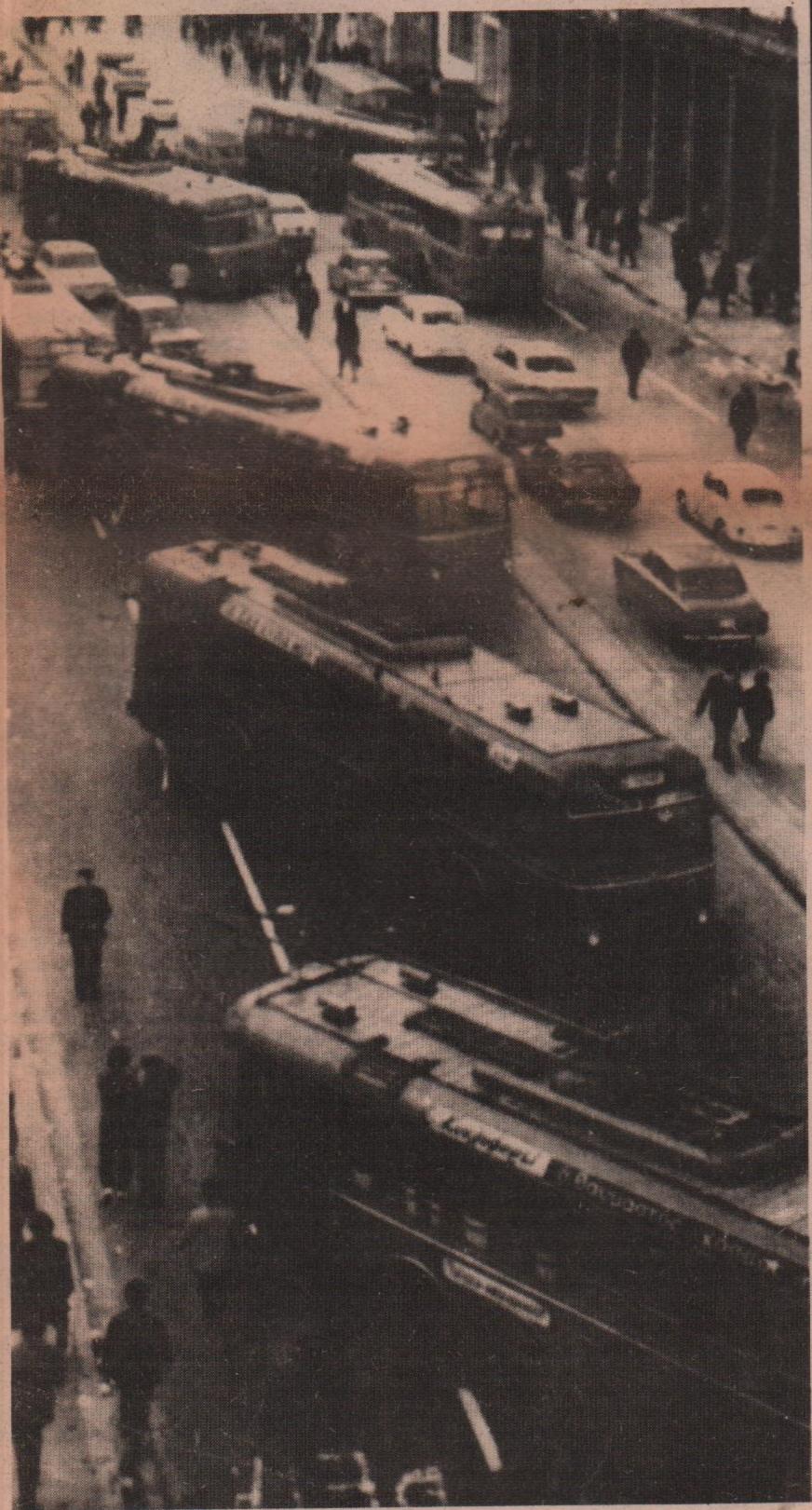
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Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Terror in Chile: eye-witness report on military regime: p6



Drivers abandoned their trams to act as barricades

Barricades on Athens streets

THE GREEK COLONELS' bloody dictatorship was rocked last weekend by massive demonstrations of workers, students and peasants. Resentment against the regime flared in Athens Polytechnic. A pirate radio run by students called for strike action to overthrow the regime. Workers poured on the streets and it took days of terror by army and police to restore 'law and order'. Full report on page 2.

TRANSPORT **UNION FACES** £100,000 NIRC FINE

A FURTHER savage attack the unions was launched the National Industrial Relations Court on Tuesday.

It found the giant Transport Workers Union guilty of an 'unfair industrial practice' at Heathrow Airport and liable to pay compensation to a firm called General Aviation Services. No sum has yet been fixed but it is thought the TGWU may be fined at least £100,000.

Heathrow workers fought a prolonged industrial battle to prevent the American-owned GAS being given a contract at the airport to service planes. They blacked the firm which they considered would bring in substantial redundancies and would act as a springboard for backdoor denationalisation at the airport.

ATTITUDE

Because of the blacking, GAS withdrew from the airport but later sought compensation through the NIRC. In his judgment, NIRC president Sir John Donaldson said that as the majority of shop stewards at the airport were TGWU members, that union should be responsible for paying compensation.

The grim irony of the situation is that the TGWU leaders attacked the airport stewards' campaign and also appeared at the NIRC to defend themselves. In spite of this grovelling attitude, Donaldson has determined to strip the union of its assets.

Already airport stewards, angered by the NIRC ruling, are demanding that the TGWU refuse to pay any fines and stop appearing at the court.

They are right. The NIRC is the creature of the Tory government's anti-union laws. It is a bosses' court, designed to attack the very

SW Reporter

roots of trade unionism-the right to organise and the right to defend

In spite of all the fine words by union leaders against the Industrial Relations Act, one by one they have fallen into line and recognised the court. Only the engineering union has put up a principled opposition to the court but it has still allowed Donaldson to lift its funds by its refusal to mount industrial action to stop further fines.

There is only one way to stop the fines-and that is to fine the bosses. Strike action costs the employers millions of pounds in lost production. It hurts them in their most sensitive area-the pocket.

TGWU branches and shop stewards' committees should flood their union leaders with demands that they publicly declare they will not pay the GAS fine, will boycott the NIRC and will prepare for massive industrial action if any attempt is made to seize their funds.

Miners can beat Tories

magnificent and whelming response by the miners to the fight for their pay claim means that all-out strike action by them, backed by solidarity action from other key groups of workers, could spell the end of the crisiswracked regime of Heath and his profiteers.

Trevor Ball of Lea Hall colliery in Staffordshire commented on the NCB's latest offer: 'The extras they have come up with don't really affect the main issue-what are we going to get on the basic wage. The Tories are working hard to mobilise public opinion against us, but that will not help them.

'Never in our long history have we been in such a powerful position. This power, it seems, terrifies some of our leaders. They are frightened to use it. Well, the time to use our power is now.'

He is right. Working people have



Special article on centre pages

suffered for too long at the hands of a government that has set out to cut living standards.

The mounting anger of the workers must be translated into action. The key to the defeat of the government lies in united action between the miners and the engineers, who also have a major pay claim on the table.

That is the vital importance of the present struggle. The miners can smash Phase Three. They can inspire other sections into joint action that can finish the Tories.



SEAN TREACY ON THE **NEW TORY CRISIS**

After that summer boom

ON TUESDAY last week, with the minimum of ceremony, the Tories' 'summer time boom' was laid to rest. It had been frail from birth, was sickly throughout its short life and was finally despatched with a dose of credit squeeze and astronomic interest rates.

Not realising the creature is dead it is even possible that the Tories will make absolutely certain of its demise by announcing new credit squeeze measures, cuts in public spending and even higher taxes before long.

Just how skin deep Heath's break-

through to growth really was could be told by the attitude of business. They never really believed the boom was going to last and, as a result, have been refusing to back it by increasing industrial investment. But by not adding to and modernising industry's productive capacity, British capitalists have only ensured even greater problems for themselves in the years ahead.

The symptoms of crisis in the summer time boom were obvious. The expansion in output and increase in unemployment had been made possible only by a massive influx of imports and by allowing a runaway increase in the flow of cash and credit in the economy.

Of course the crisis in the British economy has been made the more

extreme by the galloping inflation which is sweeping all the advanced capitalist countries and, more recently, by the Middle East oil embargo. Not only in Britain, but also in the United States, Japan and Western Europe governments have been slamming on the economic

Fanciful

Just as all the problems of prices and shortages have been made worse by the fact that the whole capitalist world was in boom at the same time, next year and 1975 will see recession and unemployment in these countries multiplied by the effect of the slowdown of the whole world economy.

In this sense talk about 'another 1929' -meaning a world slump-is not as fanciful as it was from 1945 until now. But there are important differences. From 1929 almost until the outbreak of the Second World War prices and the cost of living actually fell.

But no one doubts that we are going to be in the grip of a vicious price inflation in the years ahead. The only dispute among the economists is whether this inflation will or will not lead to the total collapse of currencies.

In the short term the signals are for a return to so-called 'stagflation': nil or very low growth, rising unemployment and higher prices. The question is how will the ruling classes throughout the world react to this situation. High hopes

BGREWOLTSHAKES SW Reporter EKCOLONE 'THIS IS the radio station of the



free fighting students, this is the radio of the free fighting Greeks! Fight on! Smash the Junta! It is confirmed, it is confirmed, the Attica County Hall has been occupied by fighting workers. We call on everybody to help in our struggle for freedom!"

These were the words thundering out all over Athens during the night of last Friday. The people of Athens responded magnificently to the appeals for solidarity and mass struggle made by the students who had occupied the Athens Polytechnic.

200,000 were on the streets fighting the colonels' dictatorship. Thousands of students and workers joined peasants who moved in from surrounding areas, clashed with police and soundly defeated them.

The police retreated everywhere. Town halls and police stations were occupied. The Ministry of Public Order was besieged.

The police in desperation started shooting indiscriminately. They aimed to kill, aimed at the tyres of ambulances, threw tear gas at their windscreens. The people erected barricades and bus drivers drove their buses in front of the Poly building in order to shield it.

.The Free Radio station thundered: 'This is our night, this is our revolution! Greek people it is now or never!' There were mobilisations in other big cities in Greece. In Patras and Salonika. Students from Patras sent a fighting delegation to Athens.

LEADING

By midnight the Junta was faced with a full-blooded mass uprising, with the people controlling a large area in the centre of Athens. The militancy and the fighting spirit of the demonstrators, the fact that workers, led by the traditionally militant building workers, were taking a leading part in the uprising coupled with clear political aims, all this showed clearly the danger the Junta's state was in.

The army was mobilised. The tanks rolled in.

Marine commandos spearheaded by tanks smashed their way into the Polytechnic, machine guns blazing. People were shot point blank. There were scores of dead and hundreds of wounded.

The massacre spread to the streets with bloody clashes in many parts of Athens. Martial law was imposed on Saturday morning and a curfew on Saturday afternoon. But there were further clashes on Sunday in the centre of Athens. On Monday morning it was still not clear to what extent the Junta had reimposed its control, despite the assassination of up to 200 militants and the arrest of another 2000.

The suddeness and the intensity of the mass uprising, its apparent spontaneous character, should not

hide the fact that since the beginning of this year the mass movement in Greece has been growing steadily.

Starting with the student demonstrations last spring, the development of the workers' and peasants' struggle against an unparalleled exploitation, the mass movement has already reached a considerable level of political awareness and displayed a growing

militancy.

It was these facts that compelled the Junta to retreat and find a new rule for their game. A general ammnesty was granted in August with an open invitation to the middle-class opposition to join the 'liberalised' Papadopoulos' bandwagon.

Elections were promised. A

'civilian' government under a puppet premier, Markenzinis, was formed on 9 October. But Papadopoulos could not even afford to buy time to prove his 'democratic intentions' and negotiate a bargain with the opposition.

The mass movement struck deep into the heart of the weak middleclass, deepening its crisis even further.

Wreckage in the grounds of Athens Polytechnic after the army attack

The attempts made by the revolutionary left to politicise the struggle within the university and to develop the political consciousness of the students even further were right and bore their fruit. The slogans printed on the walls of the Polytechnic are evidence enough of that: 'Revolution or Death', 'out of NATO', 'Down with state power', 'General Strike'.

NEW FACE

More importantly, although no revolutionary organisation had succeeded in gaining a basis within the working class, the building workers were organised enough to come down on the streets en masse and wage a co-ordinated attack from three different points in the city against the police.

The mass movement has made a giant step forward. It has uncovered and smashed the Junta's 'new face'. It has emphasised the ineffectiveness of the 'democratic' opposition, who manage only a few garbled noises of protest.

It has shown clearly the only way forward: only the organised strength of the workers, peasants and students will smash the Junta on their way towards workers' power.

HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL in the human breast, so despite misgivings I went to the Communist Party's 33rd Congress. It seemed to me that the lessons of 1972 and 1973 for militants, let alone socialists and communists, would somewhat tarnish the reputation of the trade union and Labour Party left leadership.

I was concerned to see what lessons the party members had learned from the fate of Allende and thousands of Chilean socialists. I wanted to know what tactics were to be deployed to develop a working-class political offensive against the Tories.

It is a matter of some concern to know what the party leaders suggest for uniting the economic struggles of all sections of the movement into a massive assault against the system.

Unfortunately the delegates assembled at Camden Town Hall were treated to the mixture as before and seemed incapable of transcending the reformist platitudes of general secretary John Gollan's introduction.

by Jim Higgins

As one cynic put it, you do not need to go to Syria to view the Gollan depths.

At no point in his speech did Gollan make the slightest criticism of Scanlon and Jones. The struggles of the Manchester engineers were not mentioned. Jones' crosstalk act with Lord Aldington during the docks dispute was not worthy of mention.

On Chile we were informed that 'Chile has become a fascist state . . . But the people of Chile will never succumb . . . the people will create a new advanced democratic state which will block the possibilities of fascism, economic sabotage and army coups.'

Not a word of analysis of what went wrong and not a whisper of how the 'advanced' democracy would be instituted.

Indeed the only lesson for Britain was a call for full political rights for soldiers 'so that they can be won away from capitalist ideas for socialist

ideas'. Presumably if General Pinochet had had the vote a few years before he joined Allende's government, he might never have planned the fascist coup.

The central core of the party programme, as outlined by Gollan, remains the same. First to wage the electoral struggle-32 Communist candidates have been adopted so far. Second, to get more left wingers elected to the General Council of the TUC and the Labour Party executive. The party is to have an auxiliary role, pressing those elected to stick to their mandate.

TACTICS

Considering the party's difficulties it is surprising, given their policy, that they maintain a separate existence to the Labour Party.

Halting the decline of the membership and the circulation of the Morning Star were seen as grounds for fulsome congratulation. The reduction by half in the ranks of the

Young Communist League and the fact that only 900 pay their subs was glossed over.

One comrade who seemed to have a glimmer of tactics when he spoke of the need for factory branches spoilt his effect by demanding a factory branch-constituency link-up. He drew a round of applause when he called for the industrial workers to become 'the shop stewards of the wards'.

On the Middle East war, Solly Kaye managed to make a speech in which he did not mention Zionism and restricted the line to support for various United Nations the resolutions.

A feature of party congresses that has not changed over the years, beside policy, is the air of stage management. From my observation only one speech was not read. Speakers are selected well in advance.

One of the few off-the-cuff remarks and one greeted with some enthusiasm-was Kevin Halpin's reminder that 'they knew what to do

the wintry reality

this year were placed on a world-wide agreement on currency reform and a freer international trading system.

But, partly because of political pressures arising from Watergate and partly because of Nixon's love-in with the Russian ruling class. Congress has deferred legislation of freer trade. And the Americans are also obstructing negotiations on currency reform because they aim to reinstate the dollar as a Washington-controlled lynch pin in the world money system.

The danger now is that with international agreement further off than ever each ruling class will seek to protect its own interests at the cost of the world economy. That may mean import controls, tax discrimination against

foreign firms, competitive cheapening of national currencies. Some, notably in the US, are also likely to increase their armament expenditure.

In this situation there are also dangers that the very severity of the crisis and the obvious fact that the Tories are trapped on all sides may actually be exploited to their advantage. We can now expect Heath to launch a great 'national backs against the wall . . . Dunkirk spirit . . . the government cannot be blamed for forces beyond its control' campaign.

Complicity

We must point out that it is government action which is forcing up the cost of living through high interest rates

(which will also force local councils to put up rents and rates). It is government complicity with City speculators which is encouraging the runaway rise in commodity prices. Foodstuffs (it has been calculated) are 30 per cent higher than they would otherwise be because speculators have been switching from shares and currencies into investing in foodstuffs and other basic commodities.

And it is government action which now threatens a return of short time working and unemployment. This makes it even more imperative than ever for trade unionists to organise now in defence of wages and conditions. With every month that passes the economic crisis points an ever more deadly dagger at the heart of the working class.



Demonstrators outside the Home Office on Friday protesting at the jail sentences on the Belfast Nine. Picture: Chris Davies (Report)

Condemn sentences on Belfast Nine

SAVAGE and vindictive sentences handed out to nine young republicans at Winchester Crown Court last week should bring unanimous condemnation from all socialists...

No amount of hypocritical talk of 'violence' by judges, policemen and the press can hide the fact that the 'Belfast Nine' join their hundreds of comrades in British and Irish jails as political prisoners and hostages for the good behaviour of all those opposed to and fighting British domination in Ireland.

When a Derry coroner finds the British army guilty of the murder of 13 civilians on Bloody Sunday, no action is taken. Yet when Republicans are accused of planting bombs which did no more than wreck a few shop

statement by the IS executive committee

windows they are condemned to spend the rest of their lives behind

Whatever reservations socialists have about the bombings alleged to have been carried out by Dolours Price and her comrades, we have nothing but the greatest solidarity and support for them in their present plight and the basic aims for which they stand, a united Ireland free from British imperialist domination.

Socialists and trade unionists should not ignore the implications of increased repression against republicans. The British ruling class has

shown itself prepared to go to any lengths to defend its interests in Ireland, by violence, by brutality, by the erosion of the most basic democratic rights and liberties. How much harder they will fight to preserve themselves in their own country can be imagined.

Against such odds the British working class can succeed only by mass organisation and involvement and must reject the view that the acts of heroic individuals can ever be a substitute for this.

The International Socialists in their struggle to build a mass workers' organisation will fight continually for the immediate release of all political prisoners, and for the rights of all such prisoners to be accorded political status.

AT COMMUNIST CONGRESS

with Trotskyists in Russia in the

1920s'.

The loss of spontaneity would be well compensated if the delegates were actually adding something new to the discussion. Sad to tell they do not. The only excitement or opposition came from the licensed dissidents

of the 'French group'.

Sid French, the Surrey district organiser, maintains his opposition on the basis of uncritical love and devotion for the 'Soviet Union'. Whenever he or his few disciples gained the microphone they ruined whatever validity there was in their criticism by giving as the solution to all ills a more uncritical attitude to Moscow.

If only the party would retrospectively support the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia and condemn the Russian dissidents, they say, then the workers would flock to the party's banner.

No party that wishes to maintain a spurious air of democracy could wish for a more satisfactory

opposition.

One debate really illuminated the reformist nature of the party. An amendment was moved to alter the party's call for 'A Labour government with left policies' to a 'Labour government with 'socialist policies'.

In a crude exposition of the stages theory, William Wainwright made clear that for the party 'left' policies are all that is possible at present. To call for socialism now is beyond what is realisable.

