

Socialist Worker

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PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Yorkshire miners say: Defend Socialist Worker

THE TRIAL and heavy fines on Socialist Worker are further proof of interference by the law courts and the police into the activities of the Left. It is another link in the chain which includes the prosecution of London dockers for contempt of court in 1972, the prosecution of building workers for conspiracy in 1973, the use of Special Patrol Group policemen to defend fascist marches in 1974.

We urge every trade unionist in the Barnsley area to support local attempts to raise money for the defence of Socialist Worker.

Signed: A Scargill, President, Yorkshire NUM; T Bristowe, R Roberts, branch committee, Dodsworth, J Taylor, branch delegate, Manvers Colliery; B Peace, branch secretary, Clayton West; E Mountain, branch secretary, Dearne Valley.

We received a copy of that appeal this week, and it lifted us high. As militant Yorkshire miners went into the last week of their fight against the Coal Board's 'divide and rule' productivity schemes, they could spare time to appeal for funds for Socialist Worker. Our thanks to them—and our best wishes for the vote this week!

The money for the fund has been pouring in as fast as ever—almost all of it in small amounts from International Socialist branches, trade union branches and individuals. One more week as good as this one, and we'll be home and dry. The lawyers can be paid and we can raise money for building the paper.

Last week we got £956.22, bringing the total to £4,365.

We still need £634.78. Make sure we get it!

Send donations to Socialist Worker Defence Fund, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E29DS.

This week's donations:

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THE BOSSES' BUDGET

DENIS HEALEY is Chancellor in a Labour government, but his budget on Tuesday could just as well have been produced by a Tory. It was a businessmen's budget through and through.

Its central theme was that the businessmen whose system causes inflation should be protected from it—at the expense of those of us who work for a living.

Healey's main proposals are £1500 million to businessmen in tax deductions and price increases.

An investment bank for businessmen which will give them £500 million a year on top of the £705 million already doled out in government grants.

And it's not just private enterprise bosses who can raise prices. Controls on nationalised industry prices—gas, electricity, coal, transport—have been 'phased out'. Electricity board chiefs are already talking about 20 per cent increases in prices. Add the increase in the price of petrol—to 70p a gallon by Christmas—and

Healey's budget is a price increase budget.

That's not all. Healey also announced restrictions on local government spending. That means cuts in housing and education, in provision for the sick and elderly.

To compensate for these huge price increases and hand-outs to the wealthy, what does Healey propose for the people who elected him?

A family allowance increase of 60p for the second child—the first increase for seven years. And not until April.

An increase of £1.60 on the single pension—again in April. That means that next April old people will get half the miserable threshold increases available to other workers now. The pension 'increase' means old people will be even worse off in April than now—and this when the census returns show that two-fifths of old people in London can't afford hot water in their houses.

Not content with all this, Healey then warned the workers that if they do not accept the social contract—if they press for wage increases higher than the cost of living increases—he will be 'forced to reduce demand'.

That is blackmail. Put simply, it reads: 'Go easy on wages, or I'll kick you out of your jobs.'

In spite of the massive sums handed to them, businessmen are churlish about Healey's budget. 'We hoped for more!' they cry. In truth, they can't be sure whether Healey's measures will save their system. In the short run, it might stave off disaster. In the long run, they fear even more drastic inflation.

SATISFY

The capitalists have no alternative to inflation or unemployment. Workers do.

The wealth is there to solve the economic crisis and improve living standards. Look at the £872 million profit announced by Shell so far this year, the £4966 million handed out in dividends last year, or the £10,000 million by which bank profits have grown since 1969. That wealth could be used to satisfy the needs and wants of the people who produce it. But first it has to be taken from the parasites who squander it.

David Basnett, head of the General and Municipal Workers' Union, has called it the 'social contract budget'. As a supporter of the social contract he should know. The social contract, like the budget, means tax cuts for those who own industry and price increases for the rest of us.

'My Lord Mayor, we've had 5 courses and 3 wines. Now I turn to a subject that concerns us all—national sacrifice'



GALES of applause echoed through London's Guildhall last Monday night as Harold Wilson spoke about the social contract, 'a strong and confident stock market' and the need to tighten our belts. The audience—at the Lord Mayor's banquet—had just sacrificed their way through £25 worth of food and wine. That's about £7 more than the weekly take-home pay of the Glasgow sewage workers on unpatriotic strike against the national interest.

Among the social contractors at the banquet were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Ambassador of South Africa, the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia, the Charge d'Affaires of Paraguay, Lord Chief Justice Widgery, the Marshal of the Royal Air Force, and the Chief of the General Staff.

Invitations were open to anyone with a position of irresponsible power, a fat bank balance and an ability to take a vast quantity of food, drink and hypocrisy.

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Social Con Trick News

'MY WIFE and I dined last night at the Grosvenor House Hotel,' wrote John Torode in The Guardian last week.

'With drinks, the meal cost rather more than £25: . . . My old friend Bernard Dix of the National Union of Public Employees points out that about 25,000 local government workers earn less than that each week, including overtime.'

There, in a nutshell, is the social contract. On the one hand, wages are to be held below the rate of price increases.

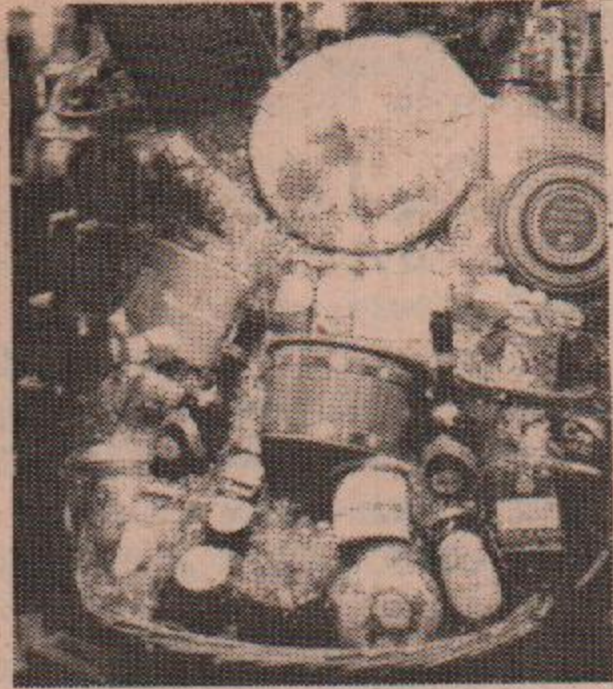
On the other, meals at £25 a go, winter cruises to the Canary Islands and a waiting list for Rolls-Royce cars for those with the necessary cash.

Michael Foot criticised the Scottish lorry drivers' £40-a-week settlement as 'exceeding the guidelines'.

It takes a fair amount of brass neck for a man paid more than £250 a week to criticise the greedy rascals who have just managed to push their pay up to £40.

Our 'left-wing' Secretary for Employment was up to it. He did not flinch. 'We face a supreme test in our country of our democratic institutions,' he told the House of Commons.

The test, apparently, being whether or not further 'extravagant' pay settlements like the



Caviar . . . pheasant . . . social contract? Fortnum's 'famous luxury hamper', not more than £250 for those able to ask others to make sacrifices.

drivers' forty quid could be prevented.

Not one of the listening MPs supports his or her family on £40 a week. Indeed, most of them would consider such pay an intolerable hardship—for themselves.

But it is too much for Scottish lorry drivers. So says Michael Foot and so says our supposedly 'left-wing' Labour government.

Mr Foot has a warning for the greedy English drivers, too. It is: 'Do as I say or I'll put the law on you!'

In case you think that an exaggeration, here are the man's own words.

'It is a matter of great practical importance, that people up and down the country should not believe that we have any intention to reinstitute a freeze or statutory control of incomes because if people believe it may happen, all the more will it encourage people to break the social contract and prevent the system working.'

In plain English, this amounts to saying that if 'do it yourself' wage restrictions do not work, then 'the system' will break down and then the government will do exactly what Michael Foot wants us to believe it has no intention of doing.

The only question is—how long before they do it?

Why the consultants are revolting

THE reaction of the part-time consultants to the threatened exclusion of private practice from the National Health Service is that of a powerful minority to an attack on its privileges.

Barbara Castle has proposed that from January, a fifth of private beds in hospitals with more than six private beds should immediately be turned over to the NHS—if they have been occupied for less than three-fifths of the time over the last two years. This ludicrous equation makes the proposal almost completely ineffective.

Mrs Castle also wants all patients to join a common waiting list to avoid queue-jumping by the rich. But consultants control these lists. She wants the scrapping of part-time contracts in the future and the end of the merit award system (where consultants hand out £12 million of NHS money to other consultants).

By IS hospital workers
in ASTMS

But of course the present part-time consultants could still fleece the NHS, and the next Tory government can be relied upon to overturn these decisions.

The proposals are hardly a body blow to private practice. Why then are the consultants so excited? The reason is political: their power inside the hospitals is threatened. The private practice issue has exploded because of the action of hospital workers throughout the country.

If consultants gave way to these weak proposals without a fight they would be admitting that the power and importance of nurses, ancillary workers and technicians is greater than their own.

These workers have shown their importance in strikes during the last two years: the power of the consultants has yet to be proven—thus their threats of 'industrial action'.

These threats should be opposed by all workers. The consultants' restrictive practises and closed shop have resulted in hundreds of young doctors, deprived of promotion, emigrating to the US and Canada. This is one cause of the low standard of health care offered to workers.

We can have no sympathy with a fight in defence of privileges which have cost us so much. The position of consultants does not come from their unique importance—all sections of hospital workers are important—but from their links with the ruling class. This position is bolstered by private practice and the 'merit award' system. **BOTH MUST GO!**

TATE AND LIAR

£30,000-a-year boss pleads: We're all in this together

by Chris Carpenter

'I AM speaking on behalf of all Tate and Lyle employees'—that was John Lyle, Tate and Lyle's £30,000 a year chairman, asking the government last week to help solve the sugar shortage.

He was speaking at a Tate and Lyle press conference, entry to which was by invitation only. Questions were not allowed.

Socialist Worker was not invited, but our reporter was there.

Tate and Lyle wants government help to maintain its British refining business only because all its attempts to pull out have failed.

Its problem is that it refines cane sugar, produced in the West Indies. Common Market rules aim to reduce substantially the amount of cane imported into this country.

As Tate and Lyle have no interest in refining sugar from beet, it will be clobbered.

The following facts—not mentioned at the press conference—show which side Tate and Lyle is on.

Six years ago Tate and Lyle bought a shareholding in C.E.I.S.—a

French beet refining company. If the original proposals had worked out it would have ended up with control of Say, the largest beet refiner in France. But the French saw what Tate and Lyle wanted and put a stop to these plans.

Between 1966 and 1972, the aftertax profits of Tate and Lyle's British refineries were more than £21 million. All this money was invested in other areas, such as shipping, warehousing, road haulage and engineering.

Less than £4 million was spent on new equipment in the refining business, and all this came from government allowances. Tate and Lyle now admit that its Liverpool refinery is very run down.

COMPARED

GMWU officials complain that Tate and Lyle has been running down its labour force for years. The Liverpool refinery will probably be closed whatever happens.

If Tate and Lyle closed down its British refining business it would be able to sell the 200,000 tons of sugar which it keeps as a 'base stock'.

This cost the company £25 a ton, compared with a market price at the moment of more than £600 a ton. The sale of that stock would produce a £120 million profit for Tate and Lyle's shareholders.

Tate and Lyle owns 32 per cent of Caroni, the West Indian sugar planters which last year made a loss

of £500,000 and was expected to make a further loss this year.

The fantastic increase in the world price of sugar changed everything. This year, Caroni made a profit of £2.6 million, and stands to make a further fantastic £6.3 million profit from selling their stocks of sugar.

In other words, whatever happens to the workers at Silvertown and other Tate and Lyle sugar refineries, Mr Cube will continue to make vast profits from refining sugar in the Caribbean.

The interests of Tate and Lyle are completely different to those of Tate and Lyle workers—here, in Europe and in the Caribbean.

For years the company has done all in its power to reduce its dependence on refining cane sugar. It was perfectly prepared to see the backs of its 9000 refining workers in London, Liverpool and Greenock.

But its plans were thwarted, partly by its own incompetence. Now its directors pretend, in another mass advertising campaign worth hundreds of thousands of pounds, that they are on the 'same side as the workers'.

They are not. The only way for workers to make sure of their jobs and to maintain wage levels is to fight against their management—and to demand the nationalisation without compensation of the sugar industry.

That would wipe the smirk off Mr Cube's face once and for all.



THE REAL TERRORISTS

By Eamonn McCann

FOUR CATHOLICS were gunned down in Belfast over the weekend as the campaign to terrorise the Catholic community into submission continued—a campaign which is not succeeding, as the mass anti-internment demonstrations show.

Less publicised was the death of 48-year-old Desmond Heatley, although in a sense, he too, was assassinated.

In February last year, Mr Heatley's 12-year-old son Kevin was standing outside his home on the Derrybeg estate in Newry when a British soldier, Corporal Robert Foxford, bored perhaps by uneventful patrols, aimed up the street and shot him dead.

After much public agitation, Corporal Foxford was charged with murder. Eventually he was found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced to three years. Tory papers and MPs were outraged. On appeal, Foxford was acquitted and returned to base, a hero's welcome from his comrades and happy half-page photographs in the Mirror and The Sun.

Last week a delayed inquest on Kevin Heatley was held. It returned an open verdict. Deeply depressed since his son's murder, Desmond Heatley drowned himself in Newry canal. His body was washed up on Sunday at nearby Warrenpoint.

LABOUR...TEN YEARS ON

ON 16 November 1964, The Times devoted a supplement to North East England—and a special article to one man, Labour Party Alderman T Dan Smith.

'What the Beatles and perhaps Mrs Bessie Braddock are to Liverpool the Animals and Mr Dan Smith are to Newcastle. One makes raw virile music; the other engineers new homes, new roads, a new city in fact. . . . They [the Conservatives] recognise the visionary and practical qualities of the man who has become known as "Mr Newcastle".'

Labour Foreign Secretary Patrick Gordon-Walker had been defeated three weeks before in a racist election campaign in Smethwick by Tory Peter Griffiths.

On 14 November, the Daily Express revealed that Gordon-Walker's local Labour Party met in the Smethwick Labour Club—which practised a colour bar.

'I did not know that there was a colour bar,' claimed Mr Gordon-Walker in the Daily Express. 'But a club is a private affair and it must say what membership it has in.'

Lord Robens, Chairman of the National Coal Board, was disappointed, reported The Times on 10 November, that NUM leaders had declined to join meetings to improve 'communications'.

'The object of these meetings is to use modern methods of communication to bring home the point we're continuously emphasising that we must have price stability to maintain our competitive position and that if we cannot maintain it, more pits will be closed and more men displaced.'

