

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## Strike action can stop fine

# ALL OUT TO DEFEND THE AUEW

THE CON-MECH DISPUTE at Woking—over which the engineering union has been fined £100,000 by the National Industrial Relations Court—is about elementary trade union rights: the right to organise, the right to recognition by management, the right to elect shop floor representatives, the right of collective bargaining.

Everyone of these is denied by the arrogant anti-union boss of Con-Mech, Robert Dilley.

The NIRC fine is only the first step. There is no limit, under the Industrial Relations Act, to the fines for 'contempt of court' that can be imposed on an unregistered union. The AUEW executive council has correctly declared its support for the stoppage.

This provides the legal basis for a 'contempt' case. A fine of £250,000, of £500,000, of any amount, could be imposed. There is no legal limit.

But there is a limit in fact. That limit depends entirely on the amount of industrial action that can be developed in support of the AUEW. This is not a matter of guess work.

In the case of the five dockers imprisoned in Pentonville in 1972, the government was compelled to drop the attempt to enforce its law and the ruling of its court. It was compelled to do so by the widespread strike led by thousands of rank and file trade unionists, in spite of the shameful lack of leadership from national executives at the TUC.

### CRIPPLE

This present dispute is every bit as vital. If the NIRC can get away with crippling fines on a union because it supports its members in a recognition dispute, then the Industrial Relations Act will really become a ball and chain around the ankle of every trade unionist.

No union and no trade unionist will be safe. The Tory government will have succeeded in reversing its 1972 defeat on the Act and every anti-union employer and every Goad and Langston in the country will get the green light for further attacks on the very basis of trade unionism.

The usual voices are calling for surrender. John Boyd, the leading right winger on the AUEW executive, has been reported as saying that the dispute is not worth the cost to the union. In other words, it is better to submit to castration than to fight.

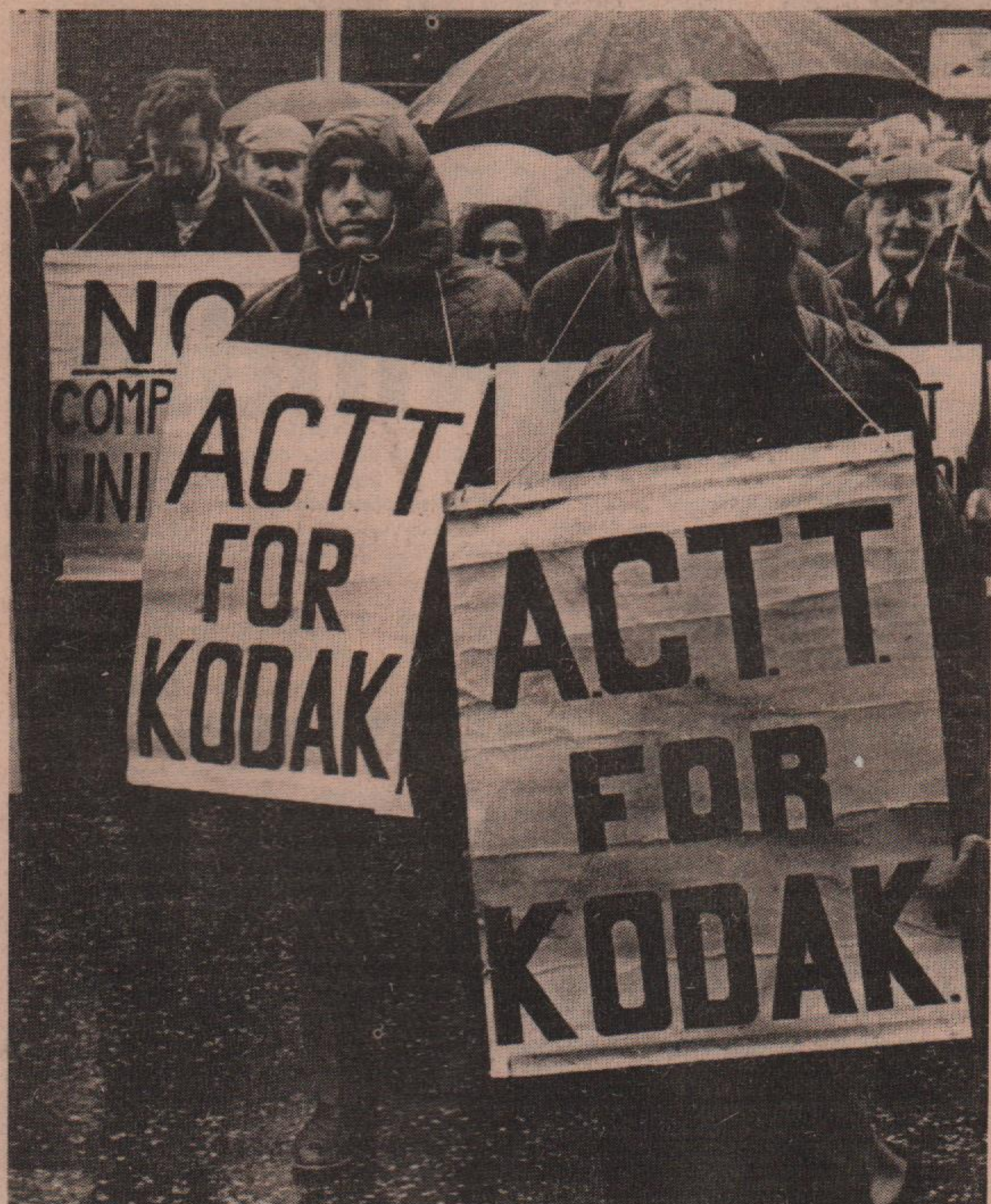
But union president Hugh Scanlon, if he is correctly reported, is also taking a very dangerous line: 'We still express a willingness to talk to the company and we hope that commonsense will prevail'. But the right 'to talk to the company', to negotiate without victimisation is precisely what the strikers came out for and what Dilley has rejected.

### CORRECT

An AUEW executive statement on Tuesday referred vaguely to action by the members to defend the union's funds. This is not the time for vague statements that can be interpreted different ways.

The only correct course for the executive of the AUEW is to mobilise its members for action in defence of basic union rights and against the seizure of funds and to call on all trade unionists to support it. If it does so, NIRC president Sir John Donaldson and his masters will be forced to back down.

Whatever is or is not done by the AUEW executive, it is absolutely vital that militants in every trade and industry agitate for a general stoppage in support



## KODAK ON MARCH

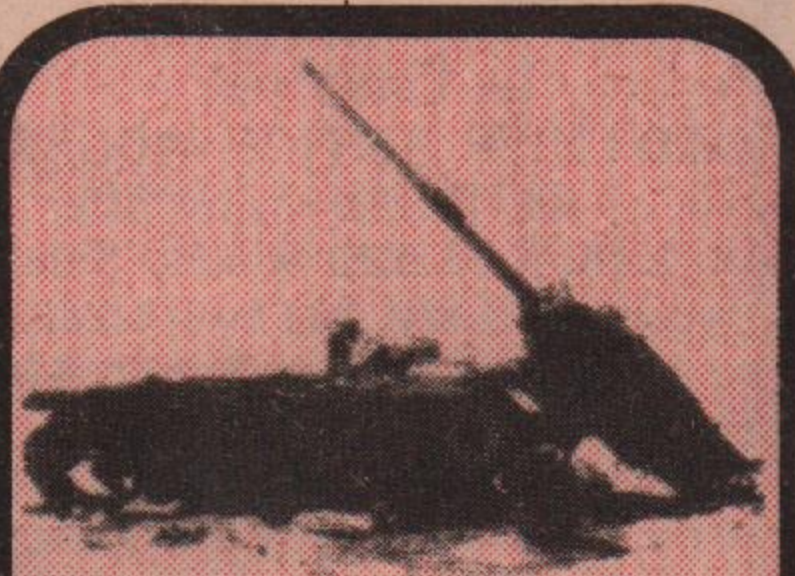
Another vital fight for union rights: on Tuesday Kodak workers from Hemel Hempstead marched through a rain-sodden London to the firm's head office to demand recognition of their union, the ACTT. Management refused to see them. Full report on page 15. Picture: Peter Harrap (Report).

not simply of the AUEW but of basic trade union rights. It has to be got across to the rank and file that we all face a deadly threat and that it can and will be defeated if there is massive industrial action against the NIRC's attack.

If ever there was a case of an injury to one being an injury to all, this is it. This Saturday the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions holds a conference. If ever there was a need for a strike call from that body, it is now.

With or without that call, militants must organise for strike action.

- All out in support of the AUEW.
- All out in support of the right to recognition and free collective bargaining.
- All out against the Tory NIRC's attack on the unions.
- All out in defence of our hard won rights.



## Middle East War Special

PAGE THREE: Editorial comment on why socialists must support the Arabs against the Zionist state of Israel, built on the forced expulsion of the Palestinians.

PAGE FOUR: Background to the development of Zionism and its links with the western powers, the US in particular.

PAGES 8 and 9: A magnificent speech by Jewish revolutionary Ram Livneh from an Israeli court this year. Livneh was jailed for 10 years for meeting a 'foreigner'—a Palestinian Arab.

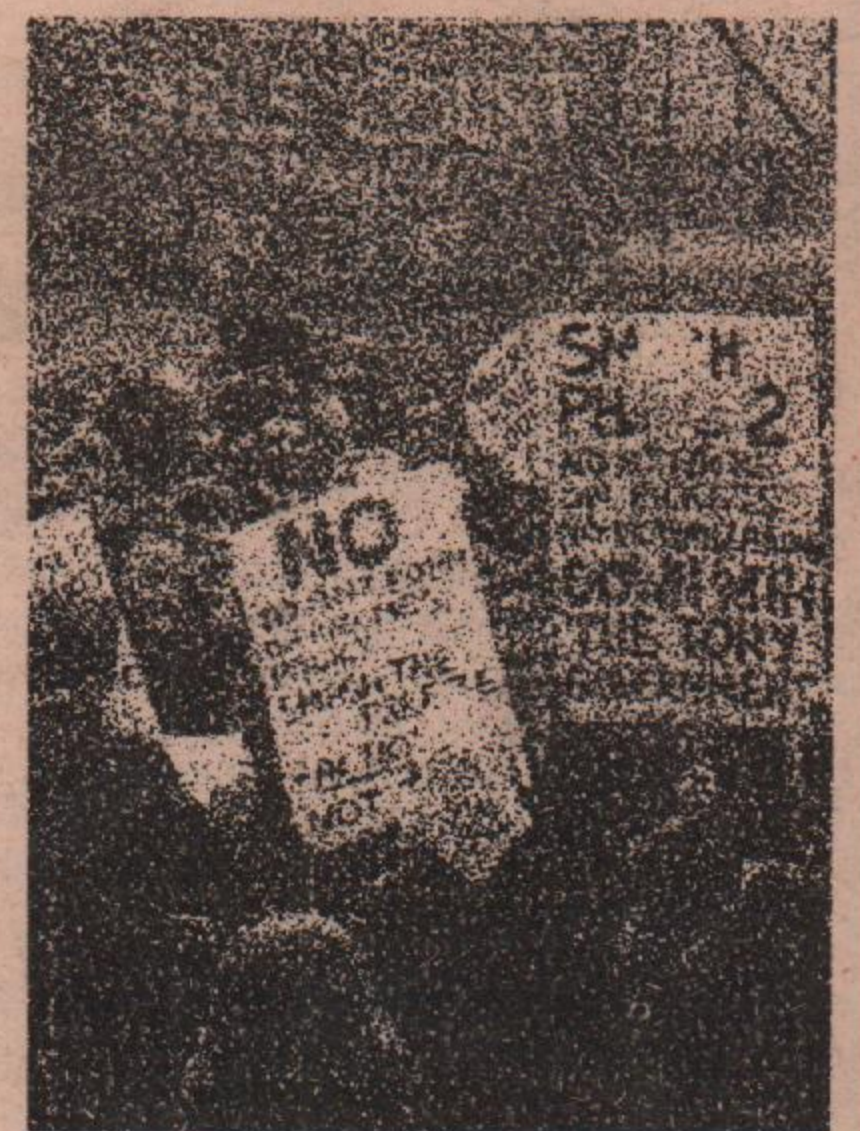
In his speech he denounces the Zionist terror regime, stripping aside the propaganda myths about 'poor, peace-loving Israel' and explains why he and other socialists fight for the unity of Arab and Jewish workers.

## Kick out Phase 3

### Socialist Worker Industrial Conference

OPEN TO ALL TRADE UNIONISTS  
Belle Vue Manchester  
Sunday 11 November  
11am to 6pm  
Admission 10p

Full facilities available: cafes, bars, small rooms for group meetings, nursery facilities and zoo for children. Details of coaches and trains: page 14.



Please send me credentials and details of the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference

Name .....

Address .....

Trade union .....

Send to: IS Industrial Department, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN

WHY THE NIRC DIDN'T DILLEY DALLY: SEE PAGE 8

## Whitewash Widgery aids the racialists

by Paul Foot

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE WIDGERY, hero of the British Army after his justification of their Bloody Sunday murders in Derry, has now taken up the cause of the Keep Britain White brigade.

On 9 October, he and two other judges hear the case of Pravinlal Thakrar, who was thrown out of Uganda last November because he was an Asian and went to Austria on a Red Cross permit.

His British passport, which he held because he had not applied for Ugandan citizenship when Uganda became independent in 1962, was taken from him by force.

According to all lawyers up to now and even according to the British government, Mr Thakrar and all in his position who can show they were British citizens with a British passport had an absolute right of entry.

Lord Chief Justice Widgery disagrees. In his interim judgement (the case will finish on 23 October), he declared that no British citizens can enter Britain unless they are 'patrials' under the Act: that is unless they can prove 'ties of blood or birth' with Britain. In other words unless they are white.

Mr Thakrar—and a few others now in transit camps in Austria may still be able to come in because he applied for entry before the Immigration Act became law. But Lord Widgery's racist doctrine will now apply to about 126,000 black people in Africa and 8000 in India.

They have British passports, they are part of a persecuted minority and now they will not be able to come to the country which gave them citizenship.

### 'Obscene'

The decision will be greeted with gloom in the Traiskirshan transit camp near Vienna, where about 200 East African Asians have been stagnating in the hope that the Home Office will allow them to join their families in Britain.

Mary Dines, secretary of the Joint Committee for the Welfare of Immigrants, who visited the camp earlier this month, described the situation there as 'obscene'.

She told Socialist Worker: 'Almost every person there has every other member of his or her family in Britain. Some are elder sons, some are elderly parents, all are bullied and abused by the British consulate in Vienna.'

'It's an intolerable situation that these people should be allowed to rot there until they die. If ever they get a job in Austria, they are immediately disqualified from entry into Britain.'

Mary Dines is not impressed by the speech of Robert Carr, Home Secretary, at the Tory Party conference in which he spoke of the government's 'compassion' towards Asians with British passports.

'Carr is absolutely terrible,' she says. 'They don't call him Securicor Carr for nothing.'

Mr Carr is a former director of Securicor. While he has been Home Secretary, Securicor have obtained a number of Home Office contracts connected with 'guarding' (harassing) black people at airports.

# STRIKE VOTE BY SCOTS FIREMEN

by Steve Jefferys

GLASGOW'S 700 firemen now, in the third week of a work-to-rule and ban on overtime, voted for strike action last weekend. Their action, taken in support of a claim for a £5 a week rise, has meant that Glasgow's fire-fighting capacity has been cut by a third.

The firemen's employer is Glasgow Corporation,

a Labour-controlled council that has made repeated verbal attacks on the Tory's Housing Finance Act, but is now reluctant to breach the Tory pay laws when it comes to the firemen's

wages.

Glasgow has the worst fire record in Britain and the brigade is 200 men under strength. But the Glasgow firemen aren't basing their case on these arguments alone. One officer told me: 'In my opinion the reason why the men are ready to fight now is because we've been hit hard by Phase One and Two and rising prices.'

On 1 October firemen throughout Britain were awarded paltry increases on the £1 + 4 per cent formula. Despite its alleged 'leftness', the Fire Brigade Union's national executive tamely announced it would accept what was offered.

Here are the new rates for the compulsory 56-hour week that the vast majority have to work and the 48-hour week that three brigades (including Glasgow) work:

	56 hours £	48 hours £
1-6 months service	30.99	25.66
6 months - 2 yrs "	32.95	27.38
3rd year "	34.96	29.05
4th year "	37.03	30.77
5th year "	41.06	34.07

The compulsory 56-hour week was brought in by the Cunningham Report of 1971 which gave the firemen the 'concession' of a 'bonus shift'. It also proposed the phased withdrawal of all undermanning allowances, which in Glasgow came to £1 a week in 1971.

Both steps were opposed by the Glasgow firemen who kept to the 48-hour week, but were forced to concede 50p of their undermanning allowance in October 1971.

In 1972 the remaining 48p of this allowance should have been absorbed in the national wage increase. But because of the deaths in August of seven firemen who were killed at the Kilbernie Street fire, Glasgow Corporation decided to leave the allowance until this year.

But this year the firemen were not prepared to be treated in the same way. Instead of waiting for the Corporation to propose the abolition of the allowance altogether, they submitted a claim for a £5 increase in the allowance.

### PERMANENT

When the work-to-rule and overtime ban was imposed on 1 October the corporation's establishments committee reacted with an offer of a £2.48 'travel allowance'. This would be paid by cooking the books to show that every fireman in the city had travelled at a cost of up to £2.48 from his house to the fire station where he's working.

But the corporation was not prepared to guarantee that the allowance would be permanent. It plans to absorb the allowance in any future rise that the men receive.

The Glasgow area executive of the FBU recommended acceptance of the offer and held meetings in every station. But last week, 14 out of the 16 fire stations voted to reject it. They want more money and they want it consolidated as a permanent feature of their wages.

The men's claim is not only embarrassing the Labour councillors on Glasgow Corporation—who would win public support by immediately conceding the claim and challenging the Tory government to stop them—but it is also embarrassing the executive of the FBU which has negotiated and accepted low rates in the industry for years.

The Glasgow firemen's fight could fan the flames of discontent elsewhere in the country and encourage other sections of workers to take on the government.

In the ballot last weekend, the firemen voted 424 for strike action with 125 against.

The FBU executive has stated that it is prepared to disband the area committee and to declare any action by the firemen unofficial.



## MARCH BACKS ARABS

EIGHT THOUSAND PEOPLE marched in London on Sunday in solidarity with the Palestinian Arabs and against Zionist aggression in the Middle East. They marched from Hyde Park via the American

and Israeli embassies. Speakers at a rally included several anti-Zionist Jews who declared their support for the dispossessed Palestinians.

Picture: Peter Harrap (Report)

# Tory mortgage 'aid' is a swindle

by Jim Nichol

THE HARD SELL by the Tories to persuade young couples that the new mortgage scheme will help them is a costly fraud. It raises falsely the hopes of many young couples who have no alternative but to try and buy a house.

The scheme has two main features. First, interest is paid at a lower rate than building societies would normally give. This lasts for a period of five years.

Today, with interest rates of 11 per cent, you pay only 8½ per cent for this period under the new scheme. The unpaid interest is added to the mortgage so that you owe more after five years than was borrowed originally. There is no subsidy at all, only a temporary and costly deferral.

The second feature is that payments can be spread over an extra five years. This results in considerable extra interest being paid and takes altogether 35 years to pay off. The extent of the fraud is shown in the table.

### Scandal

The scandal of the scheme is that a £10,000 mortgage will cost an additional £8580.

After five years the full interest rate has to be paid for another 35 years. But by this time the repayments have already increased to £24.50 a week, £6.75 more than at the start of the mortgage.

This comes at a time when many young couples would like to start a family. The expectant mother has to stop work and it becomes impossible to live on the husband's income alone.

Many families would have to sell up and tramp the streets for alternative accommodation.

The housing problem will never be solved by this or any other Tory scheme. Most building societies will not issue first time mortgages unless you have a guaranteed wage of £60 a week. Few young workers earn anywhere near this, even with some of their wife's income included.

Amount borrowed: £10,000	New government scheme	Normal building society loan
Number of years for repayment:	35	30
Weekly payments:		
1st year:	£16	£22
2nd year:	£17	
3rd year:	£18	
4th year:	£19	
5th year:	£20	
6th and remaining years:	£24.50	
Capital amount owing after 5 years:	£11,110	£ 9,684
Total amount paid over 5 years:	£ 4,751	£ 5,254
Total amount:	£43,100	£34,520

ADDITIONAL COST OF GOVERNMENT SCHEME: £8580

## And business rents boom

BETWEEN the announcement of the concessions on business rents last Monday and Wednesday share values of the top eight property companies increased by £150 million. In the words of the Economist: 'Commercial property companies are beside themselves with joy.'

Heath announced that the government will drop controls in stages from May 1974.

