

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## Full support for pitmen as Tories totter

# MINERS: KEY TO VICTORY!

AS THE ECONOMY REELS under the impact of the £298 million October trade deficit, as bank rate rockets to 13 per cent, as the Tories contemplate the ruins of their policies, the miners' action drives them to fresh hysteria.

A 'state of emergency' is declared after just 24 hours of an overtime ban. Home Secretary Robert Carr reveals the existence of a special anti-picketing centre to co-ordinate

police attacks on strikers.

These acts of government are in addition to the hate campaign being worked up against the miners.

But provocations and a lie campaign will not help them at all. The attempt to smear the miners as accomplices of Middle East oil sheikhs will serve only to intensify the workers' anger.

As Ike Carter, miners' union secretary at Markham Colliery, near Chesterfield—where 19 miners died earlier this year in the pit cage disaster—told Socialist Worker:

'Our claim was made and justified before the Middle East war. It is even more justified now. Our members are determined to win this claim or break the industry.'

'Faceworkers are taking home as little as £25 or £26 after stoppages. It is just not worth the death, the danger, the dirt and discomfort. The overtime ban must be just a prelude to all out strike action.'

Government inspired stories of an offered £6 to £10 increases for miners mask the reality. Only 14,000 miners qualify for rises of this character under the 'unsocial hours' provision of Phase Three. There is no

guarantee that these payments will continue.

Under the Wilberforce agreement that followed the 1972 strike, the Coal Board has the right to institute a two-shift system, dispensing with the night shift. This provision can reduce those on regular night work to less than 4000 safety men.

The reality is that the offer is firmly set within the Phase Three limits: £2.30 to £2.57. It is just not enough.

As faceworker Terry Bristowe, a committee man at the Dodworth Colliery, Yorkshire, says: 'Out of a standard week's money of £36.80, I take home £31. With a wife and three children to feed, clothe and shelter we have got to have the full claim. Once we used to have steak occasionally, now it's all hamburger or that bloody mince.'

'Clothes for the children are impossibly expensive—last week we paid £4 for a half-way decent pair of new shoes for our seven-year-old daughter. With prices going up like they are, pints are a great deal harder to come by than they used to be.'

## Power to win

'At Dodworth, the men are behind the ban. Most of us think that the overtime ban should be made permanent. We all expect a strike and we intend to win.'

Even though the overtime ban may be patchy in its effect, one thing is certain: Because of the safety men's action, it will be much more effective than the last ban in November 1972 when 500,000 tons of coal production was lost each week.

Even so it is not enough. The miners have the power to win. They have the incentive and the determination to win.

Their victory will be the signal to ever increasing numbers of workers coming into struggle, some for the first time. The Tories are once again on the ropes. The spirit of solidarity expressed so magnificently at Saltley coke depot in the 1972 miners' strike must be the keynote for this struggle.

Every section of the trade union movement must prepare for effective action to back the miners—especially if the full power of the emergency legislation is used against them.

If the miners stick out for the full claim, mobilise for countrywide flying pickets and are backed by powerful sections such as the engineers, then not just Phase Three can be smashed, but the tottering Tories along with it.

MINES ROUNDUP: BACK PAGE

Picture: Chris Davies (Report)



## Boost for Phase 3 fight

SOCIALIST WORKER and the International Socialists took a giant step forward last Sunday when 2800 militants packed Belle Vue, Manchester, for the paper's special industrial conference on the battle against Phase Three.

Miners, firemen, engineers, tenants' leaders, dockers, builders, printworkers and many others related their experience of fighting the employers with one hand tied behind their backs because of their

spineless union leaders. The conference voted enthusiastically for a resolution that called for a massive effort to build a powerful rank and file movement of militants, linked to a growth in the size and influence of IS and Socialist Worker.

The resolution called also for full support for the conference planned early in 1974 by a number of rank and file industrial papers. FULL REPORT AND PICTURES: PAGES 2 and 3.

AMBULANCE STRIKE: P15/JOURNALISTS' DISPUTE: P14/SHREWSBURY TRIAL BACK PAGE



Great stride forward as 2800 vote to

# Build new leadership —

'THE TORIES have declared war on the working class through prices, anti-union laws and conspiracy trials,' chairman Wally Preston told 2800 delegates at the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference at Belle Vue, Manchester, on Sunday.

'The TUC and union leaders have taken no action to get wages into line with prices,' he added. 'They prefer to talk to the Tories rather than fight them. The union leaders are going to Downing Street so often, they're putting in for season tickets.'

Preston, a leading engineering union militant in Manchester, said the Tories were gangsters in the real sense of the word—they had stolen the AUEW members' money when they fined the union £75,000 over the Con-Mech struggle for union recognition.

'It's no use relying on the union leaders,' he stressed. 'Freedom will be won by the workers themselves. That is why there is an urgent need to build a rank and file movement concerned to fight. This conference is about people who are engaged in the daily wages battle.'

He was opening one of the most impressive meetings of industrial militants seen in Britain for many a long year—a conference that marked a major breakthrough for the International Socialists. It showed that years of patient, grass-roots work in the working-class movement had paid a rich dividend in the shape of the delegates, who represented many key areas in the future battles with the Tories and their system.

IS executive committee member Tony Cliff, opening a discussion on The Struggle Ahead, said workers had lost round after round in 1973. And yet 1972 had been a magnificent year: the miners' victory, the freeing of the Pentonville Five

'What happened?' he asked. 'Did the giants become pigmies?'

Analysing developments since the war, Cliff said the strength of the workers for 20 years and more had been the shop stewards' movement. Workers had won small victories comparatively easily, with strikes lasting on average one or two days.

'Wages were boosted way above the negotiated rates,' he said. 'In the fifties, the agreed rate for an engineer was £13 a week—but nobody earned that. It was much more like £25 or £30 a week.'

## Wage drift

'That was known as "wage drift"'. It didn't matter who the union leader was. Bill Carron, the engineer's leader, was a swine, a real swine, but his bark was worse than his bite.'

'The picture is different today,' Cliff stressed. 'There is very little wage drift. The employers are tougher, the government is tougher because international competition is sharper.'

Unofficial strikes by small groups of workers could not smash the government now, Cliff went on. This was the day of the big battalions—small sections who went into battle needed support from other sections.

There was a crisis of leadership in the trade union movement. The Glasgow firemen had won, notwithstanding their union leaders, left-wing leaders at that, who had tried to stab them in the back.

'The bureaucracy balances between the classes. Union leaders are neither employers nor workers—and they vacillate like yo-yos. They try to keep the balance between classes and they are terrified the workers will upset that balance.'

Cliff said that when there was no leadership the rank and file dithers and lack of leadership seeps right down into the working class to convenors and shop stewards.

'We need a new type of leadership, rooted in the rank and file, drawing the weak sections up to the same level as the strong.'

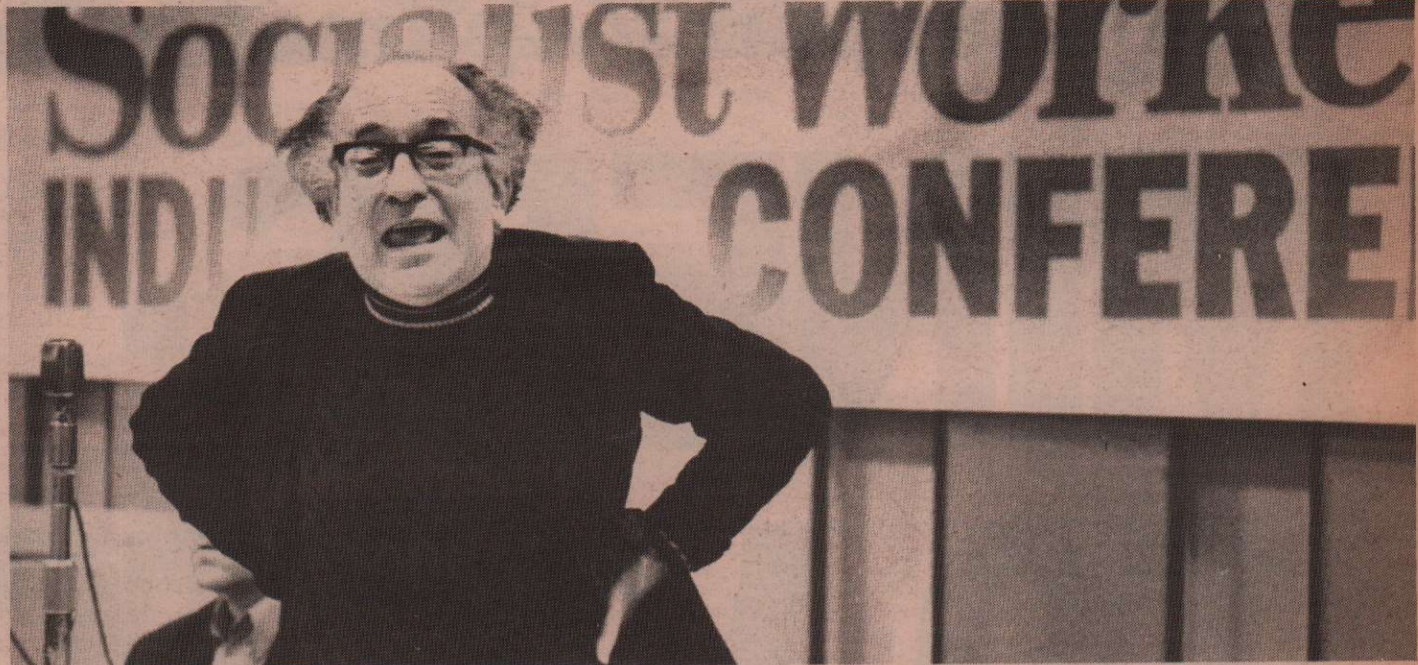
But Cliff hammered home the message that the struggle ahead was about more than just rank and file organisation. 'To mobilise millions we need strong rank and file movements—plus a central cog to bind them together.'

That cog was socialist politics. 'We need a socialist outlook,' he declared, 'so that militants think "I'm a socialist first, a miner second, a socialist first, a docker second," and so on.'

'The rank and file papers created in recent years couldn't survive without IS policies—even though our members are in a minority on their editorial boards.'

He ended with a ringing call that won sustained applause: 'We are fighting a political battle. We need a workers' party. The workers today are confident and bitter. In the 1930s they were bitter but lacked confidence. In the 1950s and 60s they were confident but lacked bitterness.'

'But today, both ingredients are combined. That means the workers can smash the system.'



Tony Cliff making the opening speech: workers' confidence and bitterness means they can smash system

# WE STAY OUT FOR VICTORY - WORKING STEWARD

THUNDEROUS APPLAUSE greeted RON CONNOR, AUEW shop steward at Con-Mech, scene of the recognition dispute and the NIRC fine.

He said that when he and fellow steward Lindsay Greig had approached Con-Mech boss Robert Dilley for talks on recognition, Dilley had said: 'Are you marxists, leninists or Sunderland supporters?'

'We told him we weren't there to discuss either politics or football but recognition of our union.' The two stewards were sacked for their efforts and the small shop floor—32 workers—had struck until they were reinstated.

Describing the 'atrocious' conditions in the factory, Connor said that the workers clocked up as much as 70 hours a week for 60p an hour. The conditions were worse than the coal mine he had worked in previously.

'A week before the Factory Inspector was due to come, Dilley painted the fire buckets red. No sand or water. I suppose we were expected to throw the empty buckets on a fire,' he said to laughter. 'A dangerous machine was covered over and Dilley swore it wasn't used. He got his certificate from the inspector.'

## CONVINCED

He paid tribute to the 16 workers still on strike, many of whom had never been in a union before. 'We won't go back until we win,' he declared.

KINDSEY GOUGH, a South Wales miner, said the miners had entered a period of conflict with the introduction of the overtime ban.

'But,' he said, to loud applause, 'There is only one real way to win—strike action.'

He was convinced the miners could defeat the government—but it was essential that a rank and file movement in the pits was built to sustain the fight.

TERRY SEGARS, an Essex fireman, spoke of the importance of the firemen's struggle. 'A month ago we were told the top whack increase would be £2.50. Now we're told we can have £7.50. Something important happened in between.'

He said that the Glasgow men won because of the strong and growing solidarity action from other firemen throughout the country. The union was out of control of the executive, who railroaded their policies through a special conference but no one took any notice of them.

'We need a link up that goes beyond the boundaries laid down by the union so that all sections know what is going on,' he said.

Fleet Street printworker BILL FREEMAN Senior—'I work in the lie factory'—said he was a life-long member of the Communist Party but was glad to see all the young people at the conference.

He said he had never been caught up



Ron Connor: factory worse than mines

in the union machine. 'I take the Morning Star and Socialist Worker. I'm glad there is Socialist Worker because it has helped open the eyes of printworkers about the double-shuffling of union leaders—such as registering a union under a different name.'

'With bent union leaders, we're on the way to the corporate state. I went 200 miles to picket at Fine Tubes and I asked myself why I had gone all that way when the factory could have been stopped if the unions had done their work.'

He called for unity on the left to help get rid of corrupt union leaders and the rotten Tory government.

MICHAEL FENN from the Royal Group of docks and a member of the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union, reminded the conference that the Pentonville Five had been released 'by people like you'. He said: 'Ordinary trade unionists up and down the country got those five out of prison.'

Fenn went on to talk about the Dockworker, a rank and file paper which now sells in 16 ports. The editorial content of the paper, he said, 'is completely controlled by dockers, who are elected to the editorial board.' The paper had done a lot to build the confidence of rank and file workers in the docks.

The rank and file movement had been split by productivity deals, but it was not finished. 'We've put a claim in for a 25 per

cent wage increase and we mean to win it. But we know we're eventually going to have to take on the government to do it.'

BRIAN KELLY, an AUEW shop steward at International Harvesters, congratulated his union's members at Con Mech for their fight and told conference that his factory had blacked all goods and parts for Con Mech.

TREVOR BALL, a miner from Lea Hall colliery, Staffordshire, said that if you included the Rent Act and the Industrial Relations Act, the government was now in Phase Seven of its attack on the workers.

## RECHARGED

'Joe Gormley has asked us to wait,' he said, 'but we've said we're not going to wait. The last battle of Salfley in 1972 must be the first battle of 1973, and once we've got the Tories on their knees, we'll put the boot in.'

GERRY CAUGHEY the former Pilkington strike leader said: 'What I have heard has recharged my batteries. Some people make mistakes. This is only human, and human too to learn from them.'

He spoke of how wrong he had been to appear before the National Industrial Relations Court in an action against his union over the way he had been treated. 'I was criticised for it by the International

Socialists. I was wrong in doing that and I am quite open and honest about that,' he said.

'This is a great meeting here today. And it is leading a way forward. Over the past months I've been looking at the political scene and assessing the contributions made by the various organisations. I have found that the IS has made great strides forward, particularly with the formation of the factory branches.'

JOHN FONTAINE, UCATT convenor at McNerney's Finsbury Park, London, took up the case of the Shrewsbury 24. He stressed how trade unionists needed effective picketing to maintain and extend their standard of living.

'With the Conspiracy Acts,' said Fontaine, 'the Tories have achieved the greatest comeback since Lazarus.' They did not dare to use the Industrial Relations Act which the dockers had shattered, he argued. So they dusted down the 1875 conspiracy laws. They had picked on the builders because 'this is the worst organised big industry in Britain, and the most corrupt.'

'This trial is very much a political trial,' he went on. 'There is massive collusion between police, employers and government.'

He stressed that there was only one response: 'Rank and file industrial action got the dockers out of Pentonville and an all-out stoppage will be needed to do the same if any prison sentences are handed out at Shrewsbury.'

MOTA SINGH, an AUEW member from Ford Leamington, took up the question of the struggle against racism. Serious socialists could have no truck with any racist ideas. They had to fight actively against it in all its forms. He pointed to united working class action as the answer to racism, 'the ugliest of imperialism's ugly faces.'

'Racism,' he said, 'is a main weapon of the ruling class who would use any means to split and divide workers.' The vast majority of immigrant workers were contributing to the struggle of the working class and no one should forget the terrible legislation that had now been brought in against them. Jail and deportation were now being threatened if they had not been here for more than 10 years. The socialist movement has to fight this.

A COLLECTION at the conference raised £879 which went towards expenses of the meeting and to workers in dispute who sent delegates. 45 IS factory branches were represented.

PICTURES: CHRIS DAVIES and JOHN STURROCK (REPORT) WITH SW REPORTING TEAM

# fight for mass rank and file movement with socialist politics



Mota Singh: fight racism



Larry Connolly: smash the gaffers



Ethel Singleton: Kirkby battles on



Willie Lee: shop floor the key

## Greetings from the Glasgow firemen

We the undersigned members of the Glasgow Area Committee of the Fire Brigades Union send fraternal greetings to the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference and wish you the best of luck. We would like to express our appreciation of the honest coverage of the Glasgow fireman's case received only from Socialist Worker during the dispute. We would also like to thank every trade unionist for their support, both financial and in getting resolutions passed through their branches.

