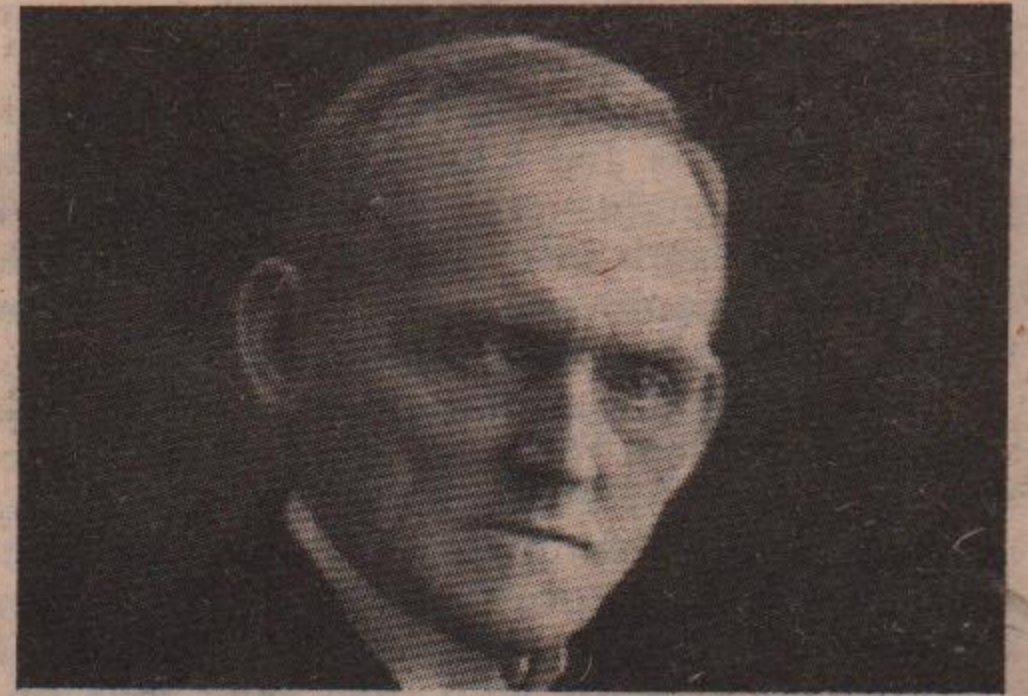


# Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

# TO HELL WITH SACRIFICE!

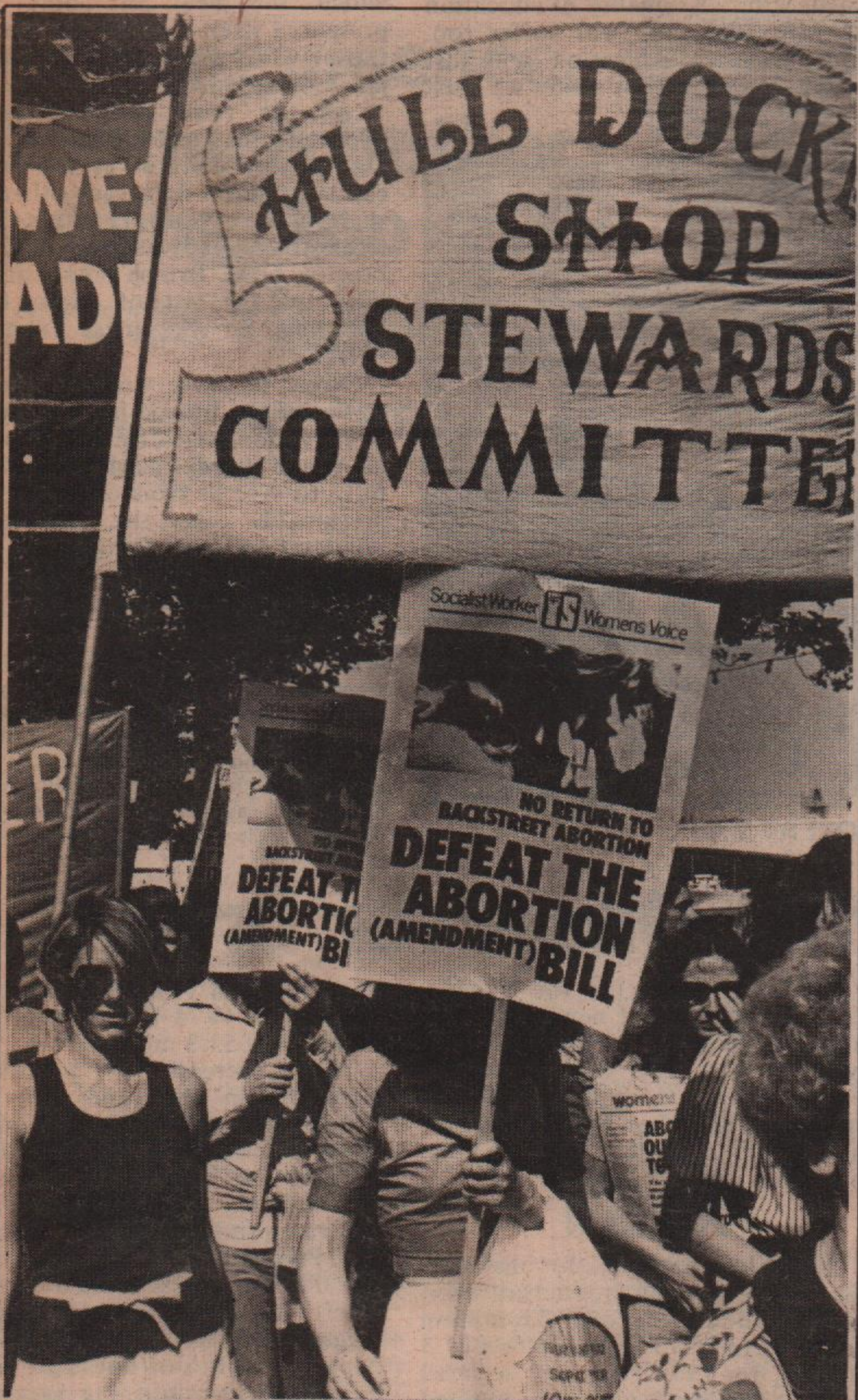


Snowden: Labour's Master of the Cuts, 1931



Healey: Labour's Master of the Cuts, 1975

Picture: Chris Davies (Report)



Some of the 40,000 who marched through London last Saturday in the biggest demonstration for years—to call for the defeat of the Abortion Amendment Bill.

**THE BIG MARCH AND AFTER**—report and pictures page 5

**'I SAY with all the seriousness that I can command that the national situation is so grave that drastic and disagreeable measures will have to be taken.'**

Who said that? Was it Harold Wilson or Margaret Thatcher or Jeremy Thorpe or, for that matter, any other leading politician?

Well, something *like* that is said every day by any one of them. The precise words were spoken by Philip Snowden, Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour government, on 11 February 1931.

Snowden was very disturbed by the level of unemployment, which, he said, was hovering around the two million mark. The way to stop unemployment, he said, was to make sacrifices. The Manchester Guardian described his speech as 'a call for wage cuts'.

The TUC refused to allow these cuts, so Snowden joined a coalition government led by Labour's Ramsay Macdonald which included Tories and Liberals. On 8 September, with unemployment at 2,770,000, 15 per cent cuts were made in unemployment benefit and teachers' salaries.

Unemployment promptly rose—to 2,850,000 in January 1932 and to three million in January 1933.

Those British workers who accepted the argument that cuts would 'get the nation going again' and 'save jobs' learnt that they were wrong in ten years of mass unemployment, poverty and near-starvation.

After the war, we were promised an end to all these 'old-fashioned' theories. A new breed of economists and politicians from all parties promised us measures which would ensure economic growth and social justice. Capitalism would survive, but the rich and the poor would live together in peace and prosperity like the lion and the lamb in the Bible.

Now, after 30 years the same slick politicians and economists are back where they started—with Philip Snowden and Ramsay Macdonald.

## CRISIS

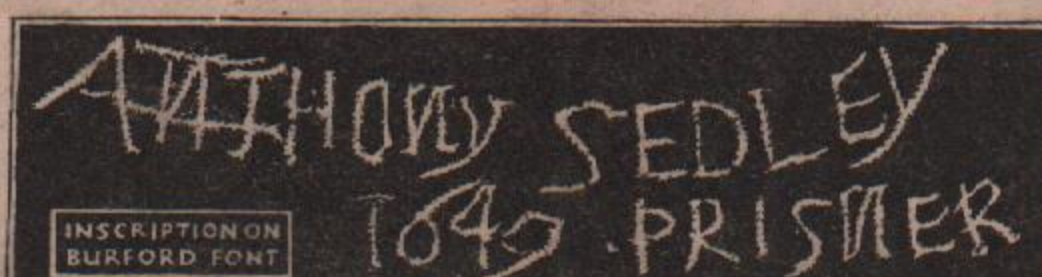
Now, it's the same old argument. Now according to Dennis 'Snowden' Healey, we've got six weeks to agree to cut our standard of living—or the Labour government will do the cutting for us.

This argument should be rejected by every worker. As in the 1930s, acceptance of wage restraint and more cuts can only mean more unemployment.

For crisis is inbuilt into the present, capitalist system. Even the most ardent defenders of the present system can offer no more than the prospect of a slight easing of the crisis in two years' time, followed by a sharper downturn than ever.

If we accept 'sacrifices' now we will only strengthen those who run the present system so they can impose even worse 'sacrifices' on us in future.

**ITALY: WHAT THE BIG VOTE FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY MEANS**—page 7



Sunday 13 May 1649: Many of Oliver Cromwell's soldiers, weary of his Tyranny, being ordered to fight against the Irish, refused. A party of them, trapped by Oliver at Burford, were on this & the next three nights prisoned in the Church, when Anthony Sedley wrote his name on the lead of the font. Three of the 'Levellers' were shot in the Churchyard, while Sedley & the others watched from the roof.

**THE LEVELLERS AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION**—A worker reads history page 11

## PRICE INCREASE

We're sorry that Socialist Worker has to go up to 10p this week. It's all to do with newsprint prices and profit. (see p.2)

# ARTHRITIS: THE AGONY IGNORED BY PROFIT

ARTHRITIS is a painful disease that old people suffer from and which has to be accepted because there is no cure.

Or is it?  
'Arthritis has kept me off my feet for 44 years. I was married at 22, had the baby at 23, and off my feet at 25.'

'I am 29 years of age with a devoted husband, a lovely daughter of four and rheumatoid arthritis.'

'I've had rheumatoid arthritis for 17 years, since I was 17.'

'For me, Still's Disease, which is a juvenile rheumatoid arthritis, started when I was five.'

These quotes come from a pamphlet published by the Arthritis and Rheumatism Council, which goes on to explain: One million pounds a year is spent on research into cures for arthritis. Yet the number of people suffering from one or another form of arthritis runs into millions.

Each year millions upon millions of pounds and dollars are spent on the space programme and useless projects like Concorde. Dr Michael Mason, of the Council commented, 'It seems ironic that there should be those worried about saving three hours on the Atlantic journey when there are those crippled by arthritis who may take that time to reach the shops a few yards from their home.'

'Thousands upon thousands of pounds have been spent on expensive research and hospital time in trying to transplant hearts when the end product can only apply to a handful of people.'

The priorities of those who run our society are all wrong.



Journalists picketing the London publishing house of Calder and Boyars where they are on strike against the sacking of their father of the chapel (shop steward) and for full union recognition.  
PICTURE: Andrew Wiard (Report)

# 'Moderate' who tortures militants

LORD CHALFONT, ex-Liberal, ex-Labour Minister, ex-Times defence correspondent and red-fearing man of moderation has now turned international boot-licker for the BBC.

Last week in the first of a series of interviews, Chalfont chatted with one of his favourite 'moderates', the Shah of Iran. The second is to be with Rabin, the Israeli prime minister, who is moderately described as the 'architect of the seven-day war'.

The content of the programme held no surprises. Strikes are not illegal in Iran, of course, just impossible—the dozens of dead workers from this year's strikes were tactfully ignored. Trade unions exist but are 'non-political' and 'depend on the government', which is appointed by the Shah.

What of the political prisoners (40,000 according to Amnesty International) and the extensive use of torture—as reported in the Sunday Times recently? Well apparently the Sunday Times is a hotbed of reds and Iran, the Shah reassures us 'does not need the old-fashioned methods any more. It uses the same ones as Britain and the US.'

Europe, we were told, is now sick with leftists and laziness.

## Besotted

At one high point of the interview we were given the advice not to use oil to heat our homes. 'For after all you can get 70,000 other derivatives from it.' Apparently we should either use coal or nothing at all 'as our grandfathers did'.

Chalfont, no doubt besotted with the imperial wisdom, failed to take up or push any point that might in the slightest have embarrassed his host. The Shah was even allowed to call himself a democrat without fear of contradiction. In fact last Friday saw the latest of Iran's experiments in democracy—a general election in which the new and only party presented itself for the first time and those who won't join it will be jailed or exiled.

As the crisis deepens we can expect to see more moderates toadying to this dictator as the weaker capitalist states fight each other for a share in the oil loot. Labour's Dennis Healey has already been over with the begging bowl. British bosses are also high up the list of those taking advantage of the local conditions in Iran.

None of these will even pretend to notice the Iranian 'social contract' of starvation wages, torture, imprisonment and murder as they fight manfully to save us from ourselves. Such presumably is the nature of 'moderation' in all things.



A JOURNALIST for the Sunday People, Wendy Henry, who has been working on a number of gutter-type stories about the left, has sometimes got access to information by giving the impression that she is associated with the International Socialists. She is not, and Socialist Worker readers should treat her with contempt.

# CUTS PLAY HAVOC WITH SCHOOLS JOBS

TEACHERS are discovering an unpleasant truth the hard way: That the people who claim wages have to be held back to stop a rise in unemployment are imposing policies that are pushing up unemployment in any case.

36,000 new teachers are to finish training college in the next few weeks. There will be no jobs for at least 6000 of them, as a result of decisions already taken. And education authorities all over the country are beginning to slash teaching staff.

London is typical. Four years ago, the leader of the Inner London Education Authority, Ashley Bramall, was explaining there were too few teachers. 'People have been asking what the answer to the so-called increase in school violence is. It is more teachers, smaller classes and better resources... As the number of children in North London goes down, as it will over the next decade, we will have more money and more resources to devote to fewer children.'

## Move

But that was in 1971. Now in 1975 the ILEA has suddenly discovered that many of its schools have 'an overgenerous allocation of staff'. This amazing discovery just happens to coincide with the government's demand for cuts.

In many schools, teachers are being told that because of the falling population, fewer teachers will be needed. As teachers leave, they will not be replaced and some teachers are being asked to move to other schools.

The situation is extremely serious. In Hackney, a questionnaire sent round the schools by the local NUT branch indicates that there is to be a cut of at least 34 in the number of teachers—even though there are still schools with classes of 35 or even 40.

Reaction to the proposed cuts has been confused and largely fragmented. The confusion has been increased by the complicated statements put out by the ILEA. Teachers have taken many weeks to realise that behind the intricate list of official statistics lies the grim threat of cuts and redundancy.

But staff at some schools are fighting back. At Edith Cavell and

Shoreditch secondary school in Hackney teachers fear that the authority's aim is to close Edith Cavell and merge the schools. Six staff are being cut at Shoreditch. At Edith Cavell the number of teachers will be nine fewer next year than this. The NUT rep at the lower school has been told that there is no job for her next year, presumably in

an attempt to behead opposition to the cuts.

A joint meeting of the staff of both schools has decided to demand an assurance from the authority that no cutbacks will be made. If such an assurance is not received by 30 June then further action is planned! A joint petition has been drawn up for teachers, parents and residents in the

by Anna Paczuska (NUT)

## Family business: Putting pickets in jail

THE case of Commander Kenneth Hannam has received a great amount of publicity over the past week. Hannam was moved from the Hounslow police to New Scotland Yard by Metropolitan Police Commissioner Robert Mark after he had criticised industrial 'lawbreakers' in general and the Shrewsbury Two in particular.

But no publicity at all was given to Hannam's special interest in that case. For Hannam's father, Bert Hannam, is chief security officer for the building firm, Sir Robert McAlpine. A site of the sister company, Sir Alfred McAlpine, was the focus for much of the Shrewsbury trial.

Bert Hannam was deeply involved in the building employers' highly-organised lobbying of top policemen and government ministers which led to the trial. He wrote directly to Sir Robert Mark asking for tough action against the pickets. His letters would have been well received because he himself was a former chief superintendent at Scotland Yard before joining McAlpines.

These family connections might help to explain the passion of son Kenneth's comments to the Hounslow Chamber of Commerce on 9 June. He told the assembled businessmen that 'the attitude and expressions of some MPs and indeed highly placed ministers have contributed greatly to the decline in respect for the law by the general population.'

He added: 'I think in terms of things said and done in relation to the Shrewsbury Two and the Clay

Cross councillors among others.'

For these remarks he has been moved sideways, although no doubt he will press his opinions on the other officers under his command.

No such sideways move was even considered for General Sir Frank King when he spoke out against the Labour government's so-called softness against the IRA. Indeed Northern Ireland Secretary Merlyn Rees described King as 'one of the least political of our generals'.

In truth Commander Hannam is probably one of the least political of our police officers. For a start he doesn't quite know how to operate...

area, and a joint meeting of teachers and parents is being organised.

As one teacher put it: 'This is just the thin end of the wedge. Next year there will be further cuts.'

'Conditions in Inner London schools are difficult enough anyway. But if we allow them to deteriorate, not only will conditions be harder for teachers, but the quality of education we offer the kids will suffer too. Comprehensive education will just become a farce. That's why we must organise now.'



ROBERT MARK

## Who made the Observer broke?

THE Sunday newspaper, The Observer, is broke, according to its multimillionaire owner and editor, David Astor. It lost £750,000 last year. It has lost £2,500,000 in the past five years.

Astor pretends that the reason is 'overmanning'. So he is asking for 30 per cent redundancies in every department. There is a danger that some newspaper workers and journalists will fall for his argument.

Yet it contains one great omission. The Economist this week points out that The Observer has lost £3 million over the property deal over its premises in London's Printing House Square. The paper hoped to make a huge profit from the deal, but bungled it, and lost.

Another reason for the paper's losses is the price of newsprint—the paper newspapers are printed on. Over the past two years prices of newsprint have more than doubled. The main result has been phenomenal profit increases for the big companies which produce it.

## Jump

Reed International, for instance, has a paper and pulp products division which made a profit of £12.6 million in 1972. In 1973 this rose to £15.3 million. In 1974, on only a small increase in sales, these profits jumped to £23.8 million.

The figures for the paper division of Bowaters are even more remarkable. In 1972, profits were a mere

£6 million. In 1973 they were £18.7 million. In 1974 they jumped to an incredible £53.3 million.

The increase in profits for Bowaters in that one year alone would be enough to pay off The Observer's debt for thirty years.

Most big newspapers have close links with the monopolies which own the newsprint. The Daily Mirror and The People, for instance, are owned by IPC, which is owned by Reed International, the country's second-biggest newsprint producer. The papers which do not have direct links will run into big losses as a result of high newsprint prices—and will promptly seek to sack their workers so that the shareholders of Bowaters and Reeds can take the loot.

CHANCELLOR Dennis Healey has issued a vicious ultimatum to the trade union movement. He has given six weeks in which to agree to massive cuts in living standards. If the trade union leaders do not respond in that time, he will impose measures designed to attack wages through taxation and to increase unemployment.

Behind Healey's threat lies another made to the government by the leaders of big business. They have threatened to use their economic power to wreck all the government's plans unless it gives in to their demands.

Sir Frederick Catherwood, former head of Laings, the builders, admitted as much last week. 'If the money lenders want us to cut back government expenditure, then we should happily do so', he said.

But the really obscene spectacle isn't the behaviour of big business or of right-wing Labour politicians. We have grown to take such things for granted. It is the speed with which the leaders of the TUC are rushing to collaborate.

Healey could even say: 'The TUC has led the way. It is now discussing the idea of basing wage settlements in the next round on a target rate for inflation over the next 12 months rather than the real rate of inflation over the next 12 months.'

In other words, the TUC has dropped the idea that wages should keep abreast of price rises. Instead, wages are going to be allowed to fall well behind prices, in the hope that prices will fall at some point in the future.

Now there is nothing new in this approach. It was forced on us by the Heath government.

# THE SIX-WEEK ULTIMATUM

Did prices stop rising as a result? Far from it. The cost of living continued to rise. Profits soared to record heights, and the value of the average pay packet fell until the miners rebelled and smashed through.

But there is one important difference. Then the trade union leaders made speeches against wage control, even if they did not act on them. Now they are campaigning in favour.

## DISAGREED

The best-known plan for wage control is the Jack Jones plan. But the principle of cuts in real wages is accepted even by those union leaders who say they oppose Jones' proposals. Take Hugh Scanlon of the AUEW, for instance. On Monday last week he said he disagreed with the Jones plan. On Tuesday he was telling his members to accept the Social Contract

as the 'best they can get'. It seems he is in favour of cuts in real wages, as long as they are arranged in such a way as not to disturb existing differentials.

What makes the situation worse is that every retreat by the TUC encourages the employers and the government to demand more. They are saying that even the Jones plan is not good enough. They are now saying that the maximum wage increase must be £6 or at most £8—this to last for 12 months while prices continue to soar unchecked!

No doubt they will be coming back in six months time and saying 'the country' cannot even afford that! And no doubt, the inclination of the TUC will then be to discuss further cuts.

The behaviour of the TUC is allowing government and employers to get away with the lie that workers are

somehow to blame for the crisis. The more the lie is accepted, the stronger are those forces that want to cut wages, increase unemployment.

In fact the present trade union leadership cannot defend their members' living standards during a crisis such as now. For years men such as Jones and Scanlon have been arguing that workers' living standards could be improved indefinitely simply by slowly building up trade union strength within existing society, within capitalism.

## PROTECT

Now that system is in crisis they are at a loss. If you accept that you work within the framework of capitalism, you end up agreeing to wage cuts to protect that framework.

Len Murray summed up the position of the TUC leaders when he spoke to the British Institute of Managers last week. He attacked the 'so-called left' who reject the Social Contract. 'I do not know what they are going to put in its place: perhaps they want instant socialism at a stroke'.

Certainly, for those whose trade unionism means friendship with the Institute of Managers, there is no alternative but to accept wage cuts for their members, if not for themselves. You cannot fight for any sort of socialism, instant or otherwise, in such company.

If workers are to resist the results of the crisis, the cuts in living standards, we need to fight against Len Murray and company for a trade unionism rooted in the rank and file, whose aim is to fight against the employing class, not to worry about how to solve their problems.