On 11 November 1964, James Callaghan introduced the Labour government's first budget. There was sixpence on a gallon of petrol and on the standard rate of income tax.

A new capital gains tax and corporation tax were introduced, as were higher pensions.

These latter moves provoked, said Harold Wilson in his memoirs, 'the first of a series of attacks on sterling, by speculators and others, which beset almost every action of the government for the next five years.'

14 days to Conference—

IT'S VITAL—AND IT'S URGENT



WITH two weeks to go to the Second Rank and File Conference in Birmingham, Bill Geddes—chairman of the NUPE shop stewards at Hammersmith Hospital in London—told Socialist Worker why they will be supporting it:

WE HAVE no illusions about the full-time officials of the union. From past experience we have learnt that it is a disastrous mistake to believe that a bureaucrat like Alan 'unfinished business' Fisher will lead a determined struggle to get hospital workers off the breadline.

Our branch is sending five delegates to the Rank and File conference. We are now also one of the sponsoring bodies.

Hospital ancillary workers will

Ancillary workers: they could present a major challenge to the Social Contract... if they get our support

have the first national claim to challenge the Social Contract. So our delegate at the conference will be appealing for solidarity and support.

We were left to fight alone last time. This must not happen again.

The miners in South Wales showed the way forward during the nurses' dispute. Their 24-hour strike was a historic step forward for rank and file action.

We recognise the urgent need for a national rank and file organisation and are giving this conference our full support.

Applications for delegates' credentials for the conference are flooding in. Credentials have already been sent out to 22 shop stewards' committees and 98 trade union branches for more than 260 delegates.

Among the new delegating bodies are the Transport and General Union (workplace) branch at Avonmouth, near Bristol, Comill Engineering Joint Shop Stewards Committee in Southampton, the AUEW shop stewards' committee at Staveley Machine Tools at Halifax, and the SOGAT branch at Maidstone.

There is still time to get credentials to this crucial conference. Don't pass up the opportunity. Fill in the form below and come to Birmingham.

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The Rank and File Conference Organising Committee has compiled verifiable lists of imprisoned Chilean trade unionists in all the main industrial and service sectors for adoption by British trade union bodies. Copies of these and a covering letter can be obtained from the secretary.

If you want credentials, get your trade union branch or shop stewards' committee to fill in this form and sent it to the Secretary, Rank and File Conference Organising Committee, 214 Roundwood Road, London NW10.

Send us credentials for _____ delegates to the Rank and File Conference on November 30.

NAME OF TRADE UNION BODY _____

ADDRESS _____

TRADE UNION
STAMP

'Left-wing' bullets—for socialists

From Jim Raftery in Lisbon

THE Portuguese Security Police fired on a crowd of left-wing demonstrators last week, seriously wounding one man in the stomach, and followed this with tear gas and baton charges, injuring 30 others.

The demonstrators were outside a rally being held by the Portugal's main right-wing party, the CDS, sponsored by its youth section, the Juventude Centrista. The left groups, to the left of the Communist Party, were prevented from entering the meeting and police opened fire after scuffles.

DICTATOR

Prime Minister Brigadier Vasco Goncalves apologised to the CDS leaders the following day—they include Almeida de Amarel, a close collaborator of the previous dictator Caetano—and gave security guarantees for future meetings.

The publicly expressed aim of the government—including the Communist Party, which recently deleted the phrase 'dictatorship of the proletariat' from its programme—is to establish normal capitalist democracy. To this end they want the CDS to become a respectable right-wing party. To achieve this they seem prepared to shoot left-wing objectors.

Although 'saneamento', the purging of fascists, is official policy, the police forces remain the same and none of the main political parties have even demanded they be disarmed. The coming elections promise more repression for the revolutionary left.

Socialist Worker

The rule of law: But WHOSE law, WHOSE rule?

THE ROW which flared up over Clay Cross last week seems, on the face of it, a storm in a tea cup. The Tory government introduced rent increases under the Housing Finance Act two years ago. The Labour government has left those rises in force everywhere, including Clay Cross.

The Clay Cross councillors were ordered to make up from their own pockets the amount of rent which would have been collected had they put up rents when instructed. The Labour government is still instructing them to pay out this money—although there is talk of the Labour Party organising a nation-wide collection to pay off the remainder.

The bone of contention between Labour and the Tories is that Labour is introducing a Bill which, if passed, would end the debarment of the former Clay Cross councillors from standing in local elections.

Hardly, you would have thought, the occasion for screaming headlines in the Tory press and talk by Lord Hailsham of 'grave constitutional imperfections'.

Yet it looks as if the Tories may even carry the issue so far as to use their inbuilt majority in the non-elected House of Lords to throw out the government's 'indemnity' bill.

The reason is not the issue of Clay Cross itself, but something far more fundamental—what the Tories and the press like to call the 'rule of law'.

By this they mean that if judges or auditors make decisions, then it is wrong for the parliamentary majority in the House of Commons to overthrow them. Any other view, they argue, is 'unconstitutional'. And they refer not only to Clay Cross but also to Shrewsbury.

It is worth looking more closely at what this implies. Judges in Britain are not elected by any sort of democratic process. Nor are they in any sense a representative cross-section of the population. To become a judge you have first to be a successful barrister. And it is virtually impossible for people without lots of money behind them to become barristers.

Judges are necessarily part of the small minority of people who own the vast majority of the wealth.

Wealthy minority

And if a majority in the House of Commons tries to cancel sentences arrived at in this way, another group of representatives of the same wealth owning minority, the House of Lords, have the power to stop implementation of its decision—for 12 months at least.

It should be fairly obvious, if ever policies really beneficial to workers were going to take effect, that this veto would have to be ignored. Yet over the really important issue, Shrewsbury, Labour ministers are accepting it.

As Roy Jenkins, the Home Secretary told the Parliamentary Labour Party on 30 October: 'The party is committed to the rule of law and judicial decisions could not be overturned unless new evidence emerged.'

Jenkins is on the extreme right of the Labour Party. But Michael Foot, of the 'left', has indicated that he stands by Jenkins on this matter. He told the House of Commons five days later that Shrewsbury was 'a matter for my Right Honourable Friend, the Home Secretary.'

In other words, if representatives of the ruling class like Lord Widgery decide that Des Warren and Ricky Tomlinson must go to jail for manning pickets, then there is nothing that Labour ministers, 'left' or right, are prepared to do about it.

All the real victories workers have gained in recent years have by-passed the official, 'constitutional' channels. It is direct, strike action that forces up wages. It was direct action that forced the courts to reverse the order committing dockers to Pentonville in 1972.

Only the threat of similar direct action will force Labour ministers to drop their subservience to the ruling class over the issue of the Shrewsbury pickets.

If we are ever going to see real socialist change, direct action will be needed in a much wider sense. It will then be necessary not only to overcome the resistance of the judges and the House of Lords. It will be necessary to do away with their power altogether—and along with that, the power of their friends and relatives who run the civil service and the armed forces.

And that is not something which is ever going to be achieved through the 'constitutional' channels which sanctify their power.



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TANKS FOR THE MEMORY?

THE FIRST elections in Greece for ten years take place this Sunday. They have been called by the veteran conservative politician Constantine Karamanlis, who returned from exile after the military junta stepped down in August.

Karamanlis' main aim was to preserve under the guise of a 'democratic regime' the structure of power which the junta had built up. As a result, the condition of Greek workers has been getting worse every day.

Prices have soared, and wages have been virtually stagnant. At the top of the unions, fascist officials have been replaced by right-wing politicians. The repressive apparatus built up by the junta remains intact and opponents of the right-wing still find it difficult to organise.

There are four parties in the election. On the right there is Karamanlis' New Democracy, which smacks very much of the old, corrupt police state he did so much to install in the Fifties and Sixties.

The Centre Union Party calls for a pro-European policy combined with a mild programme of reforms and some punishment for the members of the Junta.

By members of the Greek organisation
Socialist Revolution

The Panhellenic Socialist Movement of Andreas Papandreou uses lots of Marxist language and promises the establishment of socialism through parliament. It also claims Greece will gain from entering the Common Market.

Finally there are the two Communist Parties, which have combined for the election as the United Left. They are putting forward a feeble programme of social reforms so as not to antagonise the right and to appear 'respectable'. They have responded to Karamanlis' bluff ('it's either me or the tanks') by calling for calm and by boycotting demonstrations organised by the revolutionary left, even though these have won mass support.

Part of the United Left has even gone so far as to criticise Papandreou for advocating the establishment of socialism. 'Our aim now is the victory of democracy,' they say.

The revolutionary left faces a dilemma. The mass movement has proved it has the strength to change things. But it is not yet so powerful as to be able to impose its own solutions.

That is why its victories can be used by other forces for their own ends. The elections have come about through the struggles of workers, students and peasants and should be regarded as a victory for the mass movement.

COMPROMISE

The revolutionary left does not have any illusion that the mass movement can achieve its objectives through elections. But it does see that every vote cast for the traditional parties of the left, the Communist Parties, will be a vote of protest against the compromise between the right and the Junta, against the attempt of the ruling class to establish its rule under a different guise.

For this reason a strong left wing vote will give greater scope to revolutionaries to push the struggle where it matters—in the streets and in the factories.

And they call this socialism!

'COMMUNISM did not abolish classes,' runs a typical Polish joke, 'We still have three classes—those who have been in prison, those who are in prison, and those who will be.'

It is black humour, but it is an accurate comment on a grim reality. The Eastern European States, the so-called 'communist' countries of Europe, have survived through systematic repression of every social class.

After the war, the powers of the police were directed mainly against those who had traditionally opposed workers' demands.

But after 1948, the apparatus of terror was directed at the ruling stratum itself. Leading Communists in Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were imprisoned, tortured and in some cases executed.

In 1953, unarmed East German workers who took to the streets in defence of wages and conditions were shot down. The uprising was squashed, only to erupt elsewhere.

In Poland and Hungary in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland in 1970, workers again took to the streets, initially over economic issues. Soon they began also to demand freedom and control of the factories. They were brutally put down.

Different

Some were killed, others imprisoned. Bureaucrats toppled and others rose to take their place. Some concessions were made to the workers, but the system continued.

Apologists for Stalinism argue that those purged and executed were right wingers, CIA provocateurs or anti-communists. The facts are rather different.

Many were Communist Party members. Some rose to prominence during the post war period, others had been active in the Party before the war.

Is it possible that they were all corrupted away from socialist ideas by CIA propaganda? Or is it the case that there is something deeply wrong with the 'socialism' of Eastern Europe?

Chris Harman's new book* describes how the fate of post-war Eastern Europe was decided by Stalin and Churchill in a few minutes around a conference table in 1944. Russia got a free hand with Eastern Europe.

Then the Communist Parties began to organise to take over. But this was not revolution from below, marxist style. This was bribery, intimidation and terror.

It meant weakening and infiltrating the political organisations in which workers were strong. It meant harassment and imprisonment of workers' leaders. It even meant dividing workers in Czechoslovakia on racial lines.

What is the logic behind this story? To survive, Russia had to compete with the West in the arms race. To compete, Russia had to accumulate capital. So Russia began



PRAGUE, 1968: a 'workers' state'—so where does the tank fit in?

by Anna Paczuska

to 'milk' the countries under its control.

Russia built rockets and submarines—and workers and peasants in Eastern Europe paid the price.

In 1953 Stalin died. The struggle for power in the ruling parties was mirrored by uprisings among workers. Liberal bureaucrats replaced those of Stalin's era. But the crises and uprisings continued.

Chris Harman has brought together material from workers' leaflets and individual recollections as well as official summaries to relate the course of the various uprisings.

... 'They shouted in chorus "We are workers not slaves. Put an end to extortionist norms. We want free elections" and always loudest of all the sentence "We are not slaves".'

But they could not beat the Russian armies which put down the risings in blood. Were the risings doomed from the outset?

Can workers gain better conditions in Eastern Europe or must protest always end in a bloodbath? Can the bureaucratic states survive?

Chris Harman answers these questions in his concluding chapter in which he examines the continuing

economic crisis of the state capitalist countries.

Official schemes for economic reform are just 'pie in the sky'. The only hope of improvement for the workers lies in revolution, but this must not be confined to one country alone.

Isolation stopped the revolutions of Eastern Europe in their tracks. Since then the Russian Army has secured acquiescence. But this constraint cannot last forever. As Chris Harman concludes:

'At some point the monolith in the Kremlin will crack. When that happens the Russian soldiers will be as much affected by the general discontent as were the members of the Hungarian Army in 1956 or of the Czechoslovak army in 1969. Sixty million workers will then have an opportunity to make their mark on history.'

It is an optimistic ending to a book which examines the events and failures of the past. It is a book we can all learn a great deal from and one that no serious socialist should omit from his or her reading list.

*Bureaucracy and Revolution in Eastern Europe by Chris Harman (Pluto Press) £1.50.

Special pre-publication offer (until 20 November) £1.



BUDAPEST, 1956: workers who fought for freedom were labelled 'aristocrats' or 'fascists'

WHEN TO TURN ON...

FRIDAY
BBC-2: 6.40pm. THE BLACK MAN IN BRITAIN (presumably including women) is a new series on the 'traditions of black involvement in British society' since 1550.

SATURDAY
BBC-2: 9.25pm. 2ND HOUSE features comment on the musical about the Beatles—John, Paul, George, Ringo... and Bert.

SUNDAY
RADIO-4: 10.15pm. PLAIN TALES FROM THE RAJ is a new series using interviews with 'survivors of the Raj' about the British Empire in India. On **BBC-1** at 8.15pm is an early play by Russian dramatist Anton Chekhov. **THE WOOD DEMON**.