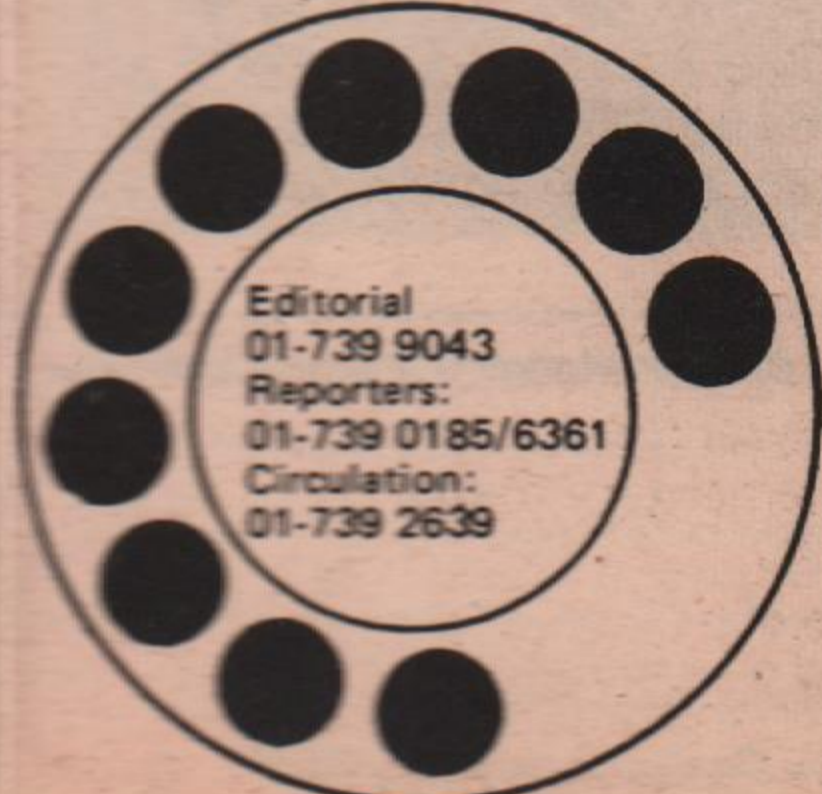
Controls are to be eased only from May next year and to be allowed to rise to December 1972 values. On the face of it that seems pretty restrictive. In fact it is so open that even the property men are flabbergasted.

Property investment is calculated on a 30-year basis. As a result of the Phase Three measures the investment value of properties will rise regardless of rents creating capital gains far in excess of the £150 million added to share values this week.

The government provision for rents to rise to December 1972 levels is another con trick. December 1972 was the highest peak of the property boom. There are reasons to think that there would be an inevitable drop from that high point.

Heath at his press conference, suggested that the property companies were suffering a heavy burden of taxation and that rent increases are in some way justified. The reverse is true. The top 20 property concerns control assets worth no less than three and a quarter thousand million pounds on which they paid only £1 million tax last year.

Every increase in business rents is passed on to the consumers. Every tax dodge of the property speculators is met by an equal reduction in working-class living standards. If such rents increase by 10 per cent, as the Financial Times calculates, the value of Centre Point will be raised by £2 million.



## Big anti-fascist demonstration drives out the National Front

EDINBURGH:—A big mobilisation by local trade unionists and socialists stopped an attempt by the extreme right-wing National Front to stage the first fascist meeting in Scotland since the 1930s.

NF organiser Martin Webster was due to speak at the university, along with the Dowager Lady Birdwood of the Monday Club, in favour of the repatriation of black immigrants.

But 400 anti-fascists marched into the hall and took over the meeting, backed by a further 300 demonstrators outside the hall. Among those supporting the demonstration were the local building workers' joint shop stewards committee, post office workers and railwaymen.

The local International Socialists, Communist Party and International Marxist Group were also there. When the fascists had been forced to leave the hall, an impromptu meeting was held and speakers who denounced the NF merchants of race-hate included George Peake and Alice Murray of IS, Tariq Ali (IMG) and building workers Frankie Draine and Martin Currie.

Martin Webster was bundled off to the nearest police station for 'protection' where he denounced the anti-fascists for organising a 'planned criminal conspiracy'. He called for a police investigation.



ON SATURDAY 400 demonstrators confronted a massive police contingent outside London's Conway Hall, where the National Front was holding its annual conference. A number of arrests were made in clashes between anti-fascists and police. Picture: Mike Cohen.

# DEFENCE KNOCK VIOLENCE CLAIMS

THE SHREWSBURY TRIAL of six trade unionists for conspiracy following official pickets during last year's national building strike is now into its third week with the court hearing more prosecution witnesses.

The six defendants are John Carpenter from Wrexham, Eric Tomlinson from Wrexham, Des Warren from Holywell, John McKinsie Jones from Flint, Kenneth O'Shea from Henlan and John Llywarch from Oswestry.

The six are alleged by the prosecution to be among the leaders of the pickets. They plead not guilty to conspiring to intimidate workers to abstain from work, unlawful assembly and fighting and making an affray.

Last Friday Mr Terence Callaghan, site manager on The Mount, one of the picketed sites, gave evidence. Mr Callaghan said that when six coachloads of pickets arrived at the site 'they looked hell bent on destruction', some chanting 'Kill, kill, kill' and one saying 'This is not a strike, this is a revolution.'

Mr Callaghan said that after the pickets left he found a concrete mixer overturned, electric cables torn out of some houses and polished doors scored by nails.

When the pickets arrived, he asked for the leaders to come forward. About 20 men came into his office. John Llywarch did the speaking, said Mr Callaghan.

### MISTAKEN

Llywarch, he claimed, said 'We have just left Cubitts and the contracts manager, the agent and the general foreman are in hospital, so let's start talking, you bastard.' Then, he said, John Llywarch invited him to sign 'a Workers Charter' drawn up by an organisation working from Oswestry Labour Club.

Mr Callaghan also alleged that Des Warren told him: 'This is not only a strike—it is a revolution. You sort of people will be grovelling about and begging for a loaf of bread in the future when we take over.'

Cross-examining, Sir Arthur Irvine, counsel for Llywarch, suggested that Callaghan was mistaken. After the picketing of the first site in Shrewsbury Llywarch went off to report to the police about an incident on that job. There the son of the director drew a shot gun on the pickets.

As a result of going to the police, Sir Arthur argued, Llywarch had arrived late at Mr Callaghan's site. Mr Callaghan said that he could not agree that Llywarch did not arrive as part of the initial deputation.

Earlier in the trial Terence Parry described how he took a 21-bore shotgun from his car when pickets arrived at the Kingswood site in Shrewsbury. 'I was terrified and did not know what to do,' said Parry. The gun was in the car because he had been pigeon shooting the night before, Mr Parry claimed.

Another prosecution witness, Ronald Bateman, a labourer on the same site as Parry, gave evidence that the cry 'It's a revolution' had gone up when the site was picketed.

John Platts Mills, counsel for Des Warren, cross-examining, said the remark had been made in reference to the strikers'

### SW Reporter

programme which if adopted would reduce injury and death in the industry by 75 per cent.

'It was a joint programme by two unions, the Transport and General Workers Union and UCATT and it is in this respect that the remark was made that this was a revolution,' said Mr Platts Mills.

Mr Bateman replied: 'I didn't hear that said. I'm not interested in unions.' Mr Platts Mills asked: 'Did you bother to listen to what was being said?'

Mr Bateman replied: 'No, I'm not interested in unions.'

Another prosecution witness, Alan Morris, site agent on the Shelton road-works contract, agreed with David Turner Samuels, counsel for defendant John Carpenter, that when Carpenter called at the site office he was calm and rational and behaved as sensibly as anyone in the situation could.

On Monday two defence counsels moun-

ted an all-out challenge on one prosecution witness. He was Mr Michael Micklewright, a lump bricklayer on the Mount site in Shrewsbury. Mr Micklewright gave evidence that during an interview with management the pickets had adopted 'the usual threatening attitude' and had intimidated the site agent.

Mr Turner Samuels said: 'You claim that Mr Callaghan was being threatened all the time, yet he offered the pickets a cup of tea.' He submitted the witness's evidence was wholly erroneous. Mr Platts Mills, another defence counsel, suggested that his evidence was 'an exaggeration' and that it was Micklewright's way of protecting his position as a lump.

In reply to the witness's evidence that one of the pickets had suggested that workers burn down the canteen, Mr Platts Mills submitted that his client Des Warren had drawn workers' attention to their bad conditions, saying: 'Look at this lousy place. It is filthy, lousy and gloomy—only fit to have a match put to it.'

See IS news page 14.

## Tenants' leader attacks rent committee confusion

LAST WEEK Bootle worker Billy Kavanagh was due to be evicted from his home by the local Labour-controlled council. This was averted when Mr Kavanagh, who had been on rent strike for a year in opposition to the Housing Finance Act, called it off and reluctantly paid his arrears.

The circumstances surrounding these events have been bitterly criticised by Liverpool tenants' leader Ethel Singleton. She told Socialist Worker this week that she praised the long stand and fight of Billy Kavanagh and strongly criticised the role of the Bootle Rent Action Committee.

She explained that Billy Kavanagh had decided to settle his arrears after it had been explained to him that while the Tower Hill, Old Swan and many other Merseyside tenants organisations had pledged to support him in resisting any eviction attempt, this was the first time he had not bothered to consider ways of committee that the council were seriously intending to throw him out of his home.

Until then he had been under the false impression that this was not the case. And had not bothered to consider ways to defend and protect his home against police and bailiffs.

The cause for Billy's confidence that the eviction notice was not serious and was not going to be implemented by the coun-

cil were the statements of Sam Watts, leader of the Bootle Rent Action Committee. Ethel Singleton said Mr Watts had repeatedly assured Mr Kavanagh—without any foundation—that he had nothing to fear.

Among the most amazing of these assurances were ones to the effect that a Manchester Labour MP had promised to prevent the eviction and that the local council had applied only for the eviction order for public show and did not intend to use it.

When Billy Kavanagh learned that these assurances were not as definite as Watts had insisted, he went to see the Labour councillors. He asked for absolute guarantees that they would not evict him. Of all those he saw, only one offered such a promise.

After a year on rent strike, this was not good enough and Mr Kavanagh decided to settle.

Ethel Singleton commented that the Bootle committee was prepared to allow Billy Kavanagh to run the risk of losing his home just in the hope that something might come of it. 'What is so shocking is that this was done without telling Billy the truth and warning him of the risk that was involved. It was a disgraceful thing to do to another worker.'

## Socialist Worker

# WHAT WE THINK

IT IS our considered view that in the war between the state of Israel and the Arab states, genuine socialists have no choice but to give unconditional support to the Arabs. Quite a few people of otherwise progressive views are unhappy about this position.

In part this is a consequence of the activities of the powerful and well-financed Zionist propaganda machine, in part it depends upon ignorance of the real nature of the state of Israel, in part it is due to a recollection of the terrible sufferings of Jewish people under the fascist terror of Adolf Hitler and his extermination squads.

Anti-semitism—fear, dislike or hatred of Jews because they are Jews—is a weapon of the reactionaries. It is a form of racism no different from prejudice against people from the Caribbean or India or Pakistan.

No socialist can have any truck at all with it.

But Zionism is a different kettle of fish altogether. Its essence is that a 'chosen people', the Jews, are superior to everyone else and can and should trample on the rights of other peoples.

The Zionist state of Israel was founded and maintained on this basis. Only people of Jewish descent are allowed full citizenship. Arabs, whether Muslim, Christian or atheist, are denied equal rights simply because, although they are semitic people, too, they are not of the 'chosen people'.

This is a return to the ideas of the middle ages when, in Britain, France and Germany for example, Jews and other 'unbelievers' were excluded from the pale of society. That kind of barbarism was destroyed in Western Europe by the French Revolution. It was revived in modern times only by the Hitler fascists. Yet today the state of Israel rests on such a racist foundation.

Israel is not only a racist state, it is also a colonialist state. Just before the state of Israel was established in 1948 there were within its original boundaries 650,000 Jews and 740,000 Arabs. The Arabic-speaking Palestinians, whose ancestors had lived in the country for more than a thousand years, either fled, were expelled or were reduced to second-class citizens.

By 1949 fewer than 200,000 remained. The land and other property of the more than half a million Arabs who became refugees was seized by the Zionists.

### Justified

In the wars of 1956 and 1967 more Arab land was taken and more Palestinians became refugees. These people, and their children, now live in miserable refugee camps in the Arab states around Israel. They have every justification for demanding the right to return to their own country.

Because the state of Israel was established as an armed camp on a racist and colonialist foundation in the midst of hostile territory, spending about two-fifths of its budget on arms, it necessarily became dependent, militarily and economically on the Western imperialist powers, above all on the US.

Today Israel is a major instrument of US policy in the Middle East, a reliable anti-revolutionary force. That is why the US government is replacing the aircraft and armaments lost in the war so far. That is why US money and, if need be, US ships, aircraft and marines, support the Israeli cause.

Of course it is also true that the states of Syria and Egypt are no more socialist than Israel, whatever they claim. Neither are they fighting for the interests of the Palestinian Arabs. Their rulers are out to recover the territory they lost to Israel in 1967—or as much of it as they can.

They are quite capable of a deal with Israel that would leave the Palestinians to rot. Nevertheless, in the present situation, a victory for Israel would lead to a strengthening of US imperialism all over the Middle East and another massive defeat for the Palestinian cause. A defeat for Israel would have the opposite effects.

The Palestinians demand an end to Israel and the establishment of a secular, democratic state of Palestine in which Jews and Arabs have equal rights. No socialist can refuse to support such an elementary demand.

smokescreen over the war: page 4  
Murder of a nation: pages 8 and 9

Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2



## Test case for new hard line in Spain

by Mike Gonzalez

WITHIN the next few weeks, 10 trade unionists will come to trial in Spain. The outcome will probably have a dramatic effect on the future of the Spanish workers' movement.

The 10 were arrested in September 1972 at a meeting of the national co-ordinating committee of the Workers' Commissions, and charged, under Indictment number 1001, with unlawful assembly. Clearly it will be a test case for the new hard-line regime of Carrero Blanco, for the developing working-class movement in Spain represents a threat to his regime which must again be repressed.

The Workers' Commissions were formed in 1966. Until then agreements had been negotiated by the official unions which were puppets of the government and included both workers and management.

The first major strikes since the Civil War happened in 1958, as Spain went through an economic crisis. The result was a Law of Collective Bargaining designed to head off the growing grass-roots reaction to puppet unions and a plummeting standard of living.

Strikes are still illegal, but stoppages at plant level continued, and a new wave in 1962, organised by clandestine factory committees, laid the basis for the Workers' Commissions.

Although the Commissions' programme referred to the nature of capitalism and the continuing class struggle, their immediate objective was to replace the repressive official union structure with a freely-elected union movement.

At the plant level, they organised the more conscious and militant workers, and led the struggle over wages and conditions. Politically they campaigned against the fascist repression of workers' rights, and for freedom of organisation and negotiation, and the right to strike.

### Support

The growth of the workers' movement combined with splits in the Spanish ruling class caused a huge response to the call for a national strike on May Day 1968. Workers' commission delegates were elected to posts within the official union structure, with mandates from their factory commissions, and the workers used the strike freely and successfully to extract concessions from mainly American-owned industry.

At the same time the ETA, the Basque nationalist movement, won support among the workers of the industrialised Basque region of North Western Spain.

Meanwhile, the old guard fascists were overtaken in government by a more technology-minded capitalist group. It seemed pressure from American capital, together with the desire to get into the Common Market, might make Spain more liberal. A debate arose within the Workers' Commissions, with pressure for more work within the law, though there was general agreement that part would continue underground.

From 1971 onwards repressive legislation was strengthened and the workers' movement became the object of new and more brutal attacks. 1972 was the turning point. In El Ferrol, the shipbuilding workers' strike was brutally repressed—yet May Day again brought a massive response to the strike call, especially in the town of Vigo, which the general strike paralysed for several days.

As a result, the technocrats were thrown out of the government and the old fascist movement took control, almost immediately arresting the 10 Workers' Commission leaders. In their trial, the future of working-class organisation is the real issue.

There are divisions within the Commissions, and debates whether they should be independent organisations of workers the beginnings of revolutionary organisation, or simply representative negotiating and pressure groups. But it is clear socialists and trade unionists must act to stop the renewed advance of fascism in Spain. Trial 1001 will be a key issue in that struggle.

## BRIEFING

AT STAINS, on the outskirts of Paris, more than 200 workers at a high supermarket went on strike last week for higher pay and better staffing. The store is one of the modern 'hypermarkets' on a motorway route to tempt shoppers out of Paris and the suburbs. 'Since the shop opened in 1971', said one worker, 'we have never had a chance to tell the boss that we've had enough of the working conditions—up to 12 hours a day with a half-hour meal break and 15 minutes rest. The CGT union delegates called a token

strike for two hours for a 9 per cent rise and other improvements. When management offered no more than 5 per cent, the workers decided to strike all the next day, a Friday, when the store would normally be very busy.

Because of the way the strike was conducted by the union-appointed delegates not much was gained—most of the rise is promised for March 1974. The supermarket workers have to watch prices rising every minute of their working day.

FRONTIERS may have been abolished within the Common Market for employers and speculators to move capital about, but Interpol, acting as the Common Market police, make sure the barriers are up when workers try to demonstrate international solidarity. Italian workers on their way to the important demonstration in support of the Lip workers in Besancon were refused entry into France.

Delegations from shop stewards' committees and rank-and-file committees at major factories in Milan were searched at the frontier and ordered to return to Italy at once. They were told the order came 'from above'. The delegates then attempted to enter France through Switzerland, but the Swiss police also blocked their entry, declaring 'We're not letting any Italians through today.'

# SMOKESCREEN OVER THE WAR

by Neil Rogall

THE Arab-Israeli conflict appears to be a war between Arabs and Jews—this is the myth that the Zionists and their friends in Britain want us to believe.

In the West there is much sympathy for Israel because of the Nazis' murder of Jews. But to understand the conflict we need to understand the nature of Zionism.

The Zionist movement, founded in 1897, believed that hatred of Jews would always exist. Rather than fight it, they said Jews should accept it. The only solution was escape to an exclusively Jewish 'homeland' in Palestine.

When the racists shouted 'Jews get out' the Zionists replied 'Get out and come to Palestine.' This was in contrast to the mass of Jewish workers, who were involved in the socialist movement.

Palestine was not at that time a barren, deserted land: it was inhabited by Arabs. From the beginning the Zionists collaborated with the various powers who ruled over these native Arabs, first the Turkish Sultan and his ally the German Kaiser, after the First World War the British. In 1936 they helped the British crush the Palestinian General Strike.

### COLONY

During Nazi rule in Germany many thousands of Jews fled to Palestine as western countries denied entry to these victims of fascism. In 1948, after a campaign of terrorism by Israeli nationalists, the state of Israel was set up, and the war with the Arab states which followed caused the forcible removal of masses of Palestinians to refugee camps in neighbouring countries.

Israel was a colony, but unlike most other colonies it did not aim to exploit cheap native labour—it excluded it altogether, with the slogan 'Jewish labour only'.

In addition, Israel acts as the of America in the Middle East, subsidised by enormous sums from the US and—in the form of 'war reparations'—from Germany. It is America's policeman, ready to crush and destroy any nationalist or revolutionary movement which threatens 'western interests', notably oil supplies.



Israeli soldiers captured by the Egyptians in Sinai

In 1967 Israel extended its boundaries in the Six Day War, displacing even more Palestinians. One result of the failure of the Arab states to defeat Israel was the Palestinian guerrilla movement. Its leaders fighting for the complete overthrow of Zionism and the return of all Palestinians to their native land, mobilised thousands of Palestinians who had been rotting in the refugee camps.

But their readiness to compromise with and depend upon the rulers of the Arab states led to their defeat by the Jordanian army in 1969, when they lost favour with King Hussein.

Since 1967 there have also been major developments in Israel. One is the large-scale employment of Arabs from the occupied territories in Jewish enterprises, a break with traditional Zionism and a move towards the more usual type of colonial situation.

The other has been the break-up of Zionism from within Israel. There has been growing opposition to the Zionist regime from Oriental Jews, whose families live in the Middle East, even Palestine itself, for centuries before the Zionist exodus, and who suffer from discrimination in jobs and housing.

### OVERTHROW

The crushing of the guerrillas by King Hussein in 1969 has meant that the present war is being fought by Arab regimes which, although they are genuinely fighting imperialism in the Middle East are using the war to divert the discontent of workers, peasants and students in their own countries. Israel can only finally be defeated by a revolutionary alliance of Arab and Israeli workers which could overthrow both Zionism and reactionary Arab rulers.

THE FALL of the military government in Thailand as a result of mass popular demonstrations is another twist of the knife for American policy in South-East Asia. Since the mid-1960s Thailand has been an important base for American military operations in the area, and to protect its interests the US installed a puppet military government dependent on US dollars. In the 'domino theory', Thailand is the last crucial bastion of American influence.

The military government—the last of a long series for Thailand—was notoriously corrupt, and in the past year has faced recurrent scandals, student opposition and mass discontent. In June this year the government had to back down in the face of massive student protest after it had expelled nine students from one of the universities for a satirical article in a student newspaper.

In May last year the government was rocked by a particularly farcical scandal after four high-ranking army and police officers had been killed in a helicopter crash. The official version was that the helicopter had been on a top-secret military mission, but it emerged that these top people had actually been on a five-day orgy in the game forests, shooting protected animals, and well supplied with women and drink after each hard day's hunting.

MORE details are coming out of Chile about political prisoners held by the military regime. The 366 left-wing militants held in the National Stadium have now been transferred to prisons in Santiago.

Among these was a veteran socialist Oscar Waiss, who had been director of a pro-Popular Unity daily paper during Allende's rule. Waiss was a member of the Communist Left (Trotskyist) from 1933 to 1936; when it merged with the Socialist Party. For 11 years he was a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party and had edited two of its weekly papers.