**I'll tell you what's wrong with this country, too much over-indulgence, too much bether-feddng, too much liotous riving...**

## CAN I HAVE MY CHEQUE NOW, PLEASE?

LORD George-Brown, the former deputy leader of the Labour Party, has a solution to the economic crisis. Speaking on television for a fee which was rather more than the average weekly wage, he said the government should announce a wage freeze, massive cuts in public expenditure, and the use of troops in the event of a strike against either freeze or cuts.

This followed an article in the News of the World complaining that the newspaper industry was overmanned. At least three newspaper workers could live for a week on the fee his lordship received.

For most of the 1950s and early 1960s, while Brown was a back-bench Labour MP, he was paid a handsome £10 a week by the International Publishing Corporation, owners of the Daily Mirror and the People.

After his brief period as a Minister from 1964 to 1967 he was appointed 'productivity counsellor' at £5000 a year to the giant multinational exploiter, Courtaulds.

His greatest triumph on Courtaulds' behalf was in South Africa, which he visited in 1972.

The Beaumont Wattle Estate in the Natal, wholly owned by Courtaulds, was described by a Natal lecturer in 1973: 'The houses were filthy... the lavatories were infested with maggots and rat droppings,

there was no furniture or beds in the houses, and the compound itself was a sea of mud. No sick pay, maternity leave, paid holidays or rations were provided by the company to most of the workers who earned, according to the wages commission, as little as £10 a month.'

George Brown visited the firm and concluded that conditions on the farm were just 'about right, even if it was a little overmanned.'

## EXTRA

When the wages and conditions of workers for British companies were exposed some months later in The Guardian, Lord Kearton, chairman of Courtaulds, decided to provide rations for the workers at Beaumont Wattle, and to pay them an extra £2 a week.

George Brown bitterly complained

about the rises, which he said were 'quite unnecessary' and 'feather-bedding'. This was too much even for Lord Kearton and Brown left Courtaulds.

A few months later, Brown was taken on by the American automation 'whizz-kid' John Diebold, as executive director of Diebold Computer Leasing, a finance company. Last autumn Brown also became chairman of a house-conveyancing outfit, also based in America.

His estimated earnings from these operations are £200 a week. Add to that £12 a day for attending the House of Lords, and at least £150 for each newspaper article, and you get some idea of the advantages of advocating workers' sacrifice in a capitalist world.



## How the Jones plan would cut your wages

ANYONE who doubts that the trade union leaders have accepted the principle of cuts in real wages only needs to look at the arithmetic of the plan put forward by Jack Jones, general secretary of the TGWU. The Jones plan talks of £10 a week maximum wage increases over the next year.

Statisticians reckon that this means an average of 17 per cent on wages. But when tax and social security contributions are deducted, that amounts to only 12-14 per cent (depending on how much you earn). Prices will have risen by 25 per cent in the 12 months before you get the rise—so the plan means wage cuts of at least 10 per cent.

This is true for low-paid workers as well as for the slightly better paid. A worker earning £30 a week needs a rise of more than £14 to keep abreast of the cost of living. The Jones plan offers a maximum of £10—and there is no provision in it to force employers of poorly organised groups of workers to pay even that.

The talk in the Jones plan about 'price control' is laughable.

Firstly, even if by some miracle it worked it would not cancel out all the price increases that had occurred before it came into effect. So someone negotiating a wage rise in, say, September, would still face price rises of 25 per cent on the year before.

## Sugar?

READERS will be interested to hear of the huge sacrifices Tate and Lyle have been making since the price of sugar shot up last year. Profits in the first half of this year were £24.3 million, compared with £15.8 million in the same period last year. Dividends paid out to shareholders have shot up by 55 per cent.

The chairman of the company, J O Lyle, has commented favourably on the co-operation received from the government: 'The government has undertaken in conjunction with the three UK manufacturers to ensure that high priced supplies can be marketed competitively.' The Social Contract works... for some.

Secondly, it refers only to 'essentials'. All sorts of things that make up your standard of living do not fall into this definition and would continue to soar in price.

But its real fault is that all experience shows that it is not possible to freeze prices in a capitalist economy. The government has no way of supervising the thousands of goods on sale to prevent hidden price rises through cuts in quality, or by putting smaller amounts in bigger packets. In the past what has happened is that governments have set up very effective mechanisms for controlling wages and very ineffective mechanisms for controlling prices. If the Jones plan were implemented, we could expect the same again, and workers would suffer.

## Health and Safety at Work

Day schools arranged by the Rank and File Organising Committee and sponsored by local shop stewards' committees and union branches:

### BIRMINGHAM 28 June

Contact: John Kindmarch, 37 Lysander House, Castle Vale, Birmingham 37. Phone (4pm-7pm) 021-747 0807.

### YORK 28 June

Contact: Eric Golding, 221 Melrosegate, Hull Road, York. Phone 0904 - 30413.

### MANCHESTER 5 July

Contact: Gerry Davidson, 75 Lylac Court, Salford 6. Phone 061-737 7828.

Discussions are also taking place on holding day schools in Hull, Teesside, Liverpool, Coventry, Ipswich, Glasgow, Newcastle and Bradford. Dates will be announced as soon as possible.

Why not raise it at your next meeting and contact the Rank and File Organising Committee for a school in your area?

The safety pamphlet Cause For Concern is now being re-printed so further supplies can now be ordered from the new address:

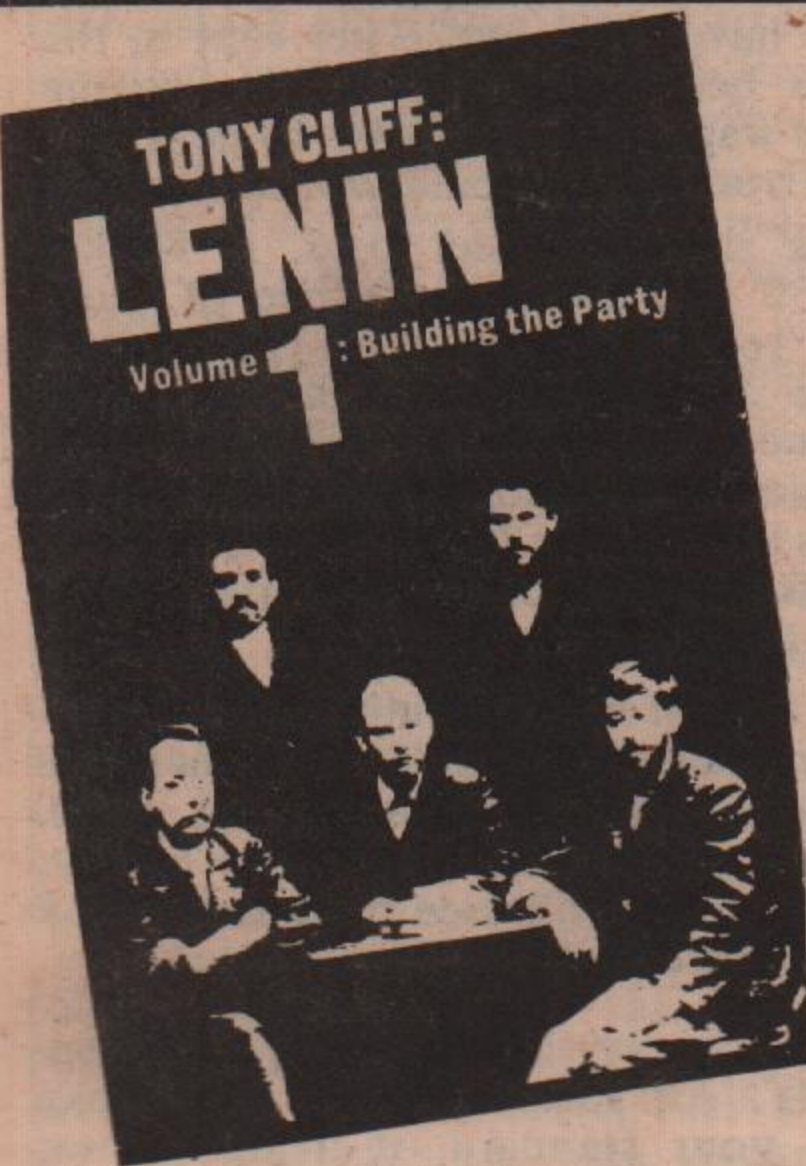
Rank and File Organising Committee, 46 Prince George Road, London, N16 8BY. Phone 01-249 1207.

### A CAUSE FOR CONCERN



The Flixborough TGWU shop stewards' committee is one of the sponsors of this pamphlet which points out the faults and dangers in the new Health and Safety at Work Act—and suggests some remedies.

Copies 5p each (plus postage) from Rank and File Organising Committee, 214 Roundwood Road, London NW10.

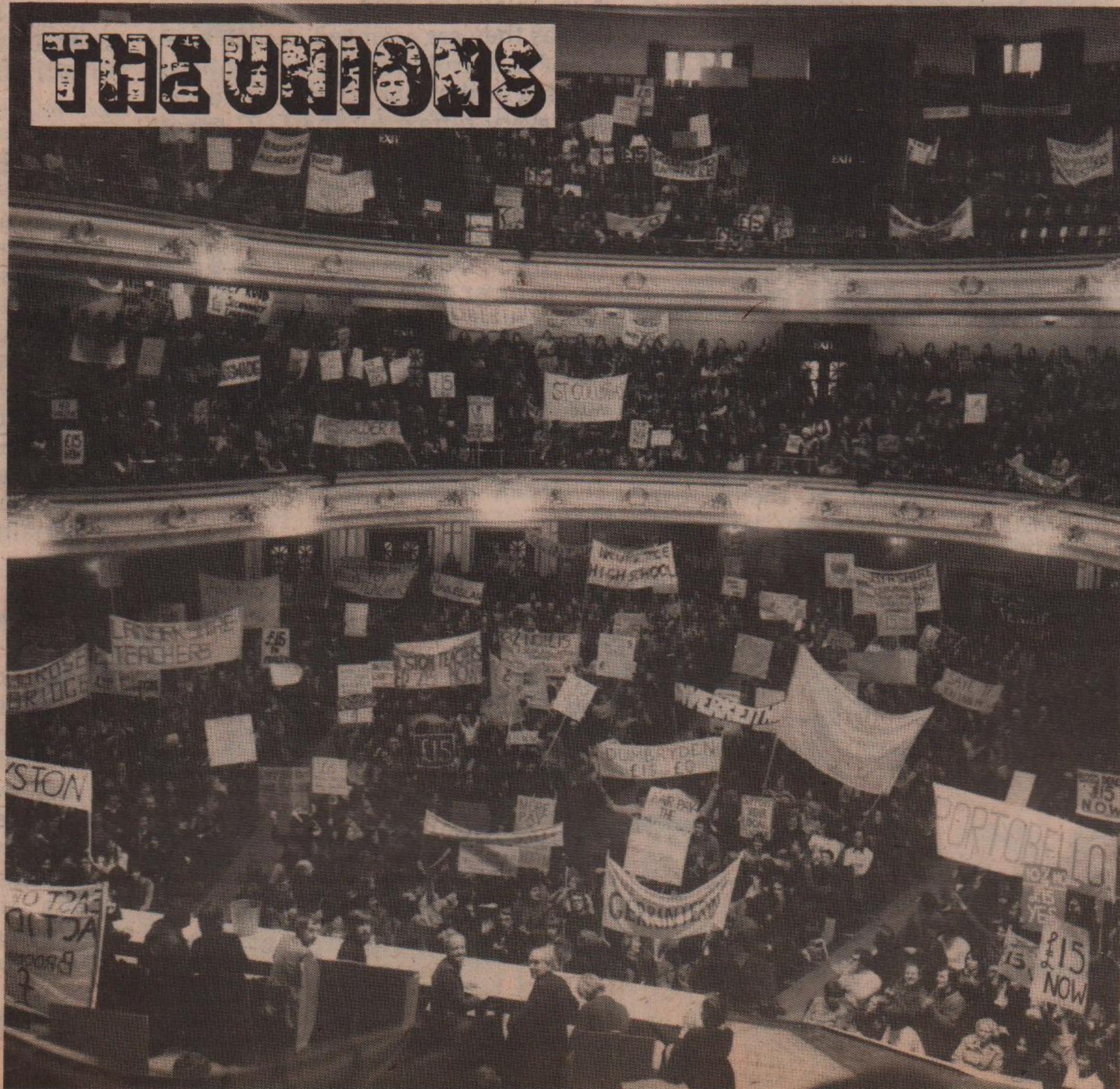


*'There are not many books of which it can be truly said that they are indispensable handbooks. This is one of those few.'*

—Duncan Hallas, in International Socialism Journal

£3 from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 (add 15p for post and packing).

# Teachers: How to change a union



The great awakening of Scottish teachers: the huge rally at the Usher Hall, Edinburgh last October during the work to rule and strikes.

By the Educational Institute of Scotland IS fraction

CAN THE members change their union? The union leadership, with their appointed officials, often seem impregnable. Delays and witch-hunts can be combined to frustrate rank and file activity.

But co-ordinated activity can quickly bring huge changes. We rank and file teachers in Scotland found at this month's annual delegate meeting of our union, the Educational Institute of Scotland, that profound changes in the atmosphere and policies were created by Rank and File organisation.

Until recently, the EIS, which has more than 70,000 members, was deeply reactionary. It refused to join the Scottish TUC (it was a 'professional association' we were told). It accepted, without a fight, low pay and dreadful classroom conditions for its members.

## 'Dirty money'

Three years ago a group of socialist teachers met to organise open rank and file opposition *within the union*—not, as had previously been fashionable among union oppositionists, in dead-end breakaway unionism and change-by-stealth. Organised opposition along rank and file lines was triumphantly vindicated at ADM.

**1** We voted overwhelmingly for a single salary scale for all day-school teachers—and for all teachers to be eligible for the top payment on this scale. This ended years of divisions between teachers by different scales which depended on paper qualifications.

**2** We rejected a bonus scheme in which payments increased according to the amount of kids you could cram into your classroom. This proposal, referred to in the conference as 'dirty money', was moved by a former President of the union!

**3** On the government spending cuts, we called for a 'joint campaign with other unions', 'to bring all pressure to bear to have educational expenditure increased', and 'to alert the general public to the effect of the cuts.' This kind of 'political' motion, concentrating on unity with other unions, would have been unthinkable in the EIS until recently.

**4** The conference called for all future salary negotiations to be conducted on 'the basis of free collective bargaining'. Only three months ago, a special salaries conference voted to accept the Social Contract! Teachers have come to learn that the Social Contract means wage restraint.

Much of the old reactionary flavour is still there, of course. A motion calling for pregnancy leave was debated with the usual patronising jokes by both sides—and was defeated, even though by a small majority.

## Floated

More than three-fifths of our members are women, yet not one national official or office-bearer in the union is a woman! As long as people go on thinking that pregnancy is just a funny joke, things won't improve.

But, as Kenny MacLachlan, a former sheet metal worker who is chairman of Glasgow branch EIS, put it: 'This ADM marked the greatest ever change in the social consciousness of Scottish teachers'.

There is no doubt that the activities of Rank and File are chiefly responsible for this. Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of ADM was the way in which ideas which had been floated by Rank and File were brought forward from branches and areas which previously had no connection with Rank and File.

That, too, is the indirect effect of rank and file organisation.

Willie Hart, Strathclyde EIS executive, writes: It's not just at conference that EIS is changing. Things are really moving at local level, too.

This month, Glasgow's EIS branch committee voted almost unanimously to approach Strathclyde Education Authority to employ Chilean teachers who are in the junta's death camp at Dawson Island in the Antarctic.

# AUEW: A SCANDAL, SCANLON

LAST AUTUMN, Engineering Union president Hugh Scanlon bitterly attacked the strike by white-collar trade unionists at the union's London head-quarters.

He threatened AUEW members employed at the office with the loss of their jobs and union membership if they did not cross the strikers' picket lines. When the picket proved too strong, he called in the police to break it.

But the attacks on the strikers, members of APEX, did not end with the strike.

Soon after the return to work, the AUEW made a concerted attempt to undermine APEX organisation by recruiting APEX members to the AUEW.

In all, 11 APEX members were poached in this way, and the poaching would have continued had not APEX taken action, and requested

By the APEX IS fraction

the TUC to place the case before a Disputes Committee under the Bridlington Agreement.

Needless to say, nothing has been heard from Len Murray since February.

Membership was proposed and seconded by AUEW executive members and an Assistant General Secretary. The details are:

**KEITH J WALSH** (non-salaried staff, clerk Records Department). Proposed: John Boyd (then EC member Div 1, now Gen Sec). Seconded: Les Edmondson (EC member Div 3).

**EDITH M PURSER** (salaried staff, Bill John's secretary). Proposed: Bill John (EC member Div 6). Seconded: Reg Birch (EC member Div 7).

**JEAN P LANNING** (salaried staff, Les Dixon's secretary). Proposed: Les Dixon (EC member Div 5). Seconded: Bob Wright (EC member Div 4).

**SYLVIA F CUTLER** (salaried staff, Bob Wright's secretary). Proposed: Bob Wright. Seconded: Hugh Scanlon.

**HAZEL E EDGLEY** (salaried staff, Hugh Scanlon's secretary). Proposed: Hugh Scanlon. Seconded: Ernie Roberts (Assistant General Secretary).

**MAY E BOND** (salaried staff, Les Edmondson's secretary). Proposed: Les Edmondson. Seconded: John Boyd.

**GRACE W NICHOLLS** (salaried staff, John Boyd's secretary). Proposed: John Boyd. Seconded: Les Edmondson.

**ALBERT D LEDGER** (salaried staff, Public Relations Officer). Proposed: Ernie Roberts. Seconded: Reg Birch.

**DOREEN M KEMP** (salaried staff, Reg Birch's secretary). Proposed: Reg Birch. Seconded: Bill John.

Ken Gill has followed this example. In recent months at the TASS Head Office in Richmond, at least seven APEX members on the salaried staff have been taken into TASS membership.

All these people, as APEX members, refused to cross the picket lines in the last strike. In the event of another strike they will be much more vulnerable.

## WHAT WE THINK

THE QUESTION of disputes and union membership in the offices of trade unions is a delicate one. Obviously, if a trade union were in deep financial trouble and the strength of the organisation was in jeopardy there might be a case for sacrifice by the clerical staff.

But this would only be the case if the union officials were broke too. They're not. Last autumn the AUEW officials gave themselves wage increases of between £18 and £30 a week. The office workers who went on strike asked for £7.

It's clear that no principled trade unionist or official can justify paying a secretary less than the official himself.

The only basis for any call for sacrifice among union staff is if and when union officials get the average wage of the membership they represent—and the same applies to the staff.

This does not apply at the AUEW head office—or any other union for that matter. There are gross inequalities in rates of pay. So the office workers are quite right to form an independent trade union and campaign for better conditions.

The effective dismantling of that union organisation by enticing individual secretaries out of independent trade unions is disgraceful.

# 40,000 on a mighty march to fight the Back Street Abortion Bill- now we need hundreds of thousands of workers to defeat it **WE'RE ON OUR WAY!**

SATURDAY'S demonstration against the proposal to amend the Abortion Act was a terrific start. 40,000 women and men from all over the country showed how we can organise to defeat the Bill. But the fight isn't over yet.

James White and Leo Abse on television on Friday back-tracked on some parts of the Bill, but are just as convinced as ever that they want to change the law. 'The reason why we want to alter the Act is because it has been interpreted to give abortion on demand, abortion on caprice or whim.'

The Bill needs to be kicked out. The list of trade unions represented on the demonstration is impressive but now we have to campaign against the Bill in all the unions, not just the unions with women members or for office and hospital workers. The list has to grow to include the AUEW, the TGWU, the dockers and the miners, builders and car workers.

We have to hound those MPs sponsored by trade unions until they change their votes.

We've got the strength to defeat the Bill. Now we need to use it.

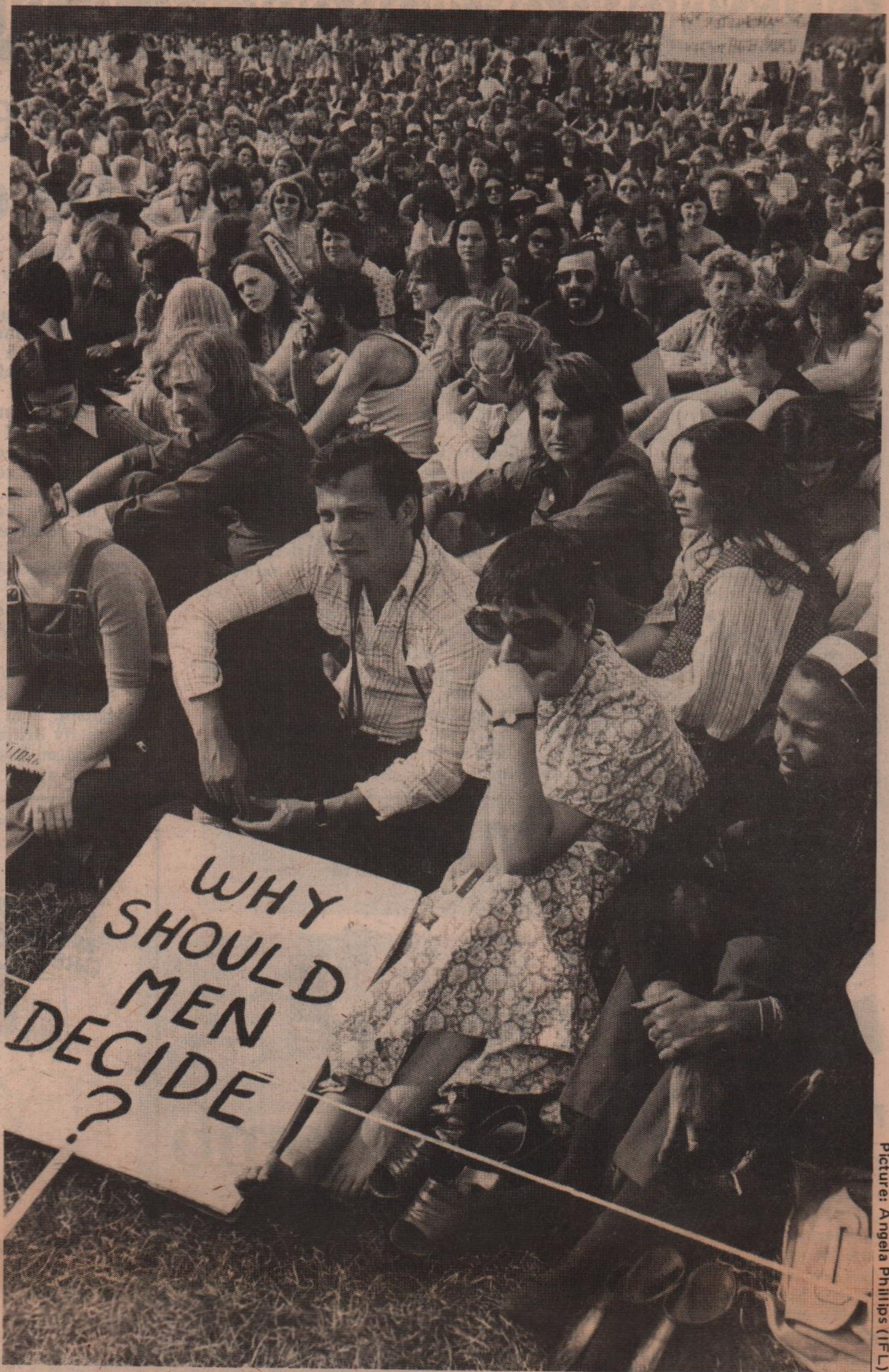
## The banners

AMONG trade union banners on the march were: Hull Dockers' Shop Stewards' Committee, Jacksons Boilers AUEW shop stewards' committee, ACTS Greater London, NALGO Islington, NALGO Greater London Branch, NALGO Tower Hamlets, NALGO Camden, NALGO Hackney, NALGO East London, NALGO Harlow, AUEW TASS No 25 Division, AUEW TASS National Women's Committee, AUEW Leicester 16, UPW Overseas Telephones branch no 1, TGWU London Book Shop branch, TGWU Dillons, NATSOPA Observer Clerical chapel, NUJ/SOGAT Time Out joint chapel, NUJ Magazine branch, NUJ Book branch, NUJ London Freelance branch, APEX Trafford Park, APEX Newcastle Central Branch, APEX British Airways West London, CPSA British Museum, CPSA British Library, COHSE Prestwick Hospital, National Union Public Employers, NUPE North Camden, NUPE Leicestershire, NUT Brighton, NUT

Wandsworth, NUT Lambeth, NUT Westminster, NUT Nottingham, NUT Hackney, NUT East London, ASTMS Paddington, ASTMS University College London, ASTMS West London Medical, ASTMS North East London, ATTI Bristol Poly, ATTI Ealing, ATTI North London Poly, ATTI Kilburn Poly, ATTI North West Division, ATTI Woolwich, ATTI Outer London division, ATTI Kingsway, ATTI Loughton College.