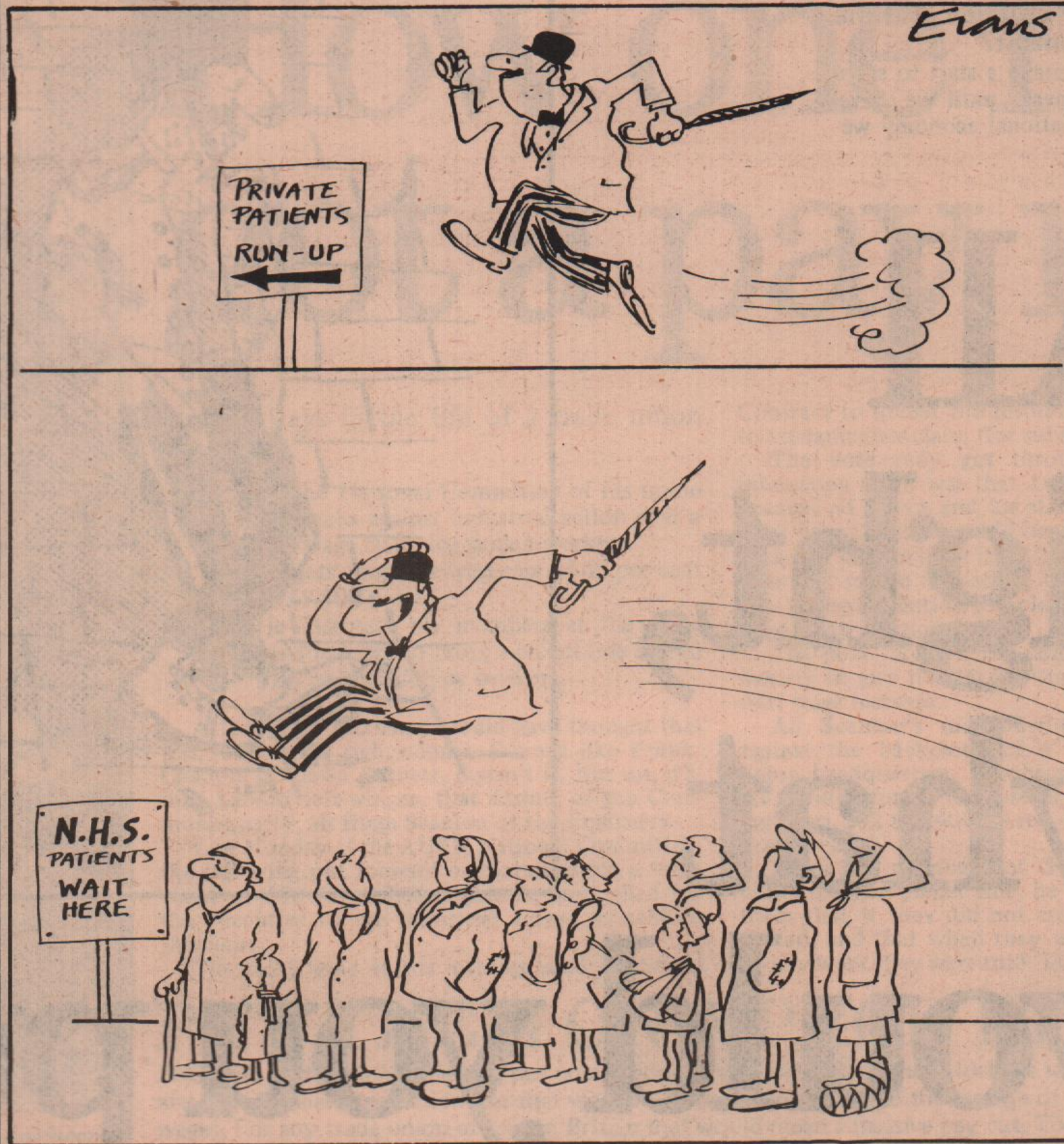
MONDAY
BBC-1: 8.10pm. PANORAMA is about the rise in juvenile offences. **INSIDE THE NEWS** at 11.13pm on **BBC-1** is a new series on the development of TV news. On **BBC-2** at 10.15pm is **THE FIGHT FOR SHELTON BAR**. Taken from the production at the Victoria Theatre Stoke-on-Trent it uses the words of the workers to tell the story of the battle to keep the local steelworks open. Its politics may be dubious, but it's worth seeing.

TUESDAY
BBC-1: 9.25pm. THE MIGHTY CONTINENT, the series on 20th Century Europe deals with the rivalries of the European empires in the 1900s.

WEDNESDAY
BBC-2: 9pm. THE WEATHER MACHINE is a two hour documentary on the changes in the world's climate—and its implications for humanity. Same time on **ITV THE MEHINACU** in **ITV'S DISAPPEARING WORLD** series is on a Brazilian tribe's life—threatened by the coming of the motorway. Nowadays it is fashionable to be concerned about the fate of the North American Indians, now they appear to have been subjugated. In South America, where the process of genocide is in full progress, there is less concern...

THURSDAY
BBC-1: 9.25pm. Roddy McMillan stars in his own **PLAY FOR TODAY**, set in a glass works, **THE BEVELLERS**. The degradation of women will be dealt with, one way or another, in **AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL** on the US beauty contests at 10pm on **BBC-2**.

Wally Belper's column



KEEPING THE WORLD SAFE FOR HYPOCRISY

ON Sunday you may have watched the Remembrance Day pageant at The Cenotaph. Her Majesty dressed in black, looking mournful. Philip cased up looking like an admiral in the Chilean Navy. And the Duke of Kent looking like the village idiot as usual.

Large wreaths are laid, a volley of guns fire and for two silent minutes we remember the dead of two World Wars. The symbol of Remembrance is the plastic poppy.

And in the middle of all those poppies is a black centre with the words 'Haig Fund'. There could be no greater insult to the men who died.

The Haig in question was the man who ordered a million men to their deaths in the First World War. He was Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, from 1916 Commander in Chief in Europe. He had the brain of a four-year-old boy (who was probably glad to get rid of it in the first place). He failed the entrance exam to the Army. But his sister was a 'friend' to the Duke of Cambridge, who had the right to get Haig in by the back door. The exam was waived.

SHOOTING

At the age of 38 Haig was still a captain, spending most of his time shooting grouse. Then in 1905 he married the Hon Dorothy Vivian, who just happened to be Maid of Honour of Queen Alexandra. Haig was appointed ADC to King George V.

With the King's help Haig rose from captain to commander-in-chief in 10 years. His greatest contribution to modern civilisation was the statement: 'The machine gun is an over-rated weapon.' To prove his point, in battle after battle he ordered his men on 'regardless of loss'. The Germans cut them down like blades of grass as they went over the top across open ground.

The machine gun can kill a man at the range of two miles. Ordering an attack in those conditions was like putting men into a mincing machine. In one single day more men were lost than in any army in the history of the world. If you like, it was mass murder.

But now on every poppy sold in memory of the dead generations of 1914-8, there is the name of the man who sent them to their early death. And in Whitehall, there like a patron saint of death, is a statue of Haig, just 300 yards from the Cenotaph that commemorates the men Haig and his class murdered.

Nothing, nothing at all is sacred to this system—not even the memory of the men it sends to their deaths to keep the world safe for hypocrisy.

IT IS a well-established fact that Prince Philip is a friend to dumb animals. Among other things, he married one. Two weeks ago last Friday he attended a special film show on animal conservation, given by the World Wildlife Trust at the National Film Theatre. Unfortunately a pigeon gatecrashed the occasion. Rather than risk the possibility of a direct hit on Philip's bald patch, the show was held up while one of the wildlife preservers got an airgun and shot the pigeon.

THE No. 1 Executive Staff Branch of ASTMS passed a resolution condemning the Social Contract at its last meeting. Among its members are 17 Labour MPs, including Harold Wilson. Harold was not at the meeting.

SPOT THE DIFFERENCE

'RIOT' was the word the police spokesman used to describe last week's battle over cattle at Holyhead Docks by the National Farmers Union. It is worth comparing the coverage it got in the national press with that given the building workers' pickets at Shrewsbury.

During the farmers' flying picket, a railway sleeper was placed on the rails in front of a Freightliner train going at 40 miles an hour. What a wheeze, eh?

Ten policemen were put in hospital during the confrontation. All railway lines out of Holyhead were blocked

with tractors and cars. Yet the Daily Telegraph described the riot 'as a show of strength remarkable for all-round good temper.' Not a word was there in its editorial about bully-boys, orgies of violence, hooligans or mob-rule.

And by bitter coincidence, the police forces that were called in to deal with the remarkable good temper that was flying about came from North Wales, Shropshire and... you've guessed it... SHREWSBURY.

So now can we expect Ted Savage, chairman of Hertfordshire NFU, and Vince Aligeri (surely not a 'foreign agitator?'), who stalled his car on a railway crossing, to be charged in nine months time under the 1875 Conspiracy Act, to be tried and to join Warren and Tomlinson in the nick?

I doubt it. After all, the National Farmers Union isn't a trade union—it's an employers' association.

Not so fast!

I WAS pleased to read that Senor Alberto Villar was blown up last week. For 30 years Villar was a terrorist for the Argentinian ruling class, Argentina's own version of Brigadier Frank Kitson. He organised the brigades of police motorcyclists that specialised in charging full-speed at left-wing demonstrations and battering demonstrators with long truncheons. He was the man behind the wave of police terror that has swept Argentina since Peron died in July. At least 130 socialists have been murdered. Although I do have one passing regret about Senor Villar's death: being blown up is a very quick way to die.

A few fair cops

LAST Saturday two small reports appeared on the same page of the Daily Telegraph. The first was about the clean-up of dustmen in Kensington and Chelsea: four more have been charged with 'obtaining pecuniary advantage.' All told 30 are now being 'bought to justice'. One has actually been charged with stealing two plastic dustbin bags.

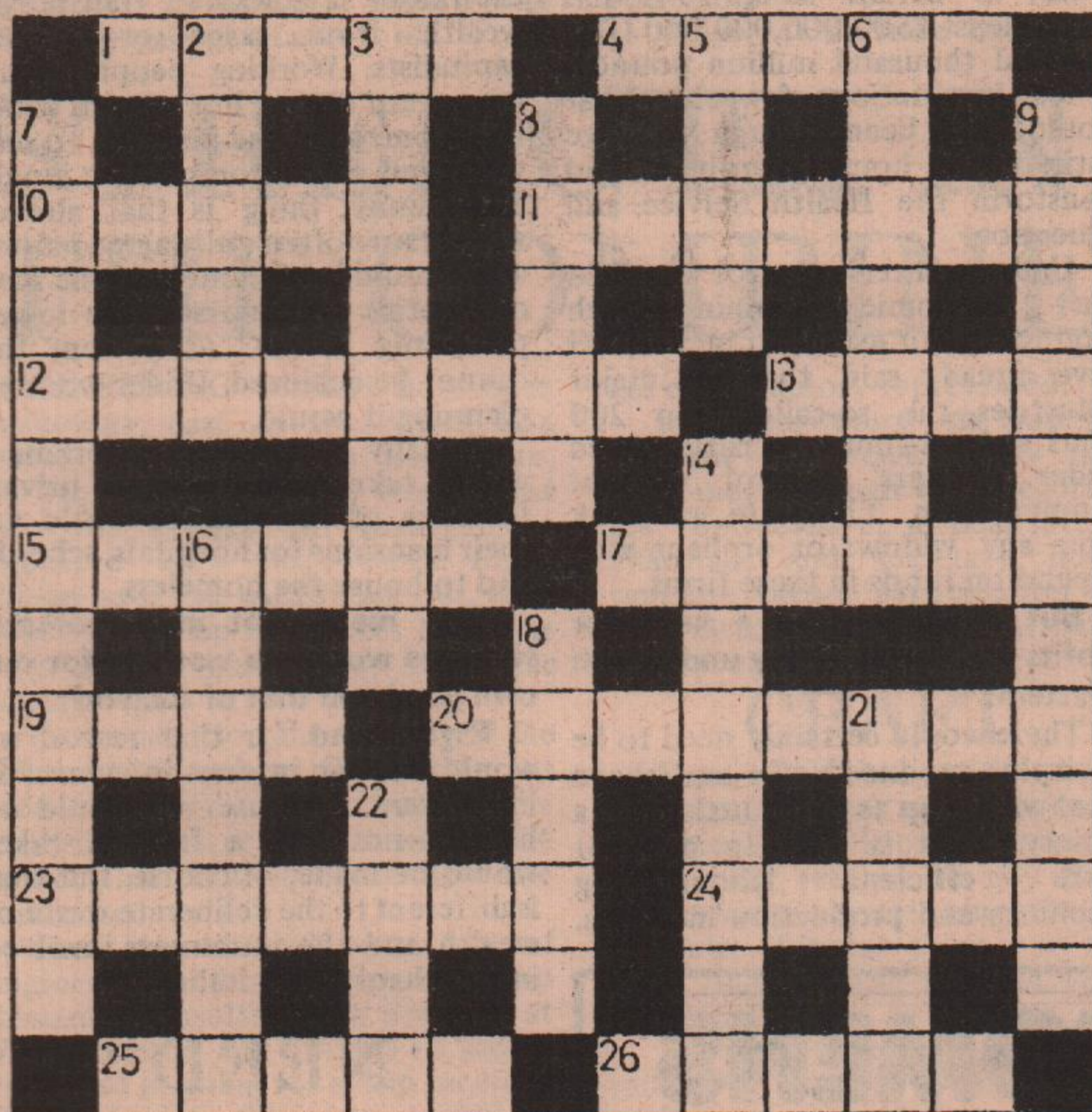
Inches away was the story of a lorry that crashed on the M5, loaded with tinned food. Police cars for miles around converged on the scene—to loot the tins. At least 120 police officers were involved, and some of the cars made two or three trips to load up. They plundered five tons.

The report went on to say that the Deputy Chief Constable of Gloucestershire, Edward Coppin, said he did not intend to charge any of the policemen because there were too many involved.