Another feature of the junta's repression is the complete wiping out of sections of higher education—180 teachers from the State Technical University alone were herded into the National Stadium after the army sacked the university campus, killing between 200 and 600 people.

Many leading academics have been arrested and expelled on the excuse that they are foreigners. Democratically elected university rectors have been replaced by officers of the armed forces at every university in Chile.

### THE CLASS NATURE OF ISRAELI SOCIETY

by Hanegbi, Machover and Orr  
Three Israeli socialists analyse Israeli society and argue that a rejection of its Zionist basis is the precondition for any breakthrough in the Middle East. Published by Pluto Press/available from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4, 10p plus 4p postage and packing (10 or more copies post free).

# Caetano pulls democracy's strings

THE Portuguese dictator Marcelo Caetano has declared October an open season for democracy, until the parliamentary elections are held at the end of the month. The opposition will be allowed to present candidates and campaign, and even the left will in theory be free from the persecution they suffer for the other 335 days of the year.

The main object of the election, for the dictatorship, is to pretend that Portugal has been democratised. It also helps to keep the opposition tame, with the lure of more freedom for electioneering if it behaves itself.

To make sure of victory, Caetano does not allow the opposition to form parties, but only 'groups' which can be branded as small cliques. Success is further assured by the control of most of the press, radio,

television, educational system and the free plugs given by the Church every Sunday.

Caetano also aims to trivialise the elections, so as to avoid providing a platform for the serious social problems of Portugal. It was announced in mid-September that any candidates calling for abstention from voting would be severely dealt with, and for good measure groups to the left of the reformist Socialist Action will not be appearing.

Despite Caetano's efforts, an extremely serious note has been introduced. The PAIGC, the national liberation movement founded by the late Amilcar Cabral, has declared the independence of the colony of Guine-Bissau. Dozens of countries have recognised it, and its coming application to join the United Nations will be supported by most governments.

Unable to ignore the issue, Caetano is

using it to whip up jingoistic sentiments. He may harm the opposition in the short term by branding them as traitors, but even this is doubtful.

The squalid tyranny of Caetano's predecessor, Salazar, was made easier by the passivity of Portuguese peasants, but they are disappearing due to emigration and increased industrial employment. The new working class has been clashing more and more with the dictatorship, which is interested in preserving a cheap, unorganised labour force, but the workers have revealed only a limited interest in opposing the colonial wars.

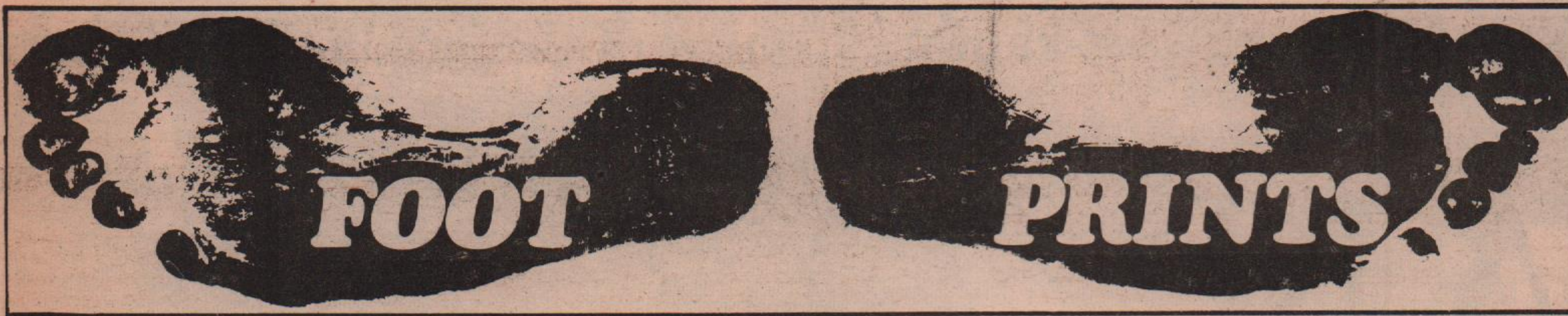
### Elections

Caetano's linking of the electoral opposition, some of which supports the growth of unions and higher wages, with the liberation movements could create a more

widespread awareness that it is the Portuguese workers who bear most of the enormous human and economic burden of the war. If the elections allow even a limited discussion of the war and Guine's independence, they could become a disastrous exercise for Caetano's regime.

The most sickening role in the whole affair seems reserved for the Heath government. Although the fascist junta in Chile was recognised on the pretext that it was the effective Chilean government, Britain will not recognise Guine-Bissau even though the PAIGC controls three-quarters of the territory while Portugal is a foreign power and not a Guinean government.

It is possible Guine-Bissau will be stopped from entering the UN by a British veto, as a favour to Caetano. There seems to be no limit to the political support the Tories will give to any dictatorship, and to the cause of white supremacy in Africa.



# Bitter taste of Maxwell's House

THEY say that only one thing smells more than a dead toad: a resurrected toad. The saying has been proved to the hilt by the political resurrection of Robert Maxwell.

Three years ago, Mr Maxwell seemed to be down and out. Thrown off the board of Pergamon, his shady business deals exposed by the Sunday Times and by the Department of Trade and Industry, and his seat at Buckingham lost in the general election, Maxwell, it seemed, had retired forever into his millionaire's mansion at Headington Hall, Oxford.

Now he is back in the driving seat at Pergamon, and has once again got hold of the prospective Labour candidature at Buckingham.

To gasps of horror from all over the hall, he spoke twice at the recent Labour Party Conference. On the final day he moved his constituency party's resolution on equal pay. In the middle of a passionate speech Mr Maxwell took up the case of the Winter Gardens bar girls, who were receiving 25p an hour for pouring booze down the gullets of Labour Party delegates.

Maxwell described this 'as blatant a piece of discrimination and exploitation against women as we are likely to see.' He urged the party executive not to pay the bill for the Winter Gardens until the wages were increased.

Reading Mr Maxwell's speech, I remembered a dispute which came to the committee of the Magazine and Book branch of the National Union of Journalists in the late summer and autumn of 1971. About 20 NUJ members of Pergamon Press, Headington, Oxford, came to the branch with a number of complaints.

## Appointees

It was not simply that they were earning well below the union rate for the job. Other aspects of their work in the offices at Pergamon, where the managers and directors were all appointees of Robert Maxwell, also worried them.

Celia Wathen, the Mother of the Chapel (shop steward) at that time, now works for the Open University. She reminded me of what it was like to work for Pergamon.

'We were lined up in rows in an open-plan office,' she said, 'and set to work sub-editing highly complicated scientific journals. Almost all the editors were young people just down from university. Most of them were earning less than £30 a week, and the secretaries, clerks and juniors were earning much less than that.'

'A tannoy system operated in the room. At nine o'clock a voice would chant: "Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. It's nine o'clock." We were expected to be at our desks, pens in hand, when the tannoy spoke.'

'It spoke again at 12.45, letting us off for lunch, and again at 1.45 when we had to be back in our

seats. If not, we had our pay docked.

'All the editors had to work in complete silence. The pressure of work was fantastic. On average, we had to sub-edit 20,000 large pages every month. If we ever fell short of our quota, we had to give a written explanation to the management.'

In all the branch's experience of journalistic sweatshops, the situation at Pergamon was, to use Robert Maxwell's phrase, 'as blatant a piece of exploitation as we are likely to see.'

Maxwell was temporarily off the Pergamon board during that summer, but he was back again by the time the

dispute came to the boil. The union demanded an £1800-a-year basic wage but Maxwell would not budge from his offer of an increase of just over £1 a week.

## Renowned

The NUJ executive was forced to put in strike notices. Pickets were arranged. When a union official, Bill Macgregor, went to Headington, Maxwell greeted him warmly: 'You fellows aren't really going on strike are you?' he asked. 'Yes,' replied Macgregor.

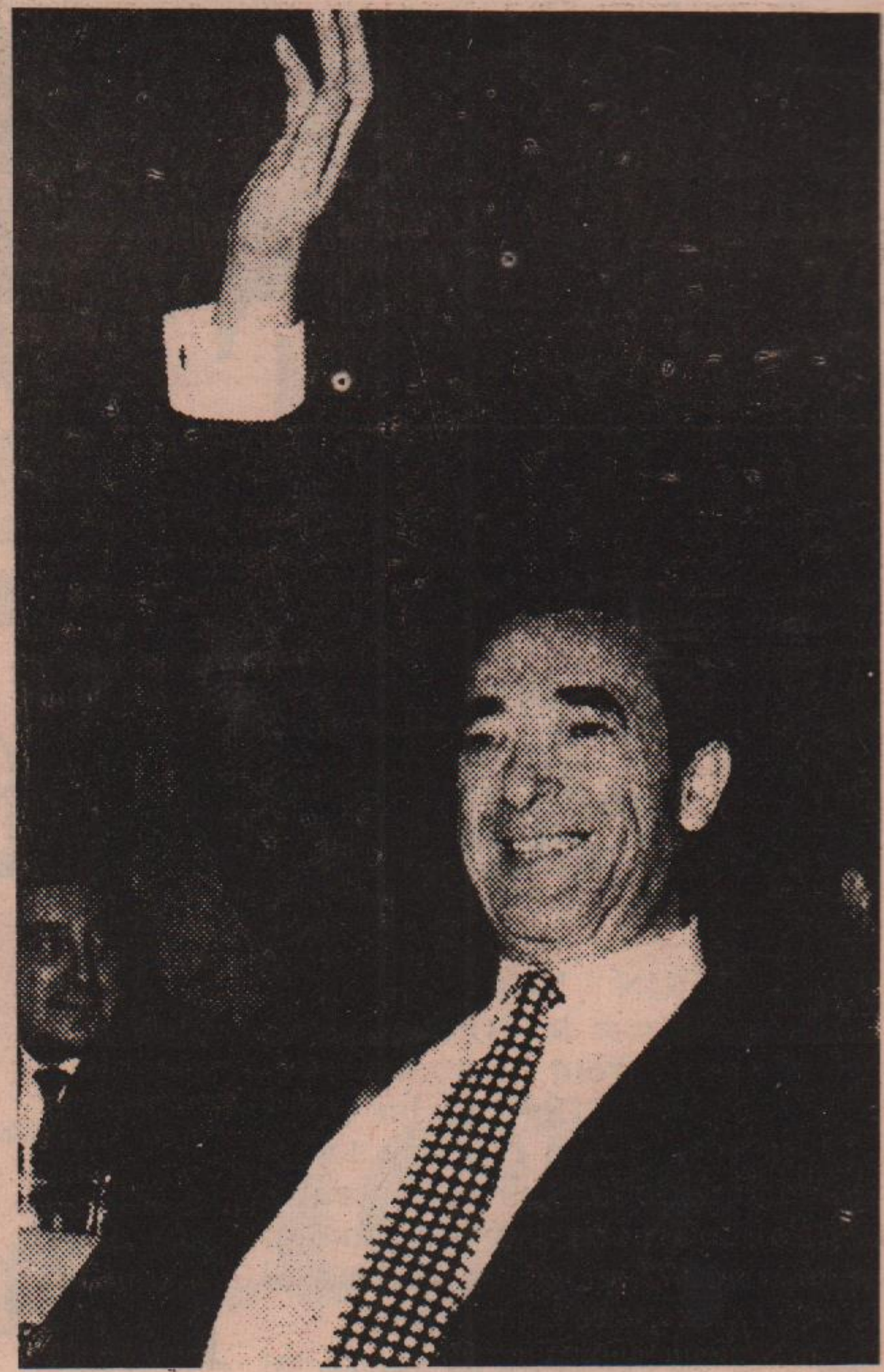
The day before the strike, when

he realised that there was really going to be an official strike, Maxwell conceded £1,750 a year, and the strike was called off. Conditions at Pergamon, I understand, have not greatly improved since.

This story, by the way, is no exception. Maxwell companies all over the country are renowned for low wages, arrogance towards trade unions and the payment of different wages for women than for men.

The fact that this man can masquerade as a radical is a more accurate measure of the real state of the Labour Party than any number of 'left' resolutions.

ROBERT MAXWELL: The situation at his Pergamon Press was, to use Maxwell's own phrase, 'as blatant a piece of exploitation as we are likely to see.'



Evans



## Chilean generals please note

A LOT of hilarity has been caused by the circulation in Northern engineering factories of a document entitled *Insight*, the journal of the 'Campaign for Free and Democratic Trade Unionism in the North.' It is 'issue No 1', it is 'written by trade unionists for trade unionists', and it is mainly composed of a list of elections in Yorkshire and North East AUEW divisions, with subtle hints about who the right candidate is (or was).

An interesting passage about the coming election for the Leeds District Secretary of the AUEW reads: 'Bro Flynn has more than proved that he is capable of carrying out the duties of District Secretary and we ask for widespread support to give him a substantial majority.' How's that for canvassing—which is banned by AUEW rule?

The document also comments on a recent International Socialists meeting in Teesside where I spoke.

'Foot is preaching anarchy and advocating rule by minority. His motives are little different from those of the military junta in Chile, seize power from a democratically elected government by revolution. We condemn any such action.' The Chilean junta, I understand, is considering legal action.

## Doctrine

The report goes on: 'The International Socialists are increasing their activities within the trade union movement at an alarming rate. Their doctrine is to seize whatever they want; we must not let them seize the trade unions to be used to further their political ambitions.'

I was keen to discuss these original opinions with the 'trade unionists' who wrote the article, so I rang the number of the occupant of the flat in Bagby Road, Leeds, where supporters of the document were asked to write. The phone was answered by Mr Les Beech, who was not at all keen to tell me anything about his campaign. He would not tell me how many documents had been produced, who paid for them or how many he expected to be produced in future. He asked me to send my questions in writing and he would 'pass them on'.

'Pass them on to whom?' I asked. 'Oh,' replied Mr Beech after a pause. 'To the people who matter.'

Any information leading to the 'people who matter' will be gratefully received (and printed) by this column.

## NASTY ONE, CYRIL

A STRONG contender for the Robert Maxwell Hypocrite of the Year award is Cyril Smith, Liberal MP for Rochdale. Cyril is the Liberal spokesman on industrial affairs and moved the resolution at his party's recent conference at Southport calling for mandatory workers' participation in industry.

'Industrial relations are in a mess,' he said, 'a mess caused by men who for purely personal political reasons refuse to alter their basic attitudes. Some industrialists fail to understand that people are more broadly educated and seek a greater life fulfilment than in the past.'

Mr Smith went on to say that the question of elected works councils 'is going to give rise to one

of the major industrial arguments of the next year.'

Smith's resolution called for half the board of all companies with between 20 and 400 workers to be elected by them. The other half, it proposed, would be elected by shareholders. As Smith also made clear, trade union organisation is 'not essential' to these arrangements.

One firm which would fall into this category is Smith Springs, of Regent Street, Rochdale. The firm was founded by Cyril Smith when he left his job as sales manager in another springs factory, Rileys, and built up his own firm with the help of a lot of Rileys customers.

The average wage of the 42 workers at Smith Springs for the year ended June 1972 was £22 a week. The workers have no trade union.

Nor do they elect any of their directors. As a recent issue of the excellent Rochdale Alternative Paper RAP pointed out, Liberal Party policy appears to work in reverse. The son of a Smith Springs director called Fred Lye recently got a job with the firm. No favouritism, you understand. Just coincidence.

Another big liberal principle is profit-sharing. When the Liberals come to power, I understand that Cyril Smith will be introducing a Bill to enforce profit sharing in every firm in the country except Smith Springs, Rochdale.

The life — and failure — of Labour's best-known exponent of the 'gradual' road

# BEVAN

## Tragedy of socialist lost in parliament's blind alley

ANEURIN BEVAN was a major figure in British Labour politics from the landslide election of 1945 to his death from cancer in 1960. In a very real sense he was at the centre of events that saw the triumph and the decline of traditional Labour Party reformism.

In the same sense he was the last of the social democrats. Not in the politically illiterate sense of The Times, which counterposes the 'marxist' Michael Foot to the social democrat Roy Jenkins.

Not at all. Bevan was the last of those with any pretensions to the Labour leadership who had a cloudy but firm commitment to socialism. Every so often in flights of oratorical brilliance, the vision shone through and undoubtedly invigorated a generation of Labour Party socialists. But if the vision was sometimes clear, the method of attainment was firmly rooted in capitalist institutions and parliamentary procedures.

All of this is made abundantly clear in Michael Foot's second and concluding volume of the Bevan biography\*. The book covers the period from the election of the post-war Labour government, through Bevan's tenure at the Ministry of Housing and Health, the resignation in 1951, the heady days of the Tribune Brains Trust and the final disgrace of the H-bomb debate, to his death.

### Discredit

During the war Bevan had been a considerable irritation to the Churchill coalition, particularly the great warmonger himself, and it was a matter of some surprise that he found a place in Attlee's government. The calculation behind the appointment may well have been to enmesh Bevan in the intractable detail of the housing problem and the inauguration of the health service, which would curb his ability to talk and, if he failed, discredit a potential nuisance.

In the event Bevan took to the work of administrative detail like a duck to water. He was kind to his

\* Aneurin Bevan: 1945-1960, Davis-Poynter, £6.50

senior civil servants and charmed various downy birds off the trees.

Bevan's guiding principle was the sovereignty of parliament. For him the state was not an instrument of class oppression with parliament as its democratic facade. Bevan believed that state institutions were neutral vessels which, under the impetus of five-yearly elections, could be filled with socialist content. Not, of course, all at once, but gradually by reforming capitalist structures.

In his long and bitter struggle with the British Medical Association after the introduction of the health service, his talent for manoeuvre was deployed to the full, but in the process of winning he also managed to make a number of damaging concessions. Private practice was enshrined, fee-paying beds permitted and the highly-paid consultants appeased. The elements for the present disgraceful condition of the National Health Service were implicit in the manner of the service's birth.

But that is the way that it is done, if you try the job through parliament. Parliament is the institution that is designed to iron out and suppress the expression of class antagonism. Its whole procedure and form is calculated to submerge such differences in a compromise that rules out the possibility of reform. This Bevan never understood and this makes nonsense of Michael Foot's claim of his 'marxism'.

'Capitalism,' Bevan said, 'proudly displays medals won in the battles it has lost.' He was suggesting that reforms capitalism opposed at their inception it came to recognise as of value and would do so in relation to the health service.

### Devotion

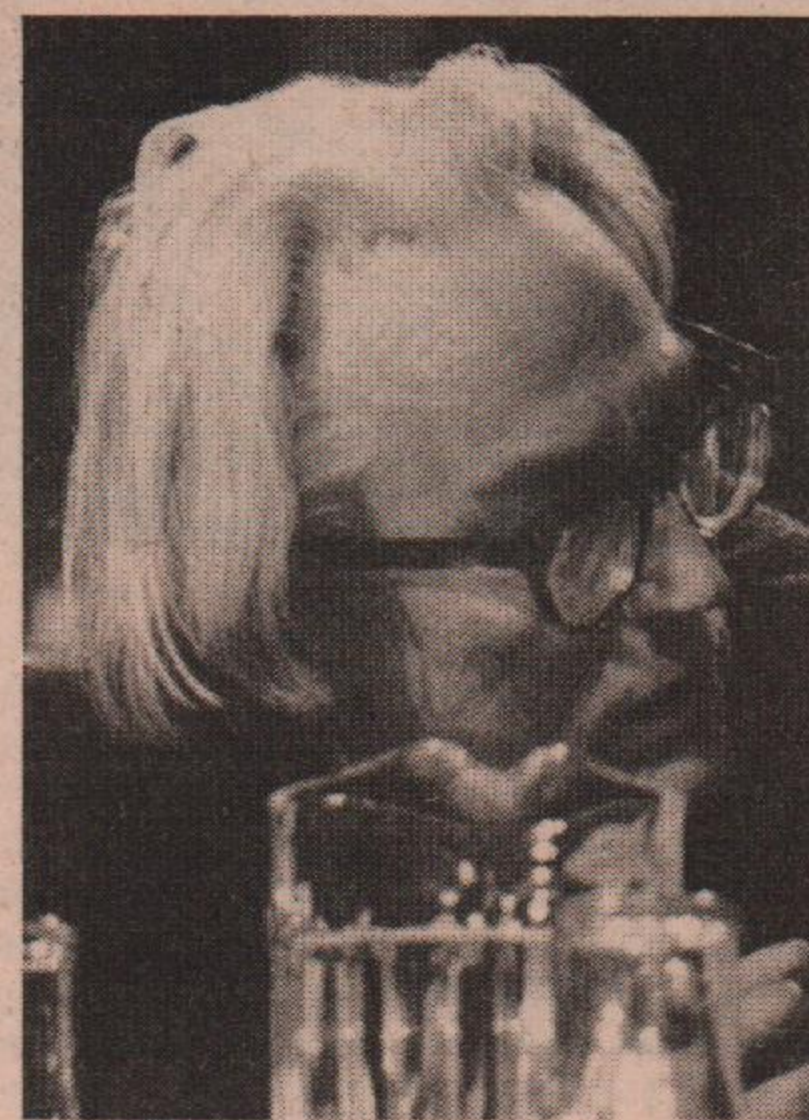
That is true but in a very limited way. The clasp of the NHS to the bosom of capitalism is a function not of the raised moral tone of the system but a recognition of the need for a healthy working class in industry. In the same way the nationalisation of the mines and railways has stuck through successive Tory administrations because coal and transport are vital to the profitable sectors, not from commitment to public ownership.