One lesson we learned from this strike was that in spite of 'sympathy' from councillors and MPs, in spite of the militant talk of some trade union leaders, in the final analysis only militant strike action by the rank and file can do the job. The immediate job is to win for workers the substantial improvement of their wages and conditions necessary to maintain a decent standard of living in the face of the vicious anti-working class legislation of this Tory government.

To this end we fully support the efforts of the International Socialists towards building a rank and file movement capable of smashing not only phase three but also putting paid to future Tory wage freezes by getting rid of this Tory government.

Alan Morgan (vice chairman),  
Brian McGuire, Alan Campbell,  
Ronnie Robertson.

## What the conference voted for...

### THIS CONFERENCE:

1 Pledges itself to defeat the Tory government and Phase Three.

2 Affirms that the Industrial Relations Act cannot be put on ice or amended, but can only be smashed by militant industrial action.

3 Maintains that there should be no talks with the Tories, no incomes policy, wages freeze or restraint, or productivity deals.

4 Congratulates the firemen on breaking through Phase Three, calls on other sections of the organised working class to follow their magnificent example, and pledges maximum solidarity with them.

5 Commits itself to strike action to defend the right to picket.

Recognising that one of the most vicious weapons of the ruling class is racialism, expresses total opposition to the Tory Immigration Act and Pakistan Bill, pledges itself to fight all racist ideas in the labour movement.

6 While firmly believing in working in the official movement, places no blind reliance on the trade union leaders, right or left. Our slogan is 'Insofar as the trade union leaders represent our views we will support them. But when they start to misrepresent them, we will act independently.'

7 Therefore this conference supports and welcomes the call for a delegate rank and file conference made by the editorial boards of the Carworker, Collier, Steelworker, Nalco Action News and Post Office Worker.

It urges other rank and file organisations to join in this initiative and pledges itself to mount a campaign within the trade union movement to ensure maximum representation at this conference.

8 In the process of building such a rank and file movement, this conference pledges itself to campaign for:

a) an effective link-up between different factories and industries to co-ordinate action, to provide a channel of communication, and above all assistance, for those in struggle.

b) with the link-up of the struggle on the shop floor and inside the unions, fractions of militants need to be built up.

c) such fractions will not only fight for militant policies, but also campaign for democratic control of the union, and regular election of all officials.

d) for the replacement of right wing officials by left wing candidates. But this must be seen as an integral part of this wider work in the union and not as a substitute for it.

9 Finally, this conference, recognising that the attack of the employers and their Tory government against the working class is a political one, pledges itself to extend the sale and influence of Socialist Worker to the maximum.

# HAMMER HOME LESSONS

ROGER ROSEWELL, International Socialists' Merseyside organiser, spoke on the pressing need for a rank and file movement in the unions. 'The many contributions made here today have shown that all the criticisms of trade union leaders by militants and socialists are correct time and time again.

'The conference has heard how in struggle after struggle workers had been sold out or the union leaders had failed to rally enough support.'

Rosewell argued that this was not something new. It was entrenched in the character of the trade union movement. This tradition, he said, could not be explained by saying that it was due to rotten individuals.

Of course there is a rotten stream, he said—those whose sole ambition in life is to rise above their class and get a seat on a board. But, he argued, there was a much larger stream who were in favour of shorter hours and more pay. They had to have a base in the rank and file.

'But when the decisive tests come they all vacillate and back away. Let no one tell you that today's so-called progressive left wingers are some great new development. Some of the left-wing leaders in the past would put them to shame. They talked about solidarity, class struggle even Bolshevism, but they still failed in the General Strike.'

This, he insisted, could not be explained because of a lack of personal courage. It was 'because the trade union leadership was a privileged caste with different



Roger Rosewell: leaders vacillate

interests which are in conflict with those of the rank and file.

'We talk about a rank and file movement because the rank and file doesn't have these privileges. And the motto of a serious rank and file movement must be, "We support the trade union leaders as far as they support the rank and file. When they do not, we will not support them, but act independently." We must hammer that lesson home again and again.'

A key aspect of the rank and file struggle was the fight for thorough democracy in the trade union movement said Rosewell. Officials had to be elected regularly, subject to recall and paid the average wages of the members.

'At the same time as fighting for these demands,' he went on, 'we have to recognise that those in existence today will sell out and betray. This causes confusion among rank and file workers. This is why

a rank and file movement is so necessary.

'We have to build in the factories. This movement will not be an alternative to the unions. But it will be independent of the bureaucracy.'

'What is needed is for people to go away from here and work for a genuine, truly representative delegate conference in February or March.'

LARRY CONNOLLY, AUEW night convenor at Lucas, Birmingham, said there was a crisis of leadership in the factories. At Lucas recently, four stewards and 13 trade unionists had been sacked for militant activity.

'There was no leadership at all,' he said, 'from the established leaders. But because of a few people who were organised and prepared to fight, we won the day.'

'There's no point in just whining about the failure of the trade union leaders. We must take the pledge today to build a rank and file organisation which will really smash the gaffers and their system.'

### LEFT OUTSIDE

LES FOSTER, AUEW branch secretary at Bolton, spoke of his factory, Hick Hargreaves Ltd, which is currently being occupied. He explained that negotiations over piece rates had broken down after years of talks, and the men walked out on strike.

'At first we put pickets on the gate, but we weren't used to that and we felt a bit ridiculous, so we decided to go and take over the factory so that the management would be left outside looking ridiculous.'

The management, he explained, then set up in a local hotel. 'So we went and picketed the hotel. Now they've gone

into hiding,' he added to prolonged applause and laughter.

ETHEL SINGLETON, Merseyside tenants leader, said the tenants had put a magnificent fight, but one by one the strikes have collapsed—'Except for one area—the Tower Hill estate at Kirkby, and that area is an IS-controlled area.'

'The tenants on Tower Hill have now decided that their rent-paying days are over. They don't have any illusions in the class system and how it works. And that's why they're prepared to fight it. They've run up £270,000 arrears and they still haven't been evicted—who would have believed that was possible?'

TONY RICHARDSON, vice-chairman of the ICI Combine Committee, ridiculed the idea that supposedly high-paid workers in ICI could make sacrifices to help the lower-paid. 'Any money we sacrifice,' he said, 'goes in increased dividends to the ruling class.'

He said there was 'too much parochialism' in ICI, and the combine committee was too weak. In many big combines, he said, there was no combine committee at all. 'Go out and form these combine committees,' he said. 'Even a bad combine committee is better than no committee at all.'

HUBERT FLOYDE, USDAW convenor at Caxtons sweet factory, Wand Green, was disappointed that few speakers had dealt with the question of racism in the factories, which was being encouraged all the time by employers and trade union officials in unions. He demanded, to loud applause, that IS make a greater priority of the fight against racism than they had done at this conference.

WILLIE LEE, deputy night convenor

(AUEW) and at Chrysler, Linwood, said that the 'left' trade union leaders had 'literally destroyed trade union organisation' in the two Chrysler factories in Coventry, and had tried to do the same in his own factory.

'They're not my leaders,' he said. 'They are mediators—set in the middle,' and that was why they had ended up by instructing their members to work with blacklegs during the recent electricians' strike.

'The only basis we can build on is the shop floor,' he said. 'Look at the effect of IS organisation at Chrysler and at Ryton and you can see the way to success.'

The conference gave an ovation to DAVE EDWARDS, of the Fine Tubes strike committee throughout the three-year strike in that company. Dave told the conference that although the strike had been lost, 'a kind of victory' had been achieved in that IS in Plymouth had grown out of the strike, and was now flourishing.

'Things are changing in the South West,' he said. 'I was won to IS through struggle. We must win countless others through struggle.'

Moving the conference declaration, which was put together as a result of the discussion, TONY CONNOLLY said it was 'not just a gross declaration of our intention. The real purpose of the conference has been to show how organisation on the shop floor really did affect the situation inside the trade union movement and on the shop floor. The conference was the foundation of a new rank and file organisation which had to be worked for.'

## Strike that shook Franco

THE eight-day general strike in the province of Navarre last June was particularly disturbing for the Spanish government. Navarre used to be a conservative area, which provided volunteers for the fascists in the Civil War, but with the growth of industry, it has seen an upsurge of working-class struggle.

The following account of the strike came to us through the Liga Comunista: The strike started at the Motor Iberica car factory in Pamplona, where bosses refused to grant a bonus the workers had succeeded in negotiating through the official trade union after two years of procedure. When the workers went on strike on 9 May, the management agreed to pay the bonus but imposed sanctions on the strikers.

When the strike continued for the withdrawal of sanctions, they sacked 195 workers, closed the factory and began to dismantle machinery.

From this point, Motor Iberica workers rejected all co-operation with the state-controlled unions, and called for solidarity from other workers.

The strikers appealed to the Workers' Commissions, an illegal organisation which groups Communist Party and other militants.

The local secretariat of the Commissions at first did nothing. Later it called a demonstration, but with few leaflets or factory meetings to advertise it. When it eventually yielded to pressure to call a general strike, the strike actually became general 24 hours before the date it set.

But sympathy strikes soon spread, and the Motor Iberica workers decided to occupy their factory.

On 8 June workers at the Authi car factory came out for the second day running when their management penalised them for a sympathy strike, and started a demonstration which spread to neighbouring factories. Police attacked this demonstration with their new range of weapons—teargas and rubber bullets—but could not break it up.

### Clashes

On 13 June Motor Iberica lorries appeared outside the factory to transport machinery, and the workers who had been occupying barricaded themselves in a parish church. News of the event spread everywhere by word of mouth, and next day the first general assembly of workers from several factories was held. Delegates from the meeting went out to spread the strike, and explain the situation, and by midday the strike was general.

There were several clashes with the police, who in one district went round emptying bars at gunpoint.

The general strike was made possible only by workers organising themselves through mass meetings and direct action, ignoring the legal procedures imposed by the government, occupying the streets, confronting the police and spreading the struggle.

That the strike lasted eight days—in Spain, where there are no free trade unions, no legal working-class organisations, and no civil liberties—was in itself a great achievement.

The employers were soon desperate for a settlement, and took a step unprecedented since the Asturias miners' strikes of 1962: they agreed to negotiate with representatives elected directly by mass meetings, though they insisted the official shop stewards and factory committees should also be present. These representatives are elected by the workers but can be dismissed by the appointed trade union leadership—so elections are often boycotted or not taken seriously.

More than 100 delegates attended the meeting with the employers, and the first proposal, that all the official representatives should resign, was greeted with applause. But none of them offered to resign, the employers cancelled all further meetings, and negotiations were taken over by these same official representatives, who had played no part in the strike. The resulting agreement scrapped the striking workers' most important demands.

Not all the factories went back immediately, but a return to work was now inevitable. The workers of Navarre had not been defeated, they had been betrayed by some shop stewards, factory committees and political leaders. They will learn from the experience.



What it means to be a worker in South Africa. Left, servants' quarters on top of a Johannesburg block of flats. It is against the law for them to live under the same roof as whites. Right, inside there are newspapers for carpet and orange boxes for furniture.

# TUC TO THE RESCUE FOR APARTHEID

by Alan Baldwin

'HIS MISSION basically is to rescue South Africa for the Western world,' commented a leading South African journalist.

Not, as you might think, Sir Alec Douglas-Home or Jim Slater, but Vic Feather, leader of the TUC's five-man delegation which visited South Africa for two weeks last month. Their report is due to be presented to the TUC General Council on Wednesday 28 November and on it depends the response of the TUC to calls for international action by workers against the racist apartheid regime.

The repressive South African regime, so profitable for international capitalism, is under severe pressure, both from inside and out. The contradictions between the ruling white nationalists and capital are showing sharply over the capitalists' need to increase the productivity of the black labour force at the same time as black workers are voicing greater demands and organising themselves, especially since the massive strike wave in Natal which began in January.

In June, the United Nations International Labour Organisation's Workers Section held a Trade Union Conference and passed a unanimous resolution calling among other things for the prevention of white emigration to South Africa and the blacking of loading and transport of South African goods.

## SHOPKEEPERS STRIKE

A MOST unusual strike has hit the headlines in France. From last Wednesday, Paris shopkeepers have stopped buying fruit and vegetables in protest against inflation and the Gaullist government's latest policies. The strike will continue for at least a week. After a few days it had started spreading to the provinces and the retail shoe trade.

The shopkeepers hope by striking to put pressure on the government to withdraw a new tax on retail trade and restrictions on shopkeepers' profit margins. They say the government's policies, and not small shopkeepers are responsible for inflation, which is a matter of soaring wholesale prices and affects them almost as severely as it does wage-earners.

As with all such resolutions there is a wide gap between rhetoric and action and the TUC, having voted for the resolution, is awaiting its delegation's report before deciding what action to take. Given the size of trade between South Africa and this country, the organised action of workers here presents a considerable threat to the regime.

### EXPELLED

That is why this delegation was of vital importance to the white South Africans and why it was seen as their potential saviour. Feather, Jack Jones, Dan McGarvey and all did not let their hosts down.

They were the guests of the TUC of South Africa, which represents a section of white workers and those Asian and Coloured workers who are in registered unions. Africans are not represented since they are not allowed to form registered unions, and TUCSA expelled them in 1967.

As the power of black workers has begun to reassert itself in the past two years, TUCSA once again is planning to organise black workers under its control, to head off their potential strength.

TUCSA briefed the delegation and

shepherded them around—so managing to prevent the delegation meeting many of their opponents. The delegation was criticised by blacks and radical whites for only spending one day in Durban, the centre for militant black workers.

TUCSA was also able to have the TUC delegation push their line of the need to organise black workers into unions under TUCSA. In this the TUC delegation consistently failed to recognise the crucial difference between black workers being incorporated in white-controlled unions and free, independent black trade unions. These are the only way the strength of black workers can be mobilised against racism and exploitation.

### OPPRESSION

They did apparently see the contradiction involved in black trade unions. As one report indicated: 'The TUC team appreciated that while a mass African trade union movement could provide a focal point for revolution if it came to be the only effective vehicle for giving vent to political feelings and aspirations, at the same time a lack of collective bargaining rights could constitute an equally revolutionary situation.'

At one point Feather showed a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of racial oppression by arguing, to white miners, that they should realise that the low pay of blacks—roughly one twentieth of whites' pay in the mines—held down their own wage levels. On other occasions the delegates expressed shock and were 'appalled' and 'amazed' by the wages and conditions of blacks—what were they expecting?

In order not to offend their hosts and Prime Minister Vorster, Feather had to forbid other members of the delegation from speaking to the press. He alone could then express his views about working within the apartheid system, about not isolating

the whites, about encouraging foreign investment and opposing boycotts.

For this was clearly the message of the visit. The TUC is leading the latest bridge-building exercise with racist white South Africa. The delegation's report is going to so water down the ILO resolution as to ensure no effective action and then maintain their backing for TUCSA's plan to take in black workers.

In doing so they will delight the South African government by taking the steam yet again out of international action against apartheid.

At least black workers in South Africa will have realised that they cannot expect any help from the leadership of the TUC. They have their own struggle to fight which must be free of white control. It is the duty of workers in Britain to support this struggle, by blacking South African trade and by solidarity action against the multi-national companies eager to reap the profits of apartheid.

## The road to compromise

THE tendency for Communist Parties throughout the world to draw from the Chilean tragedy lessons precisely opposite to the correct ones has nowhere been shown more clearly than in Italy.

Far from seeing the failure of the 'Chilean road to socialism' as a challenge to their own 'Italian road', the Italian Party leadership has concluded that its strategy must be even more parliamentary, more cautious and compromising than Allende's.

An article by the Party's general secretary, Berlinguer, argues that even if a left-wing coalition in Italy won 51 per cent of the vote and of seats in parliament, it could not survive but would have to ally with the Christian Democrats. He went so far as to use the term 'historical compromise'—to the embarrassment of the other Party leaders, who agree but prefer to use a different phrase! The effect of events in Chile has been, in fact, to confirm the parliamentary tactics expressed most fully by the Party's 1972 Congress.