ATTITUDE

Given the party's dedication to the parliamentary road there can be no arguing with Wainwright's thesis. That the Communist leadership has forgotten or never learned what revolutionary leadership is about and what lesson the Russian revolution taught has seldom been more clearly demonstrated.

Only one delegate seemed to maintain any connection with the traditions of the communist movement. Bill Westabrook called for 'the adoption of an uncompromising socialist attitude on all issues'. He explained his difficulty in discussing with the Clay Cross councillors to excuse the antics of party councillors (one of whom, Jimmy Reid, sits on the party executive and Clydebank council) who have voted for the implementation of the Tory Housing Finance Act.

But such moments were few and far between. The regimented conformity of the party is the very reverse of class politics, made necessary by the practical retreat from any socialist objectives.

It is one of the tragedies of the current scene that there is no revolutionary party to take advantage of capitalism's difficulties. The Communist Party, in congress, confirms its complete inability to fulfill that role.

That failure puts a massive responsibility on the International Socialists and one that they intend to accept.

Emergency laws -bosses' weapon to counter workers militancy

THE CURRENT 'State of Emergency' is the fifth that has been declared in just over three years of the Heath government. The last time that emergencies were declared with almost similar frequency was in the late 1920s when class conflict was at similar heights.

And it should come as no surprise that it has been the miners who have most frequently had this display of state force used against them. The legislation was first introduced by Lloyd George's government in October 1920 in a major confrontation with the miners. Its use reveals the political bankruptcy of any government which takes these special powers in order to bypass parliament and use direct state force.

The origins of the Emergency Powers Act 1920 lie in the major industrial ferment of the revolutionary period from 1910 to 1926. In the years before the First World War, known as the Great Unrest, police and troops were used in large numbers against workers in dispute in South Wales, Liverpool and London.

The state under the 1911 Asquith Liberal government directly intervened in the railway strike. The state claimed to be acting solely on behalf of the community but the part it played in the strike was to support the railway companies against the strike. Several months later miners were shot dead in Tonypandy.

Once war broke out, the government introduced the infamous Defence of the Realm Act (1914) known as DORA, which was used with a vengeance against workers particularly in the engineering industry. DORA was coupled with the Munitions of War Act 1915 and both were used to break strikes and arrest workers.

Deported

Government papers reveal that in November 1915 the state decided to use DORA against the Clyde Workers Committee. They recorded that: 'To obtain a reasonably smooth working of the Munitions Act this committee should be smashed.'

Within five months of this decision almost all the leaders of the Clyde Workers, including Kirkwood, Gallacher and Maclean had been imprisoned or deported from the area by the use of the regulations in DORA.

In August 1920, Churchill's threat of declaring war on Soviet Russia brought the formation of Councils of Action, national and local. These councils were a new experience for the working class and were regarded as a major threat by the ruling class.

Up to this time the Defence of the Realm Act was still unrepealed but the government decided to introduce a new weapon. As the Miners Federation of Great Britain prepared for a strike in October 1920 and called upon the railwaymen and transport workers to support them, Lloyd George introduced the Emergency Powers Act.

Offences

The Act declared that if the government of the day thinks there is a state of emergency then the King or Queen simply has to proclaim that there is an emergency. Immediately it becomes lawful 'to make regulations for securing the necessities of life to the community'.

Powers and duties can be given to the government departments to make regulations, to create new classes of offences and to prescribe the penalties for them. In a sense it becomes a declaration of 'all power to the police'.

The proclamation has to be renewed each month and the Orders in Council and regulations are periodically brought under review by parliament. But this is a mere formality. In effect we can be subjected to a regime corresponding to a state of siege.

In addition special national and



Lloyd George: fight with miners

local organisations can be formed which directly link up civil and military forces and thus arrest and imprisonment on a large scale is made easy.

The speedy passage of the Emergency Powers Act in October 1920 brought the rapid end of the coal strike. Jimmy Thomas, leader of the NUR, rushed to reach a compromise so that he would not have to lead the railwaymen in a struggle to support the miners.

The crisis in the coal industry was postponed by the settlement, for a government subsidy was given which avoided a wage cut. But by March 1921 the subsidy was running out and the fight was on again. The Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers stood ready to call a general strike.

The government rushed through the Emergency Powers Act on 31 March and issued royal proclamations mobilising the armed forces. Leave was cancelled, reservists were called up and Hyde Park, Regents Park and Kensington Gardens were turned into army camps.

But the general strike never occurred. On 15 April 1921, known as Black Friday, the trade union leaders backed away from the fight and, to the disgust of millions of workers, allowed a wage cut to be forced on the miners.

Pretexts

Five years later the Act was used in the 1926 General Strike. For several months before the strike the government made extensive preparations including the setting up of the semi-military Organisation for the Maintenance of Supplies.

On 1 May 1926 the Emergency Powers Act was signed and published in the London Gazette. During the short-lived strike hundreds of arrests were made under all manner of pretexts and police and troops were used throughout the country.

Since 1945 the Emergency Powers Act has been used on several occasions-in the 1948, 1949 and 1970 dock strikes and in the 1955 railway strike. Labour as well as Tory governments have resorted to this class legislation most viciously in the 1966 seamen's strike when the strike lasted only eight days.

An important and dangerous addition to the Act came in 1964 when the government amended it to make the Defence Regulations of 1939 permanent and allow the armed forces to be used without proclamation or consultation with parliament on 'urgent work of national importance'.

Subsequently governments, particularly Heath's, have used these powers 'at a stroke' as we have recently seen in the firemen's dispute.

ALASTAIR HATCHETT



Ukrainian workers jailed

AT THE World Peace Conference recently in Moscow, 3000 delegates listened to attacks on repression throughout the world. Yet the Russian authorities were unwilling to discuss political rights nearer

Brezhnev, in his opening speech, castigated 'the campaign conducted under the hypocritical slogan of "defending human rights" in the socialist countries.' Even so, many delegates insisted on raising the question of political and intellectual repression in the Soviet Union, demanding amnesty for all political prisoners.

The main thrust of the repression has been in Ukraine (a 'Soviet Socialist Republic' within the USSR), where some 300 oppositionists have been arrested since early 1972.

Behind this repression lies the bureaucracy's concern over growing unrest among workers. Last May there was a strike of 30,000 workers at the Kiev automobile factory in protest at a cut in bonuses. Information direct from Ukraine confirms the rumour, widespread in Russia, that there was a massive strike at the end of August in one of the Black Sea ports, when half the workers were laid off and the other half downed tools in solidarity.

Compared with the three to six-year sentences received by Russian dissidents, the sentences in Ukraine are particularly harsh-10 to 15 years. Among those in prison for opposing the bureaucracy's policies of Russian domination in Ukraine and for calling for real socialist democracy are two prominent socialists, Ivan Dzyuba and Vvacheslav Chornovil.

A committee has been formed to campaign for solidarity in Britain with these political prisoners, and to draw attention to the situation in Ukraine.

End of the road for the **Tupamaros**

RAOUL SENDIC, 48-year-old leader of the Tupamaros urban guerrillas, has been sentenced to death by Uruguay's new military dictatorship.

Sendic, after several failures as an election candidate for the small Socialist Party in the 1950s, took to organising northern sugar workers in the early 1960s. In 1963 the Movement of National Liberation he had founded-later known as Tupamaros after an 18th-century Indian leader-moved from the north to the capital, Montevideo, and started the tactics of 'urban guerrilla warfare'.

It was after the crushing of the rural guerrilla movement in Latin America in the late 1960s that attention focused on groups such as the Tupamaros. At their height in 1970-71, Tupamaros' tactics included raiding rifle clubs for arms, seizing food stocks for distribution among the poor, taking over local radio stations, seizing and publishing documents proving corruption in ruling circles, and finally spectacular kidnappings to obtain the release of imprisoned comrades.

Hooked

But in late 1971 Juan Maria Bordaberry, an open admirer of Brazil's military dictatorship, was elected president. By mid-1972, by giving full powers to the army, he had effectively smashed the guerrillas.

Both Bordaberry and the army got hooked on States of Emergency and Special Powers Acts, which suppressed all democratic liberties and gave free rein to torture, army terrorism, and the shooting down of trouble makers generally, including hundreds of trade unionists and Communist Party members as well as real or suspected guerrillas.

The outcome was the ending of the facade of parliamentary democracy last June. Bordaberry threw in his lot with the army, and now nominally holds all power, depending on the army, backed by the big bankers and cattle ranchers, and eyed all the time by the USA's watchdog, Brazil.

Hesitant

Working-class resistance Bordaberry's coup was massive. The trade unions maintained a general strike for more than two weeks, despite the use of the army against them and 'militarisation of labour' in some key industries.

But the Communist Party leadership of the trade unions was hesitantthey had only called for a 24-hour protest strike. The restoration of parliament and an election victory for the Board Front of 1971including the Socialists, Christian Democrats, and splinters of the major parties-seems to be the limit of their present aims.

The Tupamaros failed completely to provide an alternative leadership for the working class. Though they enjoyed widespread sympathy, their tactics did not relate to the real struggles of Uruguayan workers, and they remained a predominantly middle-class grouping seeking to influence the workers' movement by individual heroic actions. They were smashed relatively easily by naked military force, and the condemnation of Sendic is a final symbolic gesture by the new military regime which they could not prevent.

FAMINE ASMILLIONS SPENTON ARMS

by SW correspondent

THE death toll in the Ethiopian famine is more than five times that in the Niiddle East war and is rising every day. Even in good years unknown numbers of Ethiopians die of starvation, in a country that could become the breadbasket of Africa.

The two-year drought may be an 'Act of God', but the responsibility for this being one of the world's poorest countries must be laid at the door of man. The Emperor Haile Selassie, after more than half a century in power, must bear that responsibility more than most.

His administration has failed to do anything to improve the desperate poverty of the majority of Ethiopians, and by allowing hunger to be an everyday matter has made disaster inevitable. When disaster did strike, vanity and bureaucratic inefficiency kept the truth hidden, at the cost of thousands of lives.

Every time important foreign visitors visit the city of Addis Ababa, the legions of beggars and starving urchins are removed. So visitors on the double-lane highways, driving past

the Haile Selassie University, the Hilton Hotel, the headquarters of the Organisation for African Unity, or the 500-bed Duke of Harrar Hospital have little idea of what lies behind this window-dressing.

The main reason for the poverty of nine out of 10 Ethiopians is the ancient system of land tenure. Vast amounts of land are owned by large landlords, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church is one of the largest. Sharecroppers pay more than half their produce to the landlord, and are often

obliged to work for nothing on the landlord's land as well.

The Ethiopian parliament-whose members must by law be landowners themselves—has blocked all attempts at land reform, even though these have aimed to make the system regular rather than abolish it.

Ethiopia is an important American military base, strategically situated on the Red Sea, and is also involved in repressing the freedom struggle in its own colony, Eritrea. Compared with the 14.8 million Ethiopian dollars spent on agriculture last year, 94.9 million were allocated to defence and 89.5 million to internal order.

The death of 55,000 people in Ethiopia—and of countless thousands throughout the Sahel area of Africais not just the result of freak weather conditions causing drought.

Life on the edge of starvation is normal for the vast majority of the population of these countries. In such conditions droughts, floods and earthquakes claim colossal loss of life, and produce frantic cover-up attempts by the local ruling class and hastily constructed relief operations, designed to bring marginal relief to the suffering and ignoring the real causes.

Lip workers hold out for 'no sackings'

A SPOKESMAN from the workers of the Lip watch factory in Besancon, France, was warmly applauded when he spoke at the Socialist Worker Conference in Manchester describing how, when the Lip workers were threatened with large-scale redundancies, they seized the factory and its stock of watches.

Since then they have been carrying on production by and for themselves, although in August they were expelled from the factory by the CRS riot police. The French government has intervened, with modified redundancy plans, but the workers are carrying on the struggle for no sackings at all.

After the conference the Lip spokesman spoke to our reporter:

'The turning point at Lip really came on 15 June, when we barricaded in the two judicial administrators who had been appointed, supposedly to improve the factory's profits. It was then we discovered, from documents in their office, that hundreds of workers were to be sacked and the factory closed.

'Up to then we had been slowing down production but still receiving full pay. But with these discoveries the workers all became really militant, and determined to fight for their jobs. On 18 June we decided to occupy the factory and sell the watches.

'Lip was a factory with a history of struggle. A large proportion of the workers are skilled, and about half in the union, a high proportion for France. These were about equally divided between the CGT, which is Communist Party-controlled, and the CFDT. As well The Lip representative speaking at the conference. Picture as the official factory committee of union delegates, Chris Davies (Report)

there was an action committee, largely dominated by the CFDT. The last big struggle was a year ago, when we won a 5 per cent increase, with sliding scale.

'From 15 June, the action committee grew in importance. It brought about a real democratisation of trade union activity, and united union members with the nonunionised. Instead of the struggle being carried out by a few trade union delegates, it became the act of all the workers, with full discussions daily in their general assembly.

Bulletin

'The CGT broke off joint meetings with the action committee at the end of June. The CFDT has on the whole supported it, and has grown at the expense of the CGT.

'At the height of the struggle, the general assembly produced a daily bulletin for distribution



by SW correspondent

throughout France. Almost every trade union committee in France subscribed to it. One of the things that really came home to us was how the press and television distorted our struggle, and the need for us to spread the news ourselves.

'More than half the workers at Lip are women, and they got really militant-often more than the men! Many of them did have difficulty at first with their husbands and families, who objected to them spending long hours picketing and so on, but these have all been sorted out now, and the women are now more conscious of the women's liberation question than they were before.

'The workers are now as solid in the struggle as ever. The management staff dropped out when the

decision was taken to sell watches. but since then, only 70 out of 800 workers have dropped out and taken other jobs.

'The present situation is that the CGT wants the action committee dissolved, is supporting the government's plan-which means 160 redundancies, and is advising us to register as unemployed in order to get social security money. The action committee, with the support of the CFDT in general, is holding out. Its demands is 'no sackings'.

Determined

'We must still work for solidarity from other workers. At present we can only produce 100 watches a day, compared with thousands when we were occupying the factory, and our stocks will soon begin to run low. But we are determined to fight on for the restoration of all our jobs,'

BRIEFING

A GROUP of 50 helmeted rightists armed with clubs attacked the Censier branch of Paris University and then went on to the Tolbiac building a mile away with no apparent police interference-indeed students watched the fascists leave Tolbiac under the noses of a group of armed riot police.

At Rambuteau market rightists attacked sellers of Lutte Ouvriere, Rouge and other left-wing papers. A Lutte Ouvriere member ended in hospital with his nose broken in two places and multiple bruises.

Twice in a fortnight Lutte Ouvriere sellers have been similarly attacked at the Gare de Lyon main-line station. The rightists were able to assemble their armed and helmeted commandos in full public view and carry out an attack with clubs, smoke bombs and other explosive devices before the police got round to putting in an appearance.

SEVERAL thousand insurance workers took to the streets of Melbourne, Australia, as part of an equal pay campaign began unofficially some months ago by a group of rank and file trade unionists calling themselves the Militant Insurance Clerks, and the fortnightly underground newsletter for clerical workers, Clerk and Dagger. The union's leadership gave in to pressure and launched a campaign, but the union's members decided that the campaign as the union leadership saw it wasn't particularly well-designed, and demanded frequent mass meetings to review progress of the campaign.

At a mass meeting on 8 November the rank and file called for a stop-work demonstration the next day while negotiations were going on. At one day's notice thousands of insurance workers attended the demonstration and decided to march through Melbourne to bring the struggle to the attention of city workers.

Equal pay has not yet been won, but with such militant rank and file action the prospects are good.

THE Kurdistan Democratic Party claims that Iraq is planning to reopen its war on the Kurds, the people of northern Iraq, northern Iran and south west Turkey who have been fighting for self-determination for 20 years. The KDP, which is traditionally pro-Russian, has accused Russia of supplying Iraq with poison gas which is stored in army headquarters in Kurdistan where there are also Russian military advisors.

survive.'

Heath's

price

fraud

'WE'RE A BLOODY SIGHT better

off than most people, I suppose,'

says Mary Phillips, who lives in a

council flat in South East London.

'I just don't know how they

worked for nearly 20 years in local

government before applying to

become a student at the City of

London Polytechnic. The family

income-which is his grant plus

family allowance-works out at

Mary Phillips explains how the

'Food, milk and school dinners

'I've kept a record of it. In

for four now cost us £16.60 a

January 1971 I spent just over £9

on these items. But we were eating

much better then for £9 than we

fish once a day. Now I can't afford

to buy liver, meat, fish or cheese

more than once a week. Now we

live mainly on sausages and eggs.

of proper meat, collar bacon

instead of best back. The figure

changes every day. Just this

morning I bought a tin of

evaporated milk-10½p. It was

8p last week."

'I have to buy faggots instead

'In those days we'd eat meat or

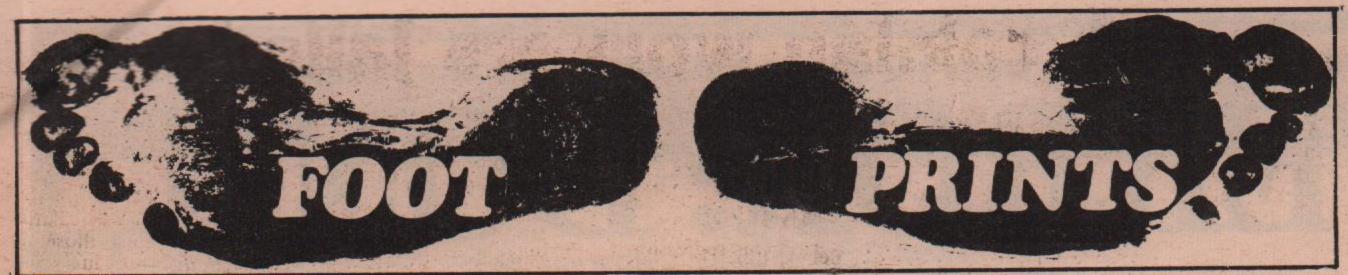
just under £33 a week.

are now for nearly £17.

money goes.

week.

John Phillips, her husband,



Quote of the Week Fight

'Every day people pick up the paper and read about some disaster or scandal. I think they are rather relieved to read about something that is genuinely happy and good.'

—MARK PHILLIPS

Longden silver

'THE Coal Board use mining firms in most of the 70 collieries in Yorkshire', says the Guardian (29 October).

Two weeks ago I reported that Owen Briscoe, who is challenging the right wing for the general secretaryship of the Yorkshire miners, has been complaining about a leaflet issued by Cementation, a mining firm, offering £90 a week to Coal Board miners for contract jobs dished out to Cementation by the Coal Board.

Cementation, I pointed out, is owned by the Trafalgar House Group, which also owned Carlton Contractors, whose directors were sent to prison earlier this year for corruptly offering contracts to building contractors and bribing councillors to make the 'right' decisions.

Now I find that there is an even closer link between the Coal Board

and Cementation-Harry Longden, chairman of the company and a director of Trafalgar House.

Mr Longden started life with the private coal companies before the war. He went to a good public school and so got onto the board of at least three Yorkshire coal companies quite quickly. When coal was nationalised, he became director of production for the Yorkshire area of the Coal Board.

In 1955 he became director of

porduction for the entire Coal Board, and in 1960, the year Lord Robens became chairman of the Coal Board, Mr Longden became chairman of its West Midlands division.