Devotion to parliament and its compromises resulted in Bevan finding himself, at all the points that counted, the prisoner and too often the mouthpiece for Labour's right wing. When he finally resigned over charges for spectacles and false teeth

he was showing a high moral outrage that was somewhat undermined by the fact that it was Bevan himself who actually put the principle of charges on the statute book.

It was Bevan himself who had remained in the cabinet that decided to go ahead with the construction of the British nuclear deterrent. It was Bevan himself who had defended the £4700 million arms programme in his first major speech as Minister of Labour.

It was Bevan himself who as Minister of Labour permitted the arrest of the seven leaders of the striking dockers under the wartime Order 1305. Bevan in the interests of unity in the party and the government could stand for all this but



Foot: claimed Bevan was a 'marxist'

the imposition of £13 million in health charges was too much.

As someone said 'He could swallow the H-bomb whole but gagged on a set of false teeth.'

The period following the resignation and the defeat of Labour at the polls was the high point of the so-called Bevanite group. Wilson, Crossman, Freeman, Foot himself, Mikardo and a host of others formed the group of eager acolytes at the feet of the master.

Built up in the press and by the Labour right wing as a collection of wreckers and crypto-communists, they enjoyed a reputation for left-wing fervour that was occasionally belied by the defection of the weaker brethren, such as Harold Wilson, who left to occupy a seat in the Shadow Cabinet vacated by Bevan.

The emphasis of the Bevanites was on foreign policy and their strength in the constituency Labour

parties. The great mass of the trade unions were virtually untouched by the Bevan influence.

Nevertheless the cold war atmosphere, reaching fever point in America under the influence of Senator McCarthy, invaded the Labour Party. At several times the Bevanites were on the point of expulsion from the party.

But Bevan made clear throughout this period his absolute dedication to the Labour Party and on more than one occasion reinforced his adherence to the principle of the 'mixed economy'. 'The kind of society which we envisage and which we shall live in will be a mixed society, a mixed economy, in which all the instruments of planning are in the hands of the state . . . but where we shall have for a very long time the light cavalry of private competitive industry,' he said in 1949 and he never changed his mind.

The reduction of the capitalist Panzer divisions to light cavalry was to be peacefully achieved through parliament, following of course the passage of a successful resolution at a Labour Party conference.

With the experience of Wilson's administration from 1964 to 1970 in our minds, with the sad record of Allende's Chilean disaster, the bankruptcy of the theory is clear.

Bevan's later development in his election to the deputy leadership under Hugh Gaitskell (a man he loathed and described—with justice—as a 'dissipated calculating machine') completed the process of degeneration that afflicts social democrats in the twilight of their years.

In 1957 at the height of the anti-bomb campaign, Bevan addressed the Scarborough conference of the party. He told the assembled delegates they must not send a future Labour Foreign Secretary (Bevan was shadow spokesman on foreign affairs) 'naked into the conference

chamber'. Bevan clothed in the grisly garb of mass destruction had come home at last.

The final irony of Bevan's last years was that he died too soon. Had he lived a little longer he would almost certainly have succeeded to the leadership at Gaitskell's timely demise. As it happened, Wilson picked up the job by default, but the record of 1964 to 1970 would have been little different.

Bevan told the story of how in the aftermath of the defeat of the General Strike and the miners in 1926, he sought power so that he could give it to the workers.

He sought for it in the local council and it was not there. He sought it in the county council and it was not there. Finally he sought it in parliament and saw it disappearing round the corner.

### Power

In this illuminating anecdote the real tragedy of Bevan is found. He was a man with unusual talent, a spell-binding orator and a not inconsiderable intellect. Power was what an individual sought, grasped and then gave away to the working class.

But you will not find it in councils and parliaments and you cannot grasp it and give it away.

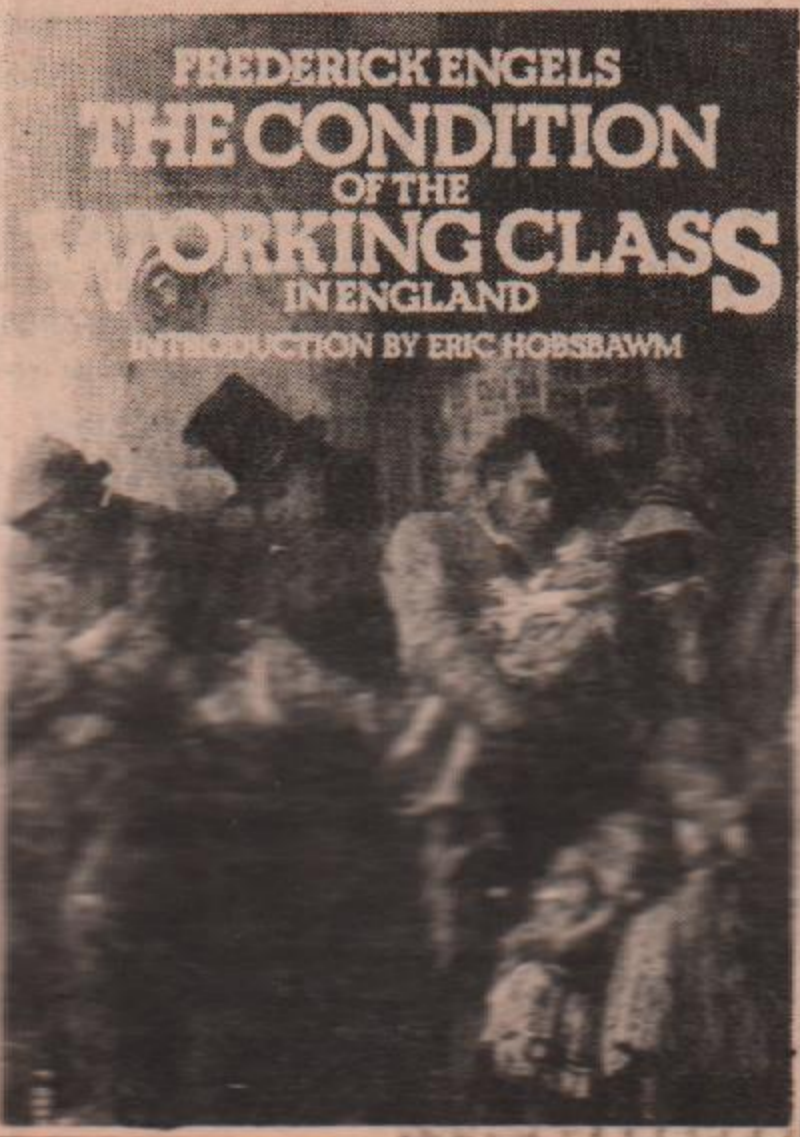
Socialism, workers' power, has to be taken and held by the working class itself not bestowed by benevolent natural aristocrats.

Bevan has gone and there are no successors, although Michael Foot in his new statesman-like posture is clearly emulating the last days of his idol. The vision of parliamentary socialism has lost its shine and its credibility.

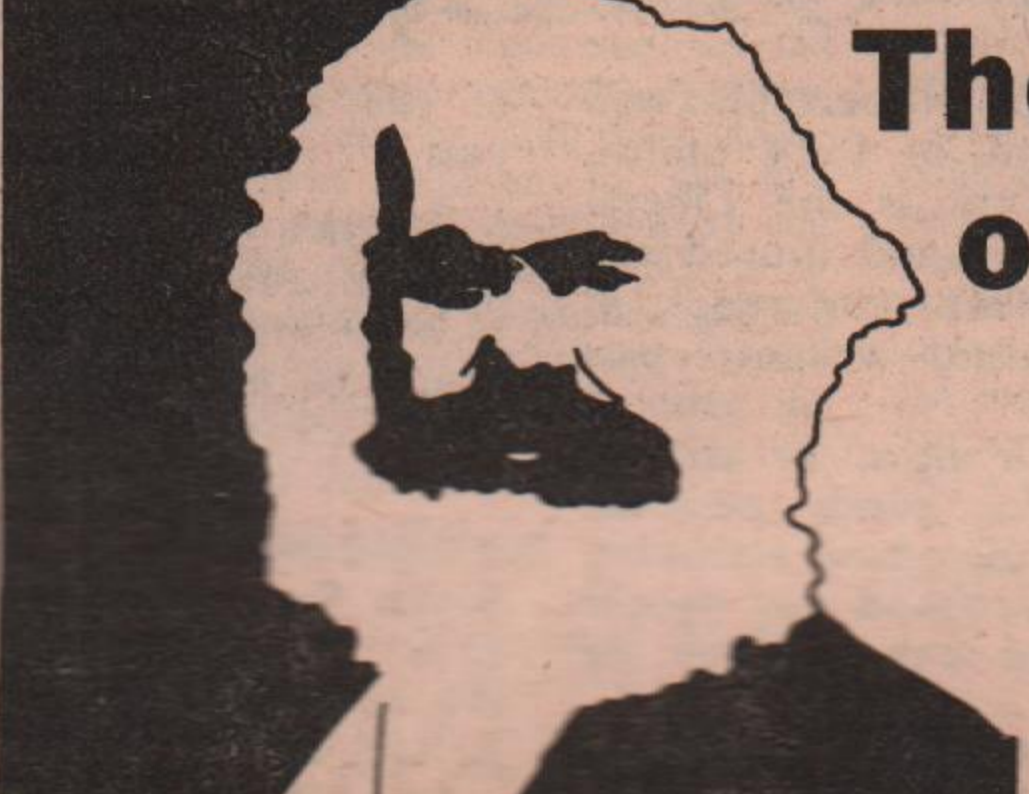
The lessons of Bevan and his life are of the futility of attempting to bend capitalism and its institutions to socialist objectives. Capitalism does not bend and the futile exercise breaks the individuals who try.

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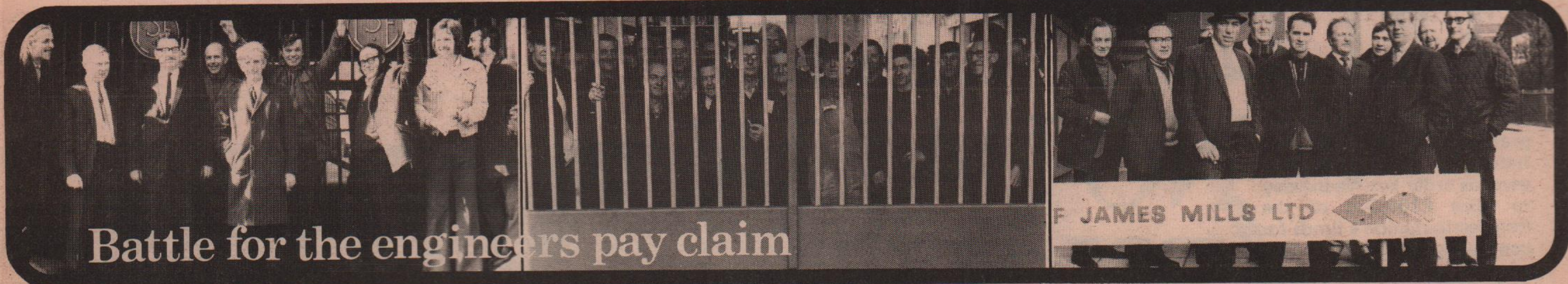
Review by JIM HIGGINS



## The Meaning of Marxism

by Duncan Hallas

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Battle for the engineers pay claim

# Bosses' sinister conspiracy

THE ENGINEERING EMPLOYER'S FEDERATION is one of the most powerful enemies of working people. Throughout its 77 years' history it has organised lockouts, cut wages, demanded dictatorial powers and conspired with various governments to attack the basic rights of trade unionism.

In 1898 the president of the TUC called it: 'A mammoth combination of military-led capital, whose object, as openly stated by its leader, was to cripple, if not crush, the forces of trade unionism.' This remains its purpose today.

The Engineering Employers' Federation is the biggest and strongest of its kind in Britain. It has close on 5000 member firms employing more than two million workers.

Its management board consists of delegates from most of the industry's giant companies and its influential committee of vice-presidents is almost like a kind of Who's Who of top tycoons. But the inner workings and affairs have always remained a closely-guarded secret.

There is a special reason for this. For years the federation and governments have skilfully manipulated a vast propaganda machine in order to try and portray workers as 'greedy' and 'irresponsible'. In order for this to be achieved, it has been necessary to conceal the full extent of their own activities.

For if these were made public, a very different picture would emerge—a picture of a bosses' battle organisation equipped with ruthlessness and wealth and dedicated to preserving its own privileges and power.

## Fortune

Ever since its formation in 1896 the EEF has been ready to fight working people. To this end it has amassed a huge fortune and paid out large sums of money from its so-called Indemnity Fund.

Every new firm that joins the Federation is required to pay into this fund. Its purpose is to compensate companies for loss of profits during strikes.

It has paid out millions in recent years. In 1970 it spent £1,600,000, in 1971 £500,000 and in 1972 the biggest amount in history.

According to the fund's revenue account for the year ending 31 December 1972, its income was £241,151 and its expenditure a staggering £2,276,421. This should have been higher because in all £2,378,319 was paid out to firms mainly in the Manchester area, but it was reduced by £178,239 through government-given tax relief.

The federation has 22 local associations. They are extremely wealthy. In 1972 the EEF itself had an income of £814,905 and after spending more than this—including £207,741 in financial assistance to federated firms—it still had current assets of £1,111,874 in its general fund.

The total wealth of the EEF and its 20 most important associations is £2,621,284. They also have a combined annual income of

One of the major battles this winter against Phase Three of the Tories' wages clamp could be over the engineering workers' pay claim. In the next few weeks, ROGER ROSEWELL will analyse past struggles by engineering workers and review the current strength of the unions involved. In this first article he looks at the enemy—the rich, powerful and arrogant Engineering Employers' Federation.



Top men at the EEF: Lord Stokes



Sir Arnold Hall



Sir Raymond Brookes

£2,228,347.

The management board of the federation is its executive committee. It directs the activities and policies of the federation, authorises payments from the Indemnity Fund, keeps in close touch with the 22 associations and is responsible for negotiations and national pay and conditions of the industry's 2.7 million workers.

In February 1973, it consisted of 94 directors but even though some of these are from comparatively small firms it is dominated by the giant companies. Its 65 biggest companies control 65 per cent of the voting power and its 12 largest members have both 32 representatives on the board and an additional small select committee of their own.

This is the vice-presidents' committee. Among its 11 members are seven knights and three lords. Included among the most well-known of these are:

Lord Stokes, chairman British Leyland, salary £48,560  
 Sir John Clarke, chairman Plesseys, salary £48,000  
 Sir Raymond Brookes, chairman GKN, salary £47,000  
 Lord Plowden, chairman Tube Investments, salary £44,160  
 Sir Arnold Hall, chairman Hawker Siddeley, salary £40,000  
 Sir Kenneth Corley, chairman Lucas, salary £40,000  
 Lord Nelson of Stafford, chairman GEC, salary £40,000

The current president of the EEF

is Tom Carlile, managing director of Babcock and Wilcox.

In 1971 Carlile was a member of the committee of inquiry into the Post Office Workers strike and the first deputy president of the federation. In his first capacity he helped turn down the postal workers' claim for more money and in the second he saw the EEF employ the strikebreaking London Dispatch Service to deliver their mail during the dispute.

## Donations

Among some of the other big companies that are influential in the federation are: British Aircraft Corporation, Reyrolle Parsons, Birmid Qualcast, Philips Electronics, Standard Telephones, Vickers, Ferranti, Dunlops, Westland Aircraft, EMI, and British Oxygen.

Many of these also give large amounts of money to the Tory Party. Some of the biggest donations from federated firms have been:

Birmid Qualcast: £3,600  
 Ferranti: £5,000  
 Joseph Lucas: £12,000  
 Plessey: £10,756  
 Dunlop: £21,500  
 GKN: £33,000

In the past few years the Engineering Employers' Federation has been in the forefront of every attack on working-class rights. It is a strong supporter of the Industrial Relations Act and the current Tory wages policy. It has campaigned for new legal shackles on the right to picket and has been among the most insistent of those demanding the cutting of social security benefits to strikers.

On the 4 January 1974, four of the top EEF officials met D H Hills, principal administrative officer of the National Industrial Relations Court and, according to a confidential report he wrote later, they told him: 'that the EEF would like to assist the court in any way appropriate, emphasising that this could be done in a strictly confidential way if need be...'

Another secret meeting between the EEF and Sir John Donaldson, the president of the court, took place on 22 March last. A request for an emergency parliamentary debate on these meetings was refused by the Tories in May.

## Victimise

The EEF fully supports the Tory wage curbs of the current 'incomes policy'. In March Tom Carlile told the Coventry employers: 'I suspect that for many years to come collective bargaining as we have known it will not return. This may not be a bad thing. There was nothing free about collective bargaining other than that the unions were virtually free to do as they pleased.'

Active trade unionists have always known that the EEF operates a blacklist and a policy of trying to victimise militants. In the constitution of one of its most powerful local associations, one method is written into the rules: 'It is expected that the normal courtesies between

member firms in regard to the engagement of labour will be pursued through the use of the telephone.'

In addition to this method of blacklisting workers many of the EEF's member firms also use the sinister services of The Economic League. In 1972, Mr Edward Wells, a director of this organisation, told a meeting of Sussex businessmen: 'The Economic League was capable of exposing subversion and any member of the league could ask them for information about a suspected subversive.'

Another body that also offers a similar service and which is supported by many big engineering companies is the extreme right wing Common Cause group. In recent years this has received money from: Vickers, GKN, Hawker Siddeley and the British Aircraft Corporation among others.

And recently the EEF has been taking an active interest in the affairs of the International Socialists and others. On 19 September, Richard Clutterbuck, reactionary 'expert' on the left, spoke to the West Midlands Engineering Employers' Association on 'Revolutionary Politics and Industrial Disputes'.

No details of this meeting have ever been made public but no one should have any doubt as to its purpose.

It was a meeting to learn how to fight those who oppose it. We have been warned.

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.

## Their aim: cripple trade unions

# DILLEY GETS

# NO DALLY BY NIRC

WHEN Sir John Donaldson, president of the National Industrial Relations Court, gave his order last Wednesday to seize £100,000 of the Engineering Union's funds for continuing a strike for union recognition at Con-Mech Ltd, Woking, it came wrapped in the following statement:

'The law exists to protect everybody, whether union members, employers or merely long-suffering members of the public. We cannot do without it. But the law is not a one-way street. We have either to accept it all or opt for anarchy.'

One man's interests Sir John is anxious to uphold is Robert Dilley. Mr Dilley owns the Con-Mech plant where the AUEW has insisted on supporting the members who went on strike four weeks ago for union recognition, and the reinstatement of two victimised stewards.

It was Mr Dilley who applied for the NIRC injunction ordering the AUEW to force its members to return to work.



Lindsay Greig and Ron Conner: appalled by conditions

by LAURIE  
FLYNN

Mr Dilley was a good candidate for the maximum assistance from the Tory law courts. He runs two Rolls-Royces and maintains two flash houses, one in the fashionable West End of London, the other in Esher, Surrey.

Better still, in his day-to-day operation of the Woking factory Mr Dilley reveals himself as one of the most revolting slavemasters in the profit business.

Dilley has always made it clear that he wants nothing to do with unions. His plant, situated in the middle of the new Sheerwater estate in Woking, has long prospered on lousy rates of pay—60p an hour—and bad conditions.

But just recently the workers began organising. By mid-September this year the union had taken a good majority of the 31 manual workers into membership. On 19 September their two stewards, Ron Connor and Lindsay Greig, approached management for recognition.

At the meeting Dilley didn't so much blow his top as openly declare his hand. 'Remember you can be replaced at any time,' he told the two stewards. 'All I want in this factory is arms and legs,' he added, informing the two men that they were sacked and could collect their cards on the way out.

Conditions at Con Mech are just as you would expect in a non-unionised factory which must be among the front rank contenders for any 'Sweatshop of the Year' award.

Typical is the guillotine Dilley operates for cutting lengths of steel to size for making construction machinery parts. Dilley installed this particular delight early in September.

Dilley was a bit stuck for space. Deciding against installing it in his own luxurious office, he put it in the workers' car park. Workers were told to park elsewhere.

Whoever operates the machine is left to get on with this hazardous job: come rain or shine in the open air.

The machine is wired up from a power source inside the main factory shed. The stop and start buttons are also inside the main shed. So if someone wants to stop the machine in a hurry on the grounds that the operator has got caught in it, then he has to

climb in through a factory window to get to the stop button. If the window is locked then he has to nip round the back of the factory and run through the offices.

Each and every part of Dilley's operation is conducted along the same lines. Ijaz Ahmed, one of the pickets, summarises the situation as follows: 'Very bad, abominable. This is why we must have a union, our union, as, when and how we choose.'

Ron Connor, one of the two victimised stewards who has worked at Con Mech for five months prior to the strike says: 'I was appalled when I came here, appalled at the fact that human beings are subjected to these conditions.'

'We work up to 70 hours a week for a pittance while Mr Dilley and his kind are deciding which Rolls to drive today and which night club to go to tonight.'

Not surprisingly this kind of attitude finds little favour with Mr Dilley. Since the strike for union rights was launched he has accused Ron Connor of being a 'Communist plant' sent to 'disrupt' his 'happy' factory.

Mr Dilley has said the same of Lindsay Greig. Lindsay, a former Warwick University student, informed Mr Dilley of his background when he was taken on. He was so appalled at the conditions in the plant that he too has been building the union.

