

# Socialist Worker

WEEKLY PAPER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

## Support grows for Ossett sit-in

by John Charlton

OSSETT (Yorks):—When workers at Jonas Woodhead occupied their factory a month ago they stopped the machines, they froze the movement of 250,000 car coil springs and ejected the management from the factory.

The Woodhead Group is doing



Pete Shaw: a clenched fist defends 250,000 coil springs

rather well in the current Tory bonanza. The 1971 profits of £1½ million showed an increase of more than 40 per cent on the average for the previous eight years.

The order book is bulging. The group already has a massive share of the British and European markets for coil springs, supplying Ford, Chrysler, Vauxhall, Volvo and Simca.

It has recently invested several millions

in plants at Ossett and Newton Aycliffe and purchased two further factories in Coventry. They are producing plenty of gravy—enough it is rumoured to allow a leading director to spend only 40 days a year in the English sunshine.

Understandably workers earning less than £25 per week basic, working in conditions of excessive heat and metallic dust clouds have come to feel that they should have a rather better share of the fat they produce.

So far the management at Jonas Woodhead have been unable to agree. All they have offered to date is an average of 62p a week on the bonus.

This was in response to a local claim lodged in January for 'a substantial increase'. In spring this claim was caught up by the national engineering claim. Still Woodheads were unwilling to make an improved offer—despite a promise to do so.

Faced by a stubborn and deceitful

Turn to back page

## Angela is free —but fight goes on...

by Mike Caffoor

THE RELEASE of Angela Davis by a California court this week is a victory for black people in the struggle against racism. Her acquittal was due not to the alleged impartiality of the American judicial system but to the volume of protest on an international scale against the attempt to frame her.

The state was aware that had she been jailed a massive upsurge of blacks and students demanding her freedom would have created enormous problems for an administration already reeling under the impact of the defeats in South Vietnam.

Ever since sections of the black community abandoned the middle class Civil Rights movement and chose to form much more militant organisations, such as the Black Panthers, the state has run amok in intimidating and physically liquidating most of the leaders.

Many were killed in ambushes with the police, others murdered while they were asleep in their beds. The strategy was to wipe out the entire leadership of



Angela: attempted frame-up

these organisations. While they were prepared to tolerate black liberals who wanted reforms within the system, they had other plans for those who wanted to change the system itself.

Angela Davis came on the scene through her activities to free the Soledad Brothers and George Jackson. Jackson had spent years in prison for allegedly stealing 70 dollars.

When Jonathan Jackson tried to free his brother, an attempt which ended in his own death as well as that of a judge, Angela was framed by the state as the leader of the 'conspiracy'.

But her acquittal does not mean the end of the struggle. Many black prisoners are still in jail, terrorised and brutalised by racist warders. Even during the course of the trial Ruchell Magee was brought to court in chains.

For the great mass of black people life goes on as before, with unemployment or inferior jobs, bad housing, police intimidation, racist violence and oppression. Angela Davis has been released but the struggle to free the oppressed people of America from the ghetto of capitalism must go on.

The Angela Davis Defence Committee is staging a rally in Trafalgar Square on Sunday at 3pm. Speakers will include Mrs Inez Williams, mother of Soledad Brother Fleeta Drumgo.

The executive of the International Socialists cabled Angela Davis on Monday, congratulating her on a 'victory for all oppressed people'.

LONDON REGION  
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS  
public meeting  
NIGEL HARRIS, recently returned from a visit to India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, speaks on  
SUB-CONTINENT IN TURMOIL  
Tues 13 June, 7.30pm  
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square  
Admission 10p

## Mine disaster: profiteers' bloody hands

# THE REAL KILLERS

by SW Reporter

MORE THAN 400 men were killed in the world's biggest mine disaster for 10 years in Rhodesia on Tuesday. The press has spoken of a 'tragic accident' but the truth is that the Wankie deaths were no accident.

They were the inevitable by-product of the Southern African mining system, organised on the basis of slave labour by massive business interests in London and South Africa.

It is a system which reaps a continuous murderous toll in terms of African lives. In January 1960, 437 were killed in Lydesdale in South Africa. In 1961, 30 at South Roudepost in South Africa. In 1962, 29 at West Driefontein in South Africa. In 1967, 17 at Virginia Goldfields in South Africa. In 1970, 89 at Mufiliera in Zambia.

Meanwhile, the Investors' Chronicle is able to write of the 'record profits' of Anglo American, the firm that owns Wankie and which dominates the whole mining industry throughout Southern Africa.

These profits are obtained, as the same paper has pointed out, 'only because they can draw on a vast pool of cheap African labour.' African workers in a pit like Wankie are recruited on a one-year 'contract basis'. During that time they lost all rights and have to live in all-male compounds where they are fed on a meagre diet

of maize, dried fish and a gallon of African beer a day.

In return for their labour most of them receive a wage of £2.50 a week. At Wankie the only union they are allowed to join is run by white workers who earn 10 times more. The Rhodesian government viciously smashed their attempts to form an independent black union in 1964 and 1965.

In their drive to boost their profits still more, the men who run Anglo American and Wankie pay little heed to the welfare of those who risk their lives in the depths of the earth. There are indications that more than two years ago the immense dangers of the mine where the disaster occurred were known about.

### 'RESPECTABLE'

The South African Mining Year Book for 1970 reported: 'Number 2 colliery... increased faulting in the seams was worse, causing low efficiency. Reorganisation of the mechanised sections was necessary, resulting in the withdrawal of certain units and operations were confined to smaller units.'

In other words, the mine was dangerous, but this was not going to stop the search for 'efficiency' and the drive for profits.

The men who preside over the company that

made that crude calculation are usually presented as the most respectable of businessmen. Men like Harry Oppenheimer, head of Anglo American who is said by the press to be a 'liberal' because he objects to the way in which some features of the apartheid system of South Africa prevent his profits being even higher.

Among the directors of Wankie are Sir Frederick Crawford, former British governor of Uganda and then of Kenya, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, former British governor of Rhodesia—portrayed as a hero by the British press of the time—and Sir Keith Acutt, of the multi-millionaire company Charter Consolidated, the British partner of Anglo American.

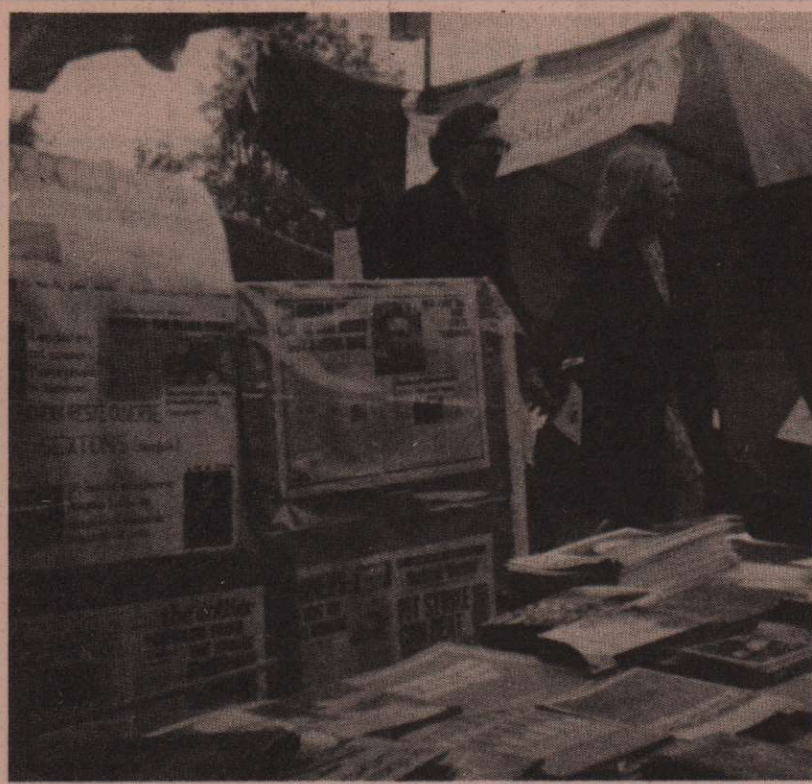
These are the men on whose hands lies the blood of those who died this week. There is a simple word to describe them—Murderers.

But the press will not make a great fuss about the wanton destruction of these killers. It will reserve its venom for those alleged to be members of the 'Angry Brigade', who committed the crime of blowing in the front door of Robert Carr's house.

For we live in a society in which murder of the Wankie sort is taken for granted, in which killing workers in the pursuit of profit is an activity engaged in by all the top people. Not until workers in Rhodesia, South Africa and Britain take action to smash that system will a more humane set of priorities come into being.



# WORLD NEWS



The International Socialists' stall at the Lutte Ouvriere Whitsum fete near Paris. The stall included displays on many industrial struggles, including the docks, the miners' strike, the Fisher Bendix factory occupation and the Fine Tubes strike, and it attracted a lot of interest.

## US-backed crackdown snuffs out democracy

THIS article is based on a document issued by Salvadorean revolutionaries and students, together with Central American students living in England.

LAST MARCH the press reported armed conflict in the small Central American state of El Salvador. What was not made so clear was that the real force behind the armed intervention was US imperialism.

It was a gross violation of human rights and the principle of self-determination.

The intervention was actually carried out by a body called the Council for Central American Defence, which unites the armed forces of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua under US leadership.

At day-break on 25 March a military coup overthrew the government of General Fidel Sanchez Hernandez. Sanchez's government was undemocratic, and represented US interests in El Salvador. It had won elections in February and March by use of fraud and violence.

A new government, with both civilian and military members, was set up. The uprising was welcomed especially by the political opposition which had been cheated of

victory in the elections. It should be noted that the El Salvador constitution allows the right of insurrection against unpopular governments.

Immediately Colonel Carlos Guzman Aguilar, head of the Salvadorean Military Mission in Washington, began to plan a counter-coup. This was to begin in the San Miguel military zone, where the US army is training Salvadorean units in 'anti-insurrection' techniques.

### Heavy bombing

A column of armoured cars and artillery, with Guatemalan air support, set out from the military zone for the capital, San Salvador. It was led by General Fidel Torres, the El Salvador Minister of Defence and president of the Council for Central American Defence.

Before it set out, numerous cargo planes from Nicaragua, Guatemala and elsewhere had landed in the military zone.

Bombers from Nicaragua and Guatemala violated El Salvador air space and dropped heavy bombs, not only on military centres in the hands of the new government, but also on the civilian population of San Salvador. Civilian hospitals, including a religious orphanage, were bombed.

Another armed column advanced from the west, with Guatemalan air and ground support. The Sanchez regime was rapidly restored to power. At least 200 people were killed and more than 1000 wounded.

The presidents of Nicaragua and Guatemala personally directed and co-ordinated the intervention of their own forces. The co-ordination of the two interventions was carried out by the US Military Mission in El Salvador, using headquarters in the National Guard barracks and the US Embassy.

### Repression

When the rebellion had been crushed, the head of the Nicaraguan Air Force announced the news by radio, adding that the restored President Sanchez was in constant contact with President Somaza of Nicaragua.

Since being safely restored to power, the Sanchez government has launched a vicious wave of repression against all opposition forces. The country is under martial law. The jails are full. Many democratic and revolutionary militants are reported to have 'disappeared'.

It is feared that Sanchez plans to systematically murder the leaders and activists of the opposition.

These events have shown how the present rulers of El Salvador are in fact agents of American imperialism. Salvadoreans are appealing for international solidarity in their struggle against imperialism.

## Shipyard threat to Franco

by Vic Richards

WORKERS in Galicia, in north west Spain are opening a new chapter in the Spanish struggle for socialism.

Until recently, Galicia was an extremely backward province. It was one of Franco's strongholds during the Civil War. After 1945 low wages drove a large proportion of Galician workers to emigrate to the more prosperous areas of Spain and Northern Europe.

In the past few years, however, many new industries have opened up, particularly shipbuilding. Galician shipworkers have now overtaken the traditional militancy of workers in Asturias, Catalonia and the Basque country. In particular this is because they get ridiculously low wages for highly skilled work.

As elsewhere in Spain, their organisations (workers' commissions) are illegal and there is no right to strike.

In March the shipyard strike at El Ferrol led to the town being taken over for several hours. Heavily armed police eventually regained control of El Ferrol after killing two strikers and wounding dozens more.

This was followed by protest strikes all over Spain, involving almost all the big plants in Galicia. It also boosted the May Day strikes.

Now 2500 Galician workers in the Barreras shipyards near Vigo have taken up the fight for better wages and the right to organise. They were locked out for a week in mid-May after demanding a wage-rise. Police brutality against demonstrations and individual strikers increased the workers' solidarity.

### Explosive

The management at Barreras have now offered a wage increase of 34 per cent spread over two years. This is way over the Spanish government's 'wage norm' of seven per cent a year. The workers have accepted the increase, but are determined to stay out to force the government to release 15 jailed strikers.

The government and management were both scared that the Barreras workers' militancy would take an explosive turn as at El Ferrol. Now on top of the increase Franco's government will probably have to free the 15 strikers.

Francisco fears the reaction of his supporters if he gives in. But he cannot afford to upset a major industry's business for fear of losing foreign investors' confidence. Nor can he afford to ignore the danger that the Barreras strike could lead to a general strike.

Spanish workers are leading the military and the government are determined to see that their own pay rises are not less. If the workers' strike fighting spirit is not broken, the rest of Franco's based democracy could be toppling.

# Shoot-out masks real German issues

IN THE early morning of Thursday 1 June police armed with machine pistols and supported by a tank surrounded a house in a respectable area of Frankfurt.

After the obligatory shoot-out in front of the television cameras, summoned to record for posterity the 'greatest victory' in the fight against the 'most dangerous criminals in the Federal Republic', three of the leaders of the Red Army Fraction were taken prisoner.

The fraction (popularly known as the Baader-Mainhof Gang after the names of two of its leaders) claims responsibility for recent bomb attacks, including those on American Army buildings which killed three American soldiers.

In fact if the fraction didn't exist, it would have to be invented—it is just what the doctor ordered as far as the German ruling class is concerned.