# FOOT PRINTS

## Poor Uncle Harry



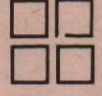
HARRY SELBY: Defeat at Govan

I STAYED up last Thursday night hoping to see some Tory defeats in the by-elections, and saw instead the terrible humiliation of Harry Selby at Glasgow Govan. It was an extremely miserable experience. Watching Harry biting back his intense disappointment, I couldn't help remembering his meetings way back in the early 1960s in which he fostered the Govan and Gorbals Young Socialists. More than 50 young workers joined that branch within months of the formation of the YS, and before long Harry had converted the lot to marxism and trotskism. He had an enormous store of cheap

pamphlets by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky which he forced into the hands of almost all the young socialists in the city—not just in Govan and Gorbals. If he thought you had the money (I recall to my cost) he would make a fair profit on the deal, but many of the apprentices in the shipyards got their books for next to nothing. Even better than his books was his speaking—always crisp, always funny, always enthusiastic. Harry could put the case for revolution against reform more sharply than anyone I have ever listened to. As the years went on, however, Harry lost the support of them all, mostly because of his obsession with working in the Labour Party. He

believed passionately that revolutionaries should bury themselves in the Labour Party, otherwise known as 'deep entrism'. He was, always, utterly opposed to independent socialist organisation, arguing that the Labour Party was a 'working-class party' and that the working class could never develop any movement for revolution without 'going through the experience' of the Labour Party. One by one, the young socialists left him: some into conventional careerism or disillusionment, but some, like Jimmy McCallum, now TASS convenor at John Brown Engineering, or Frank Campbell, well-known militant in the building industry, for independent working-class revolutionary organisation in IS.

Harry clung to the rotting branch of the Govan Labour Party. I visited him in the summer of 1968 when I was writing an article on the state of the Labour Party.



Harry admitted to me then that the Govan constituency Labour Party general management committee had trouble getting a quorum, and that the majority of dependable attenders were members of Harry's own family. Behind the jokes, I detected a faint realisation of the absurdity of 'deep entry' into an organisation whose only participants are the 'deep entrists'.

I don't know what's been happening in Govan since, nor how it came about that thousands of Glasgow workers were persuaded to vote for Scottish Nationalist quackery.



Shirley Williams and her 'reactionary crew on the Labour front bench have immediately concluded that Harry lost because he was a left-winger, I suspect, however, that he lost because people remember the dismal Tory record of the last Labour government, of which Shirley Williams was a member.

Either way, the result was a grim climax to at least 30 years devotion to a stale formula. Far from moving through their traditional, parliamentary organisations, more and more workers are treating those organisations with indifference and contempt.

At the same time, there are signs everywhere that militants and socialists are prepared to build an independent revolutionary socialist organisation. I'm prepared to bet that there are more socialist activities in IS in South Glasgow than in the Labour Party. Our members are depressed by Labour's collapse at Govan, but at least they can point to an alternative.



### The profits of murder

BRITISH industry is making massive profits from the international trade in guns and military equipment. Despite the impression given by the recent press coverage of the supply of Westland helicopters to Egypt. Most of the equipment goes to reactionary and oppressive governments throughout the world.

The British Leyland gift of some cars to the military junta in Chile was nothing new: BLMC have been making tanks for years. In fact every year Britain exports well over £400 million of military equipment. Despite this, it is a subject on which businessmen are surprisingly silent.

The last Labour government appointed a super-salesman to the overseas sales department of the Ministry of Defence. So, provided with a free sales force, many companies—both large and small, are now reaping the benefits.

The place at the top of the league table is probably shared by Hawker Siddeley and Vickers. One fifth of Vickers' £175 million annual sales are of military equipment, the most important part of it in ship building: the company has orders on hand of nearly £270 million for various warships on its books. Although the Royal Navy is a big customer, Argentina and Brazil are among the valued customers of Vickers, whose chairman is Lord Robens.

Brazil is also an important customer of Vickers' rival for the prize as chief gunnery officer of British industry, Hawker Siddeley. Hawker have just received an order for £5 million worth of planes from the Brazilian government. Around half Hawker Siddeley's profits are from military contracts—this year the company is expected to make profits of more than £40 million.

### A gift

British companies are rather shy about their involvement in these profitable areas. Imperial Chemical Industries, which owns a large part of a company called African Explosives, doesn't include this company's profits in its accounts—despite an accountant's recommendation that it should.

There is no mention in the annual accounts of Hunting Associated Industries (profits £1.3 million). They manufacture the cluster bomb—used by the Americans in Vietnam. There is no mention in the report of Racal Electronics, that the company made a gift to the Portuguese army in Mozambique last year.

Racal Electronics is lucky enough to have as a member of its board Dr John Cronin, Labour MP for Loughborough. His experience as Labour spokesman for Air 1962-64 must be of great use as the company is so heavily involved in helping kill people from the air, an activity that helped make profits of £4.2 million last year.

The fact is that the supply of aircraft to Arab countries is insignificant in relation to the supply of arms and guns sent to right-wing and repressive regimes around the world, where there are business interests to defend. The arms business is not restricted to mavericks, but is integral to some of the major industrial companies in Britain.

As a final irony, in many cases the money that is invested in these enterprises comes from the pension contributions and insurance policies of workers. So that capitalism succeeds in using the money of workers in this country to suppress workers in other countries, to make the world safe for capitalism.

T H Rogmorton



Evans

### No doubting Thomas

EVERY WEEK there's a new example of the 'one law for Northern Ireland soldiers, one law for the rest of us' rule.

Last week at Chelmsford Crown Court, John Stanley Thomas was charged with burglary and assault which he had had in August. Thomas is serving in Belfast, but last August he was taking part in the Colchester military tattoo. After the tattoo, he got drunk.

Thinking he was in Northern Ireland, he broke into the nearest house: in Burlington Road. It belonged to 56-year-old Francis Wagner.

Mr Wagner found Thomas in the boxroom, and struggled with him. Thomas lashed out, knocked Mr Wagner who found Thomas in the number of possessions, including a postal order. Mr Wagner's mother, a 77-year-old widow, spent six weeks in hospital suffering from shock.

In court, Trooper Thomas' counsel said Thomas admitted the theft and the assault, and apologised for them. He said the trooper was 'so drunk he did not know what he was doing.' After listening to an account of the soldier's fearless record in Northern Ireland, the jury acquitted him on both charges.

### OH, O'MALLEY!

THE pompous John Pardoe, Liberal MP and party spokesman on industrial matters, was caught with his pants down by the revelation that he represents in parliament the interests of the National Association of Schoolmasters.

Mr Pardoe explained in the Commons that he didn't get any money himself for this, but that 'Liberal research funds' got £400. Mr

Pardoe did not explain why he considers it right to represent the interests of such an anti-feminist body as the NAS. Nor did he reveal that the NAS also has its spokesman on the Labour side. He is Brian O'Malley, Labour MP for Rotherham, a former branch secretary of the Musicians Union and WEA lecturer.

Mr O'Malley, I am told, gets only £100 for this nasty job.

### Guardian of the torturers

I EXPECTED a fair amount of tripe in the newspapers on 29 October—the 50th anniversary of the Turkish Republic—but the Guardian outdid itself, even for a liberal newspaper.

A four-page 'special report' was compiled to pull in a lot of Turkish adverts. It was written mainly by David Barchard and Sam Cohen, and it was all about Turkey's 'considerable measure of achievement' and the 'benefits of development'. Not a word anywhere about torture or the locking up of trade unionists and Labour politicians, nor a remote reminder that Turkey is one of the most violently repressive regimes in Europe.

Sam Cohen we have met before. He is Sami Kohne, foreign editor of the Turkish government paper Milliyet and one of the regime's most faithful hacks.

David Barchard impressed Guardian editor Alastair Hetherington while Hetherington was on a recent

'sabbatical year' at Nuffield College, Oxford. He was duly sent to Turkey for the Guardian where he became so friendly with the regime that he helped to translate its White Paper explaining why there wasn't any torture in Turkey, and, if there was, why it was completely justified. The document was such a tissue of lies that even the Turkish government didn't dare publish it in the end, though I understand that Barchard got paid for his services.

I also see that Barchard managed to get even more money by writing yet another drooling piece headlined 'The Army's Special Role in the National Life' in the Financial Times special survey on Turkey.

'There is the possibility,' wrote Barchard, 'that the army will accept a new role in a pluralistic order. But for this to happen, Turkey's politicians will have to behave with common sense.'

# Apology to print union

We apologise to our readers and to the members of the National Society of Operative Printers, Graphical and Media Personnel (NATSOPA) for certain significant mis-statements of fact in an article on NATSOPA's plans to purchase land in Spain which have been drawn to our attention by NATSOPA's Solicitors. We accordingly publish that letter in full. Laurie Flynn has accordingly made the donation.

We act on behalf of NATSOPA, the individual members of the executive of NATSOPA and Mr Briginshaw the general secretary. On 15 September 1973 you published a highly defamatory article under the by-line of Laurie Flynn headlined 'Holiday Plan Starts Row'. This article contained a number of mis-statements of fact from which it drew false and libellous conclusions. The facts which you should know are as follows:—

1. The executive has never put forward or even considered a plan to buy land in Spain.
2. The staff at union's head office do not have a lease on villas in the Canary Islands or anywhere else in Spain.
3. Mr Briginshaw has written no 'reply intending to quieten the fears of his members and get the go ahead for the union's new Spanish connection.'
4. Mr Briginshaw has had no reason to contact any underground trade union leader in Spain and has not done so nor has he received any letter from one.

From these mis-statements of fact you have deduced and printed accusations of hypocrisy and exploitation of cheap labour and we have no hesitation in advising our clients that these are highly defamatory. For the record, the truth is that the NATSOPA Staff Superannuation Fund, an entirely separate body, did carry out a feasibility exercise in order to establish whether or not such a scheme would be a suitable investment for some of the provident funds.

This was nothing to do with the union, the union's executive or Mr Briginshaw. The Superannuation Fund Organisation, before coming to any decision at all, canvassed the views of trade union leaders in Spain in order to ascertain whether any such project would be to:—

- A. Welcome to them.
- B. Unwelcome to them.
- C. A matter of indifference.

However, the scheme was subsequently abandoned.

We are sure you will appreciate that these facts are very different from the allegations contained in your article and certainly do not support the charges brought against the union and its executive and general secretary. Under the circumstances therefore we have to inform you that our clients require a retraction and an apology.

Provided that such retraction and apology are forthcoming then, without prejudice to their rights our clients would be prepared to waive the question of damages provided that you make a donation, which may be quite small or even nominal, to the Spanish Democracy Defence Committee of the Labour Party. We look forward to hearing from you in due course.

## Shock report on how education in a working-class area is

'MY FRIEND'S husband Jim is a computer programmer. He's worked out that if no emergency action is taken and things carry on the way they've been going then by 1980, there won't be any schoolkids in Newham getting O levels.'

Pauline Fenn, husband a docker, two children, Michael, 10, and Daniel, two, is one of the increasing number of parents in the solidly working-class London Borough of Newham—made up of East and West Ham—who are banding together to campaign for proper educational provision for their children.

They're having to. For in Newham, perhaps more clearly than anywhere else, you can see that the educational system is falling apart thanks to the neglect and the priorities of successive governments.

In Newham only 10 per cent of children get four O levels before they leave school according to the latest figures (1970). The average for England and Wales is 25 per cent.

In Newham only 9.3 per cent go on to any form of higher education. The England and Wales average is 23.1 per cent.

### System

And Newham has another distinction. For kids getting to university, Newham, at 2.5 per cent, is the worst in England and Wales.

It's not that kids in Newham are any less intelligent than those up and across the River Thames in plush Richmond where eight times as many youngsters get to university. Far from it. It's just that in Newham children are systematically deprived.

For those who pause and think a little these figures show what the class system does to children in an area where industry is pulling out, deprivation increasing and rate revenue falling in step only with the interest of the professional politicians.

For a few days last month the battle of Newham parents against this appalling situation caught the national press headlines. Then it came out that there were 150 children in the borough who couldn't go to school at all.

But the day-to-day routine of overcrowded classes, overworked and underpaid teachers leaving at the rate of 30 per cent a year, children at Lister Comprehensive who cannot do the O levels they want, a borough whose education system would collapse if the kids who skip school stopped doing so, is something that requires more than a passing interest. It requires action.



Picture: Christopher Davies (Report)

Socialist groups protesting outside the Newham Recorder office after ...

Pauline Fenn takes up the story. 'Through Newham Education Concern we got up a petition—6000 signatures. We sent it to Margaret Thatcher, Minister of Education. Back came a printed card saying we should get in touch with our local education authority.

'We'd done that, of course. But there's not much they can do unless they fight for more government funds. And get them.

'We learned later from the National Union of Teachers' magazine that she treats other people rather differently. When Hillingdon London parents got

up a petition against comprehensives (2000 signatures) that was enough for her to step in and wreck the borough's scheme. And if they send a deputation, they're sure to be received.

'Newham asked for a £100,000 special grant just to deal with the very worst aspects of the present situation—150 children being prevented from going to school.

'Her answer was to suggest that the children be put into already overcrowded classes, which is what has happened.

'There isn't a penny for us, never mind the £100,000 that is needed right away. But she finds herself able to stump up £800,000 to boost the government grants to the posh direct-grant schools.

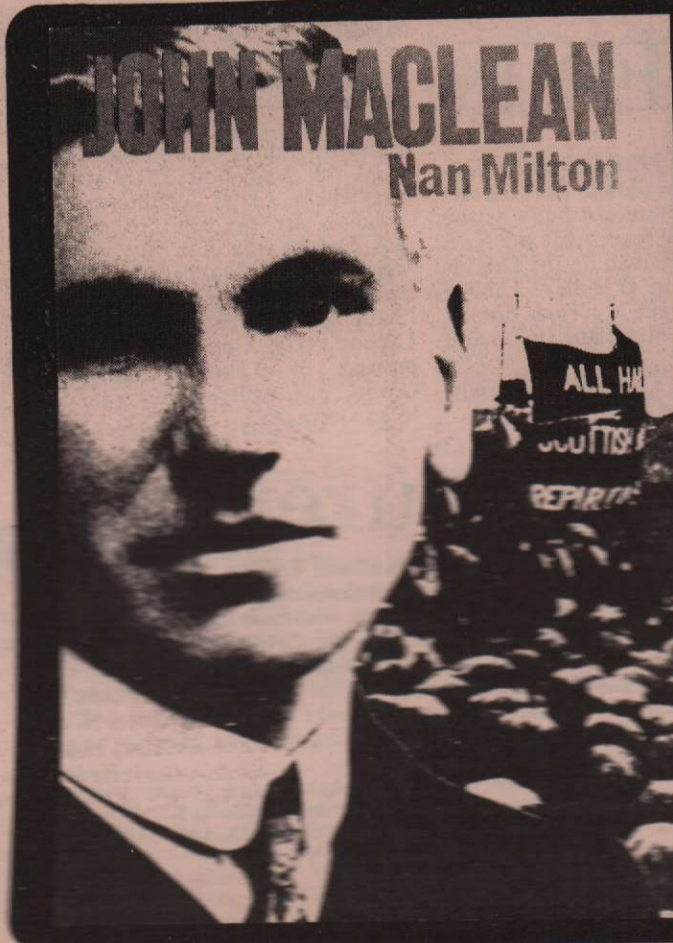
'The truth is that she's quite content to see children in Newham as factory fodder for Fords, Crosse and Blackwell, Tate and Lyle and the like. After all that's how they look on working people.'

### Evidence

The spirit of the local level professional politicians—the council completely dominated by the Labour Party—is not much different. When came out that Newham has the third worst record in England and Wales for children getting O levels, Councilor Keith Hasler, Labour education committee chairman, came up with profound analysis.

Parents in the borough were apathetic, he explained. Evidence for this perceptive theory was forthcoming last month when Newham Council got round to calling its first ever public meeting on the education situation in the borough. 500 parents turned up.

Over the 150 kids who had no



Special offer to Socialist Worker readers—ends 3 December—£1.25, including post and packing for paperback edition. Commercial price £2 paperback, £4 hardback.

John Maclean was regarded as Britain's greatest revolutionary leader of the time by both Lenin and the British government. He pioneered marxism in Scotland, was a major architect of the 'Red Clyde' and leader of the anti-war struggles during the First World War. He was the Bolsheviks' first consul in Glasgow.

The author, John Maclean's daughter, traces his life from 1903, when he joined the Social Democratic Federation, to 1923, when he died at the early age of 44. She uses a mass of original documents, interviews with participants and personal memories.

PLUTO PRESS

Unit 10, Spencer Court, 7 Chalton Road, London NW1 6LH.

being deprived of money

# Schools for factory fodder



the paper's racist 'theory' for the schools crisis

school places, Labour Councillor Arthur Edwards was the man who came up with the explanation. It was all down to the Ugandan Asians who had come into the borough, screamed Edwards courtesy of front page headlines in the local paper.

Apart from principles, Brother Edwards had of course forgotten that there were 100 children in the same situation the year before the Ugandan Asians came.