TRADES COUNCILS: Bath, Brent, Bristol, Brighton and Hove, Battersea and Wandsworth, Camden, Croydon, Coventry, Greenwich, Hackney, Hammersmith and Kensington, Hillingdon, Islington, Lewisham and Deptford, Manchester, Nottingham and District, Southwark, Todorden, Westminster.

There were three trade union banners on the demonstration in Glasgow, Edinburgh NALGO, AUEW/TASS Scottish region, Boilermakers Society Glasgow district.



Demonstrators listening to speakers at the Hyde Park rally

## The campaign

THE Bradford AUEW shop stewards' quarterly meeting passed overwhelmingly a resolution 'to oppose the Abortion (Amendment) Bill on the grounds that it restricts the right to abortion of all women, women workers, trade unionists etc,' and called on all members 'to take action against this dangerous measure.'

It was also agreed to send copies of the resolution to the district committee, to Health Minister Barbara Castle, the local MP and the local paper.

The joint shop stewards' committee in Hammersmith Hospital and West London National Abortion Campaign are organising a picket to protest at the anti-abortion policy of the hospital. The policy is a direct result of the chief gynaecologist,

Professor McLure-Brown, being a member of the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child. They are also demanding an out-patient abortion unit for the hospital. The committee is not just fighting the government cuts, it wants to improve the hospital service as well.

Local trade union branches and women's groups should support the picket on Tuesday 2 July, 4pm to 7pm.

## womens voice

The latest issue of *Womens Voice* lists the trade union-sponsored Labour MPs who voted for James White's Bill. It also has a full run-down on the campaign. Copies available from: *Womens Voice*, 8 Cottons Gardens, London, E2. 01-739 2639 (6p plus 7p postage).

## OUR RIGHT TO CHOOSE

'If the James White Abortion (amendment) Bill goes through, 80,000 women will lose their legal right to abortion.'

## NO RETURN TO BACKSTREET ABORTION

'Since 1967 when the abortion law was changed, illegal backstreet abortions have decreased by three quarters.'

## Why trade unions must fight the Anti-Terror Act

IT is now eight months since the Labour government rushed the Prevention of Terrorism Act through parliament. In that time 489 Irish people in Britain have been picked up by the police and held without trial. Fifty-one have been thrown out of the country, torn away from their families, their homes and their jobs, without even being told why.

The aim of the Act, it was said, was to prevent 'Acts of Terror' in Britain. But those held under this Act have been overwhelmingly trade union and political activists.

For example the Act has repeatedly been used against Clann na hEireann organisation. The national secretary and other active members have been deported. Paper sellers have been picked up and interrogated. Other members have lost their

jobs after a word by the Special Branch to their employers. Yet the Clann has publicly opposed bombings and supported the Official Republican movement's truce since 1972.

### Deported

Militant Irish building workers have been subject to similar legal kidnapping. They have simply disappeared from their sites. Days later fellow workers have discovered that they have been thrown in prison, without a word of explanation, and then deported.

If anyone appeals against such treatment, they can be held in jail for several months—which is why only 13 of the 51 deported in the first six months of the Act bothered to appeal. Yet the police evidence

was so flimsy that the deportation of five of those 13 was revoked on appeal.

A typical case is that of James O'Rourke, a building worker in the TGWU, who was detained along with 27 other people after a swoop on their homes in West London in March. No one need have known of their fate had it not been for the hard work of two UCATT members who forced the Home Office to allow visits and interviews with the arrested men. A petition launched by Hammersmith and Kensington Trades Council for the release of O'Rourke was signed by 1000 workers and supported by several trades councils.

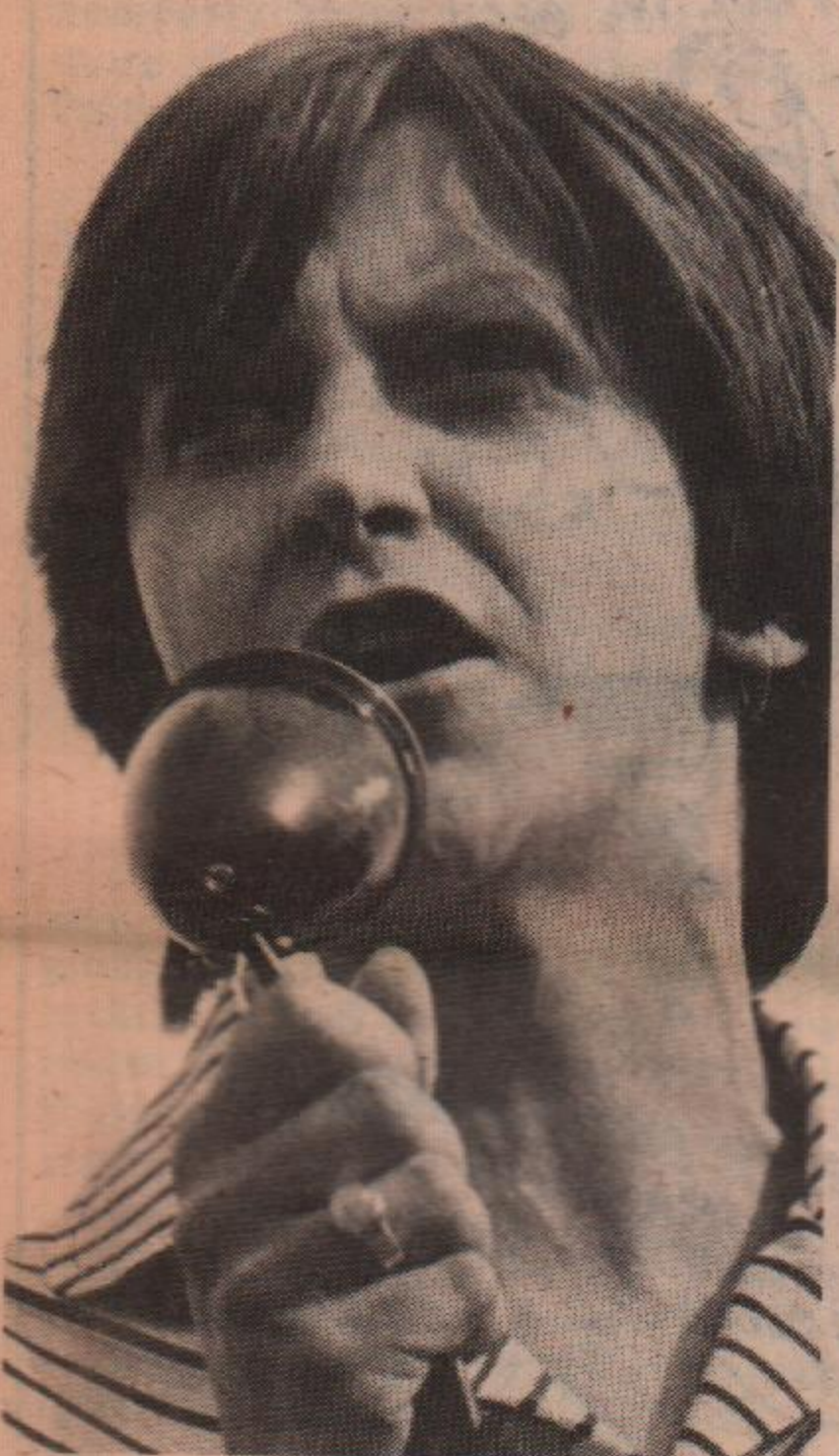
Bletchley Trades Council had to take up the fight for the release of a UCATT shop steward, Joe Gallacher, who was also being held

in Brixton Prison under a deportation order.

The TGWU executive have declared their opposition to the Act and have set up a committee to look into its workings. As the number of arrests and deportations without trial increases it is becoming more and more important that workers get protection from their trade unions.

On the renewal of the Act in May 10 left Labour MPs voted against it. This is too few.

The Troops Out Movement has called a demonstration in Kilburn, North West London, against the Prevention of Terrorism on 5 July. West and North West London IS branches will be supporting this.



BETH STONE, an NUT executive member who spoke to the huge rally in her personal capacity, said:

'This is a wonderful turn out, contradicting everything that has been said about women being too stupid, too apathetic. The other side of it isn't so wonderful. There is little official backing from the trade unions. We've got to do what we can to change this situation.'

This issue is a class issue. On today's march we've seen who's strongest, who's best organised. Now we need to fight for support from miners and dockers. We must organise where we've got the strength.'

# QUESTIONS ON THE CRISIS By DUNCAN HALLAS

WOULD going easy on wages help to keep down unemployment? According to Dennis Healey it would and the idea is being widely pushed in the media.

The argument goes like this. There is only so much available to be paid out in wages. So if some workers push up their pay, other workers must lose their jobs. If wages rise quickly then unemployment must rise quickly too. If, on the other hand, wage rises are kept down then unemployment will be kept down too.

It is a plausible sounding proposition so long as you don't look too closely at it. When you do, it doesn't hold water.

## Real

First of all, are we talking about real wages, wages in terms of what they will buy, or about money wages? Money wage rates (nationally negotiated) for manual workers are said to have risen by 32.6 per cent over the last twelve months and actual earnings by rather less (30.5 per cent). But real earnings have not risen because of the combined effects of price rises and stoppages.

Unemployment has gone up to 870,000 (plus over 200,000 on

# Pay cuts = more jobs? Don't be daft!

short time) and is clearly going to go over the million mark in the autumn. But even if Healey's 'wages fund' argument is correct this cannot be directly connected with pay. How could it? The 'so much available for wages' must refer to real wages, and to goods corresponding to these wages, and real wages have definitely not risen. Something else is causing the rise in unemployment.

This becomes transparently clear when we look outside Britain. Even the BBC-TV, announcing the unemployment figures, let slip that the British unemployment rate (3.7 per cent of insured workers) is the lowest in the Common Market.

And yet we are told every day that the rate of (money) pay rises in Britain is the highest in the Common Market. In West Germany, for example, with low pay rises and about the same size of workforce, there are 1,250,000 wholly unemployed.

To go further afield, in the USA unemployment is well over double the British rate—it now stands at nearly 9 per cent (over 8 million workers). But the USA has a low rate of inflation (a third of the British rate) and an even lower rate of pay rises.

The facts demonstrate, beyond the possibility of dispute, that the 'wages fund' theory, the 'only so much available to be paid out in wages' argument, is wrong. It is simply not true that there is a simple 'trade-off' relationship between pay and jobs.

The real cause of high unemployment, here and elsewhere, is so obvious that no-one who has not been brain-washed by press and TV can fail to see it.

It is the world recession. Output has fallen in most countries. Trade is stagnant. And this is in no way a peculiarly British problem.

Capitalism has lurched back into the boom-slump cycle and only an

economic idiot can believe that this can be cured by cutting pay.

Because cutting pay is what government and employers are after. The 'inflationary pay rises' they are denouncing are just about, on average maintaining real earnings. For many workers, of course, they haven't even achieved that.

The whole 'wages versus unemployment' stunt is part of the propaganda preparation for Social Con-Trick Mark II. Its aim is to confuse and disarm workers and to the extent it succeeds we will get lower pay and higher unemployment.

## Fallacy

That has been the experience. For the 'wages fund' fallacy has a long and disreputable history. In the nineteen-twenties Tory Prime Minister Baldwin used it in his famous 'All the workers in this country have got to accept reductions in wages' campaign.

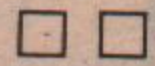
He got his way. The TUC sold-out the miners and there were all-round pay cuts. There was also chronic and growing unemployment. Earlier still, the same propaganda was used to 'prove' that trade unions were against workers'

interests.

There was only so much for wages, you see. So if some selfish group organised and forced their employers to pay more, then other workers must take less or lose their jobs.

It was a lie then and it is a lie now. And the fact that Dennis Healey—who is not an economic idiot—uses this old and reactionary weapon of the employers shows just how rotten, right-wing and reactionary the 'Labour' government's economic policies are today.

A final point. Not everyone suffers because he or she loses a job. There is unemployment and unemployment. The sacked managing director of British Leyland is to get £370,000 compensation! Like Royal Ascot it is all part of the Social Contract.



TONY CLIFF's The Crisis: Social Contract or Socialism is available for 75p plus 8p postage from IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

Bulk reductions for trade union branches, shop stewards committees, trades councils etc—enquire Pluto Press, Unit 10 Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Rd, London NW1. A SOCIALIST WORKER PUBLICATION.

# 5 FIFTH COLUMN



## The pits' time bomb

NO-ONE yet knows exactly what caused the explosion at Houghton Main Colliery, in which five miners were killed. But a glance at various reports and articles which have appeared in newspapers and the specialist press over the last few months offer some ominous clues.

The key question is whether or not there was any coal cutting machinery in the new seam—or near the new seam, and whether it sparked off an explosion.

On 20 April David Norris, writing in the Sunday Telegraph reported on two papers published by the Institute of Mining Engineers. 'Government scientists are investigating an alarming increase in the number of "frictional" explosions in coal mines,' he wrote. 'One leading mining engineer says there may be a "major disaster" if the trend continues.'

These frictional ignitions have increased by 100 per cent since the mid 1960s. The reason? High speed automated cutting equipment began to be introduced, so that by 1966 mines were 93 per cent automated.

## Detonate

As the output has risen, so the number of ignitions—which in turn can detonate the methane in the pits has risen with it.

This isn't something that the NCB is ignorant about. 'Does not the fact that we are getting so many ignitions suggest that there is something wrong with the engineering of actual coal cutting?' asked Sir Andrew Bryan at last October's meeting of the Institute of Mining Engineers. Sir Andrew is the chief mining consultant to the NCB. His previous posts include chief inspector of the mines—and director of production at the NCB.

So what does this indicate? That the NCB know about the risks involved, and that the odds that the explosion was caused by the picks is about three to one. 73 per cent of ignitions are so produced.

And if it wasn't? That it is only a question of time before another disaster occurs, caused by the NCB's equipment, in the interests of productivity, and at the expense of life...

**WORRIED, disturbed, pregnant?** Try Wolverhampton MP Renee Short's advice. Speaking to last Saturday's National Abortion Campaign march rally, she offered the following advice. 'Campaign, collect signatures, and above all write to your members of parliament.' Could have saved us a lot of walking if we'd known before...

## A yarn of the betting shops...

THE disappearance of popular East End sporting man Fred Lucan has caused much distress among his neighbours.

His wife has claimed that he dropped in at their flat, battered their baby-sitter to death and set about her with a club.

'It's ridiculous' said a member of his family. 'She's always had funny ideas, she always resented him because he was so popular in the area.'

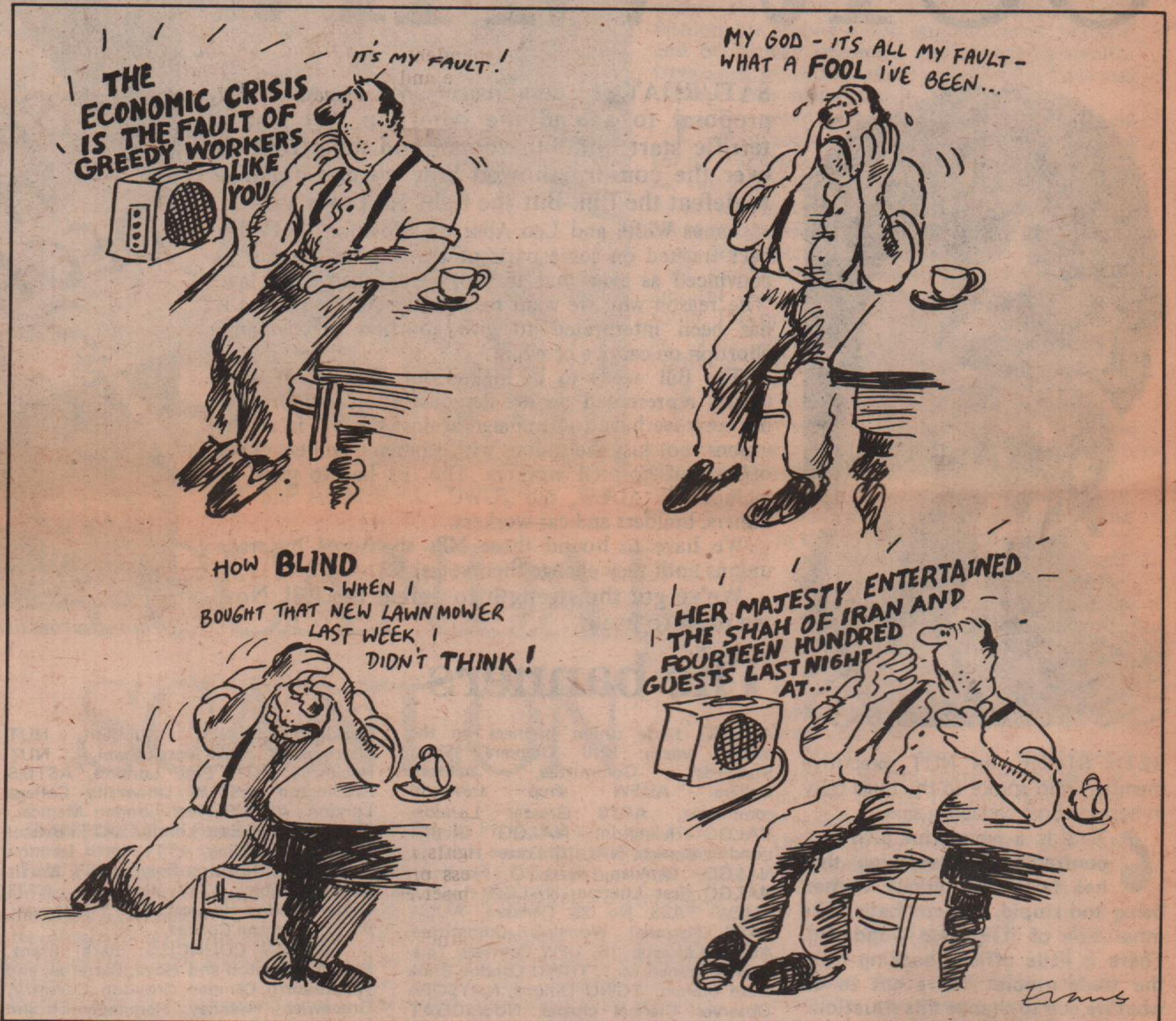
So popular was Fred that workers in local factories gave part of their wage packets to him each week just so that he could have a good time. 'We loved old Fred down here' explained one. 'He had a special seat in the local Williams Hills so that he didn't get tired carrying his betting slips to the counter.'

'We used to slip in there and bring him little presents. Simple things like pate de foie gras sandwiches and fatted calves and Moet and Chandon champagne. It was a violent little wine but he used to be amused by its presumption.'

Why was he so popular? 'It's difficult to say really, he was so—so peaceful' explained his brother-in-law. 'He just used to sit there day after day, year after year, eating and drinking and gambling and hitting people with this bit of piping he had.'

'He never said much, but when he did—he seemed to have it all summed up, "kill all the commies" he'd say one day, or "shoot all the blacks", used to double us up it did. Course he'd never hurt a fly—didn't like human beings much though.'

'We don't believe in prying into people's lives,' said a police spokesman, and we can quite understand why his friends should be too grief stricken to tell us anything. After all it was only a family tiff, and no one knew the baby-sitter anyway.'



## The NF, and a nifty bit of parking

A RECENT demonstration by the National Front in Derby was marred by them by a lack of banners and placards to proclaim their message. A woman who had driven up from London with placards for the demonstration had problems with her parking. Fortunately she stumbled upon a most helpful Socialist Worker reader.

So that she wouldn't get booked for parking on a double yellow line he offered to help her unload her car. Even more thoughtfully he offered to take care of her placards until her friends arrived. They eventually showed up, and waited, and waited...

Eventually they had to march without any placards. A member of the National Front was asked by a local reporter why people were being prevented from attending the public meeting which followed the march. 'We don't want any Commies in because they will all wreck the place,' he explained. 'We can tell the difference between the public and the Commies by the way they dress.'

How sad they forgot to tell the placard bearer from London...

## PUZZLE CORNER: WHERE IS HE NOW?

'A genuine incomes policy must be dependent upon the community having a decisive control over the creation of wealth; in particular over the level and direction of investment. We have rejected the (Labour) government's spurious incomes policy because as one writer pointed out: "Labour is really being asked to give its consent to a particular type of social order... a fully-fledged

"incomes policy" really implies... the equivalent of a new Social Contract.'

This contract gives neither control nor guaranteed returns but merely a limited and illusory role in the distribution of incomes.'