The group was an off-shoot of the more anarchistic tendencies of the West German student movement. From the violence of the capitalist system in all its aspects, from the war in Vietnam to the concealed poverty under the facade of prosperity in the Federal Republic itself, the fraction deduces the moral imperative of violent action now, to make clear to the masses the necessity of violent revolution.

### Branded

Of course what this forgets is that violence unconnected with the mass struggles of the working class and with which the working class cannot possibly identify is a totally elitist view of the class struggle.

Worse, it merely allows all opposition to the system to be branded as criminal. That has been the only result of the actions of the fraction since it formed after fire-bomb attacks on two Frankfurt stores in 1968.

Whatever sense of reality the members of the fraction may have ever had seems to have long since disappeared. In a tape-recorded speech to a teach-in at Frankfurt University, Ulrike Mainhof claimed that the 'masses' supported the group's actions. In fact the group's only real support comes from a few conscience-stricken intellectuals—the organised left has almost without exception distanced itself from the fraction.

Far more important is the use the ruling class has been able to make of the situation.

The recent strikes against the attempted parliamentary coup by the conservative opposition are the latest sign that the working class is prepared to fight for what it considers to be its own interests.

The ruling class, on the other hand, has been unable to increase economic difficulties. The reversal of the Francoist and the German government's policies, the fact that the government is spending at the end of the government's already without reform programme.

The ruling class's own internal

### From our Frankfurt correspondent

difficulties over the Eastern Treaties allowed a dangerous amount of political involvement by the working class, while the treaties themselves have removed the old bugbear of the Danger in the East.

If this can be replaced with a Danger Within, and the working class persuaded that a few bomb throwers, rather than the daily perpetrators of social violence—the ruling class—are the real enemy, then perhaps all will be well again.

But only in the short-term. West Germany's rulers know that in the last analysis their power in an uncertain economic situation depends on force, and they don't have enough of it. Over the past year the state's forces of repression have been systematically increased.

The police at local level are being re-armed with machine pistols and given special weapon training on how to shoot to kill.

The para-military border defence force is being expanded and re-equipped, while the law has been altered to allow it to intervene in internal disorders (like strikes, for instance).

The police forces of the different federal states have been centralised through the build-up of the central government's Criminal Office.

Meanwhile the police are learning that

in defence of law and order anything goes. Incidents in which police use their guns in 'self-defence' (usually involving shooting people without guns) or simply beating up people who displease them (squatters, hippies, pickets) increase.

In Frankfurt, for example, lawyers try to persuade their clients not to start cases against members of the police force who have beaten them up. Such charges are not only never successful, they result in counter-charges of 'opposition to the power of the state'.

Meanwhile there are signs that the private police forces of the big firms are being re-armed and extended (arms in this case can mean small tanks).

### Dramatic

All this, of course, could lead to rather awkward problems. After all, people might start thinking that perhaps the police don't really need tanks to fight the alleged rise in crime or even against a few isolated anarchists.

Yet if the 'public' can be persuaded that they are really in danger, that there really is an 'Enemy Within' (and when the Red Army Fraction allegedly threatens bomb explosions and bloodbaths in the middle of city centres this becomes more credible) all this arming for civil war can go unnoticed.

The series of dramatic television appeals for information by the police, the police control points and identity checks all help to convince the ordinary man that the police are really on his side. The anarchists have done their work well.

## BRIEFING

WITH the US troop withdrawals from Vietnam many war veterans are facing unemployment. Much publicity was given to the Job Fair organised last month in Chicago by the American Servicemen's Union.

A massive advertising campaign promised ex-servicemen that 800 companies were offering 5000 jobs. But the 10,000 war veterans who turned up soon found that jobs were not that easy to get. Most were told either that their qualifications were not good enough, or that they would be contacted 'later'.

In anger many ex-servicemen started turning over the employers' stalls and driving away the employers' representatives. Then an attempt was made to march to the home of Mayor Daley, but this was prevented by police.

THE Chilean government is facing a strong challenge on its left from the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), which has been active recently in organising peasants in the countryside in Southern Chile, and which is exposing the land reform of the Allende government as thoroughly inadequate.

The present land reform only covers estates of more than 200 acres—these are mostly the property of absentee landlords and are inefficiently farmed in any case.

MIR is demanding the expropriation without compensation of estates of between 100 and 200 acres, which account for half Chile's agricultural production. MIR occupations of land are leading to armed clashes with landowners.

AS THE US presidential election campaign heats up, it's worth remembering that you have to have very rich friends to compete in the elections at all. In the 1968 election Richard Nixon spent seven million dollars (£2,700,000) getting himself nominated, and three times as much, more than £8 million, on the actual campaign.

Hubert Humphrey, the loser, was clearly at a disadvantage, as he could only fork out £3,850,000. And Eugene McCarthy spent more than £2 million failing to get nominated at all.

THE big strikes in Quebec—reported by Socialist Worker two weeks ago—seem to be fading for lack of clear political leadership. But the strikers have won one immense victory. On 23 May the three strike leaders—Louis Laberge, Marcel Pepin and Yvon Charbonneau—were released from prison on bail pending the hearing of their appeals.

Since no date was set for the appeal they are free for a more or less indefinite period.

THE Uruguayan urban guerrillas, the Tupamaros, have suffered their most serious setback of their 10 year existence. Last week Uruguayan police discovered an underground 'people's prison' in which two hostages were being held. It was the first time the Tupamaros had been forced to release kidnap victims. The authorities have been launching a big campaign against the Tupamaros during the last month.

AGAINST great difficulties, socialist thinkers in Eastern Europe are groping towards a marxist analysis of the societies in which they live. One of the most recent contributions has come from a Yugoslav professor, Milan Kangrga.

Last autumn he published an article under the apparently highly academic title of 'Phenomenology of the ideological and political emergence of the Yugoslav middle class' in the philosophical journal Praxis. The journal was banned by the authorities for a month, then allowed to appear.

Kangrga believes that Yugoslavia is ruled by a 'middle class'; that the so-called 'workers' control' was introduced to hold back demands for workers' power; that the middle class cannot solve the national question in Yugoslavia; and that a second revolution is needed in Yugoslavia and the rest of the Eastern European countries.



# Socialist Worker

For Workers Control and International Socialism, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2 8DN

## Next steps in fight against Act

'RANK AND FILE must stop the unions' retreat', writes Eddie Marsden, General Secretary of the AUEW Constructional Section, in Monday's Morning Star.

Now Brother Marsden's views are of some significance. He is one of the two featured speakers at Saturday's Conference of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions and a prominent member of the Communist Party. No doubt his article is a preview of his keynote speech which will outline the tactical proposals of the LCFTU leadership.

A good deal of what he says is true and important. Certainly 'the whole Tory policy today depends on being able to weaken the trade unions and in particular the rank and file and the powerful shop stewards movement'. Certainly there has been a headlong retreat by the TUC from its own declared policy. Certainly it is essential 'to mobilise all trade unionists, especially shop stewards, in the fight back against this Act'.

It is what is **not** said that is so striking. We are told that 'the present situation demonstrates the correctness of the arguments of the left unions . . . but not one word of criticism of the leadership of the biggest 'left union', the Transport Workers, which has abandoned its boycott of the NIRC, agreed to pay fines and made a serious attempt, on the orders of the court, to persuade its docker members to drop blacking in the containerisation dispute.

Why this 'diplomatic' evasion? Unfortunately, it is because the Communist Party, which is the dominant influence in the LCFTU, places 'unity' with Jack Jones and his fellow 'lefts' before the requirements of a real fight against the Industrial Relations Act. Unity is, of course, very important but the question is unity on what basis?

**Let's be absolutely clear about this. It is always possible to get unity, even with Lord Cooper and Frank Chapple, on the basis of drop your policy and adopt theirs. The unity that is needed is unity to fight—and this inevitably means disunity with those who are determined not to fight.**

The most important development in the last weeks has been the collapse of important sections of the trade union 'left' leadership in the face of determined attacks by the Tory court. A serious rank and file conference would treat this as a central issue.

### Sharp criticism

It is clear that not the slightest confidence can be placed on those TUC leaders who spoke with such eloquence for non-co-operation and defiance at Croydon and Blackpool last year. The job of a real rank and file movement is to provide the leadership that the TUC 'lefts' have not and will not provide.

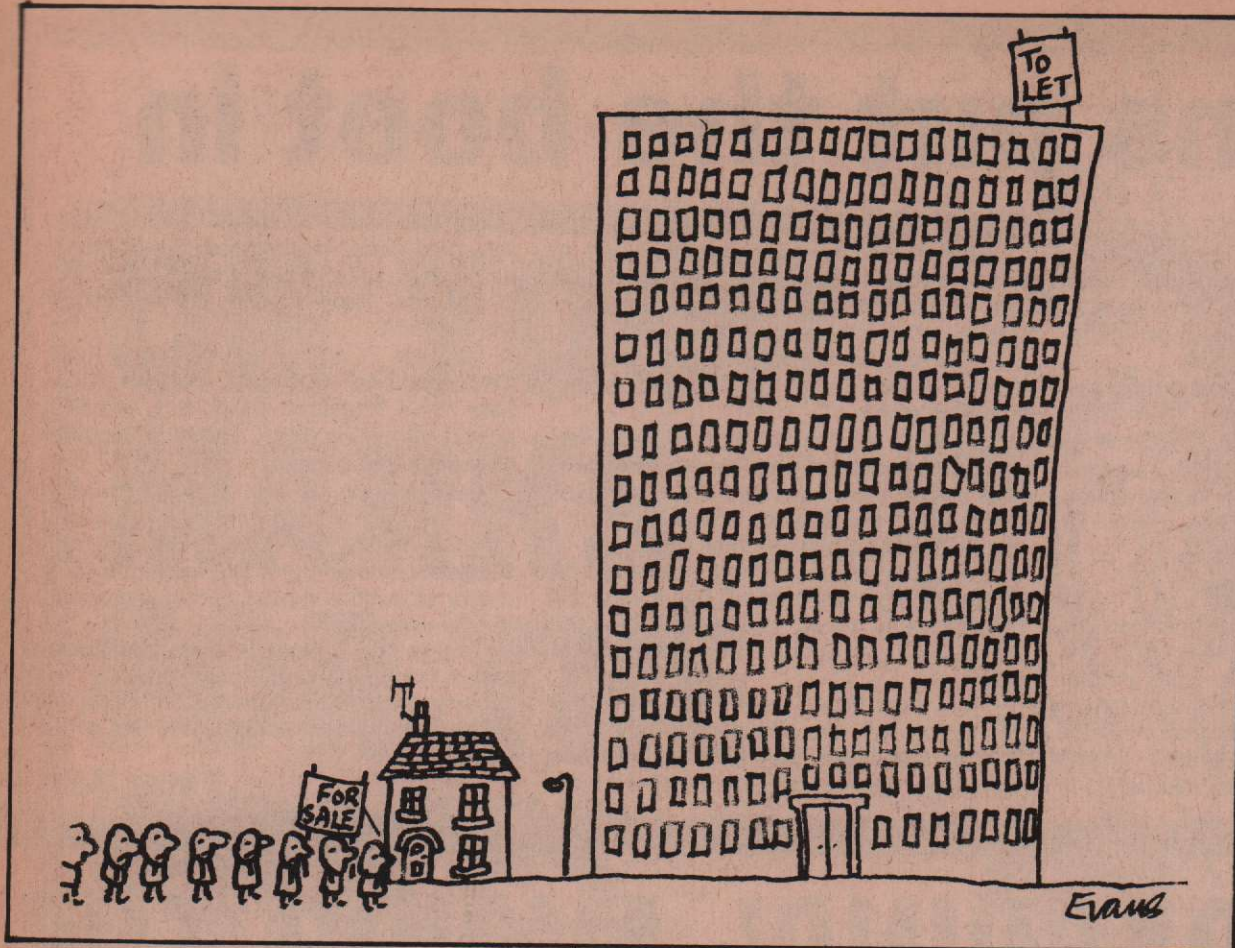
This is not to say that the fight to commit the official organisations to defy the law should be abandoned. Quite the contrary. It must be intensified. But this means sharp criticism of **all** those leaders who are giving up the struggle, including the 'lefts'. Indeed, **especially**, the lefts. For very few militants entertain the illusion that Cooper will fight the law. A great many have believed that Jones would. And now many will be putting their faith in Scanlon. A real fight **inside** the unions means breaking with illusions in the 'left' leaders.

This is essential, but it is not enough. It is now vital to develop local Liaison Committees or Councils of Action to organise solidarity action in the localities. We are under no illusions that this is something that can be achieved merely by passing a resolution. It requires hard and sustained work. Yet it must be done if the LCFTU is to be more than an occasional conference.

There is very little value in passing resolutions, even radical sounding ones, unless a machine is built up that can translate them from words into action. It is here that the struggle for unity—**unity in action against the law**—has to be centred. The struggle inside the union machines cannot succeed unless it is based on a genuine rank and file movement in the districts.

The International Socialists therefore call for:—

- An end to the TUC retreat.
- Recall the TUC to reaffirm and strengthen Congress policy of non-co-operation. No registration, no co-operation with the Act and boycott of its legal agencies. Non-payment of fines. Retaliatory fines in the event of seizure of funds. No compromise with the Tory government—break off all talks.
- Kick the right wing off the General Council.
- Defend and extend the closed shop. No co-operation with the Commission on Industrial Relations.
- Industrial action in defiance of the Act. No cooling-off periods or acceptance of secret ballots.
- Immediate expulsion from the TUC of all unions that register. No Bridlington protection for registered unions.
- A militant policy to smash the Act: increase wages, improve conditions, fight unemployment.
- All strikes to be made official.
- Full support for all trade unionists involved in action against the Act.
- Build local Liaison Committees or Councils of Action in every area to fight for this programme.



## COTTONS POWER

### Naked truth

THE respectable civic leaders of Leeds have spent a good deal of energy of late reassuring the more cynical elements of the local population that the moral fibre of the Leeds police is quite intact. This exercise in public relations follows in the wake of the convulsions over the death of David Olluwele, a Nigerian-born tramp who was hounded to his death by two members of the force now on a short rest cure in one of Her Majesty's penal institutions.

Further evidence that such incidents are but slight blemishes on an otherwise spotless record of police service to the Leeds community came to light last week when the police made an application to the High Court to get a magistrates' decision reversed.