He had only been on the job a year when he was bought out by Cementation, where he was deputy chairman until 1963 and has been chairman since.

All through the 1960s the close relationship between the Coal Board and Cementation prospered, especially when Billy Sales became chairman of the Board's Yorkshire division in 1957. Mr Sales, you remember, was the man who got John Poulson to design the Coal Board's headquarters in Doncaster and, coincidentally, had a big slice of his mortage paid for by Poulson.

In those years Mr Longden would have had ample opportunity for the closest liaison with the Coal Board and its chairman Lord Robens, In those days Lord Roben lived in Burlers Den Road in the picturesque Surrey village of Woldingham.

Mr Longden lives in South Hawke, Woldingham, just down the road.

PRINCE Rainier of Monaco is paying £800 to the Paris hair stylist Alexandre. The prince wants the expert to travel to Monaco to comb the palace dolls.

Kick in the Keith

EARLIER this month Sir Keith Joseph, Social Security Minister, wrote a letter to the unions representing the ambulancemen to tell them that their agreement with their employers for substantial extra pay—talks about which have been going on for 18 months—couldn't be paid.

So the ambulancemen will have to be satisfied, according to Sir Keith, with their present £23.32 for a 40-hour week plus £2.25. That makes £25.58

Now Sir Keith and his family have declared some 135,000 shares in his family firm, Bovis, the large building and property company. Dividends from these shares during 1973 will total just over £3400—that's £65 a week, nearly two-and-a half times as much as the ambulancemen's wages. It is in fact probably very much more, for Sir Keith and his family probably have more shares tucked away in the names of

nominees and secret trusts.

There's another difference. While the ambulancemen work as hard as anyone else in the country for their money, Sir Keith does nothing at all

Mary Phillips

Big increases in central heating costs (which used to be included in the rent) have pushed the Phillips' weekly electricity bill up to £2.30. Rent, heavily rebated, is £2.90 a week, gas 40p a week, telephone £1.28.

Fares to work and the absolute minimum of books needed for John's work cost another £4.82. These necessities, in sum, cost £29.36 a week, leaving £3 for luxuries like clothes. 'I bought one of the children a pair of shoes last week for £3,' says Mary, 'so there was no money left at all.'

A few weeks ago, John Phillips heard the wonderful news that his students' grant was to be increased —by £40 a year (77p a week). He was informed by the local divisional office of the Inner London Educational Authority about the increase.

Two weeks ago, the ILEA ordered him to pay for the one free school meal which he had been allowed because of his low grant.

This costs the Phillips' an extra 60p a week. So the total increase in the grant works out at 17p a week.

'Our food bill goes up 50p a week,' says Mary Phillips. 'So we lost the effect of the grant in four days.'



Bad Pendry

TOM PENDRY, Labour MP for Stalybridge and Hyde, has been getting angry—not about prices or low wages or anything else that matters, but about the quality of the poem which the Poet Laureate, Sir John Betjeman, wrote in honour of the Royal wedding.

Pendry thought the poem was disgraceful. The Daily Mail urged him to write a better one. He agreed. I offer the third verse of Pendry's four-verse horror to the workers of Stalybridge and Hyde in the hope that they will rid themselves as soon as possible of the Royalist quack who sits for them as a Labour MP.

The Princess gloriously arrayed, smiles and waves, a gracious bride.

Golden and bedecked, on creaking wheels, the coach trundles behind the tossing plumes of stirring steeds.

Aloof and proud.

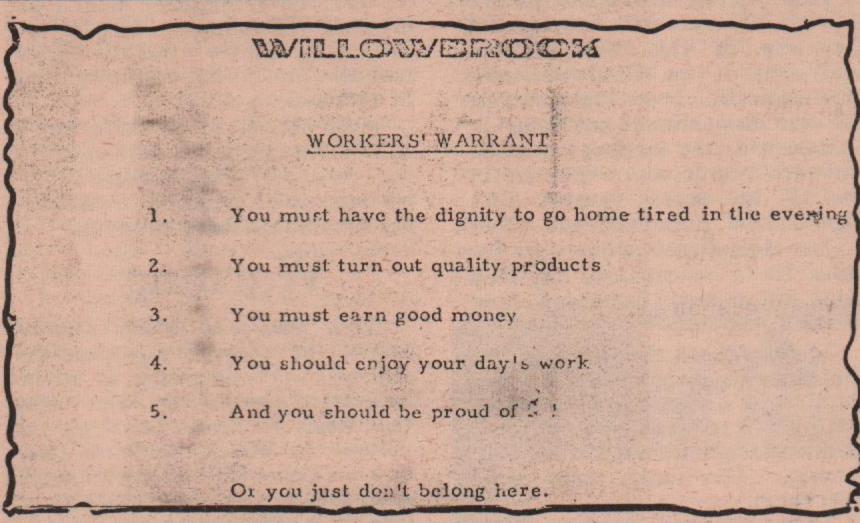
The final verse is even worse.

Law of the Rolls

A FEW years ago, there was a row in parliament about the Road Tax. Some Labour MPs demanded that the drivers of big, expensive cars should pay a higher tax.

Nonsense, replied the authorities. The 'administrative costs' of charging different taxes for different sizes of car would be more than the extra taxes would bring in.

Now the government is about to introduce petrol rationing. How much petrol you will get depends on the size of your car. Owners of big cars get more petrol than owners of little cars. Different coloured coupons have been printed for different-sized cars.



A notice sent out to all 300 workers at the Loughborough bus-building company of Willowbrook by its boss, George Hughes. I understand it has been received with rapturous applause. Hughes has mortgaged all his factories and buildings to Slater Walker (founder: Secretary for Trade and Industry Peter Walker) for £700,000.

THE SUPERINTENDENT SOMETIMES FORGETS

A TERRIBLY embarrassing thing happened after Sir Robert Mark, Commissioner of the London police, had gone on television to attack crooked lawyers. For a day or two it looked as though the first crooked lawyer to be

Former Detective Chief Superintendent Herbert Hannam wrote to The Times and Daily Telegraph telling of a murder case in 1955 when he was attacked in the

of a murder case in 1955 when he was attacked in the witness box by a barrister defending two murderers. After the case, when the murderers had been convicted and hanged, the barrister had written to the superintendent apologising for the allegations in his cross-examination, and adding: 'We knew they were all untrue, but those were my instructions.'

Some sharp journalist discovered that the barrister in

the case was Sir Peter Rawlinson, who is now better known as Attorney General and champion of the Distillers Company.

Chaos followed at the Attorney General's office. A hurried meeting was arranged between Sir Peter and Mr Hannam.

After the meeting Mr Hannam wrote again to The Times and Telegraph withdrawing his story. His 'memory was at fault'. Sir Peter had written him two letters, and he couldn't find the second one. The phrase about the allegations being untrue didn't appear in the first letter.

Mr Hannam, I should add, is now chief security officer for McAlpines, the building firm whose allegations helped lead to the prosecution of the 24 building workers at Shrewsbury accused of conspiracy.

CHIETERROR: DON'T



THINK. III WONST HAPPIN HORD...

Student demonstration dispersed by armed police: all opposition is under attack

PEOPLE in and around South America used to refer to Chile as "L'Ingliterra de Sud America"—the England of South America. This was because it was thought that the middle-class was liberal and cultured, and there was deep traditions of democracy, that the army did not involve itself in politics.

Now those people who prided themselves on their liberalism, they're like jungle gorrila. And what happened in Chile can happen in Britain-make no mistake.

These are the words of a member of the Chilean revolutionary socialist organisation, MIR, who has now got out of Chile and spoke to Socialist Worker on the situation there.

He cannot disclose his name because this would enable the junta and their agents abroad to pinpoint him.

There was the most bloodthirsty violence used in putting down the workers, the unemployed and the poor peasants. The shooting of six dockers from the Port of San Antonio for holding a union meeting is entirely typical, as was the foul lie that they were shot in trying to escape.

My organisation, MIR, did a great deal of work in the shanty towns in Santiago, where people live in abject poverty. We helped to run the common food policy and organised politically.

The junta launched very quick attacks on the best shanties. Nueba Le Havana (New Havana) for example was bombarded to hell.

In Santiago the strongest attacks of all were directed against the factories which had been seized earlier this year and where the

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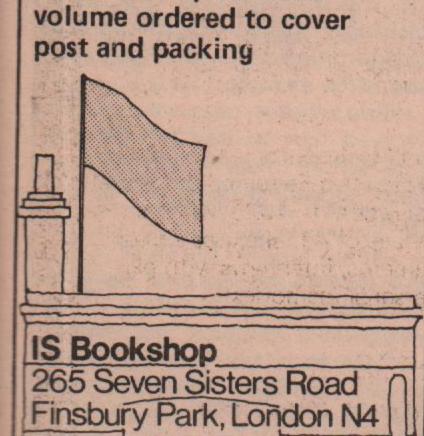
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Refugee from junta talks to Socialist Worker

cordones-area workers' committees drawing the revolutionary militants together-were strongest.

They really moved in on our workers in Rittig, an electrical goods plant formerly German owned, and on Sumar, where they met the toughest resistance lasting three days. There they used artillery.

Another example of what has been going on is the events at the Lota coal mine. Lota is isolated and a great centre of Popular Unity (the Allende coalition.)

The troops went there speedily when they had taken the key steps to control the roads in Chile and launched a surprise attack. There was massive resistance but the troops won out. Now there is forced labour at Lota. The workers are disciplined by guns.

Trade union militants have been shot or detained on a huge scale and almost any kind of open independent organisation is impossible, although the workers may be back in action on account of the terrible burdens now being forced on them.

Starving

They have also savaged wage rates, withdrawing the Allende government's slender protections against inflation. Food prices have rocketed. To give you an example a bus driver earns about 7500 escudos a month. By the time I got out of the country 1 kilo of meat alone cost 1500 escudos.

And now that the common food policy of the Allende government has been smashed-all food distribution has been handed back to "established businessmen"-the poor must be starving to death.

The junta turned their guns on the rank and file of the workingclass movement. But this has not meant that they have left the top, constitutionalist men in the movement alone. Far from it, for they



Riot police firing on crowd

set out to smash all independent working-class organisations.

You can see from the junta's official bulletins just how proud they are of this. The Chilean equivalent of the TUC, the Confederacion Unica de Trabajadores, has been dismembered and banned.

Calderon, the secretary general, has been murdered or interned in one of the secret prisons. Luis Figeroa, the president, and other central committee members are believed to be in custody. But they could just as easily have been done to death.

Terror against the working class and peasants is paralleled by persecution of students and foreigners. In Chile there were many refugees from other military regimes in South America. The junta really went after them.

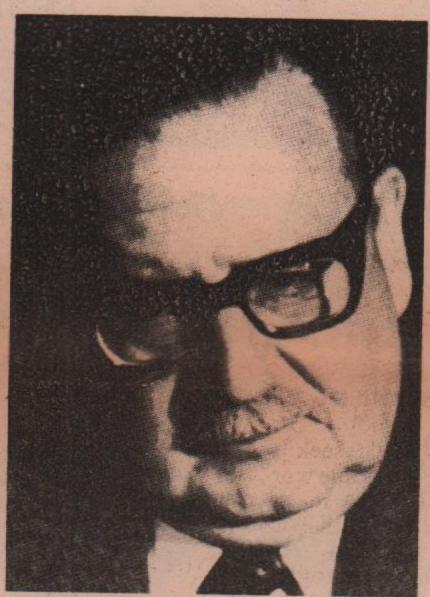
They dropped leaflets titled "Which Chileans are brothers?" from helicopters. The leaflets encouraged people to denounce foreign socalled extremists, the refugees.

Hundreds and hundreds of the political refugees were hounded into the National Stadium. The claim is that this has all been stopped since the arrival of the United Nations Control Commission.

But what happens now is that people are not taken into custody, They're just murdered in some quiet spot so that no one will notice.

After the first ten days, the junta became selective. They had started loving up to the British and the Americans. So they became careful who they picked.

But if you are a political refugee from say Brazil or Uruguay then you have had it. There are indications that the Brazilian and



Allende: hands off army

Uruguayan Death Squads have been brought in on these operations.

Why did it happen? Was it inevitable? For some months before the coup there was a great radicalisation in important sections of the working class.

Most crucial of all there was a strong revolutionary influence in the cordones, the workers' committees, which included revolutionary Communist Party militants.

Warning

This was because for months before the coup it was clear the military were operating as an independent force. They were using the Arms Control Laws as the pretext to attack workers. They had broken with the government. Allende's answer was to take them into the government.

Allende fought to the very last for a third way, some peaceful way between a military coup and revolution. I am certain that his statement when he took the generals into his cabinet and when he denounced the events in the navy in June were the key.

It is important to remember that on 29 June a group of sub officers

in the navy spoke out about what was going on among the senior officers. Rank and file sailors demonstrated against a coup. They knew it was afoot.

Not only were their warnings not heeded, but the sub officers who had spoken out were arrested. Their actions and those of the men were denounced by the Popular Unity government as 'an ultra left conspiracy'.

Popular Unity was opposed to any political work in the forces. It's not that Allende was a traitor to the working class. Not at all. But if you're concerned never to deviate from some supposed peaceful middle road then you wheel and deal and

end up in disaster. It is also vital to be clear on the part the Communist Party played. I've seen some of the things they've been saying in their publications here in Britain. Here they're really saying that the coup was inevitable.

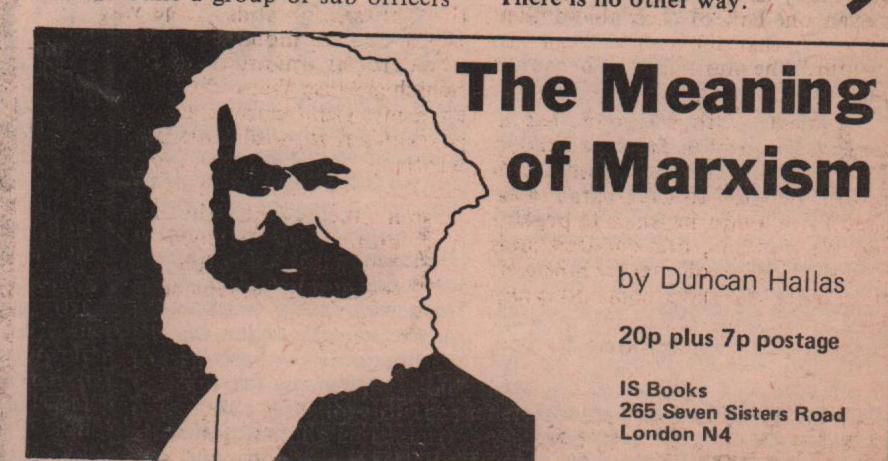
But their comrades in Chile didn't say anything of the kind. The leaders of the Chilean party refused to believe a coup would come. They fought like tigers against those who were warning and preparing.

There was a very highly organised campaign by the Communist Party under the slogan "No to civil war". This was also a crucial factor in ensuring that the armed forces didn't split.

The Communist Party leaders went on and on about "unity" and how the revolutionaries were undermining and wrecking it. Then when the cordones, the workers' committees, called meetings, the party called separate meetings next door at the same time through the official trade union machine.

It is a great tragedy, a disaster, that the lesson has had to be learned in blood. But every socialist must learn from it.

You have to split the armed forces. And you cannot do it with the insignia of power. The workers must seize power from the factories upwards. There is no other way.



by LAURIE FLYNN

THE GREAT REVOLUTIONS: Part Eight of Duncan Hallas' popular series

he further east one goes in Europe, the weaker, meaner and more cowardly becomes the capitalist class, and the greater the cultural and political tasks which fall to the lot of the working class. On its strong shoulders the Russian working class must and will carry the work of conquering political liberty.

'This is an essential step, but only the first step, to the realisation of the great historic mission of the working class, to the foundation of a social order in which there will be no place for the exploitation of

man by man.'

This statement appeared in the Manifesto issued by the first illegal national Russian marxist conference in 1898 and it was right. What these pioneer Russian marxists were saying was: The backward, half medieval Russian empire needs a capitalist revolution like that of England in the seventeenth century or France in the eighteenth but the Russian capitalist class is incapable of leading it. The workers must do the job.

It was a matter of timing. Russian capitalism was a very late developer. It did not exist in 1848 when the European capitalist classes took their decisive turn to conservatism for fear of the growing working classes.

There was then no modern industry and no modern working class in Russia. Most of the Russian people, the peasants, were still serfs.

In the last years of the last century and the first years of the present one, a great change came. Industry developed in Russia, fuelled by foreign loans and foreign technicians.

With industry came new classes: a capitalist class and a modern working class. By 1914 there were about five million workers in Russia out of a population of around 160 million.

The despotic rule of the Tsar rested on the old society of peasants exploited by nobles and it maintained the laws and customs of the old order. It was an obstacle to rapid capitalist development just as the absolute monarch had been in England and France.

ut the Russian capitalists saw I that socialist ideas had taken root among workers in some the more advanced countries and were spreading even in backward Russia. Revolution was now too risky for them. Better the Tsar than the dangers of a revolution that might go beyond the stage of capitalism.

So it came about that the underground Russian socialist organisations had to think in terms of combining a struggle for a 'Rights of Man' type of revolution with preparation for a socialist revolution. The splits and conflicts among them centred around how this was to be done. But the dispute about means really concealed a difference about ends. This would become clear in 1917.

The 'dress rehearsal', as Lenin called it, came in 1905. The previous year the Tsar had plunged his empire into war with Japan.

It was an imperialist war on both sides, a war for plunder, for the control of North China and Korea. The Russians were beaten, a direct result of the corruption and backwardness of Tsarism.

It was the first time for more than a century that an Asiatic power had beaten a European one and this had a profound effect on the colonial world. The white man was not invincible after all. Nationalist movements in the 'Third World' countries got a great impetus. But the biggest immediate effect was in Russia itself.

'The attitude of the masses towards the war in far-off Manchuria was at first one of indifference,' wrote the Bolshevik historian Pokrovsky. 'It was only after repeated mobilisations had begun to snatch away workers . . . when many villages had lost one-third or even one-half of their able-bodied men . . . that the masses began to murmur.' The murmur soon became a roar.

n Sunday 9 January 1905 a priest, Father Gapon, led a vast crowd of Petrograd (now Leningrad) workers to present a reform petition to the Tsar. It was respectful enough in tone. It began: 'Sire, We workers, our children and wives, the helpless old people who are our parents, we have come to you,



Artist's impression of troops firing on the peaceful crowd on 'Bloody Sunday'

renearsal for October...

Sire, to seek justice and protection.' 'People wore their Sunday clothes,'

Trotsky recorded. 'In some parts of the city they carried icons and church banners . . . The march was a peaceful one, without songs or speeches.'

Instead of justice and protection they got bullets. In the great square before the Winter Palace 'a bugle sounded and the troops opened fire. The killed and wounded fell in hundreds. The crowd was so dense that the fire could not miss its mark.'

Bloody Sunday taught the workers the value of petitions to the Tsar. A tremendous wave of strikes, part political, part economic, swept the country from end to end.

They were led by rank and file militants and, since free trade unions had been illegal, improvised organisations were created.

It was in the textile town of Ivanovo-Vasnesensk that a great advance was made in May, 'the first Soviet of Workers' Delegates was formed'. The idea spread like wildfire. Soviets sprung up all over Russia. In June the sailors of the battleship Prince Potemkin of Taurus, the latest and most powerful ship of the Black Sea fleet, mutinied and threw out their officers.