Who said it?  
A: The leader of the country's biggest trade union?  
B: Jack Jones?  
C: The man who last autumn re-

GOOD to see one judge has stuck to his principles. Lord Justice Lawton, says that the real reason people turn to crime is 'wickedness'.

Crime 'can never be wiped out because of the nature of man... I am convinced that crime will continue as long as the public are bamboozled into thinking that a prime cause of it is bad social conditions and not wickedness.'

Perhaps Lawton got his experience of the irrelevance of bad social conditions on walks in the East End back in the 1930s. Some of his friends used to kick in a lot of windows and heads down there then, they were members of Mosley's British Union of Fascists.

So was he.

fused to make 13 different strikes official lest they threaten the Social Contract?

D: Jack Jones?  
E: The man with a job for life who recently viciously attacked the London dockers for seeking the same?

F: Jack Jones?

The first INCORRECT answer received will be the lucky winner.

# Republica: Smokescreen for the right

ONE of the most hypocritical campaigns in the British press for many years has centred around the Portuguese newspaper Republica whose editor Raul Rego is everywhere praised for defending freedom.

There are one or two rather large flaws in the Republica campaign. So large in fact that it could be fairly described as a fraud from start to finish.

The Republica affair started earlier this year when the printworkers became concerned at the paper's declining sales. They feared redundancy and asked for discussions about safeguarding their jobs.

They asked for information on the overall situation and asked for discussions on whether or not the recent changes in the paper's line might not be connected with the paper's declining sales.

Editor Raul Rego refused any such discussions and got ready to fight. In reply the printworkers ignored some of his orders and stated that they would no longer put up with Rego as editor. This was the only way they could see to defend their jobs and improve the paper.

Under Rego the paper has moved away from being an independent, non-party 'paper of information', as it is registered, to a journal more and more closely allied to the Socialist Party.

Socialist Party personalities have been built up continuously. Front pages have more and more promoted the Socialist Party view of the world to the exclusion of important news or other crucial political stories.

Statements from other political organisations have been given little space or kept out of the paper altogether. This was particularly true at the elections.

## Out

Some 17 journalists who in one way or another opposed what was going on have been forced out. These include Miguel Serrano, former news editor, and his deputies Fernando Pacheco and Afonso Praca. Their statements on the affair have of course been ignored by the British press, and they have been replaced with journalists who are either members or supporters of the Socialist Party or who will quietly toe the line.

Raul Rego, the paper's editor, is one of the top leaders of the Socialist Party. Indeed he was Minister of Information in the Spínola government.

As Minister of Information he suspended publication of four newspapers last summer. These papers had committed the crime of publishing details of a banned left-wing demonstration and publishing information which might have caused dissent within the Armed Forces.

One of the four papers suspended

## Italy: What the Communist vote means

Michael Richardson reports from Rome

THE streets of this city were filled with tens of thousands of people waving red flags, singing the songs of the resistance and the International last Monday. They were celebrating the greatest left-wing electoral victory since the war.

Italy's local elections have produced a swing towards the left which not even the most optimistic left-wingers considered possible. Rome, the capital, is famous for its absence of factories, for its corruption, for its fascist traditions—more than 200,000 people vote for the MSI, the heirs of Mussolini. But even in Rome the left—the Communist Party, socialist party and revolutionary left—polled 45.8 per cent of the votes.

In the northern factories there were spontaneous demonstrations of joy. In the country as a whole the combined left has 46.8 per cent of the votes. The revolutionary socialist newspaper *Quotidiano dei Lavoratori* (Workers' Daily) rightly called the result 'a victory to the working class'.

Thirty years of government by the ruling clerical party, the Christian Democrats, the recent fascist bomb outrages, and the deep economic crisis, which has seen hundreds of

thousands of workers unemployed or laid off, have all met with a just response.

The greatest success went to the Communists, who increased their vote by more than 5 per cent to 33.4 per cent. The Christian Democrats are only just ahead with 35.3 per cent of the votes.

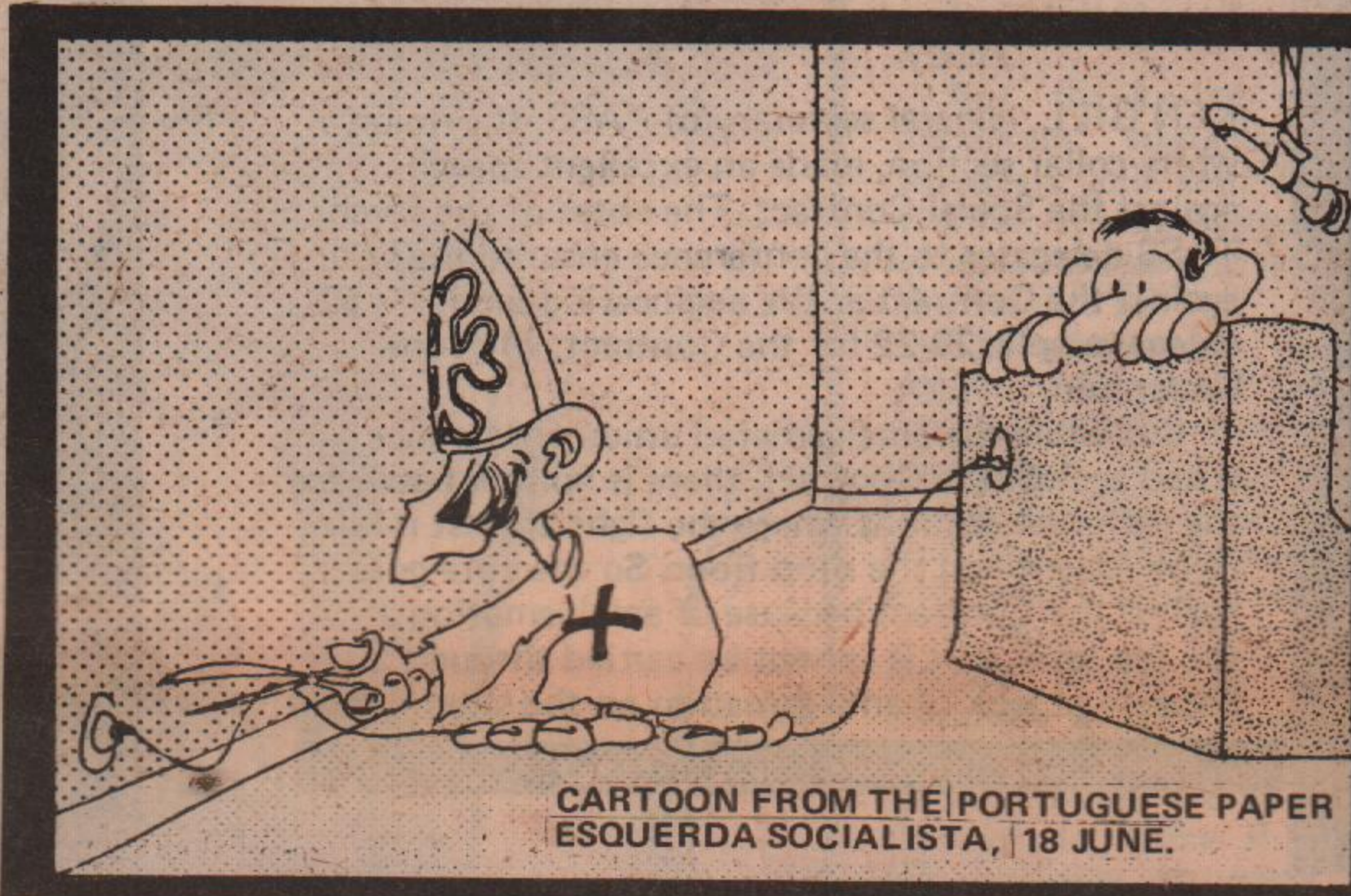
The Communists now have more than 11 million votes, the party has a membership of more than one and a half million. It is undoubtedly the strongest and best organised left-wing party in Europe.

But its strategy is deeply and unashamedly reformist. Its leaders believe despite Chile, despite everything, that they can gain power by peaceful means and that the way forward lies in a government alliance with the Christian Democrats.

In broad terms, they point to Chile not as an example of how the left failed to seize real power when they could have done, but of how Allende failed to reach agreement with the pro-capitalist Christian Democrat Party, thus

RIGHT: A Socialist Party member holds aloft a burning copy of Republica in the first Socialist Party demonstration against the alleged Communist takeover last month.

Republica has become the focus for a massively hypocritical press campaign in support of the Socialist Party and editor Raul Rego. No such campaign has been launched in support of Italo Pietra, the left-wing editor of Rome's leading newspaper *Il Messaggero*. Pietra has been forced out by Eugenio Cefis, boss of the multinational giant Montedison, which has a controlling interest in the paper. Cefis demanded support for his friend Fanfani, leader of the Christian Democrat party. Pietra refused and had to resign.



CARTOON FROM THE PORTUGUESE PAPER ESQUERDA SOCIALISTA, 18 JUNE.

by Rego was Republica itself. He also fined the paper. Naturally when Rego was doing this there wasn't a murmur of protest in the international press.

The present closure of Republica was precipitated by Rego. He asked the Armed Forces Movement to shut it pending the decision of the press tribunal over the printers' rights to some control. The British press pretends that the workers themselves shut the paper down.

Raul Rego's final touch rounded off his hypocritical campaign perfectly.

When Copcon, the security force, came to give him the keys to re-open Republica, he demanded that they come down with him and help him

sack some 15 workers, a number which suggested that he was out to sack the entire 15-strong workers' committee. Rego's freedom of the press, then, equals the right to sack working-class militants.

But the Copcon major concerned wouldn't go along with this. He went down to Republica, sought out a Socialist Party member of the workers' committee and gave him the keys to re-open.

The fact that there are Socialist Party militants involved in the struggle against Rego shows that the workers are not the victims of some sinister Stalinist ploy, as the British press implies.

They are fighting to maintain and extend workers' power over the press

The same struggle as at Republica is being played out at Radio Renascença, the station owned by the Catholic Church. The church authorities have been trying to purge left-wing reporters. They have also been demanding to read all scripts before transmission, and exercising an enormous internal censorship. None of this was reported in the British press.

But now the workers have occupied the station to stop the victimisations, the British press has got stuck in. One thing you can say about British newspaper proprietors—they know who their friends are and back them to the hilt.

and to reduce the power of the reactionary editor system. In embryo, they are fighting to advance the revolution, while Rego and Co are fighting to hold it back.

As a matter of fact Communist Party militants are in a minority on the Republica workers' committee—two out of 15. The biggest single group are members of the Maoist UDP which adopts a hysterical anti-Communist Party line.

All this is to say that it is not the printworkers at Republica who are engaging in intrigue and undemocratic manoeuvring. That clearly is the prerogative of the Socialist Party leaders who are only too pleased to fan the flames of anti-communism for their own advancement.

slate where possible. The third refused.

These strange and sectarian tactics meant that the revolutionary left was unable to present a united slate at the elections. Even so, AO and PDUP together polled more than 400,000 votes, equivalent to 1.84 per cent of the electorate in the regions where they stood, and a considerable achievement. If they had chosen to put up candidates in all regions they would have gained more than 700,000 votes.

They did particularly well in the city and province of Milan, where AO is strong in a large number of factories, gaining nearly 77,000 votes. But they also did well as far south as Calabria, where PDUP stood alone and gained nearly 30,000 votes.

Clearly the revolutionary left does not see electoral politics as their main area of activity, and their real strength is not to be counted in the number of votes they get in this sort of election. But AO and PDUP have shown that they are a credible national force and have undoubtedly gained heart in the long struggle to win the working class away from the mass reformist parties.

## SETBACK FOR THE LEFT

THE outcome of the lengthy meeting of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, the top body of Portugal's ruling Armed Forces Movement, is a serious setback for the revolutionary left.

Party politics are to be banned from the armed forces, a very dangerous development. 'Unrealistic' wage demands are to be attacked by the government. With inflation running at 30 per cent a year this means that the government is going to start reducing workers' living standards and extracting a high price for the crisis. The Supreme Council has also decided in principle to move against the revolutionary left. At the same time it announced that non-socialist parties would be guaranteed freedom of activity.

The Council has also announced that Portugal will remain in NATO for the time being. And the Council has stressed that it will do nothing to upset the balance of power in the Mediterranean.

The Supreme Council gave a decisive rebuff to the proposals for revolutionary councils put by the powerful and ambitious Copcon commander Oteló de Carvalho.

What remains to be seen is the ability of the government to translate its decisions into action. In this Copcon is the key.

Despite these setbacks, events over recent weeks have brought new sections of the working class into support for revolutionary councils.

## PORTUGUESE SOLIDARITY FUND

This fund has been set up to send money to the PRP (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat), to help finance the Portuguese Workers Coordinating Committee in Britain and to help pay towards the cost of the International Socialists' work in solidarity with the Portuguese revolution.

send to:  
Socialist Worker Portuguese  
Solidarity Fund, 8 Cottons Gardens,  
London E2 8DN.

The total for the fund is now £664.70. Collections at meetings organised by the International Socialists for Carlos Silva, a sergeant in the Portuguese army raised: Edinburgh £51.66, Glasgow £30.81, Birmingham £23. Acton IS branch raised £20, and an individual member sent £100.

# THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS

## One in the eye for Harold - but nothing in the pocket for the engineers

WAS it worth beating the ban on Socialist Worker journalists attending conferences of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering workers?

Several delegates suggested at the annual AUEW conference in Hastings last week that Socialist Worker would lose all interest in the conferences, now we are admitted to them.

On the contrary. The conference is the policy-making body of one of the strongest and most democratic unions in the country. It is serious, sincere and disciplined. Its proceedings are crucial to the great battles which British workers will be fighting in the months ahead.

Which is why I found myself asking myself one question again and again throughout last week's conference: Are these 69 men capable of withstanding the storms into which they are about to be plunged?

The conference rejected the Social Contract and wage restraint by a clear majority, despite the pleas of the union's president, Hugh Scanlon.

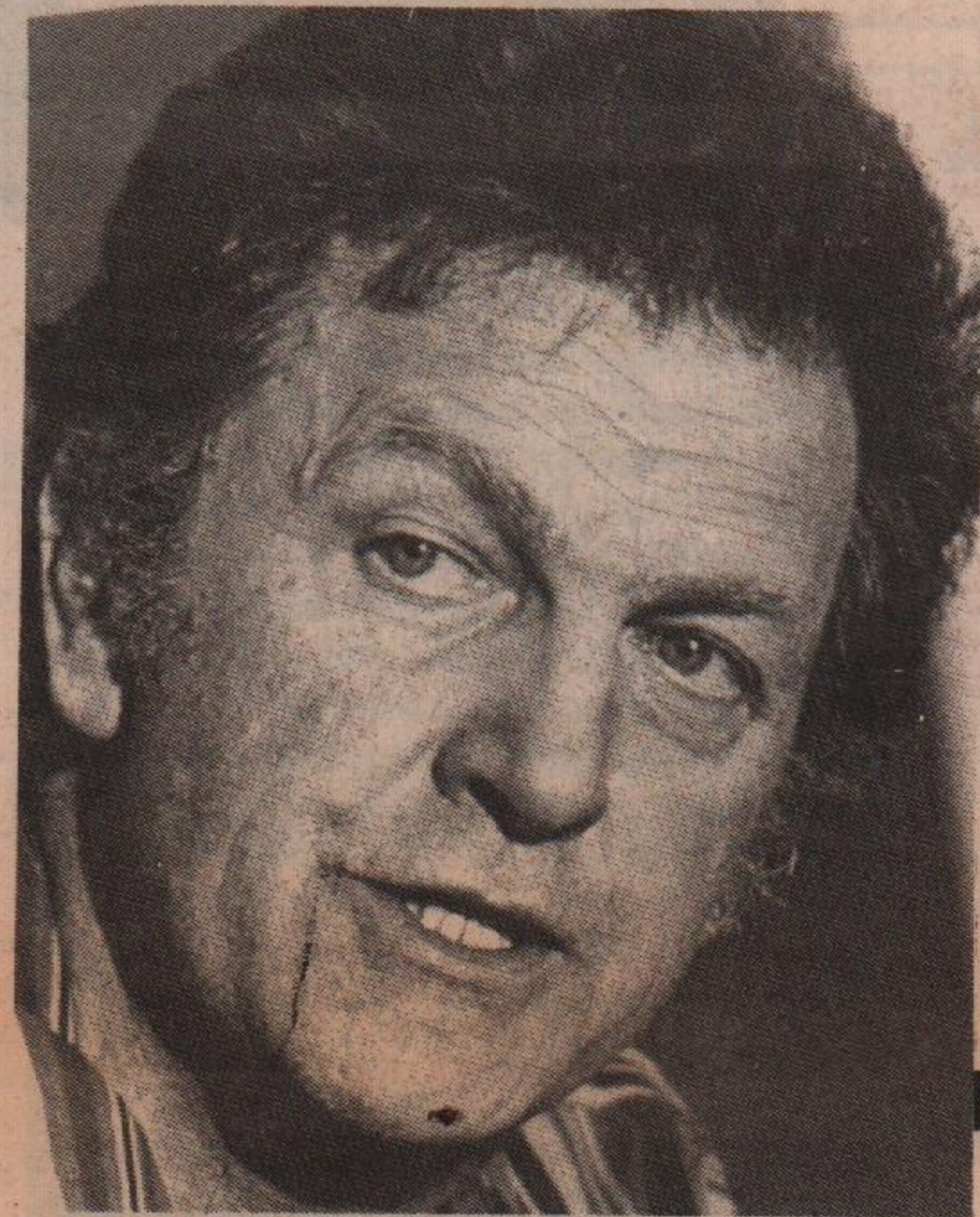
### Ovations

W B Jordan, a Birmingham delegate who was one of the right wing's leading spokesmen, had complained that continuing wage inflation would 'reduce this country to the level of a Banana Republic.'

His line was echoed by John Weakley, who, even though he is taking the union to the courts, received one of the week's few ovations from the right wing. He was worried about the 'country's economic well-being', while general secretary John Boyd praised 'all that Labour had done to increase the social wage'.

All this was fairly easily dispensed with in a series of speeches from the left.

Jimmy Reid from Clydeside



KEN GILL, general secretary of TASS, the union's white-collar section, made an excellent speech against the Social Contract. The votes of the seven TASS delegates to the conference ensured the vote against the Contract as the engineering section's 52 delegates split 29-22 for the Contract, with one abstention.

But while the amalgamated union conference voted against the Contract, there is no link between the different sections where the fight against it has to be fought—on the shop floor. So the vote goes against the Contract because of amalgamation at the top level: but it cannot be carried through because of lack of amalgamation on the shop floor.

pointed out that the appeals for working-class sacrifice were being made by governments and capitalists all over the world. 'How can we all import less and export more at the same time?' he asked.

Ken Gill, general secretary of the white-collar section of the union (TASS), showed how the 'capital starvation' which had caused the present crisis was not

the fault of the workers, that the government had not increased the social wage, that it was 'moving drastically to the right and opening the door to another Tory government.'

At this level, the left were easy winners. But there was another argument, nagging away throughout the day, which was not answered at all. It was put most forcefully by Jim Griffin, the deeply right-wing delegate from Coventry.

Griffin taunted the left for being 'cardboard delegates' who talked big at conference but couldn't deliver the goods for their members.

He said he had been the only member of the engineering section's national committee to oppose last year's engineering pay settlement. 'Fifty-one of you agreed only two months ago to go along with a settlement which was 8 per cent less than the Social Contract. Two years in a row you've made national deals which are far lower than what we're now allowed under the Social Contract.'

### Highest

Not one left-wing delegate could cope with this argument. Not one could point to his own experience and say: 'Look how we broke the Contract with our industrial strength.'

Not one delegate referred to the fact that the union's engineering section hasn't even submitted a national wage claim.

The conference debated redundancy on the morning that the highest June unemployment figures since the war were announced.

There were eleven speakers in the debate. Not one mentioned a single specific fight against jobs in their factory or their locality. Not a single occupation was referred to.

Most delegates complained fit-

fully about the 'cancer' of voluntary redundancy. John Byrne, from Rolls-Royce East Kilbride, said: 'We've got to find some way of stopping the barter of voluntary redundancy'. He couldn't think of a way, and neither could anyone else. Indeed, some delegates from the right even seemed to favour voluntary redundancy.

The same failure to connect with shop-floor struggle was shown in every other debate. The delegates behaved less like shop-floor representatives than trade union legislators. The resolutions they passed did not bind each of them to a fighting policy, but were rather meant to put minimal pressure on someone else to do something.

### Disastrous

So both left and right, although disagreeing on almost everything, allowed the bulk of resolutions to pass unopposed, while intriguing for the stage fight in front of the television cameras.

This suits the right wing. They do not want to change anything.

But for the left it is disastrous. It lines them up with the right as people who argue and intrigue at the top of the union. It exposes them to witch-hunts and smears. It leads to revolutionary 'triumphs' which are not reflected in the activity or the conditions of the members.

If this continues, it could be disastrous for the union's members. Engineering workers will only be protected from the ravages of the system by a fighting union. Left-sounding delegates in the leadership will not make a fighting union. What matters is that the policies and strategies of the union have to be based on the fight on the shop floor.

When engineering workers vote in future union elections they must look for more than rhetoric from the Left candidates. They



SID HARROWAY, AUEW convenor at Fords Dagenham, was the only one out of eleven speakers in two debates on women who mentioned the word 'abortion'. He said:

'The question of free abortion is very important' and thought the union should do something about it. He mentioned a demonstration on abortion which was taking place 'some time in the next few weeks'. Neither he, nor apparently any one of the delegates, realised that the demonstration was that very weekend.

The nine-point Women's Charter passed unanimously by conference did not mention abortion. Not one delegate referred to a single shop-floor struggle to achieve equal pay—or any other of the nine points.

must ask themselves whether the policies proposed will bring needs and the fighting spirit of the shop floor into these conferences.

Last week's Socialist Worker put forward a series of such policies in an Engineers' Charter. The Charter called for national across the board wage increases to keep ahead of inflation on top of £60 minimum time rates. It also called for official campaigning and propaganda within the membership for such claims.

On jobs, it called for official occupations to force nationalisation without compensation of plants threatened with closure, and for control of jobs by the union's district committees.

These policies link the programme with the rank and file battle. If delegates representing such policies are elected to office, they would bind the union into a powerful fighting force.

PAUL FOOT

The AUEW Amalgamated Con



REG B... have lambasted pace with the basis of the born out of

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But Reg... which has co practice. He past two miserable sur supported t to such terril

The R

THE June issue of Socialism, the IS n contains an article Left in the AUEW required reading dismayed at the rig our union leadersh

It begins with detailed look at of elections and Broad Left candid the failure to me file support. John sis of these result lack of confidence has in the cur

Scra

Members obvious sioned by the la nationally for m rises and job secur

Deason goes o bureaucratic wra leadership over scrap the postal than presenting t ments to the m using pressure fro and districts to National Commit the branch ballo found themselves where Scanlon h casting vote. The wrangling is that has gone to co Walton has ruled order.