The controversy centres around Arthur Abbott who has twice been forced to appear before Leeds magistrates wearing only his socks and underpants. He is charged with burglary and the police claim that they need the rest of his clothes as evidence.

The magistrates ruled that this was unnecessary and that the clothes should be returned to Mr Abbott. The police could not allow this threat to the efficient pursuit of lor'n' order to go unchallenged.

They approached the Lord Chief Justice for permission to contest the ruling in the High Court. Lord Widgery, well known friend of the British Army, has given the police permission to appeal. The result: Mr Abbott still has to suffer the indignity of appearing in court in pants and socks.

Lucky for him that justice is blind.

*BUT the police did provide some light relief on Sunday's otherwise soggy Vietnam demo in London. As the rain-sodden marchers straggled into Grosvenor Square they were astonished to see hundreds of bashful bobbies lined up behind the bushes in the middle of the square, looking for all the world as if they had been collectively taken short.*



A Grosvenor Square flasher

*The guardians of the peace looked distinctly uneasy as they faced roars of: 'Put 'em away, you dirty sods' and 'We'll report you for indecency'. From now on, the 'MP' in their insignia will stand for 'Multiple Pee-ers'.*

### As-you-were(1)

ON the occasion of his 80th birthday, Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia has been awarded the Order of Lenin by the Russian Supreme Soviet for his 'outstanding merits in the struggle against fascism, his important contribution to the strengthening of fraternal friendship and varied relations between the peoples of Yugoslavia and the USSR, his active participation in the struggle for peace and the development of international co-operation'.

It would be churlish to recall that 23 years ago 'For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy', organ of the Cominform to which the Russian and other East European Communist Parties belonged, informed us: 'The indictment and the preliminary investigation of the Rajik case provide irrefutable evidence who Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic really are. They are paid agents of the imperialist intelligence services, men who seized power in Yugoslavia by means of false pretences'.

### As-you-were(2)

THE PASSING YEARS take their toll of 'marxist' principles. In 1941 the Russian Encyclopaedia defined advertising as 'Hullabaloo, a means of swindling people and foisting upon them goods frequently useless or dubious in value.'

This year's version of the official encyclopaedia has a slightly different

approach: 'Advertising—the popularisation of goods with the aim of selling them, the creation of demand for these goods, the acquaintance of consumers with their quality, particular features and the location of their sales and explanation of the methods of their use.'

### Undermined

THE hidden hand of the General and Municipal Workers Union bureaucracy, headed by the soon-to-retire Lord Cooper, has worked a neat little trick this month.

A resolution on the preliminary agenda for the union's Scarborough annual conference was from the Bathgate branch in Scotland. It called for the abolition of life peerages and the House of Lords.

Strangely, the resolution has simply disappeared from the final agenda and cannot therefore be discussed. Lord Cooper can safely continue to wear his ermine, and not only in bed.

*TOM YARDLEY celebrated his 100th birthday in a spectacular way. He absconded from an old people's home in Cheshire and went on a six-day jaunt to London. 'One afternoon I went to the pictures and saw a French film,' he told the press. 'It was full of nudes, so I walked out in disgust after three hours.'*

### Pole-axed

DISCONTENT in the far-right Monday Club. Mr Timothy Stroud has circulated a letter to members protesting at the violation of democracy in the organisation that is committed to kicking the blacks out of Britain, shooting 'lame ducks' and loving up to our kith and kin in Rhodesia.

Mr Stroud points out that candidates for election to Club leadership were restricted to a 60 word political biography on the ballot paper. Mr Stroud kept faithfully to the limit as did three other candidates, but Mr Jonathan Guinness droned on for a mammoth 150 words.

When Mr Stroud complained to the Club's Director, a Mr Pole, he was told that 'other things in life are more important.' Mr Stroud should stop moaning. Mr Pole's notion of 'democracy' and giving favoured candidates an unfair advantage is quite in keeping with the electoral system practised in Rhodesia.

*COTTONS POWER: following our item last week about the sale of the AUEW meeting place in Edinburgh to the Orange Order, Piton branch of the union, with 500 members, has passed a resolution demanding that all information concerning the sale should be made available to the members. It is encouraging other branches to follow its lead.*





# Rangers' fans put the boot in

SATURDAY has been described as the day when the Glasgow working man gets his revenge on the rest of the week. The need to escape from the drudgery of working-class life through identification with the local football team is compounded in Glasgow by intense rivalry between Rangers and Celtic.

Large numbers of Irish immigrants who came over early this century attached themselves to the two clubs on a religious basis. Obviously this introduced an element of fanaticism beyond the usual affiliation which football fans feel towards 'their' team.

Rangers, founded by members of the Masonic order 99 years ago, will only sign Protestants. Catholics, Jews, and the growing numbers of Glaswegian Sikhs, Muslims and Hindus, cannot hope to play for Rangers.

Celtic, while employing a big majority of Catholics, have a Protestant manager and Protestants on the playing and training staff. The Irish tricolour flies over Celtic

Park in recognition of the club's origins.

In the past seven years Celtic have enjoyed success after success, winning the league championship every year, the European Cup once, and defeating Rangers most times they've met.

Rangers and their supporters have not enjoyed playing second fiddle. Their traditions, and, for example, the Orange songs that form part of these traditions, reflect Protestant victories and claims to supremacy. There is no 'Kevin Barry', 'Sean Smith' or 'Foggy Dew' in the Orange litany.

## Warnings

When, this season, Rangers reached the final of the European Cup-winners Cup, 'the support' looked forward to the greatest success in the club's history. For days before the final in Barcelona the Scottish press was full of foreboding and warnings to the Rangers supporters to behave themselves in

Spain.

At the end of the game the years of frustration at being also-ran to Celtic boiled over in scenes of drunken rejoicing inside the stadium when Rangers beat Moscow Dynamo 3-2. 'Derry's Walls' and 'The Sash' could be clearly heard during the TV commentary from Barcelona.

But there is no doubt that the supporters were surprised when the Spanish riot police tried to clear them from the field with a baton charge. But the Spanish police know only one method of dispersing large gatherings.

The battle which followed ended with the Rangers supporters chasing the police, and fighting went on all night in the bars and streets of Barcelona and neighbouring towns.

The press have made a general condemnation of the 'hooliganism' of the Rangers supporters. But, as indicated above, there were deep-rooted reasons why trouble

was on the cards. The Glasgow 'establishment' also predictably condemned the trouble in Barcelona, while hastily adding that: 'This is not the responsibility of the Rangers management'.

Glasgow is not Belfast. Inter-denominational marriage is common. Celtic have many Protestant supporters, especially among the young. Many Rangers supporters are not Orange bigots.

But so long as the Rangers Football Club provides a basis for mass, organised, religious hatred by refusing to sign non-Protestants, then there will continue to be rivalry of a more vicious, enduring character than anywhere else.

And as long as we live in a society rotten with unemployment, bad housing and poverty, then the Glasgow working man will go on seeking his revenge on the rest of the week.

Peter Bain

## Union toughness in short supply

I MUST WRITE to let you know what is happening to the power workers, whose conditions of employment are deteriorating now that the trade unions have handed over all our rights.

What monetary gains we enjoyed when so-called staff status was introduced have been swallowed up by the cost of living. Selling our rights and privileges is a costly mistake, because the value of the monetary gain is soon eroded away.

We should be fighting for a decent basic wage which is geared to the rising cost of living, not falling for the trick of having to sell something every time we want a pay rise.

Productivity bargaining has produced only unemployment and lost jobs. True, it has been done on a voluntary basis, but why should workers gain a few measly pounds while thousands of their fellow workers cannot even get a job?

The present policies of the trade unions are dividing and weakening the working class. Many power workers must now be contrasting the inspiring victory of the miners with the cowardly capitulation of our own union leaders in their negotiations with the board. The result of this apparently predetermined sell-out is a calculated insult amounting to 7½ per cent on basic wages.

The victors were the board and their political masters, the Tory government. The majority of our union leaders retreated in the face of government intimidation. The leaders backed down, not the workers.

The voting on the trade union side of the negotiating council followed a predictable pattern. The engineering and transport workers' unions voted solidly against the board's miserable offer, the electricians' union and the General and Municipal voted to accept.

This left the votes split down the middle, and it should be recorded that it was Frank Chapple, as chairman, who rescued the board and the government by using his casting vote to accept the offer.

The rest of the claim appears to have been shelved. There was no mention of the extra week's holiday and a delaying tactic known as a working party will investigate the 38-hour week.

Let the board and the union leaders be under no illusions about the determination of workers in the supply industry to win the shorter working week and longer holidays THIS YEAR. There can be no compromise on these demands.

A catastrophic reduction of the industry's labour force has taken place and the pestilence of productivity deals has led to speed-up and increased exploitation. The negotiating council must now be given a close scrutiny by power workers. Recent events demand this. D J DELANEY, Belvedere, Kent.

Letters to Socialist Worker must arrive first post Monday. They should not exceed 250 words and must be typed or written on one side of the paper only. Letters may be cut for space reasons.

# 'TORY BASHING' AVOIDS THE CRUCIAL ISSUES

WHILE we see the need for any socialist newspaper to constantly expose the nature of the Tory government, we feel that the 'Tory bashing' tendency in recent copies of Socialist Worker has led to the paper avoiding the issues which, in our experience, are the most important to militants today.

We refer especially to the question of trade union officialdom and to the struggle for trade union democracy.

If our paper is to play a central role in the struggle against the Industrial Relations Act we must concentrate on explaining the nature of trade union officialdom.

The paper must advocate the local action councils and programmes for trade union democracy upon which our activity in the regions is based.

It is not enough merely to document the history of successive 'sell-outs' unless some clear alternative is presented.

This is especially necessary after the Morning Star a fortnight ago carried two articles specifically attacking the International Socialists' position on trade union democracy, arguing that the question was one of 'policies' (ie the right man for the job) and not 'methods' (ie rank and file control).

We consider this is the problem the paper must put to the forefront in its agitation if we are not to miss the central issues that face us in building a real alternative to the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy. Dave Hughes, Godfrey Webster, Gerry Kelly, Paul Holborough, Granville Williams, Birmingham.

## LIVELIEST LETTERS ON THE LEFT

### VICTORY! 3 COUNCILS REVERSE 50P RISES

AS the national movement of tenants against rent increases continues to grow, some small, but notable victories have already been won.

At Edinburgh, Hemel Hempstead and Stratford the councils have now announced that rent rises imposed in April will be reversed. These examples of tenants' militancy can do. In Hemel Hempstead

#### THE RENTS BATTLE

Success will depend on the ability of tenants' associations to develop into a mass movement. In the past most tenants' struggles have been isolated and fairly easily isolated, but this time 1½ million council tenants and 1½ million private tenants are going to be hit at the same time, all facing a doubling of rents within a few years.

The fight will not just be against the local

trade unions.

Don't let councillors off the hook.

## Victory? Don't shout too soon

THE Rents Battle headline of 27 May, stated: 'Victory! Councils reverse 50p rise'. Correct, this is a victory—a result of militant tenants'

organisation, plus the fear of Labour councillors that council tenants might turn against them unless they refuse to implement the Housing Bill.

However the REAL test for these Labour councillors comes not now but in October. The Tory Bill demands that standard rents go up by an average of £24 per year 'on or before' 1 October 1972.

If a council does not implement these increases then amendments to the Labour Housing Acts of 1966 and 1968 give the Tories powers to firstly cut government council housing subsidies, and secondly take over the running of the council's housing department.

In the face of such threats as these, few if any Labour councils will continue to refuse to raise the rents.

This will be the main test of tenants' organisations. Those tenants whose councillors have decided not to implement the Bill must remain organised to make sure councillors continue their defiance.

Could Socialist Worker point this out next time it announces 'Victory' when a council decides not to implement? MARK DOUGAL, Edinburgh 7.

THANK YOU for your review of the ICA exhibition 'Strike at Brannans'. I thought it was excellent, clear and constructive. Where I part company with Laurie Flynn's view of my show is where he speaks of the failure to get at the real human meaning of the strike as related to all strikes.

The new pathways and possibilities needed can only be political and economic and they should I agree be implicit. Nevertheless as a part of this show I spent a little time aiming at a side issue to the subject—namely that I'd really like to indicate to other artworkers areas and techniques in which I think they should be working. And I'm not only trying to mirror the situation but also trying to affect it by collecting for the strike fund, selling prints, by organising meetings during the show and so on.—CONRAD ATKINSON, London W11.

## Trafford Park

YOUR article on the dispute at AEL Trafford Park, Manchester (20 May) was misleading. You stated that many communists entered into an unprincipled alliance with Brennan, the convenor. There are two communist officials involved, not 'many'.

It is common knowledge that the pro-establishment Brennan has been a law unto himself for many years and that all attempts to discipline him have failed. I think it fair comment to say that he ignores instructions or advice unless they suit his book, and that it is unfair to expect two communists—or IS members, or who you please—to influence an extreme right-winger like Brennan.

I am forced to one of two conclusions. Either the staff of your paper are so incompetent as to be almost moronic, or there has been deliberate suppression and distortion of the facts in order to publish a distasteful and unscrupulous piece of anti-communist propaganda.

Honest and fair criticism cannot be objected to if the intent is to strengthen and help the left wing movement. The statements you made were not in this category and they must cast serious doubts about the accuracy and indeed honesty of the previous statements made about the Communist Party.

One of the basic principles in the fight against capitalism is unity among anti-establishment forces. We must accept that there is only one common enemy, the capitalists, and that petty squabbles among ourselves prolong the present system.—GEORGE TAYLOR, Swinton, Lancashire.

GLYN CARVER comments:—The article in question was not about AEL but about the meeting of local shop stewards involved in the engineering struggle. At the meeting both the local officials and Bill Brennan, the AEL convenor, supported the motion to drop the claim for a shorter working week. The leading official in the area is John Tocher, AUEW divisional organiser, Confed district secretary and ex-chairman of the Communist Party.

The Manchester district secretary of the AUEW is Bernard Panter and the Stockport secretary is Bernard Regan—both leading members of the CP. The list could go on but the simple and well-recognised fact is that the CP dominates the local AUEW and the AUEW dominates the local Confed. It certainly isn't a question of a couple of 'individuals'.