SOCIALIST WORKER CROSSWORD No 2

ACROSS

- 1: Surname of film actor who played Humbert Humbert in tame film production of Lolita (5)
- 4: 3675 million miles away from Disneyland (5)
- 10: Noode pictures (5)
- 11: Ancient seaport in the Bay of Naples popular with Roman tourists—until 79 AD (7)
- 12: How the Earl of Caernarvon found his mummy (8)
- 13: 'Z' for instance (4)
- 15: '..... of Parts': 1914 Henry Reed satirical poem on Army routine (6)
- 17: Method of secret voting compulsory for local and general elections in Britain since 1870 and popular with union leaders for reversing decisions taken at mass meetings (6)
- 19: They may be made from oak galls, iron salts, gum arabic, carbolic acid and phenol (4)
- 20: Misnomer for Manoa, a poverty stricken city in Guiana (2, 6)
- 23: It can make you deaf... (7)
- 24: Country over which Victoria was proclaimed 'Empress' in 1877 (5)
- 25: Russian author of 'In the Depths', a sensational drama of hovel-life, who became a Stalinist hack in old age (5)
- 26: The 22nd made Yossarian fly! (5)

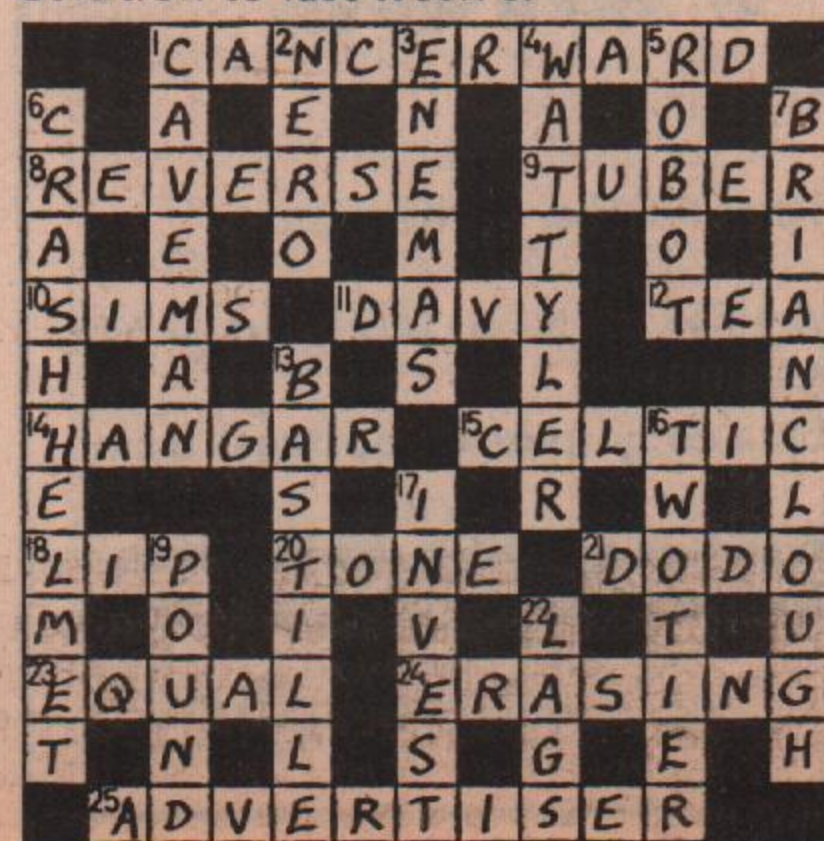


DOWN

- 2: Takes ten-per-cent bond (5)
- 3: I'm ten-ton and balmy! (8)
- 5: Condition of thousands of workers who preferred casual footwear to un-fashionable safety boots (4)
- 6: Sean Connery film on sadism in a North African army punishment camp (3, 4)
- 7: Chaplin classic about horrors of automated production (6, 5)

- 8: 'Rain, steam and': famous Turner painting (5)
- 9: Treacherous labour leader deprived of pension rights by his union for participation in the 1931 'National Government' (5, 6)
- 14: Where I'm going to in my mind (8)
- 16: Large-jawed ex-left-wing Tribunit now on Labour Party National Executive (7)
- 18: '..... written in a Country Churchyard'; tedious poem by Gray on human mortality (5)
- 21: A discoverer under water—not over 'er! (5)
- 22: Anti-aircraft shrapnel (4)

Solution to last week's:



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SEAN TREACY ON HOW SOCIALISM WOULD DEAL WITH THE CRISIS

YOU INSIST that this crisis is not an act of God or nature but of capitalism. But would these problems of inflation and the rest disappear if we had a real workers' government?

Certainly not. But a workers' government could make a start to solve some of them. The crisis is world wide and that means until we have working-class power over a major part of the international economy we cannot travel far on the road to socialism.

But how much could be done about prices for instance? After all, we would still have to buy many things from abroad, such as food.

That is true. The first need would be for a workers' government to take control of foreign trade. That means the nationalisation of the banks and major companies. Some imports we do not need: luxuries such as jewellery and the like, available only to a few. But when it comes to food, much would still have to be imported.

At present many basic foods are so expensive they are in effect rationed. A workers' government would substitute honest rationing—not on the basis of ability to pay but on need. As a result the price of many goods could be kept down.

What else can be done about freezing prices?

A workers' government would straight away close the private markets in commodities. These have been a speculators' paradise and in the past speculation during times of shortage has forced up prices of basic materials and foods to astronomic heights.

CURED

A workers' state would also take over the major retailing groups—not the small corner shops, which are more sinned against than sinning when it comes to profiteering. That would prevent any hoarding of materials during times of shortages and would make it possible to fix prices.

But could all inflation be cured in this way?

It would take some years of economic planning. This would involve the elimination of all the ways capitalism simply wastes the wealth that workers produce, such as on arms, the millions spent on ludicrous advertising, the needless red tape and bureaucracy of the state. This helps to cause inflation now.

Above all it would be possible to organise production more efficiently and that would go a long way to making inflation just a bad memory.

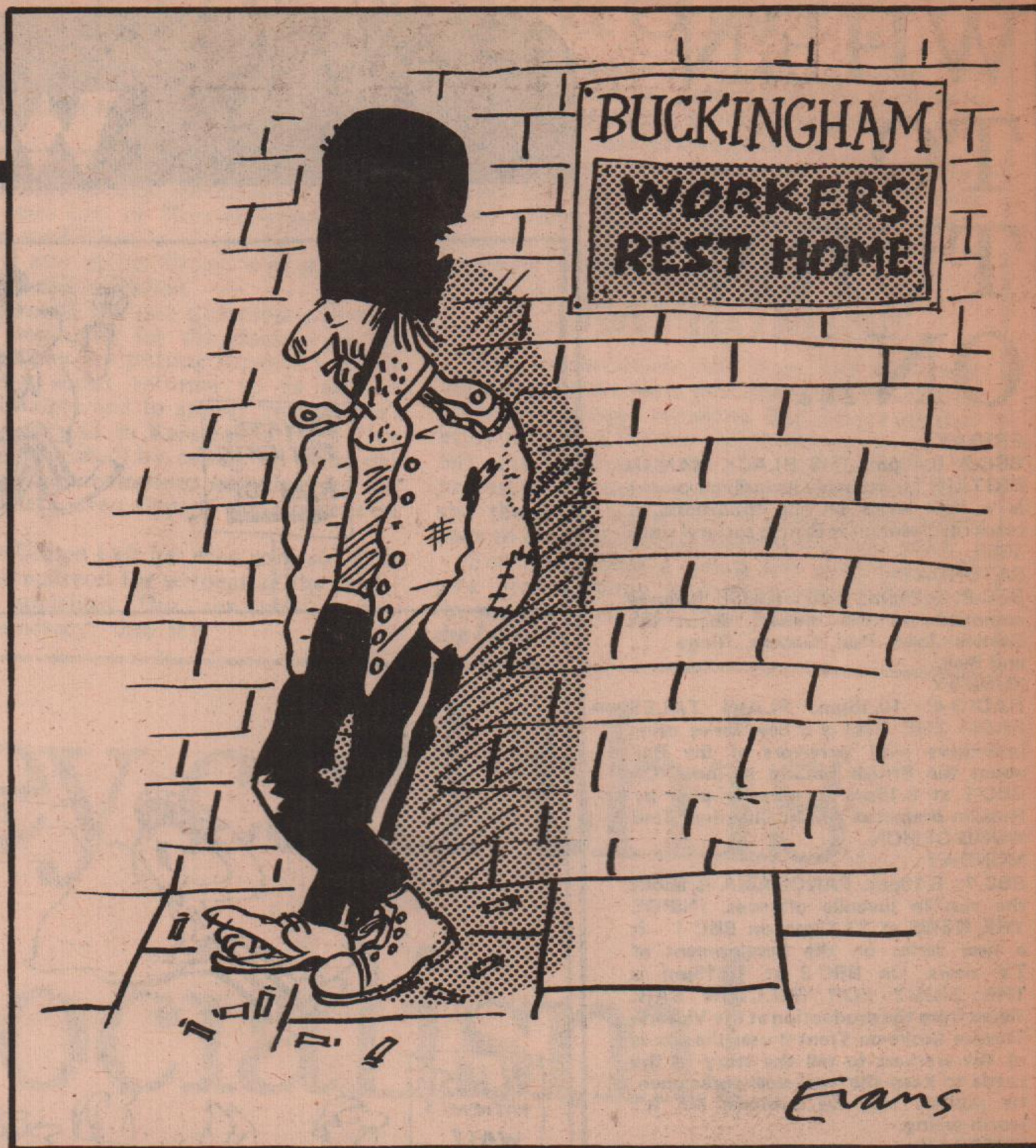
How realistic is that? Surely advertising is unavoidable.

No one minds public health or information adverts. But it cannot be right that the detergent industry, making a range of almost identical products, spends more on glossy advertising and promotion than the Health Service has for medical research. Under capitalism the people cannot decide for themselves what will be produced. Advertising is capitalism's way of creating false needs and avoiding satisfying real ones.

What about arms? Surely a workers' state would need to defend itself?

It would. But its best defence would lie in its political support from the working class throughout the world. A socialist government in Britain would have every interest

All right, what would you put in its place?



in pursuing a policy of internationalism—to hasten the day when workers in other lands come to power.

Some arms would no doubt be needed. But no workers' state could have any use for weapons of indiscriminate mass destruction such as the H-bomb, nuclear missiles, germ warfare and the like. These still cost the taxpayer untold millions of pounds a year. It goes without saying that a workers' Britain would withdraw from all military alliances such as NATO and withdraw all its troops from abroad—including Ireland.

BOOM

The talk about 'efficient organisation of production' sounds like the language of the bosses now. You will be suggesting the need for higher profits and an incomes policy next.

Let's get this in context. Under capitalism the blind forces of the market obstruct efficient production. We lurch from boom to slump, from surplus to shortage without

anyone—not even the capitalists—being able to control things. That is unbelievably wasteful.

It has been calculated that the stop-go cycle (now the boom/slump cycle) in Britain since 1945 has cost at least £500,000,000,000 (five hundred thousand million pounds) in lost production of wealth. That would have been enough to solve entirely the housing problem and transform the Health Service and education.

Under workers' control we could start economic planning with production for use. That means, as I have already said, that the major industries—the so-called top 200 firms at least—must be nationalised under workers' control without compensation. The state will look after any widows or orphans who depend on funds in these firms.

But will there be a need for profits and wages policy under such a system?

There would certainly need to be a surplus produced over and above what we use up as individuals or as a society. That is vital to pay for more efficient labour-saving machines and production methods.

Socialist objection to profits is that they are the surplus created by workers but are taken from them by capitalists.

Equally, incomes policy under capitalism is a way of transferring wealth from wage earners to capitalists. Working people would have every reason, in a system which they controlled and planned, to take wages out of the competitive jungle. The funny thing is that already workers are often quite agreed about who should benefit more in the scale of relative pay—nurses, the lower-paid, and so on. At present this cannot be achieved. Under workers' planning it would.

Equally a workers' government would take over the huge private fortunes of the rich. It would use their mansions for hospitals, schools, and to house the homeless.

You mean that in a workers' state we would be working for our own good and that of society?

Right. And for that reason we would have an interest in increasing investment. Because we would all benefit—not just a few. Mistakes would be made, of course. But that is different to the deliberate waste of wealth and the unfairness involved in the chaos of capitalism.

payments crises and having to pay our way?

As long as a workers' state is isolated it is vulnerable. In the end workers' power has to spread or the isolated workers' state is crushed. That was certainly the experience in Russia.

But it is unlikely that the working class could come to power here except as part of a movement which, for instance, was also reflected in the mass mobilisation of the workers in many European countries.

Until that happens a workers' government has to do what it can—and sometimes make compromises. It certainly would stop all foreign military spending and it would stop rich people taking their money out of the country. That accounts for a large part of the existing payments gap.

In the end the building of socialism will depend on spreading workers' power. That would give us the possibility of truly international economic planning, which could liberate mankind from starvation and disease and dramatically raise living standards. It would also make possible a society that was so productive it would liberate men and women from much uncreative labour. Liberate us for living.

But we are a long way from that now.

True. But the crisis of the system is getting so severe that working people here and in other countries will more and more obviously face a choice: replace this rotten set-up from top to bottom and start to build socialism, or slide into dictatorship, mass unemployment and maybe war. We can see the dangers around us at the moment.

That is why the International Socialists fight not only in defence of workers' jobs and pay packets but also for the creation of a movement which can take power and put mankind on the road to freedom.

WOMENS VOICE

Issue number 13 now out

Articles on Night work, equal pay, SEI, prices.
5p a copy (plus 4p postage) from

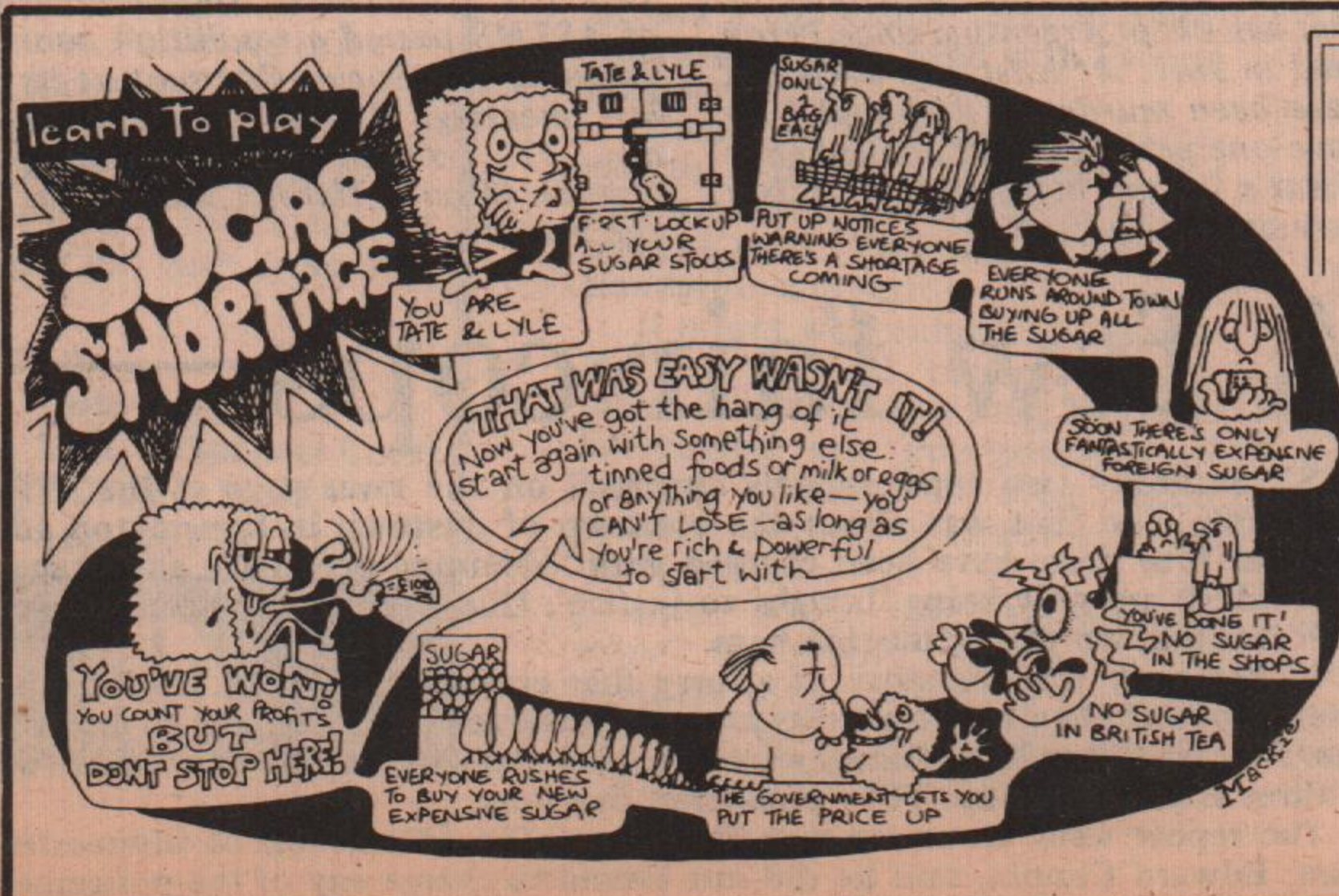
WOMEN'S VOICE, 85 Mealdes,
Harlow, Essex

NEED

But does socialist planning work? It does not seem very successful in Russia?