Thanks to the Tory government a threatened profiteer like Mr Dilley now has another refuge apart from red scares and intimidation. Dilley's use of the NIRC enabled him to get an order against the AUEW, an order instructing the union to get the members to return to work.

That is why the strikers at Con-Mech have resisted the court and, with the backing of the union, have continued to wage their struggle according to the best available methods.

As AUEW district secretary Geoff Hardy puts it: 'This case demonstrates that what we said from the word go about this Act is correct. It is there to break unions and working people. If they don't succeed by intimidating workers, then they just switch to raiding the funds.'

The AUEW has already decided to stand firm against the NIRC ruling at Con-Mech. But the union's leadership has not called officially for the members to translate passive resistance into practical opposition with massive industrial action against the fines and the law that inflicted it.

If that is not done now, on the initiative of the members, then other Robert Dilley's will be forming a queue and Sir John Donaldson and his bank robbers will be back again.

JEWISH SOCIALIST ON TRIAL

# Murder of a nation

I, A COMMUNIST WORKER, member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance, stand here fully conscious that it is because of my political activities that everything possible is being done to put me in jail for a long spell.

I am accused of contacting a foreign agent and of hiding a crime that the man I met was about to or was plotting to commit. I am further accused of trying to contact a foreign agent and of having in my possession press material belonging to an illegal organisation.

## Symbolise

The man I met three years ago has been described by the prosecutor as a 'foreign agent'. Yet even the prosecution itself recognises that the man was introduced to me as Palestinian, connected with the Palestinian resistance movement.

Yet if the argument is that the man is a foreign agent by the fact of his being connected with the Palestinian resistance movement, then there is nothing that could symbolise more clearly the quality of the Zionist movement's approach to the Palestinian movement, an approach that is to be understood from casting the foreign-agent concept upon one who is connected with a move-

This powerful and heroic speech was made from the dock in Haifa in June when Ram Livneh was sentenced to 10 years in jail. Livneh is a Jewish revolutionary and opponent of Zionism—the reactionary movement that believes the persecution of the Jews will be solved in isolation from the struggle of all oppressed people.

A number of Jews and Arabs were arrested in December 1972 and charged with attempting to form an underground resistance in Israel. They were also accused of spying for Syria. Livneh, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance, was among a second group arrested and charged with having information on the alleged underground resistance and failing to report it to the authorities. Reports suggested that some of those arrested suffered severe torture and confessions were gained under pressure.

We reproduce here extracts from Ram Livneh's defence speech as a powerful antidote to the hysterical pro-Israel rantings of press and television during the present conflict in the Middle East.

the expense of their place. We do a void. There was ment here. We a into places wh Arabs. We are turn into a Jewish land

For many ye the Zionist nati were engaged in and fraudulent p and in the ex peasants. Zionism the masses of E in order to col and to live in it a its inhabitants, v 'clean' from Arab

## Reass

This process of Zionism movement over the countr place of the E people, was carri beginning on the dence on and the services' to the various imperialis in the region—C World War I, Gr the end of World since then.

Since 1948 th of the country h to police oppres Defence (Emergen 1945.

'The regime est publication of t has no comparis lightened countr

ment whose foundation is the belonging of the dispossessed Palestinian Arab people to the country of its birth.

It is impossible to attach to the Palestinian resistance movement the label of 'foreignness'—not to this land, not to this region.

As even Defence Minister Moshe Dayan recognises: 'The state of Isreal was established at

# In the dock— for unity of A

International Socialist pamphlet 10p

ROGER ROSEWELL

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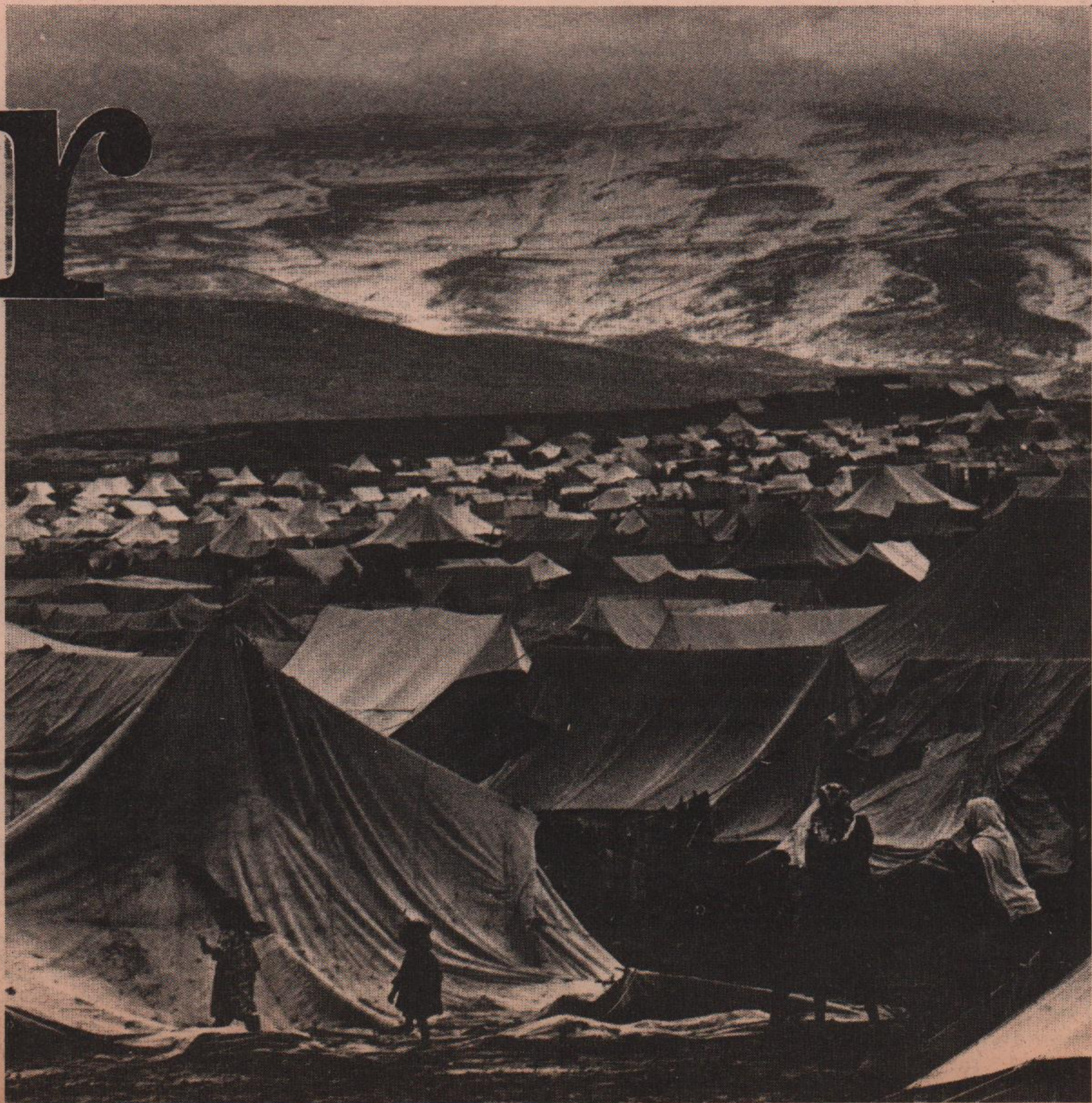
Organisation \_\_\_\_\_



IN ISRAEL FLAYS THE ZIONIST REGIME'S TERROR AGAINST ARABS

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'Condemned to hopeless oppression': refugee camps of Palestinians driven from their homes by Zionists



**MOSHE DAYAN:**  
'The state of Israel was established at the expense of the Arabs—and in their place. We did not come into a void. There was an Arab settlement here. We are settling Jews into places where there were Arabs. We are turning an Arab land into a Jewish land.'

the Arabs—and in d-not come into s an Arab settle- re settling Jews re there were ing an Arab land 'ars, until 1948 onal institutions obbery, plunder rchase of lands olution of the hich organised opean refugees ise the country t the expense of vanted territory

Germany there were no laws like these.

'They reassure us, saying that the regulations are intended solely against the Arabs and not against the citizens in general, but the Nazi governor in Oslo also declared that no evil would come to the citizen who minded his own business. No government has any authority whatsoever to enact such laws.'

This was said by the man who is today Israel's Minister of Justice, Ya'acov Shimson Shapira, at a meeting held in February 1946 in which 400 Jewish lawyers took part—a time when the British were using those regulations also against the Jews.

But the regulations have not changed just because today they are used mainly against the Arabs and communists. Those regulations—one of which I am accused of breaking—are still racist and anti-human. The regime established on the basis of these regulations still has no analogy in any enlightened country.

These and other fascist regulations are also the allegedly 'legal' foundation on which the Israeli government bases itself in the territories conquered in 1967—a foundation which makes possible a regime of terror, of blowing up houses, of land expropriation, of spraying tilled areas, of evicting population, of prohibiting political activity, of silencing press, of exploitation.

Dozens of years of evictions and oppression unavoidably create contradictions that the Zionist

movement cannot surmount. The state of Israel in all the years of its existence has been in a situation of open and uncompromising confrontation not only with the direct victims of the Jewish settlement—the Israeli-Palestine Arabs—but also with the whole Arab world and an increasing number of other countries in the world.

The firm stand of both the Zionist movement and the state of Israel upon the principle of denial of the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people and of denial in practice of its most basic human rights—all this condemns the Arab masses to a hopeless oppression and the Jewish masses to an unjust eternal war against historical reality itself.

## Burned

The revolutionary communists are accused of standing for violence, of preaching armed revolution. There is no limit to the hypocrisy of the regime.

At the Chemicals and Phosphates in Haifa, the lungs of workers are burned by poisonous gases day after day. This is violence!

At the textile factories, workers become deaf from the noise of machines. In all factories, work is organised to make it possible to suck as much profit as possible at the expense of the workers' health and life—this is violence in its highest degree!

In the poor neighbourhoods,

poor villages and development towns, the physical health of the settlers is destroyed year after year—this is violence!

In the Arab villages and the areas which were conquered in 1967, a regime of violent terror founded upon anti-human laws is operated. Clubs and weapons, tortures and arbitrary arrest—this is violence!

This regime is completely based on violence. Oppressive violence is an indispensable condition to its existence.

And when we organise ourselves for a political struggle whose purpose is the elimination of the regime of violence, when we call the Jewish and Arab workers and peasants to a common struggle in order to liberate ourselves from

the exploitation and the oppression—the government accuses us of teaching violence.

Thus I, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance, which is a legal organisation known for its political work amongst the Jewish and Arab masses, met in August 1970 a man who was introduced to me as a Palestinian socialist. This was a political meeting, during which we discussed the political developments in Israel, in the Arab countries and in the Palestinian movement.

## Tortured

The charge presented against me is based on false confessions, exacted through mean extortion. After nine days of investigation, which were full of beatings and throughout which I defended my right not to make any declaration but in court, they took my friend, who is as close to me as a brother could be, and tortured him with electricity and cold showers and simply announced to me that they would not stop until I was ready to talk.

I talked. I told them I was ready to say whatever they wanted—and I truly 'incriminated' myself, apparently, and signed whatever they wanted me to.

I had gone in innocence to hold a meeting with a man who was introduced to me as a Palestinian

socialist. The sole purpose was political clarification and deliberation.

The meeting I held was an organic part of the legal political activities of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance. That meeting was held in pure innocence. I did not break the law and there was no intention on my part to break the law nor to harm the security of the state.

Our position and our way of ensuring the security of the people in Israel is the realisation of massive political struggle.

I am standing here only because I am an uncompromising fighter against the existing regime. What leads me and my friends in all our activities is the true interests of the Jewish and Arab masses.

While I am completely innocent, there is nothing in the world that can stop me fighting, together with my friends, for the sublime aims of communism.



Reprinted courtesy Peace News. Reprints of the full text of Ram Livneh's speech—which also deals critically with the existing Palestinian liberation movements and the conditions of Arab and Jewish workers in Israel—are available from Middle East Research and Action Group, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1, £1.50 per 50 copies.

sure

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for fighting  
Arabs & Jews



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

Trotsky on Terrorism

# REVIEW

## BOOKS

UNDER THE INFLUENCE is a new series, starting this week, in which militants will take another look at the books that made them socialists and revolutionaries. Everyday life heaps up the evidence against the present system all too high but education and upbringing blinds people to this. Often direct experience opens our eyes, but sometimes it is a book, a novel, play or poem that makes things suddenly fall into place.

In the next few weeks militants will be writing of this moment of discovery and the books that made it possible. They include Gallacher's *Revolt on the Clyde*, Sinclair Lewis' *Jungle*, Oscar Wilde's *Soul of Man under Socialism*, Howard Fast's *Spartacus*, and the plays *Close the Coalhouse Door* and *The Glass Menagerie*. The new IS Bookshop has copies of all these on order, and will be making special reductions for bulk orders from IS branches. Write to 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

## Socialist from an unusual stable

**POLITICAL WRITINGS OF WILLIAM MORRIS**, edited by A L Morton, Lawrence and Wishart, £1.

**WILLIAM MORRIS**, by Philip Henderson, Penguin, 90p.

THE Sunday demonstration was a direct protest against repression. In Ireland an MP who had spoken out against British rule had been thrown in prison. In England unemployment had been rising for months and meetings of the unemployed, held daily, were being cleared by mounted police.

That Sunday the two came together, backed by socialist groups from all over London, for a massive demonstration in Trafalgar Square. The police banned it—on the pretext that the square was 'Crown property'—but the demo went on.

It never reached the square. All over London police rode down and baton-charged the demonstrators. The few who reached the square were mercilessly beaten.

It was Bloody Sunday 1887. Three people were killed and hundreds seriously injured. It was, as A L Morton writes in his introduction to this volume of William Morris' writings, 'one of the outstanding political happenings of the 1880s.'

I've picked out Bloody Sunday from all the events in Morris' life because the attitudes towards it of Morris, who was there, A L Morton, and his biographer Philip Henderson make their political views clear.

Henderson writes: 'The scene was set for a full-scale massacre. But thanks to the generalship of Warren, in dispersing the columns at the approaches to the square, only three people died...'

It's obvious where his sympathies lie, and they are not with the socialists. Anyone who wants a fair judgment of Morris' political beliefs should ignore Henderson's book.

Morris himself wrote: 'London has been put under martial law, nominally on behalf of a party, but really on behalf of a class... The mask is off now, and the real meaning of all the petty prosecution of our open-air meetings is as clear as may be.'

'No more humbug need be talked about obstruction and the convenience of the public: it is obvious that those meetings were attacked because we displeased the dominant class and were weak.'

Morris, though he is better-known as a poet and designer of wallpapers, was a revolutionary socialist—from an unusual stable: Marlborough public school, Oxford University, the easy life of an artist with a private income. He came to socialism because as an artist he saw the destructive power of capitalism: where

Marx saw that capitalism robbed workers of the wealth they created, Morris saw that it robbed them of their very humanity, forcing them to live in conditions of poverty and squalor unfit for animals and turning them into mere parts of machinery.

This volume of Morris' political writings maps the road he took.

Morris was no theoretician. His socialism was not based on an understanding of the economics of exploitation, but on seeing its results. His early political writings are sometimes tedious, much concerned with the fate of art, but the later ones show the experience of speaking at hundreds of socialist meetings in pub backrooms, workingmen's clubs and in the open air. He is worth listening to.

PETER MARSDEN

## Running an occupation

**IMAGINATION IN POWER**, by Andree Hoyles, Spokesman Books, £1.

SIT-INS and factory occupations are an important weapon in the workers' struggle. The French general strike of May 1968, when 10 million workers struck and took over the factories, is a vast mine of experience from which to learn.

Unfortunately far too much of what has been written on the subject concentrates on the picturesque antics of the student leaders, or rises into the clouds of speculation. The great merit of Andree Hoyles' little book is that it looks at what was happening in the factories.

The author draws attention to the important if mundane problems of running an occupation day-to-day. She looks at strike committees and the jobs they did.

In one factory, committees were set up in each shop. 'Each shop-floor committee was responsible in the shop for organisation of duty rotas, safety, guarding of one entry or post, organising the collection of food, petrol coupons and so on.' The organising of proper pickets was another vital job. In some places they were armed, though only with sticks, spade handles and plastic helmets.

Andree Hoyles also looks at the important problems of political understanding and morale among the workers. 'Where strikes started 'spontaneously' at factory-floor level, it was often under the influence of small groups of political militants who were able to show the way forward.'

She also stresses the important role played by workers' families. For if there were some cases where wives came to the factories to drag their husbands home, there were other cases where a husband who went home of his own accord was promptly told by his wife that his place was in the factory and he should get back there at once.

She also shows the limits of most workers' ideas. Even though they had taken over the factories from the bosses, they still had a deep respect for property.

She tells what happened in one railway sorting office: 'The manager's office was finally occupied only because the key were found; large amounts of French currency and shares which the strike prevented from being exported were carefully stored in a safe and constantly guarded; suggestions that the locked office should be broken into were strongly resisted; suggestions that the money could be requisitioned and used by the strikers were hardly considered.'

In short, this is a book which can be read with profit by any militant. But one word of warning. If you already have the *Trade Union Register 1969*, then don't buy this book. For apart from a short appendix the whole book appeared as an article in the *Register*.

Where four years ago you would have paid £2 for 23 articles, you now pay £1 for one article. At least it tells you something about inflation.

IAN BIRCHALL

All books mentioned in Review page can be obtained by post from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 (phone 01-802 6145). When ordering books, please add 7p to cover postage and packing.

# UNDER THE INFLUENCE

THE only books I recollect reading with any kind of enthusiasm was when I was 14 or so. One was 1984, by George Orwell, and I'm afraid it had no political significance for me at that time, in fact all I remember of it is the illegal government lottery in which the government named mythical figures as the big winners when in fact only the government profited.

I remember with a little disgust now that consciously I thought what a splendid idea that was, but in fact there were alarm bells ringing in my subconscious. I read it and thought no more about it until years later—my mind at that time was in a raging, hateful turmoil against the Russians and their rape of Hungary.

It was the Russians in fact that lost me my job as a paper boy. I simply had to read all about what was happening before I delivered them. I understand now, but I didn't then, why this country did nothing to help, and I remember cursing them for their cowardice.

In time, there being no jobs, I went to serve my Queen and joined the navy. At 16 I was in Cyprus during the troubles.

On patrol one day I remember being surprised to find a hand grenade spluttering under my feet. It was a common or garden type 36 grenade with a spring-loaded detonator, lethal range of 250ft over open ground. Too much oil on the primer and it will go out before it reaches the main charge. There was too much oil on the primer.

## Question

Quite naturally this didn't occur to me at the time. Something else did though and I could feel it in my pants all the way back to my ship.

It was then that I started to wonder what the hell I was doing in this neck of the woods anyhow. The same question was to arise in Aden and Malaysia, and again in Vietnam—where of course there were no British servicemen, the government said so.

Politics were there, but they were hidden under my blue uniform and by my bigotry. I did well in the navy, one or two brushes with authority which landed me inside, but nothing much to speak of. In the end they owned me body and soul, I became a Petty Officer (petty meaning small, officer meaning pig) and also a gunnery instructor.

I had been all over the world, I had many coups of her majesty's enemies in my belt. I was also paranoid sick but I did not know it. The day I did realise was after I had read a book about the naval mutinies of the 1790s.

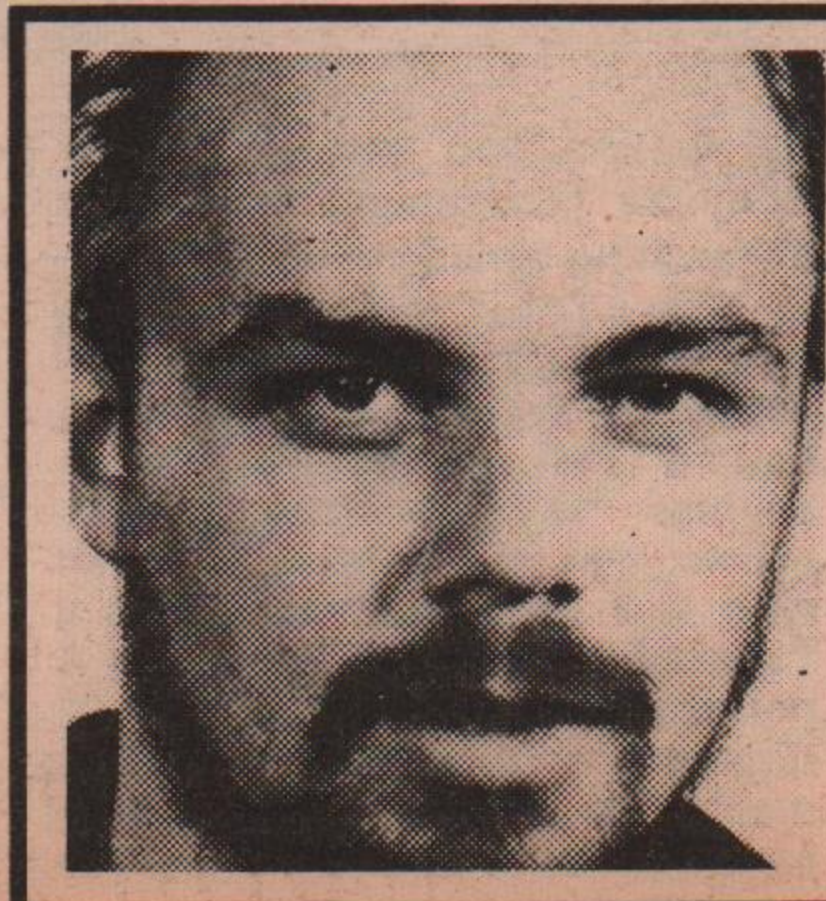
## Ashamed

As I read the more uncomfortable I became and the more I could see that these mutinies were not about some obscure event in history, they were about me and what I had become. Most of the things that those 'ancient mariners' had fought against still existed in the navy today, and I was one of them. I was appalled.