We are in full agreement with the criticism of Brennan. While most factories were represented at the meeting by two or three stewards, about 70 came from AEL in management-organised coaches. Their voting power was used to pass the motion of capitulation.

The really disturbing aspect of the meeting was the unprincipled alliance between Brennan and the CP officials. If this alliance does not have the official support of the CP then we are bound to ask why Bernard Panter went out of his way to praise Brennan at the last meeting of the AUEW 'broad left' and why Tocher, Panter and company have not been suspended from membership of the party.

It is true that 'one of the basic principles in the fight against capitalism is unity'. But there is another principle far more basic—the principle that no socialist takes action contrary to the fundamental interests of the working class. This principle was violated by leading CP members at this meeting.

'The huge sums of money being spent on Concorde will only serve to save a few hours for businessmen or to carry on pleasure trips a tiny handful of privileged people. We have to ask what sort of society refuses to spend even a small amount of money providing a reliable and efficient bus service for ordinary people while at the same time wasting millions on Concorde.'

## BOOM... OR BUST? the crisis in the aircraft industry



A short and highly-readable analysis that should be read by all aircraft workers and socialists.

15p a copy plus 3p postage. Six copies or more post free from Bristol International Socialists, 9a Oakland Road, Bristol 6.



# ON YOUR MARKS FOR THE PRICES SPRINT

A RECENT top level conference of Tory Party leaders and government ministers had one subject right at the top of its agenda: the expected price explosion this autumn and what to do about it.

That there will be another upsurge in prices later this year is no longer even seriously challenged by government ministers. Their concern now is to force the lid down on wage increases before the message about accelerating prices gets across to the mass of trade unionists.

The price situation at present is not exactly healthy.

In April the cost of living went up by 7.8 per cent, a significant increase over the previous month. The figure is calculated on a cost of living index which many welfare experts believe deliberately undervalues those items in the cost of living which matter most to working-class families.

The government's own special inflation index for pensioners went up by no less than 10 per cent during the same month—showing that it is the essentials (food, heating, light and rent) which have risen the fastest.

## ENTICE

In the past few months the Tories have ignored the suffering which this appalling rate of increase in the cost of living is bringing to many homes. They have claimed that compared with the second half of last year the rate of increase of prices has actually come down a little.

There is some truth in this. Part of the explanation is due to seasonal factors, especially where food is concerned. But part of the explanation lies with the action of the employers' organisation, the Confederation of British Industry, last summer to 'restrain' price increases to an average of five per cent a year.

The idea has been to use the CBI 'initiative' to entice the TUC chiefs into collaboration with the Tory Industrial Relations Act.

## RECOVERY

The restraint has been somewhat hollow. Many firms got in massive price increases before the start of the operation—and others, such as British Leyland and the National Coal Board, broke it with CBI 'agreement'. In any case, during the past few months there has been a big enough recovery in profits to keep many firms happy.

But after July the five per cent limit comes off and it begins to look as though the sky will then be the limit. Many industries are known to be planning big price increases.

At the same time the full force of the government's so-called 'Fair Rents' will start to be felt by millions of council and private tenants alike.

## by John Palmer

What has gone wrong?

Much of the pressure for higher prices is international. Throughout the capitalist world, partly because of the huge American balance of payments deficit (which has meant a flood of dollars abroad) and partly in an attempt to get economic growth, there has been a fantastic increase in the money supply.

This has made possible the huge speculation on the Stock Exchange, where share values have risen by more than a quarter in the past year and the boom in house prices (up at an annual rate of 30 per cent in the first three months this year).

There seems no chance of this international inflation being controlled. The US payments deficit is going to be bigger than ever this year and the rise in prices is bound to be made worse by Nixon's escalation of the Vietnam War and as his increase in the arms building programme (which will not be significantly altered by any deal with the Russians) gets under way.

## ESCALATING

Of course the Tories argue loudly (and the Labour Party leaders in whispers) that it is the unions' fault that prices are rising.

What can be said is this. If trade unionists are prepared to see their standard of living and that of their families take a huge cut, MAYBE inflation in Britain would be moderated FOR A WHILE.

As it is, net wage increases (that is after taxes and stoppages) are only just keeping pace with the rise in the cost of living. Indeed, the 'real wages' of many workers are already falling behind as their union leaders settle for pay rises of seven and eight per cent.

The workers have to run faster and faster in order to stand still in a mad Tory world of escalating prices.

But with a new wave of price increases in the offing—and probably an autumn balance of payments crisis leading to a new devaluation of the pound—working people can expect an even more unscrupulous campaign by the Tories to break trade union resistance to their attacks.



Mr Rising Price: getting taller every day —with apologies to the Daily Express

## The great grub scandal —how your weekly bill has soared

DURING the last dock strike the Tory press made a great hullabaloo about how the dockworkers were forcing up food prices by stopping food imports into Britain. Some brainwashed idiot in the East End of London even chalked on a wall 'Dockers exploit housewives'.

So just to get the record straight before this nonsense gets going again, it's worth looking at what the government's own statistics say about food prices since 1969. From figures hidden away in the back of the annual report of the National Food Survey Committee it is possible to work out the price of a weekly shopping basket in 1969 for a manual worker, his wife, and two children.

As can be seen from the table below, to purchase the same amount of food in the month of May 1972 as they did in 1969 that family had to fork out just over £2 a week more—from £8 to £10 for the same amount of grub!

### Big bonanza

That extra £2, and all the other extra pounds for all other families, has not gone to produce anything extra at all. It has gone straight into the hands of food producer bosses, and the bosses of the food distributing and retailing chains in one of the biggest profit bonanzas ever.

The government fooled the housewife at the election, the food bosses swindled the shopper during decimalisation and both government and industry will rob us when it puts the Value Added Tax on food (against its promise not to) for entry into the Common Market.

Unfortunately there has only been a search for individual solutions to this scandal of food prices. For the statistics further show that families are switching from foods rich in protein and vitamins to more starchy foods in a vain attempt to make the week's housekeeping money stretch that much further.

### Forced to switch

While meat consumption has stayed about the same, mothers are being forced to cut down on mid-week meals. Milk, fish and fruit consumption went down between 1969 and 1970, while potato, bread, sugar, margarine and tea consumption went up.

And this was between 1969 and 1970, the last years for which there are official statistics. Food prices have rocketed since 1970, and workers' families will have been forced to switch more and more to a starchy diet.

The dockers and railway workers are right to take on the government now. If we all waited much longer we would be crawling around on our knees from hunger and malnutrition.

### WEEKLY SHOPPING BASKET FOR A MANUAL WORKING CLASS FAMILY WITH TWO CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE IN 1969 AND MAY 1972

FOOD	QUANTITY	PRICE IN 1969	PRICE IN MAY 1972
MILK	21 pints	88%	£1. 6
CHEESE	14 ozs	17%	26%
MEAT	9lbs 10ozs	£2.41	£2.72%
FISH	1lb 6ozs	33%	54%
EGGS	18	32	34
FATS	3lb	39%	82
SUGARS & PRESERVES	4lb 11ozs	22	23%
VEGETABLES	21lbs	80	£1. 8
FRUIT	7lb 11ozs	73	77
BREAD	4 2/3 lrgs loaves	51	65
OTHER CEREALS	6lb 3ozs	70%	85%
BEVERAGES	14ozs	33	43
MISCELLANEOUS (tins of soup etc)		20	25
<b>TOTAL FOOD BILL</b>		<b>£8. 1%</b>	<b>£10. 2%</b>

LIONEL SIMS



# NOTTING HILL: THE SLUMLORDS LAUGH ALL THE WAY TO THE BANK...



21 Powis Square: waiting for the speculators to start their improvements

HOPE WAS HIGH for thousands of ordinary working-class people when a Labour government was elected in 1964. If anything it was higher still when that government was returned in 1966 with a substantial majority.

While no one expected human emancipation to tumble out of the sky at the precise moment Harold Wilson's removal van drew up outside his new home in Downing Street, certain very definite results were awaited.

More money would be spent on social services and less on the gigantic madness of the arms race. The dead wood would be swept out of the boardrooms. Somehow some of the weight would be

lifted from the backs of the poor.

Quite how, nobody knew. But there was talk of a fair prices and incomes policy. And at the very heart of all Labour Party propaganda in the run up to 1966, there was Labour's housing programme, a message to the people that a Wilson government would help satisfy one of their most basic needs.

'Starting from last year's total of 380,000 houses and flats, we shall go on year by year exceeding this total, and reaching by 1970 no less than 500,000 new dwellings,' Harold Wilson told a Bradford audience in March 1966.

'This is not a lightly given promise. It is a pledge,' he added. 'We shall achieve the 500,000 target and we shall not allow any development, any circumstance, however adverse, to deflect us from our aim.'

Less than two years later the pledges and promises were publicly dumped with the Minister for Housing, Anthony Greenwood, spryly announcing in the House of Commons that the government did not now expect anything like 500,000 houses to be completed in

1970.

The dictates of big business to slash social spending in favour of higher profits, a more attractive return on investment, saw the Labour government eagerly turn on the very section of society that had brought it to power.

And as a result, in 1970, the year of the 500,000 target, fewer new houses were built than at any time in the previous quarter of a century.

But even though the new house building programme had to be dumped, the leadership of the Labour Party quite genuinely believed that they had room for other manoeuvres.

The slums would no longer be knocked down and rebuilt. They would be improved, modernised. 'New homes from old houses', was the ringing slogan.

And so in the 1969 Housing Act a new system of home modernisation grants was introduced. This was not only to encourage the owner-occupier to improve his property. It was supposed to help the landlord lift the standards of his tenants' accommodation without boosting the rent to pay all the costs. The grants ceiling was lifted to £1000 per dwelling unit on two-storey property, and £1200 on three-storey and above. All restrictions on the sale of modernised, grant-aided property were lifted.

## Speculators' opportunity

As Anthony Greenwood saw it, the only problem with the scheme was that not enough people would take advantage of it. 'We expect such a strange apathy over the 1969 Housing Act that people will have to be persuaded to take money to improve their old homes,' he said just after the scheme was announced.

In vast tracts of London at least, Mr Greenwood was proved wrong even before he spoke. In the dilapidated working-class areas near the centre of the city, a band of exploiters known as housing speculators could see their opportunities.

If they could get freehold possessions on some of the big multi-occupied terrace houses, fling out the unprotected furnished tenants and winkle out the unfurnished, they could modernise the properties and re-let them at vastly increased rents. With Labour's 1969 Act they could even improve on the immense profitability of the operation. They would get grants to do the conversion.

The London Property Letter (a business journal for the housing speculator) was openly talking of the rich pickings prior to the enactment of the Bill.



Joseph Alie, 13 years in Notting Hill, works as a motor mechanic in the middle of a clearance area: 'Yes, we'll go with the slum. And it won't be council houses that go up, either—just more flats for the rich.'

'It is people who make property valuable. You turn out the Irish and the immigrants—God knows where they go—paint things up and put smart people in,' said its editor Richard Garrick.

Colville and Tavistock, two districts of London's Notting Hill, have been the focus for an increasing amount of just such operations since the 1969 Act was brought in.

And 1 to 9 Colville Gardens summarises all that has happened. The average rent of a flat in it now is around £900 a year, more than many adult males in this part of Notting Hill earn in a year after tax. Kenneth Allsop of television fame has a lease on one of the 93 newly-converted flats.

Back in 1967 working-class families lived in the place, mostly in the cramped misery of one and two room flats, sharing kitchens and toilets. For multi-occupation had been the most common method for landlords to get juicy returns from London's acute housing shortage.

The method was brought into Notting Hill by the infamous Rachman

who centred his enterprise a stone's throw away from Colville in St Stephen's Gardens. But he had been exposed and died his death. His property was sold to someone else without such a tarnished reputation.

And with the 1969 Housing Act, and its modernisation grants, the speculator no longer needed to rely on brutality and intimidation. The developer could afford to bribe the protected sitting tenant.

So it was with 1-9 Colville Gardens. All but two of the original occupants are gone now, living in equally cramped and inadequate property somewhere else in a London that has one million living in areas of 'acute housing stress and environmental deprivation'. Two of the families—both with three children, are still homeless after being winkled out to make way for the speculator armed with a modernisation grant supposed to help the poor.

In 1952 the block was bought for £8000. By 1967, the property boom had taken its value to £52,000, and with outline permission for pre-1969 grant-aided modernisation its value rose to £65,000.

## Clear out undesirables

A year later, with Greenwood's improved grants scheme, it was sold for £120,000, double the 1968 value. For in 1969 the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea put up £111,313 in grants to modernise the place.

This fantastic sum of money was more than twice what the same Royal Borough in 1967 had refused to lend to the Notting Hill Housing Trust to buy and convert the property for those who originally lived there. The Trust asked for only £52,000 and the council said no.

The local political bosses are fervent supporters of the speculators. After all they do clear out the undesirable elements from a Royal Borough known mostly for its wealth and respectability.

The working-class areas are an embarrassment to the rich and powerful on the other side of the borough. Their desire to drive them out is suitably dressed up as the drive to get more rates in, which in turn will allow the council to provide the solid and respectable burghers of Kensington and Chelsea with better services.

Council involvement in clearing the poor out of their patch is little recognised but goes deep. Publicly known facts are few, but isolated instances point up the real intentions.

Kensington and Chelsea has built no council housing whatsoever in recent years. In the last year it has only once

used the powers of the council to buy a rotting slum for the human misfortune to live in.

It has appointed estate agents 'fair rents' on its own in the borough.

The choice of one. Donaldson's amply qualified having been agent for Notting Hill slums.

On the improvement statistics show that of Kensington and Chelsea grants went to this category and a few would be a polite way to say.

What fight did the council and the efforts put in by the People's Association by a fighter called in the first instance the dispossession of Colville Gardens. They are a lot a fact shown by a housing survey last month.

This reveals that in the whole of the area is being converted. After a year up 400-500 per cent.

In almost every taken place since the great reform. In no low rent area. At first speculators at work small fish. They are behind whom the company.

One of the best Notting Hill is a man who in turn is apparently 'small companies.'

