

to stand for more pressure, more speed-up, more redundancy and rationalisation, you may get another paltry one per cent. You will only get this after the deal has been evaluated, that is after you have accepted and worked under it for some time.

SHIFT PREMIUMS

ANTI-SOCIAL hours worked between 8pm and 6am, that do not bring overtime pay, can be paid a premium of up to one fifth of the basic time rate.

Leave aside the fact that most shift premiums are higher than this anyway, the obvious intention of this section is to speed up the introduction of the socially, physically and mentally destructive continental shift system. The mines are an obvious area for this: it would be a major triumph for the Tories if they could buy off the possibility of a damaging miners' strike with 7 per cent plus a continental shift system.

EQUAL PAY increases will be permitted as long as they do not increase the differential by more than half and they satisfy exceptional rigorous evaluation and comparison criteria.

HOURS cannot be reduced beyond the 40-hour week without having the cost offset from the pay limits.

HOLIDAYS cannot be increased to more than three weeks without offsetting costs against wage increases.

PENSIONERS

A £10 CHRISTMAS bonus will be paid to old age pensioners, paid for by a 9p increase in employers' National Insurance contribution.

This goes no way to meeting the needs of pensioners in the coming winter of rapidly increasing prices. To put the gesture into perspective: the 625,000 people who earn more than £100 each week can get £220 million out of the Pay Code, while the eight million pensioners will only get £80 million.

MORTGAGE INTEREST CONCESSIONS

THE government intends to reduce the interest rate for first-time buyers during the first five years of the mortgage. The first year, assuming mortgage rates stay at 11 per cent, would be at 8½ per cent interest.

This means little since the problem

for first-time house-buyers is the rising cost of houses and land. Indeed, it is part of the insanity of capitalism that the possibility of more people buying houses results in prices that put mortgages out of the grasp of most.

THE BOSSES

THE rigidity of the Pay Code contrasts with the genuine relaxation as it affects business and industry. Five of seven new regulations that affect prices, rents and dividends represent a concession to the Confederation of British Industries.

For example, companies may exceed the dividend restraint for several reasons. If they wish to raise money by a rights issue of shares they will be permitted to promise dividends higher than the norm to attract the cash. If they wish to fight off a takeover bid they may also promise higher dividends. If recent dividends have been untypically low, dividends may be increased to the older more favourable rates.

Business rents will be unfrozen and permitted to increase—another bonus to the property speculators already waxing overfat on government hand-outs. Business rents will increase costs that will then be passed on in higher prices.

Firms receiving less than 8 per cent return on capital will also be allowed to increase prices. This is a much larger concession than it seems at first sight. Under Phase Two it was to companies' advantage to keep their plant and property undervalued. Now it's worth their writing their property up to current inflated values, showing a low return on this inflated capital, and so getting an increase in prices.

The industrialists, property speculators and share-pushers are cock-a-hoop at the Heath package but nobody is more cheerful than the banks. The suspension of interest payments on special deposits will cost them £30 million over a full year—little enough when the big four banks made £660 million profits last year.

The rules of Phase Three relating to prices and profits are shot through with loopholes that a half-way competent accountant could drive several coaches and horses through in line abreast.

The Financial Times Index of industrial shares advanced five points in the two hours after Heath's announcement. The City knows its friends. There is nothing in this package for Heath's enemies: the old, the poor, the low-paid and trade unionists generally. Phase Three must be fought and broken.

A FUND TO FIGHT THIS FRAUD

THE Socialist Worker Fighting Fund has started in the same week as Phase Three. This means only one thing: money is tight and it isn't going to get any better. In fact as winter approaches it will get tighter.

It is not easy asking for money, but the Tories are clearly interested in more than hitting our wages—they want to weaken the shop floor and the labour

movement. The disgraceful campaign they have begun against the 24 building workers at Shrewsbury is only the opening round in this attack on workers' rights.

Socialist Worker has proved effective in the past but our work cannot go further than our overstretched and limited financial resources will allow.

Our monthly target is £1000. The first week's contributions add up to £186

and include sums from three of our branches—Tottenham £15, Norwich £25 and Exeter £18—plus many others from our readers.

I ask all branches to send their contributions as soon as possible and readers to give as generously as they can—JIM NICHOL, IS National Treasurer.

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