## Starved

As Pauline Fenn put it: 'When we first had a demonstration outside the town hall, on this issue, Edwards went mad. "You're a load of yobs", he screamed out. He's just in the business of using any excuse to mislead people and cover up the situation.

'It's always been tough in this area. For it's a poor working class area. It is true that things are getting worse. But that's got nothing to do with immigrants but with being starved of funds and resources.

'It is true that a new generation of immigrants have come in. They have as much right to an education as anyone else.

'The real question is why the borough is not given the resources to deal with the problems that we all face. And the answer to that is that Mrs Thatcher and her kind intend people like us to pay for the good times and the good schools in stockbroker Surrey.

'I'll give you another example of the councillors' attitude. At a recent council meeting one of the councillors, Dr Hill, asked about his own daughter's school, Plashet School. He pointed out that while it was quite a new place it didn't have a fire escape.



Mrs Thatcher: no time to see parents

'Alderman Daly, Labour leader of the council replied by saying that of course everyone can go around looking for faults. I shouted out: "It's a pity someone didn't look for a fault in Ronan Point." Ronan Point is also in this borough. It collapsed killing four people.

## Pressure

'The truth of the situation is that these people hope that either the problem will just go away or we'll go away.

'Well, we won't. They've had their heads in the sand long enough and done nothing.

'If they won't bring pressure then we're prepared to do it ourselves. That's the only way.'

**LAURIE  
FLYNN**

# Carr's police

TORY Home Secretary Robert Carr, who promised last summer that there would be no 'witchhunt' in the black communities, has personally ordered a series of witchhunts to 'stamp out illegal immigration'.

After nearly a month of shuffling and double-talk, the truth about the raids on London Asians' houses and shops on 11 October is beginning to emerge.

A spokesman for Scotland Yard summed it up to Socialist Worker as follows: 'It was a Home Office job.'

On 11 October, vanloads of policemen swooped early in the morning on Whitfield Street, Camden, and Hessel Street, Tower Hamlets.

Both streets were cordoned off. Police then visited every house and shop in the streets. Wherever they found an Asian, they demanded his passport.

If the passport was not produced, the Asian was seized, bundled into the back of a Black Maria and taken to Leman Street police station in London's East End.

The police claim that only 14 Asians were arrested. But Asians from both streets insist that there were more than 50 Asians at the police station.



One Asian from Whitfield Street told the police—correctly—that he had sent his passport to the Home Office for registration. He was arrested and held for seven hours at Leman Street before anyone believed him.

Syedur Rahman was just opening his butcher's shop in Hessel Street when he was buttonholed by police and asked for his passport. When he replied that it was at home, they arrested him and held him until 4.30 in the afternoon.

The community relations officers for Camden and for Tower Hamlets are still making inquiries in the area. Eric Jay, community relations officer for Camden, says that as far as he knows all the Asians who were arrested have been released without charges.

In Tower Hamlets, community relations officer Joe Hunte says there is only one Asian—Mohammad Ali—not accounted for after the raids. In other words, the operation failed even in its disgusting aim to weed out 'illegal' immigrants.



Joe Hunte has found out that 'no police officers from East London' were engaged in the operation. He suggested that Scotland Yard detectives may have been behind it.

But a Scotland Yard spokesman vehemently denied to Socialist Worker that the raid was promoted from his department. 'Policemen made the arrests,' he said. 'They had to—they're the only ones with the power to do so. But the whole idea started with the Home Office. It was a Home Office job.'

Alderman Roger Jowell from Camden has written an angry letter to Robert Carr, calling for an independent inquiry into the police raids.

'I must assume,' wrote Mr Jowell, 'that you authorised the raids on the morning of 11 October... It seems now that the Home Office (through its immigration officers and the police) are bent after all on confrontation rather than co-operation, and on a boorish adherence to the policy that the main function of the Immigration Act is to apprehend the guilty at whatever cost to the innocent.'



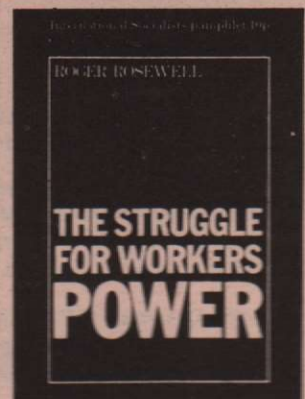
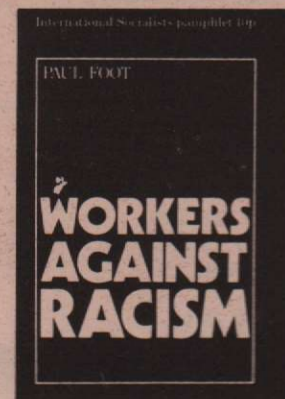
# on race rampage

The truth is that Carr, the architect of the Industrial Relations Act, is now making full use of the decision in the House of Lords earlier this year which made 'illegal immigrant' clauses in the 1971 Immigration Act 'retrospective', which means it can be used against people who came to Britain before the Act became law.

He has unleashed his immigration officers on the Asian communities in

London and elsewhere for no other purpose than racist agitation. The smooth liberal who promises 'fair treatment' to all in the House of Commons is ordering acts of intimidation in the streets which would do justice in any police state.

**PAUL  
FOOT**



Roger Rosewell's **THE STRUGGLE FOR WORKERS' POWER** is an outline of the policies of the International Socialists, the development and nature of modern capitalism—and the urgent need for a workers' party to overthrow it.

Paul Foot's **WORKERS AGAINST RACISM** examines and demolishes all the racists' arguments. Today, when socialists need to be ever more prepared to combat the increasing racism that is riding on the Tories' tide of laws against immigrants, it is essential reading for every socialist militant.

10p each, plus 3p postage (10 or more copies post free) from IS BOOKS, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

Watergate and Nixon are not typical—that is now the frenzied message being pumped out by newspapers and television to sweep the corruption of American politics under the carpet. Wait until the president is out of the way and American democracy will be all sweetness and light again, they argue.

In this special feature, Nigel Fountain and Jim Higgins show that Nixon and Watergate represent the real face of capitalist America, an ugly reality that will be removed only by massive social change.



Decline . . . and fall? (left to right) Nixon, 1952, the red-baiting congressman; Eisenhower's number two; victory in 1968; and 1972; the face of Watergate

# The front man for legal robbery

**IRONICALLY** RICHARD Milhous Nixon once claimed in an interview that his original reason for entering politics was his 'disgust' at the Teapot Dome scandal of the Harding administration of the 1920s.

We can only conclude that the disgust came from the fact that Harding got found out. Obviously Nixon thought he was going to get away with it.

And in one sense he will. The ritual denunciations which Nixon is now receiving from all sides in the USA conceal one important fact.

Nixon is not the disease—he is the symptom. The power structure of the world is based on robbery and the United States has developed robbery to an art.

## Plots

On one hand are the corporations, laughably regarded as 'legitimate' business. For profit they throw millions out of work, overthrow governments, scheme against unions, individuals, countries.

These are not idle words. Look at the ITT corporation's operations against Allende's Chilean government. Look at the 'rationalisations' in the world car industry masterminded from Detroit.

Look at the plots against individuals like consumer 'champion' Ralph Nader who General Motors tried to smear as a homosexual because he showed up their cars.

Look at the entire South

# legal robbery



Nixon (right) sailing with Roboza and Aplanalp at Key Biscayne: getting away from Watergate with well-heeled pals.

American continent, dominated by American business—with occasional help from Lord Stokes of British-Leyland.

Side by side with 'legitimate' industry, and now so totally tied in with it as to be indistinguishable, is the underworld. From a few 'self-help' groups of immigrants at the turn of the century grew the gangster fraternities. Men

who believed in the American dream, but had the wrong accent, so they cut corners, shot people in the street, ran brothels and speakeasies instead of doing it nicely through boardrooms and bank accounts.

But the Godfather's dead now. The children live on, integrated very successfully into the old system of robbery.

With a yearly revenue of 50 billion dollars, organised crime takes twice as much money as General Motors. It co-operates with the Central Intelligence Agency—the American secret service—in shipping heroin from Southern Asia.

In the late 1960s Lyndon Johnson set up a commission to report on violence. Commissions

are always better than *doing* something. Nonetheless this one revealed some interesting facts.

Here's what the consultant to the commission, Donald Cressey, had to say: 'The penetration of business and government by organised crime has been so complete that it is no longer possible to differentiate "under-world" gangsters from "upper world" businessmen and government officials.'

## Bloodbath

One final ingredient needs to be added to the world of Richard Nixon. That is the rivalry which still exists between the people who own the system.

The war in Vietnam has split the rulers of America. Those men who were most enthusiastic in their support for the bloodbath of the early 1960s are now most violent in their denunciation of the man who has continued the traditions of Kennedy and Johnson.

As Wall Street, the centre of American finance, moved against the war in the late 1960s so first Johnson and now Nixon are finding themselves up against the wall.

Ford  
lap  
of  
busi

THE VICE-PRESIDENT Lyndon B Johnson, pitcher of warm water, three years to the assassination of John F. Kennedy, pushed him into the White House. The wait for a public congress is likely to be a long one. A few 'trivial' kick-backs for his campaign can be swamped by the should be on the presidency.

Once there, he was pushed into the public platant corruption, great an embolism, financial backers.

Ford shouldn't have pushed for a change from Medicare (the television of the Service). He opposed Blacks, union 'closed' welfare provisions, cutting off funds Cambodia.

It wasn't all over. He supported the House Internal Security (the successor to American Activities) wage freezes—the One to Four.

Still, he's got symbolising the which dominate the world. It is a pity that armed forces is General Motors...

# Violence and terror against unions

THOSE who hold up their hands in horror and revulsion at each fresh revelation of Nixonian skulduggery are either innocents abroad or the possessors of very short memories. One of the founding fathers of the republic, Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence was a large scale slave owner. So distressing did he find the sight of his slaves that he constructed a double door to his room to avoid actual sight or contact.

For a whole period of American history the gross exploitation of the slaves and the expropriation of the native Indian land played an indispensable part in the development of American economy.

The American Civil War marked the stage when the southern slave-based economy represented a hindrance to the development of capitalism. Contrary to popular belief the original issue was not slavery—the emancipation decree came long after the beginning of the war—but 'states' rights', a polite word for the unfettered development of the system.

From the war onwards Northern industrial interests were paramount and the long battle against the trade unions and socialism began.

Anarchists, socialist propagandists, and trade union organisers were framed, jailed and often 'legally' murdered. The

big city political machines grew up, nurtured on graft and corruption. The construction, rail and industrial enterprises purchased whole state governments and found the bargain well worth the money.

Criminal syndicalist laws were passed in a number of states making it virtually impossible to form or join a trade union, all at the demand of big business.

In the wake of the Russian revolution a violent witchhunt was initiated by Attorney General Palmer, a man with presidential ambitions and an early exponent of the 'Red Menace'. Thousands of American socialists and radicals were arrested in midnight swoops. Foreign-born 'undesirables' were deported by the thousand.

## Smash

Under President Harding's administration, corruption, never previously far from the White House, came in and put its mucky boots on the table. The Teapot Dome scandal, where the cabinet were deeply implicated in converting government oil assets for their personal gain, was merely the most publicised of a whole series of depredations.

In the 1930s used regularly on the union drive of the Organisations. All state repression was to smash the tide mass production.

Company police were supplemented by state troopers and physically to the movement.

By the 1940s won the organs began the process American capital conclusion that 'if you them join you.'

The bureau American unions

Since the war new depths of depoliced the world crusade. It destroyed murders popular indirectly inspired

America is a developed proof capitalism is over

Nixon, the free enterprise exposed to the system.

'Israel, as a separate state, can only maintain itself by allying with imperialism.'

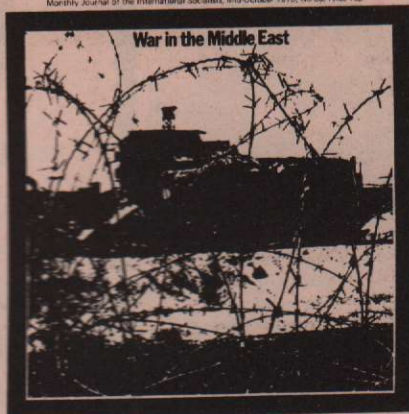
'The conflict of industry between bosses and workers over the cost of safety touches the lives of millions. If an army was suffering these casualties it would fight back.'

'... the Communist Party itself has since become a victim of teaching it's leading members to seek responsibility.'

The October issue of the journal of the International Socialists, on the Middle East, industrial hazards, Chile and more.

## International Socialism

Monthly Journal of the International Socialists, Mid-October 1973, No 63, Price 15p



20p inc post, £2.10 for a year  
IS Journal, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS



# STORM SIGNAL AT KEY AIRPORTS

A GROUP of engineering workers with the power to rock the government to its foundations are moving steadily towards a major showdown over Phase Three.

They are the engineering and maintenance workers at Britain's key airports, the men who keep tourism and overseas trade flourishing.

This month they have launched a claim which will make the mouth water of many a militant in the 'federated'—general engineering—firms:-

- An across the board increase of £10 a week on basic pay.
- A substantial improvement in shift allowances based on the introduction of a percentage relationship to the Tradesman I rate.
- Four weeks holiday.
- A 35 hour week.

When negotiations opened last week more than 200 airport workers came to lobby their full-time officials. Before the talks reopen on 20 November a lightning 24 hour stoppage is planned to make the feeling of the rank and file crystal clear.

But there are three dangers: productivity strings, a compromise on the shift allowance and the possibility that the talks will drift on past Christmas.

## SAVED

The danger of productivity dealing is not only hinted at in the Phase Three legislation. It is also formed part of an important bargain that was struck between the state-owned airlines and the Tory government after BEA and BOAC were merged into British Airways two years ago.

Last March the British Airways Board announced a five year plan. This predicted an increase in profit of £45 million, representing nearly 100 per cent improvement over the period. £10 million it stated, would be saved by 'improved productivity'.

The government wanted the savings to be made by redundancies, but the BAB pressed for the productivity plans to be accepted as a more subtle alternative. Productivity strings are definitely on the agenda of the present negotiations.

Secondly there is a distinct possibility of a compromise over the shift allowances. This issue is a sore point at Heathrow Airport where two packed meetings of shiftworkers from the BEA side have successfully insisted that the clause on shift allowances be included in the demands as an item to be negotiated separately.

Past experience has proved that shiftworkers are left out of negotiations and a resolution calling for shiftworkers to go it alone and pursue an increased shift allowance by a series of one-day stoppages was turned down only in the interests of unity with day-workers in BOAC.

## VICIOUS

The plight of the shiftworkers cannot be neglected. A series of monthly bulletins issued since March by members of the International Socialists who work for BEA have hammered home the point that the present shift allowance is one of the lowest in the engineering and manufacturing industries. A BEA double-day shiftworker gets the equivalent of time and a twelfth of the tradesman's rates whereas the average in outside industry is time and a quarter.

Even the continuous three shift system workers—the notorious continental shift system—get only time and a sixth. This is the shift system that is most vicious of all, where men actually carry calendars with them to remind them what part of the day they will be working and exactly when they will be able to see their



Airport workers lobbying last week's pay talks. Picture: Peter Harrap (Report)

families.

Fortunately a large minority of BOAC workers are on shift work which will help to unite the two sections. Militants are insisting that only a meeting of shiftworkers can accept the final agreement.

The emergence of an IS branch in BEA is helping to change matters. The group has consistently pushed the issue of the shift allowance to the forefront but at the same time agreed with BOAC workers that the airport should have been closed on 5 November in response to the strike call over the NIRC fine.

At the first meeting of BEA shiftworkers, an IS shop steward tried to move a resolution for a stoppage on 5 November but he got virtually no support—so pre-

occupied were the men with the shift allowance.

The threat of a national shutdown of Britain's airports in the weeks before Christmas is the formula that can win the whole claim. In the past the airports' full-time union officials have prided themselves that their negotiating skills alone were sufficient to win the demands of the membership.

If they are allowed to think like this now, then the talks will drag on past Christmas, the productivity strings will be pulled and the shiftworkers will be sold down the river.

It is up to the rank and file to ensure that this does not happen.

John Rose

# THE TRICKY DICKY SAGA

1946: Nixon fresh out of the navy runs for Congress in California. 'The clean, forthright young American who fought in defence of his country in the stinking mud of the jungles of the Solomons,' said his handouts. Nixon was in a supply unit. Nixon devotes the campaign to accusing his Democrat opponent of being a dangerous leftist, in the pay of Communists and trade unionists. In the hysterical anti-Russian climate of 1946 Nixon sweeps home. 1946-50: Nixon consolidates his anti-communist image in witch-hunts against scientist Alger Hiss and suspected leftists in the Hollywood film industry. Consolidates his bank balance through his friendship with Bebe Rebozo. Rebozo began his career in the early 1940s with shady land and rubber deals. His career since has been one of continuous involvement with figures from the underworld.