In turn O'Farrell and funded by a G T Whyte. This owned subsidiary, stock market open Investment Trust financial operator hire purchase, insurance and take a hefty amount of songs of John McCartney.

The Triumph operation hold properties in the Powis Square. 12 in Triumph are Slater Walker.

The Walker of Walker, Tory Environment. The

An invaluable book for all readers of Socialist Worker

## THE ORIGINS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS

Important documents on the struggle for the revolutionary party in Britain

£1 plus 5p postage



PLUTO PRESS

6 Cottons Gardens, London E2 8DN



TORS



1 to 9 Colville Gardens: 93 modernised flats bring in £70,000 a year in rent.

compulsory purchase  
um and do something  
beings who have the  
there.  
ed a commercial firm  
to fix the new Tory  
that property it does  
th.  
firm is an interesting  
of Dalston Lane are  
to fix 'fair rents',  
s for the well-known  
ord, Benedict.  
ovement grants front  
er London Council  
in 1970, 61 per cent  
d Chelsea's improve-  
to 'private owners'.  
ides owner occupiers  
eny that it is just a  
roperty developers'.  
es go on against the  
speculators is the result  
n by the Notting Hill  
n. This was founded  
Mrs Pat MacDonald  
e to organise against  
the people of 1 to 9  
ere she then lived.  
g way from winning,  
e title of their latest  
sing Out' published  
t one house in three  
istock and Colville  
already has been  
nversion rents shoot  
t on average.  
case conversion has  
69, year of Labour's  
0 years there will be  
modation at all.  
nt the property  
k in the area seem  
ear as letting agents  
is a small property  
t known agents in  
an called Barrymore  
nected with the  
O'Farrell group of  
is connected with  
erchant bank called  
n turn is a wholly-  
of the glamorous  
ion called Triumph  
floated by clever  
who trade in metal,  
nce, moneylending  
of the royalties on  
ennon and Paul  
T Whyte-O'Farrell  
good many slum  
ea, like 18 and 19  
cent of the shares  
esently owned by  
ater Walker is Peter  
inister for the  
millionaire Walker

## GRANTS BOOST PROFIT RAKE-OFF

Balance sheet of a Notting Hill property speculator, Morris O'Farrell development 18, 19 Powis Square, abandoned because completely vacant possession could not be obtained.

Cost of houses:	£ 43,000
Conversion costs:	£100,000
Fees and interest charges:	£ 17,500
Total outlay:	£160,500
22 grants at £1,200:	£ 26,400
Sale Price at £8,000 a unit:	£176,000
Total receipts:	£202,400
Profit:	£ 40,900
Grants as per centage of profits:	65 per cent.

and manage the investment portfolios of private individuals. They put up the money for First National Finance, the speculators so recently and so well exposed by Thames Television.

They put up the money for Spey Investments which has just managed to make a nice slice of the electrical power workers' pension fund disappear into thin air in general and into the Spey directors' pockets in particular.

Both the Guardian and the Sunday Times have recently suggested that the Crown Agents' directors have been using confidential information to their own advantage.

Property speculation is one of the areas in which the up-and-coming can make hefty returns before moving on to more respectable things. It is an activity whose terrible human implications did not cease with the end of Rachman, or the report of the subsequent government inquiry which has since been shelved along with its recommendations.

The pursuit of profit has had disastrous results for the people of London

It will tear down Covent Garden and Piccadilly, spewing out the people who live and work there, replacing them with speculative office, shop and gambling facilities.

It has already brought them such disasters as Centre Point, an eight-year's empty monument to greed that has doubled in value. It has brought them anti-social and phenomenally expensive motorways. It will bring them anything except what they need.

### Speeded up profits

And at every point along the way, the adjustments, the reforms of the last Labour government have speeded up the profit process. What has been done, has been genuinely done. But it is tinkering that turns in to the opposite of what was intended.

The alternatives are beginning to be available. It is an increasingly urgent task to build that alternative—a political organisation of the people rooted in their working and living places, a powerful movement armed with ideas.

Such an organisation would settle with both the little estate agents and the rich and powerful for whom they do the leg work. Both must be removed in the struggle to realise a real socialist housing policy based on need, not profit.

## AS THE PRESS YELLS ABOUT BOMB PLOTS WE LOOK BACK AT A 'RED ASSASSIN' WHO WAS HIRED BY THE GOVERNMENT

ALEX GORDON belonged to the political underworld. He was the type of man the authorities do not like to talk about and even suggest do not exist. He was an agent provocateur.

At the present time, with the Tory press full of the trial of the Angry Brigade, it is timely to recall that the last attempt to assassinate a British government minister was devised not by socialists or anarchists but by a person in the pay of the police.

It happened in 1917. Alex Gordon proposed to poison Lloyd George, then the prime minister, and Arthur Henderson, a Labour member of the coalition government.

He tried to talk leading militants and revolutionaries into joining his plot. But they all refused.

In so doing, they foiled the government's plans, its desire to whip up public hysteria so that it could justify its repressive policy.

Thousands of people had been imprisoned for opposing the war. Free speech had been taken from men like John Maclean.

Journals like the Socialist Labour Party's The Socialist and the Clyde-side shop stewards' paper, The Worker, had been suppressed.

Would it not have been convenient, from the government's standpoint, to have a widely-publicised court case showing what thugs these leftwingers really are?

Alex Gordon continued to hawk round his plan. Eventually, he got a bite.

For many years, the Wheeldon family had been socialists, although not active members of any organisation. They had kept open house at their home, 907 London Road, Derby. This was an extremely valuable service to perform.

### Network

During the First World War many of the best revolutionaries were in the 'Flying Corp'—flying away from the authorities to evade arrest. They would pop up in a town, distribute leaflets and make a speech, denouncing the war, and would move on to the next before the police could catch them.

To conduct this kind of guerrilla-type propaganda campaign a network of hide-outs were necessary. The Wheeldon family provided one of these.

Gordon wormed his way into their ranks, got to know the Wheelons, and ensnared them in his project.

'The trial was a most disgraceful frame-up,' says Tom Bell in his autobiography, Pioneering Days. 'The prosecution point-blank refused to put "Gordon", their chief witness, into the witness box for cross-examination. The mother got ten years' and the other members of the family five years' imprisonment each.'

Like John Maclean and many others, Mrs Wheeldon was made to suffer terribly in jail. She was released from prison gravely ill and died a few weeks later.

She was buried—her coffin draped by a red flag—in Nottingham Road cemetery, Derby. At the funeral, John S Clarke, one of the leaders of the SLP, himself still on the run, turned up and delivered a stinging oration. He condemned Lloyd George, Henderson and the system they represented, which employed agent provocateurs to do their dirty work:

'There are several ways of murdering our valiant women fighters. There is the straightforward, brutal way of sheer murder, which killed Rosa Luxemburg. And there is the secret, sinister, cowardly and slower method, which killed Mrs Wheeldon.'

### Epitaph

But John S Clarke, not renowned for his lack of emotion, did not leave matters there. He was known as 'the poet laureate of the revolution.' Workers posted up his poems, attacking the bosses, from shipyards on the Clyde to the dug-outs on the Western front, and Gordon's crime was too great to miss commemoration.

Clarke had a pleasant knack of writing epitaphs of reactionaries before they were actually dead, as an encouragement to them to shuffle off this mortal coil, to release themselves from the cares and woes of this world and hasten their entry into the serenity of the next:

Epitaph on Alex Gordon  
Agent Provocateur of the British government during the great war to safeguard democracy.  
*Stop! stranger, thou art near the spot  
Marked by this cross metallic,  
Where buried deep doth lie and rot,  
The corpse of filthy Alex.  
And maggot-worms in swarms below,  
Compete with one another,  
In shedding tears of bitter woe,  
To mourn - not eat - a brother.*

# Dirty Alex, spy the workers kept in the cold



John S Clarke: revolutionary laureate

This poem became well-known among class-conscious workers throughout Britain. It was a popular recitation at social gatherings. The feeling of repulsion was so strong that, according to Tom Bell, 'Gordon was shipped to South Africa for a time to save his skin.'

When things calmed down, Gordon returned to Britain. The bad publicity had apparently upset him. He tried to clear his name by giving an interview to the Daily Herald on 28 December 1919.

He told the paper his real name was F Vivian. He had worked for the government as a labour spy for quite a time. He received £2 10s a week, plus an occasional £2 bonus.

The headquarters of the International Workers of the World in Whitechapel Road and the Communist Club in Charlotte Street had been raided after he had visited them.

### Attack

He attempted to justify himself: 'I was not consciously a secret service man. By the time I was told that, the government had got me . . . the government agents had a hold over me which made it absolutely impossible for me to break away from them.'

This excuse did not satisfy John S Clarke, who, by this time, was editor of The Worker, the revolutionary journal with the biggest circulation in Britain. He returned to the attack, saying that Gordon had Mrs Wheeldon's blood on his hands.

This evoked the following response: 'Sir—I have noted your filthy and criminal libels. Rest assured you will shortly have the chance of answering them—Alex Gordon, Southampton, 6 February 1920.'

Clarke published this letter in The Worker, of 14 February 1920, under the heading, 'Another night's sleep lost.'

Of course, the government could not afford to permit Gordon to prosecute—court proceedings could lead to the disclosure of revelations that might prove to be acutely embarrassing for the Home Office.

Already an indiscreet official had stated that £700,000 a year was being spent by the government on agent provocateurs and spies in the labour movement. Even some of the more liberal-minded newspapers condemned the government's methods.

But governments have been careful to see that the facts remain secret. Even 50 years later, when university

historians have pleaded for access on academic grounds, the government still refused to disclose information about surveillance of working-class movements.

Volumes of official documents are deposited in the Public Records Office—none, however, are about agent provocateurs. This is because governments must try to conceal the methods that are still in use. The blanket of secrecy is not to defend the Alex Gordons of the 1920s but the Alex Gordons of the 1970s.

Obviously, left wing organisations must do everything they can to guard against police spies. But there also is another question: Do we support the idea of political assassination, as was proposed by Alex Gordon, assuming that the plan is put forward by a genuine socialist and not a police spy?

### 'Idiot'

It would seem clear that Edward Heath richly deserves to be shot. Nevertheless, I would oppose it.

To get rid of Heath would only result in some other die-hard Tory taking his place. Capitalism is run by organisation, not by individuals.

The same answer was given by John S Clarke in his pamphlet, Bombs or Brains? Dynamite or Organisation?, published by the National Workers' Committee in 1920.

In it, he tells about a young man who came to The Worker office one day saying he had just obtained 500 guns from Russia. John S said he was unable to ascertain whether he was an agent provocateur or a well-meaning idiot: 'I told him, of course, to take his rifles to Hell. Whether he did or not, I can't say . . .'

### Disagree

Clarke continues by exposing the fatal flaw in the tactic of terror: 'It popularises the idea that working-class emancipation can be achieved by the self-sacrifice of heroic individuals who give their lives for the cause by "executing" figureheads and tyrants or property. The Bolsheviks said that only by steady and scientific organisation can emancipation be won.'

Therefore, while we might agree with the aims of the IRA—or of a Guevarist group that sets up a guerrilla encampment in Snowdonia—we must disagree with their methods, regardless of how heroically they behave.

For these methods can never create a new society. Organisation, discipline and knowledge are more deadly to capitalism than bombs.

Raymond  
Challinor



ERNIE BEVIN, the man who built the Transport and General in the 1920s, moved far to the right to become Minister of Labour in 1940

# The struggle for Britain's unions

FOURTH AND FINAL PART—BY BERNARD ROSS

**T**HE main legacy of the massive growth of unions at the end of last century has been the two 'general' unions, the Transport and General, and the General and Municipal, the first and third largest unions today.

Though both have developed from the same historical origins, they are very different today. The General and Municipal is, for instance, notorious for its undemocratic structure.

The old Gasworkers' Union was easily the most dominant element in the amalgamation which formed the General and Municipal, and its internal government had always involved powerful central control.

Authoritarian control by full-time officials has also been easier than in most other unions because of the absence of any significant militant section of the rank and file: roughly two-thirds of the membership is in the public services and a miscellaneous range of manufacturing industries, which until very recently were the 'organised-unorganised' sections of trade unionism. In other words, they had a long tradition of union membership but no tradition of rank-and-file activity.

## TRADITIONS

There are significant differences in the background of the Transport and General. It was formed by the amalgamation of a large number of unions, for the most part fairly small. The Dockers' Union, with Ben Tillett and Ernest Bevin as its leading officials, was the most important but by no means dominant.

Many of the amalgamating unions had traditions of militancy and rank-and-file activity which were carried over into the Transport and General. Dockers and busmen have always been militant, to be joined more recently by car workers. Today almost two-thirds of the union's membership is in engineering and transport, and this helps explain the contrast with the General and Municipal.

Yet despite these important differences, there are also many similarities between the two unions.

Both are notable for the power of their bureaucracies when contrasted, say, with the engineering workers' union. In both, the general secretary is elected for life, and all other full-time officials are appointed from above.

## DOMINANCE

Both have a large number of officials in relation to their membership, and in both unions the national conference, in theory the policy-making body, is too large and too short to initiate policy effectively, and is easily manipulated by the leadership.

In their historical development both unions have also shown remarkable parallels. Marxists played an important part in the formation of both the Dockers' and the Gasworkers' Unions, and provide their original leaders.

Bevin, the first secretary of the amalgamated Transport and General, was also a marxist in his early life.

But such leaders as Bevin, or Will Thorne, secretary of the Gasworkers and later of the General and Municipal, moved far to the right by the end of their careers. All later leaders of the General and Municipal were unashamedly right-wing, and the same was true of Bevin's successor, Arthur Deakin. In both unions, every general secretary has played an important part in choosing his successor.

The pattern of right-wing dominance

# WHY THE UNIONS KEEP TURNING RIGHT



PILKINGTON militants on the march: the explosion of anger by the St Helens glassworkers in 1970 exposed the truth about the internal regime of the GMWU and its close collaboration with the employers.

of both general unions was broken only by Cousins' election as Transport and General secretary in 1956. This was largely an accident, following the deaths in quick succession of Deakin and his own former assistant. And as noted earlier, the later militant image of the Transport and General has not always been matched by its industrial practice.