The article co critique of the B it began in the numerous example sell-outs right up t 1975 claim.

Notable is the

### International Socialism 79

Available, price 28p (inc postage) from 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



The broad left in the AUEW



Building the revolutionary party



Black Power and the 'Third World'

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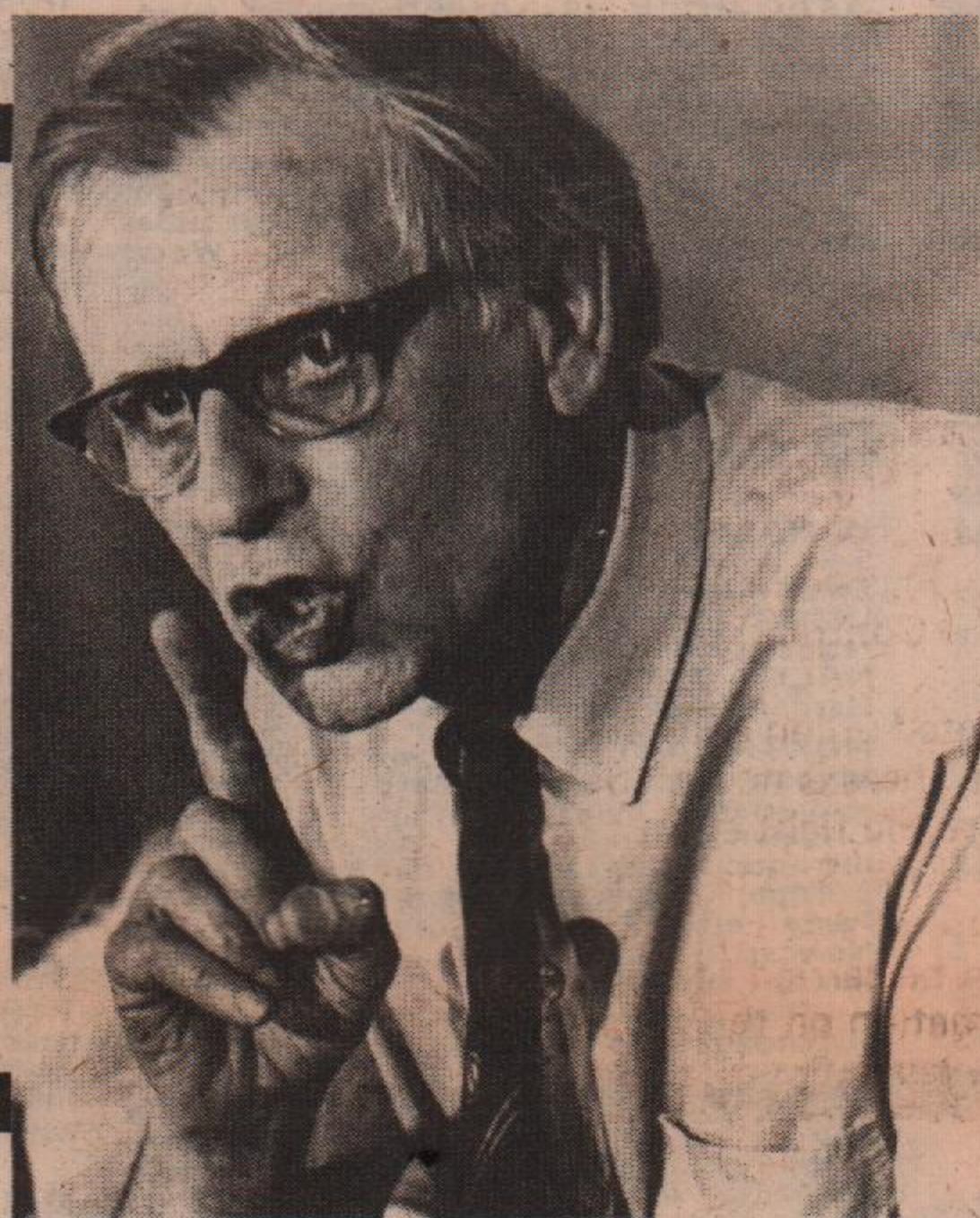




Conference in session. PICTURES: Chris Davies (Report)

... made one of the finest speeches I ever heard on the Social Contract. He said the idea of the 'fodder wage—keeping the price of staying alive', which was the Social Contract. The Contract was 'a notion of hierarchy... You show me the worker who said: Give me a Social Contract'. He said: 'telling the boss he's a bastard,' he said, 'telling us we're lazy. So let's get on with this exchange of niceties.'

... is a member of a union executive who has consistently failed to put these ideas into practice. He was personally responsible for the wage deals at Fords, which represented a surrender to the employers. He also fully endorsed the divisive 'guerrilla strategy' which led to the defeats for union members in 1972.



## Failure of the Broad Left

by Mick Brightman (AUEW)

... of International... monthly journal... on the Broad... which should be... for all who are... right-wing drift of... p.

... a hard and... the latest round... the defeat of... because of... Deason's analy... highlights the... membership... leadership.

... feel disillusioned... of any fight... meaningful wage... ty.

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... continues with a... road Left since... 1960s, with... of failures and... the disastrous... failure to fight

nationally over the 1972 claim, which resulted in Manchester being left to fight virtually alone, while the rest of the union stood back.

Arguments such as 'The members are not willing to take up the struggle nationally for better wages and conditions and job security' don't hold water. The evidence all points the other way. For at least half a million engineering workers stopped work at a few hours notice after the executive's call for an all-out national stoppage on 8 May 1973 in defence of the union against the Industrial Relations Court.

I would urge all AUEW rank and file militants to read John Deason's article.



Clydesider Jimmy Reid, who slammed capitalist appeals for 'sacrifice'

## BEHIND-SCENES DEALINGS

# Carve-up in Zimbabwe

by Martha Osamor and Laurie Flynn

THE BRITISH press have discovered a new mood in Africa. South Africa's racist government has, they say, seen the light.

Vorster and Co are talking with leaders of the black states. Even Ian Smith, prime minister of the racist Rhodesian regime, is being pressured to the conference table.

Detente is the name of the 'new spirit'. Everybody knows that it's a good thing and so it's clear that only extremists are holding out against it.

It's of no consequence that this detente, in reality, doesn't mean even a sniff of real freedom for the millions of oppressed and exploited blacks throughout Africa.

But thanks to a revealing document smuggled out of Rhodesia and sent to Socialist Worker, it's no longer a matter of speculation just how phoney the detente is.

The document, a 14-page report to the Smith government by two wealthy members of the Rhodesian National Farmers Union (whites only), tells of a visit they made to neighbouring and 'independent' Zambia.

It makes it clear that what detente holds in store for Rhodesia is a few minor changes in the racist political structure. These changes are to be carried through to make it easier for big business to carry on its profitable operations in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa as a whole without interruption.

### Trust

The visit, by Roy Firks and John Strong, took place at the end of March and was arranged with the knowledge of the Zambian government.

The aim was to enable Messrs Firks and Strong to return with enough information to reassure other white farmers about the 'trustworthy' nature of the Kaunda regime and to increase agricultural collaboration between the two countries.

After making contacts in the agricultural field, the Rhodesian farmers were invited to extend their stay to discuss directly with President Kenneth Kaunda.

Their own note on this aspect of the visit makes it clear that the farmers were working on behalf of the Smith government.

We were asked not to tell anybody that we were to meet the President and



President Kaunda of Zambia, who agreed with the two Rhodesians that no time limit could be set for majority rule.

particularly not to contact Rhodesia. There was to be nothing in the press and the matter was to be treated as confidential.

Fortunately that afternoon, as we suspected that arrangements were being made for us to meet Dr Kaunda, we had rung up the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Salisbury, and had warned him what was taking place and asked for his advice.

He advised us to project an image of reasonableness and of a sincere wish to achieve a settlement.

Strong made the introductory remarks at the meeting with Kaunda. Then Firks launched into his speech.

He stated that 'majority rule' was inevitable in the long run and should be accepted in principle now. No time limit should be put on its realisation in practice, however.

Zambians, Firks stated, 'did not understand the fund of goodwill that existed in Rhodesia between the races.'

All this rubbish was, of course, listened to without the slightest hint of disagreement from the Zambian government ministers. The note continues:

Firks said he would like to explain to the President that both Strong and he were essentially Conservatives and that they believed that capitalism was the system best suited to lead the people of Africa towards a better life.

### Reply

He quoted the Mukonchi Training scheme as an example of how, through capitalism, farmers were being settled on to viable farms to form the future backbone of Zambia. This was an example of progressive Conservatism based on justice and moral realities that would contribute a lot to the country.

Then came Kaunda's reply. He began: 'I never thought I would live to see the day when I would hear white Rhodesians talk like this. It is the first time I have heard these views expressed so sincerely and I believe you.'

Kaunda outlined how his government operated. Then he turned to the situation in Zimbabwe which he referred to always as 'Zimbabwe, or Rhodesia as it is now'. Firks and Strong's note of the conversation runs as follows:

He (Kaunda) had had much criticism from other African leaders at the arresting of ZANU people, but he had done this to help unify the ANC.

He said that Mr Smith should not expect Bishop Muzorewa to be able to control all four present African groups in Rhodesia, which he named as

Frolizi, ZANU, ZAPU and ANC, and it is Mr Smith's job and real interest to encourage African leaders in Rhodesia to concentrate on the ANC.

Zambia had put tremendous effort and time into solving the problem of unity among Rhodesian African leaders; this had indeed over-occupied them, but they would continue to do this even though they would be criticised by their own people in Zambia.

Zambia's needs could only be expected to come first. Should there be a sincere move from us white Rhodesians, then Zambia would cut off all help to the guerillas. (This was repeated twice during our interview and again after lunch).

He felt the Rhodesians had not done enough themselves to meet the African leaders quietly and confidentially to develop trust between each other.

### Ten years

The President said that he had told our Prime Minister he was prepared to underwrite a Bill of Rights guaranteeing the European continued ownership of his property.

Then Kaunda really laid it on the line just how much he was in agreement with a real carve up in Rhodesia.

The President said that the more important thing was a commitment to majority rule which should be made now. He said a sudden move to majority rule could lead to a breakdown of the economy and would help no one.

He agreed one could not measure the time in years and reminded us that Zambia only had one man one vote in the 1973 elections. Before this they had a qualified franchise and it had taken them nearly ten years to move to complete majority rule.

In Rhodesia, it might take longer because conditions in Zambia were relatively simple; the Rhodesian economy was more complex and the racial problems more difficult than they had ever been in Zambia. He was definitely thinking in terms of a common roll with a qualified franchise.

### Loving-up

He repeated again that now was the time for a definite commitment to majority rule. It might well be a considerable time before the commitment and actual majority rule itself, but that after the commitment, things would evolve naturally.

He repeated several times that there was not much time left in Rhodesia for a decision to be taken.

Loving up to white racist Rhodesian farmers is but one aspect of detente. The other is jailing the black African guerillas who have been fighting the Smith regime.

The explanation for this performance from the Kaunda regime is simple. The regime is the willing prisoner of big business in Africa. It is totally dominated by the big mining corporations like Anglo American and the infamous Lonrho, both of which companies are deeply involved in Rhodesia and therefore desperate to do everything they can to shore up capitalism in Zimbabwe.



**"Black workers must not be burdened with superfluous appendages like women and children"**

G.F. Van L. FRONEMAN  
when South African  
Minister of Justice

## Last Grave at Dimbaza

Filmed ILLEGALLY in SOUTH AFRICA during 1973 by BLACK film makers

### SOCIALIST WORKER FILM TOUR

DERBY: Sunday 29 June, 7.30pm, Queens Hall, London Road.  
CAMBRIDGE: Monday 30 June, 8pm, College of Art and Technology, Collier Road, off Mill Road.  
BIRMINGHAM: Wednesday 2 July, 7.30pm, Lecture room 1, Digbeth Civic Hall.  
COVENTRY: Thursday 3 July, 8pm, Room F107, Lanchester Polytechnic.  
WEST LONDON: Friday 4 July, 8pm, Southall Town Hall, Uxbridge Road, Southall.  
NORTH LONDON: Sunday 6 July, 7pm, Co-op Hall, Seven Sisters Road, N4.

Tickets 30p in advance from local IS branches, 40p on the door.

# The AUEW lift their ban, thanks to you!

SOCIALIST WORKER has at last been admitted to the meetings of the Engineering Union. Last week Paul Foot was allowed into the AUEW conference in Hastings. The AUEW Executive would never have changed its mind but for the number of resolutions sent to them from branches and districts. We would like to thank the following branches:

Thornbury, Shipley, New Southgate no.1, Glasgow Springfield, Leeds Central, Keighley TASS, Chippenham no.1, Sheffield 9, Sheffield 10, Partington 97 ME, Walsall Central, Coseley no.2, Burnley

TASS, Kirkstall no.2, Edmonton no.1, Stevenage no.1, Ossett 560E, Shipley no.1, Shipley no.2, Walkden (Bolton), Wythenshawe no.1, Chiswick 5, Cricklewood 4, Oldham 9, Stratford 2, Hockley no.2, Patricroft no.1.

The following district committees: Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Warrington, Wakefield and Bolton.

Socialist Worker is always willing to provide speakers for AUEW branches to explain the need for a socialist press, and we can arrange to send copies of Socialist Worker direct to the branch.

Write to us at: Socialist Worker, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2. (tel: 01-739 6361).

## Building the movement - in France

AN International Socialist delegate recently attended the Congress of the French organisation Revolution! The main items under discussion were the present crisis in France and the tasks of the revolutionary movement. The present regime is moving towards increasing state repression in response to the crisis, and the Union of the Left (Socialist Party and Communist Party) offers no real alternative.

Delegates discussed how revolutionaries could intervene in this situation. It was argued that there were thousands of French workers who were not yet revolutionaries, but who were wide open to revolutionary ideas and were beginning to see the need for a revolutionary party.

Delegates also discussed other areas of work—among women, immigrant workers and youth; and the need to develop organisation among soldiers.



This is workers' power, French style as Renault workers came out on strike last March. It is against this background of increased workers struggle that groups like Revolution! are operating.

The Congress also approved a decision to continue discussions which could lead to a fusion with two other revolutionary groups in France.

The Congress was attended by a number of fraternal delegates from various revolutionary organisations in

Europe and national liberation organisations in Africa and Latin America.

Revolution! are participating in the setting up of a campaign of solidarity with Ireland in France, and the Congress was attended by a delegate from the Troops Out Movement in Britain.

## Use this page!

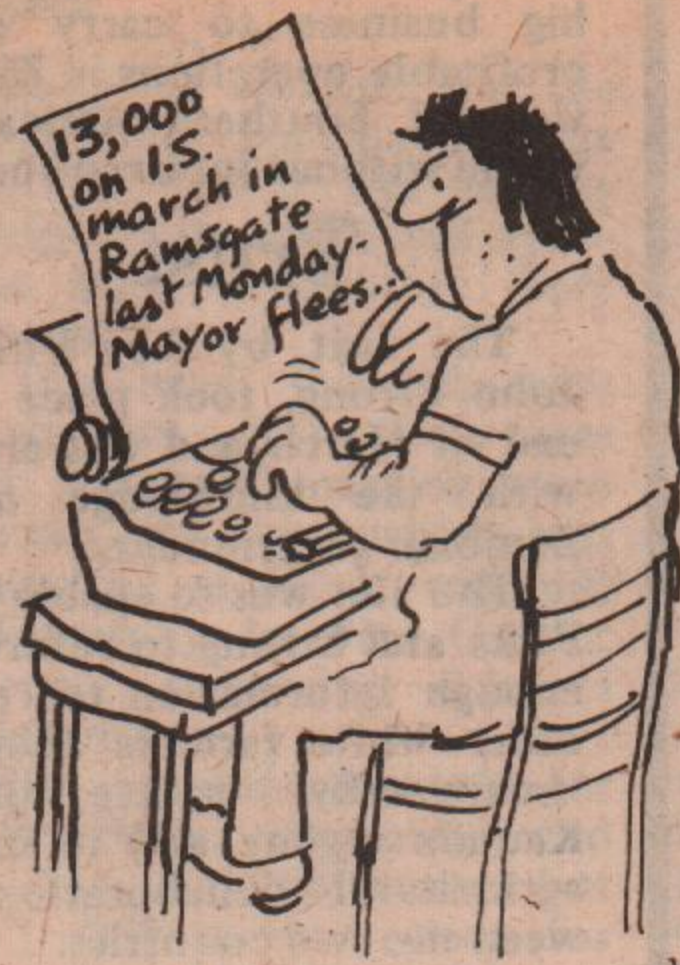
THIS PAGE is going to contain more information for International Socialist districts and branches, to cut down the number of circulars that have to be sent out. Every district and branch must make sure that one person reads and takes note of the items mentioned as soon as the papers arrive each week. We still want to be sent news from the branches.

THE International Socialist Young Workers' Sub-Committee is holding a cadre school on Saturday and Sunday 19 and 20 July. There will be four sessions. On Saturday national speakers will introduce sessions on 'The struggle for socialism' and 'Revolution in Russia, the lessons for today'.

On Sunday the topics will be: 'How to build on the shop floor' introduced by a leading IS industrial militant and 'IS and young workers, the way ahead.'

Speakers will be announced next week. Comrades wishing to attend should write to Colin Speller, c/o IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

The next issue of International Socialism Journal, number 80, is for July and August and will be out in two weeks' time. Issue 81 will be out in the first week in September.



## WHAT'S ON

ENTRIES for this column must be posted to reach Socialist Worker by Monday morning—and remember the 'first class' post takes two days as often as one. Due to pressure of work we cannot take What's On entries over the phone. Entries here are free for IS branches and other IS organisations.

### IS public meetings

POOLE IS public meeting: Women and Socialism. Speakers: Dawn Mason and Bobby Noyes, Tuesday 1 July, 8pm, Poole Labour Club, Wimbourne Road.

SOUTHAMPTON IS public meeting: Women Fight Back. Speakers: Anna Paczuska (NUT), Dawn Mason (NUPE), Wednesday 2 July, 8pm, UCATT Hall, Henstead Road.

INNER EAST LONDON District IS public meeting: The Labour Government and Benn—What chance of socialism? Speakers: Eddie Prevost dockers' shop steward and Duncan Hallas. Thursday 26 June 8pm, Music Library, Cambridge Heath Road (near Bethnal Green Tube).

EAST LONDON District IS Public Meeting: Half-day school on Portugal. Speakers include Laurie Flynn, Joanna Rollo, (IS Portugal group) and representatives from Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee, all recently returned from Portugal. Saturday 28 June, 1.30pm-5.30pm, Railway, Forest Lane, Forest Gate (by British Rail station).

AFRO-ROCK IS: Afro-Caribbean fund-raising. Food, drink, and dance evening. Come, listen and dance to the London based Ghana group, 'Boombaya'. Enjoy the best in soul food. 7pm-Midnight. YMCA 184 Tottenham Lane, Hornsey, London N4, Saturday 28 June, Admission 70p. Buses W3, W2, W7, 41. Nearest tubes Finsbury Park, Turnpike Lane, Wood Green. Come one—come all!

### Meetings for IS members

IS NALGO fraction conference: Weekend 5-6 July (starting 10.30am Saturday), Small assembly hall, Barnes Wallis Building, UMIST, Sackville Street, Manchester. All requests for accommodation to National NALGO Fraction secretary, c/o 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2.

NORTH EAST Region IS summer weekend school: For IS members in Northumberland, Tyne and Wear, Durham and Cleveland. Tony Cliff and Jim Nichol introducing discussions on Revolution in Europe, What's happening to the Labour Party etc. Saturday/Sunday 5-6 July, Newcastle Polytechnic Union. Refreshments available. Social Saturday night. Further details, from branch secretaries. Attendance limited to 30.

OLDHAM, ASHTON and District IS aggregate meeting: Sunday 29 June, 7.30pm, Trapp Inn, Rochdale Road, Oldham. Any members who cannot attend must send apologies.

NATIONAL IS BUILDERS' FRACTION MEETING: 28-29 June, in York: accommodation provided. 12.30pm Saturday, 28 June at Goodricke college, York University. Agenda and details in post. Phone 01-437 3978.

NORTH LONDON District IS School: Black workers and the fight against racism. Sessions on Racism in the Workplace, West Indies, Pakistan and discussion groups. All members to attend; visitors welcome. 2pm Saturday 28 June, North London Poly. Social 7pm to 11pm, YMCA, 184 Tottenham Lane, Hornsey, N8. Boombaya-Afro-Rock group. Buses W7, W2, W3 and 41. Tickets 70p.

IS DAY SCHOOL ON THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL: Saturday 28 June, 11am-5pm. Meeting Room 3, Students Union Building, Oxford Road, Manchester. Speakers: Tony Cliff, John Deason and a member of the Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee.

COVENTRY IS student school: Monday 30 June, 10.30am, Trade Union and Socialist Books, 65 Queen Victoria Road (opposite Tesco's), Coventry.

ALL IS MEMBERS IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY. Meeting Saturday 28 June at IS Books, Birmingham (224 High Street, by Digbeth Civic Hall phone 021-643 5717). Overnight accommodation can be provided. Further information from Paul Lutener 01-853 0682.

CENTRAL LONDON DISTRICT: Post conference aggregate. Thursday 26 June, 7pm, The Roebuck, Tottenham Court Road.

STUDENT SUMMER SCHOOLS: Agenda—Traditions of the Communist Movement, Politics of IS, Trends in the Student Movement, Building the Party, Practical Work. Speakers include Tony Cliff, Duncan Hallas, John Deason, Jimmy McCallum. Registration should be sent immediately. MANCHESTER (University Students Union). Monday 10.30am, 23-25 June, registration to Jim Roper, 2-Barnford Road, Didsbury, Manchester 20. SHEFFIELD (University). Friday 10.30am, 27-29 June, registrations to Fran Redcliffe, 84 Malton Street, Sheffield 4. COVENTRY (Trade Union and Socialist Bookshop). Monday, 10.30am, 30 June-2 July, registrations to Anne Netherwood, 78 Craven Street, Coventry. LONDON (8 Cottons Gardens, E2). Friday 10.30 am, 4-6 July, registrations to Simon Turner, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

IS Day School ON THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL: Saturday 28 June, 11am-5pm, meeting room 3, Students Union Building, Oxford Road, Manchester. Speakers: Tony Cliff, John Deason and a member of the Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee.

CENTRAL MANCHESTER DISTRICT IS: training session on the other left groups. Sunday 13 July, 2.30pm. Details from the bookshop.

ALL IS MEMBERS attending ASTMS womens workshop on 28 June. Phone Irene Bruegal 01-485 2545.