This was the critical point. Trotsky wrote at the time 'a [political] strike brings the army of the revolution to its feet [but] the power still has to be snatched from the hands of the old rulers . . . A general strike only creates the necessary preconditions; it is quite inadequate for the task itself . . .

'The army stands in the way . . . At a certain moment in revolution the crucial question becomes on which side are the soldiers?'

Lenin put it more succinctly: 'That the people may rise and triumph over an army that remains loyal to the government is an absurd illusion,' he wrote.

the event, the Potemkin mutineers remained isolated. The army, which consisted mostly of peasant soldiers led

by predominantly noble officers, remained loyal to the Tsar.

Though the revolutionary movement continued to gather strength in the cities, culminating in a general strike in October, the badly-shaken Tsarist government retained the decisive weapon, control of the armed forces.

The Bolshevik-dominated Moscow Soviet organised an armed rising in December but after a week of fighting it was crushed. Though sporadic fighting continued into the new year in Russian controlled Poland, Finland and the Baltic states as well as in the Caucasus, slowly but surely the Tsarist forces stamped out the rebels' units.

The reaction was savage. Military courts handed out 5000 death sentences. Anti-Jewish pogroms, a speciality of Tsarism, swept the Western borderlands of the empire in which a majority of the world's-Jews still lived.

The naked face of Tsarism was concealed slightly behind 'constitution' which Tsar Nicolas had been forced to concede at the height of the revolution, but the reality of despotism remained.

The socialist organisations were decimated and driven back underground. The Bolsheviks survived best. It was in this period of reaction that the differences between them and the other groups became fully developed.

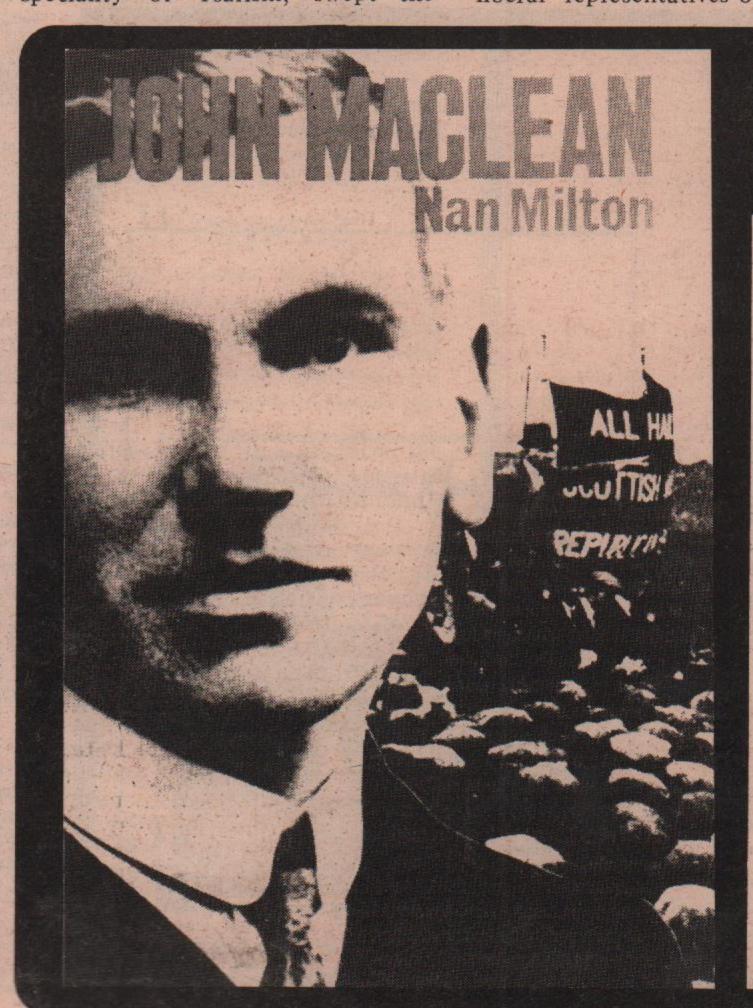
During 1905 all the socialist organisations had put forward the slogan for a democratic republic. The Bolsheviks maintained that it could be achieved only by an alliance between workers and peasants, the 'liberal' representatives of capitalism

would be on the other side.

The Mensheviks, Bundists and other rightward-moving groups relied on the co-operation of the liberals and came more and more to fear the consequences of working class and peasant revolt.

The split took a particular form in Russia but it was part of an international development. In France, in Germany, in Italy, Britain and the Austrian empire, it was becoming clear that the right wing of the rapidly growing socialist parties was in reality pro-capitalist.

It was not yet so apparent that the centre, the majority was revolutionary only in words. When, in 1914, the First World War revealed the truth, the Russian Bolsheviks were already a separate, genuine revolutionary organisation.



Special offer to Socialist Worker readers—ends 3 December—£1.25, including post and packing for paperback edition. Commerical 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.

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Socialist Worker Wallchart on the miners' decisive battle over Phase Thre



BRITAIN'S MINERS are preparing for what could be the biggest battle in the pits since the 1926 General Strike. They have submitted a massive freeze-busting claim for increases in basic wages.

The Tories are making much of the fact that the Coal Board's offer would give miners an increase of more than 13 per cent, or 16 per cent if the proposed productivity deal is included.

But the problem for the Tories is that this is not enough. The only miners who would really benefit would be the permanent night-shift workers-only 14 per cent of the workforce. The NCB is trying to revamp the deal to arrive at a more 'equitable' share out, but even this is unlikely to curb the militancy of the rank and file.

Massive

Everywhere miners are voting with their feet and leaving the industry. Nearly 11,000 men left the industry last year and this year the figure is closer to 14,000. Over the past couple of months the figure has soared to the staggering total of between 500 and 600 a week.

Labour government, massive numbers of miners were forced out of work by the large-scale closure of pits. At the height of the closure programme this ran manned in many areas.

'As one embittered militant put it:

"This is the end of trade unionism

as we know it." The statement may

sound alarmist, but in a way it is

true. If the shop stewards' move-

in the present period, it must res-

of International Socialism on

Chrysler.

ment is to defend itself adequately

pond in new ways to the tactics of

the employers and the government.'

Peter Jones writing in the latest issue

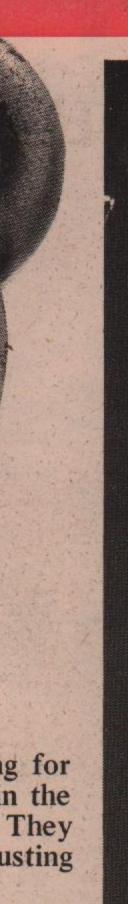
POLITICS AND THE SHOP FLOOR.

the lessons of the past 12 months at

ALSO articles on Zionism, the Arab

states, the Spanish Civil War and

Heath's economic crisis.



Pictures: Massimo Vitali (Report)

THE MINERS WANT: £8 to £13 a week more to achieve a wages structure of £35 a week for surface workers, £40 for underground workers and £45 for workers on the coal face.

THE COAL BOARD HAS OFFERED: £2.30 for surface men and £2.57 for underground men, plus an 'anti-social shift payment' of 17p an hour for hours worked between 8pm and 6am and a threshold clause of 40p if the cost of living rises above 7 per cent

The Tories are faced with a problem. Either they pay the miners a decent wage, or they face an all-out conflict with the men who kicked them in the teeth in the early months of 1972. This time Heath knows that there can be no 'special cases'. The ruling class cannot allow the miners to smash a hole in Phase Three which every other During the period of the last section of the working class could push through.

They now face an overtime ban throughout all the pits in Britain, which threatens to explode into all-out strike action, at the rate of one pit per week. unless right-wing NUM President But today the industry is under- Joe Gormley can juggle his way out of it.

Joe has not done so well up to now. All his pally gettogethers with the Coal Board since the last strike and all his manoeuvres so far to avoid a confrontation have come to nothing.

Ratified

When the executive of the NUM decided several weeks ago to recommend a total overtime ban to a special national conference, the delegates accepted it unanimously. This has since been ratified by the overwhelming majority vote in every NUM branch in the country.

The proposal for the overtime ban, including a ban on safety and maintenance work, came, strangely enough, from Gormley and the right wing on the executive. Many militants were at first puzzled by this militant posture from the right. The reason for it soon became clear.

Gormley was hoping that by taking such 'drastic' action he would be able to split the membership and move to an early ballot on an offer from the executive which would win a majority for acceptance. When Gormley stated that the pits would 'grind to a halt within a few weeks' he knew that the effect of the ban on overtime working at weekends would be very uneven.

It could result in many miners being laid off for days at a time, drawing no pay, while others worked almost normally. He was no doubt hoping that this would damage the morale of the men, setting one group against another, which would make serious inroads in a united vote for strike action.

It is already apparent that this tactic is not working. The rank and file have entered the struggle with as much if not more determination than they began the ban two years ago. The effect on production has already been quite staggering.

Picnic

After just one week, even before the effect of the weekend ban was felt, production in Yorkshire was cut by almost a quarter. In Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire production is down by a sixth.

Miners are in fact treating the overtime ban as a work to rule as well, which shows clearly the strength of feeling at rank and file level. Providing that Joe Gormley continues to fail to divide the miners, this winter could see a strike in the coal industry that would make the strike two years ago look like a picnic.

The miners are occupying the centre of the stage, and the eyes of every worker who has seen his living standards plummet due to the Tory freeze are on them. And if the miners move there is a very real chance that many other sections of the working class will follow them with more than their eyes.

THE TALK in the press about 11 to 12 weeks' supplies of and all this of coal at the power stations has to be taken seriously. The Central Electricity Generating Board has taken measures to prepare for a lengthy siege.

both of which are crucial to operations.

Most large stations have since been equipped with their own hydrogen-producing plant, while smaller stations have been stock-

station in Eggborough in Yorkshire. Workers in other

stations report oil crisis.

Coal-fired st ted by pulveris firing it throug which ignite t burners at a ni have now been it is possible to of 50 per cen cent coal.

SNOO

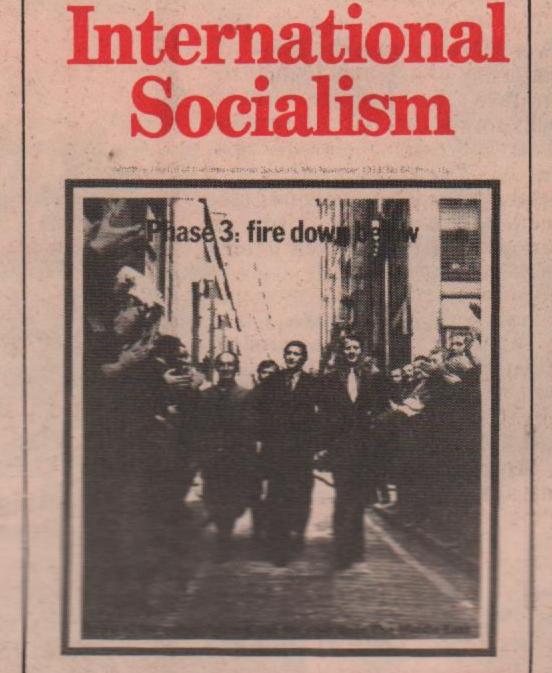
At the end workers' dispu years ago they accept their agreement-a m species of the miners later faced with. One productivity' c as a result was tion in the m station gates. Workers at I

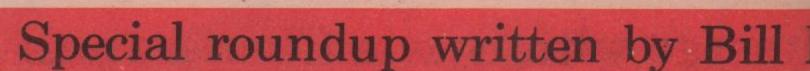
During the 1972 strike the miners did not only stop coal getting into the power stations, they also put a block on the movement of oil and hydrogen,

piling supplies. Stocks of oil have also been built up. In the same week as the date for the beginning of the miners' overtime ban was announced, two trainloads of oil were moved into the new giant power

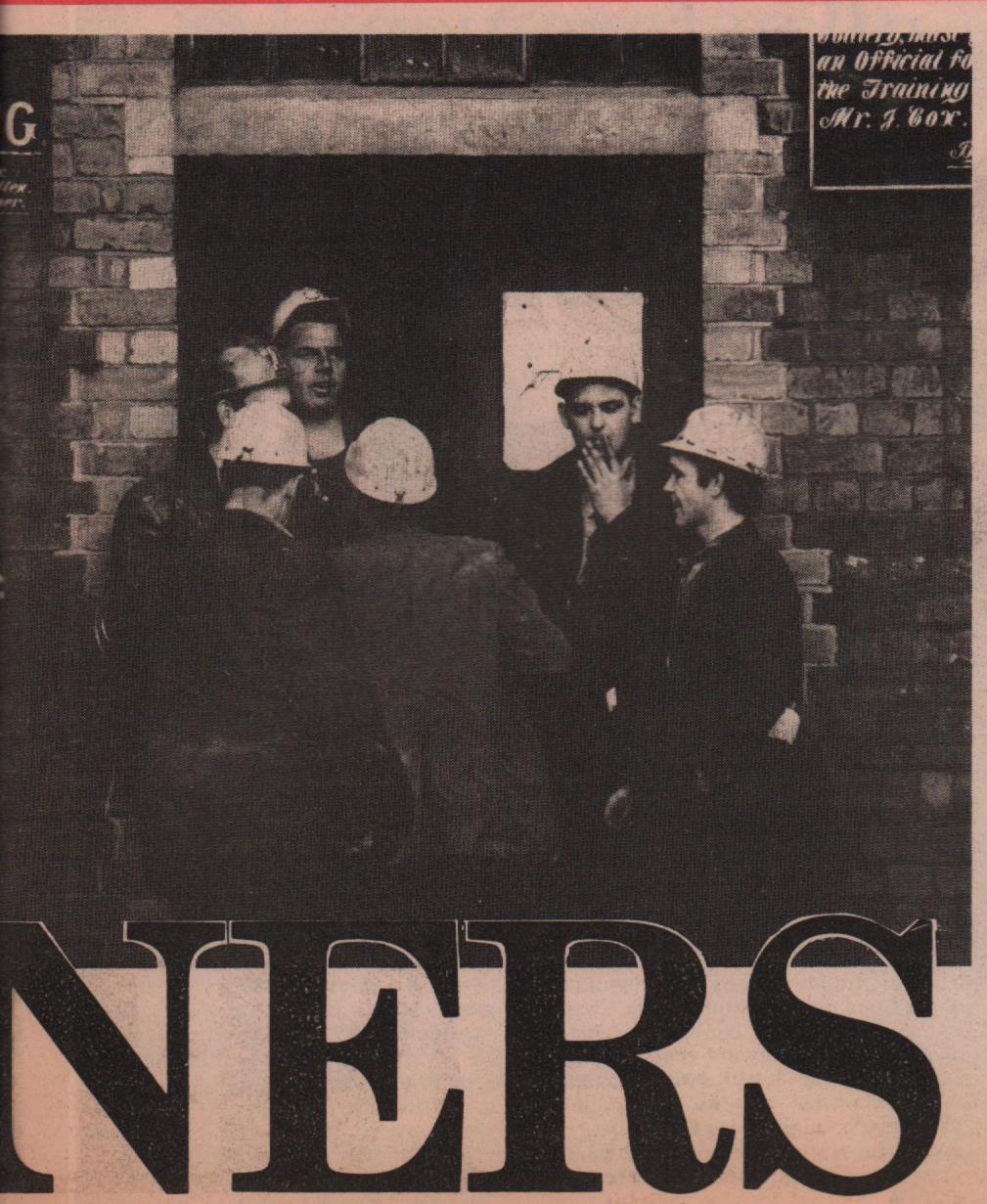
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e: display this in your workplace to win maximum support for them...



ations are operaing the coal and over oil-burners e coal. The oilimber of stations modified so that run on a mixture oil and 50 per

of the power e nearly three were forced to wn Wilberforce uch more vicious animal that the ound themselves of the 'pay and auses introduced sweeping reducanning of power

nany stations are

similar moves- reporting that the gates are now espite a current being manned by private police from Securicor, the firm of legalised snoopers that Home Secretary Robert Carr was a director of a couple of years ago.

> When the gatemen at Eggborough were declared redundant the Electricity Board claimed a saving of less than £100 a week. They are now paying Securicor £500 a week for the same services.

> Relations between Securicor's private police and the official 'boys in blue' seem to be very sweet. At Eggborough there have been at least two occasions over the past few weeks when police have pounced out of the gate house on home-going workers to charge them with offences relating to their cars.

Miners should beware. This month's motoring offences could well be next month's conspiracy charges against pickets.

Pittance for Sam and Alice

SAM VERNON was born in 1898 in Shropshire. At the age of 12 years he started work for half a day at a mill until he was 14 when he was allowed to work underground at the pit. After working five years in the mines he went to fight in World War One and in 1918 he left the army to go back down the pit.

Sam married Alice in 1920 and they had eight children, three of whom died in infancy. They now live in Upton, near Pontefract, Yorkshire, a one-time mining village where the pit has now closed and where miners travel five to 10 miles daily to work in other pits in the area.

Grateful

Sam worked 50 years in the pits and is now left with chronic bronchitis and a retirement pension, plus a miner's pension of £2.95. They live in a Coal Board house and Alice, last year, at the age of 75 finally gave up

For 11 years Alice travelled from Upton to Halifax, a distance of more than 20 miles each way, to work in a biscuit factory every day. She left home at 6am and arrived home in the evening at 6.30. She worked five days a week and received £12. She was supposed to be grateful that they allowed her the privilege of working into her seventies.

When she left work, they gave her a £10 cheque and a bouquet of flowers. She said that only recently was the factory unionised and before

crippling production, but it will

take months before the ban alone

can cripple the rest of industry,

and it is not until the profits of

big business are threatened by

massive power cuts that the

miners can be assured of victory.

they dealt a blow to the Tories

they did not begin to recover

from until they let the dockers

out of Pentonville last summer. If

the miners win this time it means

the end of an official wages

policy backed up by the law and

the end of Heath's anti-working

Tories have taken so many pre-

cautions. The trial of the

Shrewsbury 24 for effective

It is for this reason that the

class government.

When the miners won in 1972



The Vernons: struggling along

that anyone attempting to form a union was 'quietly got rid of'. When Alice left work, Sam applied for Supplementary Benefits and received 65p a week, only to find that because of this increase, his miner's pension was reduced by 75p.

Sam has considered himself a militant all his life, and although he left the mining industry some 10 years ago, he still takes an interest in it. He says: 'Gormley is for peace at any price. I believe what is written in the IS miners pay claim pamphlet and if the miners are to get anywhere, they have only themselves to look to.

'The papers and TV make you think you are much better off these days, because there is more money about, but we have nothing left to spend on luxuries. I only ever managed to save £8 in my entire life and that was when I left the army and received my demob money."

Sam and Alice are luckier than a lot of old-age pensioners, for they have their unmarried son, Bill, living with them. It is Bill who buys the luxuries—luxuries such as fresh fruit from the nearby market in South Elmsall, luxuries such as a pint of beer for his dad on a Saturday night, his only night out, and luxuries such as the bus fare for his mum in order that she may visit her daughter on a Saturday afternoon in Pontefract.

Struggle

Alice has not had any new clothes for three or four years and depends on her children to buy new underclothes for Sam when he needs them.

Sam and Alice are in the position whereby after slogging their guts out for 60 years or so, they are now managing to struggle along and exist on a pittance each week, the fruits of their labours having been gobbled up by their betters. It makes one wonder if Sam would have been so keen to fight his way through the trenches of World War One for the 'land fit for heroes' he was promised.