**T**HAT explains the transformation of the militant, socialist-inspired 'new unions' which for much of this century have been bastions of the right?

Why have union leaders who have claimed to be left-wing in fact behaved in a similar manner to admitted right-wing leaders?

The answer is that two problems beset

the early leaders of the new unions and have been of continuing importance.

First, the limits of militant action are set by the industrial strength and level of consciousness of the unions' members—while the general unions arose by organising workers whose strategic power was often small and whose collective consciousness, apart from short outbursts of explosive action, was often limited. This in itself helped turn their leaders towards cautious and conservative policies.

But the nature of these unions' recruitment also made their membership particularly unstable—as is shown by the heavy losses after 1890 and between the wars, and also by their present high turnover.

So a major concern of their officials

has always been the stability of the union itself, and the safest way of ensuring this, in their view, has been through friendly relationships with employers.

For the union leader in this situation, the direct interests and wishes of the membership have had to be balanced against the desire to maintain the goodwill of employers through 'moderate' demands and 'responsible' actions.

## DISTORT

The transformation of the militant new unions of 1890 into the conservative general unions of the 1920s is an extreme example of the way in which concern with stable bargaining relationships can distort a union's policies.

But to some extent the same process is evident in every trade union. It affects not merely the general secretary of the Transport and General, but also the convenor in a car factory or even a shop steward representing half a dozen workers.

Whenever he negotiates with management, the union representative is obliged to consider not only the point at issue but also the way in which the policies adopted will affect future negotiating relationships. Negotiation and compromise are the bread and butter of trade unionism: the tendency is for the union representative to seek regular and routine relations with the employer, to treat grievances as problems to be resolved rather than as battles to be fought.

Even committed militants cannot wholly escape this tendency, for the problem is basic to trade unionism.

**U**NIONS by their very nature are a part of capitalism. In bargaining over wages and conditions they implicitly accept the position of their members as wage-earners, forced to sell their labour power to the capitalist class.

The limits to what unions can achieve through negotiations are set by the basic realities of capitalism. So any trade union representative, however genuine a socialist, tends to behave in his day-to-day union activities as if capitalism were permanent.

The history of the general unions points therefore to the built-in limitations of trade union action. The lesson must be that militants who engage only in trade union struggles will be unable to overcome the capitalist system, and will be forced to come to terms with it.

Only through political involvement in a revolutionary party can trade unionists escape the tendency, in their industrial activity, to treat the capitalist employment relationship as inevitable and natural.



**The Essential Left**

FOUR CLASSIC TEXTS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM

The Communist Manifesto  
Marx: Value, Price and Profit  
Engels: Socialism, Utopian and Scientific  
Lenin: The State and Revolution

75p, plus 7p postage, from  
IS BOOKS, 6 Cottons Gardens,  
London E2 8DN.



## REVIEW

# PARITY FIGHT RECHARGED DAGENHAM BATTERIES

LAST YEAR Ford workers for nine weeks fought the longest and most militant battle in the history of the British motor industry. In *Ford Strike—the Workers' Story* (Panther 40p) John Mathews admirably describes that battle.

The 1971 struggle had been preceded by the 'parity' campaign launched by the Ford shop stewards after the 1969 strike. Parity meant equal wages to the higher paid Midlands car workers and the campaign gave a big boost to the wages struggle all over Britain. It was something new in trade union attitudes.

The parity campaign was a breaking down of the narrow limits within which workers had previously struggled for their demands. For a generation, workers in Britain had been able to achieve improved wages and conditions by fighting purely local struggles at plant or workshop level.

Faced with the growing offensive of the employers and the state, workers began to discover that to win their demands it was no longer enough to fight in isolation. It was necessary to connect with the activities of other workers.

Parity symbolised the new aggressive spirit of sections of workers who, until then, had remained relatively passive. Ford workers had long been nursing a smouldering grievance. They were bottom of the wages league in the car industry.

## COLLUSION

Mathews describes the build-up of the parity campaign and sets it against the background of the painful re-construction of trade unionism at Fords through the 1960s following the catastrophic 1962 defeat.

At that time, 17 leading militants were sacked as a result of collusion between the Ford management and the right-wing union leaders under the guidance of the notorious Lord Carron.

The book opens with a useful chapter on the motor industry and the rise within it of the multinational corporation. Since the war, the motor industry has undergone a marked expansion that has not been matched by expansion of the market.

While the output of vehicles has increased, the rate of that increase has been declining in recent years. The fact is that the motor industry in the US and Europe has been operating at only 70-75 per cent of its capacity. In Europe and Japan, the motor market is close to saturation point and in the US it is already saturated.

The result of this stagnation is intensified competition, reflected in a spate of mergers and takeovers. In the jungle of world capitalist competition, only giants can survive.

Its basic law is, expand or perish. The outcome of this growing rat-race is that there are now a mere six firms in the car industry, each with a productive capacity of at least one million cars a year. Together they control more than 80 per cent of world output.

The activities of these firms span many countries and wherever they operate they represent a danger to their workers. For by threatening to transfer capital and resources from one country to another, they can play off different national groups of workers against each other.



Leaving Dagenham last year at the start of the nine-weeks' strike

Mathews describes the attacks on Ford workers and their resistance to them that led up to the great 1971 strike. In 1967, the company was able to impose a major productivity deal on Ford workers based on a massive job evaluation scheme. In 1968 the women sewing machinists' strike finally shattered the relative industrial peace that had lasted since the 1962 victimisations.

1969 saw the famous 'penalty clause' strike in which Ford workers were out for 3½ weeks on their first major national stoppage. Fords, closely backed by the Department of Employment, were attempting to impose penalties against 'unconstitutional action'.

Barbara Castle was preparing her White Paper, *In Place of Strife*, and Ford workers were in the front line of the Labour government's offensive. The strike broke the stranglehold of the right wing on the trade union side of the National Joint Negotiating Committee.

But the response of the rank and file to the convenors' call for a national strike was uneven, with workers at Halewood taking the lead while many sections at Dagenham waited for an official call from their union leaders. In this situation, the officials were able to maintain control of the strike and, in the compromise they reached with Fords, the penalty clauses were watered down but the principle was accepted.

## AGITATION

By 1970, the parity campaign had begun to gather pace, so much so that Ford's had to offer £4 in order to buy off strike action that was threatened to back up the demand for £10. But the £4 was accepted and the result was a setback for Ford militants.

But exactly a year later, rank and file agitation conducted by the shop stewards since 1969 finally

paid off. Ford's insulting £2 offer made in response to the claim for parity provoked spontaneous walk-outs in Dagenham, Halewood and Swansea. Mathews suggests that Ford's might have wanted to provoke trouble in order to gain a pause in the production of the new Cortina which was posing severe technical problems.

Whether or not there is truth in this, Ford's could certainly not have wanted or bargained for a solid nine week strike which revealed an unprecedented level of rank and file militancy and determination. Ford's had believed they could repeat the previous year's experience when anti-strike workers had shouted down their shop stewards at mass meetings. They were in for a shock.

Given the strength of the rank and file in 1971, a substantial breakthrough towards parity could have been achieved but for the fatal intervention of union leaders Scanlon and Jones. Going over the

heads of the NJNC, they negotiated a secret deal with Gillen, Chairman of Ford Europe, by which Ford workers were to receive an immediate increase of £4 per week and a further £4 spread over two years.

During the two years of the agreement, there was to be a ban on all industrial action in support of economic demands. In addition, Scanlon and Jones willingly accepted the idea of a secret ballot to determine the workers' attitude to the settlement.

They wanted to prevent militant plants like Swansea and Halewood carrying on the struggle independently, as they had the previous year.

## TRANSFORMED

What caused Scanlon and Jones to act as they did at a time when the rank and file showed no signs of cracking? Apart from the bureaucratic wish to protect union funds from further drain, Mathews suggests that Gillen might have offered them sole negotiating rights in a future agency shop under the projected Industrial Relations Act.

Whether or not this was so, the fact remains that Scanlon and Jones transformed what was potentially a massive victory into what could only be interpreted, given the fighting strength of the workers, as a partial defeat.

Aside from relatively minor errors and omissions, the book's major weakness lies in the absence of any political conclusion. The Jones/Scanlon sell-out made clear to many militants the impossibility of relying on the union leadership for a consistent lead.

The urgent task is to build within Ford's and the car industry an alternative rank and file movement based on demands that break through the limits of what capitalism can offer.

The union leaders fight solely within capitalism and not both within and against it. Because of this, they inevitably betray.

SABBY SAGALL

# Kubrick takes the pith...

MRS MARY WHITEHOUSE walked out of the *Clockwork Orange* (Warner West End, Leicester Sq. London) which is in itself some kind of recommendation. It is the latest film from the American director Stanley Kubrick, maker of *Dr Strangelove* and *2001: A Space Odyssey*.

Kubrick has become a cult director. It was reported when *Clockwork Orange* came out that Malcolm McDowell, who plays the central figure, Alex, complained that he got almost no publicity—and Kubrick was plugged in every piece of advertising. Which was tough, but in film industry terms understandable, for Kubrick's name, like Hitchcock's, can sell a movie without aid from stars.

In one way or another the director has shown a fascination with technology. In *Dr Strangelove* a mixture of idiots (Peter Sellers' RAF officer), nutters (Stirling Hayden's General Jack D Ripper and the B.52 Bomber crew) and fanatics (Dr Strangelove) succeed while Nixon is still only trying, and blow up the world. In *2001* a beautiful but cold technology thrusts man towards Saturn and involves the Spaceman (Keir Dullea) in a battle with the computer HAL. Whether by accident or design the only human moment in the film comes when Dullea is fighting the computer for control of the ship. Slowly HAL reverts until it is singing nursery rhymes taught it long ago when being programmed.

The glory of the universe is beautifully conveyed, but all one is left with at the end of the film is a galactic freak-out as the lone spaceman is 're-united' with the stars.

*Clockwork Orange* is back to earth. England in the near future, a world of wrecked council flats, cold sterile architecture, clinical bars where you get smashed on Milk-Plus (cow+LSD). Alex, the 'hero' and his gang of 'droogs' move in and out of the landscape, robbing, raping and brutalising all they come into contact with.

## Cold cynicism

Eventually Alex finds himself in the nick, on a 14-years' stretch for murder. But prisons are getting overcrowded and the government seizes upon aversion therapy as a way out of emptying the jails in preparation for filling them with political offenders. The therapy destroys Alex's ability to choose between good and evil, he has to be good or he is violently sick.

He drifts through his previous happy hunting grounds, a prey to his old friends and enemies, rejected by his snivelling parents and denied even the pleasure of his beloved Ludwig Van Beethoven by the shock treatment. The film's conclusion, which I won't reveal, continues the same pattern of cold cynicism.

Alex is intended by Kubrick as a figure of pure

evil, and yet at the same time can be oddly likeable. The basic argument of the film is that 'Man' (whoever that is) must be free to choose even when the choice is always in favour of wrongdoing and the trouble with the film is that Kubrick doesn't believe that 'Man', or anyone else, is capable of doing good.

The origins of the film are a novel, of the same name written in 1962 by Anthony Burgess. It was written when 'teenagers' were still a new and frightening idea to middle-aged, middle-class liberals like Burgess. They threatened all the 'culture' which was already being chewed up by commercial television and Rock music.

Burgess then, and Kubrick now, seem incapable of understanding that violence is not just something used to terrify liberals and the ruling class. People are violent for reasons, and in reaction to the rottenness of the world around them. Despite Kubrick's success in portraying this soulless world, he never gets into why Alex behaves the way he does. He sees him as the characters in the film see him, as a mindless malevolent who just happens to like Beethoven.

*Clockwork Orange* is worth seeing—just. But it isn't the great searing expose of 'our violent world' which Fleet Street seems to imagine.

NIGEL FOUNTAIN



# WHAT WE STAND FOR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We fight:

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

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

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

Against anti-trade union laws and any

curbs on the right to strike, whether the strikes are 'official' or 'unofficial'.

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

For equal pay and a better deal for young workers.

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

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

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

Against racialism and police victimisation of black workers.

Against immigration restriction.

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

For real social, economic and political equality for women.

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

Against secret diplomacy.

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

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

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

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

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

THERE ARE 15 BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

## SCOTLAND

Aberdeen  
Cumbernauld  
Dumfries  
Dundee  
Edinburgh  
Fife: Dunfermline/  
Cowdenbeath  
Glenrothes  
Kirkcaldy  
Glasgow N  
Glasgow S  
Greenock  
Stirling  
St Andrews

## NORTH EAST

Bishop Auckland  
Durham  
Hartlepool  
Newcastle-upon-Tyne  
South Shields  
Spennymoor  
Sunderland  
Teesside E  
Teesside W

## NORTH

Barnsley  
Bradford  
Doncaster  
Grimsby  
Halifax  
Huddersfield  
Hull  
Leeds  
Ossett  
Scarborough  
Selby  
Sheffield  
York

## NORTH WEST

Barrow  
Blackburn  
Bolton  
Crewe  
Kirkby  
Lancaster  
Manchester  
Merseside  
Oldham  
The Potteries  
Preston  
Salford  
St Helens  
Stockport  
Wigan  
Wrexham

## MIDLANDS

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

## GREATER LONDON and HOME COUNTIES

Acton  
Bexley  
Camden  
Chertsey  
Croydon  
East London  
Enfield  
Fulham and  
Hammersmith  
Greenford  
Hackney and  
Islington  
Harlesden  
Harrow  
Hemel Hempstead  
Hornsey  
Hounslow  
Ilford  
Kilburn  
Kingston  
Lambeth  
Lewisham  
Merton  
Paddington  
Reading  
St Albans  
Slough  
South Ealing  
Tottenham  
Walthamstow  
Wandsworth  
Watford  
Woolwich

## WALES and SOUTH WEST

Bath  
Bristol  
Cardiff  
Exeter  
Gloucester  
Llanelli  
Mid-Devon  
Neath  
Plymouth  
Swansea  
SOUTH  
Ashford  
Brighton  
Canterbury  
Crawley  
Eastbourne  
Folkestone  
Guildford  
Portsmouth  
Southampton

## EAST

Basildon  
Beccles  
Cambridge  
Chelmsford  
Colchester  
Harlow  
Ipswich  
Leiston  
Lowestoft  
Norwich  
Peterborough

# Militants set pace on building sites

THE construction industry is currently the scene of an unprecedented upswing in trade union organisation and militancy.