SOUTH WEST ENGLAND District IS: Saturday 29 June, 2pm post-conference aggregate, IS members only; 4pm Russia, with speaker Ian Birchall; 8pm Film 'October' by Eisenstein. Admission 30p. All welcome to talk and film—at Plymouth Arts Centre, Looe Street.

### IS notices

FOUR GERMAN COMRADES arriving approx 15 July need two rooms in London at low rent for about a month. Phone Mary Phillips. 01-237 6869.

IS TRIP TO PORTUGAL: The IS Portugal Group is planning a cheap charter flight for two weeks in Portugal; one week on holiday, one week of political activity in support of the PRP. First two weeks in August. £70.00 can be catered for. Rough cost £70. IS members only. Anyone interested please write giving name, address and trade union, to IS Portugal Group, c/o Flat 12, 45 Broadwick Street, London, W1.

TYPEWRITER NEEDED: Manchester IS need a second hand electric typewriter (with a carbon ribbon attachment) for their bookshop. Will collect from anywhere. Phone 061-832 8102.

THE BATTLER, Australia's revolutionary monthly paper produced by the Socialist Workers' Action Group. For subscription and more information, write to Geoff Goldhar, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

WORKERS' ACTION, monthly paper of the Canadian IS. 15 May issue now available. £2.40 for 12 issues, £1.20 for six (airmail) to Box C, IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4. For sample copy, send 10p in stamps to Jeff Jackson, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.

Speaker's Notes on THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL: Send 2p stamped addressed envelope to Pete Marsden, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN. Now includes list of British companies with factories in Portugal, and draft resolution of solidarity for trade union branches, trades councils, etc.

EAST LONDON District IS midsummer party: Saturday 12 July, 8pm, Princess Alice, Romford Road, Forest Gate. Disco. Late bar. Admission 40p.

WALTHAM FOREST Rank and File Disco. Teachers Centre, Queens Road, London E17. Friday 27 June, 7.30pm. Admission 30p. Fantastic disco and very cheap booze.

FOOTBALL MATCH between Oldham District IS and West Manchester District IS: Players assemble at Trapp Inn, Rochdale Road, Oldham, 5pm, Sunday 29 June.

FOOTBALL MATCH between SW Printshop and London Builders: Assemble Corbridge Works 5.0pm, Friday June 27th for early kick-off. Nearest tube: Bethnal Green.



## What we stand for

THE International Socialists are a revolutionary socialist organisation open to all who accept our main principles and who are willing to work to achieve them. These principles are:

**Independent working-class action** We believe that socialism can only be achieved by the independent action of the working class.

**Revolution not reformism** We believe in overthrowing capitalism, not patching it up or gradually trying to change it. We therefore support all struggles of workers against capitalism and fight to break the hold of reformist ideas and leaders.

**The smashing of the capitalist state** The state machine is a

weapon of capitalist class rule and therefore must be smashed. The present parliament, army, police and judges cannot simply be taken over and used by the working class. There is, therefore, no parliamentary road to socialism. The working-class revolution needs an entirely different kind of state—a workers' state, based on councils of workplace delegates.

**Work in the mass organisations of the working class** We believe in working in the mass organisations of the working class, particularly the trade unions, and fighting for rank and file control of them.

**Internationalism** We are internationalists. We practise and campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries, oppose racialism and imperialism, and fully support the struggles of all oppressed peoples. We are opposed to all immigration controls.

The experience of Russia demonstrates that a socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation. Russia, China and Eastern Europe are not socialist but state capitalist. We support the workers' struggle in these countries against the bureaucratic ruling class.

**The revolutionary party** To achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party, and all the activity of the International Socialists is directed to the building of such a party by fighting for a programme of political and industrial demands that can strengthen the self-confidence, organisation and socialist consciousness of the working class.

### WE ARE

For rank and file control of the trade unions and the regular election of all full-time officials. No secret negotiations. All settlements to be voted on by mass meetings.

For 100 per cent trade unionism. Against all victimisations and blacklisting. Against anti-trade union laws or curbs on the right to strike and on effective picketing.

Against productivity or efficiency deals. Against any form of incomes policy under capitalism.

Against unemployment, redundancies and lay-offs. Instead we demand five days work or five days pay, and the 35-hour week. For nationalisation without compensation under workers' control.

For militant trade union unity, joint shop stewards committees at plant and combine level.

For the building of a national rank and file movement which will fight for these policies in the trade union movement.

Against racialism and police victimisation of black people. Against all immigration controls. For the right of black people and other oppressed groups to organise in their own defence.

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

Against all nuclear weapons and military alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Against all forms of imperialism, including Russian imperialism.

For unconditional support to all genuine national liberation movements.

For the building of a mass workers' revolutionary party, organised in the workplace, which can lead the working class to power, and for the building of a revolutionary socialist international.

If you agree with the views expressed in this paper and would like more information, or would like to join the International Socialists, then send this form to: **The International Socialists, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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



## Socialist Worker Information Service

MAYBE you need to know more about your firm, its profits, its directors. PERHAPS you're worried about the chemicals you work with.

Then get in touch with the Socialist Worker Information Service and we'll try to help.

Write to Alan Denean, SWIS, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2.

# THE



A  
WORKER  
READS  
HISTORY



# LEVELLERS

By  
ANDY  
MILNER

## THE Declaration and Standard

Of the Levellers of England



Imprinted at London, for G. Lambart, Jun, April 23. 1649.

REVOLUTIONS, we are told in school, happen in other countries. It is all very well for excitable foreigners to go around killing each other, but we British have always solved our differences peacefully. That is the ruling-class party line on history.

It is a convenient myth for them. It is also completely untrue. The law, the House of Commons and the tame Monarchy, did not evolve peacefully. They were the result of a bloody revolution and civil war which smashed the old ruling class. School history books call it the Civil War of 1640-9.

The revolution was fought out between the King and his court of great nobles and a Parliament consisting of rich merchants and their allies.

To defeat the King, the Parliamentarians were forced to win support outside their own ranks. They had no option but to mobilise the small farmers and the artisans in the towns.

Many of the middle class Parliamentarians shrank from unleashing the power of the 'lower orders'. Once set in motion, it might well be directed, not only against the nobility, but against all great men of property, including Parliamentarians.

But in the heat of the Civil War, a grouping emerged, the 'Independents', led by Fairfax, Ireton and Cromwell, which was prepared to take the risk and so came to power.



CROMWELL: He used the Levellers in the struggle against the king, then turned against them

So as to defeat the King, they mobilised the masses to build a New Model Army.

But, as the struggle developed, the rank and file began to put forward their own demands which went far beyond those of the generals.

The ordinary soldiers linked up with the London artisans and apprentices in the Leveller party.

Some of their demands—for the abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords, the election of sheriffs and magistrates—sound radical even today. In the England of 1647, they were political dynamite.

Cromwell needed the Levellers in the struggle against the King and

he was forced to bow under their pressure. In every crisis, when some of the Parliamentarians looked for a compromise with the King, it was the rank and file who pushed the revolution forward.

In June 1647, there was just such a crisis and a leading Leveller, Cornet Joyce, took the initiative by physically seizing the King.

When Joyce came face to face with Charles Stuart, who still claimed to rule England by 'Divine Right', the King asked him what commission he held.

'Here is my commission,' Joyce replied. 'Where?' asked the King. 'Behind me,' said Joyce, pointing to the 500 troopers at his back.

The temper of the soldiers was such that the generals were forced to allow a 'General Council of the Army'.

This consisted of 'Agitators'—representatives elected by the soldiers and officers—who claimed the right to discuss all political matters. It was a remarkable body, in effect the first Soldiers' Soviet.

It was not to be repeated until the Russian revolution more than 250 years later. The General Council was able to force the generals to dissolve Parliament and purge the right-wing MPs.

But the power of the generals was not broken. At every lull in the struggle against the King, they turned against the Levellers and the Agitators. Even if they needed the masses in their fight for power, they never forgot the interests of their class.

### Vote

This was clearly illustrated in the struggle in the Army over who was to vote in new elections.

The Leveller Rainborough put the case of the soldiers: 'For really I think that the poorest he that is in England hath a life to lead as the greatest he . . . and I do think that the poorest man in England is not at all bound in a strict sense to that government that he hath not had a voice to put himself under.'

For the generals, Ireton replied with a cold class logic: 'If this be allowed, because by the right of nature, we are free, we are equal, one man must have as much voice as another, then show me what step or difference there is, why by the same right of necessity to sustain nature I may not claim property as well?'

As in Portugal today, a group of generals had allowed the soldiers a political voice to ensure their support and quickly discovered that the aims of the 'poorest he' went far beyond the limits of the 'greatest he'.

The generals were walking a tightrope. They needed both to defeat the King and to crush their own supporters.

## Ireland: We won't slay

ONCE THE KING had been executed, the Royalists smashed and the aims of the middle class achieved, the generals turned savagely on the Levellers.

The Levellers fought back, calling for further democratisation, opposing the suppression of press freedom and organising a petition demanding the end of Martial Law. The generals responded by arresting the Leveller leaders in London on 28 March 1649. But they still had to deal with the Army.

For some time, they had been planning a war of re-conquest in Ireland, which they presented to the soldiers as a crusade against the Pope.

They dangled the bribe of settlement in the conquered territories before the soldiers. On the day of its birth as a ruling class, the English bourgeoisie proposed a policy of murder, terror and looting in Ireland which it continues to this day. The generals planned to send the Leveller Regiments to Ireland, so isolating them from the English political scene and re-exerting their control under war conditions.

The Levellers opposed the war in Ireland. Even more remarkably, in an age dominated by religious hatred, they saw through the generals' propaganda to the class issues behind it.

A Leveller pamphlet, *The English Soldier's Standard*, asked in plain language: 'Will you go on still to kill, slay and murder in order to make them, your masters, as absolute lords and masters over Ireland as you have made them over England?'

What have we to do in Ireland, to fight and murder a people and a nation . . . who have done us no harm? We have waded too far in that crimson stream already.

—The Soldiers Demand. Anonymous pamphlet written by rank and file soldiers in May 1649.

Discontent in the Army reached fever-pitch. On May Day 1649, several regiments elected Agitators again and the troopers of the cavalry regiments at Salisbury refused to march to Ireland.

Cromwell hurriedly gathered what loyal regiments he could and marched to smash them. He sent before him Major Francis White to assure the Levellers that he wished to settle the matter by negotiations.

The Levellers made a fatal mistake. They trusted the word of an officer and gentleman. While they negotiated, Cromwell's troops closed. At midnight on 14 May, they attacked the Leveller camp at Burford. Although 500 Levellers escaped, their resistance was smashed.

### Degrees

Four of the leaders were hurriedly court-martialled and shot. It was the end of Leveller opposition in the Army and the beginning of Cromwell's bloody colonial war in Ireland.

After the 'victory' at Burford, Cromwell and Fairfax were given honorary degrees by the Royalist University of Oxford. The propertied classes were not going to let a little matter like the execution of a king stand between them in the fight against men who threatened all property.

The Levellers were not socialists. Their vision of the future was a society of small independent producers. It was an unworkable dream but it was the first voice of revolt against the class which still rules England.

They were the first to link their oppression with the oppression of Ireland. They were the ancestors of the modern working class movement.

The shooting of four men on a spring morning in the sleepy village of Burford in 1649 was the first round of a battle which is still being fought.

The last round lies ahead of us. Sometimes revolutions do happen in England.



LILBURNE, one of the Leveller leaders, on trial

**SUNDAY**  
BBC-2: 7.25pm. **THE WORLD ABOUT US: CYCLONE** looks at the North Australian town of Darwin in the wake of the Christmas 1974 cyclone. **RADIO-1** follows up its Story of Pop series with **INSIGHT**, on the 'people and influences which have played a part in the evolution of today's pop music. Begins with a look at Leiber and Stoller who have written for Presley, Ben E King, The Drifters and The Coasters. On BBC-1's **OMNIBUS** a look at the author Jean Rhys (10.10pm).

**MONDAY**  
BBC-1: 9.25pm. Abraham Polonsky was blacklisted for many years thanks to the Hollywood Red

### ON THE BOX

hunts of the early 1950s. He made a limited come-back in the late 1960s with an interesting film about a 1909 Californian man-hunt for an Indian, **TELL THEM WILLIE BOY IS HERE**.

**TUESDAY**  
BBC-2: 9pm. Another film worth looking at is **THE DOUBLE HEADED EAGLE** which uses contemporary film to cover the rise of Hitler. **THE TRIBAL EYE** (BBC-2 8.10pm) looks at the culture of the South West Pacific

**WEDNESDAY**  
BBC-2: 8.10pm. **THE ASCENT OF MAN: MUSIC OF THE SPHERES** is on the evolution of mathematics.

**THURSDAY**  
BBC-2: 9.50pm. One of the victories in the battle against our rulers was the development of the jury system. **MAN ALIVE** surveys it in **THE JURY: GOOD MEN AND TRUE?** which looks suspiciously like part of a softening up process for scrapping juries . . .

**FRIDAY**  
BBC-2: 8.10pm. **REMEMBER 1690** is the first of two programmes on Ireland, and deals with the establishment of the Northern Ireland regime in 1920.

# LETTERS

Send your letters to LETTERS, Socialist Worker, Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS. Let us have your name and address, but specify if you don't want your name published. Please try to keep letters to not more than 250 words.



Capitalism in action—millions of small metal containers containing human beings, discharging petrol fumes, lead poisoning, wrecking the environment—and costing us a fortune... Picture John Sturrock (REPORT)

## Rail: We need real planning...

RAILWAYMEN don't want to see rail users being driven away from this vital public service because of ever-increasing fares and a decline in service. But the present state of affairs is by no means the fault of the railworker.

I'm no expert, but even I can see that if we had a planned economy the future would be bright.

With no more than has been spent on Concorde, we could have a modern rail system built to handle all the country's heavy inter-city loads presently carried by juggernaut lorries, with container terminals at every city and major town in Britain.

This would free motorways and cities from the juggernaut menace. No more chewed up and polluted

towns, and repair bills for roads reduced. More space on existing roads for other traffic, without the need to build yet more motorways.

A railway freight system carrying this traffic would also provide employment at the town and city terminals for the ex-juggernaut drivers, with the added social bonus of working near home instead of disrupting family life by being away for most of the week.

All this would be possible with a planned socialist economy. A sys-

tem that operates in the interests of the working class in place of the present crazy chaotic muddle of capitalist greed.

In the meantime, there will be a hard struggle ahead if railwaymen are to obtain a decent standard of living. To do this it is essential to organise the rank and file to fight for our rights.

In this society we don't get what is fair, only what we are prepared to fight for.—LAURENCE KIMM, NUR, Dumfries.

## ...And no more 'Free Enterprise'!

NEXT MONDAY, Free Enterprise Day, a campaign is being launched by Aims of Industry

Called Free Enterprise Works, it will last for two years, and create a 'grass roots campaign in support of freedom and free enterprise'.

One slogan proclaims: 'Without free enterprise, most of the world's resources would never have been developed and would be valueless.'

The reverse, if anything, is the case.

Capitalism has acted as a brake on the development of new technological innovations.

The electrification of the railways, the underground gasification of coal, Buna synthetic rubber, fluorescent lighting, and various new steel and glass manufacturing processes have all been delayed at one time or another because their development and application would have incurred big reductions in profit.

Likewise, when prices have fallen, bosses' immediate response has been a big cut in production

When demand for oil and its products outstripped supply and prices tended to be low (in the mid-60s), the major oil corporations cut back production—which has naturally exacerbated the present shortage—to get big price rises.

The chemical companies did the same, and grain producers in Canada were, five years ago, offered 1000 million dollars to burn the most of that year's crop.

That's the lunacy of capitalism. Far from producing 'unparalleled abundance for ordinary people', free enterprise has condemned two-thirds of the world to poverty and starvation, and murdered millions in its insatiable thirst for profit.—CHRIS DABILL, Sheffield.

## RAPE: WAS HE WRONG ON FAMILY?

I READ with approval (21 May) the heading and first part of the article by Chris Harman. The Hypocrisy Behind the Law Lord's Ruling on Rape. To my astonishment, he then proceeded to attack the family.

By what reasoning does he think that, to establish socialism, the family as a unit must be destroyed? What would he replace the family with?

Capitalism exploits the family—ask any married woman forced to work at home and in industry to help house, feed and clothe the children.

What sort of a response does she get from a boss if she explains she has to take time off work if her children are sick?

No, the family is not part of capitalism, but a social unit under socialism.

Attack capitalism for making honeyed speeches about families as long as they toe the line. Rather make the family a unit of socialism and help destroy a system which debases human beings, individually, in families, or in any other social group.—A BYRNE, Liverpool.

## Need training? Join the army...

ALONG with a group of other student teachers, we were shown around an Army apprentices college in Chepstow last week.

We saw regimental magazines with anti-communist editorials, such as Gunner, the Royal Artillery magazine—and had a few revealing insights into the priorities of our rulers.

The college trains its apprentices in all the Army's technical trades. Classes are never bigger than 20, usually only ten to 12. It is worth comparing the size of these classes with those in secondary schools.

In the engine fitter shops, each pair of apprentices had an engine to strip down.

Compare this with the facilities in Government retraining centres! As one of the instructors said: 'Anything we want, we can get. It comes out of taxes, via the Ministry of Defence.'—IAN HARTLEY, Gloucester.

## Is this old man's suffering included in the contract?

THE FOLLOWING was recently reported in The Guardian:

'The case of an 82-year-old man who lay for hours on the floor without being able to call for help will be discussed at a meeting in Chesterfield.'

'It will decide how long wardens at old people's homes should be employed.'

'The former Clay Cross rebels put the wardens on full-time duty but were criticised by the district auditor.'

'North East Derbyshire District

Council took over, and put the 20 Clay Cross wardens on part-time duty. The wardens now have to switch off their intercoms to the bungalows during the day, and that is when the elderly man fell on the floor in his Clay Cross home.'

The Labour Party disowns the Clay Cross rebels while implementing and promising massive social service cuts.

Who are the criminals? Is the avoidable suffering of an old man part of the Social Contract?—GEOFF COLLINS, Kirkby.

## The 36,744 forgotten people

THERE ARE 36,744 people in prison. Many are members of trade unions which, once locked up, cease to defend their rights.

Prisoners are a grossly exploited and neglected minority. Employing over 15,500 people, Prindus, the prison industries, make a profit of more than £500,000 in 1971. Prison workers earned a maximum of 79p for a 28-hour week.

Should prisoners take any form of industrial action they are subject to disciplinary proceedings which can result in solitary confinement. In 1973, the official number of prisoners condemned to solitary was 3,782.

Most prisoners (70 per cent) are inside for property offences. Yet the real criminals go unchecked. Opportunities, wealth and status are un-

equally distributed, but so also is the likelihood of being nicked.

It is time the trade union movement accepted its responsibility to those inside. The Shrewsbury Two are political prisoners. So are the other 36,772.—LIZ MIDDLETON, Radical Alternatives to Prison.

## CHILD PROSTITUTION

ONE PROBLEM never mentioned by the mass media is child prostitution.

This despicable trade flourishes because of the hypocritical attitudes of the authorities and the ignorance of the public.

These girls earn well above £70 a day. They are hardly left with the bare £1 or £2 pocket money. The pimps are generous only with drugs (mostly 'speeds') an additional way of creating dependence, and helping

to boost the allied trade of drug trafficking.

Much of this goes on with the quiet acceptance if not connivance of the authorities. The young girls become front line soldiers scurrying the streets to earn more and more for their masters.

By the age of 26, they are drug-addicted skeletons, thrown on to the scrapheap. This is the backwash of a society that treats everybody as a commodity.—GERALD ZAHORSKY, London N7.

## PORTUGAL: EXPLAIN!

HAVING established fraternal relations with the Portuguese party, PRP-BR, and in view of current reports from Lisbon, I think it is your duty to give an unambiguous answer to this question:

Is the PRP engaged in winning over the Armed Forces for the taking of power by the working class—and, if so, does this necessitate the liquidation of all political parties, OR is Copcon using the PRP and the working class for the establishment of a state-capitalist military dictatorship?—PATRICK CONNELL, Stanmore.

The PRP has not been calling for the liquidation of all parties. What it has been arguing is that a way has to be found of uniting workers and soldiers at the rank and file level, so as to overcome the sectarian divide between the members of the many established parties.

While the reformist parties quarrel over control of state positions and in the constituent assembly, the crisis increasingly harms workers. That is why the PRP is stressing the need for revolutionary councils, not merely among workers, but

also within the armed forces, where they would begin to undermine the notion of an army cut off from the workers and run by a hierarchy of officers.

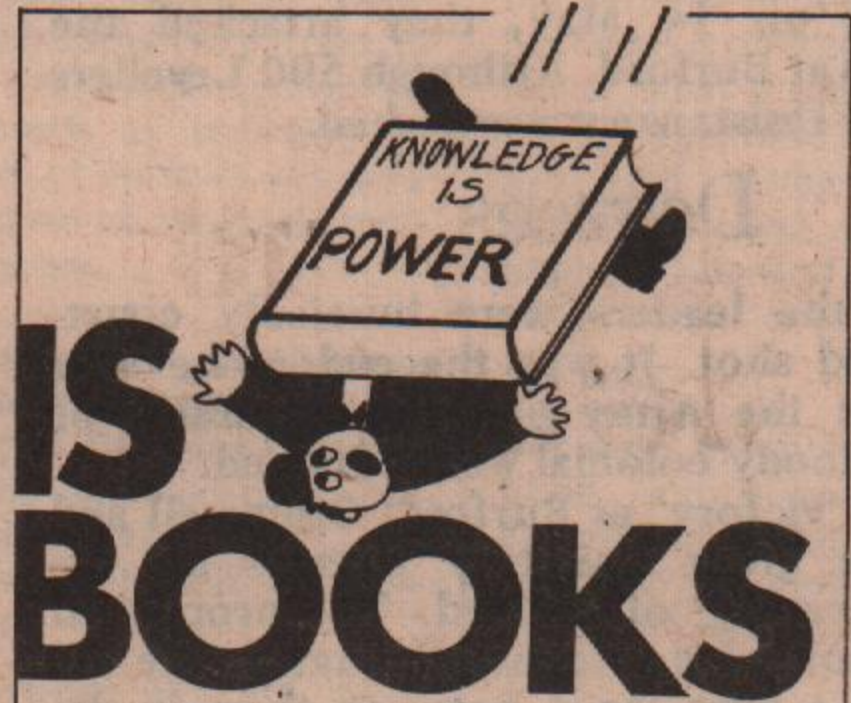
Of course, many Copcon officers may hope to dominate the councils and use them to strengthen their own power. But that is no argument against giving full support for the creation of councils now—rather it means strengthening the ability of the revolutionary left to fight for rank and file in the councils to have power, not the officers.