1950: Nixon runs for the US Senate. 'I have been advised not to talk about communism but I am going to tell the people of California the truth,' he announces. His opponent was a Democrat supporter of the Cold War, Helen Douglas, labelled the 'pink lady' who, unlike Nixon would never have 'exposed the communist conspiracy'. Nixon sweeps home.

1952: Nixon is nominated as vice-presidential candidate with 'war hero' Eisenhower. It is discovered that Nixon has received fringe benefits on top of his 12,500 dollar salary, and 70,000 dollar expenses from the Senate. The money comes from a group of oil, land and industrial magnates.

After claiming that the fringe benefits (19,000 dollars were paid out before the fund was discovered) were to 'save taxpayers' money. Nixon goes on television. Announces that all he had received was a puppy called Checkers for his 'little daughter Julie'. 1952-60: In a tradition of undistinguished vice-presidents Nixon maintains the track record. Eisenhower is tempted to drop him in 1956, but he stays. His connections with Rebozo tie him more securely to Rebozo's field of operations, the booming land markets of Florida, oil, and 'leisure'—a field where the Mafia are providing much of the initial investment. Nixon also keeps up with his old friend Batista, dictator of Cuba until overthrown by Fidel Castro in 1958.

The Cubans prove loyal friends. The men he had toasted in Havana in the 1950s become the 'Cubans for Nixon' in his later presidential campaigns. More, they provide money and agents for the Watergate break-in in 1972.

1960: In front of the TV with his old buddy Rebozo, Nixon sees his presidential campaign fold, in the face of John Kennedy's superior sales technique. But he wasn't unemployed for long. 'A partner in one of the biggest and best law firms in Los Angeles called to say he had checked with his law partners by phone and they were already prepared to offer me a full partnership.' Which gave Nixon a job, and later a job for the caller, John Mitchell, ex-Attorney General of the USA under Nixon, now under federal indictment.

1962: Nixon tries again, running for Governor of California. Loses the election. It is discovered that Nixon with a promising young friend called H R (Bob) Haldemann has been involved in a complex fraud, setting up a false Democratic Party Committee to split and destroy the opposing candidates' forces. The same tactic is to be used by the same people in the 1972 campaign. Haldemann was to be one of Nixon's prime advisers.

Nixon consolidates his financial holdings. He buys (with help from his friends) a house in Key Biscayne, Florida, next to Rebozo. Key Biscayne is a pleasant family affair. Down the road lives Harold Green, Bournemouth-born head of ITT. The company itself has bought up the last undeveloped land on the Key. Everything is wonderful, and in the background stands Meyer Lansky, one of the leading gangsters in the USA, and a man with a financial finger throughout the area.

1968: In the wake of the Kennedy assassination, the rising popular anger against the war in Vietnam, the uprising in the Black areas, Lyndon Johnson totters, and Nixon is returned to power. The tactics are the old tactics, but are to be refined by 1972.

1972: The year of Watergate, Nixon's re-election, the year when old friends rallied round. ITT offered the Nixon campaign 400,000 dollars in return for abandoning a veto on a merger with the Hartford Insurance Company. John Mitchell masterminded the deal, the two companies were merged. Jimmy Hoffa, corrupt boss of the Teamsters Union, known to be in the pay of Meyer Lansky, was released from jail after serving five of a 13-years sentence. Surprisingly the Teamster leadership backed Nixon in 1972.

It was not until after the election that Watergate became an issue. At the time it was generally swept under the carpet. Now, as the American system staggers on, racked by inflation, strikes, crumbling overseas power, the worms have turned and Nixon is in trouble. Years of speeches extolling the virtues of his America begin to bounce back on him.

'The most menial job I can think of is the one held by the able-bodied person who makes a career out of living off the hard-earned dollars of his neighbours.' Richard Nixon, April 1971.

Nixon should know, for while the cities rot he has developed his own form of 'menial' employment beyond his wildest dreams. A string of kick-backs from corporations, crooked deals and hysterical anti-communism have taken Nixon a long way down a path which our rulers walk every day.



Haldemann



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ESIDENCY', said on, 'ain't worth a piddle.' Johnson had find out—until the Kennedy in 1963 the presidency. Gerald Ford, Re-man for Michigan shorter. Provided scandals involving 1970 election carpet under the carpet, his way to the vice-

can quickly be presidency if Nixon's becomes just too rassment to his

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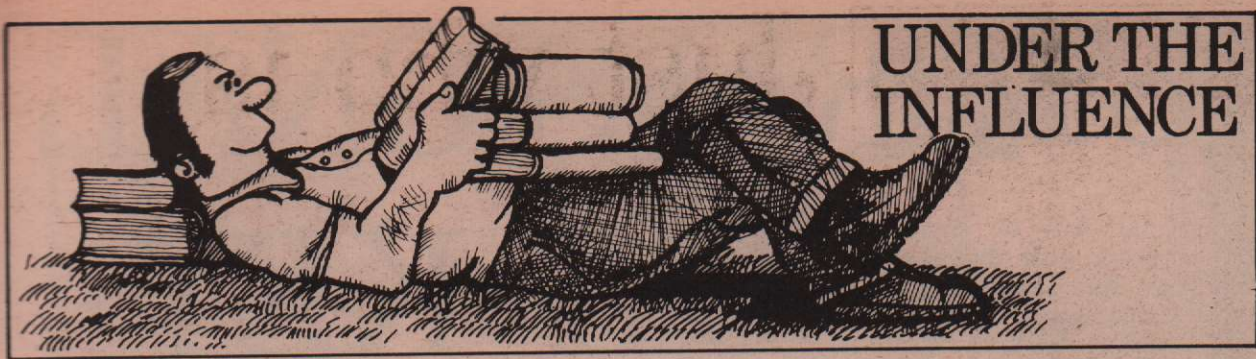
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UNDER THE INFLUENCE—where socialists write about the books which helped make them revolutionaries—is written this week by Vic Tambling on Willie Gallacher's **Revolt on the Clyde** (out of print, though your library might have a copy. Publishers Lawrence and Wishart are planning a reprint.)

Vic writes about himself: 'I am 29 and work in a bookie's office. Previously I was in industry with ICI and Forgings and Presswork in Birmingham—which nearly

killed me! The smoke and the fumes and the heat were too much so I jacked it in and got a job in an office.

'Most of my interests are political and I enjoy digging out information about companies and their directors' pay and so on. I think my collection of annual company reports is the biggest in Brum—about 60 all told. I joined the International Socialists in August 1972 and have never been in any other political organisation. For me, IS is the last word in left-wing politics.'

# Rents stay low - because thousands say so

IT WAS my brother-in-law who recommended Willie Gallacher's *Revolt on the Clyde* to me. It was a nice day, so along I went with a chair and a packet of fags, and sat in the garden all afternoon and read it from cover to cover!

It was a public library book and got stacks in fines owed on it. So eventually the library decided to cut their losses and sell it to my brother-in-law for 25p. Since when it has been going round the IS members in Birmingham like a prairie fire.

What impressed me most about the book was the power of a working class united and organised. I read it just about the time of the freeing of the Pentonville Five and realised that the working class still has the power to change the society in which we are forced to exist.

Gallacher's book should be made standard reading in all schools. It gets you—it's racy and straight to the point.

Gallacher himself was the first chairman of the Clyde Workers' Committee—a rank and file movement based in Clydeside. The committee's greatest victory was during the rent strikes at the start of the First World War. Hundreds of tenants refused to pay increased rents and a Mrs Barbour organised the wives in Govan. When the sheriff's men turned up to evict someone, they were chased off by hundreds of angry women.

Eventually summonses were issued to some workers and the committee organised a demonstration on the day of the trials. A deputation of workers was sent to the sheriff's office and they told him in no uncertain terms that if any of the summoned were convicted, they would go on strike.



William Gallacher about the time of the rent strikes

restrict the production of war material by producing, printing, publishing and circulating amongst the workers in and around Glasgow engaged on war materials, a newspaper entitled *The Worker*.

The article concerned was actually written by an ILP pacifist and headlined 'Should the workers arm?'

Willie Gallacher and Johnny Muir got 12 months in jail each and Walter Bell three months. According to Gallacher, prison proved too much for Muir—he was convinced the wardens were interfering with his food and later became a Labour MP.

The Clyde was very militant during the war, but the reformists succeeded in sapping the strength of the revo-

lutionary movement. On May Day 1918 100,000 marched through Glasgow—the next attempt at a May Day demonstration there was in 1924, when 100 turned out.

The book very much ties in with points made in the IS pamphlet *The Struggle For Socialism*, which deals with the forces today facing the working class in the struggle for a socialist world. I have read and re-read this time and again and each time it is a revelation.

It echoes the points in Gallacher's history, offers no illusions about socialism and tells the reader there is no easy road to achieving it. The working-class people themselves have the power and potential to achieve socialism—and no other group of people has.

Nowadays there is no shortage of socialist literature but my one, two and three are *The Struggle for Socialism*, *Revolt on the Clyde* and *The Road to Wigan Pier*, George Orwell's classic sketch of the working class in the North of England in the 1930s.

## NEXT WEEK:

Geordie playwright Alan Plater, author of the miners' classic *Close the Coalhouse Door*, surveys the books that made him a socialist.

# Seven protesters in Red Square

RED SQUARE AT NOON, by Natalia Gorbanevskaya, Penguin, 50p.

RED SQUARE, Moscow, midday of 25 August 1968, just four days after Russian troops invaded Czechoslovakia. Konstantin Babitsky, Larissa Bogaraz, Natalia Gorbanevskaya, Vadim Delone, Vladimir Dremyluga, Pavel Litvinov and Victor Feinberg sat down on the pavement of the Lofno Mesto, the old execution ground, and unfurled some homemade placards of protest against the invasion. 'For Your Freedom And Ours', 'Long Live Free And Independent Czechoslovakia', 'Freedom For Dubcek', and a small Czech national flag manufactured on a kitchen table.

There was an eighth demonstrator, but she repudiated her actions during police interrogation and plays no further part in the story. The woman who wrote this book brought along her child in a pram with the placards concealed under the blankets. She had nowhere else to leave him.

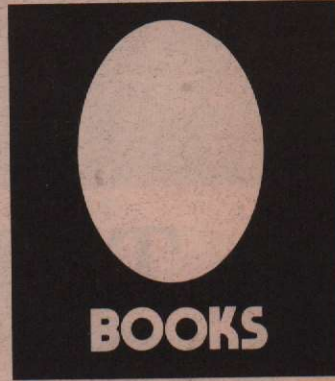
The demonstration lasted some 10 minutes. 'Passers-by', who later all turned out to be members of the same unit of the KGB, assaulted the demonstrators verbally and physically although they were met with no resistance. Victor Feinberg had all his teeth knocked out and was too badly beaten to appear in court seven months later.

The protesters were then hustled into cars and driven to a police station. Throughout the trial that followed this attack was presented as the spontaneous reaction of outraged citizens.

Those who took part are still suffering the consequences five years later. Five of them were jailed or exiled—and they were all intellectuals—they have lost their jobs and any hope of doing the work they were trained for and enjoy.

Two have been permanently committed to 'special psychiatric hospitals' which is one of the most horrible punishments any totalitarian state has yet evolved. One of these was the author of this book, Natalia Gorbanevskaya.

Her book tells in obsessive detail what happened on that day in Red Square and during the trial seven months later. It describes only too realistically the mechanics of Russian repression and, most



horrifying, it shows how the mobilisation of jingoistic racism and anti-intellectualism in a population deprived of information can be used for repression equally as fearsome as the full apparatus of a military government, a repression which has all the appearance of popular support.

For a book that is so gloomy in content, however, this one is full of a surprising hope.

The demonstration, short and symbolic as it was, has become a standard round which opposition forces have gathered in Russia. It has taken its place among a list of individual actions which show that a whole population can never be completely misled. One gesture that was inevitably doomed to disaster has helped keep alive the opposition to Russian bureaucratic totalitarianism.

The necessity of futile protest and of suffering its consequences is shown in the effect the trial has had throughout the Eastern bloc. It showed how the regime is forced to deny its own laws and has to defend its actions with lies and distortions. The truth would be unacceptable, so it must be hidden, but an incident like this forces it into the open.

Whatever the politics of these seven people, and in their reaction against Stalinism they have reverted to liberalism, one must support the action through which they demonstrated the nature of the society they live in. Since they knew exactly what the personal consequences of their defiance would be, one can only admire their enormous courage.

To make their gesture meaningful, do not allow it to be forgotten.

NIGEL THOMAS

## Whatever happened to beer?

THE BEER DRINKER'S COMPANION, by Frank Baillie, David and Charles, £2.95.

THIS book is a worthwhile (dare one use the word) investment for the discriminating beer drinker. It tells you everything you ever wanted to know about what beer is and how it is brewed, and—unlike the authors of so many of those 'guides'—Frank Baillie is not a hack in the pay of one of the big breweries.

His book is lovingly and painstakingly researched—he has apparently drunk all the draught beers available, as well as many bottled and keg beers, and from his wealth of experience he provides many hints on how to assess the best buy in a strange pub. His enthusiasm is infectious, and

this book should encourage people to look further than the nationally advertised fizzy keg beers.

He is really remarkably restrained, letting his facts speak for themselves. The longest section of the book is a comprehensive list of the remaining independent breweries.

One is heartened to learn that there are still 88 of these, but they are rapidly being gobbled up by the 'Big Seven', whose interests extend far beyond brewing, and whose relentless pursuit of profits for their shareholders has resulted, through 'rationalisation' (their euphemism) in a cynical disregard for the needs of the working man.

How many of you have encountered the tasteless modernisation of a favourite pub, resulting in the conversion of the public bar into a carpeted haven for brainwashed keg-beer drinkers who are suckers enough to pay the increased prices which the brewery is now able to charge? They won't want your overalls to dirty the new upholstery, that's for sure. This aspect of the big breweries' activities mentioned in this book, and one awaits a thorough exposure—perhaps in the columns of *Socialist Worker*.

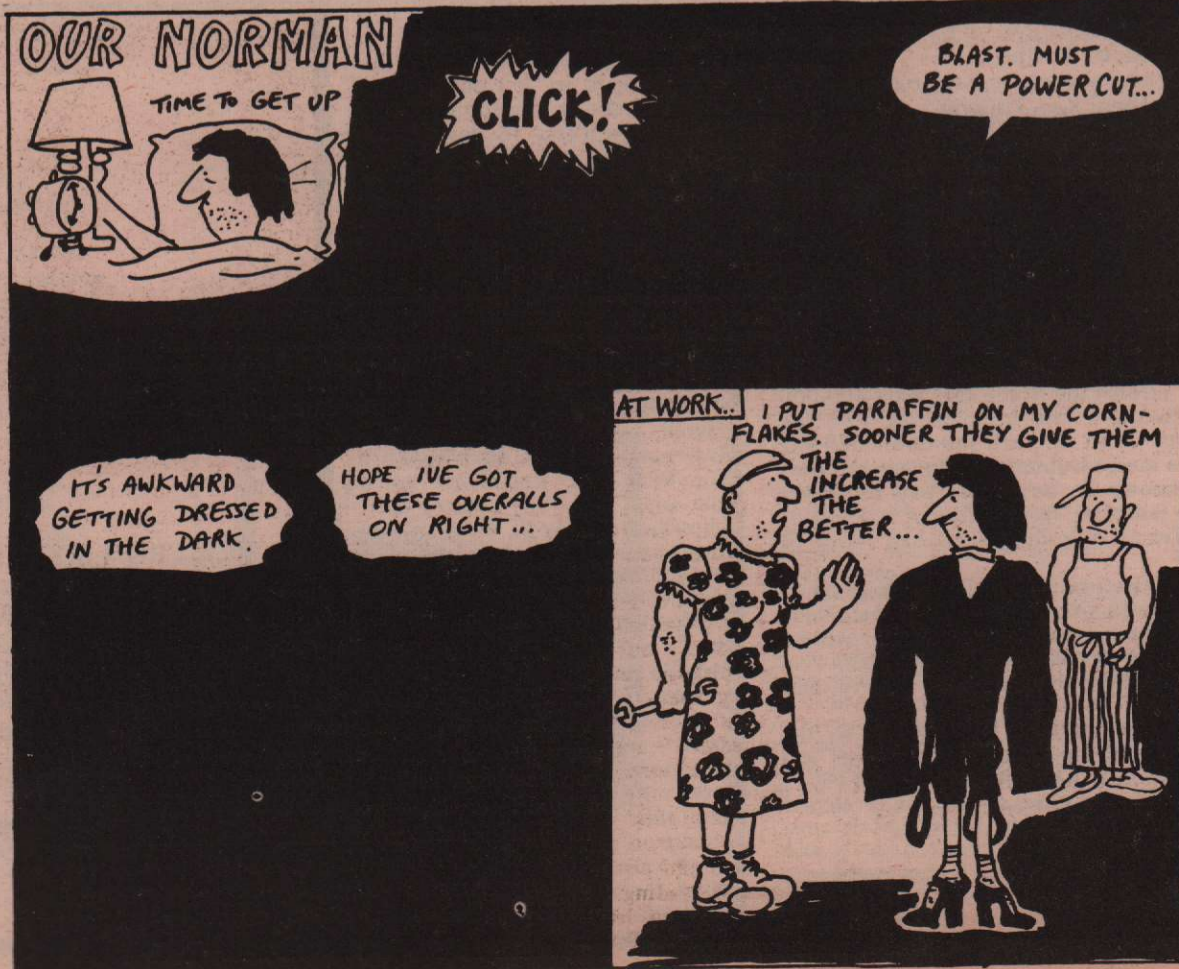
Armed with the *Companion*, you can at least track down pubs selling real draught beer. But you had better hurry.