I read about the fleet parliament, the democratically-elected president of the fleet, the running up of the red flag as a gesture of defiance to authority, the first time it had been raised for that reason anywhere in the world. I read about their success with bated breath half-hoping they would win, but knowing in my heart that they hadn't, they couldn't have because if they had won I wouldn't have been here in this navy.

Sure enough they lost, and as the drama of the book unfolded I found myself urging them on, spanning the centuries to be with them. When I had finished the book I was ashamed and sick to my heart.

I then read about the investigation...



**TONY BARROW**, ex-sailor, Transport Workers Union shop steward at Ford Leamington and a member of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee, writes about *The Floating Republic: The Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore* by G E Manwaring and B Dobree. The paperback edition is out of print but it's still available in hardback published by Frank Cass at £3.25. Get your local library to buy a copy, then it's on the shelves to make a few more socialists.

but nevertheless relevant to my thoughts.

The change began gradually. I had a 'wonderful' career ahead of me—after all, wasn't I a 22-year man?

The spectre of the executed 'president of the fleet' rose to haunt me. He stalked me in all my waking and sleeping hours. His was the finger that pointed at me in accusation, but what to do?

I did the only thing possible. I finished my time and refused to take on again. It was with relief that I passed out of the gates of H M S Victory for the last time—now it was someone else's problem, let them think about it.

I went to work in a factory and left almost immediately. It was like touching a live wire. This couldn't be the way the workers lived?

Necessity forced me back into the factory, this time Fords. I had only been in Fords a short time when the strike broke out, and I was all ready to run away again when the spectre rose in front of me, the finger no less pointing, no less accusing. It was time to make a stand. I volunteered for the strike committee.

I still hated all things communist, I had identified the word with Russia, I still remembered the hatred I had felt all those years ago when Hungary died. I had no faith in the various kinds of

government that this country had produced, I remember thinking of 1984 again and the illegal lottery and nodding my head and thinking: 'That's what they're all like.' There was no place to go, nothing to do except fight with no hope of winning, but in any event fight.

My first impression of the International Socialists was 'bunch of bloody reds' until at last my bigotry turned to wonder and amazement. They were actually saying what I had believed only I was saying, only they were so much more articulate.

I joined, there were rows and arguments, I wanted to much to learn, but I couldn't understand, I couldn't understand because I wouldn't let myself understand. I couldn't be a communist, I couldn't. But I was, and I eventually came to know through education and reading books I never thought existed.

It had been a long haul from 1984 and the naval mutinies, but I had arrived, I had come home.

## Next week:

Eddie Tomlinson writes on *Germinal*, Emile Zola's novel about the French miners, which was recently serialised on television.



# By itself

THERE are now more than 2700 bingo clubs in Britain, with a turnover of more than £150 million. In the main street of any town or suburb you'll see the corpses of old cinemas or music halls, their ageing frontages painted over with the big posters and tatty neon lights of bingo clubs.

'It is worthy of telling that Bingo is a boon and blessing to so many people in the middle-aged group who look forward to an evening out in the week in the splendidly appointed Mecca Social Club premises, where they can make new friends and enjoy a social atmosphere for a few shillings, with a chance of winning a prize.'

The quote comes from Mecca's managing director, Eric Morley, in his company's annual report. Between 1960 and 1969 Mecca's profits after tax rocketed from £366,533 to £2,767,383. Profits doubled in 1968-1969. The growth has continued since.

'It is unfortunate that critics of Bingo frequently hold misinformed views on the nature of the game and fail to appreciate the important part it plays in the life of the community, satisfying a genuine social need,' said John Davis, chairman of the Rank Organisation, whose profits after tax were more than £25 million last year.

Bingo does cater for a specific social need. It caters for people who are lonely and for people who haven't got much money. It takes their money, and through rows of numbers on cheap coloured cards provides them with a substitute for human friendship and community.

I'd never been to a bingo club so I went to one in Hackney, East London. The hall was an old cinema. Getting in and getting one's card took time, people weren't particularly polite, took their time going through the files, checking names... It was like signing on down at the Labour Exchange.

## NEON

The place still had 1930s decorations, but looked worse than it must have done when a cinema. Cinemas are dark places with a slight air of mystery. Bingo halls are brightly neon-lit, so everyone can see everything. Along each side are TV screens, and on the screens are the numbered balls which mean a win, picked up

by Nigel Fountain

from the electronic juggling machine which selects each number in turn.

The balls shift jerkily, before popping back into their nest. I was reminded of the dung balls that beetles push round the jungle.

At the back is the smaller attraction, the electronic bingo machines where you win baked beans, jigsaws of the Mona Lisa, tins of corned beef, red plastic fire-engines, bathroom scales. That's just a warm-up of course, until the big game starts at eight.

By half past seven the place has started filling up. Most were people over 45, but there was a good sprinkling of young housewives, husbands, sons and daughters.

'Release Me', sings Englebert Humperdinck on the public address system. SQUARE DEAL ACCOUNTS, says the big sign at the front, next to the big illuminated board which flashes the numbers and what you're supposed to be winning.

Mrs Waitran is 75 years old, a friendly cheerful lady who rubs her

hands and laughs a lot when talking. She's been working for the same firm since 1916. 'I come because I'm lonely at home. I lost my husband five years ago, and I've been coming ever since. I don't go to the picture palaces because I very often fall asleep. It gives you a chance to mix with people and have a chat—you get a kind of friendship.'

## WIN

'My husband didn't like bingo, he wasn't a man to go out much. I've got terrific noise from my overhead neighbours, they're a young couple, with three kids and they're never in bed before eleven. I'm quite happy on my own, but it's so noisy...'

'You want to talk to my sister,' says someone with her daughter, 'She comes all the time. I've only just started. It's a night out—and you can't win anything in a pub can you? Anyway you can't go to a pub if you're a woman. I've only been three

times but I want to win—my sister's won money.'

A young couple from Hoxton hadn't come together very often. But the wife had been lots of times. 'For older people it's a night out—a place where you're not lonely, for us it's a chance to get away from the kids.'

'I don't like drinking so it's an alternative. Really it's more like a betting shop than anything else, it's not an entertainment like the pictures, but you're using your hands.'

'There Goes My Everything,' sings Mr Humperdinck.

'Good evening everyone,' says the caller. She is perched high in the air in a box on the left side of the hall. 'Treble chance. Five and eight—58, six and one—61, eight and five—85, number three by itself...'

Someone's won. A whirring noise as the winning card, attached to a wire flies over the audience's head to the checker, perched opposite the caller.

The concentration you need is making me feel ill. I begin to think

I'm filling the wrong card in the wrong order. I am filling the wrong card, but I'm not winning anyway.

'I'm not married,' said an old age pensioner. 'I come to pass the time and make money—not that I have. I come about four times a week. If there was still a music hall I'd probably go to that as well.'

'When I was in the army I used to go to the Chatham Empire, it was a nice little place. You could have a drink and watch the show at the same time.'

'I live in Whitechapel and I was passing here one day and I thought I'd try it. Terrible place Whitechapel. They should pull the whole lot down. Nothing but slums and tiny clothing factories.'

## SYMBOL

'Three and six—36, seven and four—74, number seven by itself...'

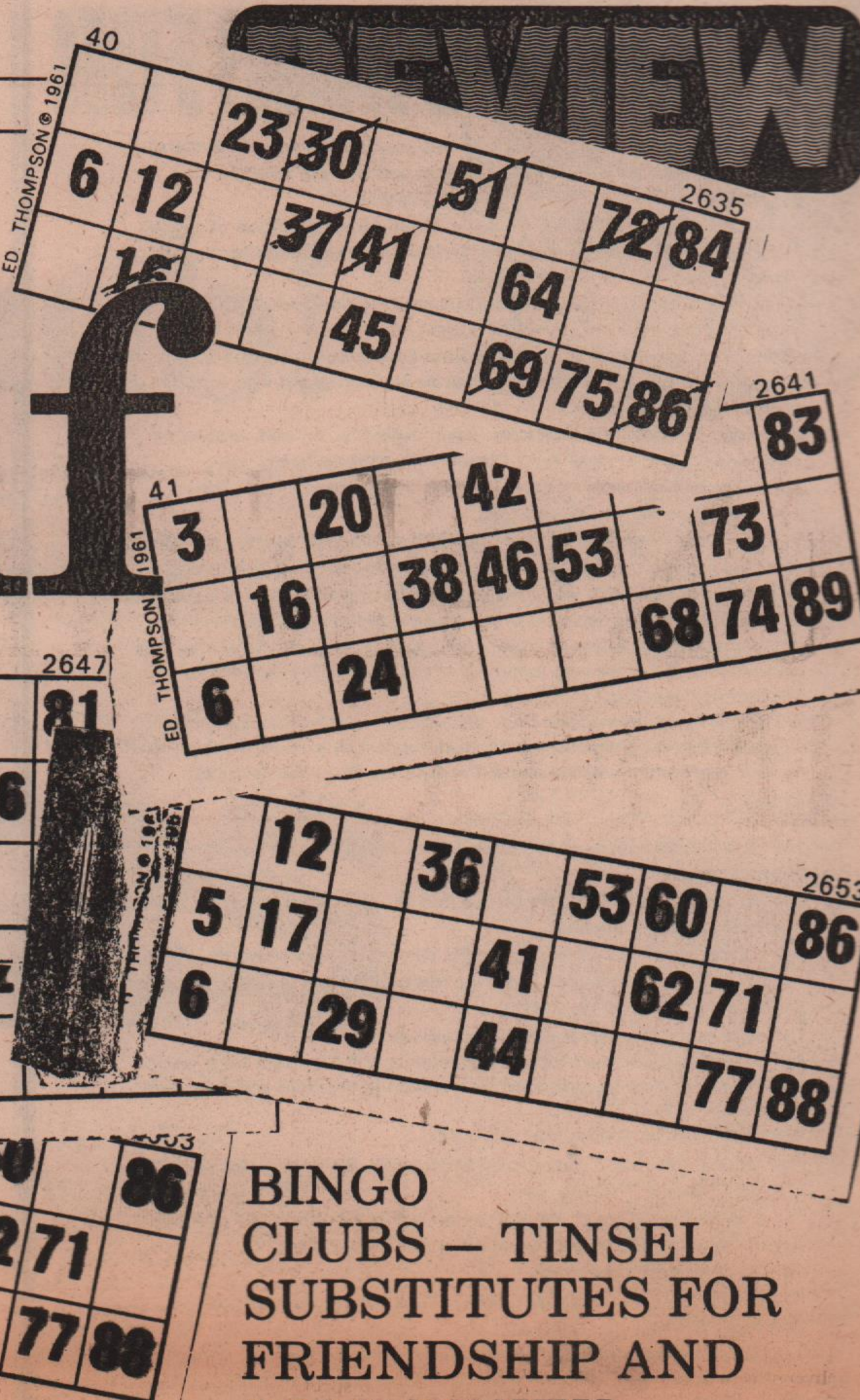
Two young housewives sit talking. 'We've been coming for about three years. It suits me being a housewife, sometimes we go to a show in the West End. Our husbands don't mind this, they won't let us go to a pub. We went to Keep Fit classes but gave it up.'

In George Orwell's novel 1984, you got Big Brother on the telescreen. In 1973 you get a ball with a number on it.

Big Brother—symbol of the all-powerful state, the ball—symbol of all-powerful money. In dribs and drabs for the players with companionship as a fringe benefit.

For a couple of hours, intelligent, friendly human beings are given an imitation of real human relationships, a piece of tinsel tossed out by the Eric Morleys and John Davises of this world, at great profit to themselves and their corporations. After that the real human beings go back to isolated old age in rotten slums, or to bringing up kids separated from each other and their true potential.

If you stand outside the game, just look at the garish light, listen to the numbers being recited in a dead-pan voice by someone bored out of her mind, the half-empty hall, the illuminated signs telling you what a good time you're having, and what a bargain it all is, you realise how unnatural and how obscene this system is.



BINGO CLUBS — TINSEL SUBSTITUTES FOR FRIENDSHIP AND COMMUNITY

# The three sisters of the West Riding

EVEN if you've never read any of the Bronte sisters' novels you've got plenty of chance to catch up on the mid-nineteenth century Yorkshire family. On Sunday nights there is Yorkshire TV's Brontes of Haworth, and on BBC-2 is a serialisation of Charlotte Bronte's Jane Eyre.

Neither series is too good, yet there is so much behind what they wrote. The lonely yearning governesses, Cathy and Heathcliff tormenting each other even when dead, the mad woman of Jane Eyre.

Victorian governesses were mainly daughters of the lower middle class, of the clergy—young girls given high expectations through education, then sent to wait on rich children.

They were forbidden to mix with the servants, and unable to mix with their employers. Instead, they simply counted out their frustrated, lonely days. The Bronte novels show the obsessions and frustrations that came from this existence.

Charlotte, Emily and Anne, all served their time as governesses—and hated it. They were children of a clergyman, who ruled their lives, and out-lived everyone of them. They only met 'the poor' while doing 'good works' to cleanse their souls. They had neither the clothes or the social standing to mix with factory owners or the landed gentry.



Mr Bronte was the son of an Irish peasant whose name was Brunty. He came to England and rose in the world by means of the church. In an attempt to wipe out his lowly origins, Mr Brunty had changed his name to the more fine-sounding Bronte. He fired a pistol every morning, a tribute to the power of the weavers and spinners who resented his reactionary ravings, and had a mind to shut them up.

When his wife died of exhaustion and TB, Mr Bronte sent his daughters to a charitable boarding school especially run for the offspring of poor clergymen. This school appears in Jane Eyre—a place where the children were all but starved to death, and where disease was rife.

The two eldest Bronte girls, Maria and Elizabeth, died of TB before they had been at school very long, and they were

only 10 and 11 years old. But still Mr Bronte sent the others back there, and they never forgot.

They wrote out their dreams and longings in fantastic home-produced stories and newspapers, copied out in tiny script to look like print, some of the pages only an inch and a half square. And late at night they read their stories to one another and dreamed of becoming writers.

But they were women. It was the unhappy son of the family who carried his father's ambition, and the girls were forced to become governesses in order that he could go to college in London.

## Pretend

In fact, Branwell spent all his money on booze and opium, never began his studies, and eventually died of his misery and excesses. But not before trying to kill his father on several occasions. Once he set light to Mr Bronte's bed, and the girls put out the flames.

For the sisters to be published, it was necessary to pretend to be men, so they called themselves the Bell brothers.

Watching Jane Eyre on TV, you may think it's a sentimental story. Yet in the book, there are passages where real strength of rebellion comes through.

'Millions are condemned to a stiller doom than mine, and how many are in

silent revolt against their lot? Nobody knows how many rebellions besides political rebellions ferment in the masses of life which people the earth. Women are supposed to be very calm generally: but women feel just as much as men feel; they need exercise for their faculties, and a field for their efforts as much as their brothers do; they suffer from too rigid a restraint, too absolute a stagnation, precisely as men suffer; and it is narrow minded of their more privileged fellow-creatures to say that they ought to confine themselves to making puddings and knitting stockings.'

The misery the Brontes write about is a muted version of the greater misery of hundreds of people around them, and they reflect the violence and hopelessness of individual, isolated, consciousness. Look at Joseph of Wuthering Heights and you'll see Methodism obscene and brutal, punishing people for sins they can hardly imagine, keeping them in guilt and fear.

The Brontes were born as the working class were being mangled into existence on the borderline between Yorkshire and Lancashire. Through those beautiful valleys the mills thrust up like boils.

The novels give you an idea of those times and so, even now does Haworth. Prettified and cleaned up as it is.

Judith Condon

# WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We fight:

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

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

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

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

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

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

## THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

### SCOTLAND

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

### NORTH EAST

Bishop Auckland  
Durham  
Hartlepool  
Newcastle upon Tyne  
South Shields  
Sunderland  
Teesside

### NORTH

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

### EAST

Basildon  
Cambridge  
Chelmsford  
Colchester  
Fakenham  
Harlow  
Ipswich  
Leiston  
Lowestoft  
Norwich  
Peterborough

### SOUTH

Brighton  
Canterbury  
Crawley  
Deal  
Guildford  
Maidstone  
Portsmouth  
Southampton

### NORTH WEST

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

### WALES and SOUTH WEST

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

### GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

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

### MIDLANDS

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

# THE UNIONS

## Official snub to accused 24

AMONG the many sites all over the country which went on strike on the first day of the Shrewsbury pickets' trial was the Higgs and Hill Southampton Hospital contract, the biggest job in the city.

Workers voted overwhelmingly to shut down the site for the day and to pay a 50p-a-week levy to the North Wales 24 Defence Committee as a declaration of opposition to the conspiracy trial.

This magnificent stand was not the result of the endeavours of the union leaders. Far from it. The strike was entirely because the shop stewards took up the case and explained it to the men.

The Higgs and Hill stewards naturally looked for advice and information from their unions, UCATT and the TGWU. The senior UCATT

steward telephoned his union's local office and was put through to one of the officials. He asked for some information about the trial, explaining that the men on the site were concerned about the case and were being starved of information.

UCATT's official replied to the effect that he was unable to give any information. He said this was because the case was 'sub judice'. After this incredible rebuff a TGWU steward also phoned his union offices. Once again the reply was 'the case is sub judice' and no information was available.

Fortunately the stewards on the Higgs and Hill site did not let the matter rest there. They looked for other ways to obtain information about this crucial trial and moved into action.

Neither union is doing anything positive at top level to campaign on behalf of the North Wales 24. The Transport Union, which, immediately after the strike, claimed responsibility for the victory and the official action committees which inspired it, has been trying hard to forget its earlier statements in the union journal.

Nevertheless a North Wales Transport Union official has now agreed to give evidence in the Shrewsbury trial on the official nature of the struggle in which the 24 men were involved.

This important development is not unconnected with the fact that the 24 indicated they would get a court order to bring Jack Jones as a witness if a local official did not agree to appear.

# THE ALTERNATIVE to Jones and Scanlon

THE reputation of left-wing trade union leaders, particularly Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones, has taken some hard knocks in the past year or so, not least in the pages of Socialist Worker. More and more militants are coming to recognise that our heroes' tip-toeing in the corridors of power is due as much to their fragile clay feet as to any inborn delicacy of approach.

by Jim Higgins

It should give us no pleasure to recognise this fact. But it would also be a sad commentary on our good sense and socialist principles not to measure their actions against their words and to criticise sharply and openly when we find them wanting.

Look at the record—Scanlon in the debris of the 1972 engineering wage claim and in the Engineering Section's at best half-hearted response to the Goad case. This response looked halfway good only in comparison to Jack Jones' retreat before the hollow majesty of Sir John Donaldson's Industrial Relations Court. There is also Scanlon's perverse dedication to the Downing Street talks with the Tories.

Jack Jones has, if anything, more to live down than Hugh Scanlon—his conduct before the NIRC, his manoeuvres against the dockers at Pentonville and (together with Scanlon) his complicity in the three-year agony of the Fine Tubes strike. More recently they share intractable to AUEW and TGWU members to blackleg on the electricians' strike at Chrysler.

## MACHINE

Now all this is a formidable picture of failure of nerve, commitment and principle. But still the doubts remain in the minds of some militants. One can blame at least some of the bewilderment on the Communist Party, whose fawning and uncritical affection for the trade union left is not a whim based on personal affection. It is an essential part of the party's piecemeal reformist politics. By not criticising, and instead pressing, urging and influencing, and by careful use of their trade union electoral machine, the Communist Party hopes to shift the Jones-Scanlon axis along the party's chosen path.

Party industrial practice is an integral part of the whole parliamentary strategy for socialism. A loose 'progressive' coalition

in the trade unions is the prelude and the model for the much-hoped-for 'left' coalition in parliament.

The socialist emancipation of the working class is exchanged for the illusory 'Parliamentary Road'. The creation of a fighting, independent rank and file movement is sold for a sweetheart contract with the left trade union bureaucracy.

Even this does not answer all the questions. Many militants worked long and hard to elect Scanlon and Jones to their jobs. They based their hopes for a real left-wing advance in both the Labour Party and the TUC on those elections.

If the record shows little advance by Scanlon and Jones on their right-wing predecessors, there are those who will put it all down to human nature and retire into cynicism and inactivity. There will be others who will look for new messiahs—the Moss Evans and the Bob Wrights of the trade union movement.

In the first case we can only sorrow at their departure and hope to contribute in building the movement that will one day bring them back. In the second case we can argue and argue hard. There are no messiahs. Socialism, like salvation, is not handed down by benevolent gods and demi-gods. The alternative to Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon is no more Moss Evans and Bob Wright than it is Morecambe and Wise.

Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones are not bad men motivated by malice. For every dubious, mistaken decision they make I am sure that some justification can be found—the situation inside the union, relations with other unions, the pressure and interest groups, the need to maintain unity and—the favourite excuse of all—the members are 'too backward'.