All-out action FOR the miners to win their claim-and defeat the Tories-they will have to move to all-out strike action.



Scanlon: should link with miners

level in Scotland

There is also growing feeling among rank and file power workers that the time could not be better for putting in for a handsome increase themselves. Contrary to the illusions of Fleet Street editors and to the consternation of the trade union bureaucracies, the miners have massive sympathy

If the rank and file are capable of making the links and of overcoming the cowardice of the official leadership, this winter could provide the most glorious climax to what has been a long summer of discontent.

picketing during last year's building workers' strike shows that when the miners strike they can expect much tougher action from the police this time.

Weapons The massive stocks in the power stations and the State of Emergency the Tories rushed to introduce to conserve these stocks are another indication that the struggle might be harder this

But against these measures the miners have some very powerful weapons. For a start their determination is growing daily.

Secondly there is growing pressure from the rank and file for the executive to approach the engineering unions, who also have a massive claim lodged against the freeze, for joint action.

Although neither Joe Gormley. nor Hugh Scanlon want such joint action there is a growing feeling for it among their members. The executive of the Scottish Area of the NUM is already approaching the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions at district





NEW FROM SOCIALIST WORKER

Two important pamphlets describing the life and political struggles of two great revolutionaries -Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky.

Written by Jim Higgins and Duncan Hallas, the pamphlets rescue Lenin and Trotsky from their political enemies and false friends and underscore the modern relevance of what they fought for: workers' revolution.

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the key The overtime ban may be

feelings in this way. lessage with Sylvia Charlesworth and Jean Lewis

When any group of workers are involved in industrial action the press and television in-

variably pounce on their wives in

the hope of using them against their husbands. Miners' wives are not ex-

empt from this attack, but this time

the newshounds are having little

up by the words of Mrs Linda Phillips

of Rugeley in Staffordshire, whose

husband Colin works at Lea Hall

Colliery: 'At one time I used to be

able to pay cash for things

1 can't do that any more. Everything's

going up-from the cost of meat to the price of clothes. If I had to

pay for the concessionary coal we

get I wouldn't be able to afford

struggle is so strong that she regards

it as her own fight too. It was with

grim determination that she assured

me: 'I'll even join him on the picket

echoed by other miners and their

wives up and down the country. For

them there can be no going back

on the struggle now, and they look

with suspicion on the antics of some

resentative at Gaerau Colliery in

South Wales told me: 'It's only the

rank and file that can win the claim

and therefore the campaign must be planned in the best interests of

the rank and file and not in the

Houghton Main Colliery near

Barnsley in Yorkshire. The miners

at Houghton Main decided on an

overtime ban several weeks ago,

before the date was officially decided

Yorkshire NUM President Arthur

Scargill who accused the Houghton

Main miners and those in other pits

of 'jumping the gun': 'We went to a

meeting at Worsbrough where Arthur

Scargill made a statement that we

were causing disunity, but I feel that

unity comes through action. The lead

has to come from somewhere and it

down the coalfield have forced the

NEC to take a stand on a particular

date. I feel that there was a danger

that the NEC might have backed

if the rank and

file had not shown their

'These individual actions up and

comes from the rank and file.

He was bitter about left-wing

John Owen is a faceworker at

interests of the bureaucrats.

by the executive.

Kindsey Gough, craftsmen's rep-

Mrs Phillip's determination is

Linda's support for her husband's

'Since Colin's been in the pit

bought for the house,' she told me.

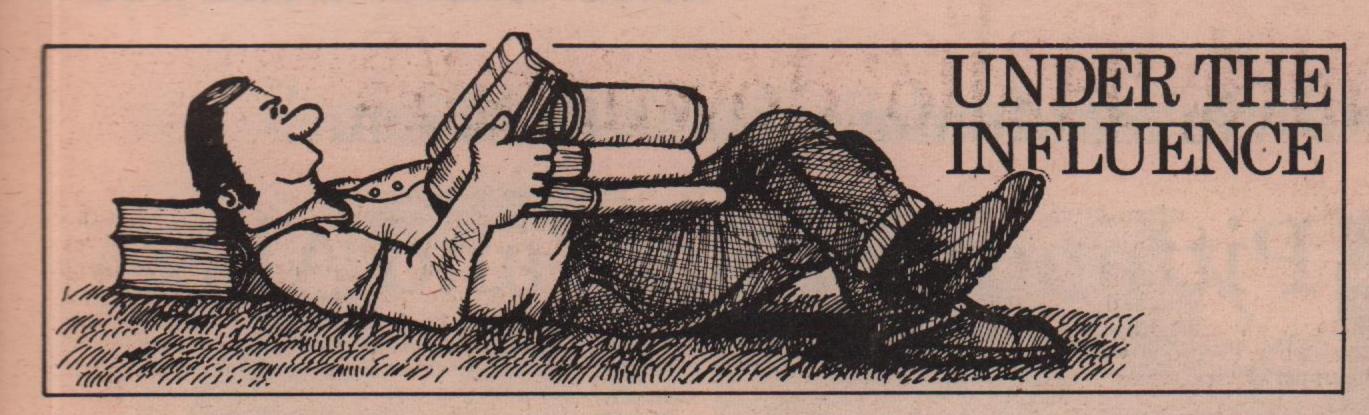
The reasons for this are summed

success.

it at all.'

line of necessary!"

of their NUM officials.



THIS WEEK Under the Influence—where socialists write about the books that helped make them revolutionaries—is written by playwright ALAN PLATER.

Alan Plater is the author of Close the Coalhouse Door, which has been described as 'A hymn of un-

qualified praise to the miners—a group of men who forged a revolutionary weapon without having a revolutionary intent.' He has also written many radio and television plays, including the trilogy To See How Far It Is.

A socialist-thanks to

THERE are many roads to becoming a socialist and I have Anthony Eden to thank for lighting the way for me. The time was the Suez so-called 'adventure' and he said in the Commons: 'We are not at war with Egypt: we are in a state of armed conflict.' At that moment it became clear that the only answer to such double-talk and double-think was total opposition.

I was born a Geordie-in itself a good nidge towards the radical wing of politics-and now live in Hull, and it follows that much of my

reading is concerned with the life and times of those areas.

Tyneside has much to offer, especially Jack Common's marvellous chronicle of a Geordie childhood, Kiddar's Luck. My good friend Sid Chaplin, a former pitman himself, writes brilliantly and livingly about mines and miners, notably The Thin Seam, which helped towards the making of the musical Close the Coalhouse Door which I wrote in collaboration of Alex Glasgow, himself the creator of many good, robust political songs.

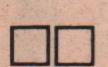
There is a wealth of good historical material about the working people of the North, though not all of it is easy to come by. Richard Fyne's History of the Northumberland and Durham Miners is a classic of its kind and, nearer to my present home, the ships' logs of the whalers that sailed out of Hull in the last century present a harsh picture of a

cruel industry.

The better-known classics are always with us, of course: The Ragged-Trousered Philanthropists, Jack London's The Iron Heel, Upton Sinclair's The Jungle—all three a full-blooded call to arms.

To these I would add the work of Orwell and George Bernard Shaw, not least because they ask awkward questions—and every socialist must be prepared to ask himself awkward questions. And of course, it was Shaw who wrote: 'When a stupid man is doing something he is ashamed of, he always declares it is his duty'—an apt comment on Watergate, and much else besides.

Jack London and Upton Sinclair were both writing about the American experience, and the United States has provided us with an astonishing amount of good radical writing, too much to be listed here in any sort of detail.



The Grapes of Wrath, and the film based on the book, told it how it was, and probably still is. James Baldwin and George Jackson have set down the black experience in often shattering prose. While Norman Mailer, at his rogue elephant journalistic best, must cause a few twitching nerves in the White House.

Then there are the books that defy easy classification, such as Claud Cockburn's autobiographical I Claud—demonstrating that political conviction needn't be an exclusively solemn affair, Graham Greene's The Quiet American—a penetrating analysis of the Vietnam tragedy written before the full horror exploded on the world outside that sad country, and, more recently, a collection of pieces from the magazine Picture Post which reminded us just how good

Anthony Eden...

or Tibble State of the Creation of the Creatio

Alan Plater

and challenging was the work of journalists such as James Cameron.

Professionally, I have spent much of my time working in the theatre, films, television and radio, and all of these have produced a scattering of works that deserve a place in any catalogue of this kind. Joan Littlewood's original production of Oh What a Lovely War must be high on any theatrical list—and top of that list should be the plays of Bert Brecht, if these were given anything like the productions they deserve in this country, though Arturo Ui, with Leonard Rossiter as Hitler was a bold and brave exception.

In the cinema I think of Chaplin on the assembly line in Modern Times, Albert Finney on the assembly line in Saturday Night and Sunday Morning and—though I gather it has fallen slightly in the film critics' league table—the big-city loneliness and desperation of Bicycle Thieves.

Television has given us Jim Allen's The Lump, Tom Clarke's Stocker's Copper and Barry Hines' Speech Day, and radio the brilliant Charles Parker programmes like Singing the Fishing. In these media—largely composed of the instantly forgettable—it is good that there are things to remember at all.

To finish, another of the masters: Alexander Solzhenitsyn, for his novels, and for the Nobel speech that he was not allowed to give. In it he quotes a Russian proverb: 'One word of truth outweighs the whole world.' This seems to me a healthy reminder to any writer, to any socialist, and—for that matter—to humanity.

NEXT WEEK:

Valerie Clark writes about the influence of music and books on her growth as a socialist.

Come back Joe, all is forgiven

SENATOR Joe McCarthy may be dead but his soul, like John Brown's, goes marching on. Woodrow Wyatt, his every heart-beat in tune with those cold war heroes, Frank Chapple, electricians' union president/general secretary, and Lord Robens, last week presented the programme Red Under the Bed (Anglia TV).

Wyatt has subsequently had the unmitigated gall to write to The Times complaining that the IBA cut out his concluding remarks to the programme.

If anyone thinks that the cuts gave the programme a pro-left slant they obviously were not viewing last Tuesday night.

A nifty permutation of Robens, Chapple, a spokesman from the witch-hunting Industrial Research and Information Services, John Boyd of the engineering union and the Salvation Army were interspersed with brief interludes of leading Communist Party members and a couple from the revolutionary left.

The unsupported allegations of Chapple and Co were presented as good coin, at no time were they put to the test of the left participants.

At one point Lord Robens opined that there are a number of excommunists in the parliamentary Labour Party and, in the nature of such beasts, they cannot change their spots.

An assertion that, if taken seriously, could seriously endanger Denis Healey's future prospects. If the same principle were applied to the trade unions, it would cast serious doubts about Frank Chapple.

Chapple of course neglected to inform the viewers that, throughout most of the long years of communist domination of the ETU, he was himself a party member and, presumably, a beneficiary of whatever electoral malpractice that was going on

So blatant was the bias of the programme, in its cutting, editing and balance, that Woodrow managed to



make Bert Ramelson look good by comparison. Jimmy Reid, despite his antics at Upper Clyde Shipbuilding and his votes on Clydebank Council on the Housing Finance Act was made to appear a bit militant.

Duncan Hallas, International Socialist Political Secretary, in the 40-odd seconds transmitted from the 40-odd minutes actually filmed, managed to say three things about parliamentary illusions, the need for a revolutionary party and rank and file organisation.

Woodrow Wyatt is a multimillionaire, so he can't be doing this for the money. Presumably he believes the reactionary nonsense he peddles. Beside casting doubt on his intelligence this also explains the low quality of his programme.

JIM HIGGINS

NOW PONYPATBURGERS!

HERE IS THE NEWS, read by Lancelot Grovelle. Today has been a day of pageant and romance as the beautiful Princess Yawne married Major Mark Stirrups.

All thoughts of economic crisis, states of emergency, oil shortages and strikes were dismissed from the minds of the happy populace as the Royal couple celebrated their nuptuals. 45,000 cardboard cut outs of human beings lined the streets of London to cheer as the Princess and Lieutenant-Colonel Stirrups made their way by horse-drawn carriage—a generous concession to the energy shortage—to Westminster Abbey

where Archbishop Sir Alf Ramsey presided.

A special television version of the wedding—Match of the Day was seen by an estimated global audience of 20 billion. Action replay confirmed that the Princess promised to 'love, honour and obey' her

husband.

Brigadier Stirrups looked pale and nervous as he stood to attention throughout the 90-minute ceremony, no doubt as a result of his all-night stag party at Boglinos restaurant where he consumed the ritual gallon of boiled dubbin in 20 seconds.

Mr Ron Antlers, general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Stags and Kindred Wild Life, complained that the description of the party was an insult to his members and he was mounting a picket on the restaurant.

The Queen and Prince Philip, wearing their clip-on smiles, greeted their subject people as they left the Abbey and announced that in view of the energy crisis the honeymoon yacht Britannia would use no fuel but would be rowed by the Shrewsbury 24 in a galley boat donated for the happy occasion by Sir John Donaldson.

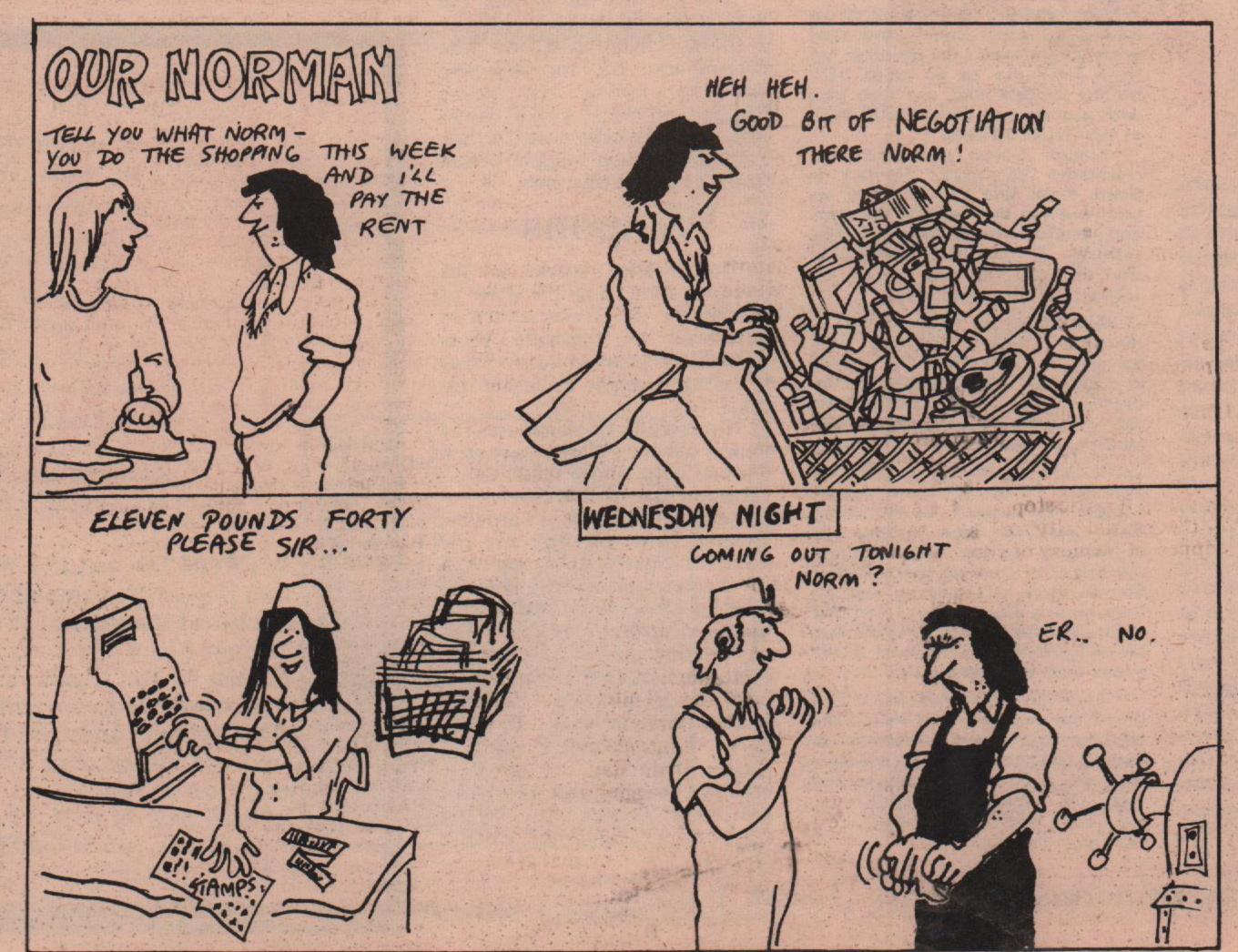
Mr Bobby Moore, sweeping up at the back, said that 20 tons of hot manure had been collected from the Royal route. This would be fried, cut into small squares and distributed to needy pensioners along with their Maundy pennies.

Mr Jack Greedy, chief of the Friskyou supermarket chain, said this was a splendid idea and he would straight away start production of Ponypatburgers, 50p a dozen or 5p each for pensioners on presentation of a death certificate.

We have just time for a piece of other news. Six workers were killed in an explosion in a Birmingham munitions factory today. The management condemned this clumsy attempt to detract attention from the real value of the day . . .

And here is a late news flash. The Buckingham Palace press office, Mr Malcolm Allison, has announced that Princess Yawne and Major General Stirrups are expecting a foal next June...

DAVID EAST



'Good morning' upstairs, 'Hallo' downstairs

A COUPLE of years ago two actresses, Jean Marsh and Eileen Atkins, had an idea for a TV series. It was 'to contrast Edwardian life; upstairs and down.' It turned into Upstairs Downstairs, and I talked to Jean Marsh about it.

'I was born in Stoke Newington, in North London, and lived in Islington and Kilburn as a child. My mother was in service, and so was my father. If I had been born at the time I suppose that I would have been too.'

Her father is a socialist and was an assistant printer until he retired. She started as a child-extra and has been an actress ever since.

She's an unaffected, thoughtful person and the seriousness with which she approaches the programme helps explain its success. 'The cast are good, so are the production staff.'

The good thing about Upstairs Downstairs for me is that it isn't particularly nostalgic about the period. There is an unhealthy obsession with the 'good old days' when everyone was down on their knees cleaning the upper classes' grates.

Upstairs Downstairs has been fairly successful in

avoiding this by its accuracy about the way that the people in that society saw themselves. Which of course is not the same as they actually were.

Take Hudson (Gordon Jackson) the Butler. What the real Hudsons of 1910 were doing was wasting their lives grovelling before a group of parasites. He didn't see it like that, but as a man ordained by God to serve-and happy to do so. Any attempt to change his world was a threat to his survival.

Which was nice for the parasites. They believed that they were meant to be waited on. And in return would feel 'generous' to those fortunate enough to serve them.

> Take a look at the Royal Family today and there it is, still going strong.

'It's undoubtedly true,' pointed out Jean, 'that some people still wish it was like that. I'm sure that some of them would like to go on dressing up and putting on uniforms. I met a middle class woman, who was very nice, and she said to me what a good thing the series was because it would show servants how much luckier they are nowadays'

For those surviving servants, and there are plenty still around, this will doubtless be a consolation. 'Things have changed a lot, class is still there alright but now it is based much more directly on money,' she said.

'I imagine the two people who would have suffered most from the collapse of that old way of life would be Hudson and Rose (the part she plays). They lived completely unnatural lives, living off other people, they lived without sex for a start, and in the end they would have been left with nothing.'