The face of jail that most of us see. But what about the people behind the walls?

### SUMMER WEEKEND SCHOOLS for IS members

Sessions on:  
Revolutionary prospects in Portugal, Italy, Spain and Greece. What's happening to the Labour Party?  
The Capitalist Crisis—where to next?  
Building the International Socialists  
NORTH EAST (Newcastle): 5-6 July  
NORTH LONDON: 12-13 July (full up)  
SOUTH LONDON: 19-20 July  
SOUTH WALES (Cardiff): 2-3 August  
SCOTLAND (Glasgow): 9-10 August  
NORTH WEST (Manchester): 16-17 August  
MIDLANDS (Birmingham): 23-24 August  
YORKSHIRE (Leeds): 30-31 August  
Attendance limited to 30 at each. Registration: Send name, address and 50p to Pete Marsden, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.



### BOOK SALE

Substantial reductions on stock items, old pamphlets going very cheap, second-hand books.  
10am-6pm, 25 June to 2 July (except Sundays)

IS Books, 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4 (01-802 6145)

# NUT: More militant bashing...

by Jeannie Holborow,  
Redbridge NUT

THIS week in *The Teacher*, the official weekly paper of the NUT, there appeared another page and a quarter attack on Rank and File teachers—the unofficial movement within the NUT fighting for the interests of classroom teachers.

A few months ago Max Morris, Communist Party and NUT executive member, was allowed a full page to attack Rank and File and no reply was allowed. This time Anthony Smith, executive member for West Sussex, has taken over the role.

Smith spends most of the article saying that Rank and File, through its manipulation of a few associations (union branches), can dominate the union conference agenda. He regrets that the democratic nature of the union makes it possible for ordinary members to express their views!

He does not regret a democratic rule of the union, however, which allows him as an executive member to maintain his power. Two years ago the electoral districts for the executive were redrawn. Smith found that J Foster was the strongest candidate in his area and if he wanted to stay on the executive he'd have to find another area.

## Claims

Conveniently a rule of the union says a member can be in two associations—usually so one can join either where one works or lives. Smith promptly joined Shoreham Teachers Association so he could stand unopposed as the candidate in West Sussex, although he lives and works in Hove, which is in East Sussex. He therefore claims to represent teachers in West Sussex although his home and school—he is headmaster of a large Roman Catholic comprehensive school—are not there.

In another attempt to silence divergent opinion in the NUT a motion was passed at Saturday's executive meeting by 20 votes to 10 with the support of leading Communist Party members Morris and Fisher. This motion calls for the matter of Rank and File to be referred to the appropriate committees of the union, with a view to taking disciplinary action against members of 'unofficial bodies within the NUT.

An article replying to the attack in *The Teacher* will be submitted. All teachers who believe that their paper should be open to the views of all members, not just those of a few chosen executive members, should push for a full reply to be printed and pass resolutions in associations and schools pressing for this and repudiating the attacks.

# SO YOU THINK THE RAILMEN DID WELL?

IF you think the railwaymen got a good deal in return for the NUR decision to call off their threatened strike last week, listen to Martin Power, local NUR departmental committee member at London's Paddington Station.

'I feel like I have been kicked, dragged in the dust and spat at', he told *Socialist Worker*. 'I feel that everything has been flung in our faces. I thought we'd see some changes after 20 years of Sir Sidney Greene as NUR general secretary. But this man Weighell's a carbon copy of Greene.

'Do you realise what the new settlement on the railways brings me? 99p a week extra from 4 August. There's absolutely no guarantee that the government will step in with a wage freeze before then, anyway. But what use is an extra 99p? Inflation will have knocked out the value of that before I even get the rise!'

The offer doesn't add a penny to the arbitration award against which the NUR executive agreed to strike

by 21 votes to three last month. For the next month and a half the railwaymen will receive exactly the same as previously offered. For the ordinary railman, that is the majority of NUR members, that offer meant a rise from a basic rate of £30.05 a week to £32.70—a miserable £2.65 before tax!

The only change in the situation is a further rise from 4 August. This will give a railman another £1.65 on his basic rate. It will bring him into a new tax bracket which will mean less than £1 extra in his pay packet. That's an extra 2½ per cent in six weeks, when prices are rising by four per cent a month!

The situation for higher grades is even more absurd. An NUR booking clerk, for instance, will get £49.50 on 4 August—as opposed to £48.71 now. That's an increase of 79p a week, before tax!

It has also been made clear to the Rail Board during negotiations that the extra 2½ per cent will be 'taken into account' when the union stakes out next year's pay claim. In other words, next year's militancy is being mortgaged to this year's sell-out.

**NUR: It's  
Weighell  
and Deal**

By Glasgow railwaymen

THE general secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, Sidney Weighell must be feeling pleased with himself, for all through the negotiations and the threat of a strike he sought to hold back and undermine the confidence of NUR members.

This started when the claim went to arbitration at the beginning of May. Weighell, who until then had been making a lot of militant noises about banning overtime, said if it didn't produce a result inside a week, he was bringing his men out. Five weeks passed without so much as a whisper from Weighell or any other NUR leader.

Then when the arbitration tribunal eventually came up with its miserable 'improved' offer of 27½ per cent, Weighell managed to persuade a conference of NUR branch secretaries to recommend against strike action. When this failed to convince the rest of the NUR executive, who voted for an all-out strike, the claim they decided to come out for would have meant a maximum of only £2 for the lower-paid grades.

As one NUR member put it: 'If they'd come out for a tanner, there'd have been no problem. But for £2...'

## Bitter

To top all this, the executive obligingly gave British Rail three weeks to prepare 'emergency' plans. While British Rail and industry used these three weeks well, the NUR leadership made no attempt either to interest the union's rank and file in the claim or to prepare them for a long and potentially bitter strike. All we got was a pathetic little leaflet entitled 'NUR: Your Right to Justice'—as if it was justice that was going to determine the final outcome!

Weighell's concern all along was with manoeuvrings at the top, not mobilising the members to fight. The sell-out, when it came, shows that Weighell saw the rank and file and the threat of strike action as just another bargaining lever to put pressure on British Rail. And, because there was no enthusiasm for the claim, it guaranteed there would be minimum rank and file resistance—a Catch 22 situation if ever there was one!

But there are some positive aspects. The fact that the offer was improved, although only slightly, shows how scared the ruling class was of a rail strike. This must have given railwaymen some idea of their potential industrial strength.

The fact that they didn't actually come out on strike will leave their anger intact, not only with the size of the settlement as they see it get rapidly eaten up by inflation, but also with Weighell and their 'leaders' who engineered the settlement.

This anger must be built on now, and strong rank-and-file organisations must be developed, not only in the NUR but also in the other rail unions, to ensure that realistic pay settlements are won in future, and to take up the fight against the massive redundancies that are coming.



On the picket line at GEC Stafford, where 2500 shop floor workers have come out on strike in support of their claim for £10 across the board. Management used non-union labour and police to force their way through the picket line to move computer print-outs. Blacking has been extended to prevent any office material being moved in future. PICTURE: John Sturrock (Report)

# Import controls: Blind alley for the textile industry

THE textile/chemical industry is supposed to be in the grips of a severe crisis, or so we are told. MPs and some workers are calling for import controls. Why? Will import controls solve the problems? We don't think so.

Any argument which shifts the defence of jobs away from the shop floor is dangerous. Fighting for import controls means petitioning parliament, going on lobbies, talking to MPs. But we all know that Courtaulds, for one, are out to reduce the labour force whether there are import controls or not. This can only be fought by strong shop-floor organisation.

In any case import controls won't save jobs. They in fact increase the unemployment queues in this country and for our fellow workers in other countries. Because if Britain puts up import controls so will other countries against us, meaning that we can't sell abroad and they can't sell to us. The textile market gets smaller—and the dole queues longer.

The complaint by some MPs is that other countries are dumping cheap goods on our market. Our employers, Courtaulds, have just announced increased profits—up from £116 million to £125 million. Exports from the UK to other countries totalled £285 million, against £217 million the previous year. So Courtaulds did their share of dumping, whether cheap or not.

All this was in a year which Lord

by John Merriman and Stan Simpson, TGWU shop stewards,  
Courtauld's British Celanese plant, Spondon, Derby.

Kearton described as 'a bad one for trading'!

One MP told the British Celanese ACTSS Negotiating Committee it would be difficult to apply the 20 per cent cut in imports which the British Textile Federation wanted because the government would be in breach of international trading arrangements. But he said the government would try to persuade the Common Market countries to negotiate a burden-sharing agreement on tariff imports—which would mean that other Common Market countries would import 50 per cent more textiles and we would not.

## Short

Courtaulds would love this. Not only would it leave the British market at their mercy but also we would have to pay their prices.

Tariff barriers and import controls are not the working-class solution to short

time and unemployment in the textile industry. They just mean that the capitalists just shut up shop and transfer to a more profitable and cheaper labour area.

For our solution we should be looking at our own pay and conditions, not forming coalitions with the employers' federations to plead for import controls.

## Wage

But during our recent negotiations management told us that our union has agreed with Courtaulds that while pay rates are negotiated locally, shop stewards do not have the right to demand wage increases on the basis of increases in the cost of living. Wage increases must be 'self-financed'. This means selling jobs for wage increases.

We need to defend our jobs here, but we also need to begin to get together with workers in a similar position in other countries. This needs to be done at shop stewards' level.

As a beginning we need to write to the textile workers in France and Portugal. There are 200,000 in Portugal alone, including many thousands working for Courtaulds. They are up against the same problems and we need to talk to them. Courtaulds don't play for just one country, nor should we.

The solution to the problem lies with ourselves. If the union, nationally and

locally, spent less time running off to see MPs to demand import controls and stopped negotiating productivity deals which worsen the problem, we would be in a better jobs position today.

For over a year now a demand put up to the national TGWU Courtaulds Negotiating Committee by the British Celanese shop stewards for a 35-hour week has lain on the table 'for a suitable time'. We cannot imagine a more suitable time than the present, when our brothers and sisters are being laid off throughout the company.

# AUEW youth committee to be disbanded?

by Tom Frith

CROYDON: The AUEW Croydon District Youth Committee has not met since March and it is rumoured that it will be disbanded. The reason given is that delegates could not be found and still less be persuaded to attend meetings. The conclusion reached by this is that youth are apathetic and uninterested in trade union affairs.

We must not leave the matter at that. We must ask why is youth seemingly apathetic.

Take, for example, Redifon's in Crawley. It has 100 per cent trade unionism among adult workers, but the majority of stewards ignore recruitment possibilities among young workers. So the majority of apprentices are not in the union. Indeed, many apprentices seem to identify more with management than with the trade

union movement.

But even where an active and genuine interest is taken by stewards—as in ARV in Crawley—youth interest in union activities is pitifully low. So we come to the demands that are posed, the issues to fight and organise around. What are they? At the moment NONE.

The Apprentices and Youth Charter drafted by Glasgow apprentices who are members of the International Socialists changes all that. These are demands which are relevant to young workers. The charter should bring the most revolutionary section of the class into open struggle. And if the most important points in the charter are won—the right to vote at union meetings and the right to strike—it should give a new drive and energy to the general class struggle.

# LILLY HALL LOCK-OUT

WORKINGTON: The strike at Courtaulds weaving mill in Lilly Hall has now become a lock-out. Last week the men decided to accept a percentage wage rise offer, although it was nowhere near what they had asked for. They were ready to return to work. But management refuses to re-open the factory unless all the shop stewards sign a document on behalf of all the workers promising to keep them out of trouble! This is a device to try and intimidate workers into signing away their hard-won trade union rights. The workers refuse to be intimidated. At a mass meeting last Thursday they refused to go back on management's terms. So the result is a lock-out.

# IN BRIEF

## BRADFORD ENGINEERING WORKERS STRIKE, WEEK THREE

THE morale of the 1200 engineering workers at Crofts was boosted when the two other local Renold Group plants joined the unofficial stoppage (writes *Engineering union shop steward Chris Hall*). All three are now fighting for a 30 per cent wage rise.

Regular picketing has been supplemented with campaigning, collection sheets and support from other factories. £80 has been collected from Baird TV workers and £30 from members of the technical section of the AUEW, TASS at Renolds. The strikers plan delegations to get Renolds products blacked at ports and container depots.

## KENT MEAT WORKERS

THE price of trusting their officials in USDAW is being paid by 28 sacked butchers, clerical workers and packers at Sansinena's Dunton Green meat depot. Their crime? They 'persisted in participating in the present strike'. The strike began on 15 May when USDAW area official G Morton told them their action was 'justified' and would probably be made official.

The strike was triggered by a management move to double the cost of concessionary meat they buy—an effective £2 wage cut. No consultation preceded it.

After weeks of delay the strikers got a reaction from USDAW—the general secretary has vetoed discussion on the general council! On 14 June the strikers were sacked.

The workers, whose ages range from 20 to 70 aren't beaten yet. USDAW are backing their claim against unfair dismissal. 'Members don't feel that they should just walk away and find other jobs and allow the company to replace them with non-union labour', explained steward Les Collett. 'What use will compensation be to the many elderly who have no possibility of obtaining future employment?'

The strikers are attempting to act against Sansinena's 17 depots. It isn't easy. They've had no money for five weeks—but they're determined.

They need your support, financial or practical. Messages and donations to Les Collett, 9 Littlewood, (off Mount Pleasant Road) Hither Green, Lewisham, London SE13

## STOCKPORT ENGINEERS STRIKE—WEEK SEVEN

BACK on 6 May 30 Engineering union members at Herbert Parkes and Nephew were working to rule for a £2 plus bonus claim. Then the bosses locked them out—and battle has continued since, with the 30 sending deputations to local factories for support and an AUEW district levy backing the workers.

But there are weaknesses. Eight Boiler-

makers Society and three Road Transport Union members have worked on—and the BS and URTU officials have given them the go-ahead—provided they black AUEW work. But the strikers don't believe they are. A June meeting of local stewards called for mass pickets—but no dates have been fixed, and they need to be! Effective blacking is needed.

Donations and messages of support to T6 Treasurer, Parkes and Nephew, Dispute Fund, c/o AUEW, 125 Wellington Road, South, Stockport SK 1 3TY, Cheshire.

## SPEKE STRIKERS HIT LONDON

AN unpleasant surprise greeted the Thompson Capper group personnel manager at their Sanitas factory in South London last week. A 12-strong flying picket from the Speke T&C factory who are striking for an interim wage claim. He could only hold his head in horror...

The Sanitas workers did better, agreeing to black all Speke goods and start collecting for the strikers. The picket has now headed for another T&C factory in Limehouse, East London.

Messages of support and money to Richie Kerr, 13 Cromwell Road, Liverpool 4.

## LONDON JOURNALISTS 'WE'RE STRIKING'

HAVE you seen the ads for 'partworks'? You probably know them under different

names, like 'Cordon Bleu Cookery' or 'The History of World War Two'—they are the weekly encyclopaedias which have been gold mines for companies like Marshall Cavendish who market them...

But not for the journalists who produce them. Last Friday more than 90 MC journalists voted to strike for better job security. The move follows shrinking job opportunities in publishing. The National Union of Journalists have been pushing for much tighter agreements over these questions and the strikers hope for official support. Two other London publishers, Calder and Boyars and Sterling Publications are strike-bound over redundancies.

The pickets are successful—and other unions are backing the strikers.

## FASCISTS IN BRADFORD

A 150-strong meeting on the National Front and how to fight it here last Sunday was boosted by eight unwelcome guests—six NF members and two Special Branch men. Leeds International Socialist teacher John Nightingale refused to speak while fascists were present—so they, and the two SB men were excluded.

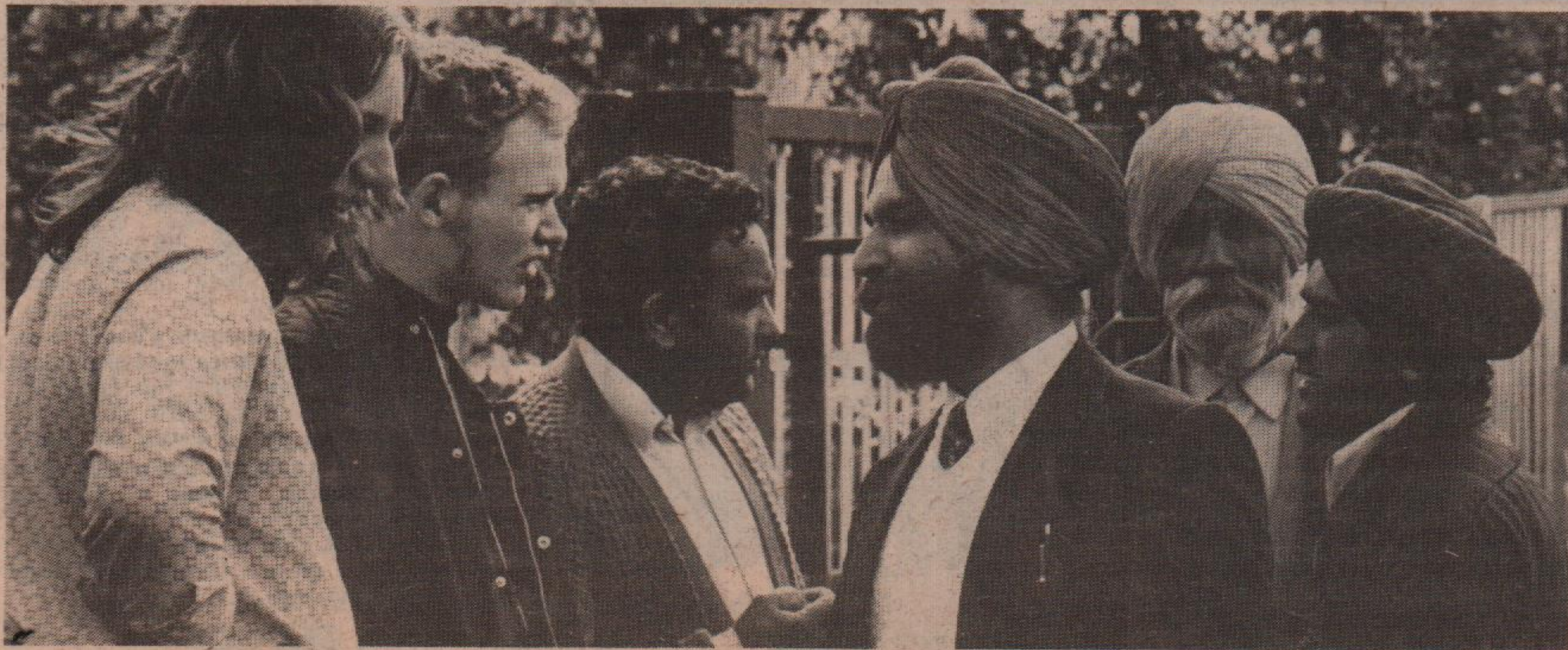
Bradford Trades Council president Pat Wall argued for the necessity to fight racism within the labour movement—and cited the common exclusion of immigrants from trade union life. Other speakers came from the Indian Workers Association and the International Marxist Group.

The meeting called upon the TC to

revitalise its anti-racist committee with delegates from stewards committees, the student union, political organisations of the labour movement and minority associations.



Two men and their dog, plus assorted policemen, Securicor guards and bosses, came to break an occupation... But the attempt, at Henry Boots York site failed. See below.



Before the victory. 80 workers at the Wallsall motor component firm of S F Mokes mounted the clock picketing over pay and to force reinstatement of 19 workers sacked for leading Transport and General Workers Union recruitment in the factory. The battle ended Tuesday. 'The question of redundancies has been decided—there aren't any,' said a striker. Discussions on wages and conditions are continuing. PICTURE: John Sturrock (Report)

## NALGO offer - it's a joke...

IF YOU are a 16 year old entering local government then your union NALGO's negotiators are recommending you get a pay rise of £1.80 a week. If you are principal officer currently on £6000—they want you to get an extra £23 a week.

The offer averages 25 per cent (less thresholds since July 1974) and represents only 4 per cent more than the previous (rejected) offer. And it's a joke.

More than 70 per cent of NALGO members earn less than £50 per week, and 41 per cent fall below the TUC low pay target of £30 per week. For most members the increase will mean between £4.70 and £7.20 per week, before deductions.

With rocketing inflation, clerical graded workers will find the increases wiped out in three months time. That's why the delegate group meeting in April instructed its negotiators to press for a £10 per week plus 15 per cent increase.

A claim which was realistic—would compensate for inflation—would attract staff back into the local government service and would reverse the deteriorating position of the lower paid.

The reconvened group meeting has been called in haste by the leadership this Friday 27 June before branches can constitutionally hold special branch meetings around the offer. But nevertheless delegates must reject this sell out and clear the decks for a ballot on strike action.

## Classified

**LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM No 8.** Duplicated discussion journal. Contains articles on China and Democracy; Communism in Japan; State Capitalism; Men against Sexism; EEC and more. 18p including postage, from SDR, Flat 12, 152-154 Spring Bank, Hull.

**DESMOND TROTTER—Althea Le Coite** will speak about Desmond Trotter and the campaign to save his life. Dalston Library, Thursday 26 June, 7.30pm. Organised by the Hackney Campaign Against Racism.

**ROOM desperately needed** in SE London for IS member. Contact Ralph 29-25186.

**ALL NATIONS Workers' Committee Conference** for launching campaign for repeal of 1971 Immigration Act. Friday 4 July, 7.30pm, at the London University College Students Union, Malet Street, London WC1.

**PICKET in support of Rita O'Hare and Rose Dugdale** for prisoners' rights in Limerick Prison. 12.30-1.30pm, Saturday 28 June, Irish Tourist Office, 150 New Bond St, London W1.

**REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST GROUP public meeting** in London: Britain and the Irish Revolution. Speakers: Frank Richards and Chris Davies. 7.30pm, Friday 27 June, The Roebuck pub, Tottenham Court Road (Warren or Goodge St tubes; buses 14, 24, 29, 73).

**HAMMERSMITH HOSPITAL picket:** 2 July, 4pm-7pm. To protest against the anti-abortion policy of the hospital. Organised by Hammersmith Hospital Joint Shop Stewards Committee and West London NAC.

**HOUSE available** from July, for IS comrades. Fairly low rent. Good job prospects in the area. Write C Porsz, 5 Ledbury Road, Peterborough.

**TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT and BWNIC picket** for Alick Otten during her trial in Manchester under the incitement to Disaffection Act. Picket starting at 9.45am 7 July, Crown Square, Manchester. All support from Socialist Worker readers is welcome. Financial aid to 186 Hamilton Road, Manchester 13.

## BOOT'S BUILDING WORKERS YORK—EXIT THE BOSSES

THINGS are going badly here—for the Henry Boots bosses. The building workers who occupied their site in protest over working conditions and victimisations had five of their number in court last Friday—after management legal moves to force withdrawal.