The toothless Monopolies and Mergers Act of 1965 defines a monopoly as being a company holding more than one third of the market, so it is conceivable we might end up with three giant combines—a situation already predicted for American beer. Then when they merge with their US counterparts we might have the sort of problems which the motor industry is now facing affecting every local in the country.

Already there are many areas where the Big Seven have a monopoly, so the ugly face of capitalism is showing itself in pubs throughout the land. We can reflect on that when the price of beer goes up again shortly.

But take heart. There is an organisation dedicated to fighting the brewing dictators: CAMRA (Campaign for Real Ale, 207 Keats Court, Salford 7), the beer drinker's trade union. Its membership has rocketed in recent weeks to more than 4000, and more than 1000 were expected at its demonstration against Bass Charrington at Stone in Staffordshire last Saturday.

ALASDAIR DONALDSON



All books reviewed in *Socialist Worker* can be obtained by post from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. When ordering, please add 7p for postage and packing.

# Just who is fiddling who?

IF ANYONE has managed to 'fiddle' the Department of Health and Social Security lately, as opposed to being fiddled by them, will they please write to me, c/o Socialist Worker, and tell me *how* it is done.

I have heard many stories—never first-hand I might add, but passed down via somebody's auntie's friend—that there are these people who are making quite a fortune out of the Social Security 'at the expense of us all'.

I have been told that the Ugandan Asians, on arrival here, received some incredible amounts of money, as much as £30 or £40 a week. Strange, isn't it, that we're beginning to hear non-too-forthcoming news that they are in fact suffering great hardship through lack of financial and social aid...

So I am now going to work on the assumption that all people on Social Security benefits have similar experiences to mine, and for those fortunate few who have never been under the care of the Social Security, may you be well enlightened by these experiences.

My husband has been in hospital now for 15 months. He broke his neck and back in a car accident and is now permanently paralysed from the chest down and has very limited use of his hands.

At the time of the accident, I was two months pregnant and also had a son of 3½ years. Fortunately I was able to stay with my parents who lived nearer to the hospital to which my husband was sent for intensive care. It was fortunate indeed that I had temporary means of support—the Social Security, despite totally legitimate, foolproof claims, did not realise any money for me or my children for more than three weeks.

Because my husband was almost totally paralysed at the time, he could not sign the claim forms nor the Giro cheques from the Social Security, when they finally arrived. This posed a problem for the Post Office to which I went to cash the much-needed cheque. After having filled in umpteen forms to legitimise my claim, they put the problem into complete, logical perspective, and told me to *FORGE* the signature.

'Only possible solution,' they said. After weeks of yet more form-



by Jeanne Woodcock

filling—I received roughly five a week for the first eight weeks—I was finally initiated as official receiver of this benefit.

However, the first lesson to all would-be subscribers to the Social Security is that you distrust everything which you are given and you demand everything to which you think you may be entitled. Join a Claimants Union and you will have the support of others as you attempt to fight (if you can untangle it first) that incredible, bureaucratic machine called the Civil Service.

While attempting to visit my husband at least twice a day, travelling a total of 70 miles in the process, attend ante-natal clinic and classes, keep my three-year-old adjusted and happy, I had continually to fill in forms, visit the Social Security office to demand money they had actually 'forgotten' to send, and gather together every miserable penny I possessed to present to the Social Security as evidence of my poverty.

Throughout the past 15 months I have never lived a week where there hasn't been more hardship caused by the Department of Social Security. As I was recovering from the anaesthetic after the birth of the baby, I beheld forms, yet more forms, demanding to know of 'any change in circumstances...'



I was visited by an officer from the Social Security recently, who when he wasn't demanding evidence of mortgage repayments, rates bills, saving stamps, and so on, informed me that he had 'never come across a case like this before.'

He proceeded to astound me further by desiring to classify me as a 'widow'. He maintained that since my husband did not live at home, was unable to support his children or take up any form of employment and that my husband and I had decided to have a legal separation, he really could not classify me as anything else.

However, I managed to persuade him that I was not a widow and that my husband was alive although very ill, and by doing this I saved myself a cut in benefit of £4 a week reducing my total benefit to £14.

I asked him if he really believed that any one person could be expected to live on that amount, and he replied that it really had nothing to do with him and that one was not expected to have luxuries at the expense of the Social Security—it was just necessary to have enough to 'exist'.

I wanted to ask him what he meant by 'exist'—did he mean at starvation level? But officers of the Social Security have a peculiar effect on their 'cases'. It's a mixture of gross humiliation, hopelessness and despair. It creates an apathy—you just want to give up, a complicated form is their answer to every one of your questions and their attitude is that the situation you are in is entirely created by yourself—you must therefore accept humbly whatever they decide to bestow upon you.

For those who still harbour beliefs that getting reforms through parliament could solve the problems, take heed of the suggestions put forward at the latest party conferences—such reforms merely prop up existing gaps in the system that allow the continual demise of the unemployed and poorly paid.



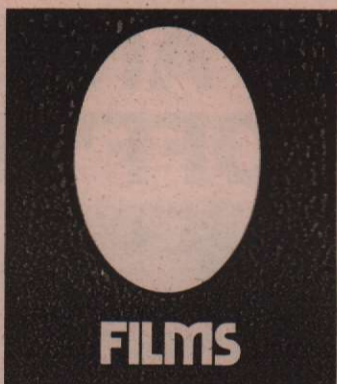
James Coburn as Pat Garrett, outlaw turned lawman, who is hired, fired and murdered by the corporations and cattle barons

## POLITICS IN THE CUTTING ROOM

GOING round the country at the moment is the film *Pat Garrett and Billy the Kid*. It stars James Coburn, Kris Kristofferson and Bob Dylan, and is directed by Sam Peckinpah.

It is a fine Western by the man who is probably one of the finest directors in the world. It is about the tragedy of Pat Garrett (James Coburn), who is forced by changes in the Wild West, and particularly by the big cattle barons and railroad companies, to murder his friend Billy (Kristofferson).

The old way of life had been murder, robbery and lawlessness. It had also been a kind of freedom, dignity and companionship. The new order of the corporations was murder, robbery and lawlessness—but under a respectable dinner-jacketed cover.



The film is visually beautiful, funny and exciting.

It has also been hacked to pieces. 'It wasn't us,' said the film censors in London. 'Nor us,' said MGM in London. 'We've released the same film that was on release in the USA—105 minutes.'

Quite true in both cases. But

over in Hollywood they thought differently. Peckinpah's version of the film was an hour longer and included a crucial sequence which has been cut from the version you can see.

In this sequence Garrett is shot down by the very men who had driven him to the murder of the Kid—the cattle barons, the men who, having used him, could now toss him away.

'This is the worst treatment I've received since I made *Major Dundee*,' said Peckinpah. *Major Dundee* was also chopped to pieces by MGM.

The censorship was political, and has gone some way to obscuring the message of the film. Next time you hear about censorship in Russia, South Africa or Thailand don't forget it happens around here too...

NIGEL FOUNTAIN

## AT LAST A SOCIALIST DIARY

MONDAY 4 November: Received copy of Pluto Press's 1974 *Big Red Diary*. It's entry for today reads: '1918 Kiel. The German fleet mutinies, elects soldiers' councils and occupies the city. Revolution spreads to Munich and Berlin. 5 days later the German Republic was proclaimed.'

At last here is a diary that doesn't portion out our lives according to the Christian calendar while telling us there are 5 rods to the perch and 1969 was a good year for claret.

This is a socialist diary. The dates it gives are those that matter—the founding of the First International, the freeing of the Pentonville Five, the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, the first meeting of the TUC. The information at the front is the sort every socialist needs at his fingertips: the ownership of wealth, how the freeze bites into wages, what to do if arrested on a picket line, how to get Social Security.

Such a diary has been needed for a long time. I hope there'll be a *Big Red Diary* for 1975, and 1976... until socialism puts Collins and Letts out of business.

The 1974 *Big Red Diary* will make an ideal Christmas present—though of course 25 December remains without its usual label in the diary.

PETER MARSDEN

\**Big Red Diary*, 75p plus 10p post and packing from Pluto Press, unit 10 Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Road, London NW1 8LH.

## PREVIEW

SATURDAY: BBC-2. *SECOND HOUSE*, deals with Liverpool ten years after the Beatles.

MONDAY: BBC-1, 8pm, *Panorama* deals with *KENNEDY-10 YEARS ON*.

TUESDAY: ITV, 10.30. Granada TV is networking a documentary *KATARAGAMA* which is about the beliefs of some Ceylonese in Kataragama an ancient 'God'. WEDNESDAY: BBC-2, 9pm, The Wessex Tales series of adaptations from Thomas Hardy stories this week is *A TRAGEDY OF TWO AMBITIONS*.

'I am glad Hitler did not succeed in destroying London. It is a beautiful city with so many old buildings left standing.' Words from that famous old architect Albert Speer, Nazi minister of production who is on *MIDWEEK* on BBC-1. \*Speer, who unsurprisingly no longer thinks his boss was such a good idea, talks about Hitler in relation to one of the faintly sinister new films about him—*Swastika*, which deals with the Fuhrer's home life.

FRIDAY: BBC-2, the World Cinema series features Leni Riefenstahl's *TRIUMPH OF THE WILL* which deals with the Nazi dream world which Speer spent so much of his life trying to create. It is a brilliant and unpleasant piece of Nazi propaganda. \*

\*Transmission time not released at time of going to press.

## Why the tribes are vanishing

WE'RE USED to seeing documentaries on TV, and in the colour supplements between *Vodka* adverts, about vanishing tribes of South American Indians, presented as though they were some exotic and ill-adapted species of nearly extinct animal. So picturesque, the editor must think, all those skinny brown children with large appealing eyes, providing light relief to the serious business of buying.

Anyone who finds such expressions of 'concern' as sickening as I do, would be interested in Christopher Hampton's play *Savages*, at the Comedy Theatre. In this play, in a series of short and pointed episodes involving Indians, Brazilian government officials, guerrillas and an English hostage, such highly-coloured concern for the survival of the Indians is shown to be a hypocritical red herring.

Hampton drives home the point that the Indians are not dying out through 'natural selection'. The tribes are disappearing because profit-hungry speculators, some of whom live not a 100 miles from the Comedy Theatre, are driving them off their land and exterminating them.

This process is part and parcel of the same system that keeps 90 million workers and peasants in Brazil in the most degrading poverty. But their plight, being less picturesque and more politically threatening, goes unlamented by glossy magazines.



In a series of arguments between a guerrilla and his English hostage, the conditions under the military dictatorship in Brazil are vividly brought home, and the guerrillas' case is forcefully put—although the question of the limitations of their tactics is hardly touched upon.

The play closes with a nice satire on the sensational way in which the hostage's death is treated by the press—the same press which exploits the suffering of the Indians and ignores the suffering of the workers and peasants.

A play worth seeing then, especially at only 50p for a balcony seat. But for most of the audience who clapped so loudly last Thursday, I suspect it meant little more than the pictures in the Sunday papers.

LIZ PITT

# WHAT WE STAND FOR

The International Socialist 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 combi-basis.

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

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

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

Against racism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

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Dundee  
Edinburgh  
Fife  
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Glasgow S  
Greenock  
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Newcastle upon Tyne  
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Sunderland  
Teesside

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Chertsey  
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Ealing  
Enfield  
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Hackney  
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Northampton  
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Wolverhampton  
Worcester

# THE UNIONS

## TGWU blocks blacking request

THE latest union to bear the brunt of the Transport Union's new and reactionary policy on blacking and picketing is the AUEW—which co-operated with the TGWU in enforcing this policy throughout the Chrysler electricians' strike.

After the struggle in the docks last year the TGWU leaders decided that picket lines would not automatically be respected, nor sympathetic blacking automatically applied. All such issues are now referred to the union executive who—with the Industrial Relations Act very much in mind—deliberate whether support can be given.

The AUEW has fallen foul of this new system in its struggle at Con-Mech, over which the union has been fined £75,000 by the NIRC. The engineers wanted help

to block the picket-busting lorries of Robert Dilley and his Con-Mech company in support of their battle to win union recognition.

Con-Mech has been forced to switch export orders—the biggest of which is for Cuba—away from the London docks since the dispute. They have been running into Ipswich instead. The Engineering Union naturally wanted to get the black put on both by lorry drivers and dockers in Ipswich.

An approach was made to Ipswich full-time officials of the Transport Union. The reply came back that the TGWU officials would not even consider blacking of the goods unless they had a signed letter of request from Hugh Scanlon, Engineering Union president.

Fortunately rank and file Ipswich dockers intervened and put the black on. Otherwise Mr Dilley, witch-hunter of trade unions, would still be getting his scab products out.

## FORD MEN ANGRY OVER 'CHECK-OFF' BATTLE

TOP Engineering and Transport Union leaders are determined to push through at Ford the 'check-off' system, the deduction of union dues before pay packets are made up—against the wishes of the unions' Joint Works Committees and without any consultation whatsoever.

This serious development emerged at the meeting of the Ford Joint Works Committees in London two weeks ago.

At the meeting Moss Evans, head of the Transport Union's automotive section started out by talking of the need for increased democratic consultation with convenors, shop stewards and the shop floor.

He outlined how the Joint Works Committees were the 'barometer' of shop floor opinion in the various Ford plants and stated that agreements with Ford would only be reached after consultation with them. Then he dropped his bombshell.

He announced that the top union negotiating body, the Ford National Joint Negotiating Council, had decided to bring in the check-off system. A ballot paper would automatically be put in all workers' pay packets. If 80 per cent voted in support then the system would be implemented at once.

Moss Evans underlined that this had been decided at union executive level. The Joint Works Committees would have no say in the matter, he insisted, miraculously reversing his assurances about full consultation.

This shattered the delegates who erupted in anger against the top table.

Moss Evans was told that the Joint



MOSS EVANS: About turn

Works Committees were given their orders by the rank and file and that the National Joint Negotiating Committee must be bound by rank and file instructions. One Dagenham Joint Works Committee member told Moss Evans that the imposition of the check-off meant a declaration of war on the committees who would not be slow in taking up the challenge. The meeting went on record strongly against the check-off.

Reg Birch, the negotiating committee secretary and a member of the Engineering Union executive, also weighed in. He insisted that the joint works committees were not the main instrument of the unions in Ford. That was a 'dangerous American idea,' he claimed, saying workers should connect with the union executives through their union branches.

This is of course a guarantee that the negotiating committee bureaucracy would

reign quite unchallenged since branch activity would not be complemented by strong and recognised plant organisation.

The wages issue at Ford is also coming to a head in the official channels. Top union negotiators are once again trying to avoid putting a precise, money figure on the claim.

The pitiful and servile logic of Moss Evans was again illustrated in the discussion at this meeting of an extra day's holiday.

New Year's Day is now a public holiday. Ford already gave this day off and delegates wanted the union to pursue an additional day. Moss Evans' reply was to suggest that since the government had given the day 'for those who did not already have it,' it would be rather selfish for those who already have it to ask for more.

What he probably meant was that extra holidays and extra pay conflict with Phase Three.

## Miners: The right wing organises counter-attack

OVER the past few years there has been a dramatic swing to the left in the Yorkshire coalfield. Right-wing officials such as Sam Bullough and Sid Schofield are dead or retired. Their role in sabotaging the strikes of 1969 and 1970 had discredited them in the eyes of thousands of Yorkshire miners. In the 1972 strike they played a minor role.

It has been no surprise to see a new leadership emerge made up mainly of left Labour Party members.