Which is one of the ironies-that a group of upper class parasites, through the social system turned the people they employed into parasites as well.



Jean Marsh: Fan-mail from servants

What did she think of the political references in the programme?

'The people who are interested in politics in Upstairs, Downstairs aren't really-they are just playing at it. They were "free" to be political in a certain way. They had the time, like the Bellamy's daughter. She never knew what was going on, it

wasn't serious.' The impact of the series comes out in odd ways. 'When the people playing the Upstairs parts appear in the studio they are treated very politely, "Good morning" etc etc. When I show up it's "Hello Jean, how's

it going then?" Which is a funny but disturbing comment on both the power of TV and of the class structure.

Another oddity is her fan-mail. 'Ten per cent of it is advice, congratulations and so on. I get quite a lot from ex-servants who say things like "you shouldn't serve with that hand", "you would never have talked to the Butler like that", "you shouldn't have your hair like that".

'10 per cent is from mad people. "I woke up this morning and you were at the end of my bed. If you don't go away I'm going to send for the police."

'But the other 70 per cent is obscene. They've had lots of pretty girls in the series but none of them get the letters I do.'

And that ironically is yet another comment on the obscenity of the class system. The good old days, of even greater sexual hypocrisy, and repression are a wonderful breeding ground for the obsessions of servitude which float through the century into Bunnies, Penthouse Pets, dirty bookshops and Mr and Mrs Mark Phillips . . .

Aland unfit for these neroes...

UNEMPLOYED STRUGGLES 1919-1936, by Wal Hannington, reprinted in a new edition by EP Publishing, £3.50.

THE END of the First World War brought not the promised 'Land fit for heroes' but catastrophic unemployment and austerity measures. Among other things these excluded children of under six from school, reduced teachers' wages and cut state spending on the National Health scheme and the tuberculosis, maternity and child welfare services.

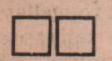
As the dole queues lengthened so the state welfare shrank. The two million men and women thrown out of work were therefore largely dependent on the tender mercies of the churches and local charity organisations who opened their halls. 'Come in from the Cold', a cup of tea and a bun, possibly a game of dominos or solo was the usual fare in such places.

On the streets, in the gutters, bemedalled unemployed ex-servicemen were scrounging for a crust.

But the unemployed begun spontaneously to organise themselves.

In 1921 the National Unemployed Workers Movement arose to give coherence to the struggle of the unemployed worker. 'Stop begging and fight' was its message. Wal Hannington's book vividly describes the efforts to organise that generation of unemployed workers.

Hannington, a Londoner, son of a brickie, ex-shop steward, early member of the British Socialist Party, stocky in build, a forceful speaker, resourceful and courageous, became national organiser of the NUWM. He soon applied his abilities to welding the varied local unemployed committees into a national organisation.



He had learnt and successfully applied the lesson taught so well by John Burns and Tom Mann in the unemployed struggles 40 years before: to demonstrate not in the slums of dockland but in the heart of London. It was this projection of the issue of unemployment into the centres of power that made the NUWM renowned throughout the

country. Hunger marches from the mining valleys and the industrial towns of Britain to London stirred the working class. Along the routes, despite reformist bickering, the unemployed marchers inspired solid and united support. With upturned faces, tingling with excitement and enthusiasm, a hundred thousand London working men and women roared their welcome. All through the 1920s the NUWM demonstrations activated thousands.

Hannington tells the story of the Armistice march. In the early



Wal Hannington and a fellow trade unionist confront a police officer during a 1920s hunger march

years after the war, 11 November was the shining moment of establishment humbug and hypocrisy. When thousands of unemployed ex-servicemen were forced to seek outdoor relief at the Boards of Guardians, the annual ceremony at the Cenotaph was the social event.

BOOKS

In Whitehall, ministers and MPs generals and admirals, the King and the royal flunkeys gathered for the parade and the wreath-laying

ceremony. At the first stroke of eleven all London stood silent. That was the social climate. The departure of crack express trains were delayed so that the silence would not be disturbed. Traffic stopped, the heart of the capital city of the Empire stopped in memory of those fallenso wrote the gutter press. Not to doff one's cap and stand still at that moment in the West End, was as irreverent as farting in church.

As the official parade passed the warm-clothed social elite, threequarters of a mile away on the Thames embankment another parade assembled. Twenty-five thousand ex-servicemen barred from joining the official parade were nevertheless determined to march down Whitehall. With NUWM banners draped in black, on which were pinned hundreds of

war medals, the unemployed started to march.

At their head a huge wreath was carried with the inscription 'From the living victims-the unemployed-to our dead comrades, who died in vain.' The stark contrast of government and royal pomp for the dead and dire poverty for the living was never more effectively demonstrated.

What helped to make possible the building of the NUWM into a really national organisation was the rich accumulation of talented workingclass leaders all over the country.

They were men able to clothe the programme of immediate demands with a hundred agitational facets and so organise widespread support.

Whatever the turn of the situation, whatever the government, the NUWM programme of Work or full maintenance was fought for. At the local councils, in the Labour Exchanges, at the Labour and Trades Union Congresses, in Downing Street and at the gates of parliament itself the battle was waged. Thousands marched proudly behind the banners and it was not possible for the politicians to sweep the problem of unemployment under the ministerial carpet.

Hannington's book, like most autobiographies, is not without error. He has dropped historical goolies by relying on his memory. Let the academics and historians winkle out the blemishes, workers will read this story for what it is. A good history of our class that rapidly learnt in their day of great adversity to stop begging and started to fight back.

Join me in raising your next pint to the memory of that generation of unemployed leaders.

HARRY WICKS

PREVIEW

SATURDAY: BBC-2, the Dubliners, one of the better folk groups are IN CONCERT*. SUNDAY: ITV, 5.20pm (most stations) London Weekend's AQUARIUS on the Mikron Theatre Company who tour the canals of England with a documentary on

the history of the waterways. While at 11.15 LWT are networking (most stations) the pleasantly named I WAS A KILLER FOR THE MAFIA, an interview with a retired . . .

MONDAY: BBC RADIO-4. The Monday play is George Bernard Shaw's JOHN BULL'S OTHER ISLAND.

TUESDAY: ITV, 10.30pm. Granada TV continues its Eastern tour with DERVISHES OF KURDISTAN, who combine jobs as farmers and TV salesmen with less 'normal' activities. CUDLIPP AND BE DAMNED*, is BBC-1's documentary on Hugh Cudlipp, one of the main inspirations behind the Daily Mirror.

WEDNESDAY: ITV, 1.30pm. If for some reason you're in front of a TV at lunchtime then A MESSAGE TO IRELAND in Granada's Crown Court series might be worth seeing. It's about incitement of troops to disaffection. A lot on BBC-2 in the evening, Claire Bloom is in the Thomas Hardy story, AN IMAGINATIVE WOMAN*. Plus COLOUR MY SOUL*, with Doris Troy, Madeline Bell and Jimmy Helms, featuring gospel music. Also SITTING ON A FORTUNE*, in the Man Alive series is on property companies . . . BY WAY OF A CHANGE* features an excellent Salford Street theatre group,

Inroads. THURSDAY: BBC-2. The EUROPA* series is a Swedish film on the less than enthusiastic Danish reaction to being in the Common Market.

FRIDAY: BBC-2 features part one of an Italian film on artist Leonardo Da Vinci which could be great-or terrible. BBC RADIO-4 has LENINGRAD SPEAKS, which uses three women writers who were in Leningrad during the Nazi siege (1941-44) plus the music of Shostakovitch to

depict that hideous event. *Transmission time unknown at time of

going to press.

NIGEL FOUNTAIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We fight:

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

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

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

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

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

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

For all workers in struggle. We seek to build militant groups within industry. Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

We are opposed to all ruling class policies and organisations. We work to

build a revolutionary workers' party in Britain and to this end support the unity of all revolutionary groups.

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

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

THERE ARE IS BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS







Print union faces NIRC action by 50 expelled 14 years ago

THE National Graphical Association, the print union which is registered under the Industrial Relations Act, is now likely to receive the attentions of the National Industrial Relations Court over its decision 14 years ago to expel 50 men who blacklegged during the major 1959 print dispute.

During the 1959 official strike of almost all print unions 50 NGA members at the Shrewsbury Chronicle newspaper refused to support the strike and daily crossed picket lines. After the strike the Shrewsbury Chronicle management blacklisted the union members who had struck and forced them to find work elsewhere. To maintain union discipline against the scabs, the local Typographical Association branch decided to expel the scabs. This decision was upheld by the union executive. (The Typographical Association later amalgamated to form the NGA.)

Now, with the services of the Industrial Relations Act well advertised, the expelled members have moved.

First they went to the Registrar of

Trade Unions and Employers' Associations and sought his support for re-admission to the union. Interestingly enough he declined to back them. This is probably because the NGA is virtually the only major union in Britain which defied TUC policy and decided to register under the Act.

Exclude

Next step for the brave men of the Shrewsbury Chronicle was to go to a local Industrial Tribunal to seek backing for re-admission. This they got. The tribunal ruled that their application for readmission to the union was fair. It was implied that for the NGA to continue to exclude them from membership was an unfair industrial practice.

The NGA, one of the most craftconscious unions in the country, did not attend the tribunal.

The men have now re-applied to the NGA for membership, a union spokesman confirmed. He would not comment on the union's response. But there are firm

signs that the union leaders do not intend to re-admit them. This is likely to lead to a new application from the Shrewsbury Chronicle scabs to the National Industrial Relations Court.

John Bonfield, NGA general secretary, was roundly applauded when he told 400 delegates at the London region conference that the NGA would not attend the court if an action is brought. It will be interesting to see what the NIRC will then do to a registered union which is in contempt of court and which is also likely to defy any order it might make to re-admit the man.

And the proceedings could lead to a situation where members of a registered union are fighting off the attentions of the NIRC with industrial action. For the NGA, as a craft union, is extremely rulebook conscious. So far the Registrar of Trade Unions and Employers' Associations has not seen fit to attack the union's rulebook as the Industrial Relations Act requires him to do. But the NIRC might just step in and do the job for him.

BIGNALGORA

THE campaign for a £400 increase in London weighting by NALGO the National and Local Government Officers Association, is getting up a head of steam. More than 100,000 whitecollar workers in the public sector are involved.

Special meetings have been held in all local government branches, most calling for some form of industrial action. A mass rally in Central Hall, Westminster, two weeks ago was attended by more than 2000. For a union which has only had a few, small official strikes, the unequivocal call from the rally for strike action was unprecedented.

But it is clear that the right-wing leadership of the union is determined to avoid

a fight on the issue, which is a direct challenge to Phase Three. The rally was called as a publicity stunt, aimed at the press and TV rather than a call to action. No amendments were allowed to the catch-all declaration presented at the end of the meeting. And it failed even as a publicity exercise . . . only two national newspapers mentioned it.

After three long speeches from the platform, Geoff Woolfe, of Lewisham NALGO, who is a member of the International Socialists made an attempt to propose an amendment calling for a series of one-day strikes starting on 7 December, for effective action against Phase Three, and for local campaign committees to mobilise the membership.

INTEND

He pointed out the need for a united campaign by all trade union- organised by a rank and file comists to defeat the government. Even after two-thirds of the hall had stood up in support of the amendment, the chairman, Fred Jex, refused a vote. As the rank and file amendment was moved, the microphone was mysteriously switched

The level at which the NALGO leadership intend to fight was indi-

by SW reporter

cated by guest speaker, GLC Labour Councillor Illtyd Harrington, who reminded the rally that 'a General Election was due', and appealed: 'Don't exhaust the democratic process.'

But further calls went up from the floor for rank and file campaign committees. Rita Donaghy, of the national universities committee, stressed the need for action by all NALGO sections.

The right wing's attitude was made crystal clear at the delegate district council meeting, where the only way the issue could even be discussed was by suspension of standing orders!

Bob Ford, of Islington NALGO, moved a motion calling for a sustained campaign of industrial action, mittee. The leadership used every bureaucratic trick in the book to weaken this motion, which now effectively leaves control in the hands

of the right wing. The motion which was finally

THE WEST OF THE

passed included calls for local and national demonstrations in support of the full £400 increase in the London weighting allowance and

against the government's incomes policy. It supported a complete overtime ban, no covering of work created by short staffing, no implementation of new services until full manning is introduced, a refusal to work with agency staff, and no cooperation in reorganisation. The motion also supported one-

day strikes and a selective strike strategy.

But the really key part of the motion was defeated. This called for the campaign to be organised by a rank and file committee. Instead it is to be handled by 'a working party' which will not include lay

ACTION

members.

The attitude of the union leaders is already clear. They have been devoting their efforts largely to trying to develop a common front with the employers. These in turn have made an unexpected offer of £110 to £115 which, while over the Phase Three maximum, is way short of the claim. Whether even that will be paid is another question. But the union leaders are implying to the members that they themselves do not need to do anything since, they claim, 'the employers are on our side.'

In this situation a hard fight is ahead for the rank and file NALGO Action group which played a large part in the Central Hall rally.

The need is to turn the London issue into the focus of a real fight against Phase Three, linking in the union's members outside London whose wages also come under the hammer.

Campaign committees in the branches must link to fight for effective action, involving the majority of the membership. The decision of the National and Local Government Committee of NALGO to call special district and national conferences soon will be a chance to strengthen effective rank and file opposition to Phase Three.

International Socialists Industrial Pamphlet 3p

ENGINEERING PAY CLAIM



A pamphlet vital to understanding the issues behind the engineers' pay claim

3p, plus 3p postage (orders over 10 copies post free)

Industrial Pamphlets, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS

We stood together and we're winning

UNITED WE STAND-that should be our motto in Durham Ambulance Service from now on. For the ambulance service is split in two unions, the General and Municipal Workers and the National Union of Public Employees.

This is the first time that Durham has stood together and it is the first time we have had a decisive victory over Durham County Council, which incidentally is Labour controlled.

Four years ago the authority and the unions got together to try and devise a bonus scheme for the ambulance men. But both came to the conclusion-it is not possible. The simple reason being that the county council runs the service on a shoestring.

It took a group of militant ambulancemen at Wheatly Hill depot, fed up with their standard ... living, who gave Durham county council an ultimatum, either pay up or the depot would close completely.

The word got round and the men rallied together showing what they had never had beforeunity and strength.

The county ambulance officer, said they were not essential and they could be done without. What a mistake-within three weeks the service

It was the first total shutdown in the history of the ambulance service. The authorities desperately asked for volunteers to man the ambulances and claimed 900 answers. Yet within five days only five out of 17 depots were operational.

In desperation they made an offer that if the

men would keep the emergency service running they would all be paid, including a rise. At a meeting of 300 jubilant ambulancemen the offer was accepted.

A definite victory and the first of many more to come. The days of the public services relying on public sympathy and low wages are coming to an end.

First it was the hospital workers but they weren't strong enough, then the Glasgow firemen, who proved it could be done, now the ambulancemen who by 29 November must be united throughout Britain in a wage claim to get them out of the

lower paid and off the breadline.

We would like to thank the International Socialists for their help in our strike.-RONNIE YOUNG, Chairman, County Durham Ambulance-

men's Strike Committee.

The corpse that whispers

IT FELT good being amongst thousands of trade union comrades at the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference on 11 November but I was bitterly disappointed at the poor attendance by representatives of the postal workers-the largest single body of workers in Europe.

You wouldn't think so, would you judging by the tiny voice of its union? It's a wonder that it has a voice at all, as corpses are usually silent.

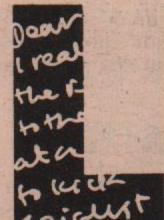
But the corpse could be brought back to life-by the rank and file postmen-by the men who still remember with bitterness their defeat of 1971 and the sell-out by the TUC General Council and the UPW leaders. And who still have to work a 43-hoursix-day week as a basic pay week.

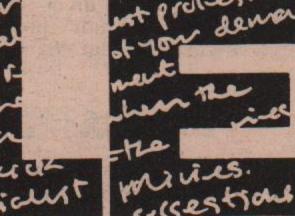
To collect union subscriptions from a postman now is to rob him, in a sophisticated sort of way. But the UPW exists in name only-because of the lack of rank and file activity.

Postmen still have the spirit to fight but they need guidance from rank and file leadership, and next time they will need support from the rank and file of other unions.

The postal strike of 1971 collapsed because of lack of funds. The union executives were to blame for this, not the rank and file, who gave the postmen their much-needed moral support, and backing whenever possible.

They of course were unable to give





the much needed loans as the cash was

in the hands of the union bureaucrats.

The 1971 strike could have been

one of the biggest victories in the

history of trade unionism. Instead it

postmen depend on no one but

themselves and their rank and file

colleagues. How's this for a Daily

Christmas box this year-to bury the

UPW in. - JOHN DUNCAN, Fakenham.

I HAVE just read the article 'Ded-

icated Idiots' (Socialist Worker 10

November) about the pay and con-

when Frank Simpson told how the

boys removed the floorboards, re-

placed the lino and then set fire to

firemen know what it is like in

Glasgow. I don't but I can guess.

One point that struck me, that was

It seems wrong to stop there. The

Next time the fight will be a

was the worst defeat possible.

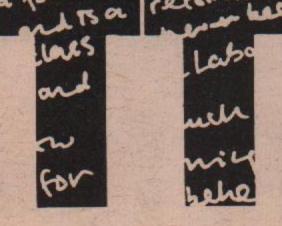
Look past

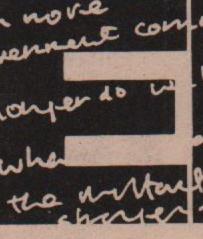
the boys...

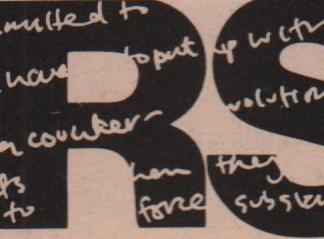
ditions of firemen.

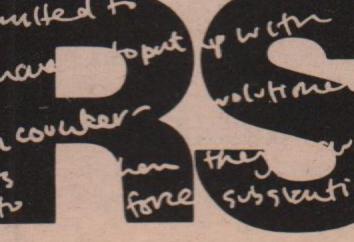
the place.

came to a halt.









Socialist Worker wants to hear from you. What you like about the paper-and what you don't complete victory, but only if the like. Your thoughts and comments on problems facing working people. Your experiences at Mirror headline?—Postmen are to get

> 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.

Children brought up in slums which others have the nerve to call houses, given the most meagre of education with no nursery schools, forced into a dreary job in a noisy factory with little to look forward to . . . They are accepted by society

as nothing but factory fodder.

In short it was not really the boys who played the trick. It was not the boys who start fights at football matches. It was this vicious, dirty corrupt society and all the Heaths, Wilsons and Thorpes who stand by it.-CHRIS FULLER, Norwich.

Chile: rank and file-yes but party too

THE Chilean Solidarity organisation in Britain is calling for the release of political prisoners and for the boycott of trade with the Junta. If socialists in Britain are going to give advice from afar and to call for action from British workers, their demands must be more practical.

We must avoid spreading illusions that Chile can become another Vietnam.

To make an effective embargo on the sale of arms to the Junta, we need to build rank and file organisations among the dockers, instead of allowing trade union leaders to make hollow demands in Trafalgar Square, that they cannot implement. The most practical step we can take on behalf of Chilean workers and peasants who are defending themselves from mass murders and imprisonings, is to build a revolutionary party in Britain.