Of course planning and workers' democracy must go hand in hand. In Russia the bureaucrats own and control the means of production through their control of the state—their planning is blind to the needs of the people. It is designed for competition with the Western capitalists. That is why we need a revolution in those countries too.

But even a genuine workers' state would still be part of the world. Could we avoid balance of



How one man got a pay rise

THREE days in the life of a trade union official:

DAY 1: At the National Committee of his union he speaks against industrial action over a £50 wage claim for skilled workers.

DAY 2: He gets a massive wage rise of 40 per cent or £1,500 a year.

DAY 3: He instructs his members at the union headquarters to cross a picket line and to scab on their fellow workers.

A few years ago many would have thought that was some rabid right-winger. Sounds like Frank Chapple or David Basnett, doesn't it. But no, it's that Labour left-winger, that darling of the Communist party, Mr Hugh Scanlon of the Engineers.

Last Monday at the AUEW National Committee, the left wing put forward a resolution for a wage claim of £50 for skilled engineers, and called for the executive to use industrial action to achieve the claim.

The right wing at the meeting used the Social

Contract to defeat the resolution and modified it to a meaningless claim 'for substantial increases'.

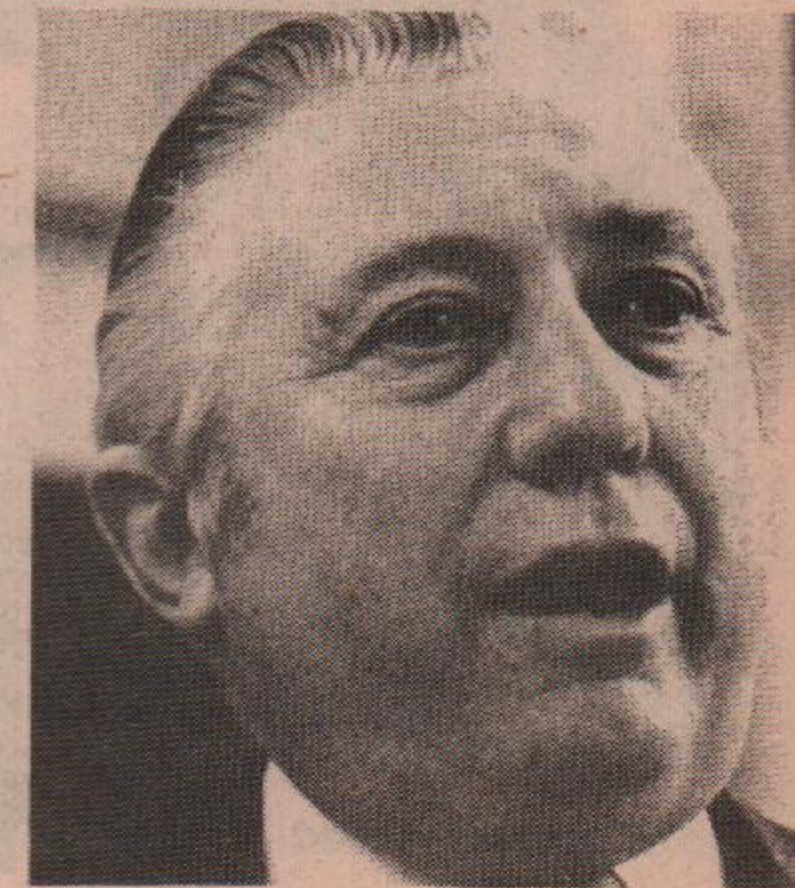
The vote only got through by 27-25. The interesting point was that Len Brindle was absent because of illness and his stand-in voted with the right wing. Brindle would have undoubtedly voted with the left, making it 26-26, and Scanlon would have had to use his casting vote. From his opposition to the resolution it is clear that he would have voted with the right wing.

The next day saw the committee agree unanimously to give its 200 full-time officials a 40 per cent wage increase.

All Scanlon's manoeuvrings are to be seen against the backdrop of a strike in his own union headquarters. Members of the APEX there are striking for an increase in the London weighting from £52 to £400, as recommended in the Pay Board report.

When 30 members of Scanlon's own union honoured the picket line, he retaliated by telling them that if they did not cross it they would be sacked, and that when they went in they were to do any work they were told. This means scabbing.

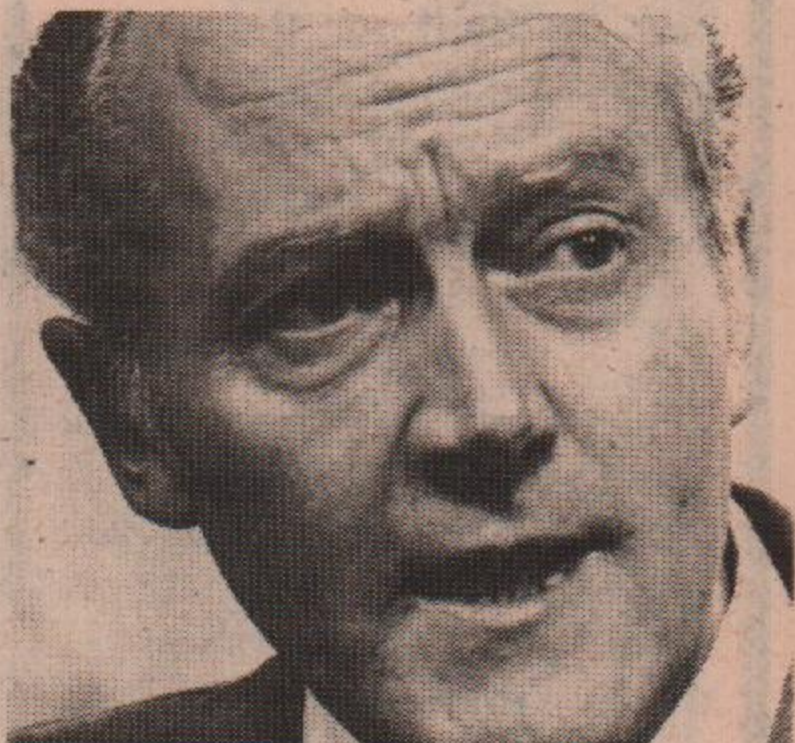
What they're costing you



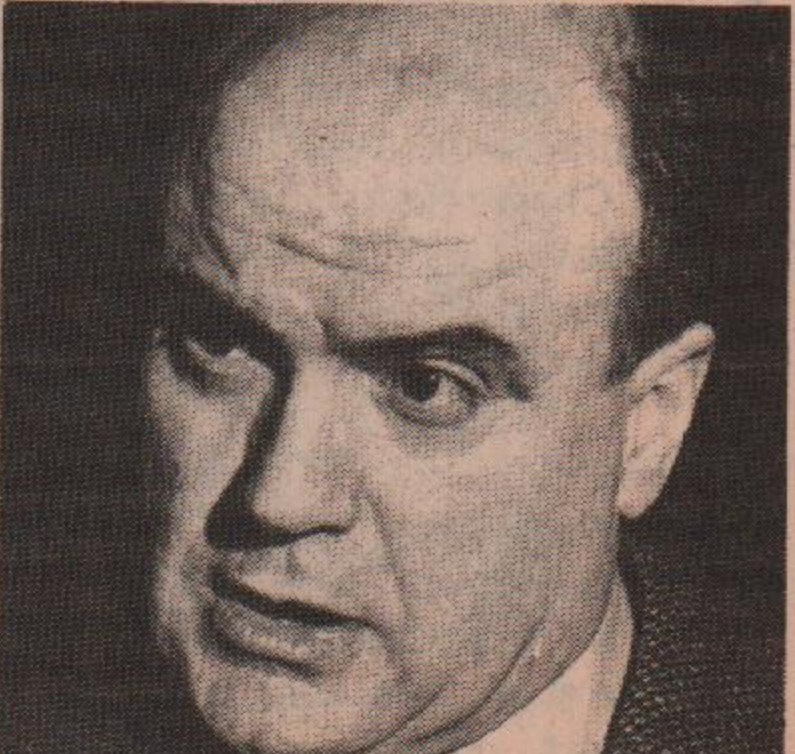
Geoffrey Drain, general secretary of the government officers (NALGO), gets £210 a week. Town hall typists get from £17 to £36.



Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport Workers, gets around £150 a week. The driver of a 32-ton articulated lorry gets a basic £22.20 a week, though in Scotland and parts of England and Wales strike action by lorry drivers has won £40 a week. Jack Jones refused to make their strikes official.



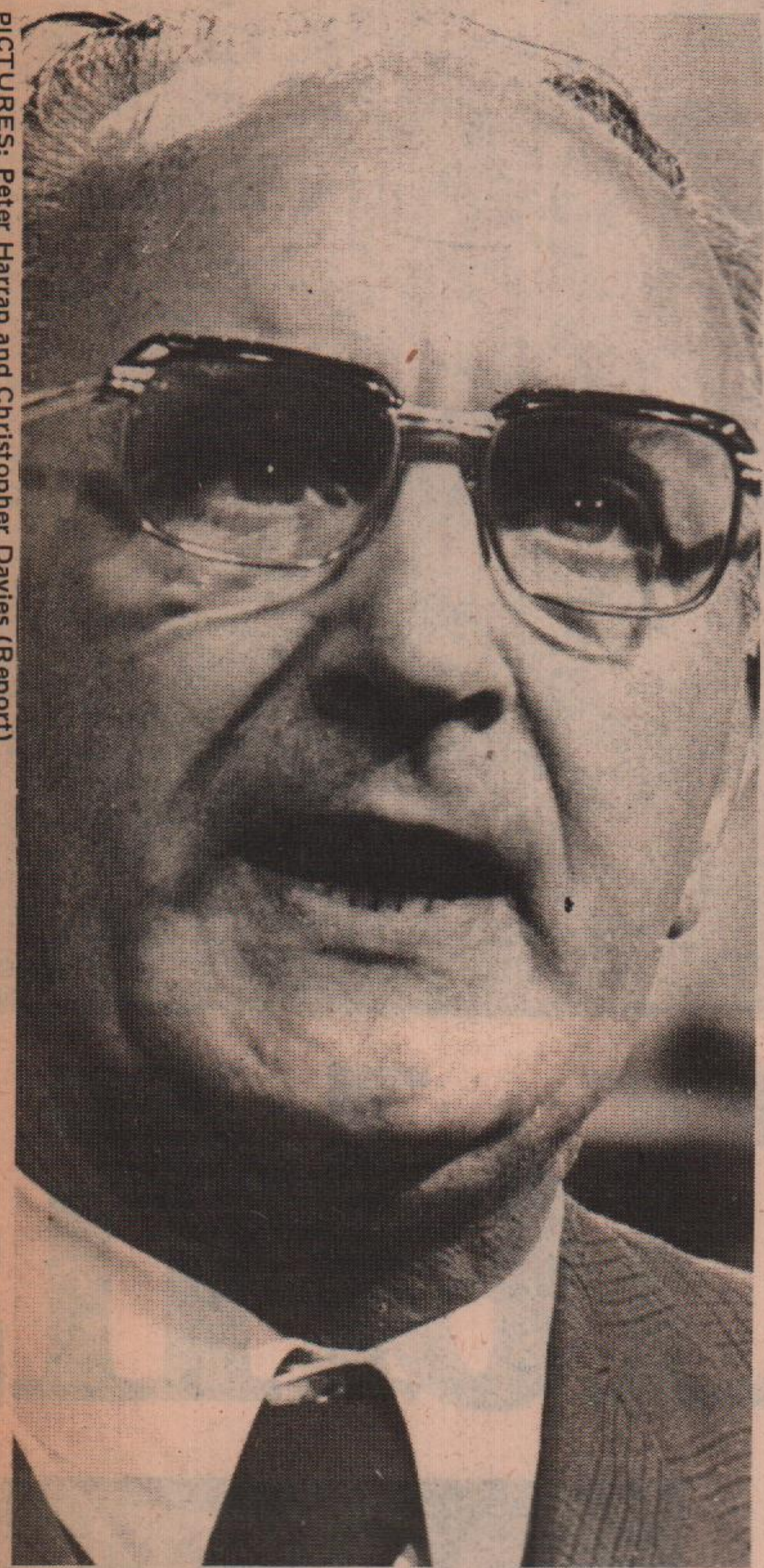
David Basnett, general secretary of the General and Municipal, whose wage is the best-guarded secret in Britain. We can assume it is very high. Some of his members in the catering industry get £12 a week.



Lawrence Daly, general secretary of the Miners, gets £136 a week. A miner at the coalface gets £45. Surface workers get less.

PUT THEM ON A PROD DEAL!

SHOULD trade union leaders be put on a productivity deal? One of the guidelines set down by Lenin after the Russian Revolution was that workers' leaders should be paid the average of their members' wages. For any trade union official in Britain that would mean a massive pay cut. The irony is that under capitalism it would put them all on a productivity deal—only if they produced pay increases for their members would their own pay be increased.



Hugh Scanlon, general president of the Engineers, now on £101 a week. The basic rate for his members in engineering is £28.50.

What the management boys want...for the union

DURING the next week, members of the electricians and plumbers union, the EEPTU, will be receiving ballot papers and a recommendation from the executive council to accept a management consultant's report. This will propose changes in the union rules to abolish the elected position of general president and create five new appointed officials.

The four executive councillors

who opposed this report will not be allowed to state their case on the ballot papers.

While members are appalled at the idea of employers interfering in union affairs, the managing director of the consultancy firm is James Dobbie Houston, chairman of JIB for electrical contracting and long-standing acquaintance of Frank

Chapple, general secretary—general president of the union.

Chapple, who was assistant general secretary—before that position was abolished after he moved on to become general secretary—has controlled the union on his own since the death of Les Cannon in 1970. The union rules stipulate a two-man leadership.

Merger talks have been used to

stall an election for general president. Chapple and the executive have even survived a court case, Mark Young versus the EEPTU, accusing them of refusing to carry out the union rules. The judge found in their favour when they argued that there was no intention of abolishing the position of general president. They claimed that the election was not in question, only the executive's right to determine its timing.

No doubt the management consultant's recommendation will be presented to the members as an extension of democracy and better representation.

If this were so, then why is the executive not going to ask next May's Biennial Delegate Conference to ratify their acceptance of the report? Because conference delegates would reject the executive line—which explains the urgency with which the decision to hold a ballot has been taken.