All these arguments have their place

## 'Oppose Phase 3' call

THE West of England engineering area council of APEX, the Association of Professional, Executive and Computer Staffs, is calling on the union's executive to develop concerted opposition to Phase Three of the Tories' incomes policy.

This move follows the submission of a toughly-worded motion from APEX's Rolls-Royce Bristol branch to the area council meeting last week. This was carried overwhelmingly. It pointed out that Phase Three would mean effective wage cuts and that isolated sections of the membership could not defeat this on their own.

The motion asked the union executive to produce proposals to remedy this using the full industrial strength of the whole membership, if necessary in concert with other unions. The Rolls-Royce members are hoping that other branches will submit similar resolutions to their area councils.

in the current situation. But we are really describing here two individuals, with all the individual's limitations when rudderless in the complexities of powerful mass organisations.

A general commitment to socialism is not enough. We must, while we have trade unions, have trade union leaders, presidents and general secretaries. If we are to elect socialists to these offices with any expectation of socialist advance, it must be on a clear commitment to a specific, industrially directed, socialist platform.

Even that is not enough. A platform must be more than an attractive electoral package dragged out of one man's skull. It must be the product of collective thought drawn from the experience of collective action.

There are not two policies for socialists—an industrial policy for everyday which operates well within the boundaries of the system and another, socialist, policy that soars beyond the bounds of capitalism on the silver wings of May Day oratory.

## FIGHT

The real stuff of politics is the industrial battle and its development into class struggles. Socialists would be fools to see every strike as the prelude to the final reckoning with capitalism, but by the same token they would not be socialists if they did not see every dispute in a socialist perspective.

To keep faith, a trade union leader must be part of and participate in the development of a movement of the rank and file. Election should be as a result of fighting for a rank and file programme not of displays of individual talent.

Without such a movement there can be no control. Even more important, there is no base from which the battle inside the union with the right wing can be fought. Without such a movement the 'backward workers' will remain lost to militant, socialist policy.

In the unions the Communist Party's electoral and propaganda machine is no substitute. It maintains influence by following, not leading. It condemns itself to the same inadequacy and long term irrelevance as those it follows.

At the head of the agenda for socialists, especially International Socialists, is propaganda for aiding the creation of a rank and file movement. That movement will produce the policy and programme that can and will galvanise the whole labour movement. In the process it will produce, elect, sustain and control the real socialist alternative to Jones and Scanlon.

# Try arguing Chile in the pub!

**WOMEN:  
NO HISTORY  
OF THE  
BIGGEST  
'INDUSTRY'**

**THE QUESTION** of what happened in Chile has cropped up on the site where I work and in conversation in pubs in York.

But the views that many workers have of the events in Chile are quite different to those expressed in Socialist Worker.

It is not the cul-de-sac of parliamentary socialism that is discussed but that Chile seems to prove the inevitable failure of workers achieving power.

The view is roughly that ONE: Chile had a marxist president with a supposedly workers' party

in power. TWO: Factories and communities were being run by the workers themselves, and THREE: The economy then was ruined and the army took power—easily, in one day or less.

Now this mistaken view, influenced by the media, raises the problem that discussing Chile, in areas such as York, means that socialists must put the events there in their true light. What happened was due to workers putting their faith in a figurehead and a party not far removed from what the Labour Party try to present themselves as. Attempting to build socialism in one country

through parliament by enlightened representatives(!) of the working class is the road to defeat.

It is different to the self-activity of workers in creating their own international socialist society by tearing down the present unequal set-up

Readers of Socialist Worker must attempt to explain fully to their workmates what the parliamentary road to socialism means, what happened in Chile, and stress that Chile never had what could be described as a workers' revolution.—NEIL DAVIES (TGWU), York.

I HAVE been buying your paper recently and I think it is very good. I think the stories about the strikes that the men go on are interesting and I show my copy to all my friends.

I think it is very important that they get to know what goes on in the factories where the men (and some women) work. None of us will ever say (like the women in the London Evening Standard): 'We are fed up with all these strikes.'

I don't understand why your paper doesn't have any articles about the country's biggest industry.

Most of the women in the country are spending their time working at making men ready for work. I don't just mean having babies but the shopping and cleaning and the feeding and the cooking and such like. If the bosses in the factories didn't have the workers ready they wouldn't be able to make all that money.

Everyday in the industry there are lots of disputes and conditions of work are often terrible. There are hazards and many of the bosses are beasts, worse than animals.

You have articles about history and socialism by Chris Harman and Duncan Hallas. I hope soon they can write something about these things too and also about the history of the country's biggest industry. I don't understand why it's all women's work.—MAUREEN DAVIES, London N10.

## Not just British Airways

A FEW comments on last week's article by Ian Morris on the stoppage at Heathrow.

I can endorse the statement that shift workers at Heathrow are incensed at the long-drawn-out talks on shift pay. We started out with a matrix which was scrapped. A new claim was then going forward on the basis of a percentage of a tradesman's rate, which most workers at Heathrow prefer.

This was rejected by our own national officials—back to square one. A matrix system we do not want is once again the basis of our justified claim for shift pay increases.

Until national officials carry out the wishes of the membership, airport workers have no chance of obtaining a decent shift allowance. We have to fight British Airways and this so-called government, plus it seems, our own national officials.—F GATES (AUEW shop-steward, BEA Engineering Base), London (Heathrow) Airport.

AT THE risk of moving from the main point of the discussion I should like to take up Comrade Rowthorn's criticism of Socialist Worker and the International Socialists (13 October) and try to clarify the position.

Comrade Rowthorn accuses IS of 'leftist phraseology and economism.' Now I understand economism to mean that the working class will come to a revolutionary socialist consciousness through economic struggle alone, and the separation of the political and economic struggle.

All over the country large numbers of workers are beginning to understand the political significance of local and national struggles on wages, conditions and in defence of basic rights to organise, strike and picket.

Proof of this is the large attendance at IS meetings, growth of rank and file papers, sales of pamphlets like 'The Struggle for Workers Power' and the support for the Pentonville Five and North Wales 24.

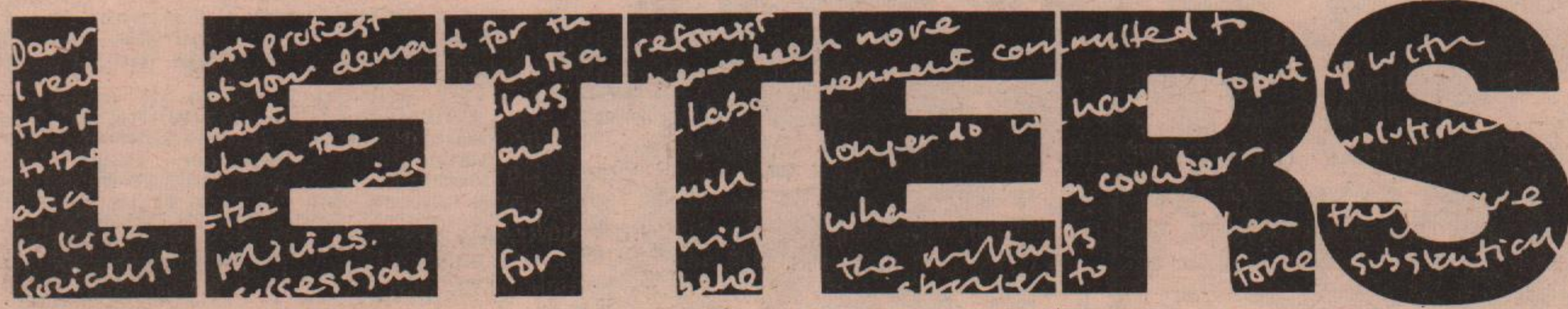
All this points to a significant increase in class consciousness amongst all sections of the working class. In view of this trend and Rowthorn's assertions it seems strange that the membership of the Communist Party continues to decline while that of IS continues to grow.

The CPGB in attempting the parliamentary road to socialism necessarily separates the economic and political struggle to the detriment of both. This has led to an emphasis on constituency branches away from the scene of the struggle, political manoeuvring instead of the class struggle, and a declining membership.—PETE DICKINSON, Atherton.

BOB ROWTHORN in last week's Socialist Worker states 'concrete steps must be taken, both before and after a socialist government takes office, to weaken the strength of the military.'

I find such statements coming from a person writing on behalf of the Communist Party hard to swallow.

In 1968 I was serving in the armed



forces and as a convinced socialist I looked for an organisation of like-minded people to join.

I applied to the Communist Party for membership. Imagine my amazement when I was informed that the CP did not admit into its membership those workers forced by boredom and unemployment to join the ranks of Her Majesty's armed forces.

When I hear members of the Communist Party tell people to read their publication: 'The British Road to Socialism', I would say yes indeed. Every member of the Communist Party would be advised to buy a copy, read it, compare its contents with reality and draw the necessary political conclusions. Then seriously consider joining a genuine revolutionary organisation such as members of IS are beginning to build.—STEVE MANN, London N8.

**ALL OF US** who read Socialist Worker know that the Shrewsbury conspiracy trial is one of the most important issues facing the working class today. But as usual the capitalist press is doing its best to keep people ignorant of the true facts. The International Socialist pamphlet, 'Pickets on Trial' is just what we need. It gives all the facts and arguments we need to educate our members and organise an effective mass campaign in their defence.

The Hull Building Workers Joint Shop Stewards Committee recommends this pamphlet to all workers involved in organising the defence of the Shrewsbury 24. Keep up the good work.—MICK MARRATY Secretary, Hull Building Workers Joint Shop Stewards Committee.

## Football: who made the 'hooligans'?

August) there was a big headline 'BIRCH THE SOCCER ROWDIES. FOOTBALL CHIEF URGES A CRACKDOWN ON 'ANIMALS'.

It reported that the football league president, Len Shipman made a speech on magistrates dealing out stiff sentences to arrested fans.

He was quoted 'to call them rioters and hooligans is too mild a description. They are nothing but wild animals. It is a national problem and the government should step in to help. Years ago the birch acted as a deterrent and one cannot help thinking that the birch would do good again.'

Do readers who know more about football than I do think there could be a connection between the lack of democracy and the 'hooliganism'?—GILLIAN SIMS, Harrow.

✻

**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.**

## 'Fun' from the Lord Chancellor

'IT'S RATHER fun to have the Lord Chancellor making all the arrangements for you.' This was the closing remark of Mark Phillips' father when he was interviewed on TV last Friday about the forthcoming wedding.

Unfortunately not everyone has other people to rely on. The majority of us have to go rushing about trying to get things organised and worrying ourselves silly that nothing will go wrong.

It is a pity that we all can't open our homes to the public. If we could, then maybe at 50p a time we could manage to raise enough money to set up a home of our own. But considering the state of things nowadays, I suppose some people could say that the future Mr and Mrs Phillips have been lucky in getting a home at all. I mean to say who would want to set up their first home in an army barracks? Although I'm sure we would all like to be able to rent a house like the one they have, and at the relatively small sum they have to pay. I think £8 a week was the figure quoted. It is obvious that they don't come under the fair rents act, as most of us do, or else the figure would probably be nearer £108 a week.

If more people could see through this charade I'm sure they would realise that it is themselves, the working class, who are paying for this 'occasion'. But this is exactly what has been happening ever since royalty have reigned, and until we come to realise it we will go on paying.—RACHEL TOMLINSON, Rugby UPW.

## Unfair to the Israelis?

I AM disappointed at your totally uncritical acceptance of the Arab case. There is, in any case, nothing revolutionary or fair about Arab governments at present. In Libya, adulterers are to be stoned in public. Thieves have their hands cut off.

Jews have a right to live, and whatever the Palestinian issue, there is no justification in approving of a sneaky attack on a small, albeit strong country, and to try blackmail against the whole world by a combined Arab effort to block oil supplies. One can only hope this joint Arab effort will remain as puny as any previous efforts at all-Arab action.

The rich oil-producing countries of the Arab world could solve the problem of badly-housed poor refugees 'at a stroke' if they provided for homes, land and capital. There is no need to attack Israel. That country has had to live under constant threat since its founding. No wonder someone under attack turns back and counter-attacks.—W P JASPERS, London NW3.

See editorial page 3.

MY FRIENDS support the queen but I do not. I believe in International Socialism, I am for the workers. The government are selfish and do not believe in sharing things which is not fair. The queen is a show-off and boo for Mark Phillips and Princess Anne. Join International Socialism.—JUDITH HIGGINS (aged eight), Wembley.

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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# SUPPORT TRADE UNIONISTS UNDER ATTACK

**STEP UP** the solidarity campaign for the North Wales building workers and fight for strike action to stop the seizure of the engineering union's funds—these were the two key demands from last weekend's meeting of the national committee of the International Socialists.

Laurie Flynn told the committee that the retreat by the unions, UCATT in particular, over support for the builders on trial for conspiracy was gathering pace. It was up to rank and file trade unionists to build and sustain a continuing campaign, culminating in strike action if jail sentences or fines were handed down by the Shrewsbury court.

The initial response by IS to the trial had been slow, Flynn said, but it had improved dramatically and our building worker members in Edinburgh and Southampton had organised effectively for strike action when the trial began. He reported that shop stewards in the Royal Group of Docks in London had voted to campaign on the issue and intended to raise it at a meeting of the national port shop stewards.

The committee accepted the following recommendations from the IS executive:

- 1 IS members to raise the issue in their union branches and to send successful resolutions for publication in *Socialist Worker*.
- 2 Invite a speaker from the North Wales 24 defence committee to address the Socialist Worker industrial conference on 11 November.
- 3 Invite speakers from the defence committee to address IS branches, with IS speakers stressing the need for similar action to that over Pentonville.
- 4 Commission a special article for *Socialist Worker* on the technique of preparing for strike action along with improved coverage of the trial.

## RECOGNISE

Steve Jefferys said that the £100,000 fine on the AUEW over the Con-Mech strike showed that the Industrial Relations Act still exists. Left unions like the AUEW and TGWU have been complying with the Act, giving seven days' notice of strike action and, in the case of the TGWU, their lorry drivers respecting pickets only if agreed by head office.

Jefferys said that the AUEW had maintained its opposition to the NIRC but would not stop the seizing of its funds by the court. If the union allows the money to be taken then the fine next time will be even bigger and the right wing in the union will be strengthened in its resolve to recognise the court and defend the funds. Industrial action is the only way to stop the sequestration and defend the union without surrendering to the NIRC.

The committee agreed to support a lobby of the AUEW executive and to print an emergency letter calling for mass industrial action to stop the attack on the union's funds.

Opening a discussion on Phase Three of the government's 'counter-inflation' policy, Tony Cliff said this was a cleverer package than Phases One and Two. The Tories were not putting too much stress on productivity deals because of the effect they have on low-paid workers.

They see other sections getting several pounds more through a productivity deal and, without grasping the nature of the dangerous strings

## Militant call

**THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE** heard that the response to the Socialist Worker industrial conference was excellent, with support growing in all parts of the country.

But branches were urged to redouble their efforts in the remaining weeks in order to get hundreds more delegates.

The committee felt it was important to stress that the conference was open to all trade unionists, not just IS members.

attached, demand similar increases themselves.

The lack of pressure for such deals from the government gave the trade union bureaucrats less room for manoeuvre. Productivity deals in the past had got them off the hook. They could claim a wage increase in such a deal as a major victory, ignoring the strings attached.

And overtime bans and working to rule, which used to be the way the unions put up a mock fight in place of all-out strike action, would now have serious effects on the fragile economy. The bureaucrats were not anxious to take any action that might seriously damage their relations with government and employers.

In such conditions, Cliff said, the union leaders would tend to act in a volatile and unpredictable manner. Frank Chapple's threat to break from the Joint Industry Board in the electrical contracting industry was a good example of this.

Hugh Kerr said there was considerable flexibility in Phase Three. And it was important to remember that we were now approaching the run up to a

general election. The union bureaucrats would avoid confrontations that would give the unions a 'bad public image' and spoil Labour's chances.

John Charlton and several other speakers said that the key to the fight against Phase Three lay with the miners. There was a tough mood in the mines. There had been a rash of small local strikes caused by irritation over pay and conditions. A delegate conference would almost certainly vote for strike action, which would put the 'broad left' leaders on the spot. There were great possibilities for IS in the mines.

Jim Higgins also stressed the election aspect of Phase Three. 'The union leaders will duck, bob, manoeuvre and screw people—particularly our militants,' he said, 'in order to give Labour a good run into the election. It is vitally important to strengthen our union fractions to direct the work of our industrial members.'

Higgins said Phase Three was a considerable package for the union leaders. Anything they got above 7 per cent would be presented as a victory, accompanied by the message: 'Don't push too hard and we will get a "left-wing" Labour government.' The Tories did not want a confrontation with the unions—their conference had made conciliatory noises, attacking Powell and loving up to the unions.

He underlined the importance of the miners: 'If they go they'll win and it will be the end of the government.'

Reporting on Socialist Worker, editor Roger Protz said the paper had been restructured in order to make room for more industrial news. The flood of news was a reflection of the growth and influence of IS.

He said that circulation was now rising quickly and had gone up by nearly 2000 copies in the past three weeks. He stressed the need for branches to make a real effort to reach 35,000 copies by the end of the year.

## LESSONS OF THE 1880s

COVENTRY:—The IS History Group is holding a school open to all IS members and sympathisers interested in working-class history next Saturday. The subject will be Trade Unionism and Socialism in the 1880s, with speakers on the rebirth of the socialist movement, the Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist League, the struggles of the unemployed that led to Bloody Sunday 1887, the

organising of the unskilled workers and the trade union advances in 1889. The roles of two important leaders, William Morris and Tom Mann, will be discussed.

Many of the lessons from the bitter fights to improve working-class conditions and organisations in those years is of crucial importance to socialists and trade unionists today. Details about the school are in the Whats On column.

## Coaches to the Industrial 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.

BARNESLEY, GOLDTHORPE and neighbouring villages: 18 Station Road, Barnsley.

YORK: 25 Swinerton Avenue, Leeman Road, York. Phone 56316.

EDINBURGH: 2 Murao Place, (off Leith Walk), Edinburgh. Phone: 554 6310.

WOLVERHAMPTON: 1 The Hayes, Willenhall, Staffordshire.

SHEFFIELD: 98 Malton Street, Sheffield 10. Phone Sheffield 381417.

BIRMINGHAM: 25 Selbourne Road, Birmingham 20. Phone 021-554 1193.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE: 7 Knivestone Court, Killingworth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE12 0ST.

BRISTOL and the South West: 31 Eldon Terrace, Bedminster, Bristol 3.

MERSEYSIDE: 64 Kenmare Road, Liverpool 15.

PAISLEY, CLYDEBANK, CUMBERNAULD, EAST KILBRIDE and

GLASGOW: IS Books, 64 Queens Street, Glasgow C1.

COVENTRY: 42 Hamilton Road, Coventry.

WARLEY: 99 Barclav Road, Warley. Phone 021-429 4166.

SOUTH WALES: 5 St Albans Road, Brynmill, Swansea, SA2 0BP.

NORFOLK: 104 Rosary Road, Norwich.

NORTH LONDON: 46 Manor Road, N16.

NORTH WEST LONDON: 15 Staverton Road, NW2.

SOUTH WEST LONDON: 8 Beverstone

## MEETINGS

WALTHAM FOREST DISTRICT IS public meeting

SMASH PHASE THREE. Speakers: Tony Cliff and Jack Aldridge (TGWU). Wednesday 31 October, Ros' Wyld Hall, Church Hill Road, Walthamstow, London E17.

LONDON IS Irish Forum

THE OFFICIAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT. Speaker Paddy Prenderville, Friday 26 October, 8pm, The Metropolitan, 95 Farringdon Road, London EC1 (nearest tube Farringdon).

CAXTON IS FACTORY BRANCH SOCIAL

with NITE BLUES STEEL BAND. Friday 26 October, 7pm-midnight. Nightingale pub (studio room 10) Wood Green High Road, London N22. Bar extension. Admission 50p.

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. Dancing and disco, bar extension till 12. All welcome.

LEWISHAM AND SOUTHWARK IS public meeting: The big rent fraud—where is our money going? Speaker Hugh Kerr

(secretary, National Tenants Co-ordinating Committee, and member of IS National Committee). Wednesday 24 October, 8pm, Manor Place Baths, Manor Place, Walworth, London SE17 (five minutes walk from Elephant and Castle).

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 LONDON DISTRICT IS Social: Saturday 20 October, 8pm-1am,

Tottenham Trades Hall, Bruce Grove, London N17. Dancing—drink—disco.

CENTRAL LONDON IS public meeting: Phase Three and how to fight it. Speaker Duncan Hallas, Friday 26 October, 7.30pm

Coway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1 (Holborn tube). Admission 10p.

CENTRAL LONDON IS District Committee Social with live entertainment and disco. Friday 19 October, 9pm,

NCAL London Poly, Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, London N5. Admission 25p. Proceeds towards Socialist Worker Industrial Conference. Bar Extension.

IS NORTH LONDON BUILDING WORKERS branch public meeting:

Speakers: Micky Fenn (London docks shop steward) and John Fontaine (UCATT convenor). Tuesday 23 October, The George, Liverpool Road, London N1 (near the Angel, Islington).

CARDIFF IS public meeting

THE FIGHT AGAINST RACIALISM. Speaker George Peake, Monday 22 October, 8pm, Blue Anchor pub, St Mary Street, Cardiff.