This the International Socialists are doing. We cannot, as the German workers found to their cost in 1918. as the Italians learned in the early 1920s, as the Spanish in 1936, the French working class in 1968 and now the Chileans in 1973, hope for the achievement of a socialist revolution, through the creation solely of councils of workers, peasants and soldiers.

The building of the party must precede the formation of these vitally important centres of workers' potenpower.-NICK HOWARD. Sheffield 10.

stituency Labour Parties. Indeed quite the opposite is evident in the present circumstances. Workers involved in struggle are becoming increasingly aware of the need to build an independent, revolutionary party which leads their struggles. I have no sympathy for anyone

who confuses or obstructs the building of such a revolutionary party, even when I learned a lot from them, and knew them personally.-JIMMY McCALLUM, Glasgow.

FOR SELBY

OF GOVAN

THE FOOTPRINTS comment on Harry Selby (Socialist Worker 17

November) really bent over back-

wards to be fair to the man who

managed to lose the safe Labour

Party is obscure to begin with, but

his stand as a Labour candidate was

at which a 'left' MP Jim Sillars

spoke, an International Socialist asked

Sillars if he could explain his attack

on the Glasgow firemen in the pages

Sillars in answer repeated his attack

Selby when asked for his position

on Sillars' statement and the firemen's strike refused to comment. He had nothing to say about a section of the

trade union movement involved in struggle against not only the government but their union leaders and the

Worse, he had nothing to say

There is, to me, no point in offer-

about a vicious attack on those

ing sympathy to an old 'Trotskyist'

whose position now is no less than a

left cover for the callousness of

honestly, that the working class will

take its struggles into the con-

No one in these days can believe.

of the Scottish Daily Express.

on the striking firemen.

leaders of the TUC.

Labour Party politicians.

workers . . .

vulgar when it wasn't simply ugly.

Selby's position on the Labour

At a campaign meeting in Govan

seat at Govan.

THE arrogant bitterness of your columnist Paul Foot in Footprints, 17 November, when he wonders why 'thousands of Glasgow workers were persuaded to vote for the Scottish Nationalists quackery' must not go unanswered.

The veto Labour got is not a veto against socialism but rather an electoral manifestation of the appeal of the Scotland Nationalist Party and Plaid Cymru to the workers and a direct reaction to their socialist policies.

Scottish and Welsh voters have been and still are strong advocates of socialism but their actions have always been shattered by the English majority returning successive Conservative governments. They now realise that their aspirations will materialise if they can get England off their backs.

The two nationalist parties are well versed in this doctrine and the present Labour movement will repeat the story of the Liberal party if dormancy prevails. Apart from the protests of two local Labour MPs no party apart from Plaid Cymru have taken up the cause of the Shotton steelworkers.

The workers of Scotland and Wales are these days finding out who their supporters are and they will in due course bring a civilised socialist government to the nations of Scotland and Wales.—HAYDN ELLIS EDWARDS, Salford.

Postal points: Powell, trunks, slogans, and a day's pay

POWELL AGAIN . . . On Saturday evening, 24 November, Enoch Powell will be speaking at a dinner given at Durham University in his honour. The North East, with its constant unemployment, is the sort of area that Powell and his friends would like to establish a strong presence in.

It is therefore vital that wherever he goes he is met with strong militant demonstrations of opposition. The counter demonstration is being organised through the Alternative Assembly at Durham University Students Union . . .

I would appeal to all your readers, especially in the North East to keep a note to attend the demonstration.-PETE COCKCROFT, Chairman Manchester Anti-Fascist Committee.

A HUNK ON THE TRUNK ... I went Saturday 3 November to Debenhams in Southampton to buy a trunk-it was £7.99.

My husband and I went back the following Saturday to purchase it-it was £9.50. It was exactly the same trunk so none of the catches about the cost of raw materials could apply. This was a clear rise of about 18 per

cent. So much for Phase Three.-S CATCHPOLE, Southampton.

END 'BOY' REVOLUTIONARIES NOW! . . . You may find that you achieve one of the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference's aims-that of extending the sale and influence of Socialist Worker-by reporting news without dogmatic comment.

It was well worth buying the paper if only to read Jeanne Woodcock's piece on Social Security (17 November). Some facts at last. You do the working class a grave injustice by supposing that they must only be fed slogans and the 'correct' interpretation of events. I for one wish to make up my mind-so please cut out the boy revolutionary comments and honestly report the facts.-MALCOLM SCOTT, London SE8.

MORE WHERE HE CAME FROM . . . It's all very well going on about Richard Nixon (Socialist Worker 17 November). You could just as well have done an exposure of Kennedy, Heath or Lloyd-George, the whole lot are just the same.-KEN DOW, Maidenhead.

LOOKING FORWARD . . . At last the royal wedding is over. As Anne and Captain Phillips drift away in the royal yacht Brittania we are told to mounting criticism of the event that 'the people' enjoy these obscene spectacles

Working people of this country have very little to look forward to. We look forward to old aged pensioners buying single fish fingers, or un-supported mothers trying to 'support' themselves and children on subsistence levels, of lower paid workers and the harsh reality of their

We do have the power workers' and the miners struggles coming ahead and we look forward to a victory for them and a defeat for the Tory government. A government determined to rob the working class of rights that they have won for themselves . .

One small point Princess Anne, your one day holiday to school children caused working women quite a few problems. Many women had to take time off work to cope with the kids. Still what's the loss of a day's pay when we could watch you on the telly?-ALISON LANGAN, London E8.

The Palestinians

WHAT ARE THEIR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS?

public meeting and forum

at Kensington Town Hall, Monday 26 November, 7.30pm Speakers include Said Hammami (PLO representative) and Akiva Orr (Israeli anti-Zionist) Organised by Palestine Action, PO Box 492, London SW7.

HALF-DAY SCHOOL for all black mem-

bers of IS: Imperialism and racialism.

Sessions on the struggle in India, Pakistan, Africa, the West Indies, etc. Saturday 24 November, 2.15-6pm, The Clarion, Brixton South London. Details from Europe Singh, 12a Upper Tooting Road, London SW17. Phone 01-767 0796.

BASILDON IS public meeting: The need for a revolutionary party. Thursday 29 November, Civil Defence Building (behind

TEESSIDE IS public meeting: George Peake, victim of apartheid, speaks about The Fight against Racialism. Thursday 29 November, 8pm, AUEW Hall, Borough

LONDON IS FACTORY BRANCH SCHOOL: Saturday 1 December, 2pm-

5pm, North London Polytechnic, Holloway

Road (opposite Holloway Road tube

station). All members of London IS fac-

PETERBOROUGH IS public meeting: The

Middle East Crisis. Speaker Richard

Kirkwood. Friday 30 November, 8.15pm, The Still, Cumbergate, Peterborough.

LLANELLI IS public meeting: Kick out

Phase Three. Speaker Paul Foot. Thursday

6 December, 7.30pm, Mechanics Institute,

Pontardulais. Tickets, 10p each, available from Heol-y-Maes, Pontardulais, and 5 St Albans Road, Brynmill, Swansea.

tory branches are asked to attend.

Tesco, next to ambulance station).

Road, Middlesbrough.

FORWARD TO ARANK FILEMONEMEN

THE National Committee of the International Socialists has discussed at length the perspectives for the building of a genuine democratic rank and file movement.

The Socialist Worker Industrial Conference in Manchester was a great success. It established IS without a shadow of a doubt as an integral part of the working class and a force to be reckoned with. It also gave force to the call for the formation of a rank and file movement by supporting and urging IS members to work for a founding conference in Spring next year.

The newspapers The Collier, Post Office Worker, Rank and File, Tech Teacher, Carworker and NALGO Action News have agreed to sponsor the conference and will be jointly approaching other similar papers to join in the initiative. This is an important step forward.

The need for such a conference stems from the problems militants face in the class struggle. It is therefore the product not of the needs of IS, but of the trade union movement. Our support for the initiative is not based on the desire for further re-

cruits, or the wish to make ourselves better known, but on the need to shape an organisation which can attempt to advance the struggle of all workers in the country.

The crisis of the economy has led in the past few years to everincreasing attacks on the hard-won rights of workers. These attacks have not gone totally unchallenged. The official trade union movement has put up a struggle of sorts.

Yet the TUC and the trade union leaders have proved unable and often unwilling to lead workers to lasting victories.

OUTRIGHT

Even the most militant unions, such as the AUEW, have not really put up a real fight. Their principled opposition to the Industrial Relations Act and their refusal to recognise the NIRC is to be applauded, especially if compared to the terrible record of other unions. Yet this opposition has been at best half-hearted.

In the absence of a clear lead from the union leaders, and often in the face of their outright opposition and treachery, militants have foughtbut with one hand tied behind their backs. The isolation of individual

sections, the fragmentation of the movement and the absence of leadership show clearly the need for a rank and file movement.

Such an organisation could already exist in this country. Many militants have supported and attended conferences of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions. No doubt they hoped it would provide the leadership and direction needed. These hopes have been disappointed.

The committee is the product of and is totally controlled by the Communist Party. So it suffers from many faults. In particular it has proved unable to criticise and organise against betrayals of the trade union leaders, in a desire to maintain friends

in high places. We believe that this has been a fatal weakness, in that the committee could organise and be effective only when it actually agreed with the trade union bureaucracy. So it could be the spearhead of the movement against the Industrial Relations Act, since the trade union leaders were against the Act, but it could not

swim against the tide. It could not point to and organise against the betrayal of the hospital workers last year. It had nothing to say during the Chrysler electricians'

dispute, on the encouragement of scabbing by the TGWU and AUEW.

It was left in an embarassed silence as the Glasgow firemen battled against government, Labour council, their own 'left' leaders and the TUC.

Yet if the struggle is to be advanced it must be taken into the unions themselves. A genuine rank and file movement must link the struggle for militancy on the shop floor with that for democratic control of the unions. So one of the tasks of the spring conference will be to give impetus to the organisation of fractions inside the unions.

DELEGATES

The spring conference will be judged on its ability to influence events, on what it will be able to do. So it is important that IS members should be clear about many of the difficulties we will face and will have to overcome.

If the conference is to be at all meaningful it will have to be for delegates from trade union bodies. Militants who only represent themselves cannot really affect the class struggle.

It will be difficult to get such delegacies. The Communist Party and the trade union bureaucracy will certainly oppose it. The Communist Party will resist attempts to challenge the Liaison Committee. It will be essential to explain carefully the need for the conference, and to convince militants who are not members of IS.

We must also guard against unreal expectations. We cannot really expect that such an organisation will be able to deliver much to start with. It will need careful building up, step by step.

Perhaps most important of all will be the fact that the spring conference will be democratically run, with real debates and contributions, and not the carefully stage-managed affairs that all delegates to the Liaison Committee have painfully come to know.

Obviously between now and the spring much will have to be written about the conference in Socialist Worker. We intend to open the paper to discussion. We will also produce a pamphlet on the need for and aim of a rank and file movement. Our members will play a full part in setting it up.

Tower Hill rent strike

WE REGRET that in our report last week of the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference the statement by Ethel Singleton was misreported as saying that IS controlled the Tower Hill rent strike in Kirkby. This is not the case-leading activists on the strike committee include IS, Communist Party, Labour Party and non-aligned.

The total arrears are approximately £270 per household, not £270,000 in total. The tenants do not think 'Their rent paying days are over' and are willing to pay the rent fixed before the Housing Finance Act was introduced.

BIRMINGHAM DISTRICT IS Social: Friday 7 December, 8pm-11pm, Caledonian Corks Social Club (junction of Coventry Road and Golden Hillock Road). Len Holden and the Harry Johnson's Oily Dogs Band. Tickets 50p on the door, or 40p in advance from 82 Haunch Lane, Birmingnam 14. Phone: 021-444 5692.

COVENTRY DISTRICT IS Rally: Paul Foot speaks on The Struggle for Socialism. Friday 23 November, 8pm, Room F107 (Large Hall). Lanchester Polytechnic (opposite Cathedral), Coventry. Tickets from any seller of Socialist Worker or at

KARTOON KLOWNS: Mr Oligarchy's Circus socialist theatre plus folk group. LOWESTOFT: Friday 30 November, 8pm, Marquis of Lorne pub, Carlton Road. NORWICH: Saturday 1 December, 8pm, Studio 4 (behind Anglia TV).

NORWICH IS public meeting: Irelandthe present situation. Speaker Paddy Prenderville. Thursday 6 December, The Little John pub, off Dereham Road, Norwich.

CARDIFF IS public meeting: The Fight against Phase Three. Thursday 6 December, 8pm, The Blind Institute, Fitzalan Place, Cardiff.

COVENTRY DISTRICT IS Rally: The

Struggle for Socialism. Speakers: Paul Foot, shop steward from Con Mech, Woking, and spokesmen for the miners and the firemen. Friday 23 November, 8pm, Room F107 (large hall), Lanchester Polytechnic (opposite Cathedral), Coventry. Tickets on door.

COVENTRY DISTRICT IS December Social: Saturday 1 December, 7.30pm onwards. Steel band, disco, food. Commonwealth Club, Boston Place (off Luckhurst Lane), Coventry. Tickets in advance from 4 Newcombe Road, Coventry.

LEEDS DISTRICT IS public meeting: Socialism and human nature. Speaker Wally Preston. Thursday 29 November, 8pm, Whip Hotel, Lower Briggate.

SOUTH LANCASHIRE: IS branches in the area meet regularly as shown below. We welcome all readers of Socialist Worker to our meetings. EARLESTOWN: Wednesdays, 8pm, in the

Victoria pub, Wargrave Road, Earlestown. LEIGH: Wednesdays, 8pm, in the Globe pub, Bradshaw Gate, Leigh. WIGAN: Thursdays, 8pm, in The Wheatsheaf pub, Wallgate, Wigan.

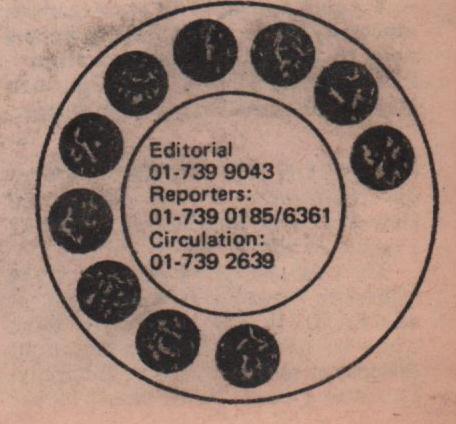
GLASGOW IS Saturday Morning School: Saturday 24 November, 10am, Duncan Hallas on Marxist theory and the revolutionary party, IS Books, 64 Queen Street, Glasgow C1.

BRIGHTON IS public meeting

THE FIGHT AGAINST PHASE THREE. Speaker Paul Foot. Thursday 29 November, The Prince George pub, Trafalgar Street (near station), Brighton. All trade unionists welcome.

POSTERS: The big red Socialist Worker and International Socialist posters that were on display at the Socialist Worker Industrial Conference are being reprinted. They make excellent display for public meetings and street meetings. 30p each, plus 10p postage. Money with orders to Socialist Worker circulation, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS.

LEAFLETS: The Socialist Worker advertising leaflets ('The paper you can't afford to miss') are no longer available. We hope to print a new leaflet soon which will say more about what Socialist Worker is. Anyone with useful ideas or local leaflets, please send them to Socialist Worker circulation, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS.



The miners need your support

by Andreas Nagliati IS industrial organiser

THE MINERS are clearly the section of the working class which can most decisively challenge the government freeze. Everything in the present situation is stacked in their favour.

The Tories are getting deeper and deeper into trouble. The latest balance of payments deficit is simply staggering, and is not likely to improve.

The rise in the cost of imports, already spiralling, will receive a further boost from the rise in oil prices. The attempts to keep the economy expanding are obviously going to flounder if there is a serious fuel crisis. The oil embargo therefore strengthens the hand of the miners.

The miners are also in a strong moral position. Two years after their fantastic strike victory they can show that all their gains have been eroded by inflation.

Firemen

many people are dissatisfied with the government's performance, and are sympathetic to the unions, so the Tories would find it difficult to pump up public feeling against the miners.

In a sense both the Tories and the miners' leaders are caught in a deadend and are clearly on collision course. The room for either side to manoeuvre is small. The Tories have to avoid a confrontation, since the firemen have shown their weakness to a determined attack. But they cannot also provide a compromise solution, since it would clearly lead to the dismantling of Phase Three from within.

Gormley's attempt to undermine the miners' determination by rushing

ahead with the proposals to ban safety work has clearly backfired. Instead of causing the desired backlash, it has been enthusiastically received.

The miners' bitterness and determination is clearly rising. A strike is very much on the cards.

There is much that IS can do. If there is no settlement a second pamphlet on the miners' claim may be produced.

Robert Carr's raising of the question of police intervention against picketing is more a bluff aimed at intimidating, than a concrete intention in case of strike. Nevertheless it obviously brings the question of the trial of building workers at Shrewsbury very much to the fore. It is necessary to link the question of the miners' strike and the Shrewsbury trial, especially among miners.

IS must also attempt to link the miners and the engineering workers. AUEW members must put The latest poll also shows that - resolutions through their branches and districts to the union's executive asking for a link-up of the two claims.

> IS members must put resolutions of support and solidarity with the miners through trades councils, trade union branches and shop stewards' committees. Branches of IS and IS student societies should have meetings on the miners' case.

> We have decided to have a special section on this page titled SOLIDARITY WITH THE MINERS. Please send in the texts of resolutions passed, notices and reports of meetings held, examples of solidarity.

Phase Three must be smashed. It can be smashed. The miners can do it. Solidarity with the miners!

IN BRIEF

YORK:-More than 60 people packed into the Lowther Bar for an IS meeting last Thursday. Workers had to be ferried from Heneky's Bar, since then Heneky's management, after agreeing to the meeting and allowing the hall to be booked, ratted at the last minute and cancelled it. The management made it clear this was because the meeting was 'political'. Heneky's is owned by Trust Houses Forte.

BATH:-One of the biggest socialist meetings held in the town since the war was held by Bath International Socialists last Tuesday. Paul Foot spoke to more than 70 people about Phase Three, the Glasgow firemen and the state of emergency.

John Bamfyle (SOGAT) told the meeting he had learned more from a year's membership in IS than in more than 20 years before that. Above all he had learned that if workers fought the system, they could beat it. He urged all workers at the meeting to join IS.

Seven people, including a convenor, joined.

As a result of the meeting, IS has now members in many of the surrounding West Country towns-Gloucester, Stroud, Chippenham, Trowbridge and Melksham.

LONDON:-The IS Regional Committee is holding a Factory Branch School next Saturday, 1 December. This will be a working school where the possibilities and opportunities for extending IS factory branch organisation will be fully discussed. All industrial members already in London factory branches or who see a good prospect of building a factory branch are asked to attend. John Charlton, IS executive member and Yorkshire organiser, will be leading the discussion. The schoolwill be at North London Polytechnic, Holloway Road (opposite the Holloway Road tube) from 2pm to 5pm.

BASILDON:-Roger Protz (NUJ) and Ross Pritchard (NGA) were the speakers at a

meeting organised by Basildon IS to discuss the lock-out at the Southend Echo. All the strikers who came to the meeting stressed the importance of spreading the strike and of building permanent links between workers in the newspaper industry. Two of them joined IS.