All three Yorkshire members of the national executive are now left wingers. Arthur Scargill was elected president of the Yorkshire Area with an overwhelming majority. Many militants are far from satisfied with the performance of the new 'left' leaders but there can be no doubt that they are a considerable improvement over their predecessors.

In face of this dramatic transformation the right wing has been organising a counter-attack.

Last year some right-wing branch officials launched the Labour Miners' Association, an organisation pledged to reassert the influence of the right. In recent elections they have had little success but are now running a concerted campaign for the current election for the job of

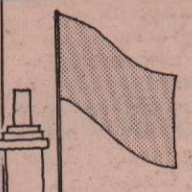
general secretary of the Yorkshire Area.

During the Labour Party conference, a special meeting designed to 'keep the Comms and the fellow travellers out of office' was held. Those present included Joe Gormley and five Labour MPs. They decided to back Bill O'Brien, branch secretary at Glasshoughton and a notorious right winger. Since then the national secretary of Catholic Action has been touring the area trying to drum up support for O'Brien.

### Setback

O'Brien has an interesting history. He is the owner of a lucrative garage in Pontefract and made a small killing during the last strike by selling petrol to pickets with tokens redeemable after the strike. Months later he was at the centre of a ballot-rigging charge at Glasshoughton. He is a leading figure in the Labour Miners' Association.

If he was to gain office it would be a real setback for militants in Yorkshire. Members of the International Socialists in the Yorkshire coalfield are backing the candidate of the left, Owen Briscoe, from the Doncaster area.



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# How about a union for wives?

**SORRY  
WE WERE  
WRONG  
ABOUT  
BRUM**

THE interview with Elaine Ibbet (Socialist Worker 10 November) has started me thinking, 'Why don't we have a housewives' union?' There is a very great need for women to organise themselves to deal with capitalist exploitation properly.

Only women have the power to bring down prices in the supermarkets. If we boycott certain products the prices are sure to go down.

And that's not all! Women also make very good pickets (which was proved in the hospital workers' strike). With a house-

wives' union behind them our husbands would be in a better position to fight for their rights on the factory floor.

Many women will shrug their shoulders and say, 'I'm not one for unions really.' But really, comrades, how else can we get a fair deal?-**LESLEY GREEN**, Darlington.

WE FEEL that the article in Socialist Worker (10 November) on the one day stoppage by the engineering union membership, gave a completely false impression of the situation that prevailed in the Birmingham district.

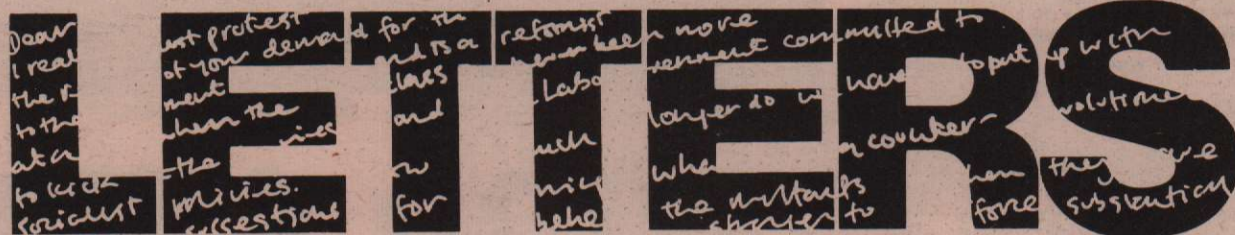
The Birmingham East district committee of the AUEW and the district shop stewards committee did in fact make a recommendation that the membership support the one day stoppage.

60,000 members answered the call, with the whole of the British Leyland combine shut down for the day, plus most of the car component factories.

The situation in the West district (and here we think the confusion arose) was totally the reverse of that in the East. Even so the main British Leyland factory at Longbridge which employs 28,000 people was at a complete standstill.-**NINE SHOP- STEWARDS AND WORKERS**, Birmingham.

Socialist Worker apologises for the confusion, and is happy to put the record straight.

## Will my son be punished even more?



I WISH to bring to your attention the treatment of my son in jail. He is Matthew Lygate, ex-member of the Workers Party of Scotland who was jailed last year for 24 years for his part in a series of bank robberies.

The warders at Perth prison where Mat has been held under top security since his trial raided his cell early last month looking for a camera supposed to have been smuggled into the prison. They didn't find anything but in the course of their search they wrecked Mat's mattress and tore up two of his paintings.

When Mat protested vigorously although non-violently about this persecution he was put into solitary confinement for fourteen days. At Perth this means being stripped of all your clothing except trousers and left with just two blankets and a wooden bed in special underground cells.

Immediately after he came out of solitary he was transferred to Peterhead prison near Aberdeen.

This makes it very difficult for my wife and I to visit him. Furthermore it is also the prison which housed William McPherson who was jailed for 24 years at the same time as Mat and who has since had several years added to his term because of his participation in prison protests.

Up until now ex-Workers Party of Scotland members had been kept apart by the authorities so this present move worries me that there is now an attempt afoot to punish them further by organising a frame-up.-**JOHN LYGATE**, Glasgow S1.

## The point is to change it!

IN HIS letter (Socialist Worker, 3 November) David Green claimed that the debate between Communist Party members and the International Socialists has been unmarxist. He writes that before judging Allende marxists should first establish whether the balance of class forces in Chile made socialism possible or not, and do this on the basis of 'the facts' and not of 'revolutionary demands'.

You can't separate the question of the balance of class forces from the actions of the political organisations of these classes. It's through their organisations that classes become active political forces in society.

The policies pursued by the Popular Unity over a long period of time decisively influenced the situation which Allende had to face when he took office. When the crunch came and even Allende realised the need for extra-parliamentary mobilisation of the working class, no adequate preparation for it had been made.

If we accepted Green's idea that it makes sense to try to define the class situation in Chile without mentioning the influence of the Popular Unity's long-term policies, he still wouldn't have proved his point. Because such a 'purely objective' situation still leaves two possibilities open: either it was possible to achieve socialism on the basis of it, or it was

**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.**

not. In the first case, Allende failed to make good the possibilities of the situation, and we want to know why. In the second, the Popular Unity government acted with gross irresponsibility in trying to push through in a totally non-revolutionary situation and within the limits of the constitution reforms that were unacceptable to the old order. Academic marxists like David Green may interpret the world in various ways, but the point is to change it.—**BRUCE YOUNG**, Oxford.

## Liberals

IT IS not surprising to anyone who has looked at the Liberal Party that they should win the Berwick by-election by 57 votes. It fits in ideally with the number of varieties of politics you get from them.

I liked the stuff in Socialist Worker (3 November) about the Merseyside Liberals and their property connections. The sooner those people who stick their crosses next to Liberal candidates realise which part of the community they come from then the sooner the joke of 'community politics' will be exposed.-**L BONIFACE**, London SW4.

## Shrewsbury

AT A meeting of the University Labour Club on 8 November, members decided to lend their full support to the Shrewsbury 24 building workers.

It is the view of our members that these workers have been chosen by agents of the British ruling class that they might be made an example of, and serve as an example to potential strikers who intend to set up and operate effective pickets, such as that operated by the building workers last year.

As the 24 workers involved are and will be engaged in a 'trial' until Christmas, thus being deprived of their right to earn a living and help defend themselves, our Labour Club will do all it possibly can to raise money for the 24.

T. Crocket, R. Knight, D. Michael, Labour Club of the New University of Ulster, Coleraine.

# Postal points: Ireland, Clough, humility, youth...

**IRELAND...** Socialist Worker publishes an excellent analysis of the Irish situation.

It is essential that troops should be withdrawn from Northern Ireland. It is ludicrous to suggest that an Army can possibly act as a peace-keeping force. A force which carries guns can never act in such a way, and can only serve to tempt the very few, both Catholic and Protestant to resort to sectarian violence.

The great majority of those who are arrested have, of course, never committed any violent act; and in the absence of the army would form a united socialist organisation devoted to revolutionary change in the 32 counties.-**JOAN MARTIN**, London E8.

**WANTED: RESPECT, HUMILITY ETC...** Paul Foot does not succeed in seriously questioning Professor Campbell's impartiality (Socialist Worker 27 October)... what is looked for in the Chairman of a Committee of enquiry is a man of integrity, Professor Campbell is such

a man... he is worthy of a little respect and a little humility from Mr Foot, who as far as I know has made no such self-sacrifices for the common good... the professor does present an impartial economics course which is not swayed by any ideology, whether right or left. Many International Socialists should take such a course before opening their mouths on a subject about which they know little or nothing at all.-**ROBERT G KIDDIE**, Dundee.

### MORE YOUTH POWER...

I WAS pleased to see the letter from an eight year old printed in Socialist Worker 20 October. It's about time that people realised kids aren't just there to be 'seen and not heard'. I know for a fact that Ted Heath and his cronies are just out to screw the working man into the floorboards and we need the socialist movement to fight back...-**MARGARET McLAUGHLIN** (aged 12) York.

**ENOUGH OF CLOUGH...** and what all the articles about Brian

Clough both in the Fleet Street press and now in Socialist Worker fail to point out is that those people who want to pay out money to watch 22 trainee-business men chasing a piece of leather around a field are barmy. As Socialist Worker points out, when not dealing with 'management crises' in football clubs, there are more important things for us to do.-**J NOBLE**, London SE.

**BETTER IN JUG?**... What J Preen doesn't seem to realise (Socialist Worker 10 November) when he talks about making the public pay for social security if the country 'throws people on the scrap-heap' is that the public have to realise that 'social security' is just a pittance handed out from on high. The money is ours in the first place, our 'rulers' nick it, and then we're supposed to feel grateful when we can get it back, if we're lucky, at the dole queue... The 'public' should realise what money is really squandered on. The same issue's feature on the Royal Family dealt with the tip of an ice-berg.-**SUSAN WILFORD**, Bristol.

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**THE BLACK SHINING**

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## Rent strikers face court jail threat

KIRKBY:-36 of the 400 rent strikers on the Tower Hill estate, have received orders to appear in court on Wednesday for committal to prison.

This follows from the partial victory a month ago, when the strikers, who had just celebrated a year of total rent strike against the Tories' unfair rents, were told they would be prosecuted for contempt if they did not appear in court to give evidence. The council has been trying to get earnings attachment orders for the back rent and their evidence is necessary for this.

When only two tenants turned up at the court the registrar publicly admitted defeat. The 36 are being used as a test case by which the authorities hope to frighten the rest of the rent strikers into paying up.

In many cases both husband and wife have received orders. This means that if the court does act, children will be taken into 'care'.

The Tower Hill Unfair Rents Action Group has already decided to stick to its policy of non-attendance at the court. So 21 November could well be the crunch for Tower Hill.

It will certainly be a real test of all the promises of industrial support the tenants have had. The tenants will be calling a national demonstration and for maximum industrial support action if any tenants are jailed.

The action group has recently rejected offers from both BBC and ITV to appear on programmes on the grounds that they would not be filmed live.

## SQUEEZE ON KODAK TIGHTENS

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD:-Support for the 150 strikers demanding union recognition is growing. Printworkers—members of the NGA and SOGAT—at Kodak's box printing plant in the town have banned overtime in support.

SLADE, the process workers' union, have put a black on the use of Kodachrome colour film on all publications at Britain's four major printing firms—Bemrose, Sun Printers, Purnells and Odhams Press. This will mean that colour pictures and ads in most of Britain's glossy magazines will be cut out unless an alternative supply can be found.

The Transport and General Workers Union has issued a circular to shop stewards imposing a total ban on all Kodak products at docks and airports. Follow-up action envisaged by the TGWU includes the banning of oil, petrol and other crucial supplies to Kodak.

These actions follow a statement from Kodak last week still refusing trade union recognition to the strikers' union, ACTT. The firm insisted that all discussions about trade unions should be taken up with the company union, the Union of Kodak Workers, which is registered under the Industrial Relations Act.

The ACTT itself is still reluctant to call for effective solidarity action from its own members. In the week of the Royal wedding, the strike could have been won in one move if television cameramen blacked Kodak colour film used for television. Only the ACTT branch at Harlech Television in Wales have blacked Kodak film for newsreel purposes.

The squeeze on Kodak tightens every day.

## Party ducks Chile issue

THE British Communist Party ducked the implications of the military overthrow of President Allende in Chile when it held its 33rd Congress in Camden, North London, last weekend.

Delegates were not allowed to discuss the 28 resolutions, many of them critical, on the lessons of the Chilean generals' coup.

Tony Chater, from the platform, told delegates that the question of state power and relations with the army had been covered in Morning Star articles, and general secretary John Gollan's report—which completely fudged the fundamental questions raised for British Communists by the Chile coup and ignored the severe blow to the credibility of the parliamentary road to socialism with little more than a whimper.

One delegate complained but only a sprinkling voted in support of him.

Gollan's speech contained not one word of criticism of the 'left' trade union leaders. The most important aspect of the

# 'DRIVEN TO STRIKE' SAY AMBULANCEMEN

by Socialist Worker reporters

**'TWENTY-THREE quid—you can't keep a bloody pet on it—never mind a family', says Mike Mulrooney, York area secretary of the ambulance men's union, the National Union of Public Employees.**

That's what ambulance men get (before stoppages) for a 40-hour week of gruelling, highly technical work, over constantly changing shifts,

many of them at night.

Now they've had enough. Stepping out bravely in the path blazed by the Glasgow firemen, the ambulance men at Durham have come out on a total strike. Immediately, ambulance men in almost every other district in the country have banned all calls but emergencies.

Alan Sanders, NUPE's ambulance representative in the Wolverhampton area, explained the situation.

'Last November we got £2.40 with the other local government manual workers, minutes before the freeze. But at that time we were engaged in detailed discussions with the employers about a new pay structure for ambulance men. The talks went on all through this year.

'Last month we agreed a scheme which would have given all ambulance men big increases, especially in areas like Wolverhampton and Durham, where ambulance-

men's pay is especially low.

'I, for instance, would have had a £14-a-week increase from the proposals. Everyone agreed that they were necessary. We're already 300 ambulance men short because of the rotten pay.

'Last month, the employers and the union approached the Minister, Sir Keith Joseph, to ask if we could sign and carry out our agreement.

'Back came the letter from Sir Keith. No, we could not. We have to start negotiating all over again within the government's pay limits.'

## 'DO-GOODING'

In Durham, where ambulance men have been treated particularly badly by a Labour-controlled county council, the picket lines are being broken by a gang of scabs led by a former Tory council candidate and a cafe proprietor. The county Medical Officer of Health has relaxed the health and safety rules which apply to ambulance men. Says Mike Mulrooney: 'These do-gooding scabs will probably kill more patients than they'll help.'

The union has given tacit support to the strikers and the supporting work to rule, but no strike money is being paid to the Durham men.

The union urges caution until November 29 when a national conference of ambulance men's delegates will decide on future action. Alan Saunders has no doubts as to the outcome.

'We'll have to make this ridiculous government see sense with the possibility of a total strike' he says. 'Every one of us hates the idea of a strike, but every one of us hates even more the government that is forcing us into it.'

## Builders down tools over sackings

LONDON:-150 building workers downed tools at the 27-acre, £7 million McInerney contract at Finsbury Park over the sacking of carpenter Bill Butler and labourer John Kettle. Both men, who had been employed 24 hours previously, worked at MacAlpines where Bill was the convenor. The strikers intend to fight the blacklist and will be calling for support from other McInerney sites.

## Boss uses freeze to fiddle bonus

by Halina Pasiecznik

YORK:-'The men are pig-sick of the way they've been treated', said one of the 145 production workers at Adams Hydraulics now on strike for four weeks. The immediate cause of the dispute goes back to July, when the workers, all members of the AUEW, accepted new bonus targets in return for the Tories' wage freeze minimum rise of £1 plus 4 per cent.

For at least four years managing director Peter Hopwood has been fiddling around with the bonus, which forms a substantial part of the men's take-home pay. It is based on a monthly target figure, but the actual amount paid fluctuates wildly. When asked about this, Hopwood claimed that bonus cannot be calculated on the basis of output!

## 'Victorian'

When the men were offered a definite £1 plus 4 per cent coupled with a guarantee that there would be no loss of earnings if new targets were introduced in return, they agreed. Since then, the men have been losing up to £6 a week in bonus pay!

Hopwood also played another dirtier trick yet. Not only does he cover his wage rises by raising his targets but bonus is still worked out as a percentage of the old basic rate.

The men already had to put up with pretty appalling conditions. The foundry is described as 'Victorian', and after the last visit of the factory inspector, management were forced to have the fitting shop, cleaned and painted. As one striker put it 'You couldn't move for days for the dust and dirt that came flying down.'

To put up with this and a massive cut in their wages when living costs are soaring was just too much.