At the 1970 Rules Revision Conference, the executive declared that ballots would only be held in an emergency. A situation which has existed for four years has suddenly become an emergency!

Another argument the executive will no doubt put is that the report's acceptance will mean a cutback in union costs. This is nonsense. If the wages of full-time officials were cut, and made equivalent to the average wage of the union's members, then there would be a real saving. The EEPTU employs more than 150 full-time officers. Only 15 are elected.

Members of the EEPTU who are also members of the International Socialists call on all EEPTU members to vote against acceptance of the report. We ask you to support the demands of the unofficial Reform the Union rally, held in Birmingham in May this year. The rally was attended by 600 delegates. The rally called for an immediate election for general secretary and proposed the rule changes necessary to restore some measure of democracy in the EEPTU.

VOTE NO TO THE REPORT.

STRENGTH IN THE COMBINE

ENGINEERING workers have been occupying part of the Metal Box factory at Westhoughton, Lancashire, for five weeks now. They were forced into the occupation: management retaliated to a work-to-rule for a 40p-an-hour rise with a lock-out, then police broke up the picket line. The only answer was to get inside the factory.

For occupation the support of the Metal Box Combine Committee has been vital. Combine chairman Charlie Limb and secretary Alan Atkins spoke to Socialist Worker about how the committee works.

The committee, made up of Engineers' and Electricians' shop stewards, consulted with the men at Westhoughton and decided to follow their lead in going for a 40p increase. They adopted the same tactics, a ban on personal tools, in all the other factories.

And they started a levy of £1 a week per man, collected by all the craftsmen in the combine, and a total black on all Westhoughton work.

In a multinational company like Metal Box—which produces packaging in factories all over the world—blacking is vital if the company is not to defeat every struggle by shifting work from one factory to another, or closing the factory down.

The combine committee was set up five years ago and has official union backing. Over the past year a great deal of work has been done to

get every factory represented.

It meets every six months in London to discuss policy for the combine, although wage negotiations are conducted at a local level. The chairman and secretary hope to organise future participation to the local factory, to increase participation in the committee.

CRAFT

Metal Box has made continual attempts to break up the committee. In this latest dispute some of the firms have refused to pay the stewards while they are going to combine meetings although there is an agreement that stewards get paid while on union business.

The one drawback to the committee is that it is limited to the craft unions and does not cover the production side at all. At Westhoughton, with Transport Union members crossing picket lines and only one TGWU steward supporting the occupation and raising money for it, the importance of extending the committee to include the production side is obvious. It is hoped that through the dispute and through the solidarity shown by the craftsmen at the other Metal Box factories, the production workers and their stewards will see the potential and the necessity for such combine organisations.

SHEILA MCGREGOR and PAUL KENNEDY.



IS BOOKS

have recently received deliveries of the following books:

- Revolution and Counter-revolution in Spain—Morrow—£1.25
- Wedlocked Women—Lee Comer—£1.
- Scream Quietly (about battered women)—Pizzey—45p
- Chile's Days of Terror (eyewitness accounts)—75p
- Poets to the People (South African Freedom Poems) 85p
- Study War No More (Military involvement in British Universities and Colleges—CND pamphlet) 20p
- Class Conflict in Egypt 1945-70—Hussein—£1.90
- James Connolly Songbook—15p
- From Spokesman Books: Flixborough Disaster—Grayson—35p; Consumerism—A Roberts—25p; Repression and Exploitation in Indonesia—95p; Hong Kong, a Case to Answer—36p.
- Available again—Women's Rights—Coote and Gill—6pp;
- Ten days that Shook the World—Reed—45p



Please add 4p postage on each pamphlet, 7p on books

IS BOOKS, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

To think we buy gowns lined with ermine For dol

MANCHESTER'S 'new Moss Side Centre' is nearly four years old. Its first tenants had hardly moved in when the battle began against appalling conditions and council indifference.

That battle, which has included a rent strike, demonstrations and an occupation of an unfinished council house on a neighbouring estate, is still going on.

And it came to a head recently when many of the 1000 tenants staged their latest protest: a pram march which halted rush-hour traffic.

It brought what could be a

major victory for the families of Linbeck Crescent, Gretney Walk and Arnsby Walk. The council housing committee has promised to re-house them all.

But this has to be ratified by the full council. And much is left to the goodwill of officials.

The tenants, at least, have cause for optimism. The council, meanwhile, will have to explain how hundreds of thousands of pounds of our money was spent on three eight-storey blocks which, less than four years after completion, are fit only for demolition...



Get us out of this

FACT

THE amount of empty office space in the City of London has nearly doubled this year to 1,200,000 square feet. A quarter of this increase, according to land agents Debenham, Chinnock and Tewson, is space 'surplus to the requirements of stock brokers'.—Daily Telegraph, 15 October.

THE number of bricks stockpiled in Britain is 735 million—enough to build 60,000 houses—compared with 178 million this time last year. The highest number ever stockpiled was 1,120 million in 1969-70.

The London Brick Company at Bedford, the biggest brick-producing company in Europe, announced 1000 redundancies last month. Department of the Environment.

THE number of new homes completed in the first nine months of this year was 193,000, the lowest figure since 1952.—Department of the Environment.

THE number of homeless women and children in hostels in the London area has doubled in the last year from 15,000 to 30,000.—Shelter.

THERE will almost certainly be a quarter of a million building workers unemployed by Christmas.—President of the Building Trades Employers Federation in a speech on 7 October.

LOCAL councils in England and Wales spent £875,387,000 on housing in 1972-1973.

Of that, £481,974,000—more than half—was spent on interest charges on money borrowed for house-building.

IT'S NOT EASY to tell about life on Moss Side. The difficulties we face and the degradation we suffer are almost unbelievable.

The interior walls, made mainly of compressed straw, are riddled with bugs and spores before they are installed. The central heating system encourages them to breed.

You first find out about them when they drop off the ceiling or when the kids are covered in bites. Some people have opened their mattresses or stripped the wallpaper to find a seething mass of bugs. A number of families had to abandon two lots of furniture.

The council says we brought them with us. But in some cases where 'flats without bugs' have been fumigated, loads of them have appeared afterwards.

Some flats have actually been fumigated 12 or 13 times, but it's made no difference. The only thing that will shift them is fire.

The trouble is that fire shifts everything. There's a modern fire station not 40 yards from our block, but in the five minutes it took them to get to one fire, the place was completely gutted.

There was nothing left of the 'fireproof' straw walls.

There are also rats, mice and beetles. One woman caught 12 mice in one day. Another found two rats in the cot of her four-month old baby.

Yet a housing official said recently that there wasn't a plague of mice... it was one mouse running between all the flats in the three blocks.

These officials treat us with nothing but contempt. A lady of 82 couldn't open the closet door as it would have come off.

Lucky

Her grandchildren's favourite game was passing letters to each other, from bedroom to living room, underneath the wall. All her skirting boards were completely off, and she had gaps between the walls all around the flat.

We took a list of all the repairs down to the office. Jones, who's known as the superintendent because he's in charge of the caretakers, went up to see her and said:



'You're lucky to have a house at your age, you should be in the workhouse'. She died not long after that.

Another woman complained for seven months that each time she used her toilet she suffered an electric shock. They advised her and her family to wear Wellington boots.

All the flats suffer from sticking windows, sinking stairs, sink units falling apart, warped cupboard doors, skirting boards falling off, disintegrating floors and an enormous number of cracks.

Circuit

There is dampness and flooding from upstairs ceilings, caused by rain water seeping through cracks in the outside landing of the floors above. It collects between the concrete beams and periodically overflows.

In many cases, this water short circuits the electrical system, which results in either a fire or no electricity.

To get any fault repaired can take two years or more. I've been waiting two years and nine months for a heating return valve and a replacement bath.

A friend has never had a lighting fixture in her bathroom since it was finished two years ago.

Rubbish is collected if the lifts happen to be working when the dustmen call.

Once, when the lifts weren't working for six weeks, the landings were littered with bags of rubbish. The Town Hall officials were finally persuaded to come down.

By
John
Miller

A
Moss
Side
tenant

They were due one morning at ten o'clock. At half past eight, 300 workmen appeared with 40 corporation wagons. They threw all the bags of rubbish over the landings into the wagons, and swept the place spotless just in time for the officials.

The strain of living under these conditions has a terrible effect on many families. Quite a few marriages have broken up, many women are on tranquillisers and some people have turned to alcoholism.

Your sex life is ruined because the walls are so thin that neighbours can hear everything.

When I come home after work and see the flats, my stomach knots and I get a feeling of utter depression and despair.

No amount of alterations will change my feelings—only our rehousing and their demolition will do that.



Life on Moss Side: Brenda Brownlow, whose home was 'fireproof straw walling' is. Right: her youngest child fallen from balconies that had no safety rails.

IN BRITAIN'S big cities, twice as many people are homeless today as ten years ago.

Hundreds of thousands of families still live in slums.

Yet politicians of both major parties have allegedly been on the verge of 'solving' the housing problem for years.

In 1951, the Tories were elected after promising to build 300,000 houses a year. In 1966 Labour came to power on the pledge of 500,000 a year.

This year, first the Tories and now Labour have presided over a slump in the number of houses built to 193,000.

The Tories' traditional boast of a property-owning democracy—in which every family would own its own home—has looked a bit hollow over the last few years.

The houses are, in fact, owned by the banks, building societies and mortgage companies—and they are able to extract even greater amounts

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in interest pay

Despite the of homeless, the new houses Britain because afford to buy

Labour's so housing, has a The big business the council est as tightly as of society.

The Tory H Act forced re

Pictures: John Sturrock (Report)

ts that can't or won't determine How best to rid us of our vermin



At last the people in a body
To the Town Hall came flocking.
'Tis clear they cried
Our mayor's a Noddy
And as for the Corporation—shocking.
To think we buy gowns lined with
ermine
For dolts that can't or won't determine
How best to rid us of our vermin.
Rouse up sirs, set your brains a'racking
To find the remedy we're lacking
Or, sure as fate, we'll send you packing.
At this the Mayor and Corporation
Quaked with a mighty consternation.

The Pied Piper of Hamelin, Robert Browning

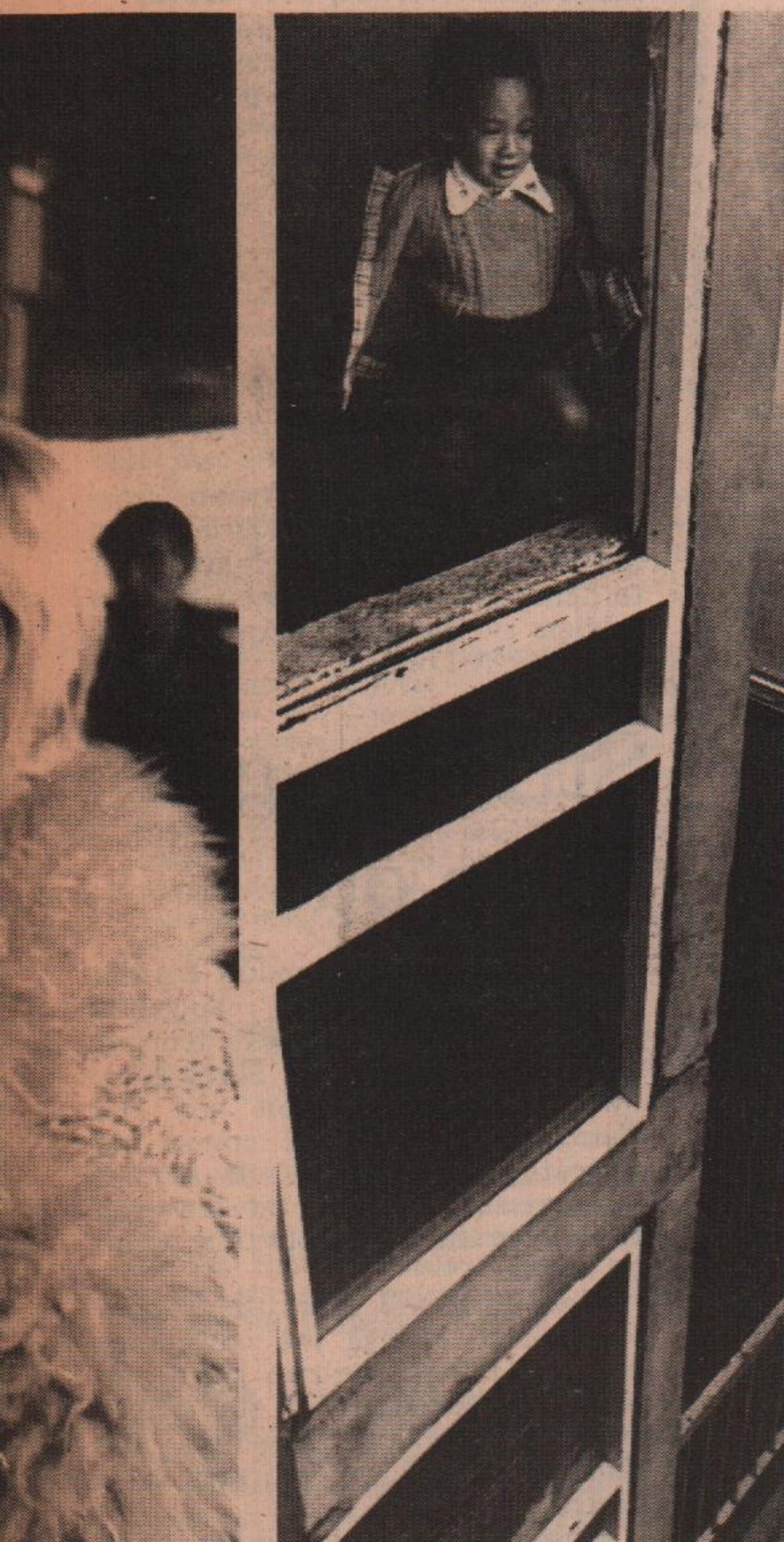


These rats were killed by a dog: one woman found two in the cot of her four-month-old baby

s hell!

The Moss Side blocks were built by Mathews and Mumby and, in later stages, by Concrete Ltd in 1970 and 1971. The tendered cost was £1,966,263. The actual cost is still being worked out.

A spokesman for Manchester Corporation said this week: 'The Housing Committee's policy is not to demolish these flats. Instead, it will, over a period, rehouse all families with children. The Committee doesn't believe the flats are suitable for children, though the flats will be occupied—by adults.'



gutted in five minutes, shows how 'fireproof' the Winston at an unguarded window. Two children have



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where they provided profits for the council and paid off enormous interest charges. The Labour government has left intact the rent rises of the past two years, while postponing further increases for a few months.

But that is not all. Whenever governments have felt compelled to make cuts in their spending to increase the profitability of private industry—as at present—the housing

programme has been the first to suffer.

The spending cuts mean a drop in the number of houses built and a continual decline in the standard of council housing.