LEIGH IS public meeting: The Struggle for Workers' Power. Speaker Tony Cliff.

Wednesday 24 October, 8pm, The Globe, Bradshaw Gate, Leigh. All welcome.

TYNESIDE DISTRICT IS public meeting: The Politics of Corruption. Speaker Paul Foot. Friday 26 October, 7.30-9pm,

Nixon Hall, New YMCA building, Newcastle.

LEEDS IS: Tickets for the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference on 11 November

obtainable from 3 Granby Grove, Leeds 6. Price 40p, including transport.

LOUGHBOROUGH IS public meeting: Smash the Tories—how to fight Phase

Three. Speakers Wally Preston (AUEW) and Chrysler workers. Tuesday 23 October, 7.30pm, Public Library, Loughborough.

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.

TYNESIDE DISTRICT IS public meeting: The politics of corruption. Speaker Paul Foot, Friday 26 October, 7.30-9pm, Nixon Hall, YMCA, Ellison Place, Newcastle. Admission 10p. All welcome.

PETERBOROUGH IS public meeting: The fight against Phase Three. Speaker Andreas Nagliati (IS industrial organiser). Friday 26 October, 8.15pm. The Still, Combergate, Peterborough.

IS POST OFFICE WORKERS meeting: Sunday 21 October, 10.30pm, at 8 Cotton Gardens, London E2. Speakers include Jim Higgins.

CLYDEBANK IS public meeting: Phase Three—the Tory fraud. Speaker John Palmer. Monday 22 October, 7.30pm, Clydebank Town Hall.

PAISLEY IS public meeting: Phase Three—the Tory fraud. Speaker John Palmer. Tuesday 23 October, 7.30pm, Paisley Town Hall.

EAST KILBRIDE IS public meeting: Phase Three—the Tory fraud. Speaker John Palmer. Wednesday 24 October, 7.30pm, The Murray Hall, East Kilbride.

GLASGOW IS public meeting: Phase Three—the Tory fraud. Speaker John Palmer. Thursday 25 October, 7.30pm, McLennan Galleries, Glasgow.

ACCRINGTON IS public meeting: Wage control—Tory con-trick. Speaker Harry Cowan. Thursday 25 October, 8pm, Blockdale Hotel, Accrington.

BASILDON IS public meeting: Chile—what it means for socialists. Thursday 18 October, Civic Defence Building (behind Tesco, next to Ambulance Station), Basildon.

BASILDON IS public meeting: Can parliament bring socialism? Thursday 1 November, Civic Defence Building (behind Tesco, next to Ambulance Station), Basildon.

IS BUSMEN: A national meeting of all IS busworkers will be held at the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference in Manchester on Sunday 11 November. Details will be announced at the start of the conference.

CROYDON IS public meeting: Chile—end of the parliamentary road. Thursday 18 October, 8pm, Ruskin House, Coombe Road, Croydon.

IS ELECTRICIANS: Urgent—fraction meeting for all IS EETPTU members in Liverpool. Saturday 27 October, 10.30am. Contact IS Industrial Department, 8 Cotton Gardens, London E1 8DN (phone 01-739 6273 for details).

FAKENHAM IS public meeting: What we mean by workers' control. Speaker Ian Gibson. Wednesday 31 October, 8pm, Rampant Horse Inn (opposite Post Office) Fakenham.

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.

## NOTICES

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.

COVENTRY CHRYSLER IS pamphlet: Crisis at Chrysler. 20 printed pages full of ammunition, analysis, facts and arguments—4p a copy. Orders—for not less than 10 copies—to 12 Barras Court, Heath Road, Coventry.

IS INDUSTRIAL AND ADMIN departments apologise for inconveniences caused by the breakdown of their phones last week. 01-739 1878 and 01-739 6273 have now been repaired and should be working normally.

IS TEACHER needs a room with comrade—preferably South East London, North West Kent, but other localities considered. Phone Liz Pitt, 01-858 7840.

CAST Revolutionary Theatre Workshop starting soon. 01-402 6087.

COMRADE NEEDS ROOM in Hackney area of London. Urgent. Phone David at 739 1413 (day) or 249 4353 (evenings).

DOES any IS member want a key opportunity to report Tory law in action and to help in the defence campaign of 24 workers now on trial for picketing?

Socialist Worker requires someone to go to the Shrewsbury trial for the next couple of months. Accommodation arranged nearby. If interested, please contact Laurie Flynn, Socialist Worker, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 (telephone 01 739 6361).

Details of times and places of coach departures will be included here next week. Organisers should contact the IS industrial department at 01-739 6273 with these details by 5pm on Friday 19 October.

# Films pile up as Kodak strikers vote 'we go on'

**HEMEL HEMPSTEAD:**-The 150 trade unionists in dispute demanding union recognition at Kodak, start the fourth week since the lock-out as determined as ever.

At a mass meeting last Friday, only three workers raised their hands against the recommendation of ACTT convenor Peter Ingram that the strike continue until the union is recognised.

Kodak, by far the biggest firm in the country which refuses to recognise in-

dependent trade unions, has been seriously damaged by the strike. £60,000 worth of press advertising still has not stopped the flow of undeveloped colour film to Hemel Hempstead, where 1,500,000 films are now stockpiled. Kodak have been forced to issue a special circular to all dealers asking them to hide the yellow Kodak label on packages containing film, since members of the Union of Post Office Workers have been sending these, even when addressed to Italian Kodak firms, to Hemel Hempstead.

The strikers were greatly cheered at their meeting by a telegram from the unions at Kodak's plant in Paris pledging the 'utmost vigilance' against any processing of film from Britain.

These troubles have forced Kodak, who have for 30 years refused even to discuss trade unions, to the conference table to discuss union recognition. The talks, at the Department of Employment, include the UKW, Kodak's puppet union. Only SOGAT, of the TUC unions at Kodak, has refused to sit down with the UKW.

SOGAT members at the Kodak print and box department at Swallowdale Lane, Hemel, have been engaged in a dispute with the company over the employment of a non-union worker in a traditional print union area of work. 150 workers threatened to strike and the man was removed.

The short struggle showed that Kodak's battle is against all workers in all departments. The struggle at Kodak can be won, but only if all the ACTT workers get the full support not only of other trade

unionists at Kodak but also of the whole trade union movement. Shop stewards committees and trade union branches are urged to:

- Invite speakers from the ACTT strike committee,
- Send donations and start collection sheets,
- Pass motions for the total blacking of all Kodak goods.

These letters, messages of support and money should be sent to Peter Ingram, 38 Gadebridge Lane, Hemel Hempstead,

## Scaffold death fall 'an accident'

by Greg Douglas

**ROTHERHAM:**-The inquest into the death of steel erector Len Lepps, who fell from a temporary scaffold on the British Steel Corporation Parkgate Aldwarke site, returned a verdict of 'accidental death'.

Len, a 28-year-old married man who had two children, fell from a scaffold no self-respecting seagull would land on. It was 40ft above the ground, with no handrails, toe boards or proper access. He had to lie where he fell for 20 minutes before the BSC site ambulance could reach him.

The verdict by coroner P Gills, aided by L Lester, foreman for sub-contractors Lodge Cottrill, came as no surprise to the men. Coroners have no experience of the construction industry and even less of employers' attitudes to safety and their wide interpretation of the Factory Acts—which led the Sheffield Factory Inspector to describe construction sites as virtual death traps.

These attitudes are typical in the construction industry. Until we build a strong rank and file organisation to speak for the men on the sites and protect them from such threats and from the blacklist, who knows whose name will next be recorded as 'accidental death'.

## Busmen to strike

**LEEDS:**-Busmen have decided on a total strike on all city buses during the weekends in protest against a series of vicious assaults on bus conductors during which passengers have refused to come to the man's assistance. Busmen in neighbouring Keighley, Otley, Wetherby, York and Bradford have agreed to ban all transport on the Leeds boundary.

## Strike for equal pay

**OXFORD:**-Women officers workers at Pressed Steel's Cowley body plant have been on strike since Tuesday last week over equal pay. The women, all members of ACTS, are objecting to a management attempt to make merit money count towards equal pay.

Men in the offices are supporting them only with a work to rule and overtime ban but the switchboards are totally dead and the wages department is chaotic.

# Blacks' anti-racism strike is victory

**NORTH LONDON:**-Roderick Adams, the black worker at the Standard Telephones and Cables factory at New Southgate who has been the victim of racist discrimination, is back on training as a setter.

In July STC management took him off training on the night shift following racist pressure from members of the Electricians' Union. This caused an immediate eight-week strike by 300 workers in the Engineering Union, most of them black.

The strikers returned without a clear victory and half-expected that later STC

**MINERS' leaders will decide within the next week what course of action they propose to take in pursuit of the 1973 pay claim.**

A delegate conference has been called next Friday, which has the power to impose an overtime ban and recommend miners to vote for industrial action. A special meeting of the executive has been laid on for the previous day.

Meanwhile the executive is to send a senior official to plead with Heath for more concessions.

Last week the executive unanimously rejected the Coal Board's pay offer—the maximum under the Tory government's Phase Three formula. This would only give £2.25 on the basic to the lower-paid surface workers, with £2.50 for those working underground.

The offer—and the Tories' Phase Three formula—is carefully framed to split the miners and let the Tories escape what they fear most, another miners' strike. They hope that the shift allowances might do the trick here.

## Increase

The Coal Board offer includes 17p an hour for shift workers. This would give this section an extra £6 or so a week, but only every third week. The NUM executive has accepted this in principle and is only asking that the payments also be made for the afternoon shift.

But the payments for anti-social shifts will only affect a minority of miners. They will do nothing to help the lower paid workers, who will not get them. In any case they do not affect the fundamental issue, a big increase on the basics.

Militant miners are stressing that the executive is mandated to press the full £35 to £45 a week claim. More than 1000 miners from all over



Some of the hundreds of miners who travelled to London last week to lobby the pay talks

PICTURE: Chris Davies (Report)

the country lobbied the executive meeting last Thursday demanding action in support of the full claim.

As Trevor Ball, of Lea Hall Colliery, Staffordshire, put it: 'My feelings are that people should start to get the candles ready. We want the full claim. We need the full claim to maintain and improve our standard of living.'

'I doubt that the government and the Coal Board will give in. And why should we. We should be preparing to fight all out for the full claim.'

# STRIKERS SACKED BY LUCAS

**BIRMINGHAM:**-17 men, including four shop stewards, at the Lucas Shaftsmoor Lane starter motor factory have been sacked for the 'crime' of going on strike.

The dispute started when day shift workers soldering and varnishing parts for starter motors found out that their mates on the night shift were getting a higher bonus for doing the same amount of work. Day shift workers have to produce more than half as many more units to earn the same money. Parity would give day workers an extra £3 a week.

After a three-day stoppage in September and the promise of sympathetic action from the night shift, management conceded that the claim was justified. But they later decided that they would not bring in an equitable bonus scheme for fear of 'leapfrogging'.

Instead they suggested a standard bonus payment to be paid until another dispute was settled. This would have meant a wage cut for the night shift men, so they struck.

The shop stewards committee feels that the company, by sacking 17 strikers, is challenging the whole trade union organisation in Lucas. It is likely that if the strikers have not been reinstated by the end of the week the whole plant will be shut down with 2000 workers taking action to defend their workmates.

with the chapel, NATSOPA workers replied with non-co-operation. Management at once sacked several of the office workers, and have rejected all proposals for arbitration. They clearly want to provoke a strike or force a lock-out, hoping this will weaken union organisation.

All printworkers must prepare to support the Sunday Times workers in this important struggle. Messages of support and donations to FOC, NATSOPA Clerical Chapel, Sunday Times, Grays Inn Road, London WC1.

## CLASSIFIED

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

**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.

**PRE-XMAS SPECIAL SALE:** Unique gifts to friends (or just you?): Chinese pure silk-woven portraits of Marx, Lenin, Engels and others. Sizes: 28in x 19½in—£1.10, 16in x 10½in—75p, 7in x 4in—25p. Large glass paper portraits of same leaders—24p each. LP gramophone record of Chinese choir and orchestra singing the Internationale—39p. At one delivery: D Volpe, 16 Belmont Court, Holmleigh Road, London N16 5QD.

**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 31 October, 3.30pm, Collegiate Theatre, Gordon Street, London. Followed by discussion. Other Cinema Latin American Front.

**RANK AND FILE TECHNICAL TEACHERS** Supporters meeting, Sunday 21 October, 7pm, The Roebuck, Tottenham Court Road, London W1. Subject: The 1974 salary claim and Phase Three.

**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 Subcommittee.

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



I would like to join the International Socialists

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Trade Union \_\_\_\_\_

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

## Threat to 1000 workers

**LONDON:**-Nearly 1000 workers have received 'protective' notices at the Sunday Times after a dispute which left last Sunday's issue of the paper without advertisements. The notices amount to a threat that the workers will be laid off from this weekend.

The dispute started after a deliberate management attempt to break the well-organised clerical chapel of the print union NATSOPA, which has won its members some of the highest rates of pay in Fleet Street.

After management broke an agreement



# THE

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

# TROUBLEMAKER

**GILBERT HUNT, Chrysler's chief executive in Britain, the man who hired convicted criminals to break picket lines outside one of Chrysler's factories last summer, has been complaining to the Society of Motor Manufacturers about 'troublemakers'.**

Not the troublemakers in his own boardroom who have been harassing their workers ever since Chrysler came to Britain six years ago. Not the ever-increasing band of work-study hysterics and foremen who clutter up the Chrysler plants. Not the company's measured day work agreement—one of the most inhuman documents ever produced in British industry.

No. Mr Hunt was talking about the workers who produce all Chrysler cars and Mr Hunt's fat salary into the bargain. In 1972 Gilbert Hunt was paid £443 a week, that is £11 an hour, by Chrysler. On 1 April the government introduced massive tax concessions for the higher paid. The result of these for Gilbert Hunt was an annual increase in his take-home pay of £324—£74 more than the increase demanded by Chrysler electricians, who are still on strike. An 'independent inquiry' is 'investigating' their claim.

Mr Hunt referred to agitation by 'International Socialists backed by the universities'. He was trying to pretend that there

are no socialists among Chrysler workers, but that 'agitation is fomented from outside.'

Nothing could be further from the truth. Socialist Worker has received a number of reactions from Chrysler workers to Mr Hunt's outbursts. We print two below, from stewards at Chrysler plants at Linwood in Scotland, and at Stoke, Coventry.

Meanwhile there is one part of Mr Hunt's speech with which we agree. 'We are all going down the pan,' he said miserably. If, as seems likely, he is referring to the whole bunch of motor manufacturers, managers and their shareholders who have created so much misery to so many workers, he is absolutely right.



The Footprints banner on last Friday's demonstration. (Morning Star picture)

## Now Chrysler militants hit back

**WILLY LEE, AUEW senior shop steward in the press shop, Linwood, writes:**

Gilbert Hunt, talking about outside interference and the International Socialists, makes me laugh.

I've been working at Linwood for the past 10 years. For nine of them I've been a shop steward, and a member of the AUEW works committee for eight. So when he says IS is outside, it's just rubbish.

Speaking to other workers in my department about Hunt's charge that 'ordinary workers' were worried about IS influence, they thought it nonsense too. They say it's just a periodical 'red scare' to try to split the trade union organisation in the factories.

You see, they know more about democracy than Gilbert Hunt does. He doesn't put his threat to sack 8000 men to the vote. But the men in my department know that any decision they take at any particular time is their decision, their vote, not the decision of outsiders.

In the past two weeks I've been told a couple of times by senior management that they'd love to get something on me. Just on Wednesday the press shop manager 'joked' that I didn't have to guess who they'd have to put on the top of the list of 8000 workers to be sacked.

### Conditions

The crazy thing is that they think that by isolating individuals they'll kill trade unionism in the plant. That's nonsense. Hunt obviously wants to get rid of IS members but every good trade unionist knows that he'd be next. The workers won't stomach this kind of stuff.

Everyone in the factory knows that first and foremost my fight is for the wages and conditions of the men I represent. I'm basically there as a worker and a trade unionist. I'm also a member of IS.

I wish a lot more were too, because I

believe that IS are the only people prepared to fight for workers on a wide scale. We need a large rank and file movement to link up all workers in different factories and industries—the workers who are really prepared to fight to defend and improve conditions and in the long term to change the system.

To build such a rank and file organisation is politics. It's about workers taking action on things like prices, rents, speed-up, unemployment and so on. So that's why we need a workers' political organisation like IS.

I'd seriously recommend any active trade unionist who doesn't want to follow Gilbert Hunt and his friends on trade unionism, our jobs and our living standards to come along to the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference on Sunday 11 November and hear what we have to say.

**GERRY JONES, TGWU shop steward at Chrysler's Stoke factory, Coventry, writes:**

Gilbert Hunt's tirade is the latest in a series of attacks not only on socialists and militants but on anyone who is prepared to fight to defend hard-won conditions.

I have worked here at Stoke for 10 years. Many of the Chrysler workers have worked here a lot longer. Yet Gilbert Hunt seems to enjoy threatening redundancies and closures the minute a strike breaks out, spreading fear and insecurity for the future. The lads on the shop floor know who the subversives are.

Who was it who sacked the deputy convenor? Who took 600 men off the clock at Ryton as a punishment? Who hired professional thugs to smash the Ryton pickets during the 'shoddy work' dispute, and physically assaulted a Stoke millwright? Who broke a promise to pay the electricians £250 a year in July?

We are dealing with a militant company encouraged and supported by a militant government.

## SMEAR BACKFIRES

THE witchhunt habit started by Gilbert Hunt at Chrysler has spread to Halsteads factory at Whitefield, Manchester, where the workers recently staged a successful strike to reinstate victimised stewards.

The law-abiding management raided the private locker of a worker who is a member of the International Socialists and stole an internal document which gave details of an IS meeting in the Manchester area and outlined the performance of the IS factory branch at Halsteads.

The document has been copied and put up on notice boards all over the works, with the sections about Halsteads underlined. Now Mr Hunt's statement about IS in Chrysler has been pinned up alongside.

The employers want to frighten Halsteads' workers by revelations of the activities of 'subversives' in their midst. Unhappily for them, most workers who have read the documents have been greatly impressed by the strength of IS in the working class in Manchester, and in Halsteads.

The IS factory branch at Halsteads has meanwhile demanded access to the company's photocopying machine and the right to put IS propaganda in workers' wage packets.

### FIGHTING FUND REACHES £433 — 11 DAYS TO GO

A GOOD response from readers and supporters brought in £247 this week—swelling the October Socialist Worker Fighting Fund to £433.

But there are only 11 days left to hit our monthly target of £1000—so don't let up. We urgently need extra cash to meet all our overheads: an improved paper, more pamphlets, full-time organisers and conferences.

Yes, we know there's Phase Three ready to take another slice out of your income. But the best way to beat off the Tories' attacks is to help spread our ideas and build a tough, fighting workers' organisation. Keep the cash coming in, to: Jim Nichol, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

## 3000 march, 20,000 out in protest at arrests

**SHEFFIELD:**—Last Friday 3000 engineers marched through the city behind an impressive display of shop stewards committee banners.

In total 20,000 engineers were out on strike for between one and 24 hours. They struck in protest at the arrest and trial of eight trade unionists, including AUEW district secretary George Caborn, on a mass picket line outside Footprint Tools three weeks ago. George Caborn was found guilty and fined £5. The others come to trial soon.

The strike at Footprints is for the reinstatement of the leading AUEW steward sacked 17 weeks ago.

Since Monday all has been quiet down at the picket line. An attempt last week to get talks between the General and Municipal Workers Union and AUEW shop stewards

to resolve the question of GMWU members doing AUEW work during the strike has failed.

Although all parties, including management, have agreed in principle to an inquiry, this still has not been arranged. Clearly, without further pressures in the form of more, widespread strike action being exerted by the AUEW in Sheffield, the issue looks like remaining unresolved.

## Triumph plan brings axe nearer

**COVENTRY:**—Dennis Poore and the other hatchet men involved in closing down the Triumph motorcycle factory at Meriden, near Coventry, moved one step nearer their goal last week.

Last week 2000 motorcycles were 'locked in' by round-the-clock pickets. At this point Leslie Huckfield, Labour MP for Nuneaton, and Bill Lapworth, Transport Union district organiser, produced their 'workers co-op' plan.

At the time, although some workers warned that the co-op couldn't possibly work, that it might act as a diversion, most of the shop floor welcomed the scheme as one way out of a difficult situation.

What has happened now is disastrous. In the first place the issue has been taken out of the hands of the shop floor. It is now being handled in negotiations among full-time officials and stewards, with a refusal to involve the shop floor properly.

Also, in the name of saving the co-op idea, some people are talking of releasing some of the bikes 'in order to buy time'. And inter-union squabbling over the co-op

is further confusing matters.

To release the bikes, whether in response to sacking threats or to buy more time, would be disastrous. 'Locked in', the bikes are the main strength of the shop floor. Once they start to trickle away the steam will go out of the struggle and Poore will have won.

### Officials

Only a few days ago, the massive protest march went through Coventry. Now, thanks to blackmail threats from Poore and the manoeuvring of some full time officials, the movement is on the retreat.

Despite his reputation, Poore tried last week to prove how generous he really is. He told the stewards that all he wanted from the factory was the development, experimental and marketing staff, the Triumph name and next year's models. The workers could have the empty factory. So long as they can raise the money to buy it, that is.

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