This is the first ever strike at Adams. The men are flexing their muscles and must be giving management the fright of their life. It is essential that all AUEW members and other trade unionists in the York district give their support to the strikers.



Pickets outside Adams Hydraulics

## Work-to-rule: BAC hits out

BRISTOL:-168 members of the white-collar union ASTMS were suspended at the British Aircraft Corporation Guided Weapons plant on Monday. The 168, all inspection workers, have been working to rule for six weeks against a new company pension scheme which BAC insists on putting into operation without proper negotiations.

The new scheme, while an improvement for BAC manual workers, is far from an advance for white-collar workers, who have been insisting on renegotiation. Of 98 comparable schemes known to ASTMS, the new BAC one is one of the five in the worst category. It contains a clause allowing management to change any detail on one month's notice.

ASTMS is campaigning for support for the suspended members and it is likely that the struggle will be stepped up, with backing from other unions.

## Chrysler: Now to repair the damage

COVENTRY:-The Chrysler electricians' strike is over. The 156 men who held on, despite official backing for scabbing from the national and local leaders of the Engineering and Transport Unions, have achieved a draw.

In the Stoke factory, many embarrassed faces were to be seen on the shop floor on Monday as the sparks returned to work.

But if the strike is over, its effects are not. Chrysler, whose share of the car market has dropped recently, is replacing the 1000 men who have left their Coventry factories over the past few weeks. Within a few weeks they will start making good any production losses.

It will take longer than that to repair some of the damage done by the failure of other unions to respect the electricians' picket line. At Ryton the company is working hard to build up a tradition that any section in dispute is to be left stranded. And at Stoke the con-

venors seem to want more and more to decide which disputes are to be supported by the factory as a whole. The threat that, as with the electricians, other men will do your job is a real one.

The settlement includes Chrysler restoring to the sparks the staff status originally agreed but then withdrawn during the strike, and a wage increase claimed by the union as a victory but which the company seems happy to concede using Phase Three.

But whatever the weaknesses in the claim, whatever the weaknesses of the electricians' union national leadership, the Chrysler electricians ended this bitter strike as better trade unionists than ever.

The day the electricians returned to work they agreed, despite their financial hardship, on a weekly levy of £1 a head on all members in support of the workers' sit-in at Triumph Meriden. By contrast, the AUEW leadership, great upholders of 'trade union unity' when attacking the electricians; have done almost nothing in support of Meriden.

by Jim Higgins

battle was for him 'the winning of the biggest Communist vote to make a breakthrough in the fight for Communist MPs.'

Great significance was placed by platform and delegates on the presence of Gollan on the same platform as the general secretary of the Labour Party, Judith Hart and Jack Jones at a recent Chile demonstration. That the same platform included Tariq Ali of the International Marxist Group was apparently not significant enough for mention.

As before 'Left Advance' is seen as joint platforms with Labour lefts and the servicing of the Jones-Scanlon tendency in the trade unions. Apart from generalities on the formation of an anti-monopoly alliance—to include shopkeepers, middle-class sections and farmers—the strategy for workers in the coming period was missing.

Mick McGahey, a member of the Party executive and vice-president of the miners'

union, speaking on the miners' claim, apparently saw the struggle limited to an overtime ban and a recall of the TUC.

Of course the Communist Party supports workers in struggle, and will pass resolutions to this effect at the drop of a hat. A political party that claims to be socialist has far more responsibility than that. It needs to lay out clearly the facts, even the uncomfortable facts, and to set out courageously the perspective for workers' struggles.

By this test the Communist Party proves to have learned nothing and forgotten a great deal.

The leadership, in their report of the two years since the last congress, congratulated themselves and the party on halting the decline in membership and actually increasing it by 1100. In four years the Morning Star has added 1300 to its circulation, they boasted.

It is a measure of the stolid complacency of delegates that they were prepared to accept these pitiful results bearing in mind the massive workers' struggles in the past two years.



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# COURT'S

# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

# ORDER TO UNION

THE prosecution in the Shrewsbury conspiracy trial of building workers' pickets has now brought the builders' unions into the case.

On Monday UCATT general secretary George Smith, regional secretaries Eric Hughes and Ken Barlowe, and Transport Union construction section secretary Leslie Kemp appeared in court on a prosecution order.

The move is primarily to obtain all official union documents relating to last year's official building workers' strike. But it also means that both unions are now—against

by Socialist Worker reporter

their leaders' wishes—going to have much more pressure on them to come to the defence of the six accused men.

The union leaders were ordered to appear after one of the most remarkable incidents of the six-week case.

On Friday Laurence Mansbridge, a journalist on the Border Counties Advertiser, appeared for the prosecution. John Platt Mills, for the defence, asked him about a meeting on 27 September 1972, just after the strike, where senior police officers met journalists and asked for help in their investigation.

Platts Mills asked if any police officers might have mentioned anything about 'pressures' to bring the prosecution. Mr Mansbridge replied that he couldn't remember. But, he added, they may have done.

At this point the judge, Mr Justice Mais, interrupted and asked Platts Mills if he was saying that there had been 'outside' pressure to launch the police investigation. Platts Mills insisted he had only been asking if this were the case.

After a lengthy wrangle the shorthand note of the exchange was read back, showing Platts Mills was correct. He then indicated that the defence case would focus on how the prosecution was mounted and on the involvement of the building employers. Immediately after this the prosecution moved against the official unions.

In the court last week it came out that pickets had been threatened with a shotgun on a second site. Mr Rawson, a building employer, described how he had tried to take photographs of pickets who had come to his site at Brynford, North Wales.

Not surprisingly the pickets took the camera off him. He then dived into the house and charged out, armed with a shot gun. This was taken off him and he was actually punched, he told the court.

Another prosecution witness, Patrick O'Riordan, told the court that when he saw a picket with a brick in his hand he threatened to decapitate him with a shovel. He also described how pickets had rocked a van he was sitting in and said that 'if they had been in front of me I would like to have run through them.' Under cross-examination he admitted that these threats reflected his general attitude to the pickets.

Superintendent Glover, who was in charge of the investigation, described interviews he had with the six accused men, John Carpenter, John Llywarch, Des Warren, Eric Tomlinson, John McKinsie Jones and Kenneth O'Shea in November last year. He said he had suggested to them that when they voted to picket in Shrewsbury they had been 'taking a vote for violence'—on the grounds that they had read a newspaper report about lumpers 'being ready for them' and because 'they planned to take six coachloads.'

### 100 strike over victimisation

WEST BROMWICH: 100 workers are on strike at George Tuftin's engineering factory after senior Transport Union steward Mrs Iris Wilcox was made 'redundant' last Thursday. Mrs Wilcox had been prominent in fighting for better conditions in the factory.

Several weeks ago Mrs Wilcox's job was re-timed and she was offered a new rate around £5 a week less than before. After refusing the new timing she was 'made redundant'.

The strikers have official Transport Union support. A management offer of suspension on full pay was turned down. The strikers decided to accept nothing less than full and immediate re-instatement.

### FUND REACHES £337

THE Socialist Worker Fighting Fund took a good jump forward this week to £337, including a very generous £100 from the IS London region. Our Industrial Conference last weekend was a fantastic success for the paper. But for Socialist Worker to win all the new readers we would like to, and actively to build a real rank and file movement we still need more resources. That is why the fighting fund is so important.

Everyone who sells Socialist Worker in factory, office, shop or estate should ask readers to contribute. Collection sheets are still available. A real push now will help us to reach £1000 this month—but only if you really try.

Send all collections or donations to: Jim Nichol, National Treasurer, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

### 65,000 engineers out over NIRC fine

SCOTLAND: About 65,000 engineering workers stopped work on Monday to protest against the National Industrial Relations Court's £75,000 fine on the AUEW.

About 2000 workers marched through Glasgow to a meeting held in a street off George Square. Demands by many people for a meeting in the main square were rejected by the organisers.

Several factories which hadn't taken part in earlier strikes and demonstrations turned out this time. One non-engineering section that responded to the local Trades Council call was Glasgow Corporation's Central Electrical Workshop.

A notable absence however was the banner of Marathon Manufacturing of Clydebank, where Councillor Jimmy Reid is the AUEW convenor. Reid did not attend a mass meeting last Friday where workers voted overwhelmingly against taking action.

Later some sections reversed this decision and picketed the factory on Monday but with only partial success. Nonetheless the first speaker at the meeting turned out to be Jimmy Reid, who made a rousing speech and ended by calling for an all out stoppage to defeat the Industrial Relations Act and throw out the Tories.

### Standstill

The Dundee area was paralysed as more than 15,000 engineering workers struck.

UCATT and Transport Union members also came out in support in various factories and building sites. National Cash Register, Timex, Ferranti, ICI were all at a complete standstill.

1000 people attended a rally which was addressed by John Brown, AUEW district secretary, and Tom Gray, AUEW divisional organiser.

Each speech gave a history of the Con Mech strike and condemned the employer. But while making vague demands for mass union action and return of a labour government, neither offered any criticism of the AUEW leadership for its failure to lead a real battle against the Industrial Relations Act.

The contradiction was shown clearly in the platform's resolution. On one hand they 'congratulated the executive committee of the AUEW for its stand against the NIRC.' Later on the resolution advanced a much tougher strategy: 'We pledge the Dundee district to indefinite and unlimited industrial action in the event of further attacks.'

### Pay Board stalls over firemen

THE TORIES are trying to save face over the firemen's settlement and the Fire Brigade Union leaders are helping them. This is the message coming loud and clear from the delay in giving Pay Board approval.

The employers have offered rises of between £5.85 and £7.86 for firemen who work a compulsory 56 hour week. They promised to reduce the 56 hour week to 48 hours without loss of pay in November 1974.

The government is now making objections to the settlement on four grounds.

Firstly it has said it wants to cut the rate offered to leading firemen by 20 pence. Secondly, it is questioning whether the extra one per cent offer on top of the basic seven per cent rise is really justified under the Phase Three 'flexibility margin'.

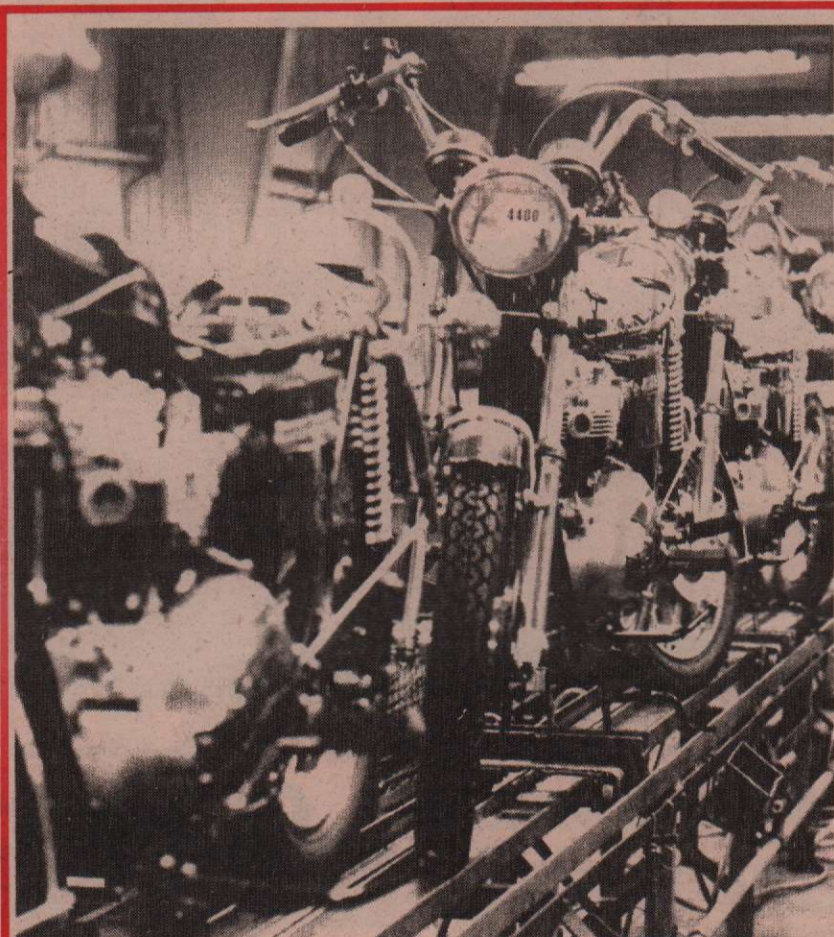
It has also raised an objection to paying the full amount every week for 'unsocial hours' when the figure is calculated on a 52 weeks a year basis. It is saying that the five weeks in the year when firemen are on holiday and so aren't working unsocial hours should be excluded from the calculation.

Lastly, and most importantly, to add insult to inquiry the government is saying that it cannot agree to a clear commitment to the 48 hour week for 56 hours pay in November next year.

Firemen were originally promised this vital reduction in hours next April, and the proposed settlement deliberately postponed it so it fell outside Phase Three. But as Socialist Worker pointed out last week the government wants to keep its options open for extending Phase Three, or for the contents of a possible Phase Four.

The Tories clearly hope that having secured the return to work in Glasgow they can now slap the firemen in the face without fear of protest. The employers know they can rely on Humphreys and Parry, the FBU president and general secretary, to try and prevent a response.

The way forward for firemen must be by national strike action. If the FBU National Executive or reconvened conference doesn't give a lead then such a lead must come from the 20 or so brigades who are still working to rule in support of the firemen's full claim.



Motorcycles inside the occupied Triumph factory. PICTURE: John Sturrock (Report)

### Triumph sit-in tightens grip

THE struggle in the motorcycle industry goes on. At Meriden, near Coventry, the workers occupying Norton Villiers Triumph are tightening their grip on the now officially 'closed' factory, while their brothers at the Wolverhampton plant have won a freeze-busting wage rise.

The 1700 Meriden men have been given their cards by asset-stripping boss Dennis Poore but they refuse to give in. Now, better late than never, they have excluded all management from the factory.

The factory's leadership has repeatedly refused to make an all-out fight. Instead of using the assembled bikes as a ransom to counter management threats, they've tried compromise through a workers' cooperative.

But there is no questioning the determination of the pickets, much encouraged by support from many Transport Union convenors and stewards in the area. It is this combination of pickets and solidarity which can bring victory.

At Wolverhampton the strikers sitting-in returned to work last Monday after accepting an offer of £2.25 on top of an increase of £2.40 they got two months ago. Their decision to sit in had been spontaneous. No clear lead had come from the convenors who had recommended a return to work at a stormy mass meeting.

This was the first major strike in the plant's 34 years. It shows what militant action can achieve.

### How the miners' ban started

AT EVERY pit in Britain miners are banning overtime. After a massive vote in support, the national official ban started on Monday morning.

There can be little doubt that the ban would not have come so soon if rank and file miners up and down the country had not gone ahead and imposed one at local level.

At Lea Hall Colliery, Staffordshire the pit was completely closed over last weekend. Normally, at least some overmen and maintenance workers would have been in doing safety and repair work. But not last weekend—thanks to the unofficial ban.

As a result when the miners arrived for work on Monday morning they were unable to go underground. The safety work had to be done first. So it was around 9am by the time most went down and some did not start until around 11am. Four weeks ago Lea Hall reached a

new production record of 40,000 tons for a normal week. The unofficial ban reduced this to 25,000 last week and clearly the ban is biting hard. It is now being supported by the overmen and feeling is high for the full claim.

At Grimthorpe Yorkshire, colliery, miners picketed the pit on Saturday and turned back the deputies who then held a branch meeting and resolved that under no circumstances would they cross miners' picket lines.

Grimthorpe's action was immediately attacked as unconstitutional by Arthur Scargill, left-wing executive member and Yorkshire NUM president.

In Scotland the effects of the overtime ban are likely to hit harder than elsewhere particularly in the pits with steam-winding gear. 600 miners and other trade unionists at a rally in Musselburgh, near Edinburgh, last Saturday heard speeches from Lawrence Daly, NUM general secretary, Mick McGahey, NUM vice-president, and

Bill McLean, Scottish secretary.

The speakers called for complete solidarity behind the overtime ban, as a prelude to a national all-out strike.

Mick McGahey and Lawrence Daly both argued that the claim for £35 to £45 in fact underestimated the needs of miners since the cost of living is rising.

Trevor Ball, a miner at Lea Hall, explained to Socialist Worker that the overtime ban was a vital prelude to an all-out strike as it would build up confidence, awareness of how low basic wages are, and would run down coal stocks.

But, he added, there are difficulties. If the Coal Board started sending men home, then in his pit everyone would stop. This was right, he added. But it would mean that there was a risk of fragmentation from pit to pit and region to region.

There was also a risk of starting the struggle passively. 'We need the full claim desperately,' he said. 'And to get it we are going to have to fight and fight hard.'

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