The authorities' behaviour is made possible by the reaction of the working class movement. Workers long ago learnt that merely voting for the 'left-wing' candidate in elections does not protect your wage packet. You need to apply continual, direct pressure, through shop floor

organisation and strike action.

But the working class movement still leaves the housing question to Labour councillors and MPs,

The housing problem will only be solved when workers use their industrial power for non-industrial ends.

In other words, when a political movement is built which uses direct action to challenge the control by big business not only of the factories, but of the whole range of social and political issues.



TOP: A motorist tries to drive through the protest march, narrowly missing a pram. He is answered with a placard through his windscreen. ABOVE: Police arrest Liam Smyth, breaking his arm in the process. He had tried to restrain his wife from attacking a constable who had thrown over their little boy. He was charged with assaulting the police.

LETTERS

LEST WE FORGET -WHAT WE LOST

WITH Remembrance Sunday with us recently my eyes were caught by some calculations in a very old newspaper made by 'Victor Berger, the socialist representative for Wisconsin in the USA.'

He reckoned that the 1914-1918 War cost 30,000,000 lives and £80,000,000,000,000 in property. With that money could have been built a new house costing £500 for every family in the USA, Canada, Australia, Britain, Ireland, France, Belgium, Germany and Russia.

All could have been given £200 worth of furniture and five acres of land at £20 an acre—£800 a family and still leave enough to give every city with at least a quarter of a million people in those lands a £1 million library, hospital and university.

During 1914-1918 the working class in cities like Glasgow, Dundee, Leeds and London lived in abominable slums, in Germany and other countries they suffered awful hunger.

When the Glasgow workers (not to mention Sheffield and Wales) protested against their poor wages the capitalist press smeared them all over their front pages. When German workers struck they were shot down in the streets. Yet that war was said to be for a better world.

When will the workers of the world see that the only war in which their interests are really involved is the class war? When we win that, wars for sources of raw materials will cease, we will have done with the struggle for markets.

Then humans will give freely according to their ability, so that they can take according to their need.—HARRY CUNNINGHAM, Glasgow, E3.

'Incredible racist anti-Irish drivel'

MIKE BRIGHTMAN, in his report on the Guildford bombings (12 October) condemns the IRA. Apart from the fact that the least we Irish socialists can expect from the British Left is total, not conditional support for the armed struggle of the Irish working class, the condemnations are made for entirely false reasons.

Bombing, he states, kills 'innocent people'. Is he trying to say that members of the British armed forces—those who can and do murder Irish civilians, torture internees and harass them at will, and then return to their bases in Guildford or anywhere else for their off-duty entertainment—are not targets for an anti-imperialist army?

This is, after all a war against British Imperialism. It started in your country and the Irish people have every right to carry the war back to the doorsteps of the Imperialists in England.

Instead of trying to completely smash their pro-imperialist illusions, you print the most incredible racist anti-Irish drivel on the letters page. A letter (12 October) states, 'The role of the IRA is a struggle against

SOCIALIST WORKER'S support for the struggle of the Irish people (not, as Ms Ruddy seems to imagine of Irish socialists exclusively) against British Imperialism is total and unconditional, whether those struggles be armed or otherwise. This does not free us from the duty to point out where the tactics of Irish anti-Imperialist organisations seem to us wrong. This is what Mike Brightman was attempting to do in the article she complains about.

Ms Ruddy takes off into the realms of

A flea in the ear for the bug on line...

ABOUT A YEAR ago police swooped on my house, searched it, took away political literature, my address book and arrested my wife and two year old son, her friend and six-month old baby. They were acting on information which could only have come from a phone call I'd made earlier in the day from Shrewsbury, where I was part of a demonstration against the trial of pickets for conspiracy.

I pointed this out to the police officer who later arrested me. He told me the information had indeed come from a crossed line—but couldn't explain how it was traced to my house. We could prove nothing, and the matter was dropped.

Just last week a friend phoned me and said he thought that the phone was being tapped. A little later we could both hear voices in the background. I said the police were pretty incompetent even at tapping phones. My friend let go a few choice insults at the police.

Then there was some clicking and a voice, clear as a bell, cut in on the line and told us to stop using obscene language on a public service. My friend let off a stream of swearwords at the intruder. I asked him what right he had to listen to a private phone call.

He claimed he was a representative of the Post Office, was tapping our call, and didn't want to hear any more foul language. I told him to get the fuck out of it!

He replied that he'd trace our numbers and report us to the police. My friend and I finished our conversation somewhat stunned by what had happened.

I then phoned the National



Council for Civil Liberties. They told me the only person with authority to order the tapping of phones was the Home Secretary, and that his office wouldn't talk about individual cases so nothing could be proved.

Then I phoned the GPO. Eventually I was put through to 'Traffic'. A spokesman said he'd check with the engineers to see if anyone had been listening to our line to check for quality. But he thought it unlikely, as we hadn't complained about the quality of

our phone calls.

He pointed out that there had been recent cases of private eyes tapping phones and suggested that somebody might be tapping the the phone without the GPO's knowledge.

The next day he phoned me back and confirmed there were no engineers on the line, he could offer no explanation. The engineers had checked the lines and could find no tapping devices. What had happened must have been a 'freak occurrence'...STEVE DRAKE, Colchester.

BOMBINGS -WHY THEY HAPPEN

THE BOMB in Woolwich far from hurting the authorities, is striking a blow against those socialists and workers who support the Irish struggle. After the continuous arguments we have in our workplaces on Ireland winning people over, the splash of crocodile tears about the bombings on the media puts all that work back to square one. Thus it is more important to argue the reasons why the bombings happen.

In 1967 in Aden the point was driven home, in the Army camp a prisoner was brought in for questioning. He had his ankles and his wrists tied behind his back to a stake which lodged into the back of his neck.

Throughout the night soldiers were encouraged to piss on him and kick him. The look of horror on that man's face, as he appealed to strange white soldiers, as he appealed for mercy in his own tongue, which nobody understood, reminded me always of the lack of power soldiers have to challenge successfully their orders.

If he had been my father or my uncle then there would have been no lengths I wouldn't have gone to for revenge.

In the society we live in the rule is get back at those that hurt you, we learn that through experience. People are learning this in Northern Ireland, what happened in Woolwich is a small reflection of what is happening there.

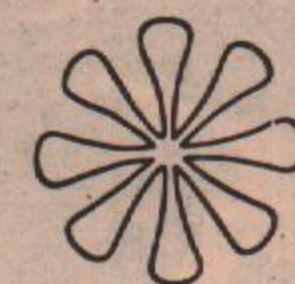
The blame must rest with our rulers, in greed they are prepared to spill blood. We have to campaign for the withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland. Free determination for Irish people. Trade unionists have to demand for trade union rights for soldiers in the British Army.—NEIL DAVIES, N London.

Strike to get them out

SO NORTH WEST London District of the International Socialists picketed North London MPs demanding the release of the Shrewsbury Two, Ricky Tomlinson and Des Warren. They will of course get sympathy and promises from Left Labour and lectures on law and order from the Right, But they won't get action.

One thing will make the Labour government change the conspiracy laws and release the two jailed pickets. The spreading of the strikes which Liverpool, London and Manchester building workers have started.

Only militant rank and file action will succeed. Spread the strikes to release the Two.—BOB WOOD, London, W7.



Please send us your letters. Address them to: LETTERS, Socialist Worker, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2. All letters must be signed—but specify if you don't want your name published.

We are the greatest!

MUHAMMAD ALI always was the World Heavyweight Boxing Champion to oppressed people around the world. He has been an expression to those people in struggle.

Boxing is one of the few things that black people were allowed to succeed in. But they were always compelled to say how fine the system was when they made it. Ali is different—he has spoken out against oppression.

He refused to join the army and go to Vietnam. 'The Vietcong have done me no wrong,' he said. For this the US government threatened him with jail, tapped his phone, and wouldn't let him box.

But he refused to be beaten or to apologise. Four years later they let him fight again—against Joe Frazier. Frazier won and President Nixon personally congratulated him. But now Ali, tougher than ever has beaten George Foreman.

Now Ali is no socialist, he's probably never heard of it. But he's a fighter, a man who won't quit. He has a fighting spirit that black and white workers are feeling. He has the strength that won't be beaten. The message is clear. We are the greatest!—RON SENCHAK, London N15.

fantasy when she accuses us of condoning 'incredibly racist anti-Irish drivel' on the letters page. Letters express the opinions of the letter-writers, not of Socialist Worker. And, anyway, SW has carried many, many more letters supporting Ms Ruddy's attitude than against it.

The allegation that SW has not pointed to the fact that it is Protestant ultra-right groups, not the IRA, who use the tactic of sectarian murder is scarcely worth answering. Ms Ruddy must read few issues of SW. With regard to the Socialist Workers

Movement Ms Ruddy is right. The SWM does insist that the mass anti-Imperialist movement which urgently needs to be built in the South must be a working-class movement based on the rank-and-file organisations of the class. That means taking up, as a main priority, the fight against the social contract—nonetheless genuine for all that it has not been formalised as in Britain—between the trade union bureaucracy and the Labour-Fine Gael government. Ms Ruddy evidently disagrees with this perspective and in this, too, she is wrong.

terms as the bourgeois press by using their very jargon 'bomb terrorism' etc ad nauseam.

It comes as no surprise to read of the outlook of your fraternal organisation in Ireland the Socialist Workers Movement, whom you report as saying that the role of Irish workers is to join a coordinated rank and file movement to fight a non-existent social contract in the South.

No mention of the most important task of the Southern working class at the moment—the building of a mass anti-imperialist movement in order to combine both the economic and political struggles against British Imperialism, both North and South!!!

The anti-unionist population now face the prospect of another loyalist lockout, and a handing over of power, after the Convention Elections, from the Imperialists in England to their right-wing and semi-fascist lackies in the Loyalist ranks. It is now more essential than ever that the British Left take a clear and principled line on Ireland and that they translate their words into actions very soon.—BRID RUDDY, Belfast.

Postal Points

COMMENTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIALIST WORKER DEFENCE FUND

The appeal we've made to the readers of Socialist Worker has met with a heartening response. We print below a few of the comments of our readers who sent in money—and our thanks to everybody! Receipts are being sent out.

PLEASE ACCEPT the enclosed to help fight the barbaric judgement in the Paul Foot contempt case.—DJWILLET, Grimsby.

GOOD LUCK—don't let the bastards grind you down.—FRANCES HOLLOWAY, London NW10.

HOPE YOU get your money. The rest of the press should have printed the names as well.—MICHAEL M SILVER, London NW5.

I HOPE that your other cases (about the Kevin Gately poster) won't be followed up by the police. But if it is I'm sure I speak for all readers in wishing you well in the fight. Socialist Worker is such a good paper. Thank you.—Ms JO LOTT, Brighton.

SOCIALIST WORKER is a really excellent paper these days. Its work must continue, despite recent attacks by the Labour government and the Courts.—CHRIS BRAMALL, London N18.

AS A SUBSCRIBER I was appalled to hear of the savagery of the amount of costs given against you in the recent court case. I am far from agreeing with all the views you express, but I value your paper for the items of news which go unreported in the mass media. The judgement I am convinced is a deliberate attempt by the Establishment to silence a paper which openly treats its pretensions with derision and contempt.—P CASSIDY, Chester le Street.

WE WERE appalled by the ruling. As regular readers we will be very angry if as a result the paper is forced to close.—BOB & GWEN HODGE, Norwich.

THE ACTION of the courts towards Paul Foot doesn't surprise me but confirms my belief that justice and freedom are as class dominated as wealth and privilege. I support your paper as one of the few mouthpieces available to alert working class consciousness. It is essential that you continue publicly to oppose all class domination that does not spring directly from working class people.—IAN M PARR, Plymouth.

BEST WISHES to the writers and publishers of the best newspaper of the left.—BK HILL, Norwich.

I AM SENDING a postal order. I sincerely hope that it will help to alleviate the massive and totally unjust penalty imposed on Paul Foot and Socialist Worker. Keep up the fight against capitalism and fascism.—HELEN REES, Cardiff.

I'M NOT SURPRISED by the excessive fines and costs awarded against Socialist Worker, nor am I over the imprisonment of the building workers. We must learn about our enemies, the capitalist class and their hirelings, and expect from them, their courts, their police and armed forces the repressive measures given to militant workers. We must also learn that the only answer is to stand up, organise and effectively counter attack.—HG HOWLETT, Sittingbourne.

ALTHOUGH SHORT on cash I felt a quick response would remove any doubts others might have that this paper could call on effective support in this, or any future confrontation over 'justice' on the legal mob's home ground.—A SUPPORTER OF SOCIAL JUSTICE, Epsom.

PLEASE FIND enclosed a donation . . . it will help fight the savage injustice of the law lords in their attempt to pass a death sentence on our paper. We will do all we can to raise money to keep our paper alive.—R DUNKEY, E PLIMMER, Willenhall.

WE DON'T necessarily agree with everything your paper says, but it is necessary to support all papers of the left whatever our personal opinions about any particular paper.—TERRY & JUDY O'HALLORAN, Colchester.

I WAS SHOCKED but not surprised at the savage sentence Paul Foot received. I knew they would make it as severe as possible. This is a chance to hit back at those who would like to destroy socialism. I have great pleasure in enclosing a donation from my sister and I. It will be worth every penny if you're able to keep the paper going. Best of luck.—Misses A & E WILSON, Halifax.

I'M NOT a member of the International Socialists. But the bastards mustn't be able to do this. Even people in this breeding ground of judges are disgusted.—SAMER SHAH, St Catherines College, Oxford.

THE ENCLOSED represents the amount raised by the sale of our second hand cooker!—JEAN & PAUL WIMPENEY, Rochdale.

WE HOPE the money from a collection we had at our company from readers and sympathisers will help towards the disgusting costs and fines imposed on you and our paper, and this will not be the end of a paper that has become part of our lives.—D P ROBERTS, Macclesfield.

I AM A fairly regular reader of your paper and as such I find myself totally shocked at what purports to be justice. I think your decision to name the persons in the Janie Jones affair was absolutely right.—J FINWIDDIE, Ipswich.

IT WAS a verdict that your arguments showed was unsound in law, which Lord Widgery's judgement showed was unsound in logic, and which the punitive costs showed was unsound in morality. It seems that law, logic and morality are nothing when set aside the personal loyalties of the most exclusive club in the country.—PETER CARPENTER, London WC2.

THE COURT order to pay crippling costs is blatant victimisation.—DAVID & VICKY BEACON, Hertford.

THEY MAY try to smash you but I don't think the people will let them will they? That's pretty inspiring. We've got to keep the best really socialist newspaper going. Keep up the good work.—MICHAEL GREEN, Birmingham.

WE SHOULD hate to see Socialist Worker fold up since it provides at least some antidote to the barrage of capitalist propaganda we face.—MONICA & DAVE PEARCE, Bath.