As a result, the building industry wage negotiations are for the first time in a decade quite different from the usual protracted farce concluded by the unions' acceptance of some pitiful settlement.

Three times now the joint executives of the two main unions involved, the Union of Construction and Allied Trades and Technicians (formerly the Woodworkers) and the Transport and General Workers building and construction sections, have rejected the employers' offers.

The union claim is for a £30 basic and a 35 hour week plus a fourth week's holiday. The employers' federation has offered to up the craft rate to £25 a week in two stages by next February with the labourer's rate rising to £21 over the same period.

The hours and holidays claim has been rejected outright.

The employers are still hoping that a marginal improvement on the cash offer can clinch agreement with the union leadership before official selective strikes are launched on 26 June.

But the union leadership will have considerable difficulty in foisting acceptance of this kind of settlement because of the new militancy.

## Slipped

In the last six years the national unions have managed to add only one pound a year to the basic wage. The building worker has slipped to sixteenth in the wages league even when an average of eight hours weekly overtime is taken into account. The industry is the most dangerous in Britain, worse even than coal mining.

The UCATT leadership has until recently been operating in collaboration with the employers. This is because it has seen 'sweetheart agreements' with the employers as the only way to extend trade union organisation in the predominantly casual building industry.

At the Barbican, Horseferry Road and more recently at St Thomas' Hospital in London alone, the UCATT leadership has been involved in deals to break site level organisation and militancy. And it openly canvassed for a replica of the notorious Joint Industry Board in electrical contracting which anticipated the Tory anti-union legislation by several years.

All this has severely strained the union's credibility. And with the emergence of the Building Workers' Charter grouping as a

serious force in the industry, the union bosses have to attempt to deliver something like the goods this time round.

Their task is complicated not only by having to deal with the most ruthless and corrupt employers in the land. The Tory government is interested in the level of the building settlement. It may well be that they will select the building worker as a nice, weak and ill-organised target.

This would not be an original idea. When the Labour government was attempting to implement its wage freeze in 1968 building workers were successfully selected as the first target and their rise was frozen.

But the situation today is very different. The mood of whole sections of the working-class movement has changed greatly. And perhaps nowhere more than in construction.

The Building Workers' Charter movement—led by Communist Party militants—has made an enormous contribution to the education of new sections of the building workforce in the possibility of an alternative to enormously long hours

and appalling basic wages.

It has also launched the first serious attempt to stamp out the cancer of labour-only sub-contracting—the lump.

Recent crane occupations in London and Birmingham have once again highlighted the iniquities of this modern system of slavery. And the reverberations of the city-wide struggle in Birmingham are now being felt in London where lump workers on one of the many luxury hotel sites stopped work last week until management allowed a union organiser on to the site.

The key part of the construction claim is the 35 hour clause. Employers' resistance to this is tough not least because they have always been able to exercise power over the workforce by offering overtime.

A high basic and shorter hours would not only reduce the dramatic unemployment in the industry, it would break the employers' hold. Literally thousands of building workers could then be brought into trade union organisation and the basis of putting some social order into a corrupt and chaotic industry laid.

# Campus occupation scene of students and workers unity

STUDENTS at the University of Kent, Canterbury, occupied the Cornwallis building last week in protest against proposed redundancies and price increases in the catering service.

The university intends to make 189 workers redundant, either directly or through drastic cuts in hours. Students and workers, along with some sympathetic academic staff, have formed a campaign against the redundancies which lead to last Tuesday's action.

The action is almost unique, since the occupation is primarily directed against the redundancies and the students made it clear they would leave the building if they failed to gain support from the catering and cleaning staff. This support materialised when a meeting of NUPE, the staff union, voted in solidarity with the occupation, a decision greeted by resounding applause from the waiting students.

Members of the catering staff pledged to help provide meals for those in the

occupation. The university authorities' response to this student-worker solidarity has been frantic. Last Thursday they closed all college services, including meals, shops and bars in an attempt to stop the sit-in.

Staff were sent home and told not to come back until called for.

It was obviously an attempt to split the students and workers but it failed and the university were forced to withdraw, promising to re-open if pickets on the meals boycotts were peaceful.

In fact they have always been peaceful and any violence has been the result of provocation by academic and office staff, some of whom have gone to incredible lengths to break pickets. One was even seen having lunch twice on the same day.

This is a situation that will be facing many universities in the coming year. A victory at Kent will help prevent redundancies throughout the university system.

Donations to the fighting fund should be sent to: J Kreeger, Eliot College, The University, Canterbury, Kent.

# WHAT'S ON

Copy for What's On must arrive first post Monday or phoned Monday morning. Notices are charged at 5p per line. Semi-display 10p per line. Cash with copy. No insertions without payment—invoices cannot be sent.

## MEETINGS

**TEESSIDE IS**  
Kick the Tories out now  
Spkrs: Paul Foot and Arthur Affleck, chairman BSC Lackenby shop stewards Wellington Hotel, Albert Road, Middlesbrough  
Thursday 29 June, 7.30pm  
Tickets from IS members or at the door

**Wandsworth and Lambeth IS FOLK NIGHT**  
Prager and Rye  
Jugular Vein  
Unbelievable Bum Band  
John Townsend  
George Greenaway  
The Nags Head, junction Plough Road and York Rd (nr Clapham Junction)  
Sat 10 June, 7.30pm. Entrance 30p

**WOLVERHAMPTON IS public meeting**  
UNITE AGAINST THE INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ACT  
KICK OUT THE TORIES  
Spkrs: Paul Foot and Frank Henderson  
Tues 13 June, 8pm  
St Peter's Hall, St Peter's Sq (off Walfruna St), Wolverhampton.

**EAST LONDON WOMEN'S CONFERENCE**  
Women and the Trade Unions  
Housing and the 'Fair Rents' Bill  
Women and the Welfare State  
Women and the Authorities  
Creche, food and a play  
10am-5.30pm, Sat 17 June  
London College of Furniture, 41 Commercial Road, London E1.  
Everyone welcome!

**KINGSTON IS DAY SCHOOL**  
Roger Cox on Revolutionary Trade Unionism  
Tony Cliff on The Revolutionary Road to Socialism  
Sunday 18 May  
Apply 33 King's Rd, Long Ditton, Surrey

**IS STUDENT CONFERENCE**  
24-25 July  
Details from branch secretaries  
All student members should attend

**PLYMOUTH SOCIALIST FORUM:** Which way to Socialism? Speakers: Frank Judd, Labour MP for Portsmouth West, and Tony Cliff, IS executive committee. Sat 17 June, 7.30pm. Oddfellows Hall, Kingston Road, Portsmouth.

**FULHAM and HAMMERSMITH IS SOCIAL:** Friday 23 June, 8.30pm. King's Head, Fulham Broadway (above tube). Tickets 25p, 30p at door. Extension applied for.

**CARDIFF IS public meeting:** GKN shop-steward speaks on the future of Cardiff steelworks. Old Arcade pub, Church St, Cardiff. Mon 12 June, 7.30pm.

**HACKNEY and ISLINGTON IS:** Film: Angela Davis: Portrait of a Revolutionary, followed by discussion. Mon 12 June, 8pm, Mozart House, Albion Road, N16 (near Newington Green).

**RANK and FILE TECHNICAL TEACHERS:** Important meeting for all socialists in ATTI at The Crown and Sugarloaf, Garlick Hill, off Mansion House, London. 20 May, 7pm.

**DAY SCHOOL on The Family:** Sat 1 July in London. Details from your IS women's convenor or branch secretary.

**SWANSEA IS:** What Happened at Fine Tubes. Strikers from the Plymouth factory, out for more than two years, speak about their struggle. Thursday 22 June, 7.30pm. AEU House, Orchard St, Swansea. All welcome.

**LLANELLI IS public meeting:** Fine Tubes strikers and their struggle. Mon 19 June, 7.30pm. Llanelli YMCA.

**RUGELEY IS public meeting:** Wages, Rents and the Struggle for Socialism. Speaker: Paul Foot. Wed 14 June, 8pm. The White Horse, Bow St, Rugeley.

## NOTICES

**BED AND BREAKFAST.** Comrade on East Coast, 100 miles from London, needs to pay the rent. Country house, four miles from the sea. No public transport—car essential. Write Box 159, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2, for rates and dates available.

**LEICESTER-NOTTINGHAM-DERBY:** Comrades moving to these towns should contact branch secretaries for details of accommodation etc.

**RAILTON PEOPLE'S PLANNING ASSOCIATION FULL-TIME WORKER**  
The RPPA exists to promote and defend the interests of the people during the proposed redevelopment of the Railton area of Brixton. We need an energetic full-time worker with experience of grass-roots organising. Up to £1200 p.a.  
Details: RPPA, 138 Mayall Rd, London SE24.

**WANTED: Assistant business manager for Socialist Worker.** Clerical experience essential, typing an advantage. IS members only. Apply Jim Nichol, 6 Cottons Gardens, London E2. Tel: 01-739 1870.

**FEMALE COMRADE seeks own room in flat/house in West London.** Phone Ann at 01-229-4259 after 5pm.

**POST OFFICE WORKER**  
paper for the rank and file in Post Office trade unions  
Latest issue now out  
price 3p, from  
Tom Dredge, 3 Godric Crescent,  
New Addington, Croydon, Surrey.





# Engineers strike —against own union

TWELVE Engineering Union members employed at the union's Peckham, London head office are now in the fourth week of a sit-in strike against management's arbitrary dismissal of two of their colleagues.

Early in May a member in the technical department was told by his office manager that he should find another job. His request to have his union representative present at the interview was refused.

When union representatives did make contact with him, the manager was unable to substantiate any complaints other than that the man had been sick a number of times.

The manager was not prepared to reconsider his decision and added that the man's departmental union representative would also be sacked.

When the dispute went to the AUEW general secretary, Jim Conway, he maintained that he had the right of hire and fire and that was the end of the matter. With no progress achieved,



Conway: 'End of the matter'

the AUEW members in the technical and production studies department withdrew their labour and started their sit-in.

'When you cut out the verbiage, this is a classic employers' "I hire, I fire" stance,' Magnus Ledgerwood, union committee secretary and a former Plessey, Swindon AUEW convenor, said on Tuesday.

'We have no procedure agreement and therefore lose our rights under our own union rule book. This is a question of introducing basic trade union rights into a trade union office,' he added.

The technical and production studies department prepares back-up material for wage claims. AUEW members are being deprived of this service thanks to Jim Conway's attitude.

One of the sit-in strikers is responsible for preparing and sending out head office letters approving strike pay. No letters are now going out.

## The Power Game

by Colin Barker

The truth about the power industry, the workers' pay claim and the grim record of productivity dealing. 25p plus 3p post from ADVANCE, 68 Fountains Road Stretford, Lancs.

## TORY RENT ROBBERY AND HOW TO FIGHT IT

Don't miss this vital pamphlet

2p a copy plus postage  
12 copies or more post free  
Cash with orders to:  
IS (Rents) 6 Cottons Gardens,  
London E2 8DN

# Labour to urge backdown

REPRESENTATIVES of more than 100 Labour councils will meet in Sheffield this week to discuss their attitude to the Tory's new Rents Bill. They will be under strong pressure from the national Labour Party leadership to abandon any defiance of the Bill's provisions ordering them to put rents up.

Anthony Crosland, the Labour spokesman on housing, recently told Labour councillors: 'Don't defy the law. That is not only wrong in principle, but it won't help the tenants.'

Instead, he is advising councils to put up rents but by less than the Tories

## THE RENTS BATTLE

themselves want. He claims this is possible under what is called the 'Birmingham concession', which enables the councils themselves to decide how much rents go up initially in October, without having to impose the blanket £1 a week increase recommended by the government.

The International Socialists are handing out an 'Open Letter to Labour councillors' at the Sheffield meeting. It points out how

misleading Crosland's arguments are: 'The Birmingham formula for rent-setting is not only incorrect, but is likely to become illegal after the Bill becomes law in July. The Act specifically says that "No regard should be had to the tenants' income in setting the Fair Rent."'

More importantly, although the council may decide the first rent rise in October, this power will be taken out of its hands soon after.

'The council does not set the rent', adds the leaflet. 'This is done by the Rent Scrutiny Committees. Composed as they are of lawyers and property experts they will certainly use the criteria set down in the Act. The result will be "fair" rents in Birmingham of £5.14 plus rates, rather than the figure talked of by the Labour

Party of £3.88.

Therefore the loophole is no loophole at all. Although some tenants may not face the full £1 in October, they will all be faced with double rents when the Rent Scrutiny Committees go to work.

The choice for Labour councillors is clear. If they implement the Bill in principle tenants will conclude that they are collaborating with the Tories whatever their protestations to the contrary. Labour councillors at this meeting must decide to fight the Tory attack on tenants in the following manner:

1. No implementation of the Housing Finance Bill and no rent rises.
2. No co-operation with the Tory Housing Commissioners.
3. Full backing to the tenants' movement in fighting rent rises.'

BIRMINGHAM: The Trades Council passed a resolution last week calling for a city wide campaign against the Bill. The campaign is to include the trade unions, tenants associations and the labour movement.

SHEFFIELD: A regional conference of tenants organisations has been called by local tenants on 18 June to discuss the fight against rent rises.

WATFORD: 150 SOGAT members at a delegate conference in Watford called on the local Labour Council to refuse to implement the rent rises.

HALSTEAD: Delegates from the tenants' organisations in Halstead, Braintree, Witham, Colchester and Chelmsford met on Sunday to discuss the fight against rent rises. Hugh Kerr of IS and Harlow Tenants spoke on the Tory offensive and the tenants' strategy. The meeting decided to call for a national tenants' conference in September and to set up a North Essex committee to co-ordinate action in these areas.

HARINGEY: The tenants' movement in Haringey began last week to hold a series of meetings on estates. The initial aim is to reverse the Labour Council's decision to co-operate with the Bill (which it did by one vote).