MEMBERSHIP BOOST

THE Socialist Worker Industrial Conference has led to a big boost in IS membership, especially among workers in the big industrial areas. In MANCHESTER, 15 workers, including a Transport and General Workers Union shop steward, have joined since the conference, and in GLASGOW, nine of the 26 non-IS members who went to the conference have joined, and 14 others have indicated that they will join soon. The new members include three engineering shop stewards in East Kilbride factories.

DISPUTE between provincial newspaper journalists and their reactionary proprietors is flaring up all over England and Wales.

The employers are still refusing to 'unfreeze' local agreements, and the journalists have responded by calling strikes on another third of provincial daily and weekly newspapers this

The National Union of Journalists has also drawn up a 16-part 'work-to-rule charter' which calls on its members to obstruct provincial newspapers in several

ways. In SHEFFIELD Tony Bilton, the man who hired convicted criminals to break the picket lines at Chrysler last summer, is back in action, paid by the Sheffield Morning Telegraph and Star to break journalists' picket lines.

Last Friday a hired lorry forced past the 24-hour pickets, who represent more than 100 locked-out journalists, and

delivered paper. A mass picket of journalists that evening stopped the lorry, which drove into a picket's car, causing damage worth more than £100.

Furious negotiations followed between driver, police, management and pickets in which it was disclosed that the driver was Tony Bilton. Ironically it was the Meffield Morning Telegraph that first exposed Bilton's involvement in the Chrysler 'shoddy work' strike last June.

ILLUSIONS

In an interview with the paper, Bilton explained then how he hired John and David Walker, both convicted former members of what the Daily Telegraph described as 'one of Britain's most dangerous gangs, to drive lorries through the Chrysler pickets.

Bilton describes himself as 'the guardian of ordinary workers'. The journalists at Sheffield do not agree. They understand more clearly than ever before what Bilton stands for. They have also lost all their illusions in their employers' pretensions to 'an unbiassed and liberal press'.

At MIDDLESBROUGH, the Evening Gazette cut journalists' wages by £15 a week as soon as they came out on a threeday official strike last week. The £15 was paid in a local agreement. When the journalists tried to negotiate, the bosses refused out of hand. So now all 66 are out on official strike.

At SOUTHEND and BASILDON, journalists and printers won a considerable victory against the local newspaper management, but it was promptly sabotaged by NUJ officials. They came out on strike two weeks ago when management sought an assurance that in no circumstances would either group black stories written or prepared by members of

the Institute of Journalists-a scab union with only a few hundred members. Both groups refused.

On Monday management meekly accepted all workers back without getting their 'no-blacking' assurance. But the same day officials of the NUJ crawled to the National Industrial Relations Court where they were ordered to 'settle their differences' with the scab IOJ, who had applied for an injunction

Grovelling before the court, the NUJ agreed to lift the blacking.

Roy Collins, Father of the Chapel at Southend, told Socialist Worker: 'We got back to work and there was a mountain of IOJ copy which, of course, we refused to handle. Late in the morning I got a telephone call from Ken Morgan, NUJ general secretary, telling me not to black the copy. Later he rang again telling me it was "a firm instruction" of the union that we handle the IOJ copy. We put it to the chapel, and, very reluctantly, the chapel agreed to obey the union.

'But I tell you this. The feeling against head office here is running very high. We haven't had a scrap of help from them in this dispute. Not a penny strike pay even though it was official. And now they go back on the main point of the dispute-



Dogs and security men enforcing the lock-out at Briant Colour Printing

after we've won it.' BUILDERS Unite to fight' call FIGHT on buses and tubes BLACKLIST

LONDON:-Bus and tube workers moved a step nearer united action against Phase Three last week when the London District Council of ASLEF, the train drivers' union, and the busmen's delegate conference-in the teeth of fierce opposition from the right-voted for joint action.

At the busmen's meeting, old prejudices against the tube workers came out, with accusations that they sold out the busmen in the 1958 strike. But Andy Gall, a member of the Bromley garage committee which put up the successful resolution, told delegates: 'Never mind what happened in 1958. London Transport management operate as a united body and negotiate as a whole with divided unions. Past prejudices must go, so that the rank and file can fight together to improve wages and conditions,'

Rumours are now going around about top-level union meetings and one-day strikes in the New Year. But the only concrete result so far is a demonstration called by the North London District Council of the NUR for 'a decent transport system for London' and to 'End government interference in wage negotiations.'

Supporters of Platform, the London

Transport workers' rank and file paper, are producing a leaflet for the march outlining a militant policy against Phase Three. The demonstration will assemble at St James's Park station, 55 Broadway, at 2.15pm on

Sunday Busmen at garages at Wandsworth and Middle Row, North Kensington, are refusing to work later than 10pm after management's refusal to discuss protection against the increasing assaults on crews. In Wandsworth alone there have been 11 serious assaults in the past three months.

The busmen are appealing to Stockwell, Merton, Shepherds Bush and Dalston garages to join Chalk Farm and Battersea in not working over common routes. At Middle Row the next assault will be met by a one-day stoppage. A Transport Union official advised the men to 'contain the dispute' and the bus delegates' conference last week gave no support.

Geoff Whitaker, Wandsworth union representative, said: 'In my opinion at least half the assaults result from aggravation due to infrequent services. London Transport's excuse for this is the 4500 staff shortage. But every busman knows that they are so short of buses that if the 4500 turned up tomorrow there would be no buses for them to take out.'

LONDON:-MacInerney's Finsbury Park building site has been halted since last Tuesday by a strike against the building employers' blacklist. A carpenter and a labourer who started there on Monday were sacked within 13 hours as 'not suitable'. Both are active trade unionists and the carpenter, Bill Butler was until recently convenor at McAlpine's Barbican

A flying picket is being formed to get support and bring out other MacInerney jobs. On Tuesday six convenors from the biggest London sites met George Smith, UCATT general secretary, to demand the union backs up its formal opposition to the blacklist by positive measures to ensure victory.

Bonus strike goes on

YORK:-The strike of 145 Engineering Union members at Adams Hydraulics over bonus pay is now in its fifth week. The latest management offer to leave average earnings at the same level as in July but reduce to 43 per cent bonus fluctuationswhich can be so wild that there was no bonus at all in September-was overwhelmingly rejected by a mass meeting last

New boss at Briant sacks all workers

LONDON:-Just 14 weeks after the year-long work-in at Briant Colour Printers ended with a new company taking over, the plant has been closed again and all 60 workers sacked.

The new boss, Peter Bentley, and his creditors made their move late last Friday night. Soon after the late shift had gone home at 9.50pm, a hired army of Securicor guards and guard dogs was moved in to occupy the factory and stave off any new attempt at an occupation.

On the Saturday morning all employees received letters telling them that they had been sacked. The letters had been posted on the quiet the previous day while they were still at work. In his letter to the workers at Briant-

now renamed Binart-Bentley said he was losing money and could not continue in business. Overnight he and his creditors tore up the guarantees given to the workers and their unions that he was prepared to lose money for a year while the firm's order book was built up.

The operation was totally ruthless and forced through by Bentley's bankers. They now stand to make a great deal of money if only they can get permission to redevelop the site for other purposes. They bought the property off him the day his company acquired Briant's.

Speculation

Just one week ago Bentley accepted payment of £1600 from the print union NATSOPA as its contribution to the share capital of the firm. The NGA and SOGAT both made similar donations.

Brenda Horton, SOGAT deputy mother of the chapel (shop steward), said: 'This is a very dirty business. The people behind this, in my view, are in the property speculation game, not printing.

What makes me so angry is that only a month ago, Binart management took on a new SOGAT worker full-time. And a new machine minder. Another NG member was due to start this Monday morning. It makes you very sick to think that for a year we fought for our jobs and this is the outcome.'

In a statement issued on Monday the joint chapels said Bentley has 'flagrantly abused and insulted our unions who had supported and assisted him in every way possible. The way he has treated a group of workers and their unions without whose help and year-long struggle and sacrifice he could never have obtained this company, is a callous, cowardly and despicable

The closure of Briants for a second time pinpoints once again the need for a national strategy against closures and redundancies in the print. This is particularly the case in London where the soaring bank rate makes medium-sized print firms an even more appetising target for the attentions of bankers and property developers.

Victory after printers' sit-in

LONDON:-Printing workers at Baynard' Press ended a sit-in last week with victor over the giant International Publishin Corporation. IPC wished to sell the pres to another firm-which would cause 30 redundancies, and to shift the works to South London.

The printers defeated IPC, with th · support of workers in IPC's SOGA business press branch and the NATSOP clerical branch. IPC have agreed t 'meaningful negotiations' and to scrap th redundancies.

Classified

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

THE SOCIALIST PARTY aims at building a world community without frontiers based on common ownership-with production solely for use—not profit. It opposes all other political parties, all leadership, all racialism, all war. Write for specimen socialist literature to 'One World' (SW), The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4.

COMMEMORATION MEETING: 50 years since the death of John Maclean. Friday 30 November, 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Speakers: Harry McShane (fellow leader of Red Clydeside) and Walter Kendall (author of The British Revolutionary Movement 1900-1921). All welcome.

CONCEPTION OF COM-MARX'S MUNISM. Why Marx opposed state capitalist Russia and China. Saturday 24 November, 8pm, General Picton pub, Caledonian Road, London N1. The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

BERTOLT BRECHT'S The Mother, Vandyke Theatre, University, Eristol, 26-30 November. Phone 24161 ext 673, for

EXHIBITION of unofficial posters produced by community groups. Central School of Art (near Holborn tube station), Southampton Row, London WC1. 22 November to 6 December, Monday to Friday, 10am-8pm.

THE COLLIER: Latest issue now out. 3p per copy) plus 3p postage. 12 or more copies post free) from The Collier, 29 Station Road, Barnsley, Yorkshire.

PICKET on Winchester Prison: Sunday 25 November, 2pm, in support of the Price sisters on hunger strike in the prison. Further details from 88 Roslyn Road,

BRISTOL Shrewsbury 24 Defence Committee Conference: Saturday 24 November, 2.30-6pm, Central Hall, Old Market, Bristol. Speakers from Liverpool Trades Council executive and Shrewsbury Building Workers' Charter Defence Committee. All

STREET RESEARCH for practical grassroots research. Issue no 2 on Researching an individual, no 3 on Researching local authorities and the legal system. Send 15p per copy plus 5p postage to SRB, 86 Railton Road, London SE24 OLD.

LY VAN SAU Spokesman for the Provisional Revolutionary Government will speak on SOUTH VIETNAM: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES: Friday 23 November, 7.30pm, NUFTO Hall, 14 Jockey Fields, London WC1 (Holborn tube). Discussion will include the relationship of the struggle in Indochina relationship of the struggle in Indochina to those in other countries.

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I would like to join the International Socialists

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AMBULANCEMEN HIT AT FREEZE

SW Reporters
'WE HAVE WON! We want
more pay!' shouted 250
ambulancemen from Durham
as they marched on County
Hall last Friday.

The men had won payments of £2.85 for a five-day week and £3.38 for a seven-day week from a county council which had 'adamantly insisted two weeks ago that £2 was the 'absolute limit'.

In between, the Durham men went on strike and proved what the Glasgow firemen proved earlier this month—that money can be found from the most unlikely places after industrial action.

But the Durham men are still far from satisfied. They are still answering emergency calls only.

Ronnie Young, branch secretary of the public employees' union NUPE, Durham B branch, told Socialist Worker: 'This is only the beginning. Our next aim is the national claim for a decent wage.'

John Wilkinson, NUPE branch chairman at the New Harrington depot, said: 'The lads are really determined to fight on the implementation of the national pay restructuring, which we have agreed with our employers, but which has been frozen by the government.'

Ambulancemen all over the country have shocked the employers, the government and their own union officials with mass outbreaks of militant action.

Area after area have declared a total ban on all calls except emergencies. In LANCASHIRE where the men are especially badly paid, mass meetings have imposed an emergencies-only service.

The same is true now of almost all ambulance services in the country. At a stormy lay union committee meeting in Transport House, London, last Thursday, union officials only just managed to swing the vote against 24-hour total stoppages.

At the outset, the feeling of the meeting was strongly in favour of the stoppages. Ron Keating, NUPE official, declared that the union was 'utterly opposed to total stoppages', and would not support any action which included a ban on emergency services. 'Small sections, especially in the public sector,' he argued, 'cannot win alone.'

After an hour's prevarication, the chairman was finally forced to call a vote. On a show of hands, he announced 32 for the motion, 32 against. In the confusion which followed the chairman took a quick vote on another motion—for a ban on emergency calls only, and announced it carried.

In a chorus of cries of 'NO! NO! A FIX!' two NUPE stewards tore up their cards and threw them at the platform. Most of the lay delegates walked out in disgust, as the full-timers escaped through an emergency exit at the back.

On Monday, the stewards had demanded another meeting to put right the results of 'last Thursday's farce'.

Out for seven weeks

MANCHESTER:—The official strike by testers, members of the electricians' union at the six Ferranti factories is in its seventh week.

Working class solidarity, particularly from the transport industry plus 24-hour day picketing is countering Ferranti's lying propaganda and use of the police.

Socialist Worker

Name

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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS



Ambulancemen march on Durham Town Hall. Ronnie Young is third from left. PICTURE: John Sturrock (Report)

HELP OUR FUND

WE'RE just over half way thereanother £193 this week brings the total of the November fighting fund to £530. But that still leaves a lot to make up.

The fantastic fight the ambulancemen and the miners are putting up against Phase Three and the Tory government, under a bombardment of propaganda from the millionaire press, needs all the support possible: active and financial.

Socialist Worker is as important to their fight now as ever—to put the picture straight, give the workers' case and to link the separate struggles. The bosses have huge financial resources, and we have none. So send everything you can—we need to reach £1000 by 30 November.

Rush collections and donations to Jim Nichol, National Treasurer, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

Staff strike blow at Clay Cross

CLAY CROSS:—The Tory press and Tories everywhere have been given a tremendous boost by the staff of Clay Cross Council, all members of the government officers union NALGO, who have struck at the only Labour council in the country prepared to fight the Tories.

The 30 staff decided last Monday to go on strike in support of the four senior council officers who resigned in protest at the council's insistence that the council's 90 manual workers should be paid more than allowed by the Pay Board.

All four, and other senior staff, have plum jobs lined up when the new district council is formed in April. In every case these jobs have been lined up by hard lobbying by the Clay Cross councillors.

The officers, in short, have nothing to lose by their resignation. Their resignation is a deliberate political action, tacitly sanctioned by the Labour councillors who will control the new North Derbyshire District Council. Its main purpose is to break the resistance of the 11 Clay Cross councillors to the Tory pay laws and the Housing Finance Act.

Threat

First to resign was council clerk Frank Green, who refused to pay £100 back pay to each of the manual workers despite an agreement between the men's union and the council. The three other officers followed suit, and junior staff have been confused into believing that the councillors were 'attacking' the officers' 'rights'.

The Labour council stands firm in the face of this new threat. 'We are going to pay our manual workers properly, whatever the staff say,' said Graham Skinner, vice-chairman of the finance committee, who is also secretary of the local branch

of the National Union of Public Employees.

'This is like a little Chile-with a socialist council trying to carry out

socialist policies and being held up by a right-wing element in its own administrative staff.

'The executive of the staff's union, NALGO, have stated clearly that they would support the staff if they paid wages and kept down rents as we instructed. But the staff have chosen to fight us.

'We have plenty of manual workers capable of doing these jobs. We can find plenty of finance officers from the ranks of the manual workers.

'We are prepared to reconsider the withdrawal of any officers' resignation. But we can't wait forever. We are reinforced by a tremendous mood of determination among the manual workers.'

Defence begins at pickets trial

SW Reporter

SHREWSBURY:—The defence case in the building workers' conspiracy trial is now underway following the evidence of 200 prosecution witnesses.

On Monday John Carpenter, a Transport and General Workers Union member, from Wrexham, took the stand. His five codefendants, John Llywarch, Des Warren, Eric Tomlinson, John McKinsie Jones and Kenneth O'Shea will follow him.

John Carpenter explained to the court how he became involved in the 1972 official building workers' strike when he was working as a joiner with Wrexham Council.

At this time his union branch agreed to levy all members £1 per man per week in support of the strikes, led by co-defendant Eric Tomlinson. Then pickets came to the council depot and asked the lads to join the strike. A meeting was held and a decision taken to join the strike.

Then, John told the court, he joined the Wrexham strike action committee and was elected secretary. He went picketing in the North Wales area every day and had never seen any violence.

The local action committees all sent delegates to the weekly meetings of the official regional strike action committee in Chester, he said. At these meetings full-time trade union officials were in attendance.

John described how the decision to send a mass picket to Shrewsbury was taken at one of these meetings. It was taken, he explained, by the usual process of discussion followed by a vote, with the decision recorded by the trade union official in the chair.

John Carpenter told the court that he had heard pickets at Shrewsbury breaking glass and seen several bricks thrown. He said that on several occasions he had tried to calm down some of the men. This confirmed the evidence of several prosecution witnesses.

John was asked by defence counsel if he was in a position of issuing commands to trade union members 'like an army officer'.

Astonished

He replied that he could not give orders like an employer or an army officer. At this point Judge Mais pressed the matter of who was in charge, in particular who was in charge of the bus carrying the pickets.

John replied: 'If you really want to pin it down, it was the trade union movement as a whole.' This astonished the judge, who replied: 'What! 250 men, and no-one in charge of them?'

Charge of them?'

Opening John Carpenter's defence his counsel, John Reid, said that of 200 prosecution witnesses only 26 had made any reference to his client. Of these 16 had spoken well of him, six had some criticisms and only one had given any evidence about picketing with him. The picketing had been entirely peaceful.

At the close of the prosecution case last week, Superintendant Glover of the West Mercia Police, who headed the police investigation, was questioned on the investigation. He denied telling press reporters that the building employers were putting great pressure on the government to bring about a prosecution, and that the government was putting pressure on the police.

The terrible strain of the trial is now telling on the defendants and their families. One of the men, John McKinsie Jones, is quite seriously ill as a result of it.

NEWS IN BRIEF

WOKINGHAM:-Ten weeks of strike at A Johnson's have now been followed by an occupation. Management refuse to grant a £1.10 an hour flat rate to skilled workers, The men believe the bosses are out to smash the union in the factory, since the demand is close to Phase Three limits.

Donations and messages of support are urgently needed to S Butcher, 45 Arundel Road, Woodley, Reading.

HULL:-2000 dockers staged another lightning strike on Monday in support of their £8-a-week wage claim. The port shop stewards committee has also pledged its support of the National Port Shop Stewards Committee policy of a minimum 20 per cent level for new port by port wage agreements.

A mass meeting of 1500 dockers in London's Royal Group voted almost unanimously to support this policy. Southampton and Liverpool have already voted their support.

WEST BROMWICH:—Management at George Tuftin's engineering factory, surprised by the solidarity of the two-week strike by 90 workers, has attempted to get off the hook by offering victimised steward Mrs Iris Simcox first £300 redundancy pay, then suspension on full pay, and finally reinstatement conditional on a confession of misconduct.

All offers have been angrily rejected.

The strike, which has official support, remains solidly for unconditional reinstatement.

WOKING:-Robert Dilley, boss of Con-Mech, is still holding out against union recognition. The strike of Engineering Union workers at the factory is now in its ninth week and the pickets are much in need of help on the picket lines and of financial support.

All donations and offers of support should be made to Lindsay Grieg, Cox Hill House, Chobham, Surrey. Phone Chobham 8926.

Socialist Worker Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2

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