I AM NOT a member of the International Socialists and I find a number of points of difference with your policy. But it is obvious that the High Court decision found Socialist Worker guilty of being the most successful socialist newspaper of recent years. You today, who else tomorrow? Good luck with your fight for survival.—BILL MEASURE, Enfield.

IT'S SURELY clear now to many more people what our laws and legal system stand for. Yours fraternally and in sisterhood.—ALEX & SUE BRIGGS, Braintree.

1975 BIG RED DIARY



IL 1945



Films to use against the Chilean junta

RIGHT: Singer Victor Jara before his murder by the junta

COMPANERO

THE film *Companero* is part of Joan Jara's courageous determination to tell the story of her husband's murder. My ballad, Victor Jara of Chile, is another attempt. It is written to the tune of Woody Guthrie's Dear Mrs Roosevelt, which can be heard on the Woody Guthrie Memorial Concert album, sung by Arlo Guthrie—who has since sung the Victor Jara ballad at several concerts.

Joan and I are not trying to turn Victor into a legend. We speak of him as one of the thousands of victims of fascism in Chile, one of the few whose life and death we know in detail, one of the few whose voice, through his beautiful and powerful songs, still speaks on records, tapes and in the songs of *Companero*.

I believe the Left needs to re-think its priorities on Chile. Allende made mistakes, MIR made mistakes—yes. But it's our job to make it known to every worker in Britain the extent and the horror of the slaughter and persecution which continues in Chile.

When this has been done, and all trade between Britain and Chile has been stopped by trade union action, and when our government has been forced to stop all aid to Chile, I think we might spare the time for a historical debate. Please unite on this campaign and in the raising of funds to care for the refugees outside Chile and for the many dependants of murdered workers in Chile itself. I'm not trying to evade an argument—I believe that the revolution in Britain won't be won without an armed struggle . . .

ADRIAN MITCHELL

Companero is available for hire from ETV, 247a Upper Street, London N1. It is in colour, lasts 55 minutes, and all proceeds go to the Chile Solidarity Campaign. It's a little sentimental but Joan Jara, the singer's English-born widow, tells the story of his death with great emotional power and dignity.

'I have been told,' she says, 'that in the Stadium he behaved with great courage and was a source of moral strength to fellow prisoners. That he sang there in the boxing stadium, that they broke his hands and after two days killed him with machine guns.'

THERE ARE many excellent films that tell the story of Chile before, during and after the coup. Right, Adrian Mitchell, the socialist poet who narrated the words to the film *Companero*, an account of the torture and death of the Chilean singer Victor Jara, writes about the film and we review in brief others available to hire.

Three of the newest and most moving, Chile September, The Tiger Pounced and Chile—the Reckoning, are being shown at the Collegiate Theatre, 15 Gordon Street, London WC1, on Sunday 17 November at 9pm, and should be seen by anyone interested in showing the films locally.

Below is Adrian Mitchell's ballad about Victor Jara.

THE TIGER PONCED AND KILLED, BUT HE'LL DIE, HE'LL DIE

This is another obituary for Jara produced by the Cuban film maker Santiago Alvarez. It lasts eight minutes and costs £5 to hire from the Other Cinema 12/13 Little Newport St, London WC2. (phone 01-734 8508/9).

CHILE SEPTEMBER

This film was made in the first two weeks after the coup by two French socialist film-makers operating secretly. It has interviews with trade unionists, students and foreign visitors set against the official tours of the Stadium and the Junta version of things.

It is not a call for mourning. Women waiting at the morgue breathe defiance and the hundreds in Pablo Neruda's funeral procession sing the International along a road lined with bayonets.

The makers offer no specific analysis but they open the way to discussion. The English language version was produced by members of the Berwick Street Film Group and the Women's Film Group with actors from the Half Moon Theatre.

Colour, 40 mins, £6.50 hire from the Other Cinema.

WHEN THE PEOPLE AWAKE

This film was made, from a revolutionary perspective, before the coup and is the most analytic. It looks at the problems that faced Chilean workers and peasants in 1972, the possibility of a military coup is acutely felt and strategies for defence are discussed. It takes the political position of the MIR: 'Let us say to the imperialists, the middle classes and those who waver, that we're not seeing the failure of socialism, but what we're suffering is the failure of reformism.'

60 mins, rental £12 from the Other Cinema.

CHILE—THE RECKONING

This is a film version of the TV programme made by World in Action in the first three weeks of November 1973. The director, Mike Beckham, says: 'We found an extreme situation—there was very little resistance to the massive terror which was created in a very open way by the army—and they admitted to torture. The film is about terror; one part concerns torture, the other the indiscriminate shootings, job dismissals and other persecution.'

It is a terrifying catalogue of repression against the Chilean workers' movement, though its analysis is simply humanitarian.

Colour, 27 mins, £5 from the Other Cinema.

Victor Jara of Chile Lived like a shooting star He fought for the people of Chile With his songs and his guitar and his hands were gentle his hands were strong

Victor Jara was a peasant Worked from a few years old He sat upon his father's plough And watched the earth unfold and his hands were gentle his hands were strong

When the neighbours had a wedding Or one of their children died His mother sang all night for them With Victor by her side and his hands were gentle his hands were strong

He grew to be a fighter Against the people's wrongs He listened to their griefs and joys Turned them into songs and his hands were gentle his hands were strong

He sang about the copper miners And those who work the land He sang about the factory workers And they knew he was their man and his hands were gentle his hands were strong

He campaigned for Allende Working night and day He sang: Take hold of your brothers' hand The future begins today and his hands were gentle his hands were strong

The bloody generals seized Chile They arrested Victor then They caged him in a stadium With five thousand frightened men and his hands were gentle his hands were strong

Victor stood in the stadium His voice was brave and strong He sang for his fellow-prisoners Till the guards cut short his song and his hands were gentle his hands were strong

They broke the bones in both his hands They beat his lovely head They tore him with electric shocks After two long days of torture they shot him dead and his hands were gentle his hands were strong

And now the generals rule Chile And the British have their thanks For they rule with Hawker Hunters And they rule with Chieftain tanks and his hands were gentle his hands were strong

Victor Jara of Chile Lived like a shooting star He fought for the people of Chile With his songs and his guitar and his hands were gentle his hands were strong.

ADRIAN MITCHELL

DON'T FORGET the Fighting Fund. We are paying off some of the fines of comrades arrested and fined for the National Front demonstrations in the summer. We must try to keep to our £2000-a-month target, in spite of the special defence fund.

We're on our way this month—with £421.10 collected this week—bringing the total to £741.10. We still need £1257 before the end of the month. Send donations to Jim Nichol, National Treasurer, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

Prod deal hysteria rebounds on NCB

THE hysteria of the National Coal Board, press and television over the productivity deal has succeeded—in convincing miners they should reject it.

NCB bosses Norman Siddall and Wilfred Miron have slandered miners for alleged absenteeism and called leaders like Arthur Scargill 'latter day Lenins'.

The Yorkshire Post group of newspapers have incensed miners in the area by refusing to publish union advertisements calling for a NO vote.

Local colliery management in Yorkshire have been instructed to tear down NUM posters, which say that the introduction of the productivity deal would mean 'more blood on Britain's coal'.

The Coal Board has been helped by the treachery of Len Clarke, Nottingham NUM Area President and a member of the National Executive.

He has refused to abide by the Executive recommendation to vote against the deal and has campaigned for it outside the Nottingham area. At least four branches in Nottinghamshire have rebelled and decided to vote against the deal.

The right wing was dealt a further blow on Monday when North Western delegates voted, against their officials' recommendation, to oppose the deal by a 2 to 1 majority.

If, as is expected, the vote goes against the deal, there will be tremendous rank and file pressure for a massive wage claim backdated to 1 November.

NUM President Joe Gormley and the Coal Board have made it clear that they do not want a new wage agreement signed until March. There have been hints of a possible interim cost of living award.

Gormley and the NCB would be content to settle for a couple of pounds now in such a deal and then delay negotiations on a full claim until early spring, when the rank and file would have lost the advantage of the threat of a winter strike.

Metal Box warned

WESTHOUGHTON, Lancs:—The Metal Box engineers are still in occupation. Management are refusing to meet the £1.20 an hour claim, and the engineers are refusing to budge from this figure.

One thing that has stopped management from laying off the rest of the workforce: the refusal by the print union NGA to accept suspension of the guaranteed working week. The union is insisting contracts would have to be terminated and this would mean automatic NGA blacking of the company and the loss of valuable trade in printing on beer cans.

GET OUR BROTHERS OUT!

FOR FIGHTING for trade unionism, Des Warren and Ricky Tomlinson have now been back in jail for 18 days and nights.

Yet the official leaders of the movement they were fighting for—the TUC General Council—haven't even met to consider their return to Her Majesty's prisons.

One thing will get them round a table and make them initiate action to free the men: pressure from Britain's trade unionists.

And it's action that's needed. Some constitutional channels are still open. Defence lawyers are, for example, still trying to get agreement that the House of Lords should even entertain a

further appeal.

And then there could be a petition to the Home Secretary or an appeal to the International Courts of Justice at Strasbourg. The only problem with that is they would be out by the time the appeal was heard.

And of course strictly constitutional channels

were used to put the Shrewsbury pickets behind bars in the first place.

So they will only release the men if the rank and file trade unionists step up the fight.

Home Secretary Roy Jenkins and the Labour government as a whole are known to be unsympathetic to any request that he should free the two. They have the police/employer/judiciary lobby to satisfy. And they clearly aren't going to get out of line.

So it is vital that all trade unionists mobilise support and, where possible strike action on the day nominated by the Union of Construction and Allied Trades, which will probably be 28 November.

Every day we sit back and do nothing the judges are using to rush through more decisions which still further erode the most basic democratic rights.

In a monstrous High Court decision last Friday, Mr Justice Forbes took away the right of ordinary citizens to picket the premises of landlords, shopkeepers, garage owners and the like who cheat them or otherwise do them down.

'At common law, the use of the highway for picketing is illegal, as it is a use not responsive to the purpose for which the highway was dedicated,' were his words when he granted an injunction to Prebbles, an Islington, London estate agent to prevent members of the Islington Tenants Campaign picketing the agents' local offices.

PROTEST

The ruling complements all the recent judgments against industrial picketing.

The Tenants Campaign has pointed out that with this judgment 'pensioners would be acting unlawfully if they picketed a supermarket which refused to sell them sugar. It would be unlawful for tenants who were being harassed to protest outside their landlord's offices.'

'It means that any group of people who got together over a common problem and took direct action could be sued and perhaps prosecuted for conspiracy—whether they were consumers' groups, tenants' groups or mothers' groups.'

Mr Justice Forbes made it absolutely plain that the law must uphold the rights of businessmen.

... The loss of impact seems to me a small weight to be cast in balance against the possibility of injury to the Plaintiff's business if the picket continues.'

The Campaign is to appeal against this decision. Every trade unionist should support them in their fight.

Messages of support to Ricky Tomlinson and Des Warren should be sent by telegram to Sudbury Prison near Utttoxeter.

Witch-hunters

THE witch-hunt in NALGO received a set back last Thursday when the union's Metropolitan District Council overwhelmingly voted to condemn NEC member John Fraser and his right wing cronies for their recent attacks on militants.

Moving the resolution, NALGO Action Group supporter Paul Bream pointed out that Fraser had deliberately gone outside the union structure to mount his campaign. By using the anti-union press, Fraser hoped to confuse NALGO members and undermine their growing militancy.

The district resolution will now be referred to the next NEC meeting, which will be lobbied by rank and file members demanding that a stop be made to the antics of Fraser's fanatics.



UCATT general secretary George Smith (second from right) gets the message: demonstrations such as this one outside the union's South London HQ also took place in Liverpool and Manchester. Picture: Peter Harrap (Report)

Bakery strikes spread

By Eddie Hudson

MERSEYSIDE:—A strike by bakery workers spread throughout the North West this week—and flying pickets are out to make it a national stoppage.

By Tuesday, 4500 workers were out at Scott's, Taylor's, Rathbone's, Mothers Pride and Warburtons.

They have been angered by their union hierarchy and an insulting pay offer.

The action followed a meeting at Central Hall, Liverpool two weeks ago when shop stewards voted unanimous-

ly for a recall conference. They demanded a new pay claim of £40 for 40 hours, equal pay for women, full pay at 18, abolition of Sunday work and four weeks' paid holiday.

Ken Hughes, a shop steward at Scott's Bakery in Bootle, followed a minibus of scabs to their lodgings—the £15 a night Adelphi Hotel.

They were greeted on the steps by W P Scott, bakery company director. The scabs turned on Ken and reported him to the police for harassment.

Scott's workers were already on strike over a separate matter. A bomb warning was received last Wednesday night. After 15 minutes the workers were told to go back into the factory, where they found one policeman searching the place.

The management had decided the factory was 'safe' after phoning the director, Peter Scott, at his luxury home 30 miles away.

The workers were infuriated when they discovered that there had been four such 'phone calls in the past and no precautions had been taken. They

refused to go back to work.

A picket was put on the gate and the day shift struck in support. Management tried to split the workforce by offering to pay the night shift but not the day shift and vice versa—a clear attempt at trying to weaken the solidarity before the impending pay strike. The workers stood together.

Bill Caldwell, shop steward, said: 'Over 400 people work here and the bosses couldn't give a damn if all were blown to pieces.'

Racism: A statement

PRESTON:—The local docks shop stewards' chairman Bill Miller issued the following press statement last week

'I want to make it clear on behalf of 200 Preston dockers that the Preston Dockers Labour Club, the subject of the recent House of Lords decision allowing racial discrimination in membership, has nothing to do with them. The Preston Dockers Labour Club has very few dockers in membership, and is in no way connected with Preston dockers' social organisations.'

600 BATTLE ON FOR 8

WHETSTONE, Leics:—The struggle of 600 engineers at GEC Gas Turbines for an across-the-board £8 increase is in its third week. Convenor Dave Blick told the men that negotiations with management had proved fruitless, and that the men's attitudes would have to harden.

A picket was injured by a car whose driver was interviewed by police. The presence of the police has been noticed at all mass meetings. The strike has still not been made official.

DESFORD, Leics:—800 manual workers, members of the TGWU, struck in sympathy with 170 ACTSS white collar workers who had walked out describing pay offers of 78p and £1.86 as 'ridiculous'. The white-collar workers, who earn £10 a week less than the shop floor, are seeking average increases of £6

LOUGHBOROUGH, Leics:—The William Cotton management have made their second major cut back in the labour force

in 18 months, axing 320 men. Blaming the worldwide glut of knitting machinery, managing director John Wegerif denied that profits were being defended at the sacrifice of human beings.

The possibility of an occupation at the factory cannot be ruled out. Workers in Charles Clores Sear's Holdings Group and the AUEW District Secretary Ed Scrivens have pledged full union support for any action the members decide to take to defend their jobs.

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