CAMDEN: The Action Committee against the Bill, (set up at a meeting of Labour Councillors in Camden last week) has called a conference for 1 July at Camden Town Hall. The conference will be an attempt to rally Labour Councils committed to non-implementation in the face of the sell-out by Labour leaders. Invitations will be sent out to all Labour Councillors opposed to implementing the Bill. The conference will take place a week before the official Labour conference in Central Hall on 8 July. This conference has been called by Transport House to break the opposition to implementation of the Bill.

FAILWORTH, LANCs: The Urban District Council in Failsworth has decided not to implement the Bill.

SWANSEA: Swansea Tenants' Federation is organising a demonstration for 1 July.



Kent miners and London building workers supported a 500-strong protest march in Greenwich on Saturday against the Fair Rents Bill. More than a dozen tenants associations, plus local union branches and political organisations took part. They pledged full support to Greenwich council if they refuse to implement the rent increases. Picture: MIKE COHEN.

# AUEW SNUB FOR TORIES' COURT

by Rob Clay  
HARTLEPOOL: When the first case involving the engineering section of the AUEW came before the Industrial Relations Court on Monday the union executive refused to attend and made it clear that it was boycotting the court 'in accordance with TUC policy'. Significantly press and television virtually ignored the case and the fact that the union refused to appear.

The case concerns the 14 weeks-old strike of 18 welders at the Expanded Metal Company of Hartlepool. The welders are the only known case in the North East of their trade being graded lower than other skilled workers.

## WALKED OUT

They have been struggling for parity with fitters in the same works. They started with a work to rule to back the claim. But when a man was sacked for refusing to work under a 'flexibility agreement' the other welders walked out.

The strike was made official by the union and is considered to be of central importance by other engineering workers in the Hartlepool area. All AUEW members are paying a 25p district levy in support of the strikers and messages of support have been received from local factories and from Swan Hunter ship-building yard on nearby Teesside.

There has been one unfortunate aspect

to the strike so far. The fitters at Expanded Metal, who are also in the AUEW, have refused to come out in support of the welders.

The district committee of the union asked them to give support but did not order them out. District Secretary Owen Richard told me that the management allegation to the NIRC that fitters had been ordered out by the committee was a 'slandorous lie'.

But the fitters have now given notice of strike action themselves in protest against General and Municipal members scabbing on the welders' jobs.

## BLIND EYE

At the NIRC on Monday the company asked for an immediate injunction to end the strike on the grounds that proper strike notice had not been given. The Tory judge, Sir John Donaldson, turned a convenient blind eye to the union's contempt for the court and refused to grant the injunction.

But he did make it clear that when the company's claim for damages from the union because of the strike is heard on 23 June the sums involved would be 'very heavy indeed'. He warned the union to consider whether 'they were wise to allow the welders' strike to go on without notice and to encourage the fitters to come out on strike without notice.'

Clearly Donaldson was frightened that if he made an order to end the strike the welders might follow the example of the dockers and ignore the order, exposing the real weakness of the Tory law. He prefers to threaten massive attacks on the funds of the union, hoping to persuade the union

leadership to bring the strike to a quick end.

This makes it vital that union members maintain pressure on the AUEW national executive to continue their boycott of the court. The strike must be continued until the parity claim is met.

That will prevent other employers turning to the court whenever they face wage demands. And the fitters should show basic trade union solidarity and join the strike now.

Messages and donations to: AUEW, 28 Raby Road, Hartlepool, Co Durham.

## Workers take-over to win pay claim

CHIPPENHAM (Wilts): Workers at Westinghouse Brake and Signal Co at Chippenham began a sit-in strike last week that was proposed from the shop-floor.

The strike is in support of demands for a substantial wage increase of £6 for all workers, a shorter working week and longer holidays. The bosses have refused even to consider the latter two demands, and have gone no further than offering £1.50 to all workers, with a slightly larger increase for some skilled workers.

But all 5000 workers are standing firm against this attempt to divide-and-rule, and are clocking-in every morning and then sitting down and refusing to work. This tactic has now achieved a 100 per cent work stoppage on the shop floor and the white-collar staff, who recently received a £2 wage increase, are running out of work to do.

This is the first sit-in strike in the South West. The current solidarity of the rank and file, both men and women, plus the possibility of a lock-out this week, indicates that it is going to be a fierce struggle.



I would like more information about the International Socialists

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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



# Socialist Worker

## PICKET LINES

GLASGOW: 1400 workers at the Caterpillar Tractor factory returned to work on Monday after a six weeks' long strike. The result was a partial victory for the men, with an across-the-board rise of £5 a week and one day's additional holiday.

The settlement did not include any productivity strings. But there is no cut in the working week, no increase in the shift-premium payments, and the agreement is to last 15 months.

For these reasons a third of the workers opposed the return to work. The right wing negotiating committee was only able to get a majority by refusing to call a full shop stewards meeting to discuss their recommendation and by refusing to allow anyone who opposed the return to use the microphone.

BUILDING WORKERS employed by Holland, Hansen and Cubitts on the giant Thamesmead site in South London came out on strike last week in pursuit of their claim for a £10 a week minimum increase and for a 40 hour week without overtime. One of the main aims of the claim is to prevent redundancies. The workers are calling for the support of all building workers and for the strike to be made official. Donations and messages of support to Mr Fred Munday, 39 Robert Street, London SE 18.

HARLOW: 800 workers at United Glass went on strike two weeks ago over an attempt by the management to cut down on manning. The men, members of the GMWU, produce glass containers for UG, part of the giant Distillers Company. Local management have been trying to boost profits by pushing for productivity deals which would cut manning by more than a third.

The workers have thrown out these deals and the management responded by getting tough, removing standby reliefs and putting staff men on production. The workers sat in the factory at first and then went on a full strike. The GMWU have now made it official and the men are hoping for solidarity action from other UG plants. Messages of support to Bro. Sam Morton, 22 Fernhill, Harlow, Essex.

SWANSEA Trades Council has decided to set up a Tenants Committee to provide liaison between the trade union movement and the various tenants associations that are springing up in the area. All affiliated union branches are being asked to appoint someone to be specially responsible for tenants matters and to hold meetings on the rent bill with speakers from the Trades Council committee.

NOTTINGHAM:—All production has stopped at the backstreet factory of Crepe Sizes. The whole workforce is out picketing and the men are backed by the TGWU.

The conditions are unbelievable. The production workers (all Pakistanis) work a compulsory 84-hour week. For working 12 hours a day, seven days a week, they get around £32 on the day shift, a little more on the night shift. There is no canteen and one toilet for 60 men.

Non-production workers, who are non-union and are still at work. The dispute, which started over the men joining a union and over the rejection of work-sharing proposals after five arbitrary sackings, is solid. Messages and donations to: Matloub Hussein, 45 Cranmer Street, off Woodborough Road, Nottingham.

## Docks stewards call strike

THE militant National Port Shop Stewards Committee has called a one-day strike throughout dockland next Thursday when the Transport Workers Union will meet to discuss further action on its pay, hours and jobs claim.

Last week TGWU docks delegates voted to put off their national strike for two weeks to give the employers time to improve on their latest offer. This was for an extra £3 on fall-back pay and a further

week's holiday spread over the next two years.

But on the crucial container depots issue management offered only vague promises to bring them under the control of the Dock Labour Board. It is the use of non-docks labour in the depots which has led to the widespread blacking campaign against container lorries and the £55,000 fine on the union by the Industrial Relations Court.

Vague promises are not enough. Dockers are fighting to defend their jobs and their organisation and there must be no further retreat on official strike action next Thursday if the bosses refuse to toe the line on containers.

It is vital that dockers throughout the country support the Port Shop Stewards' strike in order to strengthen the hand of the delegates at Thursday's TGWU meeting.

# METAL BOX FIGHTS ON FOR VITAL CLAIM

MANCHESTER:—Most of the 30 plants occupied by workers in the struggle for the engineers' national claim have now settled and gone back to work. The failure of the national union leaders to spread the dispute or provide adequate financial support has meant that most settlements are well short of the original claim.

But some factories are still trying to fight for a

by Glyn Carver

decent settlement. One of them is Metal Box, Timperley.

What makes the difference at Timperley is the solidarity and support that is coming from shop stewards and shop floor workers in other Metal Box plants up and down the country. The factory was occupied on 6 April after all hourly

paid workers were suspended for working to rule. For the next five weeks workers maintained a round the clock presence in the factory, conducting their struggle with the quiet determination and unity that was the hallmark of the Manchester sit-ins.

But on 15 May management succeeded in closing off part of the plant, denying heat, light and toilet facilities to the men. The men replied by taking back control over the whole plant and locking out management and staff.

Within three days only three management representatives were left inside—and one of them had done an 87 hour shift. Management were ready to swop an agreement on facilities for the occupiers in return for right of entry.

This victory greatly increased the strength of the sit-in.

Most of the key Metal Box factories in the country are applying sanctions and taking part in sympathy strikes in support of the national claim and the Timperley occupation.

## ESCALATE

I was present last Friday at a meeting in Manchester of the Metal Box shop stewards' national co-ordinating committee where plans were laid to escalate the actions being taken against the Metal Box bosses. The feeling of the meeting was that the Timperley lads were fighting for them all and deserved the maximum possible support from the other factories.

The chairman, Ben Graham of Carlisle, reported that the sanctions were beginning to have a real effect on Metal Box production and should be pursued over the next few weeks with even more vigour.

Secretary Bill Smith of London told the delegates of the deplorable attitude of the union officials to the Metal Box struggle.

Criticism was voiced over the absence from the meeting of the AUEW district secretary and divisional organiser, although both had promised to attend. There were also complaints that although the actions being taken were aimed at forcing the bosses to the negotiating table, both the union and the company were putting off negotiations on the grounds that executive member Reg Birch, leader of the union side in negotiations, was on a fortnight's holiday.

## URGENCY

It was finally decided to send two letters from the meeting. One to the Metal Box management warns that unless there is a satisfactory meeting in the next two weeks, 'sanctions in support of the claim and the Timperley occupation will be escalated.' The other to the AUEW executive stressed the urgency for a meeting despite Reg Birch's absence.

Both letters were signed by all present and the meeting decided to demonstrate complete support for the Timperley occupation by adjourning to the factory.

When we arrived at the factory the large double gates were thrown open by the workers and the 10 cars containing the members of the co-ordinating committee swept in. The objections of the management to our presence were swiftly brushed aside by the works convenor, John Roylance, and a meeting was convened in the works canteen to report the committee's decisions back to the shop-floor members.

After the committee had left and just before the shift changed at 6pm, I tried to get the reactions of the men actually involved in the sit-in. One man summed up the general feeling in a nut-shell:

'Everything that's happened today has been very encouraging. We may have been let down by the union, but we won't let ourselves down. You needn't worry about that.'

There is no doubt that if this sort of feeling and this sort of support had been found in all the Manchester factories over the last few weeks, the outcome would have been very different. We would have wiped the floor with the bosses.



## Work sharing call to fight sackings

EIGHT THOUSAND workers in the general bearings division of Ransome, Hoffman and Pollard have decided to fight against proposed redundancies. The company recently announced that it was going to sack 2500 men. At a meeting on Sunday delegates from two of the three plants concerned, Newark and Anfield Plain, agreed on a policy of work sharing. This follows an earlier meeting at Newark where 2500 workers decided to work-in in the factory if the company did not drop its redundancy plans. Sunday's meeting also decided to send a delegation to the third plant affected, at Chelmsford, to press for co-operation from workers there.

A section of the International Socialists' contingent on last Sunday's 5000 strong Vietnam demonstration in London.

## OSSETT

From page one

attitude, the workers imposed a work to rule. Management alleged that this was in effect a strike and threatened a lock out.

The factory was then occupied and the workers are now determined to stand out for the full claim on money, hours and holidays.

Peter Shaw, the electricians' steward says: 'The lads were obviously influenced by the success of other occupations in Scotland and Manchester. But it came after long argument and discussion.'

'It is better than a strike. After all the boss is on the outside and the workers on the inside. There's no chance of blacklegs getting in—or stocks being moved. And it shows every worker just how powerful the working class is when it works together—and, of course, how weak the boss really is.'

Two years ago Woodheads was a non-union firm, operating in an area with weak trade union traditions. The basic wage for male operatives was £10.50. Exhausting 12 hour shifts were worked and a seven day week was common.

About three years ago Colin Moore moved into the factory. He carried an AUEW card. Along with another AUEW member, Frank Gillings, he began to discuss the benefits of trade union membership, working patiently and informally through most of the work force.

In autumn 1970 the management were away from Ossett on a binge at the Motor Show. During the weekend Colin Moore and Frank Gillings saw everybody and signed them up into union membership.

On the following Monday morning the union district official visited the factory and demanded negotiating rights. The management asserted that they were a non-union firm but conceded when faced

by a sit-in strike in the factory.

In two years things have improved tremendously. The basic wage is now £21.60 for 40 hours. Shifts have been re-organised on an eight hour pattern. Safety measures are better though there is still much room for improvement.

The occupation was the logical conclusion of a two-year struggle by the most militant trade unionists in the plant to build up the self-confidence of the workers.

The development which the Ossett stewards view with most pride is the setting up of a combine committee. The Woodhead Group has a large number of factories spread very widely throughout Britain—trading under a number of different names.

The biggest and best organised units are in Ossett, Sheffield, Leeds, Newton Aycliffe and Manchester.

All of the bigger plants are supporting the combine committee which held its first meeting on 12 May.

These are impressive achievements. But men like Colin Moore and Pete Shaw are not satisfied.

Shaw says: 'Yes it's very important to fight for better pay and conditions. Most lads in the factory would now agree. But we've got to be concerned for other workers who are also fighting for their rights.'

It's now the Ossett lads who need support. They have earned the respect of militants by the way they have built sound strong, aggressive trade unionism in a factory where it had not existed before

Published by the International Socialists, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2. Printed by SW (Litho) Printers Ltd [TU all depts.] Registered with the Post Office.

## Subscribe Now!

I enclose £\_\_\_\_\_ for one year's/six months

Socialist Worker

(£3.40 per year; £1.70 six months)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

→ Socialist Worker 6 Cottons Gardens London E2 8DN