But the judges decided against management, and calling on them to enter negotiations, as the men have demanded. That afternoon the bosses came back to the site, with police, Securicor and dogs. They claimed to have a possession order—and gave an 8pm deadline to get off the site.

When they returned, 130 trade unionists, including some councillors and students from Hull, Bradford, Leeds and Harrogate joined the picket. The bosses abandoned their plans—and it was revealed that their 'order' was only a 'recommendation!' The occupiers recipe for success is simple, they've mobilised support locally and nationally—and can call on it.

Messages of support and money to Henry Boot Occupation Committee, c/o 221 Melrosegate, York.

## AND VICTORY FOR BOOTS WORKERS IN NORTHAMPTON

IN week 10 of the strike of 14 Henry Boots building works here the bosses agreed to reinstate the 14 (sacked two weeks before) and improved the bonus scheme—so the battle has ended with a 'victory for trade unionism' as a supporter said. The 14 have thanked the trade union movement for their support—and the local International Socialists.

## PORTSMOUTH NAAFI WORKERS

THE NAAFI, who supply the armed forces catering services, are moving to sack all 170 sausage factory and bakery workers here. The USDAW and Bakers Union members, mainly women, marched through the town's shopping precinct in protest against the move. Many are part-timers, and some are of an age making re-employment, in an area of 8000 unemployed difficult.

The NAAFI plan to transfer the work to Marshall and Baxters of Birmingham. The 170's move has led to a management union meeting being scheduled.

## WOOLWICH CONSTRUCTION WORKERS WIN BACK JOBS

'JUMP in the fucking river or go down the road' that was the CHT Thames Barrier site labour manager's reaction to 17 pile hands demand for conditions payments. The workers operate on offshore rigs—and have often ended up in the water. The 17, plus the safety men were sacked.

The UCATT, TGWU and CEU workers on the site hit back with a week's strike—and have won reinstatement for the 17 plus six-week backdated conditions payment.

## MANCHESTER RUBBER WORKERS

A NEW wage agreement was signed at Rubber Regenerating in Trafford Park last week—and the bosses' flouting of it sparked a 24 hour walk-out last Monday. The management tried new manning levels in one section, but ignored promised machine improvements. Stewards called out the works—and the bosses conceded an extra man for the section.

But the bosses refused to pay for lost time—so the 24 hour stoppage took place. The workers are back—but watchful...

# ICI: The strike wave is spreading

TEESSIDE—'Whatever happens now, things will never be the same again. People used to kid themselves that ICI was some special kind of company, that they weren't like Fords or GEC', said a WILTON ICI worker as the strike at the local plants continues.

'Now they're finding out that ICI are just like the rest. Nobody is talking about "our" company any more. It's "their" company'.

'Their' company told representatives of the 4000 striking craftsmen on Monday that the company

'couldn't afford' to pay the £16.50 on the basic that they are demanding.

The craftsmen hit back by tightening picketing—which has already paralysed the giant Wilton plant. They are solid—and determined.

Wilton management's reply was to order Transport union drivers to go through the craftsmen's pickets—

they refused. Four drivers were suspended, and the rest of the 7000 TGWU men on the site promptly came out in support. The whole Wilton workforce—apart from white collar staff—are therefore now out.

Over the Tees at BILLINGHAM, the battle is more confused. While the craftsmen picket the gates the TGWU men inside are working on—except for an overtime ban. And the local TGWU leadership have instructed Billingham drivers to go through the picket!

The Wilton men remain in a strong position as the company bleeds millions of pounds every day, as costly plant stands idle. If the men continue to rely on their own strength and organisation it is hard to see them losing.

Victory will mean, as every employer on Teesside is aware, that thousands of other workers in the area, who use ICI pay as a yardstick, will be putting in claims.

## Offer

Meanwhile as national talks continue between the union officials and ICI the action has spread to DONCASTER where maintenance workers—craftsmen again, have struck against the offer and 1800 production workers have been laid off.

If there is no improvement on the 26 per cent pay offer then the dispute could escalate yet again. More and more employees, skilled and unskilled, are beginning to see the reality behind ICI's tradition of paternalism...

# Woodalls: When in doubt - sack!

IF YOU can't expect to make maximum profit with a militant work force there is one situation open to employers. Clear the decks, sack the lot, and start again in a few weeks time. And that's just what is happening on a Woodall Duckham site at Partington Gas Works near Manchester.

The 20 workers on the site recently returned to work after a five week dispute over wages. But their management tried to victimise one of the welders, Peter Singh, by making him take a further three tests to prove his work standard as well as the normal test that he took when he was started on the job.

The other three welders downed tools in support of Singh, closely followed by fitters and riggers, members of the EETPU, the AUEW and the Heating and Domestic Engineers Union.

The management retaliated by sacking all 17, despite the fact that they are all travelling men and expect job security in return for travelling the length and breadth of the country.

The sacked men are now organising to get their jobs back. Bobbie Burds EETPU shop steward said, 'We must get support from workers at Woodall and Duckhams sites all over the country. I am asking for convenors and shop stewards to ensure that no-one starts at their site until our men are re-instated. We would like any members of the unions involved to go to their branches and show solidarity by passing resolutions of support.'

'We are also skint, so any amount of money no matter how small would be gratefully accepted. If we don't win this one this practice could spread like a disease throughout the country. But if we do win we will stamp it out here and it will make all of us in the unions stronger won't it?'

Messages of support and donations to Bobby Burds, Woodall Duckham Strike Fund, Midland Bank, Ormston, Manchester, (Code number 40-45-06).

# MEN OF IRON!

## Masseys: Why we lost and how we are fighting back

COVENTRY:—Two months ago the 4500 workers at Massey Ferguson came out on strike over the bosses' attempts to impose a 6 per cent settlement of their pay demands. They were angry at the attempts to give their sister factory, Perkins of Peterborough, parity with them at Coventry's expense.

They were some of the best-paid, best-organised workers in the Midlands. They struck for six weeks, and extended their battle into an occupation—yet at the end they voted to accept a deal which gives most workers only an 8 per cent rise at a time of 25 per cent inflation—and company profits of £168 million.

Why were the 4500 beaten?

One reason was a management which had the workers on seven-day working 'to help our export orders' for weeks before the strike. A management which had planned for it for 13 months, a management which could rely on the local press for a string of anti-strike stories when the dispute started.

But the strikers had ideas too. Mass pickets appeared, the Banner Lane factory's occupation knocked out management's European HQ—and attempts by the bosses to work from hotels were disrupted by flying pickets. The initiative stayed with the workers.

### Order

Yet there were weaknesses. These were the product of *success*—years of victorious piecework struggle. The stewards' committee was convinced that Masseys' workers *alone* could win, explained a worker.

'They were arguing we were so strong we didn't need publicity. That collections weren't needed and above all that we didn't need physical help—or the threat of it from other Coventry workers, when the bosses produced the big court eviction order. Piecework sectional strength became factory-wide weakness.

'For weeks the idea of High Court writs was dismissed. When they came the stewards looked for a crafty way round the law—instead of threatening to take it on, and getting support for a massive response throughout Coventry.'

But the defeat is far from total. It was only by a tiny margin that the 4500 voted to return, and given leadership and imaginative tactics thousands have shown themselves willing to fight—despite the sacrifices, and now they're back in the factory the battle is not over.

### Ban

There's been a notable lack of foremen around, and an overtime ban is on in most departments. Several stewards have had their credentials removed after poor performances in the strike, the right-wing chairman of the Machine Division stewards was *unanimously* voted out of office and replaced by a very active strike committee member.

And it hasn't stopped there. An emergency meeting of Engineering Union stewards was being held this week to discuss removing the extreme right-wing convenor's credentials. There is total non-co-operation with the industrial relations chief and when the Canadian president of Masseys planned a visit it had to be scrapped. The assembly shops announced down tools the moment he walked in!

So what has to be learnt? 'The company is organised internationally,' explained a worker. 'Our goal must be the same—an international combine committee.'

'We must place no trust in trade union officials. If they support us—fine. Otherwise let them keep their big mouths shut. We should be working to bring them under rank and file control. Convenors, stewards and officials should be replaced if they don't do the job they were elected for.'

'We've got to stop the company building up tractor stocks for another strike-breaking job. We've got to have the strictest control on overtime. Once inflation overtakes the wage deal, then the contract should be reopened.'

## LEYLAND'S LUCKY 13

LLANELLI: The British Leyland plant here has the best record of 'industrial relations' in the whole combine. It was the first to accept Measured Day Work, it has some of the lowest wages in the combine, it has never had a strike over wages. Never, that is, until last week.

The convenor since the plant opened 13 years ago has been John Weakly. He is the right-winger who recently dragged his union, the AUEW, through the High Court in opposition to the return to branch balloting.

The strike by the 500 AUEW and EETPU members is for completion of a 20 per cent across-the-board deal under negotiation since last March. The workers have already received £4.68 interim award as part of this Social Contract deal.

This first strike over wages in 13 years started last Friday while John Weakly was at the union's national amalgamated conference at Hastings. Apparently the strikers can do without him.

WEST WALES: With increased rank and file liaison between plants in the Iron founders disputes, full-time officials have been attempting to regain control. They even attempted to resurrect with management co-operation the discredited Welsh Engineers and Founders Conciliation Board. They have also been instructing strikers to return to work and end all other sanctions.

Meanwhile several managements have been

attempting under-the-table settlements, partly to undermine militant organisation and partly in fear of increased rank and file link-up between different plants.

Militants have not been idle. Representatives from 15 plants met last week and agreed to continue the struggle. As a result, the Tom Smith and Clark, and Neville Druce plants are still out on strike while other plants are maintaining sanctions. The meeting also agreed to continue liaison, sharply censored the officials' manoeuvres, and demanded a meeting of the full union

side before the coming talks with the employers to prevent any further dealing by the full-time officials. They are determined to win the full claim with no strings.

Similarly the AUEW stewards' quarterly meeting and four AUEW branches (Swansea 2, 4, 6 and 10) have passed motions condemning the full-timers and demanding that any proposed settlement be referred to the rank and file for approval.

Below two local AUEW members give their side of the story.

## Swansea: Wages stand still but nothing else does



PETER THOMAS, convenor at Unit Superheaters and a member of Swansea AUEW District Committee, told Socialist Worker in his personal capacity:

These last few months have seen the rank and file on the march in this area. For years we have been the victims of management organisation and the 'full-timers' collaboration. We have a good chance now to put a stop to all this.

It has taken four or five years of hard work. When we first started to try and organise militants in the Ironfounders plant, nobody wanted to know. We were hit by Phases One, Two, and Three. Nobody liked it but they took it.

Nobody is taking it any more. The men are angry. Our wages stand still. But nothing else does. Rents, prices go up, all soaring. When full-timers turn up or send instructions telling the men to go back to work and stop sanctions the men tell them to get lost. They've had enough of that in the past.

Fifteen plants have come together in the last fortnight. We didn't know before what was going on in the plant down the road. Now not only do we know, but we can organise and act together.

I am not happy with the way things have happened this time. The organisation came in *after* the strikes began. Nothing had been planned or co-ordinated. The blame for this must be placed fairly and squarely with the full-timers. Rank and file organisation has now helped to make things better, but it is still not good enough.

This confusion must not occur again. Next time every plant must know in advance what the claim is. They must approve it and then campaign to fight for it. If we act together we can run rings around any employers' organisation.



ALAN MORGAN, of the Swansea AUEW District Committee (Fords), told Socialist Worker in his personal capacity:

I used to be a shop steward in Swansea Foundry, a plant under the Ironfounders Agreement. Every year we went through the same old routine, presenting a long list of demands and then compromising nearly everything away. We have known for years that the Ironfounders is a bosses' club, without direct representation from plants.

The full power on the shop floor has never been used, and most ordinary rank and file trade unionists have been kept in the dark. In these circumstances the full-timers have played a role policing the rank and file—if any plant took industrial action they would quickly order the men back to work.

From what I can gather from my branch and the district committee, the full-timers have been acting in their usual high-handed way, causing con-

fusion and watering down the action. First Tal Lloyd, keen supporter of John Weakley and union 'democracy', referred the dispute for conciliation without reference to shop stewards or lay delegates on the West Wales Allied Trades Committee. My branch has condemned him for this.

Then we hear that just after having their strike made official the lads at Tom Smith and Clark have been ordered back to work with no reference to the district committee that made the strike official or to the strikers themselves. Of

The pickets at AWCO, for example, were offered no legal aid when faced with High Court writs. They were told to go through the procedure. It was just unfortunate for them that procedure couldn't be completed until after the court hearing.

This year the full-timers have been up to their old tricks again, but the response of the rank and file has thrown a spanner in their works.

They have stuck to their guns and forced the full-timers to fight, and shop stewards have organised their own inter-plant meetings to improve communications and attempt to co-ordinate rank and file activity.

In my opinion there are several important demands that should be put:

Any agreement arrived at should be put before the shop floor before it is signed. In future the ironfounders should be reorganised so that the workers representatives are delegates elected from each plant so that the shop floor has direct control over negotiations. And full-timers should have no vote and should be bound by lay delegates' decisions.

## Watch out, there's a road block about

PETERBOROUGH:—Sharmans, the Peterborough Standard printing works, are in dispute with their 37 NGA members and two SOGATs over the introduction of new printing techniques designed to cut jobs. Sharmans are trying to distribute a free advertising sheet, but until recently have been stopped by pickets who followed the lorries and blacked the sheet at the depot.

Last week the lorry came out as usual and drove through the town. As it drove past the police station, suddenly a great column of policemen poured out the station on a 'routine road block'. They stopped the pickets' car and delayed it long enough with idiotic questions to let the lorry get out of sight and away.

Occupants of another car next to the pickets said they had heard on their car radio a police message from inside the station, which ran: 'The lorry's past. Get out there and stop the bastards.'

This interference of the police on the side of the employer follows the arrest of three pickets last week on the amazing charge of 'stealing a distributor cap'. But for the strikers this police harassment is not funny. It reveals in practice what socialists constantly stress—the role of the state in defending the employers.

The dispute is a considerable test for the NGA, who are susceptible to the threat to jobs by new techniques. Yet they have been slow to move in defence of the Sharmans strikers. There are now overdue plans for a mass solidarity NGA

picket. Encouragement and support from all print unions, including the NUJ, is essential. Such disputes clearly point to the need for unity in action between different print unions—the slogan 'One union for the print' has to be translated into a united fight to defend jobs. Such unity must be forged at rank and file level.

## Lead levels kept secret

BIRMINGHAM:—A poster at Austin Longbridge makes it clear: 'It is the policy of British Leyland to accord the greatest importance to the health and safety of the employees in their working environment.' The reality is different.

Just before we went on holiday in May management arranged with the works medical department to have employees examined for the lead levels in their blood. Workers had a small quantity of blood taken from the lobe of their right ears. The medical staff told us: 'If you don't hear from us, you are all right.'

When pressed to say what the acceptable level of lead was in the blood, they gave the same reply: 'If you don't hear... When inquiries were made of a nurse she mentioned a figure. We requested that the results be made known to all workers involved in the test. This was refused.

The matter was then raised with a

leading steward, who promised to look into it, but commented that not much could be done if management refused to co-operate. This sort of attitude is typical of our stewards and it's not surprising the workers and stewards are treated with such contempt by management.

The moral of this is *don't* sit and wait for management to do things, or your steward to hope you will forget about it if he isn't concerned with your interests—*take direct action*. Only then will you get management acting and listening to your demands on safety or any other matter.

Rank and File Organising Committee Day School on **HEALTH AND SAFETY AT WORK**: Digbeth Civic Hall, Lecture Room 1, Birmingham. 11am—5pm, Saturday 28 June. Credentials 50p from: John Hindmarch, 37 Lysander House, Castle Vale, Birmingham 37. Phone (4pm—7pm) 021-747 0807.

# Hills workers get the Chrysler caress

## Socialist Worker

PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

THE Chrysler Company has deliberately provoked the dispute at Hills Precision in Coventry to give them an excuse to lay off all their assembly workers at Ryton in Coventry and Linwood in Scotland.

This is part of Chrysler's attempt to force acceptance of their new plans for the combine.

Peter Bain, Chrysler Linwood TGWU-shop steward, writes:

Chrysler have offered £50 to each worker if we accept their 'employee participation' scheme by 12 July. The lay-offs have come at a very convenient time for the company.

### Strike was provoked to get lay-offs

From what the company have said so far this 'participation scheme' is really an attempt to get senior stewards involved in disciplining workers who threaten to upset Chrysler's production schedule. In addition we are being asked to accept compulsory arbitration in all disputes that exhaust procedure, carried out by an independent chairman, what-

ever they mean by that.

For the same £50 Chrysler want us to agree to national negotiations for the entire British workforce.

This in turn means changing the whole grading structure, in much the same way as Leyland is trying to do by forcing Rover and Triumph into one group. Bargaining power would be shifted away from the shop floor into committees of officials and full-time convenors.

To get it through, Chrysler have engaged in a softening-up exercise. At Linwood some sections have been laid off for nine weeks already this year. They have just returned after a three-week lay-off.

The company get a double bonus with the Hills strike. They stop adding to their stockpile of unsold cars, and they hope that we'll be so hard up that we'll grab at the £50.

At their meeting last Saturday TGWU shop stewards agreed to produce a leaflet before the lay-offs start, spelling out the company's tactics and the dangers of the re-grading proposals. Only such activities, allied to a programme of section meetings to discuss Chrysler's plans, can reverse what is the most serious attack on our trade union organisation since the company set up its British subsidiary.

TGWU convenor at Hills Precision Jim Sweeney explained to Socialist Worker, that they are on strike for payment for the time they were laid off during the recent Chrysler Stoke dispute.

### Iron

'We've got a cast iron guarantee in our agreement. It says that if we have to work planned overtime then we've got guaranteed full time-working for at least the six weeks that follow. There are no qualifications on this section of our agreement.'

But although Hills workers had been working overtime before the Stoke dispute Chrysler laid them off. 'That was a trick,' said Bob McGreevy, TGWU shop steward. 'After Harold Wilson tried to get the Stoke workers back we were laid off as a bit of extra pressure. But we were on the big order of Chrysler cars for Iran. Stoke doesn't affect us one little bit.'

Said Jim Sweeney: 'The whole performance of the company has been unbelievable.' The Hills workers were told they wouldn't be laid off, and that there would be discussions. But they were laid off and there were no discussions.

After the Whitsun holiday Chrysler went further and locked the Hills workers out because they began a work-to-rule to get payment for the days lost. The lay-off pay agreement has proved worthless. They have not had a penny from it in four years.

### Lost

The stewards are now demanding full payment for all the days lost, including those lost during the current dispute. Jim Sweeney said: 'Our fight is quite simply about whether the company has to recognise our agreement or not. If they can get away with it with us then they can try it on with everyone else.'

'Chrysler have been assisted by the press, especially the Coventry Evening Telegraph, which twists everything we say and prints all the rubbish the company wants them to. They've presented us in the paper as a bunch of idiots who don't know what we're talking about, and I would just like to get the record straight through Socialist Worker to as many people in Chrysler and Coventry as possible.'

Chrysler's tactics on the shop floor are notorious. They are the company that provoked the shoddy work dispute by forcing the men to work with defective materials. In the same strike they hired convicted criminals from London to crash through picket lines. Two trade unionists were beaten up by those thugs.

Their latest attempt to erode trade union rights and conditions, wages and jobs, can only be met by the organised resistance of the whole workforce.



SOME of the one thousand building workers marched through the centre of Birmingham to protest about the rise in unemployment in the industry and to demand that the lump be kept off the sites. The demonstration was called by the UCATT Regional Committee. Pete Carter, a member of UCATT and a leading member of Building Workers Charter, addressed the marchers.

PICTURE: John Sturrock (Report)

## 3000 halt Port Talbot steelworks

From Colwyn Williamson, Swansea, 24 June

STEELMAKING at the massive Port Talbot works halted last week. 3,000 members of the Iron and Steel Workers union walked out in protest against management plans to introduce drastic cutbacks in working. The scheme, which would completely abolish weekend working for men in the BOS plant, the slabbing and hot mills and the traffic department, would mean a wage cut of about £60 a month.

Within three or four days the number of strikers rose to more than 5,000. But the

union fixed a deal with management for a return to work on Tuesday.

The strike came against a background of growing resentment over what seemed like deliberate delays in paying out a 'lead in' (work measure) payment of about £5 a week agreed last January.

Many of the men fear that the strike was provoked by a management that would like to prove as soon as possible who is to be master in the coming conflict over cutbacks and the current 30 per cent wage demand.

The scheme proposed at Port Talbot follows the pattern of those put forward at Llanwern, East Moors, Trostre and Velindre. There has been intermittent strike action at East Moors and Llanwern.

At the Trostre and Velindre tinplate works 5,000 men accepted a union compromise—there are to be modified rotas with production stopping from 10pm Friday to 7am Monday and Sunday morning shift worked by men on the day rota. Even this modified scheme will probably mean the loss of £10 a month.

These events cast new light on the May national agreement between BSC and the TUC Steel Committee. At the time this was hailed by the press and union leaders as a 'victory' for Wedgwood Benn and a 'reprieve' for steelworkers. According to the agreement unspecified 'economies' were to be made.

But now management, the press and union leaders all openly refer to the national agreement as, in the words of The Guardian, 'an agreement to cut the wage bill by £100 million'.

Steelworkers in South Wales who are in the International Socialists are calling for a concerted strategy of resistance organised on an inter-union basis and across the various plants. In a series of influential leaflets we have argued against redundancies and wage cuts and in favour of a policy of non-co-operation with management, and have advocated the weapon of occupation in situations where management seems to be deliberately provoking a strike.

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## FIGHTING FUND

THE hot weather seems to have gone so much to the heads of many of our readers that our fighting fund has slipped completely from their minds. After a good start this month, the past two weeks has seen the flow fall to an all time low.

Unfortunately, the prices charged by the newsprint monopolies and the bills for increased electricity, phone calls and so on will not wait until a series of rainstorms return readers to their senses. We have raised only £95.65 this week, bringing us to £962.20, less than half way to our £2000 monthly target.

We would be much happier if more readers would follow the example of a

subscriber in Westcliffe-on-Sea who sent us £2, or another in Blackpool whose £2.50 we were glad to receive. And if you can afford it, we would love you to follow the Guildford reader who sent £10.40.

IS branches too would do well to copy the Central London Civil Service Branch, who sent us a cheque for £60. cheque for £60.

Our thanks also to: Durham IS £5, Leeds IS £2, Leicester IS £3.75, AUEW no 2 Hockley, Birmingham £2, SW reader Preston £2, Anon £1.

Send donations and collections to: Socialist Worker Fighting Fund, c/o Mel Norris, 8 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN.